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The role of student-teachers' imagined identities in their investments in English in an "Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education" (ICLHE) Catalan pre-service teacher education context

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CHAPTER 6: ENGLISH COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE AND THE STUDENT-TEACHERS' IMAGINED IDENTITIES (Study 2)

6.1. CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter presents Study 2 (S2), which departs from the data and the findings addressing RQ2. RQ2 addresses the types of English CoPs that the student-teachers engage in, while it also attempts to look at the ways in which these shape and affect their present and future identities (see Chapter 3).

The study puts a special emphasis on the notions of “imagined identities”, “imagined communities”, “community of practice” (CoP), “English as an International Language” (EIL) and “investment”. To enhance comprehension of the analytical sections, direct quotes from the participants’ accounts have been marked in italics and words in bold print are words considered particularly interesting.

First, in section 6.2. is an introduction to the study and its main characteristics. Included in section 6.3. are the preliminary results. Section 6.3.1. outlines the resulting codes from S2, while sections 6.3.2. and 6.3.3. present the results from quantitative and qualitative data in Q2, respectively. Next, Following, section 6.4. provides the integrating results, obtained through the interpretation of all data. Before concluding the chapter, section 6.5. aims to summarise and discuss the findings presented. Finally, section 6.6. offers a brief chapter summary.

6.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

S2 focuses on obtaining a broad picture of all the CoP through English that have shaped the students’ identities. The analysis is led by the following overarching research question:

How does engagement with communities of practice –where English has a key role– affect their imagined identities?

Before proceeding to the analysis, it was necessary to narrow down the main research question into three more specific ones, in order to clearly examine the phenomenon addressed in this chapter. Thus, in order to answer such a broad research question, three core questions will guide the analysis carried out in this study:

- (i) In what English CoPs have the observed student-teachers participated?
- (ii) How do they experience their participation in English CoPs?
- (iii) What are the student-teachers' imagined identities?

For the purpose of this study, the list presented below summarizes the data sets that have been analysed in the S2.

- ✓ **Data Set A:** closed-ended questions Q2
- ✓ **Data Set B:** open-ended questions Q2
- ✓ **Data Set C:** Individual Interviews 1
- ✓ **Data Set D:** Focus Group 1
- ✓ **Data Set E:** Individual Interviews 2
- ✓ **Data Set F:** Focus Group 2

It is important to remember that T1 and T2 data collections took place respectively during the participants' first and second university years, correspondingly. Although S3 will specifically focus on getting a deeper analysis into how the student-teachers' identities evolve over the course of the EMI-PEBD degree, the fact that T1 and T2 data collections took place while the participants were participating in the EMI-PEBD CoP needs to be taken into consideration. It is important to bear in mind that at the moment of the first data collection all student-teachers had already been members of the EMI-PEBD CoP. As S1 showed, the EMI-PEBD was in itself an investment in the students' imagined identities. In spite of that, some CoP that the students mentioned take place during the 1st and 2nd years of their studies and thus, it is important to consider the EMI-PEBD code as a possible issue to take into account when doing the analysis.

All coded data included in S2 can be found in Appendix 7, while all data translations can be found in Appendix 5.

6.2.1. GENERAL ANALYTICAL APPROACH

As far as the **data treatment and analysis**, Table 21 schematizes how each data set was analysed:

Table 21. Data treatment S2

Data set	Type of analysis
(A) Closed-ended questions Q2	Interpretive analysis of quantitative data
(B) Open-ended questions in Q2	Qualitative content and narrative analysis
(C) Individual Interviews 1	
(D) Focus Group 1	
(E) Individual Interviews 2	
(F) Focus Group 2	

6.2.2. ANALYTICAL APPROACH: STEPS

Data Set A: Closed-ended questions Q2

A qualitative analysis of quantitative data obtained through the closed-ended questions in Q2 was carried out:

- Step 1: data from the tables in Q2 were compiled into a general table including all participants' responses.

- Step 2: a preliminary analysis of such quantitative data (Data Set A) was undertaken to obtain meaningful data from the closed-ended questions in Q2.

Data Sets B, C, D, E, F: open-ended questions in Q2, Individual Interviews 1, Focus Group 1, Individual Interviews 2 and Focus Group 2.

An extensive content analysis (combined with narrative analysis at all times) of qualitative data has been the main method for analysis of data set B. (open-ended questions in Q2) , C (Individual Interviews 1), D (Focus Group 1), E (Individual Interviews 2) and F (Focus Group 2).

Steps 1 to 3 were the preliminary approach to data (data preparation for the analysis). Steps 4 to 7 were the deep thorough analysis (content analysis combined with narrative analysis). The procedures undertaken were the following:

- Step 1: Familiarization with the data.
- Step 2: Data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1994).
- Step 3: Data display (Miles and Huberman, 1994) in order to organize the information that had been collected.
- Step 4: Search for regularities among data and labelling of such data (color-coding) (*coding*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 5: Grouping of codes that seemed to pertain to the same phenomena (*coding*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 6: Writing down of ideas and relationships found during the coding procedure, creating new patterns, ideas and connections among data (*memoing*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 7: Development of propositions to capture a thick interpretation of all the findings (*developing propositions*, Punch, 2005).

As stated in Chapter 4, the fact that the analysis was a recursive process needs to be emphasized. All steps presented took place, although they were not necessarily

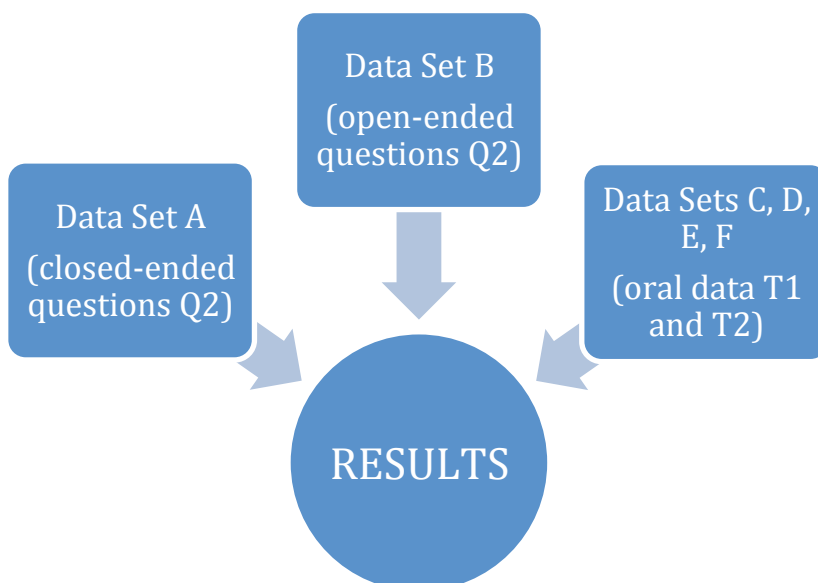
consecutive. The analysis was, thus, a recursive process, as each phase affected the other steps of the process. For further details on the analysis of qualitative data, see section 4.7.3.

6.2.3. COMPILED RESULTS

Due to the amount of data sets included in this study, it was considered helpful to present the preliminary analysis of results from some data sets before moving on to the final results that were reached and interpreted. Thus, before presenting the general results of this study, the preliminary analysis of Data Set A (closed-ended questions in Q2) and Data Set B (open-ended questions in Q2) will be presented.

The final results and interpretation in section 6.4. were reached through the triangulation of all data sets presented in Figure 9. The data were analysed through the literature review's lens, while also allowing for more precise issues to emerge (see section 4.7.).

Figure 9. Data Sets S2



6.3. PRELIMINARY RESULTS

6.3.1. RESULTING CODES

The codes that emerged from S2 are presented in this section. The qualitative data that were analysed included textual data, in written form (open-ended questions in Q2) and in oral form (Individual Interview 1, Individual Interview 2, Focus Group 1 and Focus Group 2). (Data Set B and Data Sets C, D, E, F, respectively).

As presented in the methodological chapter, such data were analysed through content analysis and through a thematic analysis (Guest, 2012), requiring a narrative approach (Pavlenko, 2007). All data coming from open-ended questions in Q2 and from Individual Interviews 1/2 and Focus Group 1/2 were analysed using the same procedures. In this section, the codes that emerged from the steps followed (see 6.2.2.) in S2 will be explained in detail.

With the aim to find answers to RQ2, and bearing in mind that we are dealing with a qualitative study taking an interpretive approach, the codes are connected to each other, forming higher categories that help to find explanations to the main research question. Several codes and narratives helped me to define the types of engagements in English CoPs that the student-teachers have experienced, as well as the evolution of their identities over time and space. Table 22 shows the codes in which data were classified. Two main categories, “Engagements in English CoPs” and “Evolving identities” take into account the theoretical framework of the study and aim to look at the issues that were considered important from the students’ perspective. The category “Engagements in English CoPs” embodies three subcategories: “Globalisation”, “Real engagements” and “Through Family Influence”.

Most codes match up with the notions, concepts and ideas that give shape to the literature review presented in Chapter 2. Nonetheless, as a data-driven study, the students’ comments led to the emergence of more precise themes that needed to be taken into account.

Several codes were designed to identify the types of engagements through English that the students have been experiencing, as well as issues related to the influence of such CoPs on their imagined identities. The following scheme shows the codes in which data were classified. The main categories, “engagements in English CoP” and “evolving identities”, emerged from the theoretical framework of the present thesis and allowed for the interpretation of the data set within such broader categories. Some codes were designed on the basis of the theoretical framework that guides the entire study, while others emerged from the data as new themes emerged during the analysis.

Although most codes emerge from the theoretical framework, as a data-driven study, more specific codes were identified as they emerged from the data, namely, those describing very specific types of engagements or identity issues: “Family Influence”, “ELL”, “Identity Changes” and “Future Investments in an Imagined Community”. It is important to point out that the CoP of the EMI-PEBD was treated as another code because it emerged as relevant in S1 and because data show certain connections between participation in this CoP and other types of CoPs through English.

Table 22. Codes and Categories S2

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES	CODES
Engagements in English CoPs	Globalisation	English Materials
	Real Engagements	International Experiences *Stays Abroad * Travel
		ELL
		EMI-PEBD
	Through Family Influence	Family Influence
Evolving Identities		Identity Changes
		Imagined Identities * Future Investments in an Imagined Community
<i>Note:</i> <i>CoP(s): Community(ies) of Practice</i>		

Let us now briefly present each of the identified codes:

- “**ENGLISH MATERIALS**” was the code chosen to mark those comments or information referring to activities that do not involve face-to-face interaction with English speakers but that were undertaken in English (English TV, songs, radio, books, magazines, information on the internet, games, etc.). It refers to information that reaches students through globalisation processes.
- The code “**INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES**” refers to both face-to-face interactions and experiences through Skype, email, Facebook, twitter or chat with people from other countries. In all these contacts English is the only language used. This code encompasses all kinds of international experiences, but two of them seemed to be very specific and thus, they were coded differently: Travel and Stays Abroad.
 - The subcode “**STAYS ABROAD**” was selected to describe any international experiences that the student-teachers had had living or studying away from their home country for a certain amount of time (travelling was not included).
 - The subcode “**TRAVEL**” specifically refers to the student-teachers’ comments which imply having moved around geographical areas as a leisure activity. In other words, the comments coded as “travel” refer to their travelling experiences.
- “**ELL**” was the code that intended to highlight the comments addressing English Language Learning experiences in their home country.
- The code “**IDENTITY CHANGES**” covers those comments in which students explicitly express how certain engagements contributed to a change in the way they saw themselves and/or the world. As S1 shows, imagined identities are a factor that led all participants to be interested in English. Such imagined identity as English users seems to have been progressively envisioned during participation in certain CoPs through English. Taking this issue into account, S2 aims to trace how identity changes took place over their lives and how they led the participants to envision their imagined identities. Such data required stronger analysis through thematic analysis (Guest, 2012).

- The code “**IMAGINED IDENTITIES**” marks those comments which refer to their visions of themselves in the future, that is, some of the future visions that the student-teachers’ imagined identities conceive. A subcode within their imagined identities had to be marked differently: Future Investments in an Imagined Community.
 - The subcode “**FUTURE INVESTMENTS IN AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY**” points at very specific activities or engagements that will take place in the future and that have already been planned or arranged. That is to say, their planned investments in English-related activities.
- The code “**FAMILY’S INFLUENCE**” addresses those comments related to certain engagements in English CoP due to the influence of the students’ families.
- Finally, the code “**EMI-PEBD**” covers those comments and information directly referring to the practices and activities within the English-medium degree (even though this was not the focus of the analysis of the study, some data directly pointed to the practices that the degree embodies and had to be coded accordingly).

See Appendix 7A for coding of open-ended questions in Q2 and see Appendix 7B for coding of learners’ talk in Individual Interview 2 and Focus Group 2.

Results will be presented organised in the following way:

- (4) Findings from Data Set A (closed-ended questions in Q2) (section 6.3.2.)
- (5) Findings from Data Set B (open-ended questions in Q2) (section 6.3.3.)
- (6) Comprehensive thematic interpretation including all data sets: Data Set A; Data Set B; and Data Sets C, D, E and F (section 6.4.)

The data sets listed above will be presented and analysed in the following sections.

6.3.2. RESULTS FROM QUANTITATIVE DATA. CLOSED/ENDED QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE 2 (DATA SET A)

As reminded in section 5.3.2., questionnaire 2 was composed of 9 questions. Questions 1 and 2 contained primary information about the participants (age and gender). As far as the rest of the questions, questions 3, 4 and 5 were closed-ended questions, while 6, 7, 8 and 9 were open-ended questions. In the first closed-ended question (question 3) the students were asked whether they had ever studied or lived abroad. The other two closed-ended questions (Likert scale) offered the students different options: while the first one (question 4) concerned how often they undertook several activities, they were required to tick the extent to which they agreed with several assertions in the second one (question 5).

This section is devoted to the presentation of data obtained from questions 3, 4 and 5. I will present the analysis according to the tables and in relation to RQ2. It will consist of a very preliminary interpretive analysis of quantitative data and it will delve into the extent to which the information extracted from these tables provides meaningful insights into the issues addressed in this study.

The following table, which had already been presented, shows that half of the participants in this study have lived abroad for a certain period of time, prior to starting the EMI-PEBD.

Table 16. Stays abroad

<i>Question 3: Have you ever studied/lived abroad?</i>	
YES (7/14)	NO (7/14)
Alicia	Gisela
Arnau	Ester
Júlia	Mercè
Neus	Montse
Roser	Natalia
Sara	Patricia
Sònia	Silvia

Table 17 below presents once more how often the participants undertook activities in English at home, at the time of the first data collection (May 2013).

Table 17. Use of English at home

Question 4. I use/learn English at home...

	Never	Sometimes	Every week	Almost every day
Watching TV in English	1	7	1	5
Listening to radio programmes in English	10	2	2	0
Listening to songs in English			1	13
Reading books/magazines in English	0	9	1	4
Speaking English with friends (phone, skype...)	3	6	3	2
Studying with a textbook.	4	7	3	0
Using internet (e.g. e-mail, chatting, games...)	0	1	3	10

As seen from the table, *English Materials* seem to be part of the students' routines, quite often. The answers denote engagements in practices through English. On the one hand, the participants seem to be in touch with English through TV shows, films, radio, books, magazines, music or even textbooks. It is important to highlight that English mainly appears to reach them through globalisation processes that have turned this language into the main communication tool among different countries and cultures and that it has become part of their daily lives and routines. If we look at the table, all participants listen to music in English either every week or every day, while 13 of them use the internet equally often. These two types of English activities turn out to be realities in people's lives that demonstrate how English has spread throughout the world. Music and Internet reach these students' lives in a country where English is not officially spoken. Watching TV in English seems to be another indicator of the role of English in the participants' lives, although this activity might be carried out less often because it might need to be more planned than the previous two. While listening to music, surfing the net or watching TV in English enters the students' lives through globalisation to a greater or lesser degree, studying the target language with a textbook, listening to the radio in English or reading magazines or books in this language seems to lie on a different level. In such cases it might be their decision whether they want to invest in these activities or not, while globalisation and the role of English in such processes has in fact become an inescapable reality. On the other hand, other common engagements arrive in the form of *International Experiences* through communication

technologies (such as e-mail or skype), with which students interact with people through the target language.

Taking into account that English has no official recognized role in Spain, the amount of exposure to this language is considerably relevant, which shows how naturally English is spreading in the Expanding circle countries (Kachru, 1992). For the purpose of this study, it is vital to understand the extent to which English is part of these students' lives.

Table 18 reveals the extent to which the 14 participants agreed on several statements that were related to their possible interest towards English and their possible desires for the future.

Table 18 Being an English speaker

Question 5. I like being an English speaker because...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
of the personal development opportunities that it involves			1	1	12
of the professional development opportunities that it involves				2	12
I can communicate with people from all over the world (not just from English-speaking countries)				2	12
I like travelling all over the world				2	12
I can access a wide variety of resources: films, books, magazines, information on the internet...			1	2	11
It increases my social prestige		1	7	5	1
I feel more connected to the world thanks to English speaking media (TV, films, newspapers...)			3	4	7
It helps me to have a broader perspective of the world.			4	2	8
I can work abroad if I want to				2	12
I love learning English				4	10
I love learning languages in general		1	1	7	5
I like meeting/keeping in touch with people with different customs and values.			2	5	7
It is an international language			1	4	9

It is important to note that, out of the 14 participants, 13 agree or strongly agree on the assertion that English is an international language. The rest of the assertions and the students' answers, then, make perfect sense, as English seems to enable them to feel they can access the opportunities that are presented in this table, which link them to an international community of English users (see Chapter 5). According to the table, the imagined identities they pursue require them to master English, while they consider all these opportunities as future desires or possibilities they aim to embrace. As the table shows, most participants responded quite positively to the given assertions. The question then is: how have they realized that they should be citizens who master English in the future? The previous table was included in this study as it provides very meaningful information related to the student-teachers' imagined communities and identities. Even though in most cases the participants are aware and acknowledge what English can bring to their lives, the theoretical framework that backs up the present thesis emphasizes the "negotiation of identities as situated within larger socioeconomic, sociohistoric, and sociopolitical processes, and thus in more nuanced and context-sensitive ways than approaches offered by social psychology or interactional sociolinguistics" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:3). The fact that the assertion "it increases my social prestige" was not very popular among the participants shows the complexity of the issues under investigation, since "languages [...] are anything but neutral" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004:3).

6.3.3. RESULTS FROM QUALITATIVE DATA. OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS IN QUESTIONNAIRE 2 (DATA SET B)

Due to the amount and extension of textual data, the codes assigned to each piece of qualitative data are presented in Appendix 7. Therefore, all coded data in S2 coming from open-ended questions in Q2 (as well as from individual interviews 1/2 and Focus Groups 1/2) are included and displayed in Appendix 7.

Data relevant to the issues under investigation were selected among all the data provided by the students in Q2. As seen in Chapter 4, Q2 again served as a ground-

clearing first approach to the issues under investigation (in this case, relevant issues for S2).

As summarized in S1 (Chapter 5), the open-ended questions in Q2 allowed for complex responses to issues that would later on be further explored in the individual interviews and focus group. A brief reminder of the 4 open-ended questions in Q2 (question 6, 7, 8 and 9) follows¹:

6. Why did you decide to study Primary Education in English?

7. To what extent was your decision to study Primary Education in English related to your personal motivations? In what ways is it related?

8. English is important in my life because...

9. Do you think that your motivation to keep learning English and to keep accessing English resources has anything to do with your personal aspirations? In what ways?

In addition to these questions, the students were also asked to provide further details in case they had lived or studied abroad. Such information was also analysed. After having answered whether they had ever lived or studied abroad, those participants who answered “yes” (Roser, Sònia, Sara, Alicia, Neus, Júlia and Arnau) were asked to share further information. A brief summary of their answers is presented below:

Table 23. Stays abroad (extended)

Participants	Extended information
Arnau	2 weeks taking English lessons in the UK at the age of 14.
Alicia	North Ireland for 15 days, working in the mornings and taking English lessons in the afternoons. During her second year at the university, she was participating in an Exchange programme (Programa Propi de la UAB) in Buffalo, USA.
Júlia	2 weeks taking English lessons in New York.
Neus	1 month in Oxford (UK), taking English lessons.
Roser	1 month (2011) in Israel in an International Summer Science Institute.
Sara	4 summers in a row doing English courses in London, Sheffield, Boston and San Francisco.
Sònia	2 weeks in Birmingham at the age of 12 living with a host-family. 1 month taking English lessons in Ireland. 1 month working as an au-pair in London.

¹ The original questions were in Catalan, see Appendix 2.

As Table 23 above shows, 7 participants had studied or lived abroad. They all had had direct contact and interaction with people with whom they could only communicate in English but each one of their experiences was unique in terms of length, purpose and, as we will see in section 6.4., in terms of how they affected them. It should be noted that the purpose of most of these experiences was to improve their English skills. It was only in Roser's case where the situation was a bit different: she participated in an international Science Institute. As it will be discussed later on, such stays abroad had an important impact on the way they saw themselves and on their relationship with English. It is important to highlight, thus, that there seems to be something prior to such experiences that pushed these participants to go abroad to learn English.

In the rest of the open-ended questions in Q2, even though they were very broad, several excerpts from the participants' answers were found to be strongly relevant for the present study (see Appendix 7A for coded data from Q2 according to S2). Information relevant for the research question that this study addresses was coded. Data reveal some of the participants' English CoPs, what they experienced over the course of these engagements, as well as also revealing information about their imagined identities. In terms of identity issues, the codes helped to understand the relationship between how they positioned themselves in relation to English at different points of their lives, as well as what they wanted to acquire through the mastery of this language.

The global nature of English has connected these students with countries, cultures and citizens from all over the world. Experiences such as watching TV in English, reading in this language, travelling abroad or communicating with people from a different country through new technologies seem to have affected how they want to be positioned in the world that English embraces. The global nature of English and their contact with it have contributed to their progressive envisioning of the person they want to become.

Coded data in Q2 helped to obtain a broad picture of some of the types of contacts that these students have had through English. The term "broad" is employed since the codes that appear in such data are most of the codes that appeared in all data sets

(including the interviews) that have been analysed for the present study (all the codes already appear in Q2 except for FIIC). They tackle some of the most important issues that also appeared, in a much more elaborate way, during the consecutive interviews.

Codes in the open-ended questions from Q2 reveal that contacts through English have taken many different forms. It has taken the form of “English Materials” (Roser, Júlia, Gisela, Natalia, Ester and Silvia), “International Experiences” (Alicia, Roser, Júlia, Neus, Arnau, Patricia, Gisela and Natalia.), some of which have involved “*Travel*” (Alicia, Roser, Arnau, Montse, Gisela, Natalia, Mercè and Silvia) or “*Stays Abroad*” (Roser). They have also been in touch with English through English Language Learning (Roser and Patricia.). The code “family influence” already appears in Q2, indicating that sometimes the student-teachers’ contact with English might have come by means of their family influence (Alicia, Roser and Arnau). Going beyond the information the students provided in the open-ended questions, closed-ended questions in section 6.3.2. reveal that such contacts were in fact experienced by more students and that they did not provide a lot of information in the open-ended questions in Q2.

International experiences have taken place in various settings and in very different ways. In some cases, directly, face-to-face, in the students’ own country, such as in Alicia’s case and the SERVAS association, Roser’s case and the Summer Institute or Gisela’s previous working environment. In other cases they have taken place face-to-face abroad, such as in the case of those who had participated in stays abroad (Sònia, Sara, Roser, Alicia, Arnau, Neus and Júlia) or in Arnau’s skiing experiences. They have also taken place in an indirect way through technologies, which seem to be a source of international contacts (Patricia). Finally, other participants’ comments also seem to imply their acknowledgement of them having been able to communicate in international settings, although in this set of data they do not explicitly specify (Júlia, Gisela and Neus).

It is important to note that in the case of the students who had lived abroad for a period of time (see Table 16), their comments in the questionnaire are easily understood as we have more information about what English might have offered them. However, those participants who did not report having lived abroad are also fully aware

of the possibilities that mastering English may afford them. In fact, some of them seem to have experienced some of such possibilities, like those students who directly report having travelled and realized how important the mastery of English was in travelling experiences or international contexts in general (Gisela, Montse, Natalia, Silvia, Neus and Mercè) or those who comment on new communication technologies that connect them to other English users (Patricia).

Silvia, Ester, Roser and Júlia refer to different types of entertainment in English. Silvia likes to watch series in the original version, something that Ester also does, together with listening to music in English and also watching series and films in the original version. Júlia believes that TV series, music and books are generally better in the original version, a comment that implies that many of these materials reach her through the global language. Roser also reports enjoying audiovisual material in the original version. Finally, Natalia's comment seems a bit more general, but it implies that English is the language through which much information can be found: *"it grants me access to much more information and knowledge and because, with such information and knowledge, I am more autonomous when it comes to dealing with such information"*.

It is noteworthy that issues related to identity changes are already mentioned by Sònia, Roser, Sara, Arnau, Montse and Gisela in Q2, which allows for a suggestion that they were aware of such changes while experiencing them, regardless of the type of CoP in which they participated. That is one of the issues that was further discussed during the consecutive interviews. Likewise, the participants' imagined identities (directly mentioned by all participants except for three) already emerged in this first approach to the issues under investigation. Whether having engaged in international experiences or not, some of the participants' comments acknowledge the role that English has acquired worldwide as a communication tool that spreads information and entertainment, implicitly referring to the future personal possibilities it implies for them. The global nature of English and the student-teachers' acknowledgment of such reality seem to imply that they all might have been aware of the possibilities that this language entails for their lives, whether having lived abroad or not.

6.4. INTEGRATING RESULTS / TRIANGULATION

This section presents the interpretation of all the data included in this study (data Sets A, B, C, D, E and F). This section is presented and organized according to the analysis carried out. Similarly, representative excerpts will be displayed along with the data analysis and discussion that follows. The two main emerging categories, that is “engagements in English CoPs” and “Evolving identities” serve as the thematic lens through which this section is presented. The category “Engagements in English CoPs” includes its three subcategories: “globalisation”, “real engagements” and “through family influence”. Similarly, the codes that created each of these categories are the ones which include the data that is presented in each thematic field.

Having all relevant topics on the table and having presented how the initial content analysis was carried out, the following section is organized according to the interpretations of the findings that emerged from all sets of data (both data from Q2 and the individual interviews and focus groups 1 and 2). Therefore, a much more comprehensive overview of the findings found in all data will follow.

The interpretation emerged from the triangulation of all sets of data analysed with the aim to find answers for “Q2, and it came to light from the codes and categories obtained, as well as from the narrative analysis carried out. The findings are presented according to the main categories and subcategories that emerged from the data analysis, and the data included in each respective section is the data pertaining to the codes that created such categories.

This study builds on the results of S1, in which the interest towards English was found to be connected to the student-teachers’ imagined identities, as well as it aims to delve further into the role that CoPs play in the formation of one’s identities. Thus, S2 focuses on the English CoPs in which the students have participated in, and, more specifically, on how such engagements have affected and still affect the possibilities for identity expansion that are made available to them. For the purpose of this study, it is important to explore how the participants’ imagined identities were envisioned

throughout their lives and whether they negotiated their “shifting identities” (Giampapa, 2004:192) during their participation in English CoPs.

The data analysis indicates: (1) the types of “Engagements in English CoPs” that the participants have experienced and (2) their “evolving identities” throughout their narrated experiences. When discussing the multiple, fragmented and hybrid character of identities. The interpretation of category “Engagements in English CoPs” will provide plausible answers to the following research sub question: *(i) In what CoPs through English have the observed student-teachers participated and interacted through English?*, while the interpretation of category “Evolving identities” provides answers to subquestions (ii) and (iii): *(ii) How do they experience participation in English CoPs?*, *(iii) What are the student-teachers’ imagined identities?*

In the following section the data from open-ended questions Q2 and from Individual Interview 1/2 and Focus Group 1/2 are presented in accordance with the categories that emerged (section 6.4.2 and 6.4.3.), as well as with the three core questions that address the overarching aim of this study:

- (i) In what CoPs through English have the observed student-teachers participated and interacted through English?
- (ii) How do they experience participation in English CoPs?
- (iii) What are the student-teachers’ imagined identities?

The three questions above respond to the overall research question that guides this study and shape its main findings according to the codes found. The main findings will be weaved together and organized according to data that exhibited similar themes, while retaining the uniqueness of the participants’ stories. This section, thus, attempts to contribute to the generation of possible explanations to the present area of inquiry, while being supported by the theoretical framework set out in the Literature Review. The findings of these three questions are considered to be conjointly conclusive. This study is complemented with pieces of relevant data, as well as it is also backed up with references to relevant theoretical constructs from Chapter 2.

6.4.1. ENGAGEMENTS IN ENGLISH COPS

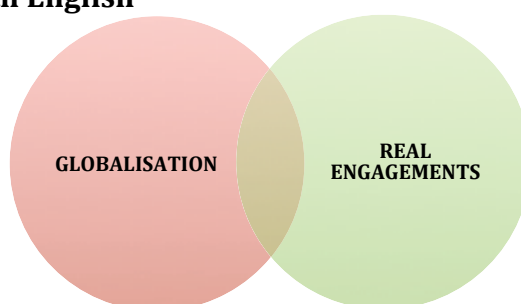
This section provides an interpretation of the findings that will help to find answers for the first sub research question:

- (i) In what CoPs through English have the observed student-teachers participated and interacted through English?

The engagements that were identified in the data and coded correspondingly define different types of English CoPs. In an attempt to organize the data related to these communities, codes within the category “engagements in English CoP” were grouped into three main subcategories: “Globalisation” , “Real engagements” and “Through Family Influence”.

The following diagram (Figure 10) shows the types of communities in which these student-teachers have engaged in through their main foreign language: English. It is important to remember that S1 already concluded that through engagement with CoPs in English, students had envisioned an imagined global community of English users. One of these engagements takes the form of globalisation as students use English materials, receive information in English or interact with people from different parts of the world through new technologies, creating an international imagined community.

Figure 10. Contact with English



Globalisation reaches these students’ lives through entertainment, publicity, information, social media, etc. ... The code “English materials” was considered very representative of the role that English has earned worldwide and the community of international English users it is creating as individuals engage in its practices. A

community that reaches student-teachers through globalisation processes (English media, connectivity through English, entertainment, intellectual information).

The other subcategory, “Real engagements”, includes international experiences or contacts (stays abroad, mobility), formal English Language Learning or the EMI-PEBD. Furthermore, the code “Family’s Influence” refers to some of the students’ real (as opposed to “imagined”) participation in real CoPs that seemed to have taken place due to the their families’ prior envisioning of an English-mediated imagined community.

6.4.1.1..Globalisation

What English brings together is a global consciousness of world citizens who share certain values and lifestyles. Through this language, such values and lifestyles reach individuals at a more local level and influence their desires, their projects and ideas for the future. As S1 shows, the role that English has gained worldwide contributes to feelings of affiliation to an imagined community of international English users. Moreover, its role as a “lingua franca” (Seidlhofer, 2005) empowers its users with opportunities to access resources, lifestyles, career opportunities, better academic futures and CoPs in which it is necessary to master this language in order to become one of its legitimate members. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, it was important to look at how student-teachers participate in this CoP that has arisen through globalisation. For that, their engagements in this community were analysed and they will be presented in this section, together with representative data referring to such engagements.

Tables 5 and 6 present very relevant information regarding the student-teachers’ engagements in this CoP. Table 5 denotes different types of engagements in a global community of English users. As S1 showed, English might be the door to access an imagined community of English users due to its role in globalisation processes that reach these participants in their everyday life. Table 6 , on the other hand, reveals information about the kind of practices that define the student-teachers’ imagined

identities and, thus, their imagined community. According to such data, English seems to be associated to certain types of practices and future realities.

In the following quotes taken from Q2, the student-teachers set forth how they were already participating in this CoP that connects English users through information, utility, leisure materials and media. Silvia, for example, comments on how English materials reach her faster than dubbed materials, while Natalia provides a broader example of what English offers her. The rest of the participants all mentioned other sources in which English was inevitably the medium of understanding information. The student-teachers' comments highlight the significance of English worldwide:

Em brinda l'accés a molta més informació i coneixements i perquè amb ell sóc més autònoma a l'hora de cercar, aconseguir o tractar aquesta informació (Natalia, Q2)² [Excerpt 6.1]

Sóc una apassionada de les sèries i sempre es poden veure en VO abans que aquí doblades i a part de les que els doblatges acostumen a ser més dolents (Silvia, Q2)³ [Excerpt 6.2.]

As a matter of fact, the existence of this CoP inevitably affects the students' daily activities, as Alicia very interestingly points out:

*Bueno en realitat **tampoc és que ho hagi triat jo la majoria de vegades, però la majoria de coses que hi ha a internet avui en dia, quasi tot es fa servir l'anglès.** El facebook mateix tots els jocs són en anglès, llavors poc o molt el vas fent servir... i les cançons igual. Si t'agrada la cançó i és en anglès, pues mira, millor. Si tens la sort que l'entens, encara millor! [...] Abans les escoltava més perquè m'agradaven, però ara sí que és veritat que les escolto i intento traduir la lletra (Alicia, I1)⁴ [Excerpt 6.3.]*

Her comment shows how the student-teachers acknowledge their awareness of a community of English speakers/users who access information and resources through this language. Shared values and activities through English create a community of

² It gives me access to much more information and knowledge, and because I am more autonomous when it comes to searching for, finding or handling such information.

³ I am passionate about TV shows and you can always watch them in the original version before the dubbed ones, and, in addition, the dubbing is usually worse.

⁴ Well in reality I haven't actually chosen it myself most of the times, but most of the things which are on the Internet nowadays, are in English. In Facebook, for example, all the games are in English, then little by little you use it, and same thing with songs. If you like the song and it's in English, then, better. If you're lucky enough to understand it, even better! [...] I used to listen to them because I liked them, but now I do listen to them and try to translate the lyrics.

individuals who transcend their local cultures, and who reach a global one that unifies practices, views and behaviours. As a representative example, Roser's words show the type of activities these students are used to engaging in:

Moltes vegades hi ha pel·lícules que aquí no han sortit o coses així, i és això el que faig realment, les miro en anglès perquè realment només estan en anglès. [...] miro una sèrie en anglès, per exemple hi ha una sèrie que jo segueixo mm... que... bueno com passa amb totes, que a Estats Units la treuen abans (Roser, I1)⁵ [Excerpt 6.4.]

When discussing similar issues in Individual Interview 1, Sònia states that “*all this information opens doors for you*”, acknowledging the community that English embraces. She is aware of the role of this language and the opportunities of participation that it encompasses.

Very interestingly, when being asked about how she started to learn English, Mercè reports on several issues that shed some light into how the globalisation processes have affected the way individuals see English:

Vaig començar... no m'agradava i no tenia gaire interès, o sigui feia i anava traient bones notes. Però anglès no era una cosa que... i a 6è, vaig descobrir els Beatles, perquè el meu pare me'ls va posar un dia, vaig descobrir que m'encantaven! Em va agafar com una mena de dèria d'escoltar-me les cançons, mirar-me les lletres en castellà, en català, mirar-me vídeos, i sense volguer, anar veient l'anglès que està allà, i anar-me mirant què volien dir les lletres, doncs vaig millorar molt. Molt. I no me'n vaig ni adonar. I llavors a la ESO fèiem grups homogenis per nivells, em van posar al nivell alt, i vaig dir “ostres! Pues serà que sóc bona”, i a partir d'aquí doncs... [...] Però mai extraescolar (Mercè, I2)⁶ [Excerpt 6.5.]

⁵ Very often there are films that are not on here yet or something like that, and what I do is... I watch them in English because they are actually only in English ... I watch a TV show in English, for example, there is a series that I follow mm... that... well as usual, that they are first on in the US.

⁶ I started... I didn't like it and I was not very interested, I mean I followed and got good marks. But English was never something that... and then in 6th grade I discovered the Beatles, because my dad played them on for me, and I discovered I loved them! I became so obsessed with them, I listened to the songs all the time, reading the lyrics in Spanish, in Catalan, watching videos, and, without even realizing it, I started to see that English was there, and by trying to understand the lyrics, I improved a lot. A lot. And I didn't even realize it. And then at ESO we were grouped by levels, and I was placed at the highest level and I was like “wow! I am probably good!”, and from then on... [...] But I never took extra lessons.

It was through the Beatles that English reached Mercè's local culture. Those seemed to be her first steps feeling she was gaining something, while she was also acquainted for the first time with a global community she was starting to visualize. Lamb (2004:5) highlights that "in the minds of learners, English may not be associated with particular geographical or cultural communities but with a spreading international culture incorporating (inter alia) business, technological innovation, consumer values, democracy, world travel, and the multifarious icons of fashion, sport and music".

The participants in the focus group also provided relevant data when being asked about daily activities in English. Not only do they describe the types of engagements in the global language, but they also discuss the reasons behind them. They seem to have envisioned English-mediated future identities which lead them to invest more in these types of activities. Initially, as Alicia portrayed above, the global community linked by English comes naturally through some of the realities that globalisation entails. It is not them who "choose" the language in many occasions.

Significant changes in their relationship with the global language take place after having participated in real English CoP (e.g. stays abroad, international contacts, the EMI-PEBD). Sara, Mercè and Natalia stated that they actively engage more in global English practices after having started the degree. Being immersed in the university environment, they purposely decide to take more part in activities such as watching TV in English or reading novels. This reality is even more obvious in Mercè's case:

I: [...] l'any passat us vaig preguntar què fèieu al temps lliure relacionat amb l'anglès... skype, llibres i tal,... això ho vas fent, o ho fas més, menys..

*Mercè: **Ho faig molt més! Ara qualsevol lectura que m'agafo sempre és amb anglès.. o sigui totes aquestes oportunitats que jo tinc d'aprendre anglès sense haver-me de posar a estudiar , les aprofito totes. La tele, ara poso els subtítols, els meus pares em diuen, sembla que visquem a un país estranger, perquè sempre la tinc amb anglès posada... els llibres sempre en anglès... la música ja ja l'escoltava en anglès, però sobretot llibres i la tele, sempre amb anglès. No ho havia fet mai ni hi tenia cap interès! Pensava... jo vull llegir , m'és igual l'idioma.***

I: I ho fas per... perquè estàs fent aquesta carrera? O perquè mira..

*Mercè: **Ho vaig perquè faig aquesta carrera més l'any que ve també me'n vaig d'Erasmus a Belfast, i clar, també vull vull com més nivell tingui a l'hora d'anar allà, millor.***

*Mercè: **Sí, per exemple, twitter, és una eina que jo ni fu ni fa, no em deia res. I me la vaig haver de fer per aquí la universitat una assignatura, i***

ara segueixo diaris, i segueixo... i me'l miro i vaig mirant tot el... o sigui, curtet, però, ...tot el que va passant (Mercè, I2)⁷ [Excerpt 6.6.]

Mercè's excerpt shows how her engagements in global English occur after having participated in the EMI-PEBD. In a similar vein, Sara talks about how much she enjoys being able to receive information from all over the world through new communication technologies, such as Facebook, a platform that progressively becomes more and more international after her experiences abroad.

This section provided evidence of how English has been part of the student-teachers' lives for a very long time, as it is present in some of the activities they engage in. Furthermore, the section also shows how certain changes in the students' investments in activities such as watching TV in English, listening to English songs or reading in English, for example, take place when they become immersed in real English CoPs (e.g. the English-medium degree, stays abroad, international experiences...). Data indicates that English, as a global language, has reached these student-teachers' lives for a very long time, but they actively engage more and more in these activities after having participated in real English CoPs such as the EMI-PEBD, stays abroad, etc. However, the issue of how the degree affects their investments is beyond the scope of this study (see Chapter 7).

It is important to highlight, though, that something seems to happen in between the students' first contacts with the global language and the moment when it is them who

⁷ I: last year I asked you what you usually do on your free time that is English-related... Skype, books and so on... do you keep doing it, do you do it more, less...?

Mercè: I do it much more! Now, with any book that I borrow, they're always in English... I mean all these opportunities that I have to learn English without having to study, I make the most of them all. TV, now I put subtitles, my parents are like "it's like we were living abroad", because I always watch it in English... books always in English... music ... well I already listened to it in English, but above all, books and TV, always in English. I never did that and I didn't have any interest in it. I thought... I want to read, I don't care about the language.

I: and you do it because... because you're studying this degree? Or why?

Mercè: I do it because I am studying this degree and because I am going abroad with an Erasmus exchange to Belfast next year, and, obviously, the more English I have when I go the better

Mercè: Yes, for instance, Twitter is a tool that I really didn't... I didn't care about it. And I had to create an account because I was told here at the university, for a course, and now I follow newspapers and I follow... and I read it and I keep searching for... I mean, short stuff, but... everything that's happening.

consciously and actively decide to invest in English practices. There seems to be a distinction between what they envision by “imagining” (Wenger, 1998) and what they envision by “directly participating”. This is what is to be analysed in detail in section 6.4.2.1.

6.4.1.2. Real Engagements

Engagements in English-mediated CoPs and where the participants had to interact directly with other English users seem to be vital when it comes to understanding the participants’ shifting identities. The participants in this study have also participated in real English CoPs. Following, these engagements will be presented: *Stays Abroad, Travel, other types of international experiences, ELL* and the *EMI-PEBD*.

Stays Abroad

7 out of 14 participants had lived abroad for a certain period of time before their 1st year at university. These stays abroad are varied in terms of their purpose, but the ultimate goal of most of them seems to be the improvement of English. Table 23 provides a full picture of the participants’ details about their stays abroad. Following, a reminder of such details is presented:

Table 23. Stays abroad (extended)

Participants	Extended information
Arnau	2 weeks taking English lessons in the UK at the age of 14.
Alicia	North Ireland for 15 days, working in the mornings and taking English lessons in the afternoons. During her second year at the university, she was participating in an Exchange programme (Programa Propi de la UAB) in Buffalo, USA.
Júlia	2 weeks taking English lessons in New York.
Neus	1 month in Oxford (UK), taking English lessons.
Roser	1 month (2011) in Israel in an International Summer Science Institute.
Sara	4 summers in a row doing English courses in London, Sheffield, Boston and San Francisco.
Sònia	2 weeks in Birmingham at the age of 12 living with a host-family. 1 month taking English lessons in Ireland. 1 month working as an au-pair in London.

It is important to highlight that the code “stays abroad” refers to certain types of international experiences. Therefore, it should be noted that during these stays abroad

students interacted with people from many different countries, especially in the case of those who took English lessons with international classmates. Research on Stays Abroad supports the idea that immersion in different contexts might have an impact on things that go beyond linguistic abilities. Freed (1998:50) argues that in addition to displaying “a wider range of communicative strategies and a broader repertoire of styles” learners’ linguistic identities extended “beyond the expected acquisition of oral skills to a new self-realization in the social world of literacy”.

Jackson (2008:9) cites a few scholars who have provided evidence on how “context is now understood to play a significant role in language and cultural learning and identity expansion” (e.g. Collentine & Freed, 2004; DuFon & Churchill, 2006). More specifically, when discussing the impact of border crossings on one’s identity, Jackson’s idea might be related to repositioning within these new contexts. How such stays abroad were experienced by the student-teachers will be further discussed in section 6.4.2.1.

Travel

Some data also reveals engagements related to mobility (that is, travelling experiences). The following quotes from Q2 imply that these student-teachers have engaged in travelling experiences, which seems to have been a type of direct engagement in which they have had to interact with others in English. In Q2 Sònia states, “*I love traveling*”, Roser affirms that English, “*It has allowed me to travel and to feel comfortable getting to know people*”, while Arnau feels lucky because, “*since I was very young I’ve been lucky enough to travel with my family*”. Gisela reports that, “*being able to communicate with people from other countries, getting to know other cultures and traditions, travelling without the language handicap*” is something she values, which seems to imply that she has a certain travelling background. Natalia links English to her pleasure for travelling, “*because it allows me to communicate with an increased number of people worldwide, as well as to travel and to enrich myself*”. Her word “*allows*” implies that she might have engaged in travelling experiences before, at the same time she reports being aware of the mobility possibilities that this language encompasses. Mercè says “*thanks to languages you can travel*” and Silvia refers to the possibility to travel as a positive point

for learning English: “It’s also very useful for traveling, which I love”. Even though some comments were very general, engagements in a travelling and mobile community that moves around countries, cultures and borders seem to have taken place quite often.

Travel and the role that English plays around the world, although they imply face-to-face interactions, are simply some more features of the conception of English as a lingua franca. In other words, globalisation has resulted in the need to use English when individuals travel around the globe. Interview data also shows engagements in the community of world travellers that English and globalisation have created. Data reveals a wide variety of situations or comments related to travelling experiences: the student-teachers have travelled abroad with their parents, with friends, and many of them describe travelling as one of their passions. Both data from Q2 and the interviews reveal the students’ interest in becoming “intercultural speakers” (Byram, 1997): they seem to be eager to expand their knowledge about other cultures:

A mi m’agrada viatjar, doncs pots anar on vulguis [...]És conèixer altres llocs, veure els paisatges canvien molt ... i la gent, la cultural que té la gent, la manera de funcionar és molt diferent. I si et quedes a casa doncs et quedes com tancat i et tanques portes també... si viatges... t’estàs obrint al món (Alicia, 11)⁸ [Excerpt 6.7.]

Jackson (2008:5) describes this notion as, “a mediator between the foreign and his/her own language and culture”. Globalisation has turned travelling experiences into a reality for many people and, specifically, for young generations who no longer attach their lives, their jobs or their plans to a single culture or country. Similarly, the possibility to travel has never been as easy and accessible as it is nowadays. During the interviews, very interesting issues connected to their identity changes emerged from their comments referring to such travelling experiences. This will be looked at in section 6.4.2.1.

It is important to highlight that, even though travelling abroad was considered a real engagement, as it involves direct interaction with foreigners, the role that English

⁸ I like traveling, and I can go anywhere [...]. It's about discovering other places, seeing how landscapes change... and the people, their culture, the way things work are so different. And if you stay at home it's like you get stuck and you close doors to yourself... if you travel... you're opening yourself to the world.

plays when travelling should be interpreted through a globalisation lens. The imagined community created by globalisation processes also encompasses mobility. Through these travelling experiences individuals might also be acquainted with the imagined global community that was discussed in the previous section (6.4.2.1.).

International experiences

The analysed datasets suggest other types of international experiences, other than the stays abroad and mobility. Meeting people from different cultures in their own country while being on holidays (Natalia) or participating in an international scientific camp in Catalonia (Roser) were also found to be international CoPs in which most participants had already engaged by the time they started their degree.

In Q2 and in the interview, we see how Alicia's parents and their involvement in a travellers' association gave her the first opportunities to engage in international settings. She seems to have interacted with internationals in her own home, due to her parents' friendships with people from other countries:

Però a casa hem tingut gent de França i d'Anglaterra forces vegades i... he escoltat molt altres llengües, llavors he après que no només la nostra serveix per comunicar-nos, en necessitem més (Alicia, I1)⁹ [Excerpt 6.8.]

Other comments in Q2 also suggest involvements in international settings: *"it's important because it's the language I use when I meet people from all over the world"* (Júlia), *"it allows me to communicate with people from all over the world"* (Neus), *"I've been working for many years in companies where it was necessary to speak and understand English, and thus, it has always been part of my daily life"* (Gisela). In Patricia's case, it was through new technologies that she reported having experienced International contacts, *"through Twitter it allows you to get in touch with people, no matter the borders."* In Arnau's case, it was through his skiing environment that he met

⁹ But at home we've people from France, England many times and... I've heard many languages, so I learned that not only our language serves to communicate with others, we need more languages.

people from all over the world, and it was then that he realized how important English could be for him:

Degut a l'esquí (esport al que hi dedico la gran part del meu temps lliure), en un viatge amb l'equip em vaig adonar que sense l'anglès no hauríem pogut desplaçar-nos a la destinació (Arnau, Q2)¹⁰ [Excerpt 6.9.]

In Roser's case, in 2010 she participated in an international meeting (taking place in Catalonia) organized by the same Institute that would later take her to Israel. Both in the meeting that took place in Catalonia and while in Israel, Roser had the opportunity to interact with people from a wide variety of backgrounds. Furthermore, after having become friends with people from different countries in Israel, Roser reported having engaged in more travelling experiences thanks to the friendships she had made. Likewise, in Sònia's case, she talked about several international experiences taking place at her parents' supermarket in a little touristic town in Costa Brava. Sara had also had contact with an English speaker with whom she used to meet to speak in English (because her mother considered it to be important for her education).

For some participants international interactions also take place through technologies due to the friendships gained during their stays abroad. After having been to Israel, Roser not only travels more, but she also engages in more international experiences through technology. Likewise, Sònia and Sara do the same due to the friendships they have made during their stays abroad, increasing and influencing their current investments in the language and participation in more English CoPs.

Sara uses the term "sister", to refer to a girl her age in her host American family, who turned out to become like a sister for her. Furthermore, at the time of Individual Interview 2, some international experiences through technologies were taking place due to future planned stays abroad. Sara had already planned a stay abroad to learn English in Bristol (UK), and was already participating in an online campus where she could exchange information about her coming stay. It was not only Sara who was already engaging in international settings due to a future stay abroad; Alicia was also

¹⁰ Because of my skiing environment (a sport I dedicate most of my free time to), during a trip with my team I realized that without English we wouldn't have been able to reach our destination.

preparing a stay abroad in Buffalo (USA), where she would participate as a university exchange student and preparing all the paperwork required being in touch with the University of Buffalo. During Individual Interview 2, which took place once Alicia was already living in Buffalo, her data refer to how international her experience in the US was: she shared a flat with two girls, one from Peru and one from India, and most of their classmates were American, while others came from Asian countries.

Data from Focus Group 1/2 also shows participation in international settings. Ester and Patricia interact with internationals through twitter and Patricia mentions that she also used to participate in a chat where she could talk to people from all over the world. Similarly, Ester and Natalia used to exchange e-mails with someone from England and Germany, respectively. In Arnau's case, he continually interacts with internationals in his skiing environment. Finally, Gisela mentions a friend with whom she speaks several languages.

ELL

Engagements in English lessons also appeared in the data. In Q2, only Patricia and Roser referred to engagements in English lessons when answering very general questions: *"I've always liked learning English at the language school"* (Patricia, Q2), *"I had always studied English in a language school, since I was a kid"* (Roser, Q2). Certainly, it is assumed that all participants in the study had engaged in ELL experiences, whether it was through formal instruction in primary and secondary education or through extra lessons outside of school.

ELL was not the focus of the interviews, and it might be possible that some did not mention relevant engagements in ELL settings prior to their university degree. However, some data in the interviews directly refers to such engagements. Roser, Natalia and Montse seem to have taken extra English lessons when they were younger. Sònia only had English language learning experiences at school, where English was considered a very important subject. Sara has never taken English language lessons in a language school, but she did have a few private one-to-one conversation lessons with a native speaker. Not attending a language school was an agreement she had with her

parents, which meant that she would have to go abroad to learn English during the summer holidays. Similarly, Mercè did not seem to attend any language schools before starting the EMI-PEBD. Once she started studying the degree, she decided to take extra English lessons in a language school. Patricia attended a language school during her 1st and 2nd university years, and her comment in Q2 seems to imply that she probably took extra English lessons when she was younger.

In the case of the rest of the participants, none of the participants in the Focus Group 2, except for Patricia, were taking extra English lessons outside the university by the time of T2 data collection (Júlia, Neus, Arnau, Gisela, Silvia). Alicia was studying in Buffalo and Ester was absent during T2 data collection.

EMI-PEBD

S1 has revealed the degree to which the decision to study the EMI-PEBD was an investment that student-teachers did in their own imagined identities. Engagements in previous CoPs through English had led them to envision future identities that would benefit from studying the degree in Primary Education in English. The EMI-PEBD, thus, is an English CoP and, for some, an investment in something they have previously envisioned. Even though the engagement in the EMI-PEBD will be specifically the focus of S3, it is important to present some of the data that made explicit reference to the EMI-PEBD as the reason for engaging in other types of CoP through English. However, the issue of how the EMI-PEBD affects their imagined identities will not be examined in this study, as it will be the main focus of S3.

As a representative example, the following excerpt shows the EMI-PEBD led her to invest more in reading in English and even to speak English with some of her classmates:

Vaig començar a llegir llibres en anglès a primer de la carrera. L'any passat. Abans no havia llegit novel·la novel·la. [...]I vaig dir "va pues me'l llegeixo en anglès" això sí. I després doncs per exemple tinc amigues que

a vegades intentem parlar en anglès entre nosaltres (Natalia, I2)¹¹
[Excerpt 6.10.]

In the following excerpt, Neus refers to the EMI-PEBD as an engagement in English activities that substitutes other previous engagements that she was participating in, precisely because she was trying to master English.

L'any passat potser feia classes, no me'n recordo [...] però bueno aquest any ja no en faig, i d'activitats amb la universitat ja en tinc prou, coses... [...] com a molt miro sèries, però és que... en anglès, però... de vegades tampoc no puc (Neus, FG2)¹² [Excerpt 6.11.]

She considers she is already participating in an English CoP and that is why she does not feel bad for not continuing to do other activities in English that she used to do. Furthermore, she also mentioned other activities in English that she has been able to undertake due to her participation in the EMI-PEBD CoP, such as teaching Arts through English. Therefore, participating in the EMI-PEBD seems to influence participation in other English-mediated CoPs.

6.4.1.3. Engagements through family's influence.

The role of the student-teachers' families in their relationship with English CoPs appears to be worth mentioning. Certain engagements in English CoPs took place due to their families' influence. Thus, some data reveal the families' interest in helping their children to take part in an international community of English speakers (whether it is imagined or real), due to their prior visualisation of the possible gains of becoming legitimate members. That might have led some of the students' families to enrol their sons and daughters in stays abroad, English lessons, travelling or other International experiences.

¹¹ I started reading books in English during my first year of the degree last year. Before that I had never read a novel [...]. And I was like "let's read it in English". And then for example I have friends and we sometimes try to speak English with each other.

¹² Last year I might have been taking English lessons, I can't remember [...] but well this year I don't, anymore, I have enough with the activities at the university, things... [...] I watch TV series, at the most.. but ... in English, but... sometimes I can't.

Alicia might have envisioned her parents' international community by taking part in their International activities and travels. Thus, she has interacted with foreigners and has learned to position herself in relation to people out of her local culture and identity. In Arnau's case, he considers himself lucky for having been able to travel a lot with his family, when he happened to realize the importance of learning languages. His parents' international background might have a lot to do with what he envisions when it comes to his future persona. In Roser and Sara's cases, their parents wanted them to take English lessons and to go abroad. Data from these two participants reveal their awareness towards their parents' interest in them learning the target language.

In Natalia's case, her parents instilled in her an interest to become an English-speaking world citizen. Her father's envisioning of an international community influenced his daughter's conception of the language (although Natalia would need much more to become truly invested in the learning of English, as section 6.4.3. and Chapter 7 will show):

*Es una cosa que **sempre he tingut molt present, també des de la família. La importància d'aprendre anglès. Sempre des de petita me l'han inculcat molt, perquè el meu pare no el parla, per exemple, no? I sempre ha tingut una mica de... no obsessió, però sí una miqueta de que els seus fills el parlin perquè ell s'ha perdut oportunitats per no parlar anglès i no vol que ens passi el mateix** (Natalia, I2)¹³ [Excerpt 6.12]*

Therefore, in some cases, real engagements in English CoPs (stays abroad, international experiences or mobility) took place because of the international contacts and lifestyles that some of the students' families had. These families' previous envisioning of an international community appears to be key, as this seems to have facilitated some of the student-teachers' engagements in English CoP, whether these students had already envisioned a global version of themselves or not. This issue is an important factor to bear in mind when further analysing the data.

¹³ It's something I've always had in mind, also because of my family. The importance of learning English. Always, since I was a child, they've inculcated it in me a lot, because my father doesn't speak it, for instance, right? And he has always had sort of... not an obsession, but a little bit of ... he wanted his children to speak it because he lost opportunities for not speaking English and he doesn't want us to experience the same thing.

6.4.1.4. Summary and Discussion

Having presented the variety of English communities that the participants engage in their day-to-day lives, and before moving to the following section, it is necessary to clarify and define the nature of the CoP which they participate in so as to see how they might affect their present and future identities.

In order to understand the complexity and interweaving relationship between these CoPs, it is paramount to acknowledge the changes that have taken place in the second half of the twentieth century and to recognize the role that English plays worldwide (Jenkins, 2009). The international community that globalization has created interweaves with the rest of English CoPs that are part of the students' lives. It is of prime importance, thus, to define an international community of practice that has emerged through globalisation and which has English as the communication tool among its members.

In Spain, English is used as a foreign language, since it has no official functions. Most of the speakers of English in countries belonging to the Expanding Circle (Kachru, 1992), such as Spain, use this language in international settings or for international purposes (Jenkins, 2009). Taking Kachru's model of concentric circles, English in countries belonging to the Expanding Circle is "increasingly being used for intranational purposes rather than purely as a foreign or international language" (Jenkins, 2009:16). Brumfit (1995:16) signals the following:

Not only has English become international in the last half century, but scholarship about English has also become international: the ownership of an interest in English has become international. We are no longer a language community which is associated with a national community or even with a family of nations such as the Commonwealth aspired to be. We are an international community.

There have been discussions among scholars who study the status of English in the world. While Crystal (2003) accounts for its international role from a positive perspective, others, such as Phillipson (1992) argue against this reality. As Jackson (2009:39) states, however, the fact that English has become a lingua franca or an

international language is “a fact of life”. The spread of English has gone hand in hand with globalization processes (Warschauer, 2000). Giddens (1991:21) argues that, “the concept of globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distancing”, while he adds that, “globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations at distance with local contextualities”. Taking Giddens’ statement into consideration, it becomes easy to connect globalisation processes and the daily realities they bring to the “local” with Wenger’s theories: Wenger signals that through imagination CoPs also engage individuals’ identities and their participation.

According to Wenger (1998), just like real engagements, imagination is also a source of community and learners of a certain language can most certainly envision *imagined communities* of speakers of a certain language (Norton, 2000). Since issues related to individuals’ identities and participation in CoP are inextricably bound together, both real engagements and imagined engagements influence individuals’ identities:

My use of the term, however, emphasizes the creative process of producing new “images” and of generating new relations through time and space that become constitutive of the self. Calling this process imagination is, therefore, not to suggest that it produces aspects of our identity that are less “real” or “significant” than those based on mutual engagement. It is rather to suggest that imagination involves a different kind of work of the self- one that concerns the production of images of the self and images of the world that transcend engagement (Wenger, 1998: 177).

Very interestingly, Jenkins (2009) lists some reasons why people whose mother tongue is not English should be interested in learning this language: historical reasons, internal political reasons, external economic reasons, practical reasons, intellectual reasons, entertainment reasons... When not interacting directly with a real English-mediated community, English mainly reaches the life of the participants in this study through entertainment (TV in English), intellectual (books) and other types of information (through new communication technologies such as Facebook, twitter, etc.). When the participants in this study listen to music or read books in English, they are in fact participating in a global CoP linked through an international English. When discussing the realities of the current generation, Appadurai (1996) declares that the

scope of imagined communities is heavily influenced by the developments in new communication technologies. Such statement seems to be accurate if we take into account the ways in which English plays a role in these student-teachers' lives. All students stated that English is an international language that serves for a wide variety of purposes all over the world and, thus, the student-teachers' perception might imply their awareness of the existence of an international community of English speakers. As Jenkins (2009:42) states, "the ELF community is by definition international rather than associated with any one national speech community". When it comes to Europe, Graddol (1999:68) argues that "the construction of a new Europe has resulted in new formations of identity; greater mobility; and a new hierarchy of languages which places most European citizens in a plurilingual context". The need for using EIL both in and out of Europe is a reality.

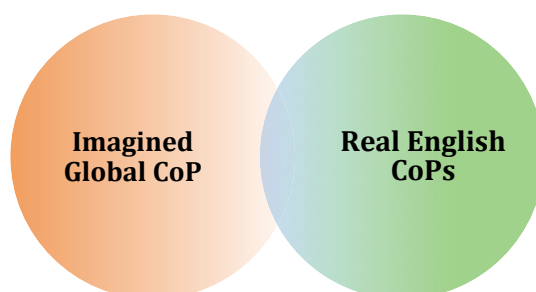
The data presented above, especially data referring to international contacts through new technologies, such as Facebook or twitter, shows how distant realities are becoming more and more present in individuals' lives. Giddens' argument serves to understand the extent to which this global community might have an impact on individuals' identities: "in high modernity, the influence of distant happenings on proximate events, and on intimacies of the self, becomes more and more commonplace" Giddens (1991:4). Such a statement might lead to the fact that student-teachers are actually able to visualize such a community as a community in which they are taking part and might want to participate more. He adds that the development of mass media in general, but internet communication in particular, bring together distant happenings, while such global awareness strongly impacts on proximate events.

Bearing in mind this inevitable worldwide reality, the role acquired by English positions this language in very unique ways. Ryan (2006) calls for a reconsideration of the global language community, due to the role that this language has acquired through globalisation, asking himself what it is that drives English learners to learn this language, if the primary aim is not to make contact with people from the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1986). Through imagination (Wenger, 1998), learners might feel they are participating (peripherally or fully) in a global community where English is used as a lingua franca which is defined by certain values and rules of entry. It is therefore of

prime importance to acknowledge the existence of this global imagined community in order to understand how it might affect the student-teachers' identities and investments.

To sum up, the participants in this study engage in two different types of CoP. On the one hand, participation takes place through imagination (Wenger, 1998). Through the role that English has gained worldwide, these student-teachers seem to be participating in a “non-specific global community of English language users” (Ushioda, 2006:150) who use this language for communication purposes beyond their local culture and country. On the other hand, such imagined community encompasses real engagements in CoP that have been coded as “international contacts”, “travel”, “stays abroad”, “ELL” or the “EMI-PEBD”, as we live in a world where people travel, where one meets people from different backgrounds and cultures (whether face-to-face or through new communication technologies), where one needs to learn English or even where one has the possibility to study a degree in this language (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. CoPs through English



This section provided a picture of the types of English CoPs that the participants seem to be engaging in. Before moving on to the next chapter, at the outset it is important to be clear about the fact that the focus of this study is on “how” English CoPs affect their identities, rather than on a deep analysis of the types of CoPs that each student has participated in. Hence, since participation always involves identity changes (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) and “language learning engages the identities of learners because language itself is [...] a complex social practice” (Norton & McKinney, 2011:77) in the next chapter we are going to look at how the engagements in English CoPs presented so far might have affected the student-teachers' real and imagined

identities. The data will be analysed in relation to the research question (2) that guides the present study and within the theoretical framework guiding the entire thesis.

6.4.2. EVOLVING IDENTITIES

In this section the interpretation of the data analysis will be guided by the second and third research subquestions, listed below:

- (ii) How do they experience participation in English CoPs? (section 6.4.2.1.)
- (iii) What are the student-teachers' imagined identities? (section 6.4.2.2.)

6.4.2.1. The Student-teachers' experiences in English CoPs.

The data indicate that evolving engagements with CoPs through English led to an expansion of the participants' possible range of identities. While participating in those communities, the student-teachers seem to see how both their real and imagined L2 identities progressively evolve and take shape.

So far, we have seen in "which" English CoPs the student-teachers have participated, according to the research literature and to the data. In this section the analysis will look at the data that shows the "how": the data will be looked at through an identity lens and it will be presented while discussing how the students' range of identities expanded over their engagements in English CoPs. This section will include some excerpts that reveal the participants' repositionings and their attempts to gain legitimacy in certain CoPs.

Each student has his/her own story and, thus, they all carry their own and unique identity trajectories. Participation in English CoPs affects their identities and shapes their visions of the future. The student-teachers' comments denote certain identity shifts and changes in the way they perceive things and in their attitudes towards the target language and their future opportunities. While emphasizing each

students' uniqueness, such identity changes, according to the data, appear to correspond to two distinct patterns.

While certain students have had numerous experiences within real English CoPs, others have mainly perceived future identity possibilities through imagination, as they have very limited experienced in real English CoPs Their identity shifts do not seem to be as prominent, but they are still real. While the first group of students have had more opportunities to get close to fuller positions in an international community of English users, the other group is still in more peripheral positions. Therefore, while the engagements and repositionings in English CoPs of each of the 14 participants were unique, two distinct patterns emerged in relation to the types of English communities in which they had participated and evolved:

Pattern 1: Students who have extensive experience in real CoPs through English

Pattern 2: students who have limited experience in real CoPs through English.

While the students in the first group have engaged in several stays abroad and have had relatively long experiences with foreigners within or outside their own country, the students in the second group have experienced few real English-mediated engagements and, more importantly, did not provide any data regarding repositionings before their university degree. Data belonging to the first group of students show several repositionings and their comments denote significant identity changes through real English CoPs (even though not all of them position themselves as English users when they start the degree) The second group, on the other hand, includes some students who seem to have mainly reshaped their possible future identities (their imagined identities), while they have mainly participated in L2 communities through imagination through globalisation, online environments or media (Pattern 2A); as well as some participants who did not seem eager to participate in any L2 communities prior to the EMI-PEBD (Pattern 2B). The present section will also include a part devoted to relevant data which were found to be referring to how students experienced participation in formal English language learning communities.

In this section the data will be looked at according to these two patterns and it will include relevant information about the corresponding participants: for each participant representative questionnaire and interview data coded as "changing identities" will be

presented. Thus, this section displays relevant data assigned to the coding procedures, as well as they continually make allusions to the theoretical framework that backs up the present thesis.

Pattern 1: Evolving identities through extensive experience in real English CoPs

- **What happens while participating in English-mediated experiences?**

Data shows how some students were aware of the identity changes they had undergone and provided plenty of data referring to what they perceived had change during English-mediated experiences. After having been abroad or interacted with international people, the students' report on their change of perceptions. Sònia, Sara, Alicia, Roser and Arnau seem to have acquired different ways of understanding the world, which seem to have contributed to their envisioning of who they could become in future.

Sònia's feelings on what English has given her are straightforward: "*(English) has helped me to discover the world*" (Sònia, Q2). During her first stay abroad Sònia realized that had it not been for her English skills, she would not have succeeded in that new environment, while she gradually acknowledged the role that English could play in her possible future personal and professional identities. By saying, "*thanks to having English in my life I can live wherever I go*", Sònia appears to be aware of the existence of a global community of world citizens who share this language.

Sara considers that English has changed her, as well as she states that she wants to keep learning the language precisely because she wants to keep on living life-changing experiences through this language:

A mi m'ha permès conèixer persones i cultures que no hauria conegut sinó, he viscut moltes experiències enriquidores cosa que només fa que

en vulgui aprendre més per poder-ne viure més (Sara, Q2)¹⁴ [Excerpt 6.13]

Sara's sense of self has shifted over the course of her several engagements in English-speaking communities, while her local cultural identity seems to have opened up to a more hybrid and flexible one. Not only that, but she also refers to her intention to invest more in the experiences that English brings to her life in order to keep expanding her identity possibilities. As a matter of fact, after Sara's first stay abroad (where she was sent by her parents), it was her who insisted on going abroad again to study English. Alicia also provided interesting data:

Alicia: És molt diferent la manera de funcionar a fora. He tingut la oportunitat de conèixer-ho, i m'he adonat que hi ha moltíssimes mentalitats diferents, algunes més bones, altres més dolentes, també depèn de qui s'ho mira, però ... crec que és bo conèixer maneres diferents de treballar i de funcionar. Perquè llavors tu et vas adaptant i vas buscant la teva. La que et va millor per tu.

I: Tens com més...?

Alicia: Més opcions, més possibilitats, més... més maneres de veure les coses (Alicia, I1)¹⁵ [Excerpt 6.14]

Alicia's words not only speak of her willingness to participate in a community, but also of the imagined community she envisions: the world. Next, Sònia's words are in line with Sara and Alicia's views, as they reveal that participation in English CoPs seems to have broadened her sense of self and to have provided her with possibilities for identity expansion.

Sònia: Vaig anar a... dos cops a.... Anglaterra i un cop a Irlanda

Interviewer: Després d'aquestes experiències, què et va passar pel cap, com et vas sentir?

Sònia: Amb ganes de ... marxar a fora... a viure a fora... Vull dir, el fet de ...mmm conviure allà dos mesos, l'últim cop, o sigui, clar vaig començar amb dotze i era com molt petita, quan ja he sigut més gran i vaig anar o hi he

¹⁴ It has allowed me to get to know people and cultures that I would have never met otherwise. I've lived many enriching experiences, which only makes me feel like learning more English in order to be able to live more of these experiences.

¹⁵ Alicia: It's so different... the way things work abroad. I've had the opportunity to learn about it, and I've realized that there are so many different mind-sets, some are better, some are worse, it also depends on who looks at it, but... I believe that it's good to know about other ways to work. Because then you keep adjusting and you keep looking for your own. The one that works best for you.

I: You have more...?

Alicia: you've got more options, more possibilities, more... more ways to look at things

anat puntualment de... anar a veure amics o el que sigui... (Sònia, I1)¹⁶
[Excerpt 6.15]

Finally, Roser, also repeatedly mentions how she experienced identity changes during her stays abroad, both in Israel and when interacting with friends from abroad. She also provided relevant data in Q2, where she concisely stated that English is important in her life because, *“it enriches me”*: *“It has allowed me to get to know and to have a normal relationship with people from all over the world”* (Roser, Q2).

These interview and questionnaire excerpts might be connected with Block’s term of *critical experiences*. Participating in real CoPs through English for a relatively long period of time might have caused these student-teachers’ profound identity struggles, in which they probably have had to reposition themselves and claim membership in the new CoPs they are presented with.

- **...And in terms of their attitudes towards English?**

In addition to sharing some of their feelings and opinions during or after their experiences, their attitudes towards English also appear to shift. Thus, participation in English CoPs makes them reassess the role that this language can have in their lives.

When asked about whether she thought English had changed her, Sara provided a very interesting parallelism with something as different as basketball to express how English had affected the way she sees the world. She responded the following:

*M’ha canviat a nivell de ... no sé d’això de **totes les experiències que he vist i que he viscut gràcies a l’anglès, pues suposo que m’han anat fent créixer també [...], com si una persona jo què sé, pues fa bàsquet, potser el bàsquet en sí no l’afecta com a persona, però és una persona que gràcies al bàsquet pues se’n va a fer campus de bàsquet i és entrenador de bàsquet a nens, i... té un grup d’amics perquè jugaven junts a bàsquet quan eren petits, pues tot això... li crea com un conjunt***

¹⁶ Sònia: I went to... twice to... England and once to Ireland.

Interviewer: After these experiences, what came to your mind, how did you feel?

Sònia: I felt like.... going abroad... moving abroad. I mean, the fact that... mmm living there for two months. the last time... I started when I was twelve and I was very young, but when I was older and I went abroad...or visited acquaintances or whatever...

d'experiències que no són el bàsquet en sí, però que no hauria aconseguit si no fos pel bàsquet... (Sara, I2)¹⁷ [Excerpt 6.16]

Sara clearly connects her English-mediated experiences with meaningful identity expansion. Her comment reveals that these experiences transcend beyond the language itself, but they also reach her sense of self, modifying her own perceptions of identity possibilities. Although imagination is a powerful source of community and might have been the reason why she (and her parents) decided to invest in a stay abroad to learn English, her real participation (Wenger, 1998) in an English community of practice probably had a powerful impact on her sense of self. As she points out:

La contextualitzes més, no? Deixes d'entendre l'anglès com una cosa de... és això, si no l'anglès et pilla com molt lluny realment... Ara ja no perquè és el de la uni i ja pots fer Erasmus amb anglès i molt bé, però quan tu estàs al teu cole de primària no tens , no sols tenir un nen de fora, a no ser que sigui un nen nouvingut de no sé on.. Ho veus com una cosa com molt llunyana no? (Sara, I2)¹⁸ [Excerpt 6.17]

Sara's remark above reveals a lack of an imagined community during her contacts with English in her primary and secondary schools, as she did not seem to envision any possibilities for (even peripheral) participation (Wenger, 1998). When further discussing her perceptions towards English after her experiences, in Individual Interview 2, Sara refers not only to her passion towards travelling, but to what stays abroad have given to her. She uses the word "bridges" (I2) to refer to the access doors that English opens up due to its status as an international language. Through this language, Sara seems to have envisioned the range of possible identities she can acquire, identities which expand and transcend her own culture.

¹⁷ It has changed me in the sense that... don't know ... all these experiences I've lived thanks to English, well I guess they made me grow [...], as if someone, don't know, plays basketball, basketball might not affect them at a personal level, but that person might be someone who, thanks to basketball, don't know, they might go to a basketball campus or they're basketball coaches for children, and... they have a group of friends because they used to play basketball together when they were young, it's about that... it sort of gives them a series of experiences that, they are not basketball itself, but they would not have lived those experiences without this sport.

¹⁸ You contextualize it more, right? You stop seeing English as something that. It's about that. Otherwise you feel English so far away... In my case, it's not like that anymore because of the university and you can do Erasmus and I mean it's great, but when you are at your primary school you don't have, you don't have someone from abroad around, unless it's someone from another country... you see it as something very distant, right?

In a similar vein, Alicia, when being asked about her experience in the US, answers that she now likes English more, because she can communicate more easily, which makes her feel “good”:

Alicia: Doncs millor. Ara m'agrada més la llengua anglesa.

Interviewer: Per què?

*Alicia: Sí abans era ... abans era com una mica difícil... perquè o sigui sí la podia fer servir, però em costava un esforç molt gran... pensar i explicar-me en anglès... [...] Ara bueno pues em ve un em parla amb anglès i contesto amb anglès. Em ve l'altre em parla en castellà contesto en castellà, o sigui... **estic a un nivell que seria pràcticament ... trilingüe, ara mateix, pel català, castellà i anglès. I et fa sentir bé** (Alicia, I2)¹⁹ [Excerpt 6.18]*

Alicia connects her stay abroad in the US with her having become a legitimate member of an international English-speaking community of world citizens. Because of the role of English worldwide and the community it creates, Alicia invested in its learning by deciding on participating in a university exchange programme in the US. Her words also reveal that she might feel “legitimate” as an English user, as, to some extent, she has come a long way towards her desired membership of her imagined community. Alicia also provides interesting information about the kind of person she, as a non-native speaker of English, wants to become, by arguing that not only native speakers can succeed in arguing in this language. Alicia’s words also speak of her imagined identity as an English user, as well as of her self-perception as a *multicompetent speaker* (Cook, 1999; Pavlenko, 2003).

The following interview excerpts show how English progressively becomes part of Roser’s identity and of her future requirements for personal and career opportunities:

En el moment en què parles amb algú fora de lo acadèmic, és quan realment aprens l'anglès i... és quan realment veus que et serveix per algo, no? El fet d'aplicar-lo i dir ostres, que , no em serveix només per fer els exercicis de classe, sinó que puc parlar amb gent, [...] arriba un moment que ets conscient de que allò que estàs fent no és perquè els

¹⁹ Alicia: Much better. I like English more now.

Interviewer: Why?

Alicia: it used to be a bit difficult... because I mean, yes, I could use it, but it I had to do such a big effort... just to think and make myself understood in English... [...]. Nowadays well, someone comes to me and speaks English with me and I answer in English. Someone comes to me and speaks Spanish, I answer in Spanish, I mean... I am at a level that is practically ... trilingual, at the moment, Catalan, Spanish and English. And it makes you feel good.

professors vulguin que tu ho aprenquis, o perquè els teus pares vulguin que tu ho sàpigues, sinó perquè és algo que et servirà per la vida, per ser una persona i viure en democràcia i saber saber moure't, i no sé l'anglès és com ... potser un extra que en aquests moments ja no és tan extra, o sigui fa un temps era algo que si el sabies, podia obrir moltes portes i jo crec que ara també s'està convertint en una cosa que ja és necessària (Roser, I2)²⁰ [Excerpt 6.19]

The quotes above show how Roser's experiences of learning English in academic environments, just like Sara's, did not afford her opportunities for identity expansion nor an imagined community. English was a mere subject and thus, prior to participating in English CoPs she had not realized the need to invest in the learning of something that would not give her anything in return. Her desire to learn English seems to be something she envisioned outside of the classroom walls. Furthermore, she adds very significant information regarding what communicating with people outside of her local culture means to her. Her comments imply that she links the mastery of English with her possibilities to participate in a world community.

In Q2 Arnau refers to engagements with internationals in his skiing environment and how they changed his perceptions towards English. During Focus Group 2 he expanded on that:

En un viatge amb l'equip em vaig adonar que sense l'anglès no hauríem pogut desplaçar-nos a la destinació, i un cop allà, no hauríem pogut comunicar-nos amb ningú. Des de llavors vaig veure que l'anglès i el seu domini són imprescindibles per moure'm i relacionar-me (Arnau, Q2)²¹ [Excerpt 6.20]

²⁰ The moment you speak with someone outside of the academic world, that's when you actually learn English and.... it's when you realize it is useful, you know? Putting it into practice and thinking, wow, not only does it help me with the exercises in class, but I can actually talk to people, [...]. You get to a point when you're aware of the fact that what you're doing is not only about what professors want from you, or parents want you to know, but it's about something that will be useful for your life, to be a person and live in democracy and to know how to move around, and don't know it's like... maybe it's an extra that it's not an extra anymore, I mean, a while ago, if you spoke it, it could open many doors, but I think that nowadays it is becoming a requirement

²¹ During a trip with my team I realized that without English we wouldn't have been able to reach our destination and once we were there we couldn't have communicated with anyone. Since then I realized that English and its mastery are a must to move around and to communicate.

Va ser la primera temporada que vaig començar a competir fora d'Espanya, i vaig anar a França, a molts llocs on no era la llengua que jo sabia, i en aquell moment o sigui va ser durant una temporada on vaig dir, "tio, és que... que amb el català i el castellà no vas enlloc perquè de veritat que no t'entén i no t'enteres de res del que et diuen"... i [...] va ser el fet de quedar incomunicat degut a això, que , com d'una manera forçada vaig dir "és que ho he d'aprendre sí o sí, perquè si no no puc continuar" (Arnau, FG2)²² [Excerpt 6.21]

Some participants taking part in the focus group had also participated in stays abroad: Arnau, Júlia and Neus (see Table 16.). However, from looking at the data, only Arnau seems to fit in Pattern 1. While Arnau repeatedly mentions issues that took place before the degree, Júlia and Neus provided very limited data and, when discussing identity changes, they refer to issues that need to be understood within the context of their participation in the EMI-PEBD. Therefore the extent to which the degree was already influencing her perceptions and attitudes towards English and was shaping her identities remains unknown. In fact, their stays abroad were rather short and no data was found referring to identity changes during those experiences. Thus, it remains unexplored whether their experiences abroad provided them with the opportunities of identity expansion that their classmates in Pattern 1 experienced.

- **... And while interacting with other English users?**

The participants in Pattern 1 also provided data in relation to how they experienced interacting with other English users. Alicia's quote below is in response to a question about her sensations when she interacts with English users:

A vegades en general satisfacció, no? Perquè veus que ets capaç de comunicar-te i que en general no és gaire difícil. Llavors a vegades frustració[...] vull dir d'aquesta manera també millores i aprens. [...] et sents incòmode quan tens persones al teu voltant parlant i et sents com perdut, no? Que que no entens res. [...]en aquests moments sí que et sents una mica incòmode, però tan com per dir "callo i ja està" m mmm no (Alicia, I2)²³ [Excerpt 6.22]

²² It was during my first season competing abroad, and I went to France, to many places where the language spoken was not my first language, and in that moment, I mean, during that period of my life I said to myself, "man, with Catalan and Spanish you're not going anywhere because nobody can understand you and you don't understand a word they say"... and [...] it was the fact of being cut off... in a forced way I was like "I have to learn it, because otherwise I can't go on".

²³ Sometimes, satisfaction, right? Because you see that you're able to communicate and that it is not that

Above, we see the value Alicia places on those interactions that initially might have been unsettling and might have disempowered her as an English user. Throughout the interview her data repeatedly suggests that what these experiences caused is basically an eager determination to keep participating in order to gain more legitimacy. The following quote provides more information:

Ser capaç d'estar al mig de la discussió, elles dos en anglès i jo ficar-hi cullerada, doncs això va super bé! És a dir, pots seguir la discussió i t'hi pots afegir, això va bé! [...] et sents com més poderós, no? [...] et dona la sensació que... no és que només ho puguin decidir els que dominen la llengua, no no, tu també saps la llengua i tu també pots opinar (Alicia, I2)²⁴ [Excerpt 6.23]

Alicia's words show how she is provided with more identity options as she engages in her flat community practices. In fact, her identity might have progressively shifted from an English learner to an English user, as she becomes a more valuable member of her flat community. It is interesting to note that she uses the word "powerful", indicating that participation in CoP always involve power issues (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986). By saying, "you also speak the language and you can also participate", Alicia might be considering herself as a "newcomer" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) who is determined to gain access in that group. Similarly, following Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1977:652) work and his conception of power between interlocutors, his argument that "speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it" may be very relevant here. Her comment seems to imply that not only she wishes to be understood, but she also wants to be "believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (Bourdieu, 1977: 648).

In the following excerpt, Sara, reveals some of the challenges she faced over the course of her interactions through English. While at the beginning she might have felt like an illegitimate English speaker, Sara now sees herself in a much more positive light.

difficult. And sometimes frustration, too [...] I mean in this way you can also improve and learn. [...] you feel uncomfortable when you have people around talking and you feel lost, right? When you don't understand a single thing. [...] When that happens, you do feel a bit uncomfortable, but not to the extent to think "I'll keep quiet and that's it" mmm no.

²⁴ Being able to be in the middle of an argument, the two of them in English and being able to participate, it's great! I mean, you can follow the argument and you can participate, it's useful! [...] You feel more powerful, right? [...] it makes you feel like.. it's not something that only those who master the language can do, no no... you can also speak the language and you can also give your opinion.

Això sí que sento que ha anat canviant perquè ara potser ho veig més com una oportunitat i abans em feia més vergonya. Ara ho entenc més com Bueno perquè he perdut una mica la vergonya [...] un cop va haver-hi el pare de la família aquella un dia que li vaig dir no sé què de l'accent em va dir perquè no ho penses al revés i penses que tu saps parlar una altra llengua i nosaltres no sabem parlar la teva? Diu tècnicament estàs en superioritat, diu "nosaltres parlem anglès i tu parles anglès, castellà i català", "t'ha de fer vergonya que la tercera no la parles del tot bé?" diu "nosaltres en parlem una"... (Sara, I2)²⁵ [Excerpt 6.24]

Sara might have considered herself as a non-native English speaker at the beginning, although the previous comment seems to show that, along her engagements through English, she might have gradually acquired an identity that allows her to position as an international English user (McKay, 2002). Jenkins argues the following:

When English is used as an international lingua franca among Expanding Circle speakers, then these speakers own their lingua franca English, or ELF, and it therefore makes no sense to describe them as non-native English speakers [...] while the native speaker/non-native speaker distinction holds good for English as a foreign language and for other modern foreign languages, [...]it does not hold good for ELF, which is used mainly among L2 speakers of English, often with no L1 English speaker present at all" (Jenkins, 2009:87).

Finally, Roser clearly shows that something changed during her stay in Israel, and how she compared herself to other English speakers:

A un campus que era internacional amb gent de tot el món, i allà jo ja el sabia parlar tot i que no molt fluidament, però em vaig donar compte que allà tothom parlava anglès, fos del país que fos, i em costava realment mantenir una conversa bé, mmmm i bueno allà va ser quan vaig dir, ostres potser amb una mica més d'esforç... no sé... [...] només em podia comunicar amb aquell idioma, perquè realment ara mateix, potser d'aquí a uns anys serà el xino, per molt que diguin, però ara mateix és l'anglès l'idioma amb què ens podem comunicar, amb... amb gent de qualsevol lloc, i clar jo en aquell moment vaig veure que tothom el parlava molt bé, jo el parlava, però no era allò un prodigi de l'anglès ... (Roser, I2)²⁶ [Excerpt 6.25]

²⁵ I do feel like that has kept changing, because now I see it as an opportunity and I used to feel very embarrassed some time ago. Now it's more like well I'm not that embarrassed anymore [...] once I told the father of that family something about the accent and he said "why don't you look at it the other way round and think that you can speak another language and we can't speak yours?" He said "technically you are superior", he said "we can speak English and you can speak English, Spanish and Catalan", "do you really have to feel bad about not speaking the third one perfectly?" he said "we only speak one"...

²⁶ In an international campus with people from all over the world, and I could already speak English there, although not very fluently, but I realized that everyone spoke English, no matter where they came

Furthermore, Roser's excerpts below reveal her feelings as a newcomer in a community in which oldtimers seem to require her to prove that she is legitimate enough to fully participate (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Those experiences might have been the most obvious/ situations in which she positioned herself (and was positioned by others) as a legitimate peripheral participant.

*Roser: bueno quan he parlat així amb algú que que el parla com si fos la seva llengua, és com que et sents potser una mica com inferior, i intento com parlar-lo millor, saps, potser estic parlant, aquí classe, quan fem classe, els professors que tenim, en general crec que no n'hem tingut cap que sigui nadiu, i tots el parlen pues com nosaltres, amb el seu accent mig espanyolitzat i aquestes coses i... i **Bueno sobretot em passa amb l'accent, quan veig algú que el parla amb algun accent, o anglès o americà, però molt més així... que no és que no té influència d'aquí, jo intento també, com posar-me a l'altura, no sé...***

I: hm i canvia alguna cosa pel que fa a la teva relació amb la llengua? T'anima, diguem? O et desanima?

*Roser: **No , m'anima, sí sí!** Al revés, què va què va. Jo ho prefereixo, perquè també aprens molt quan una persona que... que en sap (Roser, 12)²⁷ [Excerpt 6.26]*

Bourdieu (1991) highlights the communication and misalignments that can appear when a certain habitus and a field (see 2.3.1.1. Chapter 2) are in conflict, while he points out that such "lack of congruence" can very easily develop when someone moves away from their culture, when they cross borders. In the case of many of the participants in this study, their comments reflect their eagerness to experience such "culture shocks", as they seem to find them enriching and challenging. Through their engagements in

from, and I found it really hard to follow a conversation, mmmm and well that's where I thought, maybe with a bit more of effort... don't know... [...] I could only communicate in that language, because actually at the moment, it might be Chinese in a few years, but at the moment English is the language with which we can communicate with... with people from all over the world and, of course, in that moment I saw that everyone could speak it very well, I spoke it, but let's say I was not the master of English...

²⁷ Roser: well when I've talked to someone who speaks it as if it was his or her first language, it's like, you feel a bit inferior, and I try to speak better, you know... Maybe here in class, the professors we have, in general I think we haven't had any native ones, and they all speak it like us, with their Spanish accent and stuff... and... Well it mostly happens to me with the accent, when I see someone who speaks it with a special accent, British or American, more like... someone without the influence from here... I do my best to... to be at their level, don't know.

I: hm and does anything change in terms of your relationship with the language? Does it encourage you? or discourage you?

Roser: it actually does. I'd rather experience this, cause you learn a lot when someone who knows...

English CoP, these students seem to have envisioned an imagined community of international English users that guides their investments in this language. It might be due to the identity expansion that these students went through during their stays abroad and international experiences that they seem to be invested in living more similar experiences, as they might be progressively considering themselves and wanting to be considered as more legitimate members of the desired community. According to Jackson (2008:39), the contact with English in international settings might eventually lead to a sense of affiliation with “a constantly evolving imagined community of world citizens”. Jackson (2008) highlights the fact that English might be the symbol of this international imagined community and, therefore, learners might want to deepen their investment in this language. Data in this section reflects the relationship between identity changes in English CoPs and investments in the language. The participants’ data is also in accordance with Wenger (1998:156):

A community of practice is a field of possible trajectories and thus the proposal of an identity. It is a history and the promise of that history. It is a field of possible past and of possible futures, which are all there for participants, not only to witness, hear about, and contemplate, but to engage with. They can interact with old-timers, who offer living examples of possible trajectories. A community of practice is a history collapsed into a present that invites engagement. Newcomers can engage with their own future, as embodied by old-timers.

The previous data analysis shows how students reposition themselves as they interact with L2 communities. Even though initially their feelings seem to be negative, their L2 imagined identities strengthen and become more defined as a result of the extensive immersion opportunities they have had. They are faced with situations in which they have to claim membership and some of them seem to have succeeded in earning more and more legitimate positions. It has to be emphasized that some data refers to engagements that were already taking place within the context of the EMI-PEBD. Thus, the extent to which the degree was already having an impact on the students’ repositionings remains unknown. This will be further discussed in Chapter 7 (S3).

Pattern 2: Evolving identities through imagination (limited experiences in real English CoPs)

Data pertaining to those students who had had limited experiences in real English CoPs highlights the major role of *imagination* in the formation of individuals' identities. Having said that, the fact that the amount of data of those participants taking part in the focus group was much limited compared to the data obtained from individual interviews should be taken into account. However, the analysed data seems to point to two different patterns that emerged within Pattern 2. First, the data provided by Gisela, Patricia, Montse, Silvia, Neus, Júlia and Ester (Pattern 2A), both in Q2 and in the focus groups, refer to some engagements in which they became aware of the existence of an L2 international community before their participation in the EMI-PEBD, although they do not seem to have had enough opportunities to reposition themselves and gain legitimacy. No data were found referring to identity changes, but all of them provided information about the importance of English in their imagined identities. Thus, even though their experiences in real English CoPs were relatively limited, these student-teachers' participation in English-mediated CoPs made them reassess their future relationship with the language. Within Pattern 2, there are two participants (Pattern 2B, Mercè and Natalia) who turned out to point to the relevance of the EMI-PEBD in their identity changes and their visualization of future communities and identities. Having said that, it remains unknown whether participants in the focus group were not invested in English either before the degree. This will be further investigated in Chapter 7 (S3).

As a remark, for example, Júlia and Neus had participated in very short stays abroad, but no data regarding repositionings were found in relation to such stays. Júlia's limited data regarding identity changes and changes in her attitudes towards English only referred to the EMI-PEBD, but at the same time no data indicated that she was not invested in the learning of English before the degree²⁸.

²⁸ Júlia was a participant who turned out to be difficult to locate in the patterns that emerged, due to her limited data. While Study 2 offers a broad picture of how her identities might be evolving, Study 3

Second, another set of students, Natalia and Mercè (Pattern 2B) also imagined their future identities (imagined identities) in terms of what English could bring to their future development, as future world citizens or future valuable primary school teachers. However, while it is still through *imagination* that they envision their future possibilities, their relationship with English does not seem to be as straightforward and positive as it was in the case of the rest of the participants in this pattern. They do not seem to be invested in the learning of English before starting the degree.

Pattern 2A: evolving linguistic identities through imagination

At different moments of their lives, participants in Pattern 2A seem to have envisioned an imagined community of English users/speakers. As a representative example, Montse refers to travelling experiences, *“since I know what travelling abroad is I’ve always known for sure that I will not always stay still in the same place working or studying”* (Montse, Q2). Data provided by these participants in Q2 refers to engagements with English media (such as songs, TV shows) or with international people when travelling. Similarly, in Focus Group 2 the participants discussed situations in which they felt the need to reassess their attitudes towards English. Gisela shared her summer experiences as a child meeting foreigners for the first time, while she used the term “barriers” to refer to how she felt when trying to interact with them. Gisela’s comment seemed to imply that her feelings as a newcomer (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to a community she was not familiar with might have been a struggle she wanted to overcome²⁹.

During Focus Group 2, the participants were asked about “how” English might have changed them. The student-teachers provided very meaningful data that discussed why

provides a more thorough analysis of their participation in the EMI-PEBD.
²⁹ Gisela’s data in S2 was limited and she did not mention her experiences using English in her work environment, something that turned out to be relevant when locating her in a certain Pattern in S3.

they might wanted to incorporate English into their persona and why they might find it a language to invest in.

Montse: [...], *jo crec que tinc més llibertat per moure'm, per fer qualsevol cosa, perquè en qualsevol moment, el més inesperat, et pots trobar algú que et pregunta que has de respondre algo amb anglès, o en qualsevol altra llengua. I jo crec que tenir llengües, jolin, que t'obre moltes portes i és lo que deia apart amb tu mateix et sents molt millor [...]*

Gisela: *trenques barreres*

[...]

Silvia: *simplement busquem formació, és a dir o sigui algú que té un domini d'anglès o sigui a l'hora de buscar lo que sigui articles.. o informació del que sigui, de notícies... que... no sé o sigui només estàs limitat a les informacions que puguis trobar en català o castellà, i el fet de tenir anglès se t'obre un ventall de mil opcions més de... informació i de tot (FG 2)³⁰ [Excerpt 6.27]*

Montse's remark relates to Yashima's assertion when the scholar argues that having an international posture "might generate possible selves speaking with international students, helping foreigners lost on the street, reading English language newspapers" (Yashima, 2009:147). In the excerpt above, the participants clearly express issues related to accessibility of information, resources and communities. Their remarks are in line with what the participants in the individual interviews reported. Gisela, Montse and Silvia appear to have an L2 imagined community in mind due to the role of English in globalisation processes, visualized through their limited (but probably powerful) experiences in real English CoP (e.g. travelling, meeting foreigners in their home country...). Looking carefully at Montse, Gisela and Silvia's quotes above, they seem to indicate that there is still something they are still pursuing, something they want to "break through" and in which they have been investing for a long time (Gisela) or something they are still "searching for" (Silvia).

³⁰ Montse: [...], I believe I am more free to move around, to do anything, because in any moment, in the most unexpected moment, you can come across with someone who asks you something and you have to answer in English, or in any other language. And I believe that mastering languages, my God, it opens so many doors and it's about what I was saying, that you also feel better about yourself.

Gisela: you break down barriers

Silvia: we are simply looking for training, I mean, someone who masters English, when they look for anything in articles... or information or whatever, news... don't know, I mean if you don't master it you're limiting yourself to the information you might find in Catalan and Spanish, and having English opens an endless amount of possibilities of... finding information and stuff...

In fact, Silvia and Patricia's data also point to the fact that she had an imagined community in mind. When asked about their feelings when interacting with English users, whether native or non-native, Patricia and Silvia recall the following:

*Silvia: jo les primeres vegades que vaig haver d'utilitzar l'anglès era quan tenia un nivell pràcticament nul, i et quedes com "espera't". Són, o sigui **me'n recordo el primer cop que vaig anar a Londres, que no sabia demanar-li al dependent, una samarreta de tirants.** [...]*

I: Com et senties?

*Silvia: **Malament, impotent, no? [...]** O sigui va ser bastant frustrant.*

I: I més experiències així?

*Patricia: [...] **tenia uns 12 o 13 anys que vaig anar amb família a Praga.** [...] la que parlava l'anglès era jo, bueno parlava....però clar , tenia un nivell molt molt bàsic, [...] i a l'hotel doncs es van equivocar d'habitació, [...] tampoc un gran nivell no tenia , però vull dir molt complicat explicar-li que l'habitació no estava bé, que érem o sigui érem quatre hi havíem de ser tres i.. **Bueno no sé quins follons eren, i no ens enteníem, va haver de trucar i em vaig sentir, "carai", a veure vull saber més perquè és que la dona no m'entenia, o no volia entendre'm, però...***

I: O sigui allò et va fer voler aprendre més? No et va fer sentir malament...?

*Patricia: **No clar és que si escolta, això està malament necessito canviar-ho** (FG2)³¹ [Excerpt 6.28]*

The precedent negative experiences when participating in English-speaking communities seem to have helped them realize that there was something they wanted

³¹ Silvia: the first times I had to use English my level was practically null, and you are like "wait". I remember the first time I went to London, I didn't know how to ask the shop assistant, about a sleeveless T-shirt [...]

I: How did you feel?

Silvia: bad, helpless, right? [...] it was quite frustrating.

I: any similar experiences?

Patricia: [...] I was like 12 or 13 and I went to Prague with my family. [...] I was the one who spoke English, well, spoke... I had a very basic level, [...] and at the hotel well they made a mistake with the bedrooms, [...] my level was not very good, but I mean the difficulty to tell them that there was a mistake, that there were four and we were supposed to be three and... Well I don't know what happened, and we couldn't understand each other, they had to call someone and I felt, "Gosh", I want to learn the language better because that woman could not understand me, or didn't want to understand me, but...

I: Do you mean that experiences made you feel like learning more English? It didn't make you feel bad...?

Patricia: No of course if there was something wrong, I needed to change it.

to change: they want to be considered equally competent in English, and this aim is what seems to push them forward in their willingness to invest in this language. Neither Silvia nor Patricia had participated in any stays abroad and they had limited experience in real English CoPs. It was only in certain occasions, such as when travelling, that they had endured “critical experiences”. Such experiences, according to Block (2007a) might be a powerful generator of active learning. On this regard, Murphey et al (2005:92) discuss that the roller coaster that learners go through when investing in their L2 are seen through the social situations in which they are “stimulated to create imagined communities and identify positively with learning”. The excerpt above shows how globalisation processes that are part of people’s lives shape their imagined identities in unexpected ways. In this case, they seem to create an L2 community they envisage through imagination, since such a community reaches their day-to-day lives. It remains unknown whether Patricia and Silvia’s L2 imagined community is formed by native English speakers or by international English users. All participants seem to have been in touch with the “lingua franca” role that English has acquired in international settings (Seidlhofer, 2005). Similarly, the students’ symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) might have different connotations depending on whether they are positioned within their own country or at an international level.

Pattern 2B: Evolving linguistic identities only through the EMI-PEBD

Before presenting the data analysis pertaining to the students who fit into Pattern 2B, it is important to remember that Natalia and Mercè were only interviewed individually during the T2 Data Collection. That is, while they took part in the focus group during the first year (T1), they were interviewed individually during the 2nd year (T2), since they provided very relevant information and were able to express themselves in a very clear way.

Natalia’s and Mercè’s data from Q2 point to the assertion that their imagined identities as people with cultural capital and the capacity to move geographically and

gain knowledge about different cultures and values were very important to them, especially when taking into consideration their future profession:

(L'anglès) m'ofereix la possibilitat d'ampliar moltíssim el meu nivell cultural (cosa imprescindible en un mestre o mestra) (Natalia, Q2)³²
[Excerpt 6.29]

M'agradaria que com a mestra la meva influència arribés lluny [...] gràcies als idiomes, pots viatjar, provar de viure i treballar en altres llocs, aprendre d'ells i fer-los conèixer les teves maneres de fer (Mercè, Q2)³³.
[Excerpt 6.30]

However, their relationship with English seemed to be slightly different from the rest of the participants in Pattern 2. Natalia, in Focus Group 1 states that she does not particularly like English. In Individual Interview 2 she shared several difficulties she experienced in contexts where she had to communicate with English speakers:

Vaig conèixer un grup de persones, anàvem el meu grup i aquests, i parlaven en anglès i tal, i jo potser no no en sabia tant com un company de... del meu grup que sí que en sap molt, [...] Llavors sí que era una mica desagradable perquè veia que ells parlaven i a vegades no ho entenia, i em sentia com una mica fora de lloc, no? (Natalia, I2)³⁴ [Excerpt 6.31]

Clar jo recordo l'escola, que jo no volia parlar mai.. em sentia molt incòmode, no.. no m'agradava, perquè era una cosa que no dominava... després recordo també que vaig estar amb un càmping d'estiu, [...] recordo que hi havia un noi que era valencià, que parlava molt més bé l'anglès que jo, i vam conèixer aquestes alemanyes, la que després una era amiga meva, i jo parlava anglès i recordo que ell es reia perquè jo no... no no en sabia, no, tant? I recordo sentir-me malament, perquè es reia de mi, no? i... també que em callava, saps? [...] i això també penso que sóc més capaç de parlar en anglès per això, perquè ja és com una mica, si la

³² (English) offers me the possibility to broaden my cultural level so much (something essential in a teacher) and thus, it gives me more knowledge possibilities that I might convey to my students.

³³ I would love it if my influence as a teacher went very far [...] thanks to languages you can travel, try to live and work abroad, learn from others and get to know different ways to do things

³⁴ I met a group of people, I was with my group and these people, and they spoke English and so on... and I didn't know as much English as a friend of mine... a friend from my group that did speak English very well [...]. It was a bit unpleasant because I saw that they spoke and sometimes I couldn't follow, and I felt a bit out of place, right?

cago la cago i ja està, no passa res, no és el meu idioma, no? I si ho fos també no passa res, tothom es pot equivocar (Natalia, I2)³⁵ [Excerpt 6.32]

In the last excerpt Natalia remembers a distressing situation, which we could refer to as “critical experiences” (Block, 2007a, 2002a), blaming herself for failing to participate, but she also states that she now sees things from a more positive perspective and feels more confident. From a Wengerian’s perspective, such uncomfortable situations might take place when attempting to participate in a certain community peripherally (Wenger, 1998).

In spite of her struggles, in Individual Interview 2, she also provides data that show the relationship between English, identity and imagination, as we see how mastering English has changed the way she sees this language and the possibilities for identity expansion it encompasses. Following Natalia’s pattern, both Natalia and Mercè also gradually change their attitudes towards English, as this language progressively enters their life through the EMI-PEBD.

*M’ha descobert un món. Perquè a mi l’anglès mai m’havia agradat. No m’havia agradat mai. I era com tot en contra... i ara m’agrada. He descobert que... que sóc capaç d’aprendre un idioma i que m’agrada. No sé.. dir-te per què, però em tira. No sé...[...] No, **em veig també més segura, amb més capacitats de poder parlar amb gent, de poder viatjar, poder .. no? Em fa ser més autònoma, i això m’agrada. Però... sí seria això. [...] Ara m’ho miro des d’una altra perspectiva, no sé per què. Potser també perquè li veig la utilitat.** (Natalia; I2)³⁶ [Excerpt 6.33]*

³⁵ I remember at school, I never wanted to speak... I felt uncomfortable... I didn't like it, because it was something I was not good at... then I remember I was also in a summer camp, [...] I remember there was a boy from Valencia, who spoke English much better than me, and we met those German girls, one of whom we became friends later on, and I spoke English and I remember he laughed at me because I didn't... I didn't know as much, you know? And I remember feeling really bad about it, because he was laughing at me, you know? and also I used to keep quiet, you know? [...] and I also think I am more able to talk in English because now it's more like, if I screw up I screw up, and that's all, it's ok, it's not my language, right? And even if it was, everyone can make mistakes.

³⁶ It has discovered a world for me. Because I didn't like English. I had never liked English. None of it. And now I like it. I've found out that.. that I am capable of learning a language and that I like it. Don't know... the reason, but I like it. Don't know.... [...] I feel more confident, with more capacities to be able to speak with other people, to be able to travel, to... you know? It helps me to be more autonomous, and I like that. But... yes I guess that would be it. [...] Now at look at it from a different perspective, don't know why. Maybe because I can see the usefulness.

I: Quin paper hi té l'anglès amb les coses que a tu t'agraden? O quin

Mercè: no n'hi tenia. Cap paper. Però....com que ha anat entrant cada vegada més a la meva vida, doncs... cada vegada està guanyant més d'això (Mercè, I2)³⁷ [Excerpt 6.34]

Ara mateix jo crec que la meva autoestima és més alta, perquè em sento més competent i això també em fa sentir satisfeta a nivell personal, i.. també més oberta, jo crec que (l'anglès) m'ha fet obrir una miqueta les... les...sí, el meu camp de.. de mira i... això, sobretot perquè la llengua també implica cultura i implica coses , no? [...] sí, considero que sóc més oberta i sobretot això a nivell personal la satisfacció és molt més gran... (Mercè, I2)³⁸ [Excerpt 6.35]

Ara tinc la sensació que tota la meva vida, tot el que faig a nivell acadèmic o laboral, està relacionat amb l'anglès.[...] Però bueno, crec que m'està obrint moltes portes i m'està donant moltes oportunitats. I m'alegro d'haver triat cap aquí, la veritat. (Mercè, I2)³⁹ [Excerpt 6.36]

Natalia's words need to be contextualized. At the time she stated this opinion, she was already participating in the EMI-PEBD and her words directly spoke of the effect of that CoP on her attitudes towards the target language. Her possibilities of identity expansion have gone hand in hand with her envisioning of an imagined global community of English users. Before that, Natalia did not have any L2 community in mind. She might have gained legitimacy as an English user within the EMI-PEBD CoP. Her remark, beyond doubt, relates to Wenger's (1998:215) assertion that "because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity", while he adds...:

It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming -to become a certain person or, conversely, to avoid becoming a certain person. Even the

³⁷ I: and what role does English play in the things that you like?

Mercè: it didn't play any role. Any. but... since it has gradually entered my life, then... it is progressively gaining more.

³⁸ Right now I believe that my self-esteem is higher, because I feel more competent and that also makes me feel satisfied at a personal level, and... also more open-minded, I believe that (English) made me open... the... yes, my perspective... mostly because the language also implies culture and other things, right? [...] Yes, I consider that I am more open-minded and , above all, at a personal level, the satisfaction is much greater

³⁹ Now I have the feeling that all my life, everything I do academically and job-related, is connected to English [...] But well, I believe that it's opening many doors and it's giving me many opportunities. I am glad I chose this option, really

learning that we do entirely by ourselves eventually contributes to making us into a specific kind of person. We accumulate skills and information, not in the abstract as ends in themselves, but in the service of an identity (Wenger, 1998:215).

However, Mercè's comments also reveal that her engagements with English, before the EMI-PEBD, also took place through globalisation, as she seems to have been in touch with English materials or travelling. She provides interesting data regarding English materials, as the Beatles' example in Excerpt 6.5. shows (section 6.4.2.1.). Mercè's decision to choose the EMI-PEBD was mainly due to practical reasons (imagined professional identity) (see Chapter 5), although she also argued that it was also because English was something "enriching". As Gimenez (2001:297) argues "the value of knowing English lies not only in the ability to access material things, but also in the possibility it offers for creating acceptance of, and respect for, the World's diversity". Nonetheless, it is over the course of her participation in the EMI-PEBD that she seems to have changed her perceptions towards the target language:

*Mercè: **De trobar feina més fàcilment.** Perquè vaig pensar són molts mestres d'educació primària, i serem 80 només d'educació primària i a més a més en anglès. Dic pues és un plus, pues agafa't al plus, i fes una mica més d'esforç que a lo millor t'acabarà compensant. **I no pensava en res a nivell personal.***

[...].

I: I què és el que t'ha fet canviar el xip?

*Mercè: No sé jo crec que és això, **la satisfacció d'anar veient que, sense adonar-te'n, només estant en contacte amb la llengua, pots aprendre tant** si tots fem això podem aconseguir que a Espanya que té un nivell d'anglès ara mateix... que la gent considera tercermundista, **a Europa pensen "aquests pobres..."**, pues també potser pues poder canviar aquesta mentalitat que es té de que aquí som uns incompetents, Bueno doncs... també fereix una mica l'orgull, no? (Mercè, I2)⁴⁰ [Excerpt 6.38]*

⁴⁰ Mercè: finding a job more easily. Because I thought there are so many primary teachers, and we'll only be 80 of us doing primary education in English. I was like it's an extra, then take this extra, and make a bit more of an effort because it might eventually compensate you. And I didn't think of anything at a personal level.

[...]

I: And what was what made you change the way you saw things?

Mercè: Don't know I think that it's about what I said, the satisfaction to see that, only by being in touch with the language you can learn so much, if we all do that we can make that Spain... that at the moment has an English level that... that people consider "third-world" , in Europe they think "these poor people..." , maybe contributing to changing this mentality that people here are such incompetent, well then... it also wounds my pride, you know?

S1 revealed that one of Mercè's imagined identities was that of a teacher in Spain who possessed the social and cultural power (Bourdieu, 1991) that having an English degree would provide her with in her own country (e.g. more professional opportunities or the knowledge required to teach English in Spain). However, this comment seems to imply that she now sees a wider community in which she intends to gain legitimacy by acquiring the necessary cultural and social capital that will grant her a more legitimate position. As Jackson (2008:26) argues, "the specific knowledge, skills, or education associated with higher positions in society vary from one culture to another along with expectations". When she says "it wounds one's pride a bit", she shows how subject positioning is not only "achieved" or "inhabited", but it is also "ascribed" or "attributed" (Blommaert, 2006:238, as cited in Block 2007a): the identity "given to someone by someone else". Mercè's quote reveals that she now distinguishes between her local culture and a global culture. Her identity as an English user shifted from a very peripheral position in an imagined community that was probably envisioned through activities such as listening to English songs, but in which she did not seem to want to participate, towards that of a newcomer who now seems to be eager to fully participate. It might have been during the EMI-PEBD when both Mercè and Natalia fully acknowledged positive L2 imagined identities and where they finally seem to be content about what it can bring to their lives. She also provided data related to legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991) when interacting with other English users:

Mercè: Clar et sents com impotent perquè intentes i veus que, i cada vegada et bloqueges més potser també perquè per veure la diferència, i... em fa sentir malament, i penso, m'empeny a millorar, per això, no és que sigui ... desastrós i que pensi "ja no, pues ho deixo estar". No, al revés, penso pues jo vull arribar aquí, i són ànims per millorar.

I: Vale... i com et sents ara quan parles anglès amb algú, sempre ha estat així? Per què? O sigui ha canviat una miqueta això...

*Mercè: Sí sí sí. A vegades a a casa ens posem a parlar amb anglès, amb la meva mare la meva germana i jo, per fer la broma, però penso, ostres, potser fa dos anys jo això no ho hauria pogut fer i ara ho estem fent i ens estem entenent i ... miro que faig millor, que faig pitjor... i m'agrada molt. **Abans no era una***

cosa que m'agradés parlar amb anglès, i ara en canvi sí (Mercè, I2)⁴¹
 [Excerpt 6.39]

Natalia's and Mercè's data, thus, seem to point to the relevance of the EMI-PEBD in some students' linguistic identity expansion. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, it remains unknown whether the impact of the EMI-PEBD was equally strong in other students' cases. This will be studied in detail in Chapter 7 (S3).

To conclude, data in this section reveals that, in spite of not having participated as much as others in real English CoP, Gisela, Silvia, Patricia, Neus, Júlia and Montse have managed to imagine a strong vision of their future L2 identities, as their comments about several experiences and struggles while having to use English over the course of their lives show. On the other hand, Mercè, and Natalia saw an L2 imagined community in which they were not especially interested in participating in before the EMI-PEBD, as they only valued such a community due to the symbolic capital that it embedded, as future world citizens and future primary teachers. The ways in which the English-medium degree impacts on the students' identities will be further analysed in S3. The data belonging to the rest of the participants with limited experience in real English CoP shows the importance of "imagination" in the formation of one's L2 imagined identities: they seem to consider themselves newcomers to their imagined communities (as English users or as English speakers). They participate from a peripheral position in one of these communities, a global community, through which they appear to have visualised possibilities to become some of its full participants, a possibility that is only available through the mastery of English.

⁴¹ Mercè: you feel helpless because you try and you see that, your mind goes even more blank maybe cause you see the difference and... it makes me feel bad, and I think, it pushes me to improve, that's why, it's not a bad thing that makes me think "that's it, I give up". No, the other way round, I think I want to get there, it's a motivation to improve.
 I: Ok... and how do you feel when you speak English with someone, has it always been the same? Why? Has it changed?
 Mercè: yes yes yes. Sometimes at home we start speaking English, with my mum and sister, to joke, but I think, maybe two years ago I could have not done that and now look at us and we are understanding each other and... I see what I do better, what I do worse... and I really like it. Before it was not something that I liked, speaking English, and now it is.

The relevance of the EMI-PEBD emerged due to the fact that these Mercè and Natalia, who happened not to be invested in English before the degree, could be interviewed individually on the second year of their studies. Having said that, the shorter amount of data provided by those in the focus group was not sufficient to deeply analyse their attitudes and perceptions towards English. This issue is what will be discussed more extensively and more evenly in S3.

The issue of formal English Language Learning

All participants (Pattern 1 and Pattern 2) had engaged in formal English Language classrooms, but data indicates that participation in this type of CoP does not affect the student-teachers in the same ways other English-mediated CoPs did. Indeed, data do not show any identity changes nor repositionings over the course of these experiences.

During Focus Group 2, the issue of ELL experiences was also brought up for discussion. After revealing a series of negative experiences as English language students in English classrooms, they were asked about what persuaded them to maintain this language:

Silvia: Jo crec que els petits moments en els que veus que és útil. [...] a l'escola o l'acadèmia, bueno és dubtós la utilitat, però un cop viatges o... et poses en una situació on necessites l'anglès, és el que més ganes et fa de...

Júlia: exacte. [...] en el meu cas és a partir de la necessitat. [...] És el fet de la necessitat el que realment et crida a dir ostres pues sí que és útil. Sí que realment allò que sempre t'han dit de que s'ha d'aprendre anglès i ta, que sí que realment és necessari. Perquè t'has de comunicar amb una persona o t'has de fer entendre d'alguna manera, i ho necessitaràs. Jo crec que és això, el fet d'haver-ho de fer servir.

I: Els altres?

Neus: [...] i així al llarg de la meva vida el que m'ha fet continuar amb l'anglès des de petita han sigut bàsicament els meus pares que també han anat a acadèmies, i llavors clar, creia que no tenia cap utilitat, però els meus pares sempre "va.. no ho deixis, no sé què", i ara els hi agraeixo (FG2)⁴² [Excerpt 6.40]

⁴² Silvia: I believe that the small moments in which you see it is useful. [...] at school or at the language school, well, the usefulness is quite doubtful, but once you travel or... or you find yourself in a situation where you need English, that's what makes you feel like...

The previous excerpt is relevant in terms of pedagogical implications. Even though all participants in this study have engaged in ELL CoP, there was a general consensus when discussing the impact of formal ELL on their willingness to invest in the target language. The students' comments reveal that, in such situations, no imagined communities were offered to them and thus, they perceived these situations as "meaningless". Since no possibilities for identity expansion were encountered in ELL situations, the students do not seem to envision any English-mediated imagined identities.

Moreover, Neus' comment reveals the importance of family influence on students' investments. A family's previous envisioning of imagined communities seems to be fundamental, as once that happens, on many occasions it is these families who decide to create English learning opportunities for their children.

Summary & Discussion

This section provided data and information regarding the student-teachers' processes of identity expansion and the "dynamic quality of changing identities and imagined communities" in the student-teachers' lives (Murphey et al., 2005:83). While some of them have envisioned an L2 international imagined community through various engagements in real English CoPs, having gained different degrees of legitimacy as English users (Pattern 1), others have not had as many opportunities to reposition themselves and, even though they also envision L2 imagined communities, they seem to still consider themselves as English learners (Pattern 2). Students in Pattern 2A have L2 imagined communities in mind (whether they are international or owned by native

Júlia: exactly. [...] in my case it is about necessity. [...]. It's the need what really catches my attention, like, it is useful. In reality what they've always said about learning English and so on, it is true, it is necessary. Because you have to communicate with someone or you have to make yourself understood somehow, and you'll need it. I believe that that's it, it's about having to use it.

I: what about the others?

Neus: [...] and throughout my life what pushed me to continue learning English since I was a child was basically my parents, who also went to language schools, and then, well, back then I thought it was not useful, but my parents were always like "come on, don't give up, whatever", and now I am grateful to them. (FG2).

speakers) but have not yet earned legitimacy while students in Pattern 2B are starting to visualize an international L2 community during the EMI-PEBD. While some data were very clear, other participants' comments make it difficult to define the types of imagined communities they have in mind (Patricia and Silvia), as some data indicates that they might have been trying to attain the native-speaker standard. In spite of that, at the time of Data Collection 2, all participants seem to be invested in the mastery of this language.

The degree of participation in an imagined global community of English users, which is what most participants strive for, is different depending on each individual. While some might still find themselves in peripheral positions, others are gradually acquiring fuller positions. The students feel more or less legitimate due to the amount of exposure and participation in real English CoP, and thus, they all have earned different degrees of membership.

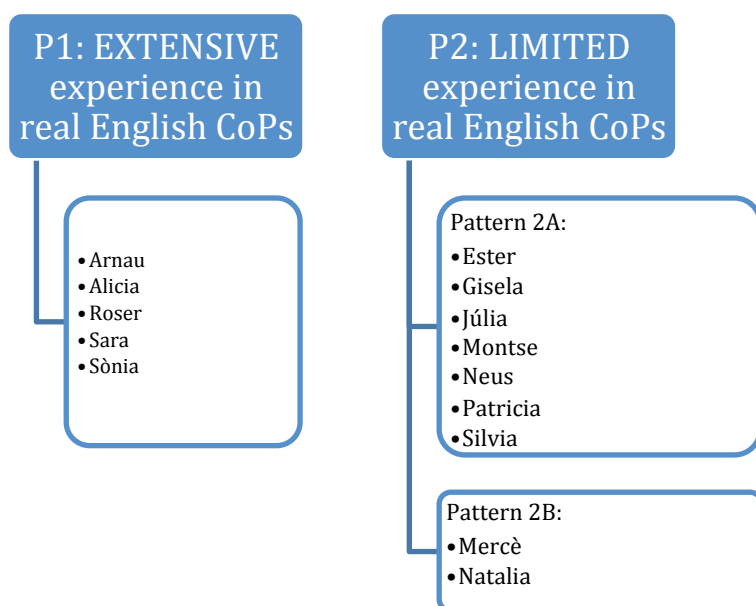
The participants who have extensively participated in real English CoPs, whether it was within their own country (such as Roser's case in the Science Institute) or abroad, have had the opportunity and the time needed to reposition themselves, to go through identity roller coasters (Murphey et al., 2005), to lose and gain legitimacy and to find positions in which they can gradually feel more comfortable and legitimate members of an international community. Data pertaining to these students (Pattern 1) denotes positive imagined identities as English users. These real CoPs introduce the student-teachers to an international community that they had only previously experienced through imagination. The students' identities seem to become more hybrid, flexible and in line with the *global identities* that Ryan (2006) discusses. As Ryan (2006:33) puts it, "if individuals feel some sense of belonging or active involvement in the processes of globalisation, is it not also logical to assume some sense of global identity?". The extent to which the EMI-PEBD plays a role in these students' case will be looked at in S3.

The participants who have limited experiences in English CoPs related several negative situations when interacting with other English speakers and they did not provide data regarding identity changes and repositionings in real English CoPs. Their struggles appear to imply that, before the degree, they had not yet overcome enough identity shifts in order to position themselves in a positive light. In case of those in

Pattern 2A, they seem to have envisioned imagined identities and communities where they are required to master English, and they seem to be excited about the role that this language already plays in their lives. However, their degree of legitimacy appears to be lower than the one students in Pattern 1 have and thus, they occupy more peripheral positions. On the other hand, for those participants in Pattern 2B it was only the EMI-PEBD what contributed to their visualizations of themselves as future English users, and to their gaining of legitimacy in a community that they end up envisioning the first time and this will be further explored in S3.

Depending on the types and amount of real English CoPs, and how they had repositioned over the course of these experiences, what they envision is different. A reminder of the Patterns that emerged follows in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Patterns S2



Data in this section shows how the amount of real English CoPs and the identity changes they have experienced over the course of their engagements have led students to reposition, to evolve and to visualise different imagined communities. The students' imagined identities are what is to be presented in the following section.

6.4.2.2. The Student-teachers' imagined identities

For each participant, relevant questionnaire and interview relevant data coded as “imagined identities”, and “future investments” will be presented. As Block (2007a:19) argues, “positioning takes place along a time scale, ranging from past to present to future”. The scholar discusses how language learners adopt imagined subject positions when talking about how they want to be positioned in the future.

This section shows how the participants' imagined identities go beyond the mastery of English, although, as seen in the previous section, it is precisely the role of English as a global language which has created the community/es they envision and that has contributed to their visions of their future. Mastering English is a requirement in order to become a full member of a community of world citizens and, thus, they have all struggled to achieve membership in terms of language competence. However, as data in this section shows, not only do their imagined identities consider their English mastery, but they also encompass endless projects and future visions. These visions are related to the social gains and possibilities of participating in such a community, while strengthening what Gimenez (2001) calls, *planetary citizenship*. While data from the previous section show how participation changed the way they wanted to position themselves, whether it was through imagination or through real engagements in English CoPs, data in this section provides detailed information about the student-teachers' imagined identities, which would not be understood were it not for their continuous participation in English CoPs.

Pattern 1: extensive experience in real English CoPs. Experiences in real English CoPs seem to lead to positive linguistic imagined identities.

Alicia, Sònia, Sara, Roser and Arnau, those participants who in section 6.4.2.1. reported having experienced important identity shifts over their vast participation in real English CoPs provided relevant information that discloses the types of imagined identities they are pursuing.

Having engaged in situations of different kinds, Alicia's willingness to undertake more international experiences seems to be apparent. Data from Q2 provides information regarding Alicia's imagined community, a community where she can interact with people from different countries, "*I've always wanted to learn other languages in order to travel and communicate with people from other places*" (Alicia, Q2). In the interviews she was more specific, discussing negative experiences as a young student in English language classrooms, and when asked about what it was that pushed her to keep investing in the language she responded, "*My eagerness to travel made me feel like learning English, because you need it if you want to travel*" (Alicia, I2). Alicia's quote speaks of her imagined community, a community of people who travel. After having engaged in communities where she had to interact through English, she visualized an imagined community she wanted to be granted access to. Her eagerness to participate seems to be what pushed her to invest in the mastery of English.

In Individual Interview 1, when talking about her flatmates, Alicia makes clear that they are role-models for her by describing an admired community of young people who have moved around a lot, who have degrees from different countries and who have lived and learned in different situations and contexts. In fact, near peer role models have been found to be a facilitator for the creation of imagined communities (Murphey, 1998b)

I: Carai. I tu quan coneixes a gent així que s'han mogut, que tal, que a més a més t'han pogut ajudar amb l'anglès. A tu això què et fa pensar?

*Alicia: Home. Dius... **ojalà jo quan tingui tres o quatre anys més igual que tenen elles ara també m'hagi pogut moure tant... és... és... super xulo!!!** (riu) Dius, mira, tens la carrera, tens títols, tens doctorats o postgraus o lo que tinguis, màsters, i mentrestant a sobre t'has mogut pel món! Pues!!! que guai!!! (Alicia, I1)⁴³ [Excerpt 6.41]*

⁴³ I: Oh my. And when you meet these sort of people, who have moved around and so on, and who have been able to help you with English. What does that make you think?

Alicia: Well. You say... I hope when I'm three or four years older I've moved around so much... It's so cool! (laughs). It's like, you have the degree, you've got certificates, PhDs or postgraduate courses or whatever, masters, and on top of that in the meantime you've been able to travel the world! It's cool!

Alicia's imagined identities rely on having lived experiences like the ones mentioned above. One of the future investments in this global community she envisions is a possible stay in India, where she might visit the girl who has been her flatmate during her stay in the USA. In Individual Interview 2, she considers other future experiences, such as doing part of her degree training or working abroad. Such desire for identity expansion also relates to Alicia's imagined teacher identity, as she states that, as a future teacher, she plans to engage in environments where teaching is well considered. Alicia's imagined teacher identity, specifically, appears to push her to consider countries such as Finland or Norway, places where, in her own words, she would not mind "staying" (I1).

Imagined Identities Sara

Sara's numerous experiences through English have contributed to many identity changes and also to investments in her imagined identities. Her identity expansion has led her to envision an imagined community of English users in which she wants to directly participate. Some of the experiences Sara has in mind include an Erasmus Exchange abroad (I1), studying English in Bristol (UK) for five weeks (I2), taking the CAE exam (I2), doing her 3rd year training abroad (I2) or volunteering in Vietnam (I2), where she travelled with her parents when she was a child.

In her own words, "*(English) has enabled me to get to know people and cultures that I would not have met, I've lived very enriching experiences, which only makes me learn it more in order to keep on living more of them*" (Sara, Q2). Such a statement is clearly related to Norton's (2000) notion of *investment*, as it seems to be the motor that affects her decisions. Excerpts from Sara's interviews also reveal the kind of L2 identity she envisions:

Tampoc has d'anar a a ocultar que ets de... fora [...]", però si tu et sents còmode amb el teu anglès i saps que et pot servir per comunicar-te pues ja està. (Sara, I2)⁴⁴ [Excerpt 6.42]

⁴⁴ You don't have to hide the fact that you're from... abroad [...], but if you feel comfortable with your English and you know it can be useful to communicate, then that's enough

In Individual Interview 2, Sara differentiates how she feels when she interacts with a native English speaker, moments in which she seems to feel powerful as a multicompetent speaker, as opposed to how she feels when she interacts with another international English user. It is in this latter situation when she describes the struggle to prove that she is a legitimate member of an international community. Sara's words provide a lot of information related to her imagined identity as an English user.

Sara's first comment is in line with Alicia's imagined identity as an English user. Very interestingly, Jenkins (2009:42) states that, "accents may be closely bound up with feelings of personal and group identity, which means that people tend to resist such attempts, whether consciously or subconsciously", while she also adds that "they may wish to preserve their mother-tongue accent in their L2 English or they may simply wish not to identify, through mimicking an L2 English accent, with native speakers of the language". Her comments illuminate the fact that Sara might have left behind a peripheral position in her imagined community, as well it might be in line with viewing English as an international language rather than as a foreign language (McKay, 2003). In her second quote, Sara's comment differentiates how she feels when she interacts with a native English speaker, moments in which she seems to feel powerful as a "multicompetent speaker" (Cook, 1992), as opposed to how she feels when she interacts with another international English user. It is in this latter situation when she describes the struggle to prove that she is a legitimate member of an international community. Sara's words provide a lot of information related to her imagined identity as an English user.

Sara's words speak of Cook's notion of "multicompetence" (Cook, 1992), as well as of Cook's (2007:229) term "L2 user" which, according to the scholar, "recognizes that L2 users are different kinds of people from monolingual native speakers, and need to be evaluated as people who speak two languages, not as inefficient natives".

Similarly, Sara also shared her ideas as a future professional. She sees herself as a teacher who is capable of making her English global community visible for her future students. This issue was discussed after she had stated that she is not very fond of the English teaching methods she experienced as a young student:

Sí o sigui sí que em veig sent mestra d'una escola, però de la mateixa manera que hem dit tant lo de que els nens no estan motivats per l'anglès... jo crec que si una persona els ha de motivar ha de ser algú com nosaltres (Sara, I2)⁴⁵ [Excerpt 6. 43]

Sara's ideas about English language teaching are in line with the conception of ELF (Seidlhofer, 2004) or EIL (McKay, 2002), as her comment above seems to imply that the usefulness of mastering English is what she aims to transfer to her future students, leaving behind the need to focus on native speaker models in language teaching.

Imagined Identities Sònia

Sònia's imagined identities embrace experiences that she already envisions as part of her future. Her imagined teacher identity, for example, considers the possibility of moving to Finland or Germany, taking part in a world community of teachers with international experiences (I1).

Sònia positions herself in the future as someone who uses and owns English, a comment which is in line with Sara's and Alicia's quotes above, in that they all see themselves as "multicompetent speakers" (Cook, 1992) or English users rather than non-native speakers of English (McKay, 2003).

*El fet de poder expressar-me a la meua manera mmm **no em comporta de dir ostres ell és nadiu i jo no** i... potser no... mmmm mai m'he trobat amb gent que em digui "és que parles molt malament l'anglès" o "és que no t'entenc i me'n vaig" no... mmmm **com que saben que en aquí parlem l'anglès com a tercera llengua** [...]vull dir, **no sento vergonya ni... ni molt menys, al contrari, m'agrada poder expressar-me i que ells tinguin en compte que no és la meua primer ni la segona llengua i que t'ajudin i ..** (Sònia, I2)⁴⁶ [Excerpt 6.44]*

⁴⁵ Yes, I do see myself being a teacher in a school, but in the same way we've said that children are not motivated in English.. I believe that it's someone like us who have to motivate them

⁴⁶ Being able to express myself in my way... mmm... it does not make me feel like... oh my God, he is a native and I am not... maybe... maybe I've never met anyone who said "you speak so bad" or "I don't understand a word you say", no, mmmmm... since they know here we speak English as a third language [...] I mean, I don't feel embarrassment or... not at all. On the contrary, I like being able to express myself and that they bear in mind that English is not my first language nor my second one and that they help you...

On the basis of Sònia's data, it can indeed be derived that language learning theories based on notions such as *imagined communities* and *imagined identities*, in the case of English language learning, provide a meaningful and empowering position for those learners who struggle to acquire this language. On this matter there is Cook's (1992,1999) discussion about the NS/NNS dichotomy, where she argues about the need to move away from such labels in order to allow learners to own the language they are learning and to feel like legitimate speakers of that language.

By stating that she likes being able to express herself and that others take into account that English is not her first language, but her third language, Sònia is thinking in terms of a language user rather than as a language learner (Cook, 2005). However, Sònia also stated that she would rather move to English-speaking countries (I2). She might still be pursuing her goal to become a proficient English speaker, as she might still see herself as a peripheral member of her imagined community. Gaining more English skills might be the key to acquire full membership and, in her case, her willingness to move to an English-speaking country might still imply a certain degree of drive towards what is nowadays a more valued use of the language, a use that is thought to be imperfect if it does not fit into a native speaker use or model of the language. As Llorca (2006) argues, "most language users in the world can use more than one language, that is, they have some degree of bilingualism or multilingualism. Such a state of affairs helps us visualise a world in which most "language users" are in fact "multilingual language users". This way of seeing the world seems to be quite obvious in Sònia's case, and, as her words show, she takes this reality for granted. In her context, thus, she sees herself as a multilingual language user.

Some of Sònia's future engagements in her imagined community are: to participate in an Erasmus exchange (I1), volunteer teaching in India (I2), work as an au pair during the summer (I1), move abroad for a long period of time (I2) and taking English lessons in order to obtain the Certificate in Advanced English (I2). Furthermore, as a future teacher, for example, she would like to go to Finland in order to get to know the Finnish education system. One of Sònia's imagined identities is that of a person who can move anywhere, a person whose English is not a "barrier".

Imagined Identities Roser

Roser seems to know how important English is for her imagined identities and the extent to which she should master it if she wants to end up living her desired experiences. While talking about a friend she has from Germany, Roser clearly reveals how her interactions with an English speaker affect her evolving identity:

No només parlo amb ella, sinó que això em comporta poder anar-la a veure, conèixer més gent, i moure'm, vull dir, ja no només és conèixer –la a ella sinó que també gràcies a això puc puc com obrir-me a més coses. No sé... (Roser, I2)⁴⁷ [Excerpt 6.45]

While learning this language, Roser gains much more: she acquires social and cultural capital. Engaging in a simple conversation with her friend seems to imply obtaining access to wider communities. Her comment shows that participation in English CoPs lead to other engagements in the future. In fact, Roser is also thinking of future engagements, such as volunteering abroad for the summer (I1), travelling to Denmark and to as many places as possible (I2), doing part of her teacher training in England (I2) or working abroad for a while (I2). As it can be observed in her questionnaire, Roser seems to be clear about the kind of imagined community she wants to participate in:

El que sí que sé segur és que vull viure experiències a l'estranger, ja siguin professionals, de lleure, solidàries etc. I el moment ja arribarà (Roser, Q2)⁴⁸ [Excerpt 6.46]

The communities in which she has participated in English seem to have provided her access to a global community of English users, having shifted her sense of self towards an identity as a global citizen. Thus, she is not very precise on where or how she physically locates herself, but her comment appears to refer to a global community of English users who travel, live abroad, work abroad... and who need to master English in

⁴⁷ Not only do I speak with her, but that gives me the possibility to visit her, meet other people, and move around, I mean, it's not only about meeting her, but thanks to that I can also find out about other things. don't know...

⁴⁸ What I do know for sure is that I want to live experiences abroad, whether they are professional, leisure-related, solidary, etc. We'll see when.

order to fully acquire such “planetary citizenship” (Gimenez, 2001). In her own words, it has become something “necessary” to accomplish her desires.

Fa un temps era algo que si el sabies, podia obrir moltes portes i jo crec que ara també s'està convertint en una cosa que ja és necessària (Roser, I2)⁴⁹ [Excerpt 6.47]

Arnau, the only participant in the focus group who reported major identity changes over the course of his participation in real English CoPs, also provided interesting information regarding his imagined identities when asked about his feelings when interacting with people who master English, whether natives or non-natives.

Arnau: jo penso com i quan em falta per arribar allà, i les ganes que tinc de saber parlar com aquella persona!

(tots assenteixen)

I: són sensacions positives o negatives?

Arnau: molt positiu, de veure bueno pues estic aquí, i segueix parlant tu, que algun dia has d'arribar a parlar com aquesta persona (FG2)⁵⁰ [Excerpt 6.48]

The excerpt above demonstrates that Arnau's imagined identities are regarded from a very positive perspective, as he seems to be determined in investing in the person he wants to become. On top of that, when discussing their future as professional primary teachers, Arnau stated that he sees himself as a primary teacher, but he does not find the language of instruction as relevant as other of his classmates: “*I know I want to be a teacher but I don't mind if it's in Catalan, Italian or English*” (Arnau, FG1). At the time of T2 data collection, Arnau was also planning on spending a year studying abroad with Programa Propi.

Hence, students in Pattern 1, through participating in English CoPs envision L2 imagined communities and identities, have time to gain certain degrees of legitimacy and they visualize identities that allow them to see themselves from a positive light.

⁴⁹ A while ago, if you spoke it, it could open many doors, but I think that nowadays it is becoming a requirement.

⁵⁰ Arnau: I think about how much I still have to do to get there, and how excited I am about speaking like that person!
 (all of them nod)
 I: are they positive or negative sensations?
 Arnau: very positive, it's like well I'm here now, just keep talking, that someday you'll get where this person is.

Furthermore, they have opportunities to gain legitimacy in their imagined communities, all of which seem to fit into an “imagined global community” (Ryan, 2006).

Pattern 2: limited experience in real English CoPs. The linguistic identities provided through imagination.

The rest of the participants (Mercè, Natalia, Silvia, Patricia, Montse, Gisela, Ester, Neus and Júlia), those participants who had experienced identity changes through imagination before the EMI-PEBD, also revealed information related to their imagined identities. However, much of the data provided by Mercè and Natalia referring to their imagined identities, were already highly influenced by the impact of the EMI-PEBD on their sense of self.

Pattern 2A

Data pertaining to Silvia, Patricia, Montse, Gisela, Ester and Neus revealed information about these students’ imagined identities. As a representative example, Montse’s words are quite straightforward:

I: [...] com us sentiü quan parleu l’anglès amb algú que el domina molt. Siguí nadiu o no nadiu. [...]
Montse: home jo penso joder ojalà en sàpigues tant, saps? (FG2)⁵¹ [Excerpt 6.49]

When discussing this issue, the students’ comments pointed to their interest in becoming an individual who masters English, no matter where they might be from. However, a certain tendency is noteworthy. When discussing engagement in English materials in Focus Group 1, Montse refers to “accents”. Her comment might be based on a predominant discourse of native-speakerness, which puts emphasis on native-like phonology (Jenkins, 2009). Montse had not had the chance to participate in many real

⁵¹ I: [...] how do you feel when you speak English with someone who can speak it very well. whether they are natives or not. [...]

Montse: well I think I wish I knew as much, you know?

CoP through English and thus, she might not have had the chance to reposition herself in order to gain legitimacy as a non-native speaker of English. In addition, most globalisation processes, in terms of video and film materials, mainly comes with Americanization (Bourdieu, 2001; Phillipson, 2004).

Furthermore, in the following excerpt, the student-teachers comment on how certain engagements remind them of the person they want to become by making them want to gain more legitimacy and to invest more in this language:

Montse: [...]Vaig anar a Amsterdam. Però oci [...]crec que... encara hi ha molt de camí per mi, per aprendre anglès [...]Perquè vas allà i et penses que bueno podràs tenir una conversa que flipes, no sé què, i realment ... jo parlo en el meu cas, jo crec que encara em queda molt de camí per fer.

I: Hm

Gisela: Jo vaig estar a Irlanda, però durant el Nadal, i bueno .. Bueno vale que l'irlandès no és com l'anglès, però tan és, et quedes com, "és que no sé res encara!" com ella, no? Em queda molt camí encara de..

Montse: però és positiu això, perquè...

Gisela: sí sí!

Montse: o sigui t'ho has de prendre com un repte...

Júlia (assenteix) (FG2)⁵² [Excerpt 6.50]

The participants aim to be able to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds and they refuse to be constrained by the language barrier. When they meet *oldtimers* of their imagined community, they might feel like *newcomers* (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and their comments seem to imply that this is not how they want to be positioned. When Montse shares how she is forced to reposition herself when she goes abroad, she might be implying that she shifts her identity from English user to English learner (Cook, 2005), as she feels less competent than she thought she was. Her words

⁵² Montse: [...] I went to Amsterdam. It was leisure [...] I believe that... there's still a long way to go in my case, to learn English [...] because you go there and you think that you'll be able to have amazing conversations, whatever, and in reality... I'm talking about my case, I believe that there's still a long way to go.

I: hm.

Gisela: I was in Ireland, but during Christmas, and well... ok, Irish is not like English, but it doesn't matter, you feel like "I still know nothing!", just like her, right? There's still a long way to go yet...

Montse: but it's something positive, cause...

Gisela: yes yes!

Montse: I mean you have to take it as a challenge

Júlia (nods)

relate to Piller's (2002) study, in which the scholar refuses to consider native speaker identity as a rigid category in which individuals do or do not belong (Llurda, 2006). While Montse could have "passed for native speaker" (Piller, 2002) in their home country (Spain), she might have positioned herself more like a non-native speaker of English when travelling abroad. As a matter of fact, Montse's words talk about how cultural capital represents resources that are culturally authorized: "fields, and the actors located within them, determine the value of this capital" (Jackson, 2008:26). While in Spain she might be positioned as someone with cultural capital due to her level of English, she seems to be positioned differently at a global context.

In addition, as future professionals, they also consider participating in an international community of world citizens, as most comments reveal that the place where they want to teach is not an essential factor. Also, depending on the students, English might or might not be key in their professional futures. While Arnau or Patricia want to master English in order to access and participate in a wider community at a more personal level, others (Gisela, Silvia and Neus) also want the language to define their future profession. Their imagined teacher identity, thus, is that of a professional teacher who teaches English or in English.

Gisela: [...]I espero poder estar treballant de mestra, clar. Si aquí, fora... això ja no ho sé. Això no ho sé, perquè també jo sóc de ment molt oberta, i si he de marxar a...on sigui, doncs mira, marxaré. [...]

Silvia: [...] sí que m'agradaria doncs estar treballant de mestra i... disfrutar-ho molt de tot, però clar és això no sé què passarà. Igual me'n vaig d'Erasmus, que vull anar-me'n a Suècia... igual pues em quedo a Suècia, qui sap! O sigui...

Neus: [...] De mestra segur, però on, quan... [...]

Arnau: [...] Jo sé que vull ser professor però és que m'és igual si és en català, en italià o en anglès. [...]

I: O sigui l'anglès és més a nivell personal que professional...

Arnau: sí sí

Silvia: jo personalment sí que m'agradaria que estigués l'anglès, o sigui...en tots els aspectes, o sigui tan personalment de tindre amics i... com professionalment. [...]

Patricia: [...] em veig i dic "seré professora", no? Però seré professora a fora, doncs també, això que deia de tenir amics, tenir... jo què ser, igual família, no? No sé...tenir a l'estranger... Llavors en aquest sentit sí que m'agrada pues planificar... planificar? Somiar, diguéssim, no? i... que

m'agradaria doncs, no quedar-me aquí, llavors clar, ja agafar-ho a nivell personal també.

Neus: a mi sí que m'agradaria per poder transmetre als alumnes que tingui, o sigui crec que si ets una mestra que t'agrada l'anglès, i en saps, pues pots fer que aquell nen s'apassioni d'alguna manera i que aprengui... i que pues en el futur sigui un ciutadà que sàpiga anglès. I que no sé, transmetre-la (FG2)⁵³
[Excerpt 6.51]

Following the findings in S1, it is important to keep in mind that the role of English in some of these students' imagined identities might define them as English users or as English speakers, depending on the type of community they are envisioning. As S1 showed, Silvia and Patricia's imagined communities might be those which are formed of native English speakers. Having said that, leaving aside the nature of their envisioned communities, their aim to gain legitimacy leads these participants to plan several activities to invest in the learning of English. In fact, they seem to have clear ideas about these future investments. In a very direct way, Silvia states "*I've always wanted to go abroad*", while other future plans seem to be more specific: going on an Erasmus exchange, working as an au pair for the summer and obtaining the FCE (Silvia); obtaining the CAE (Montse, Júlia, Gisela, Patricia and also Silvia after the FCE); doing the practicum abroad (Júlia and Patricia); going abroad with an Erasmus exchange (Montse and Patricia), working as an au-pair in Ireland (Neus).

⁵³ Gisela: [...] And I hope to be working as a teacher, of course. Whether it will be here or abroad... that I don't know. I don't know that, because I am very open-minded, and if I have to leave... wherever, well then, I'll leave [...]

Silvia: [...] I would like to be working as a teacher and... enjoy it a lot, but of course I don't know what will happen. I might go on an Erasmus, I really want to go to Sweden... I might stay in Sweden, who knows! I mean...

Neus: [...] As a teacher, for sure, but where, when....

[...]

Arnau: [...] I know I want to be a teacher but I don't mind if it's in Catalan, Italian or English. [...]

I: you mean English is more something personal than professional...

Arnau: yes yes

Silvia: I personally would like English to be there, I mean... in all aspects, I mean both personally, like having friends and.... And professionally [...]

Patricia: [...] I see myself and I think "I'll be a teacher", right? But will I be a teacher abroad, maybe, what I was saying about having friends, having.... Who knows, maybe family, right? I don't know... having... abroad.... In this sense I really like planning... planning? Dreaming, let's say, you know? And... I would like to move around, then of course, taking it to a personal level.

Neus: I would in fact like to pass on my knowledge to my students, I mean, I believe that if you're a teacher who enjoys English, and you master it, then you can help that kid to feel passionate about it somehow and that he learns it... and turn him into a future citizen who masters English. And that, don't know, pass it on...

Pattern 2B

The analysis will now look at the data from Natalia and Mercè, who were interviewed individually. Both Natalia and Mercè envision a future self as global citizens who have accumulated learning experiences abroad. According to Mercè, as a future teacher this is something she pursues and finds necessary. She aims to become someone who can transfer English skills to her future students, in order to help them become part of an international community of English users, equally suited to master this language:

Jo vull acabar aquí perquè això és casa meva i ho sento casa meva, però pel camí, anar a treballar a fora és una cosa que vull fer per viure experiències, perquè pots aprendre molt, i perquè en un món com el de... com el d'ara i el del futur, que cada vegada és més global, i tot és més obert, un mestre ha de poder compartir amb els seus nens coses diferents, i si no has sortit, no podràs fer-ho (Mercè, I2)⁵⁴ [Excerpt 6.52]

While her imagined identities locate her living in her home country, Mercè's quote reveals her eagerness to turn her life into a cosmopolitan series of experiences abroad. As Arnett (2002:778) puts it, "as local cultures change in response to globalisation, most people manage to adapt to the changes and develop a bicultural or hybrid identity that provides the basis for living in their local culture and also participating in the global culture". She adds the following:

A Europa pensen "aquests pobres...", pues també potser pues poder canviar aquesta mentalitat que es té de que aquí som uns incompetents, Bueno doncs... també fereix una mica l'orgull, no? (Mercè, I2)⁵⁵ [Excerpt 6.53]

The last quote reflects Mercè's desire to share her future cosmopolitan identity with her future students, in order to help them become part of a community of world citizens, not letting them be left behind. Natalia uses the word "admiration" (I2) when talking about people who master English, while she also relates it to her profession:

⁵⁴ I want to end up here because it's home and I feel this is my home, but on my way, working abroad is something I want to do to live experiences, because you can learn so much, and because in a world like... like nowadays and the world in the future, which is becoming more and more global, and everything is more open, a teacher must know how to share different things with his/her students, and if you've never left, you won't be able to do it.

⁵⁵ In Europe they think "these poor...", then it's also maybe about changing this general mentality that here we are so incompetent. Well then... it also wounds your pride, right?

*Sempre ho he vist com **un element que m'enriqueix**, a mi. També personalment. Professionalment i personalment. De les dues maneres. Llavors és una cosa que, si m'enriqueix, no? Vull seguir-la... seguir-la tenint. (Natalia, I2)⁵⁶ [Excerpt 6.54]*

Being part of a global community of world citizens who interact through English also implies gaining cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) and thus, becoming a knowledgeable person due to the doors that the language opens.

Similarly, having experienced failure and loss of confidence when meeting English speakers (see section 6.4.2.1..), now that they are participating in the EMI-PEBD, they seem to have ended up visualising an imagined community of English users (McKay, 2003) for whom they feel “*admiration*” while trying “*to learn from them*” (Natalia, I2) and imagined identities that allow them to see themselves in a positive light. Natalia, for example, states the following:

*El més còmode que pugui, tampoc.... tampoc puc pretendre arribar al nivell d'una persona que ha nascut a , que és... **és impossible, vull dir no... no és un dels meus objectius, però sí sentir-me còmode** (Natalia, I2)⁵⁷ [Excerpt 6.55]*

Her comment seems to imply that she still considers herself an English learner, but she strives to become a legitimate English user in a community she now considers could be hers. The EMI-PEBD has afforded her the possibility to compare herself to other English users, rather to native speakers of English.

As far as Mercè and Natalia's planned investments, having visualized the role that English can play in their future identities, they now seem to be encouraged by the possibilities that English encompasses. On the one hand, Natalia considers future investments in her global imagined community such as participating in an Erasmus exchange (I2), possible stays abroad to become a better teacher (Finland), (I2) or obtaining English certificates, as she has none (I2). On the other hand, Mercè also has

⁵⁶ I've always seen it as an element that enriches me. Also personally. Professionally and personally. In both ways. Then it's something that, if it enriches me, I want to keep working on it.... Keep having it.

⁵⁷ As comfortable as possible... I can't expect to reach the level of someone who has been born in.. who is... it's impossible, I mean... it's not my objective, but I do want to feel comfortable.

several future plans in mind, such as an Erasmus in Belfast (I2), getting the Certificate in Proficiency in English (I2) or living abroad for a while (I2). She emphasizes that she is searching for cultural differences, and she specifically mentions northern European countries. She uses the expression “*to different places*”, something that may be interpreted as if she wants to become someone with an international background might be what she is pursuing. However, when asked to specify, she argues that “*for now*”, she would mainly consider Anglophone countries. It might be because, she might be interested in gaining legitimacy as an English user, and moving to an English-speaking country might be an investment in her English skills. In spite of such possible explanation, Mercè’s comments also provide information about her attitudes towards the varieties of English that should be used as models, both as an English learner and as a future non-native English teacher. According to Tsui and Bunton (2000:294) research with NNESTs, most NNESTs “either explicitly or implicitly accepted the NS as a source of authority”. As Llorca (2009:14) points out, NNESTs “hold attitudes towards EIL that are far from being enthusiastic”. He cites Tsui and Bunton’s (2000) study, in which they concluded that non-native English teachers in Hong Kong were norm-bound (Sifakis, 2004), as, “they looked for the norm in external, rather than domestic, sources” (Llorca, 2009:14).

The linguistic imagined identities that are afforded through imagination seem to be vague, and that is something that further data obtained from Natalia’s and Mercè’s individual interviews provides more information on, indicating that the EMI-PEBD compensates such vagueness and provides students with positive linguistic identities that allow them to position themselves as present or future English users. This will be examined in detail in S3. While participating in English CoPs, whether in a global community through imagination or through the EMI-PEBD, students in Pattern 2 have also visualized L2 imagined communities and identities (just like those in Pattern 1), but they have not yet had the time to gain as much legitimacy. The EMI-PEBD, in this sense, seems to be contributing to the development of the students’ future identities, although the ways in which it does so will be further discussed in S3. However, the types of L2 identities that globalisation might be promoting might not let some individuals see themselves in a positive light. This will be discussed in the following section.

Summary and Discussion

The student-teachers seem to reposition themselves, either in the present or in the future, as they participate in English CoPs, by acquiring imagined identities in which English becomes essential. On this regard, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:1) point out that “ongoing social, economic, and political changes affect these constellations, modifying identity options offered to individuals”. When talking about the reasons why English is important, S1 and section 5.3.2. of the present study show how the conception of English as a *commodity* (Gimenez, 2001) is of great relevance. However, data revealing the students’ imagined identities indicate that they want to acquire more complex things other than English. It might be what Gimenez names planetary citizenship. Following Pavlenko & Blackledge’ (2004:2) argue, “the shifts and fluctuations in language ideologies and in the range of identities available to individuals have become particularly visible in the light of recent sociopolitical and socioeconomic trends: globalization, consumerism, explosion of media technologies, [...]”. Even though the degrees of legitimacy within this community vary depending on the amount and type of engagements in English CoPs, all the participants in this study seem to pursue a “global identity” (Ryan, 2006), or an “international posture” (Yashima, 2002). Likewise, Byram's (1997) notion of an “intercultural speaker” may also be relevant here, although in this case the students might be interested in becoming mediators between their culture and a global culture, rather than any specific geographically-limited culture.

Hence, while acknowledging the uniqueness and diversity of each participant’s imagined communities (e.g. teachers who master English, teachers who work abroad, people who travel, etc.), there seems to be a certain degree of agreement among all of them regarding one of these communities. As section 5.3.2. showed, the student-teachers attempt to gain membership in a “global imagined community” (Ryan, 2006), a conception that is based on Norton’s notion of “imagined communities”. Furthermore, adding the term “global” takes into consideration the role that English has gained worldwide. Results show that all students see English as an international language, and most of them believe it is not owned by any group of speakers (Widdowson, 1994) and which needs to be intelligible for all the users of its global community (M. Modiano, 1999). Overall, though, they consider themselves as multilingual speakers who move

around the globe and who are eager to further engage in international settings. This imagining that “I am one of them”, according to (Murphey et al., 2005) Murphey et al. (2005:90) “can be an effective learning strategy for some learners”.

Especially in those cases in which students have gone through several struggles when interacting with other English speakers (see section 6.4.2.1.) these student-teachers seem to have repositioned themselves, to different degrees, in relation to the world, as well as having acquired a relationship with English based on the EIL conception, rather than on the EFL approach (Widdowson, 1997). By doing that, they seem to have empowered themselves with the possibility of owning this language (Phillipson, 1996), at the same time they have moved away from the NS/NNS dichotomy (Higgins, 2003). Having said that, it is important to take into consideration that individuals’ identities are never fixed and they should never be categorized under any labels. As data show, the commonalities across all participants in this study lie in how nuances in the way they position themselves and are positioned by others vary in relation to time, types of engagements and types of interlocutors. Clear-cut distinctions are not plausible to make for their present and future identities (imagined identities). Data reveal some instances of movements throughout the NS-NNS dichotomy and some comparisons with “native-speakerism” (Holliday, 2006), especially in those students who have limited experienced in real English CoPs (e.g. when they report wanting to learn very native-like expressions, say they prefer to go to English-speaking countries...). The historic predominance of the distinction between NS and NNS in the field of SLA is also evidenced by some of the participants’ comments, who still seem to idealize native-speaker varieties or communities (Montse, Patricia and Silvia). The students’ decisions (or their families’) to study English mostly in the UK or in the US or the willingness of some of them to only move to English-speaking countries supports the claim that not even a conception of English as an international language has managed to leave behind a very dominant view of native speakers’ ownership of the language. A possible explanation for such comments might lie in the fact that these participants are planning to become primary school teachers who can teach English or in English. The predominant value that is still awarded to native speakers of English when it comes to the teaching of this language (Llurda, 2009) might have led these

students to consider that certain identity options as future teachers might be more valued than others.

Global English and the community it creates, however, is what seems to have contributed to some of the participants' envisioning of a multicompetent speaker identity. Engagements in environments in which English is considered an International language provide students with a wider range of possible identities that seem to increase their interest towards the language. The process of incorporating a new language into one's repertoire of personal capacities is a complex one – full of struggles with an identity that does not cease to define and redefine itself, as it is multifaceted. All participants in the study seem to envision L2 imagined identities, (some of them as multicompetent speakers) and, most of the time, they do not base their subject positions on the NS-NNS dichotomy. However, it remains uncertain whether these student-teachers might shift their positions towards less legitimate ones if they were to spend a long period of time in Anglophone cultures (which is what Silvia is planning on doing), where their sense of self would certainly be challenged. When arguing about the NS-NNS dichotomy, Llorca (2006:4) argues that native speaker identity should be looked at in a dynamic way, “by which individuals do not always totally fit into one given category, but can temporarily move from one to another”. In this sense, that is why Cook's notions of “English user” and “multicompetent speaker” seem to be more appropriate for the results of this study. Llorca (2006:4) himself argues that the term *language user* may be more suitable and “less tendentious”.

Even though this study focuses on student-teachers' linguistic identities and the issue of their teacher identities is beyond the scope of this study, no data concurring with the idea that a native speaker of English might be the ideal English teacher were found. On the contrary, the students value their language learning experience and they consider such life experiences very valuable in terms of their future methodologies as teachers. Their comments, thus, do not seem to fit into the too often widespread idea that native speakers of the language might be the ideal teachers (Llorca, 2006).

6.5. SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

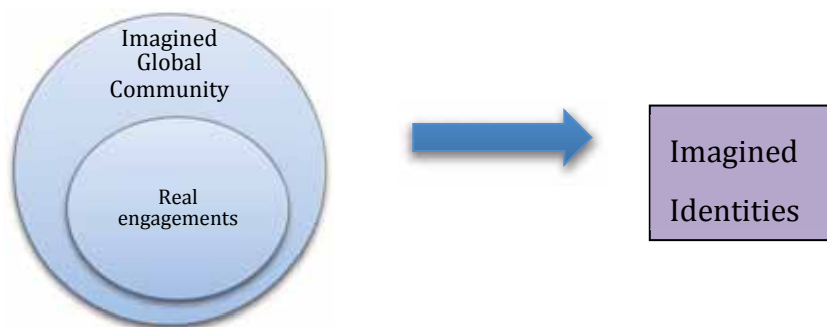
Communities of practice are an integral part of our daily lives. They are so informal and so pervasive that they rarely come into explicit focus, but for the same reasons they are also quite familiar. Although the term may be new, the experience is not (Wenger, 1998:7).

The analysis suggests that the student-teachers' real and imagined identities gradually change, shift, evolve and take shape as they participate in English CoPs and they visualize themselves in future mastering English. The analysed data provide some insights into those changes, which sometimes were clearly verbalized. These changes have contributed to an expansion of the students' possible range of identities and, while doing so, their attitudes towards English seem to evolve as they become aware of the importance of mastering this language in order to be granted access to the communities it opens up for them due to its international status (Widdowson, 1997).

This study reinforces the existence of an imagined global community of English users. Ryan (2006:26) discusses "the dominant position of English and the lack of any credible rival", while he also states that "few could seriously question the current position of English as the unquestioned language of globalization". In this sense, this imagined community is not present at all times in the students' lives, yet its language connects certain ways of doing things, lifestyle behaviours, common knowledge and mutual understanding. In the same way in which nations link people who belong to certain cultures (Anderson, 1991), English links people who speak this language worldwide. It is within this framework that this global community offers these participants the possibility to become some of its full legitimate members. As Ryan (2006:40-41) argues, "an imagined community is by its very nature more dynamic and specific to the individual; the learner is constantly creating and recreating an identity in response to the altering perceived demands of membership of the imagined community". Thus, some of the participants' imagined identities seem to be as global as this imagined community, while being in line with what some scholars have named differently: a "bicultural identity" (Kramsch, 1999; Arnett, 2002; Lamb, 2004), a global identity (Ryan, 2006) or an "international posture" (Yashima, 2002, 2009). While

participating in this CoP, whether peripherally (through imagination) or fully (through real participation), their identities change and evolve.

Figure 13. Discussion S2 (1)



Once they have been in touch, some way or another, with this imagined global community, they seem to enter a process of participation that moves from peripheral positions towards fuller participation. Such process seems to take place through the gain of legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991). The issue of legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991) is very relevant to the present study. As their identities expand, these students envision imagined identities that incorporate the values, knowledge, opportunities and recognition that they gradually aspire to obtain, those features shared by all world citizens (Ryan, 2006; Arnett, 2002; Jackson, 2008). In most cases, they still see this future identity as far off and they are aware of the fact that there is still much to be done. In an effort to search for legitimacy, these participants have decided to engage, or are planning to engage, in more real CoPs through English. In some cases, the aim is to learn English (e.g. an English language course abroad), while in others the aim is to earn the symbolic capital required in their imagined communities (e.g. to work or volunteer abroad).

The data revealing major identity changes presented in the previous sections reveal that some students' L2 identities shift over time, to different degrees, from English learners to English users (Pavlenko, 2003), and vice versa, depending on the context and the interlocutors. As the evolving relationship with the global language became more and more positive, the possible range of identities that the student-teachers envisioned increased. In some cases, students position themselves, whether in the

present or in the future, as English users (Cook, 2005) or multicompetent speakers (Cook, 1992), especially in those cases and situations in which English is perceived as an international language that is owned by all its speakers (Higgins, 2003), seeing themselves in a much more positive light. Hence, data reveals certain evidence of repositioning taking place as a result of the students' participation in English CoPs and their progressive gain of legitimacy.

Differences were noted between those student-teachers who had opportunities to participate in real CoPs through English (e.g. Stays abroad, international experiences), who had had more chances to position and reposition and gain legitimacy, and those participants who had had little exposure to real CoPs through English, who seem to be in more peripheral positions and still appear to position themselves as English learners. The student-teachers' comments seem to imply that engagements in real English CoPs such as stays abroad, international contacts or mobility, contribute to a clear imagining of an international community of people who speak English, travel, live abroad and interact with individuals from all over the world. Such imagined identities as future English users are built as they evaluate themselves in relation to the world, to their linguistic resources and, consequently, to their symbolic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

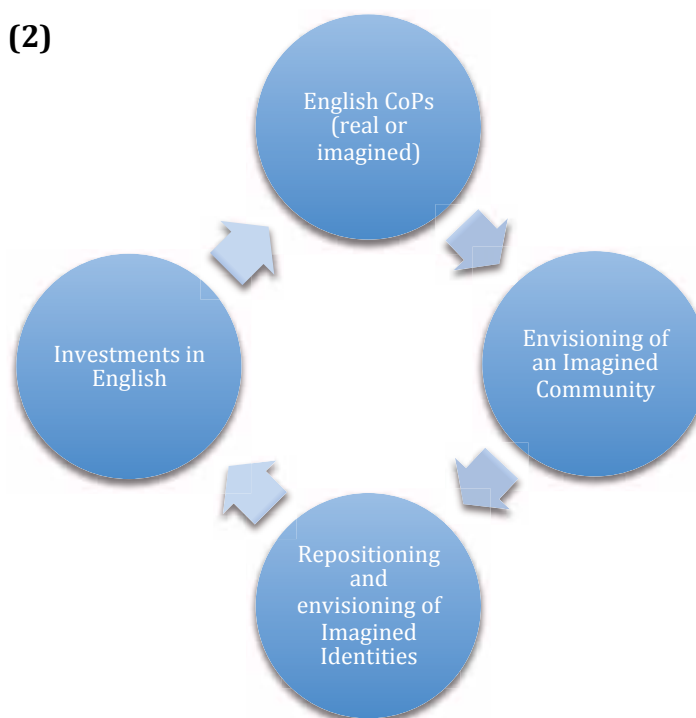
The notion of EIL and the imagined community it embraces offer them such opportunity, even though other data show that some participants do not yet feel legitimate enough. They are still on their way towards their desired membership: they are working on moving from peripheral positions towards more legitimate positions. Even those students who seem to feel legitimate speakers of English (such as Sara and Alicia) keep investing in this language, as it has turned into the key to their imagined identities as world citizens who embrace global possibilities: they want to travel, to work abroad.... Mastering English is not the ultimate purpose. The objective is to embrace the world. Some data also indicates that some student-teachers might have positioned as English learners who aspire to acquire native-like features of the language and who struggled to participate in certain communities, in which they have not felt legitimate enough to use English.

The analysis also suggests that, while in the case of those who had never lived abroad it was the globalisation what brought English and its value to their lives, the process might have been a bit different in the case of those who had lived abroad. In the case of Arnau, Sònia and Sara, specially, they were very young when they first left their home country to immerse themselves in an English-speaking environment. Similarly, Alicia, Neus, Júlia and Roser were also quite young when they first had such an opportunity. The word “opportunity” is deliberately employed here, as these students’ first experiences in English environments might have taken place due to the value that their families placed on the learning of English. In this regard, data appears to orient to Bourdieu (1991:48)’s discussion when he talks about the “transmission of cultural capital [...] previously invested by the family”, an issue that appears to be key in this study. For some, the first CoP through English was that of the imagination (through English TV, materials, information and mobility). For others, this step might have already been made by the participants’ families. Such families might have already envisioned this imagined community and might have wanted their children to be part of it, even before the student-teachers could have realized its possible advantages. Therefore, for this group of students whose families had previously envisioned such imagined global community, real or direct CoP through English were part of their lives since they were very young.

The analysis of this chapter also suggests that, as a result of their visualised imagined identities, the amount of investments in English increased, as students improved their English skills and, thus, as they gained legitimacy in their imagined communities. As Warschauer (2000:515) argues, there might be “a growing basis for learners around the world to view English as their own language of additional communication rather than as a foreign language controlled by the “Other””. Hence, negotiations of the students’ identities appear to lead to an eagerness to invest in real CoPs that empower them with the values and cultural capital that they are required to master if they want to become full legitimate members of the global imagined community they envision. Their investments in the language appear to be acts of alignment to gradually achieve more and more old-timer status in their imagined community (Wenger, 1998).

Furthermore, the student-teachers decide to invest in their imagined identities by engaging in more CoPs in which they can interact through English (see Figure 14). Kanno & Norton (2003:248) point out that “what has not yet happened in the future can be a reason and motivation for what learners do in the present”. In this sense, therefore, all the engagements in real communities seem to be the result of a previous envisioning of the students’ imagined global identity and community. Kanno & Norton (2003:248) add that individuals can invest their “time and energy to strive for the realization of alternative visions of the future”. That is what these participants seem to be doing. In the process of engaging in these CoPs, the student-teachers earn and acquire cultural, social and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1997; Warschauer, 1999).

Figure 14. Discussion S2 (2)



Some data indicate that participants connected some engagements with others, while expressing that they decided to increase their participation in certain English communities due to previous engagements mediated through this language. For instance, having lived abroad for a while or having met international people leads to international contacts through new communication technologies such as Skype or Facebook, while in other cases international contacts simply emerge from new technologies. Similarly, English materials reach the students’ lives through globalisation, but once they witness possible future identities with English, it is the students themselves who decide to invest more in the use of such materials (watching more TV

in English, trying to understand English songs' lyrics or reading more books in this language).

The idea of investment is important in that it is linked to the imagined communities in which all these participants aim to be members of. It makes sense to presume that, in international contexts in which speakers come from all over the world, the global identity they develop by using English allows them to become speakers of EIL rather than speakers of EFL, since the former turns them into legitimate speakers of the language rather than failed native speakers of the target language community (Higgins, 2003). It is under the EIL approach that these participants can use English or want to use this language as competent and legitimate L2 speakers. In this sense, Kanno & Norton (2009:248) added that identities “must be understood not only in terms of our investment in the real world but also in terms of our investment in possible worlds”. Thus, the motivation to be part of an international community of English speakers might help to see English as an international language rather than a language owned by native speakers.

Thus, students invest more in English and participate more in communities where this language is spoken after having experienced identity changes in previous engagements (e.g. using skype after stays abroad or exchanging emails after international contacts), Sara's comment clearly illustrates this idea: *“I've lived many enriching experiences, which only makes me want to learn more English in order to live more of these experiences”* (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Discussion S2 (3)

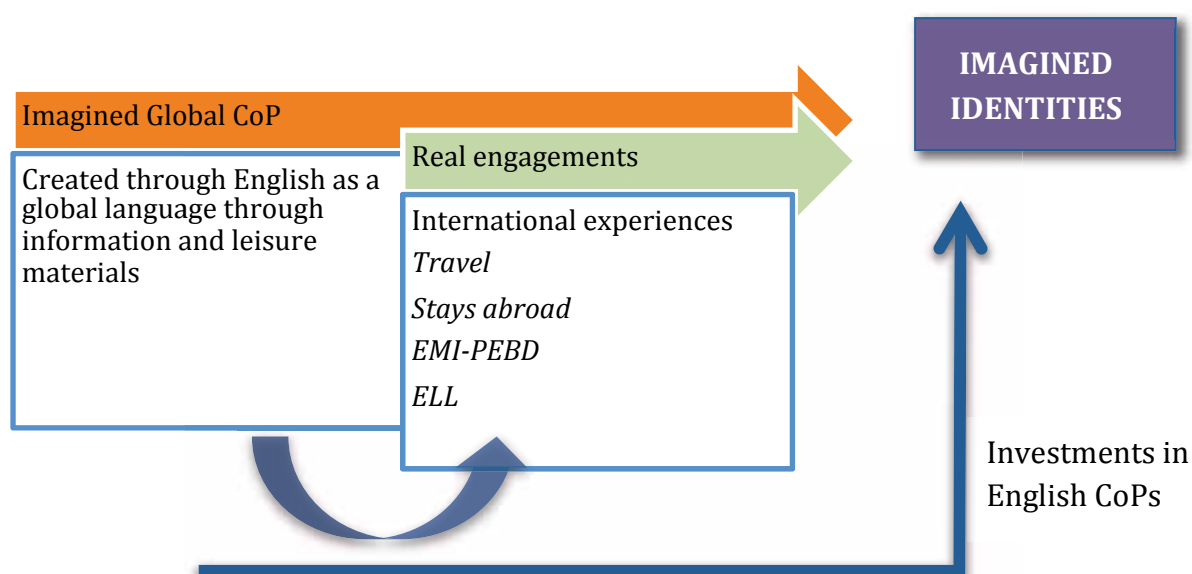


In order to acquire fuller membership in their imagined communities, data related to investments report on some of the student-teachers' future plans and reveal some of the future investments in their global community. Comments include further engagements such as volunteering all over the world, moving to other countries, travelling, working abroad as well as taking more English lessons in order to increase their legitimacy in this community they find theirs.

The issue of the EMI-PEBD CoP is worthy of mention. In Chapter 5 (S1) , the EMI-PEBD was found to be one of the participants' major investments in their imagined identities and, thus, it must be remarked that it was also the consequence of prior engagements in English CoPs, weather real or imagined. All data related to the student-teachers' engagements was analysed in this study, but as the data show, some of these engagements were the result of the participation in the EMI-PEBD CoP (e.g. more investments in English Materials or in ELL due to the EMI-PEBD). Such engagements have also been included, although the data which specifically refer to identity changes within and over the course of the EMI-PEBD will be analysed in detail in S3.

Following, Figure16 aims to illustrate the discussion presented so far and the main findings obtained in this study:

Figure 16. Discussion S2 (4)



REPOSITIONING WITHIN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Modernity radically alters the nature of day-to-day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience. Modernity must be understood on an institutional level; yet the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self (Giddens, 1991:1).

The acknowledgement of the existence of a global community of English users, that reaches them through imagination, implies that the participants in this study also acknowledge an imagined identity within this global community. Rizvi (2005), in fact, relates the idea of identity and imagination to people's aspirations. The participants see their future identities taking part and participating in a global community of world citizens (Ryan, 2006; Arnett, 2002; Jackson, 2008), who can accumulate the necessary symbolic and cultural capital that will allow them to become some of its full members (Bourdieu, 1991; Wenger, 1998). All the participants' quotes that refer to the importance of English nowadays and the possibilities it implies refer to their identity negotiation processes. Block's (2007a:113) argument can be considered particularly relevant: "an engagement with English as an international language (and not as the patrimony of native speakers), [...] can have a significant impact on an FL learner's sense of self". Similarly, the examined data show that the students are aware of the fact that English is no longer tied to locality or certain communities (Pennycook, 2003) and that global English requires them "to assess the values linked to this global culture and how they as individual relate to them" (Ryan, 2006:31).

How does then engagement in this global community of practice affect the student-teachers' imagined identities? It affects their imagined identities in that it is within this CoP, whether through imagination or real participation, where the student-teachers' reposition themselves in relation to the world. The role that globalisation is playing in the shaping of identities of English learners has been widely discussed (Jackson, 2008; Lamb, 2003; Ryan, 2006; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2006; Yashima, 2009). In relation to this, Kramsch (1999:131) states that "the global spread of English challenges learners of English to develop both a global and a local voice". According to Ryan (2006:41), "membership and participation" in imagined communities "do not occur

through real engagement with other members of the community; they occur in the imagination". The student-teachers in this study seem to be exposed to multiple options and decision-making due to the possibilities that English opens up for them. These findings, looked from this perspective, relate to Giddens' (1991:5) assertion that "the more tradition loses its hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options". The findings in this study point to the relevance of communication technologies in the creation of an English imagined global community. Through information technology-mediated communication, the participants develop new English-mediated identities. In this regard, when discussing how individuals might end up being globally positioned, (Appadurai, 1996) discusses how developments in ICT, together with mass migrations, heavily mediate the current generation's imaginations. He emphasizes the role that ICT systems play on the scope of imaginable communities. In relation to that, Block (2007a:196) considers that there is the need to examine how social media can reinforce "identity work done face to face" or how it can offer "an alternative to it".

REPOSITINOING WITHIN REAL CoPs

For some, the first CoP through English was that of the imagination (through English TV, materials, information or mobility). For others, this step might have already been made by their families, who might have visualized an English imagined community and might have wanted their children to be part of it. Hence, for a group of students, even before they could realize the social advantages that this CoP could have, real English-mediated CoPs had been part of their lives since a very young age. During such processes, the capacity to imagine beyond the immediate context might develop: just like CoPs provide individuals with images of the broader context where their practices are located, a person's identity is also an interplay between the local and the global. As Wenger (1998:162) argues, "in our communities of practice we come together not only to engage in pursuing some enterprise but also to figure out how our engagement fits in the broader scheme of things". In short, real English CoPs appear to be interweaved at all times with what they contribute to envision at a more global level. The L2, in this sense, serves both as a communicative link and identity link.

The findings show how participation in real English CoP led to more struggles, but also to the gain of more legitimacy. The students' identities notably shift, and even more powerfully when these engagements imply crossing cultural borders and encountering international English speakers. According to Giddens (1991:54), "the individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing "story" about the self". It is important to highlight that being directly in touch with English in real English CoPs has turned into an inevitable reality for young generations and that it has turned into a very important feature of globalisation. It is of prime importance, thus, to acknowledge the global tendency to live and work abroad. With respect to this issue and focusing on a young generation, Jackson (2008:11) affirms that there has been a "dramatic increase in student mobility and proliferation of SA programmes [Stays Abroad]" and that there are "complex issues involved when people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds come into contact". More specifically, when talking about the notions of "habitus" and "field", Bourdieu (1991) refers to a possible "lack of congruence" when in some situations these two realities come into conflict with each other. Such might be the case of students from Spain moving abroad for certain periods of time, as these situations are likely to cause intercultural disregards and values collisions (Jackson, 2008).

6.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter started with a brief chapter overview (6.1.), followed by an introduction to the study (6.2.). Section 6.3. provided information about the preliminary results, including the codes that were obtained (6.3.1.) and the results from quantitative and qualitative data in Q2 (sections 6.3.2. and 6.3.3., respectively). After that, section 6.4. presented the interpretation of the results obtained. While different types of participation in English CoPs were presented in section 6.4.1., the evolution of their real and imagined identities during such engagements were analysed in section 6.4.2. Finally, and before this chapter overview, a discussion on the findings of the study concluded in section 6.5.

CHAPTER 7: THE IMPACT OF THE EMI-PEBD COP ON STUDENT-TEACHERS' L2 IDENTITIES (Study 3)

7.1. CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter presents Study 3 (S3), the last study in this dissertation, which focuses on the process of identity changes of twelve student-teachers as English learners/users over the course of their participation in the EMI-PEBD (see Chapter 3).

The study places a special emphasis on some of the key theoretical notions in this dissertation, namely “imagined identities”, “imagined community”, “community of practice” (CoP), “investment”, “legitimacy”, “English as an International Language” (EIL), Study Abroad (SA) and “internationalisation at home” (IaH). Direct quotes from the participants’ accounts have been marked in italics and certain words or parts were highlighted in bold as they were considered particularly meaningful for the analysis.

This chapter is structured as following. First, the introduction in section 7.2. is a reminder of the goals of the study, the data that will be used and the analytical procedures that were followed. Then, in section 7.3. the preliminary results are provided. More specifically, section 7.3.1. describes the resulting codes of S3, while section 7.3.2. presents the general knowledge that was taken into consideration when interpreting the data. After that, section 7.4. addresses the findings obtained, delving into three patterns that were identified in the data. Finally, section 7.5. presents the discussion of the results.

7.2. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

S3 aims to track the evolution of 12 student-teachers over the course of their participation in the EMI-PEBD, to explore how they experience such participation, both within the university degree and outside the university walls. The analysis addresses the following research question (RQ3):

How do the student-teachers' identities as English learners evolve over the course of the EMI-PEBD?

As it was explained in section 4.5.2.3., only 12 linguistic autobiographies were collected due to unforeseen events that occurred in two participants' cases. Thus, for the purpose of this study, only the following Data Set was analysed:

Data Set G: Linguistic Autobiographies

Hence, the data in this study only comprises the participants' linguistic autobiographies, written at the end of their third academic year in the EMI-PEBD. Having said that, S3 also builds on the analysis and findings presented in S1 and S2 and thus, the results obtained in the previous two chapters and their discussion will be taken into account.

All coded data included in S3 can be found in Appendix 8, while all data translations can be found in Appendix 5.

7.2.1. GENERAL ANALYTICAL APPROACH

As far as the data treatment and analysis, the following table (Table 24) schematizes how this data set was analysed:

Table 24. Data treatment S3

Data set	Type of analysis
Linguistic autobiographies	Qualitative content and narrative analysis

7.2.2. ANALYTICAL APPROACH: STEPS

Data Set G: Linguistic Autobiographies

An extensive content analysis (combined with narrative analysis at all times) of qualitative data has been the main method for analysis of Data Set G (linguistic autobiographies). Following, the steps that were followed are reminded:

Steps 1 to 3 were the preliminary approach to data (data preparation for the analysis). Steps 4 to 7 were the deep thorough analysis (content analysis combined with narrative analysis). Following, the steps that were followed are reminded:

- Step 1: Familiarization with the data.
- Step 2: Data reduction (Miles and Huberman, 1994).
- Step 3: Data display (Miles and Huberman, 1994) in order to organize the information that had been collected.
- Step 4: Search for regularities among data and labelling of such data (color-coding) (*coding*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 5: Grouping of codes that seemed to pertain to the same phenomena (*coding*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 6: Writing down of ideas and relationships found during the coding procedure, creating new patterns, ideas and connections among data (*memoing*, Punch, 2005).
- Step 7: Development of propositions to capture a thick interpretation of all the findings (*developing propositions*, Punch, 2005).

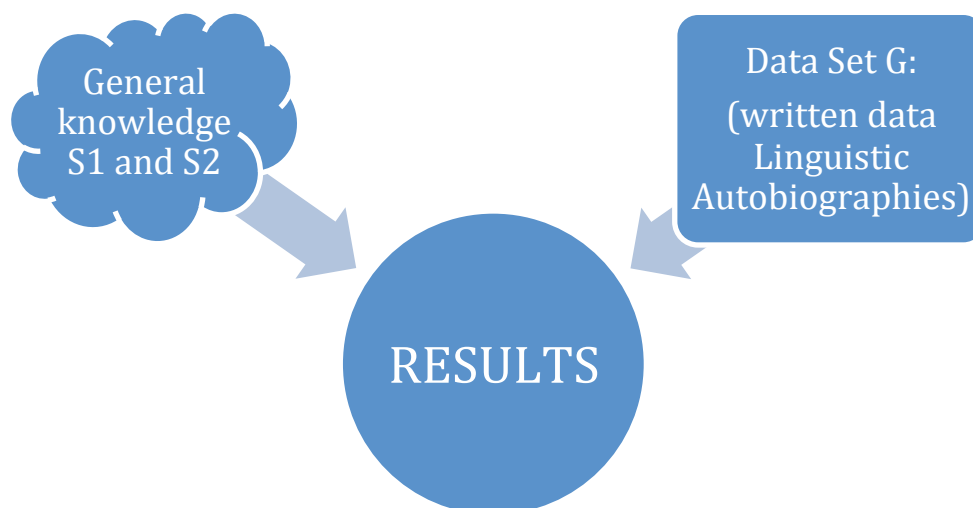
As stated in Chapter 4, the fact that the analysis was a recursive process needs to be emphasized. All phases presented took place, although they were not necessarily consecutive. The analysis was, thus, a recursive process, as each phase affected the other steps of the process. For further details on the analysis of qualitative data, see section 4.7.3.

It is worth mentioning again that, even though the data analysis carried out in the present doctoral dissertation has been the same in all three studies included, the need for a narrative analysis in S3 was greater than in the other two studies. Since the objective of S3 was mainly directed at tracking the students' evolving identities during their university studies, the amount of narrative analysis needed was much bigger than in the previous two studies, in particular compared to S1.

7.2.3. COMPILED RESULTS

Even though the amount of data included in this study is more reduced than the amount of analysed data in the previous two studies, it is important to take into consideration that the accumulated knowledge obtained from S1 and S2 was already in the researcher's mind when doing the analysis and when carrying out the further interpretation of the results. Thus, it can be stated that the compiled results in the present study consist of the following ones, presented in Figure 17 below:

Figure 17. Data Set S3



The final results were mainly reached through the triangulation of the data obtained in such linguistic autobiographies. Besides, the information and findings obtained in the previous two studies were on the researcher's mind at all times. The

data were analysed through the literature review's lens, while also allowing for more precise issues to emerge (see section 4.7.).

7.3. PRELIMINARY RESULTS

7.3.1. RESULTING CODES

The codes that emerged from S3 are presented in this section. The qualitative data that were analysed only included textual written data from linguistic autobiographies (Data Set G).

In order to find answers for RQ3, a qualitative and interpretive analysis of the data contributed to the coding procedure. Such codes are interlinked at all times, at the same time they form higher categories.

In the process of analysing the data corpus, codes related to relevant themes that were previously identified in the theoretical chapter of the given dissertation and that could unravel the ways in which the student-teachers experienced their three years of studying at the UAB allowed a preliminary approach to the data. The way students' identities evolved during their university degree was also identified and further interpreted through thematic analysis.

Table 23 below presents the main categories and the codes identified through the preliminary analysis. Since the focus of the linguistic autobiographies was to track the evolution of the students' identities as English users, all codes seem to be subordinated to a broader category of "Evolving identities" that aimed to look at different aspects of the participants' evolving identities during their studies at the EMI-PEBD. Another category, "Previous English CoPs", however, emerged from the linguistic autobiographies as the participants mentioned experiences in English CoPs previous to the EMI-PEBD and connected these with how they had been experiencing the degree.

Even though the categories were framed within the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2, all codes in this study are data-driven as they emerged from the data.

Following, in Table 25 the codes and categories that appeared during the data analysis are outlined and described.

Table 25. Codes and Categories S3

CATEGORIES	CODES
Evolving Identities	EMI-PEBB practices
	Identity changes during the EMI-PEBD
	Initial degree of legitimacy
	Identity changes during SA
	Investments in English CoPs during the EMI-PEBD
	Imagined Identities
	Future Investments in an Imagined Community
Previous English CoPs	Previous English CoPs
<i>Note:</i> <i>CoPs: Communities of Practice</i>	

As argued in section 4.7.2., Pavlenko's (2007) recommendations for analysis of linguistic autobiographies were followed. Special emphasis was put on the content, as well as on the form of verbal tenses, expressions and vocabulary, to identify the themes behind the students' comments. More specifically, the codes referring to identity changes and to issues related to *positioning* (Davies and Harré, 1990) emerged as the students' linguistic choices shed light on the ways in which they experienced their relationship with English during the degree (see all data from S3 in Appendix 8).

Following, each code will be briefly presented:

- **“EMI-PEBD PRACTICES”**: types of practices through English the students experienced during the degree (writing in English, making oral presentations, etc.).
- **“IDENTITY CHANGES DURING THE EMI-PEBD”**: the way the students' relationship with English as individuals who employ this language has changed over the degree and the ways in which they see themselves and English has evolved. As it was already explained in section 4.5.1.3., drawing on the poststructuralist approach to identity which argues

that L2 learning and learner identity are inextricably bound together, the participants were asked to specifically discuss their relationship with English over the EMI-PEBD.

- The code “**INITIAL DEGREE OF LEGITIMACY**”: the degree of legitimacy the students felt at the initial stages of the EMI-PEBD.
- The code “**IDENTITY CHANGES DURING STAYS ABROAD**”: the students’ identity evolution during Stays Abroad (Erasmus exchange program, school internship abroad, etc.) as part of the EMI-PEBD.
- The code “**INVESTMENTS IN ENGLISH COPs DURING THE EMI-PEBD**”: the participants’ investments in English CoPs that took place during the degree; both the ones which were due to the students’ personal decisions (e.g. watching more TV in English) and the ones that were prompted by the EMI-PEBD (e.g. university exchange, school internship abroad).
- The code “**IMAGINED IDENTITIES**”: the student-teachers’ vision of themselves in the future.
- Finally, the code “**FUTURE INVESTMENTS IN AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY**”: future activities in English that the students envision and are eager to pursue.

The coded data that emerged from the students’ narratives is displayed in Appendix 8. Results will be presented organised in the following way:

(1) Insights from previous general knowledge on the participants (section 7.3.2.)

(2) Comprehensive thematic interpretation of Data Set G (section 7.4.)

7.3.2. PREVIOUS GENERAL KNOWLEDGE

For the purpose of this study, it was necessary to consider the life story behind each participant. Thus, the data and findings in S2 are highly relevant for S3, as the ways in which the students’ identities evolve over the course of the EMI-PEBD cannot be

understood without taking into account the participants' linguistic identities before starting the degree. This study, therefore, builds on each participants' story presented in S2 and takes into consideration the number and nature of English CoPs in which they have participated. It is of prime importance to also bear in mind the ways in which the participants have positioned and repositioned themselves over the course of their previous engagements in English-mediated environments. While the EMI-PEBD was not the focus of S2, the present study provides an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the EMI-PEBD affected the students' identities and repositionings.

Already presented and discussed in S2, Table 16 shows that seven out of fourteen participants in this study have lived abroad before entering the EMI-PEBD, while Table 23 outlines the length and types of their SAs. Such information is relevant for the discussion of the findings of the present study.

Table 16. Stays abroad

Question 3: Have you ever studied/lived abroad?	
YES (7/14)	NO (7/14)
Alicia	Gisela
Arnau	Mercè
Júlia	Montse
Roser	Natalia
Sara	Patricia
Sònia	Silvia

Table 23. Stays abroad (extended)

Participants	Experiences abroad	Extended information on stays abroad
Alicia	Yes	North Ireland for 15 days, working in the mornings and taking English lessons in the afternoons. During her second year at the university, she was participating in an Exchange programme (Programa Propi de la UAB) in Buffalo, USA
Arnau	Yes	2 weeks taking English lessons in the UK at the age of 14.
Júlia	Yes	2 weeks taking English lessons in New York.
Roser	Yes	1 month (2011) in Israel in an International Summer Science Institute.
Sara	Yes	4 summers in a row doing English courses abroad: London, Sheffield, Boston and San Francisco.
Sònia	Yes	2 weeks in Birmingham at the age of 12 living with a host-family. 1 month taking English lessons in Ireland. 1 month working as an au-pair in London.

7.4. INTEGRATING RESULTS

The qualitative data that were analysed was textual data in written form, obtained from the 12 linguistic autobiographies collected in June 2015 at the Faculty of Education of the UAB. Such data were analysed through content analysis and through a thematic analysis (Guest, 2012), requiring a narrative approach (Pavlenko, 2007) . For further details on how the data analysis was carried out, see section 4.7.3.

The instructions included in the linguistic autobiographies that the 12 student-teachers offered to fill in were the following:

- “Write an autobiographical essay that reflects on your evolution and experience as an English user throughout the English-Medium Primary Education degree at the UAB” ¹

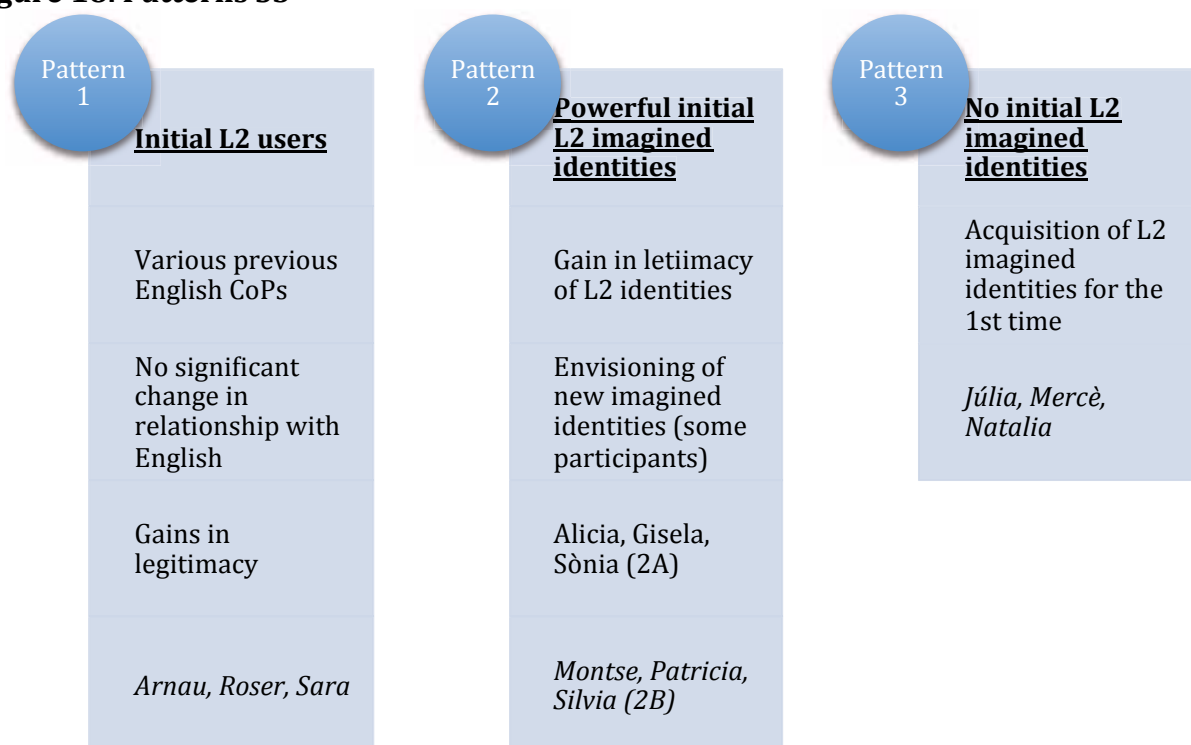
This section attempts to weave together the findings obtained through the data coding in order to answer RQ3. It includes the interpretation of the data from linguistic autobiographies. The interpretation emerges from the codes and categories that appeared, as well as from the narrative analysis undertaken. While in S1 and 2 the interpretation of data was presented according to the categories obtained and their hierarchy, the weight of narrative analysis needed in S3 required a different presentation of the findings. Since the aim of RQ3 was to find out about the WAYS in which the student-teachers identities evolve, this section will be presented according to the different patterns that emerged through the interpretation of the narrative analysis carried out. However, as stated in the previous sections, the coding procedures contributed to a first approach to data analysis (see section 4.7.3.). What differentiates the presentation of the findings in this study from the previous two is due to the proportion of narrative analysis needed in S3. Therefore, the thematic analysis (Guest, 2012) that follows is presented according the Patterns that emerged when delving into the ways in which the participants experienced their participation in the EMI-PEBD.

¹ *Escriu un text autobiogràfic que reflecteixi la teva evolució i la teva experiència com a usuari de l'anglès al llarg del grau d'Educació Primària a la UAB” (see Appendix 4).*

While the interpretation of S2 put a strong emphasis on the type and amount of English-mediated CoPs in which the students had participated (as it turned out to be a source of valuable information) the linguistic autobiographies offered an even more precise examination of the students' own perceptions towards themselves and their relationship with English, as well as it provided information about a very important factor: their initial degree of membership in an imagined global CoPs of English users or, in other words, their initial degree of legitimacy when starting the EMI-PEBD².

The data analysis indicates that the EMI-PEBD turned into a meaningful CoP for the student-teachers in which they engage and in which their present and future identities evolve. Having said that, the fact that each participant's trajectory is unique, personal and ongoing needs to be remembered. Taking this issue into account, as Figure 18 shows, the twelve student-teachers and the identity changes they experienced, as identified in their linguistic autobiographies, can be grouped into three clearly distinct patterns.

Figure 18. Patterns S3



² Preliminary results from a combination of data from Study 2 and Study 3 can be found in Torras-Vila (2016).

Data analysis reveals that, before starting the EMI-PEBD, the first group of participants has experienced important changes within real English CoPs (as opposed to “imagined”). They seem to have already positioned themselves as English users as a range of imagined identities which require them to master English emerged long before their choice of degree. The second group of participants started the degree with a very strong and powerful imagined identities as English users/speakers³, but their degree of legitimacy gradually increases over their participation in the EMI-PEBD. At the beginning of studying the degree, these students position themselves as English learners. Some of them have previously participated in relatively long-term real English CoPs (mainly stays abroad), while others have never done so. What they seem to have in common is that their imagined identities are extremely powerful and seem to guide them throughout the degree. Such future identities were, in fact, a key factor in their decision to study primary education in English (see Chapter 5). Finally, the third group of students not only appear to have limited or no experiences in real English CoPs at the beginning of the degree, but also they have not envisioned any type of positive linguistic imagined identities which would require them to master the target language. It is over the course of the EMI-PEBD when they envision such future identities by experiencing significant identity changes⁴.

In what follows, the stories of the participants that seem to illustrate similar themes will be presented and analysed, originating responses to the main area of inquiry guiding this study.

7.4.1. PATTERN 1: “INITIAL L2 USERS”

This pattern was identified in the data provided by three participants: Sara, Roser and Arnau. The analysis indicates that previous participation in various English communities of practice, both real and imagined, led to the identity expansion in case of

³ The reasons behind the ambiguity in using the terms “user” / “speaker” in this dissertation will be discussed in section 7.5.

⁴ While in S2 Júlia seemed to have certain imagined identities in mind that required her to learn English, S3 revealed that she basically wanted to learn English due to practical reasons (e.g. watching TV materials in the original version). However, she was not invested in English for any other reasons.

these three students. However, this process took place before they started their university degree. Being English the language used throughout such engagements, their future possible L2 identities were envisioned and later on gradually constructed. By the time they start the EMI-PEBD, these three student-teachers position themselves as English users who are already participating in a global community where this language is used as a lingua franca. In order to obtain a clear picture of the previous experiences and engagements with English CoPs of Sara, Roser and Arnau before the EMI-PEBD, see S2 (Chapter 6).

Their linguistic autobiographies show their identity shifts over the course of their engagements in English-mediated communities. The following quotes reflect the students' progressive awareness towards what English could offer them, as this language started to become one of the linguistic resources of their personal repertoire.

*Per mi l'anglès, **no havia tingut mai un significat espacialment profund fins la primer vegada que vaig viatjar a l'estranger en un programa d'immersió lingüística.** Havia sigut una assignatura de l'escola [...] però mai no m'havia plantejar que pogués significar (ni aportar-me) res més enllà. **En el primer moment en que li vaig trobar utilitat, aquesta llengua va esdevenir una nova eina de comunicació per a mi.** I com tota eina, vaig començar a sentir la necessitat de millorar-la i conseqüentment vaig posar la predisposició per fer-ho (Sara)⁵ [Excerpt 7.1.]*

*La meva relació amb la llengua anglesa, es pot dir que va començar força d'hora, potser fins i tot abans que jo hagués escoltat mai cap paraula en aquesta llengua. El fet és que **els meus pares estaven molt conscienciats i valoraven molt la futura importància d'aquesta en el món globalitzat que s'estava creant aleshores.** [...] Així doncs, vaig anar a una escola on l'anglès tenia un rol important, [...] Cal dir, per això, que jo no vaig començar a valorar i a entendre l'aprenentatge de l'anglès com un element enriquidor i una aposta pel meu futur fins al cap d'anys. [...] **El fet d'experimentar com era capaç de comunicar-me amb gent estrangera, viatjar sense cap problema i, dit d'una manera general, travessar moltes barreres lingüístiques i culturals, em va fer augmentar les ganes de dominar encara més la llengua (Roser)⁶** [Excerpt 7.2.]*

⁵ To me English had never had an especially deep meaning until the first time I went abroad with an English immersion programme. It had only been a school subject [...] but I had never thought about what it could mean (or provide me with) beyond that. The first moment I found it useful, this language became a new communication tool for me. As a tool, I started to feel the need to improve it and, therefore, my attitude towards it became more positive.

⁶ One can say that my relationship with English started quite early, maybe even before I had ever heard a

A la nostra família ens agrada molt viatjar i és per això que des de ben petit he estat en contacte amb diferents idiomes. També l'esquí m'ha ajudat a desenvolupar-me en l'àmbit de les llengües. Durant molts entrenaments fora d'Espanya, parlar francès, italià o anglès eren el mínim requerit per poder-se relacionar amb la gent [...] No sé si va ser l'esquí o la meva curiositat el que em van fer apuntar a una acadèmia d'anglès fa molts anys. Des de llavors he anat fent fins assolir un nivell amb el qual em sento còmode i sense por a l'hora de conversar i amb el qual em puc defensar en la gran majoria de situacions. El mateix em passa amb el francès (Arnau)⁷ [Excerpt 7.3.]

Due to the practices Sara, Roser and Arnau mention in the excerpts, they have learned who they can become when mastering English by negotiating new meanings. Following their comments, learning “is not just the acquisition of memories, habits, and skills, but the formation of an identity” (Wenger, 1998:96). As shown in Tables 16 and 23., Sara, Roser and Arnau had been widely participating in L2 communities before entering the EMI-PEBD. Throughout these learning opportunities, English was eventually no longer a mere “communication tool”, but it became a meaningful symbolic resource (Bourdieu, 1986). Sara had been abroad on many occasions, while Roser had also participated in international settings, both abroad and at home. Arnau, since a very young age and due to his skiing environment, had widely participated in English-mediated environments, travelling all over the world to compete. The types of experiences they mention and their level of accessibility to such experiences relate to the assertion that “relations of power in the social world affect learners’ access to the target language community” (Norton & McKinney, 2011:73). It is within such experiences that English started to symbolize “the world around” their local culture and

word in this language. The thing is that my parents were very much aware and they highly valued the future importance of this language in the globalizing world that was emerging [...]. So I went to a school where English had an important role [...]. We must say, though, that I did not begin to appreciate and understand the learning of English as an enriching element or as a commitment to my future until much later. [...] Experiencing how I was able to communicate with foreigners, travel without any kind of problems and, put another way, go through many linguistic barriers, made me want to master this language even more.

⁷ In our family we love travelling and that is why since I was a kid I've always come in contact with different languages. Skiing has also helped me to develop myself in the field of languages. During many training sessions outside of Spain, speaking French, Italian or English were the minimum requirements in order to be able to mingle with people [...]. Don't know if it was ski or my curiosity what pushed me to enrol in an English language school many years ago. Since then I have kept going until reaching a level in which I feel comfortable, and without fear when communicating, and with which I can hold my own in most situations. Same thing happens to me with French.

country (Yashima, 2002).

As S2 revealed, such awaken interest towards English and the imagined communities that emerged through it had major consequences in terms of these students' investments in the language and their alignments with English-mediated activities. Students grouped in Pattern 1, thus, acquired "cultural capital" as they acquired the "knowledge and modes of thought" that characterized "different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social forms, with differential exchange values" (Norton & McKinney, 2011:75). As Wenger (1998:218) puts it, "the combination of imagination and alignment produces the ability to act with respect to a broad and rich picture of the world". The visualization of imagined communities by these students led to the alignment of their activities, which made them being aware of the reasons behind such activities. It is so much so, that, particularly in Sara's case, she refers to the EMI-PEBD as one of these alignments:

*Començar la carrera en anglès en el fons no ha set més que una **conseqüència a llarg termini d'aquest interès** (Sara)⁸ [Excerpt 7.4.]*

It is interesting to note that Sara herself uses the word "consequence". Her words are in line with Wenger's discussion on the connections between imagination and alignment, arguing that they reflect "the scope of our imagination as well as the scope of effects of our actions".

Sara, Roser and Arnau, thus, have come a long way before starting university. However, since the focus of the present study is on the role of the EMI-PEBD in their identity evolution, their linguistic autobiographies also included relevant information on how they experienced participation in the degree and on their relationship with English.

*Al llarg de la meva carrera l'anglès ha anat adquirint més i més importància per a mi. [...] En certa manera podria dir que **la meva percepció de l'anglès no ha canviat massa al llarg dels anys, ja que des del primer moment tenia la idea fixa de que allò seria important i útil per a mi** (Sara)⁹ [Excerpt 7.5.]*

⁸ Starting the degree in English has in fact been a longterm consequence of such interest.

⁹ During the degree English has gradually become more and more important to me [...]. My perception of

He de concretar, per això, que com ja he dit, tot això ha sigut única i exclusivament en l'àmbit acadèmic, i que en l'àmbit familiar i social, el paper de l'anglès no ha canviat. Simplement podria dir que d'una manera secundària, el fet de tenir més fluïdesa en l'anglès, aquest m'ha permès mantenir més bones relacions i tenir converses més "profundes" amb gent que no parla la meva llengua maternal (Roser)¹⁰ [Excerpt 7.6.]

Very interestingly, although both Sara and Roser recognize that their level of English has improved, they also seem to be aware of the fact that English was already part of their identities and, thus, that their personal relationship with the language has not changed. Their comments shed light on the identity expansion they had already undergone before starting the degree. They had already developed their current identities and imagined identities in which English played a very important role. As Sara stated before, the EMI-PEBD was, thus, merely a consequence of this process. Likewise, Roser considers that she has improved in her academic English abilities, but that her conception towards the language and the extent to which it is part of who she is has not changed.

However, both students acknowledge that English has increasingly become a bigger part of their identities, helping them to gain fuller positions in the communities they envision:

*Al llarg d'aquests tres anys, puc dir que el meu **grau de confiança amb l'anglès ha millorat força** a nivell oral. El fet de utilitzar aquest idioma diàriament i d'una manera normalitzada, ha fet que **em surti d'una manera més natural** la conversa (Roser)¹¹ [Excerpt 7.7.]*

*A aquestes altures he guanyat en **habilitat** però també en **confiança i seguretat**. Em sento **molt més còmode** mantenint una conversa en llengua anglesa, i no crec que tingués aquesta mateixa confiança als inicis de la Carrera (Sara)¹² [Excerpt 7.8.]*

English over the years has not changed much, since from the very beginning I had the fixed idea that it would be important and useful.

¹⁰ I should specify, though, that as I said before, all this has exclusively been at an academic level and that at a family and social level, the role of English has not changed. I could simply say that secondarily, the fact that I have more fluency in English has allowed me to have better relationships and to have deeper conversations through this language with people who do not speak my mother tongue.

¹¹ Over these three years, I can say that my level of oral confidence in English has improved quite a lot. Using this language on a daily basis and as something normal has turned it into a more natural thing for me in conversations.

¹² At this point I've gained skills, but also self-confidence. I feel more comfortable engaging in a conversation through English, and I don't think I had such confidence at the beginning of the degree.

Roser and Sara seem to have gained what they were expecting by choosing the EMI-PEBD: legitimacy as English users. Although they had already envisioned their L2 imagined identities, they were probably searching for opportunities to prove to themselves that they could take part in a global CoP of international users of English. Language, context, culture and identity are always interweaved (Bakhtin, 1981), just like power, capital and linguistic practices are shaped by certain fields and habitus (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, investing in this degree was a decision that carried endless sociocultural gains and rewards, providing them with fuller and more legitimate positions within a global community whose values, cultural and material resources they aspired to acquire. Talking in English being “more natural”, using Roser’s words, might become a source of power and it might help her to be positioned and viewed by other members of this CoP as a more legitimate member, a member who has accumulated enough symbolic capital and who has the right to be listened to (Bourdieu, 1991).

As far as Arnau is concerned, in his linguistic autobiography he provided no data regarding identity changes over the course of the degree: he seems to have experienced the most important ones much earlier. However, similarly to Roser and Sara, he seems to be well aware of the need to acquire as much cultural and symbolic resources as possible since he provided very interesting and rich data regarding his imagined identities. He seems to be eager to learn as much as possible about other languages, cultures and traditions. He already speaks French and English, but apparently it is not enough for him:

*Últimament m'he plantejat aprendre un nou idioma. Tenir un país com Itàlia a prop, que s'hi mengi tan bé, amb neu i una llengua tan elegant i curiosa, ha fet decantar la balança. La veritat és que **porto temps volent aprendre l'italià**. Després d'haver recorregut diverses ciutats de la “bota” veig que val la pena posar-s'hi i conèixer aquesta llengua, la seva cultura, la seva gent... (Arnau)¹³ [Excerpt 7.9.]*

Arnau’s imagined linguistic identity is probably that of a “multicompetent speaker” (Cook, 1992, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003) who masters as many languages as possible. While

¹³ Lately I’ve been thinking about learning a new language. Having a country like Italy so nearby, in which you can eat so well, with snow and such an elegant and interesting language has helped me make a decision. In fact I’ve been wanting to learn Italian for a long time. After having travelled around various cities in the country, I see that learning the language and getting to know the language, the culture and its people is so worth it...

he might consider English a lingua franca, he seems to go beyond that practicality and the global community it embraces by also aiming to learn about other “local” worlds (Arnett, 2002). Being part of a global CoP in which its members can interact with each other through English carries a lot of meanings that go beyond the mastery of this language: over the process of transitioning from English learners to English users, not only do these students learn the language and become more proficient, they also seem to acquire an eagerness to embrace as much as possible of what the world has to offer: knowledge, values, and new imagined communities (in Arnau’s case, an Italian-speaking community). Arnau’s perspective, as well as Sara and Roser’s, is in accordance with research on ELF, which points at the necessity to reconceptualise the link between language and culture. Warschauer (2000:515) argues about the growing number of learners of English worldwide who “view English as their own language of additional communication rather than as a foreign language controlled by the “Other””.

In relation to the legitimacy issue, again, no major identity shifts have been identified in the data provided by these three participants. Sara, Roser and Arnau seem to have gradually become English users much before they invested in the degree. However, as the following quote shows, Arnau still views himself being in the process of “becoming as well prepared as possible”:

*Amb aquest grau d'educació primària en anglès espero que, a part **d'obrir-me les portes al món laboral** de l'educació, també **em permeti avançar el meu nivell d'anglès**. La vida pot portar-te al que un menys s'espera i, per tant, penso que cal estar el més ben preparat possible. D'aquí ve una gran part de la motivació que tinc per estudiar idiomes (Arnau)¹⁴ [Excerpt 7.10.]*

Arnau’s quote speaks of his imagined communities and his keenness to embrace as much knowledge as possible in order to be able to participate in a global community that encompasses many languages, cultures, values and knowledge. While their identities as English users might have not substantially evolved, these student-teachers have earned fuller positions as members of a global community due to their engagement in the EMI-PEBD. One might ask how they acquire such legitimacy. In their

¹⁴ With this degree in Primary Education through English I hope that, in addition to opening doors to the professional teaching world, it will also enable me to gain a higher level of English. Life can take you to surprising places and, thus, I think one has to be as prepared as possible. That’s where most of my motivation towards learning languages comes from.

linguistic autobiographies they provided information about what they consider they gain during the degree: familiarity with the practices they incorporate as members of an international community.

Considero que la carrera m'ha dotat d'habilitats lingüístiques en un context real i que (amb sort) freqüentaré en el futur. Per aquest motiu, per exemple, considero que les pràctiques que he realitzat a l'estranger (Richmond) durant aquest curs que acabem, han resultat probablement una de les experiències més enriquidores de la meua vida. No es tracta de l'anglès en si mateix, però de tot el que t'aporta en aquell moment donat. (Sara)¹⁵ [Excerpt 7.11.]

En aquesta carrera, l'anglès ha adquirit un paper principal per a mi. Aquest ha esdevingut la meua llengua vehicular per la meua vida acadèmica, i en aquest àmbit, el català i el castellà han perdut tot el pes que tenien abans (Roser)¹⁶ [Excerpt 7.12.]

La universitat la considero un espai d'expansió personal. T'obre la ment a molts nous coneixements, t'ofereix la possibilitat de marxar, conèixer nova gent i noves perspectives... Penso que la universitat és on una persona comença a veure's adult (Arnau)¹⁷ [Excerpt 7.13.]

Sara's words speak of the type of communities the EMI-PEBD makes possible: by bringing IaH (Nilsson, 2003a) the students are given the possibility to use English in a meaningful way in the classroom or to do a practicum abroad. Similarly, by saying that "and that, hopefully, I will use in the future", she is referring to the types of communities in which she is eager to participate – her imagined communities: communities in which English is used in a "real context". The university degree seems to offer her the possibility to engage in more real English CoPs (e.g. a SA in Richmond). In case of Roser, she acknowledges the fact that English has become her first language in academic terms, something that might be extremely relevant bearing in mind that these

¹⁵ I consider that the degree has provided me with linguistic skills within a real context and that (hopefully) I will use in the future. For this reason, for example, I consider that the the practicum I did abroad (Richmond) during this year we are about to finish, have become one of the most enriching experiences of my life. It's not about English itself, but about what it provides you with at a certain moment.

¹⁶ In this degree, English has acquired a fundamental role for me. It has become the communication tool for my academic life and, from this perspective, Catalan and Spanish have lost the importance they used to have.

¹⁷ I consider university as a space for personal growth. It opens up your mind to new knowledge and it provides you with the possibility to go abroad, discover new people and new perspectives... I think that university is where a person starts seeing themselves as adults.

participants want to be positioned as English users. Furthermore, Arnau's quote shows how the EMI-PEBD turns into a platform to access knowledge and other communities which otherwise would be unavailable. Arnau's future identity places him in the world. He imagines himself as someone who can move around without cultural or linguistic barriers. Hence, when reading these students' accounts, the EMI-PEBD and its attempt to afford them IaH seem to be successful. The degree has created a "meaningful context" for these participants by "integrating an international dimension" (Knight, 1993), since real purposes for learning the target language are tightly connected to the construction of L2 learners' identities (Murphey et al., 2005). By saying "it's not about English itself, but about what it gives you", Sara relates her interest towards the language with her shifting identities and, thus, sees English as an investment in who she is and who she aspires to become. Following this idea, when discussing the notion of "investment", Giampapa (2016:4) argues that "the benefits and return of this investment rests on the learner exercising his/her agency in order to be heard and claim legitimacy and authority as an English language speaker".

In the quote below, Sara furthermore shows appreciation towards a series of university practices that she finds meaningful, in that their aim is to go beyond the language itself and to focus on the acquisition of content subjects through English:

Les comunicacions a l'aula en llengua anglesa, les exposicions orals, els debats, i totes aquelles pràctiques que han implicat fer ús de l'anglès no com a llengua en si mateixa però com a eina de comunicació per assolir un altre objectiu (Sara)¹⁸ [Excerpt 7.14.]

Sara contemplates the fact that English is used as a "commodity" (Heller, 2003) as a very positive aspect of the EMI-PEBD. In this sense, Sara's and Roser's comments repeatedly denote how they perceive the impact of "internationalised lectures" (Moore et al., 2013:472), acknowledging the international practices they have incorporated into their lives. Sara's words, particularly, seem to indicate that the degree's IaH might have been, some way or another, successful.

¹⁸ Communicating in the classroom through English, oral presentations, debates and all those practices that have required the need for using English, not as a language by itself, but as a communication tool to reach another objective.

Summing up, it can be assumed argued that Sara, Roser and Arnau are aware of the fact that they progressively become more valuable members of an international community that interacts through English, in that its members share a series of cultural, symbolic and material resources (Bourdieu, 1991). Even though they might have already positioned themselves as English users when they started studying the degree, due to their previous successful experiences through English, becoming valuable members of their imagined communities implies constant efforts and work in order to keep incorporating the sociocultural practices associated with its legitimate members (e.g. incorporating academic practices through English).

7.4.2. PATTERN 2: “INITIAL L2 IMAGINED IDENTITIES”

This pattern was identified in the linguistic autobiographies of six participants: Alicia, Sònia, Gisela, Silvia, Patricia and Montse. The data signals that this group of students had also envisioned L2 imagined identities before starting the university, but unlike the students in Pattern 1, at the beginning of the EMI-PEBD they still positioned themselves as English learners who did not own enough legitimacy to be considered members of their imagined communities. They consider themselves to possess limited English skills and do not feel confident enough when using the L2. The comments of the participants in this group indicate that their imagined communities, as varied as they may be, had already encouraged them to invest in an English-medium degree, due to the communities they saw, or imagined, “themselves belonging to in the present or future” (Murphy et al, 2005:84).

When compared to students in Pattern 1, those seem to be in fuller participation positions in an imagined global community of English users. Due to their numerous previous engagements in real English CoPs, they have acquired legitimacy and have transitioned from being English learners to English users, both by improving their language skills and acquiring knowledge, information and values shared by all the members of an imagined global community of English users. Therefore, they started the EMI-PEBD viewing themselves as English users, although they are still eager to obtain fuller positions and, thus, they invest in the English-medium degree. On the contrary,

the participants in Pattern 2 do not appear to feel fully legitimate at the initial stages of the EMI-PEBD. In spite of that, they do seem to have visualised their L2 imagined identities, whether through having participated in English CoPs (real participation) or through globalisation processes (imagined participation) (see Chapter 6) and, thus, their choice of degree is an investment in their imagined communities: they “expect or hope to have a good return on that investment – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources” (Norton & McKinney, 2011:75).

Within Pattern 2, the participants, therefore, can be divided into two subgroups depending on how they envisioned their L2 imagined identities. On the one hand, students showing Pattern 2A (Alicia, Sònia and Gisela) had already participated in several real English CoPs before the degree. However, their degree of legitimacy at the beginning of the EMI-PEBD is relatively low, as opposed to the participants in Pattern 1. On the other hand, students grouped under Pattern 2B (Silvia, Patricia and Montse) had never lived abroad or been immersed in English-mediated communities for a relatively long period of time, having rather engaged in imagined CoPs through imagination. Yet, what all participants in Pattern 2 have in common is that they all have envisioned L2 imagined identities, although none of them felt legitimate enough when they started the EMI-PEBD.

7.4.2.1. Pattern 2A: Initial L2 imagined identities envisioned through real English CoPs

The data excerpts below clearly show that Alicia, Sònia and Gisela do not consider themselves legitimate members of their imagined communities when they start their university degree. While Alicia and Sònia had experienced various real English CoPs (see Chapter 6), they did not feel as full legitimate members of their imagined CoP at the beginning of the degree:

Abans de començar aquest grau, la meva relació amb la llengua anglesa era gairebé nul·la ja que només la utilitzava quan parlava amb amics i amigues anglesos a través d'Skype, i si a l'estiu marxava a l'estranger. Quan vaig entrar al grau tenia por de no saber-me comunicar amb els professors, o de no entendre el contingut de la

matèria. [...] Aquesta por va fer que em posés a mirar pel·lícules en versió original, que parés més atenció a la lletra de les cançons angleses que escolto a diari, etc. Per tant, ja abans de començar el grau, la meva relació amb la llengua anglesa es va començar a estrènyer. (Sònia)¹⁹ [Excerpt 7.15.]

*Si no hagués estat allà, segurament no hagués tingut prou seguretat per decidir-me a fer el grau en anglès, ja que **el meu nivell d'anglès era molt baix** (Alicia)²⁰ [Excerpt 7.16.]*

***Al principi sentia certa inseguretat**, ja que no sabia si amb el nivell B2 que tenia seria capaç de seguir bé les classes, a més d'afegir la inseguretat que sentia pel fet de tornar a estudiar després de molts anys (Gisela)²¹ [Excerpt 7.17.]*

Even though Sònia had many acquaintances with whom she spoke English and she had participated in various real English CoPs, (see Chapter 6) she still considered her choice of degree a remarkable challenge. In fact, she expresses how invested she was in the learning of English before the degree, as a result of her fear of not being considered legitimate. As for Alicia, she had only been to Northern Ireland for 2 weeks before the EMI-PEBD. However, when she enrolled in the degree she was visiting friends in England and, according to her, being there is what helped her to decide to choose an English-medium degree rather than a Catalan-medium one. Gisela also states that she was not sure whether her level of English would be enough to follow the university lectures. Therefore, at the beginning of the degree, Alicia, Sònia and Gisela position themselves as English learners who still need to acquire legitimacy in order to leave behind the peripheral position they occupy in the communities they envision. However, over the course of the degree, important changes in their identities seem to take place.

*Al principi de tota l'hora de classe potser entenia dues o tres frases, a final de curs podia entendre-ho quasi tot i seguir la classe de manera acceptable. [...] **A nivell personal la meva relació amb l'anglès ha***

¹⁹ Before starting this degree, my relationship with English was almost nill, since I only used to use it when I spoke with English friends on skype, or if I went abroad during the summer. When I started the degree I was afraid of not being able to communicate with the professors or of not understanding the content of the subjects [...] Such fear led me to start watching films in the original version, to pay attention to the lyrics of English songs I listen to daily, etc. Thus, even before starting the degree, I got closer to English.

²⁰ If I had not been there probably I would have not had enough confidence to decide to choose the English-medium degree, since my level of English was very low.

²¹ At the beginning I felt so fearful, as I didn't know wheather with my B2 level I would be capable of following the lessons, in addition to the fear I felt because I was going back to study again after so many years.

canviat moltíssim, ja que he adquirit confiança amb la llengua i puc utilitzar-la amb facilitat per realitzar treballs, exàmens, comunicar-me amb amics i a la feina (sóc cambrera en un restaurant), tinc més facilitat per viatjar, buscar informació a internet i puc veure pel·lícules i series sense haver d'esperar a que surtin traduïdes o subtítolades (Alicia)²² [Excerpt 7.18.]

D'altra banda, m'agradaria destacar el grau de confiança que he adquirit al llarg de la carrera [...] ha fet que el meu grau de confiança a l'hora de parlar l'anglès augmenti. I és per això que quan he de fer una exposició oral davant de tot el grup o parlar amb un professor, em sento confiada i no sento nervis. Per tant això ha canviat, ja que a primer em feia vergonya fer exposicions orals a causa de la llengua anglesa, i ara em sento còmode parlant-hi i em sento competent per explicar el que sento o el que vull dir (Sònia)²³ [Excerpt 7.19.]

Però aquesta inseguretats va anar desapareixent mica en mica conforme el curs anava avançant [...] durant la carrera he agafat molta més fluïdesa amb l'anglès, més a nivell personal, degut a la necessitat de relacionar-me en anglès amb els meus companys i companyes, tant a nivell oral com escrit, per fer activitats a classe o treballs en grup. [...]. El meu grau de confiança ha anat creixent durant els darrers anys de carrera, sobretot a nivell escrit m'he adonat que he tingut una gran millora amb l'ús de l'anglès, ja que he après moltes expressions que no coneixia, i he sigut capaç de redactar treballs amb més cura i precisió que abans. [...] hem tingut l'oportunitat d'aprendre coses noves fent ús d'una llengua estrangera (Gisela)²⁴ [Excerpt 7.20.]

These comments reflect the student-teachers' perceptions of a gradual improvement of their English skills over the three years in the EMI-PEBD and the

²² At the beginning, when I was in class I used to understand two or three sentences. At the end of the year I could understand almost everything and to follow the lesson more or less properly [...] At a personal level, my relationship with English has changed a lot, since I've acquired confidence in the language and I can use it very easily to undertake university essays, exams, communicate with friends and at work (I work as a waitress at a restaurant), I find it easier to travel, to search for information on the internet and I can watch films and TV series without having to wait for their dubbed and subtitled versions.

²³ On the other hand, I'd like to point out that the confidence that I've acquired over the course of the degree [...] has made my degree of confidence when I have to speak English increase. That's why whenever I have to do an oral presentation or when I have to talk to a professor, I feel confident and I don't feel nervous. Thus, that has changed, since at the beginning I used to be embarrassed when I had to present orally, because of the language, and now I feel comfortable speaking it and competent to discuss what I feel and what I want to say.

²⁴ But such insecurity gradually disappeared as the degree progressed [...] during the degree I've acquired much more fluency in English, more at a personal level, due to the need to interact through English with my classmates, both at an oral and written level, to undertake activities in the classroom or group work [...]. My degree of confidence has grown during the last few years in the degree, mostly at a written level, I've realized that I've improved a lot, since I've learned many expressions I didn't know, and I've been able to write projects more accurately and precisely than ever before [...] We've had the opportunity to learn new things through the use of a foreign language.

degree of confidence acquired: they seem to have acquired legitimacy as L2 users. Alicia, Sònia and Gisela's evolution is undoubtedly remarkable, as the EMI-PEBD seems to have provided them with multiple opportunities to transition from seeing themselves as English learners to seeing themselves as English users. According to Murphy et al. (2005:91), when investing in their imagined communities, learners might often feel like they are "on a virtual roller coaster of emotions, mixed motivations and desires". During the students' participation in the university degree, their identities are "in a constant state of flux, being locally constructed, negotiated and re-formed each time" (Ushioda, 2006:153). Wenger (1998) argues that, while negotiating new meanings, two processes interact: "participation" and "reification". In other words, while these participants are experiencing real participation, they progressively attribute new meanings to their new experiences.

While realizing that their English skills have improved, Alicia, Sònia and Gisela engage with the world not only by participating in the EMI-PEBD community and its daily practices, but also by attributing certain meanings to the experience and shaping their imagined? identities. The simple fact that they are aware of what their English language improvement can bring to their lives is an example of the meanings they attribute to the EMI-PEBD experience. Their quotes also shed some light on the legitimizing practices that the university has familiarized them with (e.g. having to make oral presentations in public, write essays individually or in groups or participate in group discussions).

Final words in Alicia's linguistic autobiography not only speak of her identity shift towards an English user position, they also illuminate the reasons why such legitimacy is important:

Gràcies a haver realitzat la carrera en anglès he tingut la oportunitat de viatjar a USA i d'aprendre l'anglès fent una immersió lingüística, he millorat moltíssim el nivell d'anglès i ara podré optar a més llocs de treball gràcies a això, i no només a Catalunya, sinó a qualsevol part del món (Alicia)²⁵ [Excerpt 7.21.]

²⁵ Thanks to having studied the degree in English I've had the opportunity to travel to the USA and learn English while doing a linguistic immersion, my level of English has improved a lot and now I'll be able to access more work positions, and not only within Catalonia, but anywhere in the world.

Being able to position herself as an English user for the first time in her life is something that she finds extremely valuable. The EMI-PEBD, in this sense, has given her the opportunity to engage in a series of practices that, after certain struggles, have granted her legitimacy not only as an English user, but also as someone who can access the communities she has in mind (her imagined communities), communities which share social, cultural and symbolic capital. Her imagined communities, which were made apparent in the future career possibilities and wishes she mentions, have emerged as a result of her active engagement with the EMI-PEBD. She can now access communities in which English is used as a lingua franca. Furthermore, by saying “I’ve had the opportunity”, she acknowledges the “Internationalisation at Home” (IaH) dimension that the EMI-PEBD makes possible. Therefore, as a result of the degree and the international vision it affords students, the participants are given the opportunity to invest in more real English CoPs or, in other words, to further align (Wenger, 1998) their activities to their future visions.

The EMI-PEBD provided Alicia with the opportunity to take English lessons in order to improve her English skills (during her first year at the university she was given a scholarship to obtain the B2 level at Escola Oficial d’Idiomes), while it also afforded her an opportunity to participate in a university exchange programme and live one year in the USA (Buffalo, US). Sònia is going to have a similar experience as she is planning an Erasmus exchange to Sweden and Finland.

Al principi de l'estada a Buffalo podia passar-me una tarda per escriure dues pàgines en anglès, consultant moltíssimes vegades el traductor; al final de curs va ser quan realment em vaig adonar de com havia evolucionat el meu nivell d'anglès [...]. La meva companya de pis també em va fer adonar de la meva evolució, comentant-me que al principi de curs em costava molt elaborar una frase en condicions, mentre que a final de curs podia comunicar-me en anglès de forma fluïda. [...] Després de l'experiència a USA puc assegurar que si no hagués marxat mai hagués adquirit el nivell d'anglès que tinc ara, ja que les classes que he rebut de llengua anglesa a Catalunya no m'han ajudat a millorar el meu nivell d'anglès (Alicia)²⁶ [Excerpt 7.22.]

²⁶ At the beginning of my stay in Buffalo I could perfectly spend an entire afternoon writing a couple of pages in English, checking the translator many times; it was at the end of the academic year when I realized how much my level of English had evolved [...]. My flatmate also made me realise it,

*El curs vinent marxo d'Erasmus ja que **gràcies a estar envoltada d'una llengua estrangera he sentit la necessitat de marxar i viure noves experiències** (Sònia)²⁷ [Excerpt 7.23.]*

Alicia's quote about her experience in Buffalo sheds light on how meaningful it turned to be in terms of her relationship with English. The steps taken during her real participation in this CoP offered her the opportunity to gain even more legitimacy and to position herself in a much more positive light. She also shows pride in realizing that she is also positioned by others (in this case, her Indian flatmate in Buffalo) as a more competent English user. While Alicia did visualize L2 imagined identities and communities before the degree, she also recognizes that "the English lessons I've received in Catalonia have not helped me to improve my English level", which leads us to question whether the way English language is taught in Catalonia and Spain may afford students plausible imagined communities that push them to feel the necessity to master English. Similarly, Alicia acknowledges the importance of SAs in her English learning process (Jackson, 2008).

What is more, apart from having acquired new identities as English users, these three participants also have gained new imagined identities. The data excerpts below shed light on the future visions they have of their future:

***M'agradaria viure un temps a França per tal de millorar el meu nivell de francès, ja que és una llengua que tinc mig apresada i m'hauria de resultar força fàcil adquirir un bon nivell a través de la immersió lingüística** (Alicia)²⁸ [Excerpt 7.24.]*

*El Català i el Castellà han estat les meves llengües maternes i per tant sempre els hi he tingut "molta estima". **L'Anglès** però, tot i haver-lo après des dels 3 anys, **estava en un segon pla**. La decisió de fer **el grau d'Educació Primària en Anglès ha condicionat aquesta posició** donat que **ha despertat en mi l'interès d'aprendre més llengües** al veure que*

commenting that at the beginning of the year it was hard for me to form a whole sentence, while at the end of the course I could communicate perfectly in English [...]. After the experience in the USA I can say that if I had not gone abroad I would have never acquired the level of English I have now, since the English lessons I've received in Catalonia have not helped me to improve my English level.

²⁷ Next academic year I'm leaving going on an Erasmus, since, thanks to being surrounded by a foreign language, I've felt the need to go abroad and live new experiences.

²⁸ I'd like to live in France for a while, in order to improve my level of French, since it's a language that I half learned and it should be relatively easy to acquire a good level through linguistic immersion.

*amb l'Anglès sóc més que competent. [...] les coses haurien estat molt diferents si hagués optat per fer el Grau d'Educació Primària en Català. Primer de tot perquè **no m'hauria interessat a millorar l'Anglès i tampoc a estudiar altres llengües** (Sònia)²⁹ [Excerpt 7.25.]*

***Tot i que el fet d'haver estudiat aquesta carrera en anglès ha sigut molt beneficiós per a mi a nivell personal per enriquir-me més encara amb l'ús de la llengua anglesa, si no l'hagués fet en anglès hauria continuat ampliant el meu nivell d'aquesta llengua, ja que com he explicat al principi, les llengües formen part de la meua vida, i sempre he tingut interès per estudiar llengües estrangeres. Per a mi són una eina de comunicació, que serveix per poder viatjar i conèixer altres cultures, altres tradicions, etc. i és un enriquiment personal que sempre m'ha agradat ampliar i aprofundir** (Gisela)³⁰ [Excerpt 7.26.]*

The degree of IaH that the EMI-PEBD brings to the students' lives is so strong and influential that it goes much further their aspirations regarding English and awakens their desire to learn more languages. Their experiences throughout the EMI-PEBD are clear examples that illustrate the interrelationship between learning, identity and the formation of imagined identities through imagination (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton & Williams, 2012). It shows how imagination can contribute to the formation of new imagined communities and how they can shape individuals' learning processes.

Thus, Alicia does not only want to become an English user, she now also wants to improve her French skills. Sònia, while describing herself as a "more than competent" English speaker, states that she now positions English at the same level as Catalan and Spanish. Thus, both Alicia and Sònia want to keep learning foreign languages. While they started the degree with very strong and clear L2 imagined identities in mind, the

²⁹ Catalan and Spanish have been my two mother tongues and therefore I've always loved them very much. English, however, even though I've been learning it since I was three, was always secondary and in the background. The decision to study the degree in Primary Education through English has affected such a position, since it has awakened in me the interest to learn other languages, as I've seen that now I am more than competent in English. [...] things would have been very different if I had opted for the degree in Catalan. First of all, because I would have not become interested in improving my English and any other languages.

³⁰ Even though having studied this degree in English has been very beneficial for me at a personal level, to enrich myself through the use of the English language, if I hadn't done it in English I would have continued broadening my skills in this language since, as I said at the beginning, languages are part of my life, and I've always been interested in studying foreign languages. To me they are a communication tool that allow you to travel and get to know other cultures, other traditions, etc. and it is a personal enrichment that I've always wanted to broaden and dive into.

international practices promoted within the EMI-PEBD CoP seem to have provided them with new imagined identities.

Gisela's case needs to be contextualized. She was considerably much older than the rest of the participants when she started the degree (aged 30 vs average age of 19). While she speaks of her interest towards different foreign languages, including English, she also admits that this is something that has already been present in her life prior to the degree (see also Chapter 5). This might imply that her L2 imagined identity is that of a multicompetent speaker.

The following excerpt from Gisela's linguistic autobiography reveals that she has extensively participated in real English CoPs before starting the EMI-PEBD. Even though she has never participated in a language course abroad like Alicia or Sònia, in S2 she repeatedly reported her passion towards travelling and learning languages and, most importantly, she has been working using English for the last 10 years.

Abans de cursar el Grau d'Educació Primària amb docència en anglès ja tenia experiència amb l'anglès, entre d'altres llengües com el francès o l'italià, ja que he estat treballant dins l'àmbit de compres a diferents empreses durant els darrers 10 anys. De fet des de petita he estudiat francès i anglès, [...] per a mi les llengües formen part de la meua vida. [...]. Tot i que estava habituada a utilitzar l'anglès a la meua antiga professió (Gisela)³¹ [Excerpt 7.27.]

Gisela's L2 imagined identity was probably envisioned many years before she started the degree, through her travels and/or through her job. Although her use of English in her professional life might be considered a CoP in which she used this communication tool for a wide variety of purposes, her degree of legitimacy does not seem to be at the same level as that of the participants in Pattern 1. It might be due to the lack of informal English practice, since she had mainly been using the language in a very specific environment:

³¹ Before studying the degree in Primary Education in English, I already had experience in English, in addition to other languages such as French or Italian, since I've been working in the sales department of several companies over the last 10 years. In fact I've studied French and English since I was a child [...] to me languages are part of my life. [...] Even though I was used to using English in my last job...

*Utilitzava l'anglès però més a nivell comercial, per tant, durant la carrera he tingut l'oportunitat d'ampliar **el meu vocabulari a nivell més personal, com a eina de comunicació, tant oral com escrita** (Gisela)³²*
[Excerpt 7.28.]

Gisela's initial degree of legitimacy indicates that she positioned herself as an English learner rather than a user. Her conception of herself as someone with a certain command of English was only restricted to her job environment and practices. While her career circumstances located her in closer positions to full participation in a global community, compared with Alicia and Sònia, Gisela's imagined communities required her to become a full legitimate member and, thus, to acquire the associated cultural and social resources. Therefore, even though her case is slightly different, she also earns legitimacy in her imagined communities during the EMI-PEBD by turning English into a more personal tool, "*at a more personal level*".

Being part of an international CoP in which English is used as a commodity, a lingua franca or a global language might also enhance individuals' desires to go deep in their knowledge about the "local" worlds. As Robertson (1995:30) points out when discussing the concept "glocalization", the "interpenetrating" process of the "particular" and the "universal" might be a reality. It can be suggested then that the philosophy underlying the EMI-PEBD is in line with the conception of English as a language of wider communication which is no longer linked to specific cultures or countries (Holliday, 2005; McKay, 2002).

7.4.2.2. Pattern 2B: Initial L2 imagined identities envisioned through imagination

Although Alicia, Sònia and Gisela show that they had engaged in prior real English CoPs, they still did not feel legitimate enough when then enrolled the EMI-PEBD and their confidence towards the target language increased over the course of the degree. In case of Silvia, Patricia and Montse, although these three participants were in a similar

³² I used to use English but basically for sales and, thus, during the degree I've had the opportunity to widen my vocabulary at a more personal level, as a communication tool, both oral and written.

situation, they had very limited or no experiences participating in real English CoPs before the EMI-PEBD (See Chapter 6).

As in occurred with the participants in Pattern 2A, Silvia, Patricia and Montse's perception as legitimate members of their imagined communities has increased over the course of the degree. Their linguistic autobiographies provide information regarding their initial degree of legitimacy and the extent to which English has progressively become part of their life:

*Quan vaig començar aquesta carrera, recordo que **tenia força temor** a no poder seguir les classes per qüestions de l'idioma. [...] Des dels inicis que **tenia cert pànic fins avui dia**, hi ha hagut **una grandíssima evolució**. [...] crec que avui dia **sóc força competent amb la llengua anglesa tot i que de vegades continuo fent errors**. [...] Considero que si hagués fet aquest grau en català, avui dia no hauria après tant llenguatge escrit ni tindria **la fluència que tinc avui dia**. Per tant, si hagués d'aconsellar a la Laia que triava les quatre o cinc carreres que volia fer, li diria sense cap dubte que no ho penses dos cops per fer la carrera en anglès (Patricia)³³ [Excerpt 7.29.]*

*Cada cop tinc més competència lingüística, ja no he de parar a pensar que i com he de dir les coses sinó que ja és **quelcom automàtic**. Al llarg de la carrera he adquirit molta **fluïdesa** i això ho acompanya amb **comoditat**. A primer **quan havíem de fer exposicions en angles era tot un dilema, i ara ho fem com si fossin en català** (Silvia)³⁴ [Excerpt 7.30.]*

*Un cop a tercer del grau puc dir que la meva relació amb l'anglès ha millorat a passos de gegant, ja que ara puc utilitzar-la tant en l'àmbit formal, com en l'informal a més d'haver agafat molta confiança en el meu nivell **perdent així la vergonya i agafant destresa a l'hora d'utilitzar-lo**. A més a més **s'ha convertit en la meva primera llengua a l'hora de parlar dels estudis, ja que a l'hora d'estudiar o fer treballs sempre penso en anglès de manera inconscient** [...] Passant a parlar de les emocions, **a part de la confiança, crec que també he***

³³ When I started this degree, I remember I was quite afraid of not being able to follow the lessons because of the language [...]. Since the beginning, when I got quite panicked, until today, there has been a major evolution. [...] I think that nowadays I am quite competent in the English language, even though sometimes I still make mistakes. [...] I consider that if I had done this degree in Catalan, I would have not learned as much written language nor would I have the fluency I have nowadays. Thus, if I had to advise Patricia who had four or five different degrees in mind, I would tell her not to think twice and to go straight to study the degree in English, without any doubt.

³⁴ I'm getting more and more linguistically competent, I don't have to stop and think about how to say things, it has become something automatic. Over the course of the degree I've acquired a lot of fluency, and that leads to more comfort. In the first year when we had to present in public in English it was a real dilemma, and now we do it as if it were in Catalan.

incrementat la meva autoestima veient que soc capaç de treure'm un grau en una llengua que no es la maternal (Montse)³⁵ [Excerpt 7.31.]

These students' lexical choices when explaining their experiences in the EMI-PEBD marked in bold reveal their full awareness about the changes they have undergone and the significant evolution in their relationship with English. Bearing in mind that language and identity are always bound together, the participants' quotes strongly align with the idea of "identity as a site of struggle" (Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002). In Wenger's (1998:160) words, "proceeding with life –with actions and interactions – entails finding ways to make our various forms of membership coexist, whether the process of reconciliation leads to successful resolutions or is a constant struggle". In this sense, improving their English skills is a resolution: it is what they were pursuing to obtain fuller positions in their imagined communities. According to Wenger (1998:160-161), "the maintenance of an identity across boundaries requires work" and this work is "at the core of what it means to be a person".

Neither Silvia, Patricia nor Montse had previously participated in extensive real English CoPs. In spite of that, it was possible for them to visualize L2 imagined identities. S2 has provided highly valuable insights into the ways in which these students have envisioned their possible future identities. As a matter of fact, Silvia discusses her initial interest towards English in her LA. Despite its brevity, Silvia's quote sends a powerful message, as it speaks of her L2 imagined identities, something that she had already envisioned before the EMI-PEBD.

Ja des de feia temps la meva relació amb la llengua Anglesa ha estat d'estima profunda, sempre m'ha agradat la llengua i sempre he procurat fer coses per aprendre-la. Si en alguna cosa ha canviat el seu paper al llarg de la carrera ha estat en el sentit que el que abans era un hobby, ara s'ha convertit en imprescindible. A part de la universitat, estic

³⁵ Now that I'm in my third year I can say that my relationship with English has made huge leaps forward, as now I can use it both in formal environments and informal ones, in addition to having acquired much more confidence in my own level, while losing my sense of shame and acquiring skills whenever I have to use it. Besides, it has become my first language when talking about my studies, since whenever I deal with issues related to studying or preparing essays I always think in English subconsciously [...] Moving on to discuss my emotions, in addition to the confidence, I believe my self-esteem has also increase seeing that I am able to get through a degree in a language that it is not my mother tongue.

treballant amb turisme i per tant l'anglès és la llengua que utilitzo gairebé en tot moment (Silvia)³⁶ [Excerpt 7.32.]

By using the expressions “so deep” and “I’ve always liked the language”, Silvia speaks of what she had already experienced before the EMI-PEBD. In fact, both Patricia and Silvia’s L2 imagined identities were already very strong: both emphasized that their conception towards English has not changed over the course of the degree. To the extent that, in Silvia’s case, going abroad within an Erasmus exchange program is something she would have done anyway, even if she had not studied Primary Education in English.

Altres decisions com el fet de marxar d’Erasmus les tenia molt clares abans de fer el grau. Sempre he volgut marxar, conèixer món i tindre experiències noves (Silvia)³⁷ [Excerpt 7.33.]

Cal dir però que sempre he sigut molt aficionada a la cultura anglesa. Dedico moltes hores al dia a escoltar música anglesa, veure les pel·lícules en versió original i inclús contactar amb persones angleses mitjançant les xarxes socials. Per això crec que no és només l’acadèmia i la universitat però també la meva predisposició per aprendre tot allò relacionat amb la cultura anglesa (Patricia)³⁸ [Excerpt 7.34.]

While Sònia (Pattern 2A), for example, recognized that she was unsure whether she would have gone on a stay abroad had it not been for the EMI-PEBD, Silvia is convinced that it was something she had always had in mind. In Patricia’s quote, her use of the term “English culture” provides insight into Patricia’s imagined identities and communities. While most students in this study envision themselves as English users or multicompetent speakers (see Chapter 6), Patricia and Silvia repeatedly express their passion towards the English culture.

³⁶ My relationship with English has always been very deep, I’ve always liked the language and I’ve always tried to do things in order to learn it. If I have to mention something that has changed over the course of the degree, that has been in the sense that, what used to be a hobby now it has become something essential. In addition to university, I’m working in tourism and thus English is the language I use almost all the time.

³⁷ Other decisions, such as going abroad with an Erasmus, were already very clearly defined in my mind before doing the degree. I’ve always wanted to go abroad, discover the world and live new experiences

³⁸ I should say, though, that I’ve always been very passionate about English culture. I spend many hours per day listening to English music, watching films in the original version and even getting in touch with English people through social media. That’s why I think that it’s not only the language school and the university, but also my own predisposition to learn anything that is related to English culture.

S1 and S2 showed that these two participants had envisioned an imagined community through globalisation, yet it is not clear whether this imagined community was that of native-English speakers or rather an international one in which they could engage as English users. Therefore, it is not entirely clear whether the notion “speaker” or “user” is the most appropriate one for discussing these two students’ imagined identities. Some data in S2 pointed to the assertion that Silvia in fact compared herself to a native-like standard (see Chapter 6). It is worth noting that the two student-teachers are the only ones who have never participated in any real CoP and who, however, already have strong imagined identities requiring them to master English. They also are the ones whose comments related to their future identities result to be intriguing. Through the globalisation process, their English-speaking future identities might have been “culturally-inspired” (Lamb, 2004:243) by American media such as songs, films and so on.

Montse’ case is slightly different and is worth discussing apart. While she provided relatively limited data in her LA, she acknowledged a greater degree of legitimacy at the end of her third university year. However, she was not considered a participant to be included in Pattern 3 due to the data she provided in S2. While in her linguistic autobiography she never referred to her imagined communities or identities and taking into account that she had never lived or studied abroad, it might be argued that she had no imagined communities in mind when starting the degree. However, S2 showed she had in mind a strong imagined community as an international citizen.

Des que conec què és viatjar a l’estranger he tingut molt clar que no em quedaré sempre al mateix lloc treballant o estudiant (Montse, Q2)³⁹ [Excerpt 7.35.]

Thus, Montse envisioned CoPs through which she could become a person who could move around and work or study abroad. Such assertion allowed us to place her in Pattern 2. She had L2 imagined communities in mind, but she still considered herself an English learner, hoping to gain legitimacy during her participation in the EMI-PEBD.

³⁹ Since I became aware of what travelling abroad is I’ve always known for sure that I will not always stay still in the same place working or studying.

What Silvia, Patricia and Montse often reported on in their linguistic autobiographies were the types of practices that the EMI-PEBD boosted, practices which they considered highly useful to become more competent English users/speakers.

El fet de fer el grau en anglès ha pogut canviar la fluïdesa i l'ús que li dono a la llengua. És a dir, fer un altre grau en català no m'hagués allunyat de l'aprenentatge de l'anglès però si pot ser m'hi hagués allunyat de donar-li un ús més informal (Silvia)⁴⁰ [Excerpt 7.36.]

Gràcies als treballs, exposicions i lectures el meu nivell crec ha millorat considerablement (Patricia)⁴¹ [Excerpt 7.37.]

*Un cop vaig aprovar el FCE, vaig anar deixant l'acadèmia, ja que el CAE requeria molt més temps i esforç. A més, com que ja estava envoltada d'anglès no tenia una gran preocupació per perdre l'idioma. **Tinc pensat tornar-hi quan acabi la carrera o deixi d'estar en contacte**, per tal de mantenir la fluència i continuar aprenent. Mai s'acaba d'aprendre un idioma, diuen (Patricia)⁴² [Excerpt 7.38.]*

*La confiança en mi mateixa per parlar en anglès ha millorat molt ja que durant les classes del grau intervenim en anglès, **donant lloc a errors que són vistos com un punt de millora i no un inconvenient. D'aquesta manera, et sents lliure a l'hora de parlar** (Montse)⁴³ [Excerpt 7.39.]*

*Gràcies al grau no he deixat d'aprendre la llengua anglesa, la qual hagués deixat de banda si hagués fet el grau en català. I per acabar, **segurament no hagués pres la decisió de marxar a estudiar fora durant el grau** ja que no m'hagués vist capaç d'estudiar unes assignatures en una llengua que no fos el català o el castellà (Montse)⁴⁴ [Excerpt 7.40.]*

⁴⁰ The fact of having studied the degree through English might have changed my fluency and the use I make of the language. In other words, studying another degree in Catalan would not have distanced me from the learning of English but it might have distanced me from making a more informal use of it.

⁴¹ Thanks to the essays, oral presentations and readings, my level has considerably improved.

⁴² Once I had passed the FCE I left the language school, since the CAE required much more time and effort. Besides, since I was already surrounded by English I was really worried about losing the language. I am planning on going back when I finish the degree or when I stop being in contact with English, in order to maintain the fluency and to keep learning. One never finishes learning a language, as people say.

⁴³ My self confidence when speaking English has greatly improved, since the lessons are in English, leaving space for making mistakes that are seen as a point for improvement rather than as an inconvenience. In this way you feel more free when you have to speak.

⁴⁴ Thanks to the degree I haven't stopped learning English, something I would have left behind if I had studied the degree through Catalan. Finally, I would probably not have made the decision to study abroad during the degree since I would have not considered myself capable of studying other subjects through any language that was not Catalan or Spanish.

Silvia emphasizes how vital English has become to her life. Had it not been for the EMI-PEBD, she would still have been very invested in the learning of English, probably due to the strong imagined identity she was pursuing. However, she acknowledges the importance of practices that the EMI-PEBD has familiarized her with, the kind of practices that in fact Patricia mentions. Patricia discusses the academic and formal English she has incorporated, although she mentions that she continues speaking Catalan with her classmates. Still, she considers EMI-PEBD practices so useful that they actually lead her to decide not to invest in obtaining further official English certificates, at least for now. Similarly, the degree afforded her the opportunity to carry out an English internship abroad, where she realized how much she had improved her oral skills in English. Montse's remarks shed light on the links between her gain of legitimacy and the type of practices the EMI-PEBD promotes. She had been studying English for 10 years and she acknowledges that the degree has enabled her to continue learning the target language. And just like Sònia in Pattern 2A, she now also feels confident enough to go on her first stay abroad.

Patricia further discusses some of the EMI-PEBD practices and the extent to which they have shaped her identity:

Hem estat tan immersos en la llengua anglesa, que tant en la vida personal i professional tinc interferències lingüístiques freqüentment. En estar acostumats a pensar en anglès, no tinc la traducció d'aquestes al català i castellà, sobretot de vocabulari educatiu (Patricia)⁴⁵ [Excerpt 7.41.]

Even though these three student-teachers had participated in very few real English CoPs, they are given the opportunity to directly engage in internationalised practices through the EMI-PEBD, as well as in other English-mediated communities that the degree offers them.

Silvia's last words in her linguistic autobiography speak of her L2 imagined identities, which were already partly defined before the degree. Just like the students in

⁴⁵ We've been so immersed in English language that both in my personal and professional lives I have frequent linguistic interferences. Being used to thinking in English, I don't have the translations in Catalan or Spanish, and mostly regarding education-related vocabulary.

Pattern 1, Silvia had a very strong vision of herself in the future, positioning herself as someone who would master English, travel and freely participate in the imagined communities she envisioned. As mentioned above, the nature of Silvia and Patricia's imagined communities are not fully clear, as there were not enough data to clarify whether they envisioned an imagined community of world citizens (i.e. English users) or an imagined community of English native speakers.

Crec que la meva percepció amb la llengua no ha estat pas diferent que el primer dia de carrera. Segueixo veient totes les sèries en VO, segueixo volent marxar fora (potser tinc més ganes i tot, encara que és més personal que no en relació amb els idiomes). [...] L'únic que trobo que ha canviat en aquests anys és el nivell adquirit (Silvia)⁴⁶ [Excerpt 7.42.]

Silvia had built L2 imagined identities through globalisation processes which brought English to her life and which, thus, shaped her own identity by affording her a vision of her possibilities of identity expansion. Such imagined identities, according to her, have not changed. What she does feel has changed, is her level of English, which was probably what she was pursuing by choosing the EMI-PEBD. The ideas Silvia associated to English have not shifted as they continue being the same she already had before the degree. As Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004:11) put it, "ideologies of language are not about language alone (Woolard, 1998), but are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies".

Summing up, it can be argued that the participants in Pattern 2 have powerful imagined communities in mind. However, while Alicia, Sònia and Gisela (Pattern 2A) discuss the type of imagined identities they have in mind (multicompetent speakers / English users), Silvia, Patricia and Montse (Pattern 2B) do not. They want to participate in international settings and engage in international practices, but it remains unknown whether their attitudes towards English still fall into the idealized varieties that privilege native speaker norms over other varieties (Caine, 2008; Llorca, 2004). Canagarajah (2007:923) makes a good point regarding this issue:

⁴⁶ I believe that my perception towards the language is not different at all from the one I had the first day of the degree. I keep watching all TV series in the original version, I keep wanting to go abroad (maybe I am even more excited about it, even though it might be something more personal than anything that might be related to languages) {...] The only thing I think that has changed during these years is the level acquired.

SLA has generally worked with the assumption that learners are emulating the idealized competence of NSs, that they are handicapped in their capacity to communicate with the undeveloped language they possess, and that learning a language primarily constitutes mastering its grammar in specially designed pedagogical contexts

What all participants in Pattern 2 have in common is that at the beginning of the degree they still considered themselves English learners who only owned a limited legitimacy to take part in their imagined communities. As the EMI-PEBD moved forward, they earned more and more legitimacy as they engaged in the international practices that the EMI-PEBD offered them. Over the course of the degree, these students earn symbolic and cultural capital, to the extent that Alicia, Sònia and Gisela (Pattern 2A) envision L2 imagined identities as English users. The data provided by Silvia and Patricia (Pattern 2B) does not shed light on the types of imagined communities they envision: it is unclear whether their imagined communities were those of English speakers or English users, or whether the EMI-PEBD changed their attitudes regarding this issue. However, what locates them in Pattern 2 is the fact that their L2 imagined identities already required them to master English before their choice of degree and that, consequently, what they earned over their participation within the EMI-PEBD is legitimacy, just like Alicia, Sònia and Gisela.

7.4.3. PATTERN 3: “NO INITIAL L2 IMAGINED IDENTITIES”

This pattern was identified in the linguistic autobiographies of Mercè, Júlia and Natalia. The analysis suggests that this third group of students was neither invested (Norton, 2000) in the learning of English before starting their university degree nor did they envision any L2 communities. The EMI-PEBD provided them with the opportunity to envision their L2 imagined identities and communities for the first time and, as their participation in the degree grew/progressed, their identities shifted. Their emerging imagined communities and identities are made apparent in their comments on future goals, desires and plans, all of which require them to learn English. Their relationship with the target language, thus, takes on a completely different dimension, when compared to those of the participants in Patterns 1 and 2.

However, Study 1 showed that their imagined professional identities as primary school teachers contemplated that English would provide them with the necessary cultural capital. In spite of that, the mastery of this language was not connected to their possibilities of identity expansion.

Crec fermament que el meu domini de la llengua anglesa ha millorat exponencialment, ja que quan vaig iniciar el grau no em veia capaç ni em sentia prou confident com per fer front a una situació comunicativa que impliqués l'ús d'aquesta llengua (Júlia)⁴⁷ [Excerpt 7.43.]

De fet, mai m'ha agradat estudiar altres idiomes, ja que mai m'he sentit còmode utilitzant-los. Gran part de la meua vida l'he passada llegint i expressant-me en català o, a vegades, en castellà. L'anglès, sempre havia estat per mi una tercera frontera llunyana i difícil (Natalia)⁴⁸ [Excerpt 7.44.]

As we can see in the excerpts above, both Júlia and Natalia used to see English as a barrier. Their level of confidence when having to use this communication tool was low and their words denote disaffection towards the target language. However, the excerpts below reveal identity changes due to the EMI-PEBD. Having acknowledged her improvement during the degree, Júlia provides more data regarding her advances in learning English. Similarly, Mercè's linguistic autobiography starts in a way that shows how different her EMI-PEBD experience was compared to the one of the participants in Pattern 1.

Crec que actualment sóc capaç de fer front a múltiples situacions en les quals l'ús de l'anglès sigui necessari, pel que fa que senti que tinc més recursos i estratègies que em permetran solucionar-les amb èxit (Júlia)⁴⁹ [Excerpt 7.45.]

Des que vaig començar la carrera fins a dia d'avui podria afirmar que la meua concepció de l'anglès o la seva importància ha canviat radicalment (Mercè)⁵⁰ [Excerpt 7.46.]

⁴⁷ I strongly believe that my English level has exponentially improved, since when I started the degree I didn't see myself capable of facing any communicative situation that implied the use of this language.

⁴⁸ In fact, I've never enjoyed learning other languages, since I've never felt comfortable using them. I've spent the most of my life reading and expressing myself in Catalan or, sometimes, in Spanish. English had always been an unattainable challenge.

⁴⁹ I believe that nowadays I am capable of dealing with multiple situations in which I require English, which makes me feel like I have more resources and strategies that will allow me to solve them successfully.

⁵⁰ Since I started the degree until today I could state that my perception of English and its importance have

As S2 showed, before she started the EMI-PEBD Mercè was aware of the cultural capital she could acquire by mastering English, as this international language carries a series of implied social and cultural meanings that cannot be left aside. In the following quotes, we see Mercè, Júlia and Natalia's initial attitudes towards English.

Al principi d'haver començat la carrera veia l'anglès com una oportunitat per trobar feina més fàcilment i aquesta era la única raó que m'empenyia a seguir estudiant-ne i esforçar-me per millorar-lo (Mercè)⁵¹ [Excerpt 7.47.]

A més, a bans de cursar aquest grau, el meu interès per l'anglès estava principalment relacionat amb l'oci, ja que prefereixo veure pel·lícules i sèries de televisió en versió original (Júlia)⁵² [Excerpt 7.48.]

La veritat és que m'hi vaig inscriure amb l'idea que m'obriria més portes i amb l'esperança de donar una segona (o cinquena?) oportunitat a una llengua que mai m'havia cap utilitat fora del camp acadèmic: l'anglès. Sincerament, el primer dia de classe ja estava penedida de l'opció triada. Què faig jo en una carrera en la qual la llengua vehicular és un idioma el qual mai m'ha agradat? – em preguntava. Els primers dies varen ser difícils, a causa de la meva timidesa i bloqueig davant d'aquesta llengua (Natalia)⁵³ [Excerpt 7.49.]

Mercè stated that she mostly chose the degree due to practical reasons, that is, to have more chances to find a job afterwards. According to Block (2015a:13), “identities are related to different traditionally demographic categories” and Mercè's future professional identity, or in Block's terms “occupational identity”, acknowledges the symbolic capital she would acquire by mastering English. Likewise, Júlia's reasons for her choice of degree were slightly different but totally unrelated to her linguistic imagined identities either. Natalia's words speak of the reasons that led her to choose the EMI-PEBD and her initial degree of legitimacy. However, over the course of three

radically changed.

⁵¹ At the beginning of the degree I saw English as an opportunity to find a job more easily and that was the only reason that pushed me to keep studying it and making efforts to improve it.

⁵² Besides, before studying this degree, my interest towards English was mainly related to leisure, since I prefer watching films or TV series in the original version.

⁵³ The truth is that I enrolled in this degree with the idea in mind that it would open doors for me, in the hope of giving a second (or fifth?) chance to a language that had never given me any facilities outside of the academic field: English. Honestly, the first day of class I was already regretting having chosen such option. What am I doing studying a degree through a language that I had never liked? – I asked myself. The first days were hard, because of my shyness and my state of blank-mindedness with this language.

years in the EMI-PEBD, Júlia and Natalia's attitudes towards the target language have shifted, as they now link English to the types of experiences it opens up for them.

Ara per ara, la necessitat de comunicar-me amb altres persones fent ús d'aquesta llengua ha comportat que senti més disposició i motivació per fer servir l'anglès coma eina de comunicació (Júlia)⁵⁴
[Excerpt 7.50.]

No obstant, poc a poc, sento que he anat deixant enrere tots els meus dubtes. A més a més, he acabat descobrint un nou idioma que m'ha aportat molts coneixements i experiències personals diverses que m'han ajudat a créixer no només com a professional sinó també com a persona. Durant aquests tres anys he anat vençant la meva timidesa i el meu bloqueig envers la llengua anglesa fins al punt d'arribar a estimar-la (Natalia)⁵⁵ [Excerpt 7.51.]

Such data reveals a strong relation between L2 learning and learners' identities as it lies at the heart of the identity approach to SLA, as it "highlights the multiple positions from which language learners can speak, and how sometimes marginalized learners can appropriate more desirable identities with respect to the target language community" (Norton & McKinney, 2011:73). As the excerpts below show, it is over the course of their participation in the EMI-PEBD and as they engaged in its practices that the impressions towards English of the participants in this Pattern seem to undergo a notable change:

Vaig anar veient que només treballant en grup, llegint tan sovint en anglès, fent l'esforç de parlar-lo a classe, el meu nivell millorava a un ritme molt superior al que m'havia imaginat i en un any, tenia un nivell molt més alt que abans de començar la carrera. I podria dir que aquí hi va haver el primer canvi en la meva relació amb l'anglès. [...] L'anglès em feia sentir orgullosa de mi mateixa i m'havia pujat l'autoestima a nivell d'estudis. M'agradava parlar en anglès i escriure i veure com me'n sortia tan bé sense haver sigut plenament conscient del procés d'aprenentatge tan ràpid que havia tingut. [...] Per això vaig decidir apuntar-me a una acadèmia per treure'm el Certificate of Advanced English per la universitat de Cambridge tot i no tenir el First Certificate (Mercè)⁵⁶ [Excerpt 7.52.]

⁵⁴ At the moment, the need to communicate with other people through this language has led me to feel more predisposed and motivated towards the use of English as a communicative tool.

⁵⁵ However, little by little, I feel I've left all my doubts behind. Besides, I've ended up discovering a new language that has given me much knowledge and personal experiences that have helped me to grow, not only as a professional, but also as a person. During these three years I've progressively overcome my shyness and my blank-mindedness towards the English language to the point of ending up loving it.

⁵⁶ I started to see that only by working in groups, reading so often through English, making the effort to

Cursar aquest grau en anglès no només ha suposat una millora en el meu nivell d'anglès sinó que també ha comportat canvis en la meua actitud i perspectiva. Abans de cursar aquest grau, no tenia cap mena d'intenció de marxar a l'estranger i cursar allà un any o un semestre dels meus estudis. El fet de sentir-me capaç de comunicar-me amb altres utilitzant l'anglès com a lingua franca m'ha permès ampliar els meus horitzons, adquirint la voluntat de viatjar i conèixer allò que és desconegut, endinsant-me en cultures i maneres de viure diferents a la meua. Crec que aquest canvi ha estat molt positiu per mi tant a nivell personal com professional, ja que aquest interès per altres cultures i països pot influenciar positivament la meua activitat docent. Estic convençuda que això no hagués passat si no hagués realitzat el grau en anglès (Júlia)⁵⁷ [Excerpt 7.53]

El fet de conèixer altres persones amb les meves mateixes motivacions que busquen trobar un camí en el qual poder desenvolupar les seves habilitats i fer realitat les seves metes com a mestres mitjançant una llengua tant demandada avui en dia m'ha inspirat. Perquè, de fet, no hi ha res que fem en la nostra llengua que no puguem fer en anglès, oi? A més a més, cada vegada se'm fa més palès la importància de dominar aquest idioma, un aprenentatge que és important transferir a les properes generacions: els meus futurs alumnes (Natalia)⁵⁸ [Excerpt 7.54.]

Durant aquest temps m'he adonat de les portes que et pots obrir aprenent idiomes, i sobretot, anglès: avui en dia tenim l'oportunitat de viatjar i descobrir el món en la seva globalitat. I gràcies a llengües universals com l'anglès, aprendre i compartir experiències amb persones de l'altra punta del món. Aquest és un primer pas per a

... speak it in the classroom, my level was improving at a much higher rate than I could ever have imagined, and in a year, my level was much higher than before I started the degree. And I could say that here's when a first big change towards my relationship with English happened. [...] English made me feel proud of myself and my self-esteem at an academic level became much higher. I liked speaking English and writing, and seeing that I was managing so well without having been completely aware of such a fast learning process I had gone through. [...] that's why I decided to enrol in a language school in order to obtain the Cambridge Certificate in Advanced English, even though I didn't have the First Certificate.

⁵⁷ Studying this degree in English has not only meant an improvement of my level of English but it has also meant changes in my attitude and perspective. Before starting the degree, I had no interest in or any intention to go abroad and study abroad for a year or a semester. Feeling I'm able to communicate with others through English as a lingua franca has enabled me to broaden my horizons, acquiring the willingness to travel and get to know the unknown, delving into different cultures and lifestyles. I think such a change has been very positive for me, both at a personal and at a professional level, since such an interest towards other cultures and countries can positively influence my teaching. I am convinced that that would not have happened if I hadn't studied the degree in English.

⁵⁸ Getting to know other people with the same motivations, who are searching for ways in which they can develop their skills and live out their goals as teachers through such an important language nowadays has inspired me. Since, in fact, there is nothing we do in our own language that we can't do in English, right? Besides, every time I realize more and more the importance of mastering this language, a learning process that is very important to transfer to new generations: my future students.

adonar-nos de la importància de tenir la ment oberta i ser flexibles, no tant sols a l'hora de comunicar-nos sinó també a l'hora de prendre decisions o jutjar la resta de persones (Natalia)⁵⁹ [Excerpt 7.55.]

These learners initial experiences with learning English was marked by lacking reasons for studying the language, or lacking imagined communities with which to identify, showing evidence that “affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways within a single individual” (Norton & McKinney, 2011:73). Mercè’s comments clearly show how the first time her relationship with English turned into something meaningful was during the EMI-PEBD. While in the case of the participants in Pattern 1 that had happened years ago, for Mercè, the EMI-PEBD meant an opportunity to envision an L2 imagined identity. Through the practices Mercè experiences throughout the degree she progressively feels more and more legitimate and, hence, transitions from being a “bad English learner” to being a person who can speak and write in English confidently, something that positively affects her self-perception as an English user and boosts her self-confidence. Her attitude towards the target language shifts to the extent that it encourages her to invest in a course to obtain a C1-level (CEFR) official certification, the Cambridge Certificate in Advanced English. In Júlia’s case, this is also evident as we see the value she places on becoming a member of an imagined community she now visualises. She engages in international practices throughout the degree that allow her to start a journey of imaginative “production of identity” (Hall, 1990:224). Finally, bearing in mind Natalia’s lack of an English imagined community at the beginning of the degree, it is clear that her attitude towards English has also shifted. Very interestingly, in Excerpt 6.54 she uses the expression “it has inspired me” when referring to the English-mediated practices she has incorporated into her training as a future teacher, while in the second quote she discusses the connection between English and an imagined community she is now aware of.

⁵⁹ Over this time I’ve understood about the doors that learning languages can open and, above all, English: nowadays we have the opportunity to travel and discover the entire world. And thanks to universal languages such as English, learning and sharing experiences with people from the other side of the world. This is a first step to realizing the importance of having an open mind and of being flexible, not only when it comes to communicating but also when it comes to making decisions or judging others.

Therefore, there seems to be a clear connection between the three students' English learning process within the EMI-PEBD and the possibilities of identity expansion they are now undergoing. In fact, the following quote by Natalia indicates how differently she positions herself now, in her third year, as she now considers herself a competent person who not only masters English, but who can actually pass through what she has acquired over the course of the degree to her future students:

*Hi ha molta feina per fer en aquest àmbit i saber que **sóc una de les persones capacitades a descobrir el món d'evolucionar mitjançant una llengua estrangera a alumnes tal i com un dia vaig ser jo, m'omple de motivació i ganes de fer-ho realitat** (Natalia)⁶⁰ [Excerpt 7.56.]*

Not only do Mercè, Júlia and Natalia now seem to have a community in mind which they want to take part in, but the EMI-PEBD has also afforded them the necessary opportunities to directly access such a community and, gradually, earn fuller positions within it. Natalia's linguistic autobiography provided extensive data regarding how she perceived the imagined global community the EMI-PEBD has brought to her life:

*Fora de l'àmbit acadèmic, he descobert una nova franja **d'oportunitats professionals a desenvolupar**. I, fora d'aquest àmbit professional, personalment també m'adono de l'enriquiment que aquesta nova llengua m'ha aportat en les relacions socials. És important recordar que vivim en un món líquid, global, i que tot està al nostre abast, només si tenim les eines per a poder aconseguir-ho. Aquestes eines, passant per la competència en noves tecnologies així com en idiomes, són les que espero poder transmetre als meus alumnes (Natalia)⁶¹ [Excerpt 7.57.]*

As Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:17) argue, "imagination plays a crucial role in the process of creation of new identity options". Similarly, the data in Pattern 3 strongly support Norton & Toohey's (2011) idea that language learners' access to their target

⁶⁰ There's a lot of work to do in this field, and knowing that I am one of the few people with the capacity to help my future students to evolve through a foreign language, fills me with motivation and eagerness to turn it into a reality.

⁶¹ Outside of the academic field, I've discovered a new range of professional opportunities to develop. And outside of such a professional field, personally I also realize the enrichment that this new language has provided me with in terms of social relations. It's important to bear in mind that we live in a fluid and global world, and that everything is accessible to us, but only if we have the tools in order to achieve it. Such tools, going from the mastery of new technologies to the mastery of languages, are the ones I hope I can pass down to my students.

language communities is not a function of “motivation”, but rather, it depends on whether or not learners are invested in the learning of the language.

Similarly, Mercè aligns a series of activities and she is fully aware of the reasons behind them (Wenger, 1998), as she seems to embrace a bigger picture of the world which she envisions as part of her identity. She had never experienced any stays abroad nor did she have any English certificates, as opposed to Sara, Roser and Arnau (Pattern 1). Over the course of the degree she however developed a much more positive perception towards herself as an English user. For this reason, she decides to invest in an English certificate and a stay abroad:

*Al mateix moment, vaig sol·licitar una **beca Erasmus** per marxar durant el tercer curs del grau durant un semestre i vaig triar Belfast [...]. Aquí hi va haver un altre **canvi en la meva concepció de l'anglès**, ara no només com un **requisit** que em permetria trobar feina o una cosa de què sentir-me orgullosa sinó també **l'eina que em permetria comunicar-me amb tothom** durant aquells mesos que passés fora. Aquest va ser també un dels motius que em va empènyer a treballar dur per preparar-me l'examen de l'Advanced, perquè marxar era una motivació molt gran per millorar com més millor el meu nivell d'anglès. [...] Però, si he de triar el moment en que **la meva relació amb l'anglès canvia radicalment** és, evidentment, **l'Erasmus** (Mercè)⁶² [Excerpt 7.58.]*

Mercè provided plenty of data discussing how meaningful her stay in Belfast was. It was the first time she had lived abroad and, as she states, her relationship with English ended up radically changing:

Jo era la única persona espanyola i això, tot i que em feia molta por abans de marxar, va resultar ser una de les millors coses que em podien haver passat. La majoria dels meus companys eren Holandesos i Belgues que, de fet, són gent coneguda per tenir un molt bon nivell d'anglès i al principi em feia molta por arribar allà i sentir-me desplaçada perquè el meu anglès era molt més fluix.

⁶² At the same moment, I applied for an Erasmus scholarship to go abroad in my third year for a semester and I chose Belfast [...] Here it's when there was another change in my conception towards English, not only was it a requirement that would allow me to find a job or something to be proud of, but it was also the tool that allowed me to communicate with everyone during those months that I would spend abroad. That was another reason that led me to work hard to prepare the Advanced exam, because going abroad was a very big motivation to improve as much as I could my level of English. [...]. But, if I have to choose a moment in which my relationship with English radically changed... that is, obviously, the Erasmus.

*De fet, la primera tarda a Belfast recordo tots els Holandesos fent moltes conyes i se'ls veia tan còmodes parlant anglès que semblava pràcticament la seva llengua materna. **Jo estava asseguda entre ells i no entenia la meitat del que deien perquè no estava acostumada a sentir anglès d'un registre més col·loquial. Somreia i no m'atrevia a dir res, la veritat és que era una situació força incòmoda i només pensava que em quedaven 5 mesos d'estar en aquella mateixa situació.***

*Però això va durar menys d'una setmana. [...] I així, durant els cinc mesos que he passat fora, **l'anglès ha sigut l'eina que m'ha obert les portes a viure una de les millors experiències de la meua vida. M'ha permès conèixer gent d'arreu del món, aprendre com entenen ells la vida o com pensen. M'ha ajudat a obrir els meus punts de mira, a créixer moltíssim en l'àmbit personal i a fer amistats molt i molt valuoses (Mercè)***⁶³ [Excerpt 7.59.]

Mercè's words imply that, during the first weeks in Belfast, since she was entering a new field (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991), she might have felt like a “fish out of water” (Jackson, 2008). Part of negotiating an L2 identity involved handling certain struggles and conflicts. Her words openly speak of her progression from a position of “marginality” towards “peripherality” (Wenger, 1998). In fact, during her stay in Belfast Mercè ends up envisioning an L2 identity in a community which she now seems to want to belong to. Along the EMI-PEBD Mercè envisioned an imagined community of English users, but she was still in peripheral positions. However, as a newcomer in Belfast she interacts with old-timers and becomes increasingly experienced in the practices associated to her imagined community, and she gradually moves towards fuller participation (Wenger, 1998).

⁶³ I was the only Spanish person and that, even though it made me feel very afraid before I left, turned out to be one of the best things that could have happened to me. Most of my classmates were Dutch or Belgians who, in fact, are known for having a very good level of English and at the beginning I was afraid of getting there and feeling totally out of place and displaced because my English level was very low.

In fact, the first afternoon I was in Belfast I remember all the Dutch making jokes and they looked so comfortable speaking English that it looked like it was practically their mother tongue. I was sitting among them and I didn't understand half of what they were saying because I was not used to hearing English at such colloquial level. I smiled and I didn't dare say anything, the truth is that it was quite an uncomfortable situation and all I could think was that I still had 5 months left there, in that same situation.

But that changed in less than a week [...]. And that's how, during these five months I spent abroad, English has been the tool that has opened the doors to live one of the best experiences in my life. It has allowed me to get to know people from all over the world, learn about how they understand life and how they think. It has helped me to broaden my mind and to grow a lot at a personal level and to make very very valuable friends.

In this light it is worth mentioning Lave and Wenger's (1991) point about the importance of opportunities for newcomers to access a certain community:

The key to legitimate peripheral participation is access by newcomers to the community of practice and all that membership entails. But though this is essential to the reproduction of the community, it is always problematic at the same time. To become a full member of a community of practice requires access to a wide range of ongoing activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources and opportunities for participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991:100).

In this sense, for the student-teachers grouped in Pattern 3 that key was the English-medium degree offered at the UAB. During the Erasmus exchange program Mercè's identity expands or, put in other words, she learns a series of practices and perspectives associated to new communities she had not envisioned before:

*L'anglès ha sigut l'eina que m'ha **obert les portes a viure** una de les millors **experiències** de la meua vida. [...] M'ha ajudat a **obrir els meus punts de mira, a créixer moltíssim en l'àmbit personal** i a fer amistats molt i molt valuoses (Mercè)⁶⁴ [Excerpt 7.60.]*

*Mai no hagués pensat que pogués connectar tant amb ningú tot i tenir la barrera de la llengua però en canvi, **em sento molt més propera a segons quines persones que he conegut** durant el meu Erasmus que amb amics d'aquí Catalunya i això ho he d'agrair a l'anglès (Mercè)⁶⁵ [Excerpt 7.61.]*

Mercè's words, in fact, may remind us the ones used by Sara when she talks about her experiences abroad interacting with internationals before she started her university degree (see Pattern 1 in section 6.4.2.1.). Mercè's stay abroad is the first opportunity she has to interact with old-timers who, in fact, become her friends. As Murphey (1998a) points out, making friends is one facilitator of creating imagined communities. It appears that the EMI-PEBD has provided Mercè with the opportunity to discover a whole new world. By saying "I feel much closer to certain people I've met during my Erasmus than to some friends here in Catalonia", she might be implying that she has

⁶⁴ English has been the tool that has opened the doors to live one of the best experiences of my life. It has allowed me to get to know people from all over the world, learn about how they understand life and how they think. It has helped me to broaden my mind, to grow a lot at a personal level and to make very very valuable friends.

⁶⁵ I would have never thought that I could find such a connection with anyone even while having the language barrier but, instead, I feel much closer to certain people I've met during my Erasmus than to some friends here in Catalonia, and that's something I have to thank English for.

now developed “a global identity” (Lamb, 2004; Ryan, 2006). Such global identity is what Arnett (2002:777) discusses by analysing the impact of globalisation in young generations as it “gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles and information that are part of the global culture”.

The final words in Mercè linguistic autobiography render extremely relevant for this study. Not only does she envision an imagined identity as an English user for the first time, but she seems to go even further. She seems to envision an imagined identity as a multicompetent speaker.

Després de les experiències que l'anglès m'ha permès viure, se m'han despertat les ganes d'aprendre noves llengües i, de fet, ja he començat amb l'holandès, empesa per les noves amistats que he fet durant el meu Erasmus (Mercè)⁶⁶ [Excerpt 7.62.]

When writing further about her Erasmus experience, Mercè states the following: “I want to continue getting better at it to be able to keep travelling and discovering the world, because it is opening doors to the entire world and to grow so much as a person”. Similarly, the imagined identities that Júlia envisions while participating in the English-medium degree are in line with Mercè's: “it has enabled me to expand horizons, acquiring the willingness to travel and getting to know the unknown, getting into cultures and lifestyles that are different from my own” (Júlia). These students' future identities are now located in the world. They imagine themselves travelling, probably spending periods of time abroad, and learning about other cultures and languages, participating in a global community as its legitimate members.

So, we can say that the practices that the EMI-PEBD promotes are in line with the pedagogical approaches that fall within critical applied linguistics and pedagogy (Canagarajah, 1999a; Canagarajah, 1999b; Pennycook, 1994; Pennycook, 2001). Also, the degree appears to take into account the nature of EIL, as diversity or pluricentricity (Caine, 2008; Sifakis, 2004). It seems to offer valuable alternatives to the English

⁶⁶ After the experiences that English has allowed me to live, I now feel like learning new languages and, in fact, I've already started with Dutch, driven by the new friendships that I've made during my Erasmus.

language learning and teaching practices / traditions that privilege Inner Circle varieties as the appropriate targets for learning or communication (Richards & Schmidt, 2002).

The EMI-PEBD seems to have provided the students in Pattern 3 with the opportunities the students in Pattern 1 had already had. Very interestingly, Mercè's quote strongly resembles the ideas that Sara shared in Q2 at the end of the first academic year (S1).

*Han passat només tres anys des que vaig decidir començar la carrera en anglès i va ser per una raó molt senzilla, que era obrir-me portes en el mercat laboral, però si ara hagués de tornar a prendre aquesta decisió, **prendria definitivament la mateixa però però moltíssimes raons més.** Per tant, puc dir que vaig encertat-la molt apostant per l'anglès tot i que **en aquell moment no m'hauria imaginat el o els perquè** (Mercè)⁶⁷ [Excerpt 7.63.]*

Natalia also finished her linguistic autobiography discussing the issues raised in this section in a very powerful way. Not only does she now position herself as an English learner, she also envisions imagined identities as a multicompetent speaker who can easily cross cultural and geographical borders. Interestingly enough, her own words speak of the strong relationship between language and society (Bourdieu, 1991), describing languages as linguistic resources which can lead to access imagined communities and all forms of (symbolic and cultural) capital. Likewise, she appears to be eager to align her future activities with the community she now has in mind by spending periods of time abroad.

*Una altra cosa que he après és la **importància de conèixer i ser competent en més d'un idioma**, molts si és possible, ja que t'obre portes que abans no podries haver imaginat. **També et fa coneixedor de moltes maneres de pensar diferents a la teva que t'enriqueixen i et fan créixer i madurar.***

*D'altra banda, és important mencionar el fet que **mitjançant aquest grau també he adquirit molta més confiança tant envers la meva***

⁶⁷ It is over three years since I decided to start the degree through English and it was because of very simple reasons, the doors that it opened for my professional future, but if I had to make such decision now, I would definitely make the same decision but because of many more reasons. Thus, I can say that I was right opting for English even though back then I would have never imagined the whys.

competència en llengua anglesa com en la meva capacitat d'aprendre nous idiomes. De la mateixa manera, també m'ha ajudat a adonar-me de la grandària del món i de totes les oportunitats que ens esperen si som capaços d'aprofitar-les (i tenim els recursos, sobretot socials i per tant lingüístics, per a fer-ho). D'aquesta manera, ha estat gràcies a aquests tres anys que m'he planejat la possibilitat de marxar fora de Catalunya a estudiar, treballar o fer un voluntariat per tal d'expandir les meves fronteres personals. Penso que d'altra manera, si no hagués escollit una carrera com aquesta, potser mai hauria sentit aquesta motivació (Natalia)⁶⁸ [Excerpt 7.64.]

While Mercè and Natalia's generous data widely discuss their identity shifts throughout their degree, Júlia's account is much more concise: she directly states that the EMI-PEBD and its practices not only have allowed her to improve her target language skills, but have done much more:

Ampliar els horitzons, adquirir la voluntat de viatjar i conèixer allò que és desconegut, endinsant-ne en cultures i maneres de viure diferents a la meua (Júlia)⁶⁹ [Excerpt 7.65.]

During their participation in the EMI-PEBD, the participants in Pattern 3 not only saw "a classroom with four walls, but envisioned a community that transcended time and space" (Norton, 2000:164), just like Katarina and Felicia, Norton's participants. Leaving aside the knowledge Mercè, Júlia and Natalia might have acquired during their university studies, the "international dimension" that this degree brings to the students' impacts their identities. As Wenger (1998:145) argues, "issues of identity are an integral aspect of a social theory of learning and are thus inseparable from issues of practices, community and meaning". The degree seems to have achieved to turn English into a part of the students' life and to lead them to feel the need to participate in real

⁶⁸ Another thing I've learned is the importance of knowing and being competent in more than one language, many of them if possible, since it opens doors that you could have never imagined. IT also makes you knowledgeable about many other ways of thinking that enrich you and make you grow up and make you more mature.

On the other hand, it's very important to mention the fact that through this degree I've also acquired much more confidence both in my own English language competence and in my capacity to learn new languages. Similarly, it has also helped me to realize how big the world is and to see all the opportunities that are awaiting for us if we are capable of making the most of them (and if we have the resources, both social and linguistic resources, to do it). In this way, thanks to these three years I've considered the possibility of going abroad from Catalonia to study, work or volunteer in order to expand my personal borders.

⁶⁹ Expanding horizons, acquiring the willingness to travel and getting to know the unknown, getting into cultures and lifestyles that are different from my own.

English CoPs as they negotiate the meanings of their experience of membership in the EMI-PEBD.

All in all, while initially it might have been professional career goals (Mercè) or leisure activities (Júlia) what drove students in Pattern 3 to choose the EMI-PEBD degree, over their participation in this community they seem to associate English with much more complex sociocultural and identity-inflected achievements.

The UAB degree has brought students in Pattern 2 and Pattern 3 to become invested in the learning of English for reasons that now go beyond the mastery of the language itself. Positive and rewarding experiences of English learning, whether it was in Buffalo (Alicia), Belfast (Mercè) or throughout the EMI-PEBD, appear to present the student-teachers with new imagined communities they were previously not familiar with. The English learning process now results in the acquisition of shared interests and communities that lead to future hopes and projects. As these student-teachers developed their English skills and participated in a community of international English users through the EMI-PEBD they gradually became some of its valuable members. Following Wenger (1998:215), one might say that the English-medium degree has created a learning community that has become a place of identity, since it makes “trajectories possible” by offering “a past and a future than can be experienced as a personal trajectory”. Hence, the EMI-PEBD itself becomes an English-mediated CoP in which the students are provided with the opportunities to envision possible future identities. Similarly, discouraging experiences, especially at the beginning of the degree in the case of participants in Pattern 2 i Pattern 3 or those having been abroad, also seem to promote the envisagement of possible future communities (imagined communities).

7.5. SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

Viewed as an experience of identity, learning entails both a process and a place. It entails a process of transforming knowledge as well as a context in which we define an identity of participation (Wenger, 1998:215).

The findings in this study illustrate key themes noteworthy of mentioning. They seem to indicate that the EMI-PEBD may have become a CoP where the participants' identities evolve, while they support the view on identity as "in-process" at all times (Hall, 1992). In this regard, the data analysis confirms the findings in Murphey et al. (2005:83), that is, that "the social construction of learner identities and imagined communities <...> can nourish learning".

The EMI-PEBD strategies to bring IaH (Nilsson, 2003), serve as a platform towards internationalization, allowing these students to access resources, international opportunities and practices that might otherwise not be available to them. Through its "internationalised lectures" (Moore et al., 2013) and activities (e.g. taking notes in English, the possibility to study or to do practical training abroad), the student-teachers engage in practices that seem to develop their global, international and intercultural (GII) competencies (Soria & Troisi, 2014) while on their home campus, affording them L2 imagined communities through a creative process that provides students with new ways of understanding their relation to the world. Such on-campus activities seem to hold similar benefits to those that study abroad opportunities might offer them, which, according to Soria & Troisi (2014:263), are "appreciation for global issues", "intercultural awareness" or "growth in intercultural communication skills". According to these authors, "intentionally designed curricular and cocurricular global/international experiences can expose students to others from diverse backgrounds or cultures, present opportunities to gain knowledge about international cultures and situate students within a globally framed context" (Soria & Troisi, 2014:265). Most of the student-teachers in this study acquired wide and rich international knowledge and became more internationally-minded in some of their attitudes, skills and behaviours. Gaining intercultural awareness might also be part of the EMI-PEBD's aim to bring IaH, by providing its student-teachers with opportunities to participate or by encouraging them to engage in "risky behaviour" (Dunne, 2009) through university exchanges abroad.

Internationalisation may also have a strong impact on students' identities (Chapman & Pyvis, 2006; Phan, 2009), since participating in any community and through any language inevitably affects one's identity (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger,

1998; Bourdieu, 1977). The IaH through English brought by the EMI-PEBD CoP, specifically, might have affected its students' L2 identities. During the students' participation in the English-medium degree, English becomes the tool through which they acquire new knowledge and through which they study, take notes, prepare their presentations and essays or discuss issues in groups. As in case of most IaH experiences, throughout such internationalised practices the students' linguistic identities evolve through the use of EIL. Teekens' (2006) idea that IaH encompasses the notions of "self, strange and otherness" might be partly related to the conception of English as a global language, in that "otherness" may blend the international complex issues that have turned English into a "global" communication tool across cultures, traditions, borders and backgrounds. The EMI-PEBD and its use of English (as a lingua franca, an international language or a global language) presents students with a conception of a target language that can be owned by all its speakers, both those who have it as L1 and L2 (Widdowson, 1994, 1997), since these notions entail diversity and pluricentricity (Caine, 2008; Sifakis, 2004) as its natural core. As Wenger (1998:215) highlights, "because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity". The nature of the EMI-PEBD may lead to the assertion that the notion of EIL also challenges their identities and provides students with affiliations to new (or not) imagined communities. Wenger (1998:162) argues the following:

In the same way that a practice is not just local but connected to broader constellations, an identity –even in its aspects that are formed in a specific community of practice– is not just local to that community. In our communities of practice we come together not only to engage in pursuing some enterprise but also to figure out how our engagement fits in the broader scheme of things. Identity in practice is therefore always an interplay between the local and the global.

In this regard, Block (2007a) argues that coming into contact with EIL settings might have a strong impact on individuals' identities: while the students engage in the EMI-PEBD, their L2 identities seem to expand. Particularly, and in a very powerful way, in case of those students who had had few or no experiences in real English CoPs and had never been invested in the learning of English (Norton, 1993, Norton & McKinney, 2011). In a sense, the degree brings the world to the students' locality. Realizing the symbolic power they can earn by incorporating English into their linguistic personal repertoire opens up endless possibilities for identity expansion that they seem to be

eager to embrace. Through internationalised university lectures in a IaH context these student-teachers seem to gradually move towards fuller and fuller positions in their imagined communities, as well as they become more valuable and legitimate members. Their identities evolve in line with an international-inflected view of themselves, allowing them to feel as possible owners of an international English (Widdowson, 1994).

Most of them seem to strive for a “bicultural identity” (Arnett, 2002) or a “global identity” (Ryan, 2006) as international citizens. Having said that, the findings indicate that the notion “imagined communities” should be used in plural, as, even though the students often visualize an imagined global community, the unicity of each participant points to the fact that the imagined communities they have in mind might be of different nature (e.g. teachers with a good command of English, teachers working abroad, individuals who travel a lot, etc.).

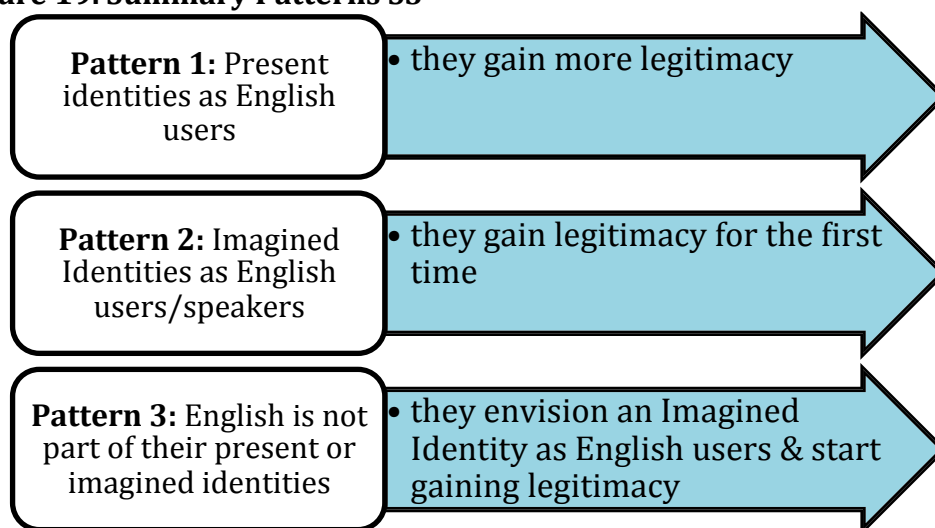
It is precisely because English was already part of these student-teachers’ lives that their life stories needed to be taken into consideration in order to see how their unique identities evolved over their participation in the EMI-PEBD and the extent to which these evolving identities were more or less shaped by the English-medium degree. It is globalisation and the values attributed to globalised practices what might have brought many of these student-teachers to choose the EMI-PEBD degree (S1).

The analysis and the findings in this study suggest that the degree to which the student-teachers envision and define their imagined identities and communities at the beginning of the EMI-PEBD affects the ways in which they experience their participation in the EMI-PEBD. Hence, the degree of previous participation in imagined communities results to be of extreme relevance. Along a spectrum between non-participation and full participation in their imagined communities, the ways in which they reposition themselves over the course of the EMI-PEBD vary significantly. Students in Pattern 1 already had well-defined imagined identities and, in fact, they already considered themselves legitimate members of an international community of English users. Their relationship with English, therefore, does not seem to change significantly; rather it simply improves and affords the students more legitimacy. On the other hand, the rest

of student-teachers position themselves as English learners. Among them, students in Pattern 2 have already envisioned imagined identities and communities that require them to have a good command of English. Students in Pattern 3, however, visualize possible imagined identities and communities for the first time as they engage in the practices that the English-medium degree offers them.

Figure 19 below outlines the three patterns that emerged from the data analysis. These patterns help to understand the ways in which the student-teachers' identities as English learners / users evolve over the course of their engagement with the EMI-PEBD.

Figure 19. Summary Patterns S3



In relation to Pattern 1 (Sara, Roser and Arnau), it is important to highlight the relevance of these students' previous experiences through English by engaging in real English CoPs since very young ages. Stays abroad (Douglas & Jones-Ridders, 2001; Jackson, 2008; Langley & Breese, 2005) seem to be key in their continuous repositionings in their imagined communities as relatively competent English users, rather than as English learners (Pavlenko, 2003). In addition, their families are highly invested in their children's English learning process and intercultural and international experiences with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, something that leads them to struggles and "critical experiences" (Block, 2002a). According to Block (2015a:12), while negotiating identities "issues around perceived and invoked sameness and differences, and authenticity and inauthenticity, come into play". In fact,

when discussing “critical experiences” he argues that “the process of identity construction is potentially conflictive as it involves rupture and turbulences leading to change” (Block, 2015a:12). Throughout their engagements in English CoPs, Sara, Roser and Arnau (Pattern 1) gain legitimacy and they reposition themselves as they transition from local identities to more global ones (Lamb, 2003; Ryan, 2006) and as they achieve more and more old-timer status or fuller positions in an imagined global community of world citizens (Ryan 2006). Their identities shift over the course of their participation in English CoPs and, even more powerfully, within those that imply crossing cultural borders and encountering internationals with whom they have to interact and to claim equal membership in a global community (see Chapter 6).

What the participants in Pattern 1 have in common is that, although their decision to study Primary Education in English was one of their investments in their imagined global community, they do not mention major identity changes over their participation in the degree. Bauman (1998) makes a very interesting point by discussing that mobility is in fact mainly available largely to the elite. Students with an international background may be referred to as exemplary carriers of “travelling cultures” (Clifford, 1997), as they carry with them experiences outside of their local culture, through which individuals unfold new practices, leading to new expressions of who they are, to new knowledge and behaviours (Rizvi, 2005). The “travelling cultures” that students in Pattern 1 seem to possess might not be equally available to everyone and might be strongly related to their accumulation of cultural, social and material capital transmitted by their families (Bourdieu, 1986).

The findings of the present study are especially relevant when discussing the participants in Patterns 2 and 3. As Norton (2001) highlights, a very relevant dimension in any community involvement is one’s sense of belonging. In this sense, the student-teachers get involved in the EMI-PEBD and experience Wenger’s (1998) three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment. Over the course of their participation in the degree, the students’ identities evolve in very powerful ways:

The work of reconciliation is an active, creative process. As we engage our whole person in practice, our identities dynamically encompass multiple perspective in the negotiation of new meanings. In these new meanings we negotiate our own

activities and identities, and at the same time the histories of relations among our communities of practice. The creative negotiation of an identity always has the potential to rearrange these relations. In this regard, multimembership is not just a matter of personal identity. The work of reconciliation is a profoundly social kind of work. Through the creation of the person, it is constantly creating bridges -or at least potential bridges- across the landscape of practice. (Wenger, 1998:161)

Students in Pattern 2A (Alicia, Sònia and Gisela) had already participated in real English CoPs before the EMI-PEBD, although for different reasons. While Alicia and Sònia had been living abroad for short periods of time, Gisela had been using English professionally for 10 years. Despite that, they position themselves as English learners, as they consider that they have not acquired yet a legitimate position as English users in the community they visualize (see Chapter 6). They still find themselves in rather peripheral positions. As a consequence, they decide to invest in the EMI-PEBD although not without worrying whether they will be good enough. Yet, over the course of the EMI-PEBD practices, the identities of these participants shifted from English learners to English users. These findings are in accordance with Murphey et al (2005:95) when they argue that “the construction of identities as successful L2 users can happen in the classroom only if students actually are successful using English meaningfully, i.e. for real purposes, *in the classroom*”. The EMI-PEBD becomes a key turning point in these students’ lives as its English-mediated internationalised practices offer them endless possibilities for identity expansion: Alicia, Sònia and Gisela are afforded possibilities to feel more and more legitimate in their imagined communities and, moreover, a new range of possible future identities are made available to them.

Meanwhile, the imagined communities of students in Pattern 2B (Patricia, Silvia and Montse) had been visualized through globalisation processes, as they had never engaged in any long-term real English CoPs before the EMI-PEBD. Yet, they do envision certain imagined communities which seem to be as powerful as the ones of Alicia, Sònia and Gisela. Their data indicate that their imagined communities might be those in which only native English speakers own the language (Widdowson, 1998; Widdowson, 1994). When Patricia acknowledges that “even though sometimes I still make mistakes”, she might imply that, as opposed to participants in Pattern 2A, she is striving to achieve native-like competencies. It remains unknown, however, what kind of imagined communities exactly the students in Pattern 2B envision, as their comments, although

acknowledging a notable improvement of their English skills, do not seem to position them as English users (unlike the participants in Pattern 2A). This allows us arguing the relevance of “everyday life” to help students create English-speaking imagined identities (e.g. through activities such as watching TV in English, listening to music in English or travelling), but at the same time, to promote critical pedagogies that go beyond the Westernization and Americanization of most English-speaking media and to promote English-speaking imagined identities that leave behind the NS/NNS dichotomy. That might be due to a lack of opportunities to find themselves immersed in an international community of English users and due to the English pedagogies mostly adopted in many Expanding Circle countries such as Spain. Such pedagogies are said to be mostly based on the ‘native speaker fallacy’ (Phillipson, 1992). In relation to this, Rossetto (2006:2) makes a good point, arguing that “it is important to identify whether imagined communities and the related imagined belonging in communities of practice, work in ways that provide a sustainable, harmonious interaction for participants in the learning environment”.

It might be interesting to further explore what students in Pattern 2B aspire to make theirs, whether it is everything that comes with globalisation, or whether it is about an American or British culture. Globalisation can be experienced in empowering ways for those who do not speak English as a first language, or in ways that privilege values specifically attributed to those countries in the Concentric Circle.

What all students in Pattern 2 have in common is that their imagined identities require a good command of English, this being what guides their investments and their language learning process. This is why they choose to study the degree in English: they expect the EMI-PEBD to provide them with the legitimacy they need in order to become full members of their imagined communities, whichever their nature may be.

Finally, students in Pattern 3 (Mercè, Júlia and Natalia) are the ones who experience the most meaningful identity changes throughout the EMI-PEBD as the latter offers them opportunities to envision an imagined community of international English users for the first time, which however requires them to master English. They choose the EMI-PEBD because they are aware of the social benefits that come hand in hand with the mastery of English, but they report no previous investment in the learning of the target

language. The IaH that the degree brings to their local realities grants them with progressive legitimacy as English users of an international community as they start to feel “a sense of community with people whom they have not yet met” (Kanno & Norton, 2003:241). The students’ accounts denote that the EMI-PEBD turned into a learning community (Wenger, 1998) where they were given opportunities for identity expansion. As they become immersed in an internationalised CoP, they gradually invest more and more in the learning of English, as they also develop a desire to become international citizens who share global knowledge, practices and values. New knowledge-seeking behaviour leads them to realize the need to invest in English practices and, thus, they align various activities in order to turn English into one of their main linguistic resources. The practices they engage in and the possibilities they are given allow them to envisage their possible new range of identities for the first time. One of the possibilities the degree offers them is the option to participate in stays abroad since student mobility has become a regular policy within higher education institutions (Altbach & Teichler, 2001). In this sense, student mobility during their participation in the EMI-PEBD becomes a highly plausible possibility for those who had never been abroad.

Having discussed the relevance of IaH and of any CoP on individuals’ identities, and after having outlined the main findings obtained from each pattern, it is important to closely examine the practices that the EMI-PEBD promotes and to describe its reality as accurately as possible. Leaving behind the three patterns that emerged from the analysis, emphasizing the importance of globalisation and its relationship with English becomes key. Its status can play a very important role in the formation of English learners’ identities and thus, in their investment in the language. For example, Silvia and Patricia and Montse (Pattern 2B), had never participated in any real English CoPs but their imagined communities, envisioned through globalisation, required them to master English. The role of imagination, thus, seems to be of extreme importance as, in some cases, it seems to be even more important than participation in real communities of practice (as opposed to imagined). In spite of this, looking at the findings of students in Pattern 2B, the differences between the concepts “globalisation” and “internationalisation” should be purposefully taken into consideration. “Global English requires learners to assess the values linked to this global culture” (Ryan, 2006:31),

however and “despite much talk about global interconnectivity and interdependence, international contact remains within globally differentiated cultural communities – the west versus the rest” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010:175). A conscious and positive view towards an international community through proper “IaH” might be extremely valuable in order to help language learners envision communities that empower them as owners of English. As Knight (2004) puts it, the issues that address the question whether internationalisation might have a role in homogenization of culture should be addressed. In this sense, the degree should draw on the new pedagogies based on the notion of ELF, which take into consideration the expanding number of bilingual users of English, as well as it puts forth successful bilinguals who possess multicultural insights and knowledge as educational models (Alptekin, 2002; McKay, 2003) (see section 2.4.3.).

Even though previously experienced globalisation processes might have strongly shaped Patricia and Silvia’s and Montse L2 imagined identities in disempowering ways rather than as English users, their data in this study is not sufficient to claim that the IaH brought by the EMI-PEBD is not successfully achieved. In fact, most data in this study indicate that the IaH within the EMI-PEBD is meaningful to the extent that it follows a “critical pedagogy” (Pennycook, 2001) towards the teaching of English. Most of the students’ accounts reveal how they position themselves as English users, rather than as failed non-native speakers of the target language. Bearing in mind the fact that in the global era non-native speakers far outnumber native speakers, the SLA research community (Caine, 2008; Jenkins, 2007, 2009; Kachru, 2005; McKay, 2002) is increasingly questioning “the traditional monolithic view of English, in which there is one correct, standard way of using English that all speakers must strive for” (Matsuda, 2003:727). Following this idea, Seidlhofer (2005:339) argues that English teachers should critically re-examine the long pervasive stereotype which regards native speakers “as custodians over what is acceptable usage”.

In spite of the power of globalisation, our findings point to the fact that throughout the EMI-PEBD, participants in Patterns 2A and 3 not only earn legitimacy as English users within their imagined international community, but also gain new imagined identities as multicompetent speakers. In this respect, the degree at the UAB has

provided its students with an international perspective that seems to take into account the “conscious action” Wächter (2000) talks about, as well as the efforts that might be needed to monitor the possible adverse and negative effects of globalisation (see section 2.4.3.). Our findings are also in line with those of Soria & Troisi (2014), who state that international on-campus activities can benefit students’ development of GII competences. In fact, Knight (2004:6) raises the issue of values attributed to internationalisation experiences in higher education institutions. The student-teachers’ willingness to participate in university exchanges, to do their practicum abroad, the projects they have in mind, the activities they are planning for their futures and the values they refer to when discussing world realities and their role in it seem to indicate that the EMI-PEBD becomes a space where English ends up being one among many other values the degree boosts. Except for Patricia and Silvia’s data (Pattern 2B), most findings in this study support the idea that the values acquired throughout the degree provide they rest of the participants with positive values as future primary teachers that can very positively have an impact on the values of future generations of pupils and on their empowering English learning processes.

The notion of EIL positively accepts and embraces the presence of various norms of English use and it grants the ownership of English to both native and non-native speakers of the language (Widdowson, 1998). From this perspective, English is “no longer linked to a single culture or nation but serves both global and local needs as a language of wider communication” (McKay, 2002:24) and those varieties labelled as non-native Englishes are no longer considered incorrect or deficient. As a matter of fact, Montse’s words speak of the EMI-PEBD’s conception towards English: *“the lessons are in English, leaving space for making mistakes that are seen as a point for improvement rather than as an inconvenience. In this way you feel more free when you have to speak”*.

Through imagination, a source of imagined communities, the EMI-PEBD brings the participants in this study the possibility to directly engage in a global community of world citizens (Ryan, 2006) who communicate through English. As they engage in the practices offered by the degree, the students earn the cultural, social and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986) which is necessary to become legitimate members of such community. The EMI-PEBD and the IaH dimension that it brings to the student-

teachers' lives seem to provide them with opportunities similar to the ones students might experience in international settings (e.g. whether by travelling, doing stays abroad or interacting with foreigners). The degree becomes a CoP where English is used as a commodity and which contributes to the students' evolving identities, especially in case of those who had had little exposure to international settings or experienced lack of legitimacy. The issue of legitimacy becomes extremely relevant, as it renders something that the students widely acknowledge in their LAs. In their own ways and at their own tempo, over their participation in the EMI-PEBD, the student-teachers get closer and closer to fuller positions and become more legitimate members of an imagined community of world citizens who share values, knowledge and practices (Block, 2007a; Ryan, 2006; Yashima, 2002, 2009). In this regard, Block (Block, 2015a:12) argues that, "negotiation means that such processes involve both self-ascription or self-positioning by individuals who in turn –and simultaneously– are ascribed identities and are positioned in particular ways by others with whom they come in contact".

By the time they finish their third year at the university, all participants are highly invested in the mastery of English, as their affiliation with their English-mediated imagined communities affect their learning trajectories (Norton & McKinney, 2011). These communities "include future relationships that exist only in the learners' imagination as well as affiliations [...] that extend beyond local sets of relationships". (Norton & McKinney, 2011:76). In this regard, Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004:11), argue that ideologies of language are not solely connected to the language itself, but they are always socially constructed and established, as well as they are always associated with power and identity. While experiencing such identity shifts that turn them into individuals with more symbolic and cultural power, the student-teachers seem to align their activities with English-mediated communities in order to gain even more legitimacy and to get closer to fuller positions in their imagined communities. These participants seem to have been given the opportunity "to invest not only in the classroom community, but in communities of the imagination – desired communities that offer possibilities for an enhanced range of identity options in the future" (Norton & Williams, 2012:318). Following this idea, as Norton & Toohey (2011:422) put it, imagined communities "may well have a reality as strong as those in which learners

have current daily engagement, and might even have a stronger impact on their investment in language learning". Imagination leads students to also invest in the learning of English outside the university (e.g. watching TV in English, reading books...). In this vein, this seems to be a never-ending process, as students in Pattern 1, even though they position themselves in fuller positions than the rest of the participants, still invest in the EMI-PEBD as a way to keep learning English. When discussing Wenger's (1998) work and the relevance of "imagination", Norton (2001:164) adds:

Imagination does not necessarily result in the coordination of action. It is here that the notion of alignment becomes central, because it is through alignment that learners do what they have to do to take part in a larger community.

The findings in this study seem to indicate that the EMI-PEBD promotes student-teachers' alignments, in that they invest in practices that will bring them closer to fuller positions in their imagined communities: "We have a vision and it helps us situate what we are doing and make it effective" (Wenger, 1998:218). In this sense, even though this study focused on the evolution of the participants' L2 identities over the course of the EMI-PEBD, the findings indicate that its effects on the students' identities go far beyond their linguistic identities. Hence, our findings provide valuable and highly relevant insights into how the UAB degree renders successful in what Brewer (2004:1) finds essential: "In today's interconnected world, international education should always strive towards the formation of citizens who cannot only contribute and participate in their country, but in the entire world".

The findings also support the contention that "students need to have successful experiences of language learning [...] to spark a desire to identify with certain groups and to locate themselves in imagined communities and be seen as successful second language users" (Murphey et al., 2005:84-85). This can be applied to all participants in all patterns, and it has special relevance for the EMI-PEBD in case of those students who had no communities in mind (Pattern 3) or who did not feel legitimate enough (Pattern 2). At the same time, our data also supports the idea that frustrating experiences may also lead to the creation of such communities (Block, 2002; Skier & Vye, 2003), as it is the case of first impressions and feelings towards one's own English skills at the beginning of the EMI-PEBD or when interacting for the first time with English users (e.g. while participating in stays abroad).

Summing up, and especially for those student-teachers in Pattern 2 and Pattern 3, the international experiences that the participants experienced throughout the EMI-PEBD have affected their attitudes towards a global/international culture, which, in turn, contributes to shaping their imagined communities and identities and has a direct effect on students' investments in the unquestionable language of globalisation: English. Hence, this study shows that there is a strong relationship between identity and language learning:

Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on their investments in the target language- a return that will give them access to the privileges of target language speakers (Norton, 2000:166).

7.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

As a qualitative, interpretative and longitudinal study, this chapter aimed to emphasise the uniqueness of each participant, of their relationship with English and of their life stories before they embarked on the EMI-PEBD journey and over the course of their participation in the English-medium degree. After a chapter overview (section 7.1.), a brief introduction to the study followed (7.2.). After that, section 7.3. provided the preliminary results, including the codes obtained (section 7.3.1.) and the general knowledge from the previous two studies that was taken into account (section 7.3.2.). Next, in section 7.4. the final findings obtained from the data analysis were presented. More specifically, sections 7.4.1., 7.4.2. and 7.4.3., respectively, disclosed the findings in relation to three different patterns. Finally, section 7.5. concluded the chapter with a final discussion on the obtained findings. Following, Chapter 8 outlines the main conclusions and pedagogical implications that this doctoral thesis embodies.

