'Who are You and Where are You from?': An Inquiry into Negotiation

of Identities amongst Multilingual Expatriates Living in Thailand

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Chika Kumashiro Wilms

School of Education, Department of Applied Linguistics

University of Leicester

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Chika Kumashiro Wilms

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Abstract

The present thesis set out to inquire and gain an understanding of how multilingual individuals with long-term sojourns abroad negotiate and construct their identities, particularly in terms of their language expertise and national or ethnic subject positions. Globalisation prompted more people to go abroad to work, study or search for a better way of life. Each move to a new country entails linguistic and socio-cultural adjustments and over a period of time, it becomes difficult for some people, known as expatriates in this context, to answer the question of 'Where are you from?' and who they are. Their multifaceted and complex identities require a narrative form to be answered.

Poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches to identity were adopted in the research design for their theoretical and methodological capacity to facilitate the analysis of the complexity and multiplicity of individuals' identity negotiation and construction process in discourse, social relations and positioning. Nine participants living in different regions and socio-economic sectors in Thailand for different reasons representative of personal agency and globalisation were recruited. Two semi-structured interviews were individually conducted and the recordings were transcribed and analysed using discourse analysis and narrative framework in three chapters, focusing on indexicality issues in their national subject positions, the significance of family and friends, and critical experiences abroad. The participants' identity negotiation was seen in different types of positioning in ideologically-imbued discourses and their identity construction mechanisms utilised linguistic tools of exclusion and belonging such as accent and code-mixing. Different languages were also used as discursive and cognitive resources of identity negotiation and construction. The participants were aware of their subject position shifts and viewed their identity as a 'mixture' or product of different cultures and heritage. The teller-audience co-construction of identity narratives was important due to the present researcher's position of being an insider.

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List of Contents

List of Tables

List of Interview Transcripts by Chapters

Chapter 4

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

Chapter 7

List of Tables

Abbreviations

ATCK	Adult Third Culture Kids
BA	Bachelor of Arts
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
FL	Foreign Language
MA	Master of Arts
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SA	Study Abroad
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLL	Second Language Learning
TCK	Third Culture Kids
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
USA	United States of America

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter will introduce the rationale, main aims, research question and context of the present research. This will be followed by an overview of the thesis statement and the outline by chapters. It will also discuss its intended audience and contribution to knowledge.

1.1   Rationale and Purpose of the Research

The present thesis sets out to inquire and gain an extensive understanding of how multilingual expatriates -- individuals with long-term sojourns abroad -- negotiate and construct their identities. The idea arose from my long-term observations, spanning three decades, of people experiencing marked changes in their sense of who they are as a result of living abroad, particularly in terms of their national and language identity. The latter half of the twentieth century, in the age of globalisation in late modernity, witnessed an increase in people's mobility and new types of migrants. This was particularly observed amongst middle class citizens going abroad to work, study or search for a better way of life. Individual desires were fueled by various market developments in globalisation. Salient to the present research context is the commodification of English as 'the global language' (Crystal 1997) or 'the world language' (cf. Coupland 2003: 469) with its 'linguistic capital' (cf. Bourdieu 1977, 1991 cited in Kang 2012: 166) and others (e.g. cultural, symbolic) vested in it with potential for

empowering change such as emancipation from middle class individuals' current socio-economic status and cultural traditions.

The people who fit the context of the present research go abroad for different motives which are primarily for their personal development and benefit, which may include those of their family members. They are commonly known as 'expatriates'. Unlike the immigrants in the traditional sense, expatriates have the option to repatriate and retain their nationalities in most cases (cf. Pollock and Van Reken, 2001; Hayden 2006; Block 2007; Sears 2011; Kang 2012). As they increased in number, identity issues amongst them surfaced and received attention in certain sectors of education (cf. 'Third Culture Kids' in Pollock and Van Reken 2001; and international school students in Hayden 2006 and Sears 2011) and business (e.g. expatriates' adjustment issues in Black, Mendenhall and Oddou 1991; Glanz, Williams and Hoeksema 2001; Cerdin and Le Pargneux 2009; Herman and Tetrick 2009).

Moving to a new country involves linguistic, socio-cultural, physical and emotional adjustments to varying degrees. A succession of moves from one country to another or prolonged overseas sojourn changed many expatriates' views about their native national, cultural and language identities. Through these experiences, identity became a multifaceted and complex concept. These experiences and adjustments caused some expatriates to develop difficulties to answer a seemingly simple question of 'Where are you from?'. They hesitated or produced an identity 'narrative'

2

to explain who they are in light of the discrepancy between their putative national, linguistic and cultural identity and who they have become. This was as if the preposition 'from' in the question asked them to confirm their assumed nationality based on their physical appearance in a kind of an 'identity screening test'. Even after 'coming home', expatriates' identities are contested by their compatriots who noticed that the former are not quite the same as the others 'back home' in terms of their views, some socio-cultural idiosyncracies or other ways to express themselves that are different or unconventional, let alone being conversant in languages that are not part of their native identity.

Hence in many cases, multilingual individuals with prolonged overseas experiences are still regarded as 'different' in today's globalised, 'international' world. However, this has not been receiving sufficient attention in research focusing on identity despite the ample published work on bi- and multilinguals' negotiation and construction of identities (e.g. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Pavlenko 2006; Anchimbe 2007; Block 2007; Kramsch 2009; Llamas and Watt 2010) and mobility as a way of life in late modernity (e.g. Pollock and Van Reken 2001; Hayden 2006; Taylor 2010; Sears 2011; Kang 2012). This may be due to the perception that these people tend to be 'global elites who are generally able to manage and control events in their lives to their benefit' (Block 2012: 280), thus lacking in cause for advocacy. However, a strong case can be made in the present research for the significance of researching identity issues amongst multilingual expatriates. In the context of globalisation, they are

part of the discourse of 'global' or 'world' citizens. Their identity negotiation goes through similar trials and tribulations as those of the traditional immigrants in terms of assumptions and prejudices. They have to explain who they are against the default assumption of identity grounded in the view of 'one nationality, one language and one culture'. Their awareness of who they were before they went abroad and their shifting identities after living abroad conflicts with the public perception of who they *ought* to be. This can lead to individuals to feel ambivalent, being 'everywhere' (e.g. 'the world is your home') but not belonging to any one particular place. Although not every multilingual expatriate may see their transitions as an identity drama, as more and more people land in this situation, it is not only important but should be necessary to understand the mechanisms and processes of identity negotiation and construction in order to analyse the roots of difficulties that permeate the general public in understanding diversity, multiplicity and hybridity of identity. This is vital for truly understanding what it means to be 'multilinguals' and 'global citizens' beyond their idealised image.

Therefore, the present thesis considers the identity issues amongst multilingual expatriates as an important and integral part of the phenomenon of globalisation. They deserve due attention in research as a call to critically review the notions of identity in order to promote the understanding of identities as dynamic and diverse through lateral and critical thinking to transcend the hegemonic workings of certain political and ontological ideologies in common sense assumptions.

1.1.2 Key Terms

The following terms are frequently applied in the present thesis. 'Late modern' refers to the period of time from the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first century (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 22). The term 'expatriates' designates individuals who lead an internationally mobile lifestyle motivated primarily out of their personal concern for an enhanced life style and desire for personal fulfillment with the option of returning to their official country of origin. The term 'multilingual' here includes bilinguals and refer to those who lead their everyday life in two or more languages and closely identify with the socio-cultural practices, norms and values associated with their languages. The term 'language expertise' (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997; Block 2007: 40) refers to the languages which an individual can fluently speak and possibly read and write proficiently. Thus the term 'multilingual expatriates' refers to those individuals with the combination of the above representing the context of the present research. Two terms essential for the theoretical framework are 'poststructuralist' and 'social constructionist'. These and other key terms pertaining to the concepts, theories and methods used in the present thesis will be defined in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 below and are mentioned under the list of abbreviations on page xi above.

1.2   Main Aims and Research Questions

The purpose and aim of the present research is to investigate and gain a deeper and holistic understanding of how multilingual expatriates negotiate and construct their identities. Its main aim, as mentioned in Section 1.1.1 above, is to call for a critical review of the identity status quo and raise awareness for multiplicity and hybridity of identities. This requires the perception and understanding of identity transcending the hegemonic workings of political and ontological ideologies in 'common sense' assumptions to foster respect for individual uniqueness by adopting the view of identity as dynamically negotiated and constructed through discourse in social interaction. Discourse is a particular way of using language publically and socially and is therefore central to the present inquiry.

The main research question is:

> How do multilingual expatriates discursively negotiate and construct the sense of who they are with regards to their putative national identity?

As previously mentioned, multilinguals sometimes feel torn about their identity and even feel differently when speaking different languages, affecting their perception of identity. There is a sense of 'language-self' such as 'Swedish self', 'Persian self' and so forth (cf. Kramsch 2009: 1). The knowledge of another language can allow multilinguals to access another reality (ibid.: 2) which could influence the very sense of who they

are in different languages (cf. ibid.). The questions below draw out further related points:

> 'Do bi-and multilinguals sometimes feel like different people when speaking different languages? Are they perceived as different people by their interlocutors? Do they behave differently? What prompts these differences?' (Pavlenko 2006: 1)

Multiple languages still present a problematic view of identity in the predominant concept of national identity constituted in the 'born and bred' narrative (Taylor 2010: 3) and consisting of such symbolic items as national language, cultural practices and canons, and collective history. On the negative side of this perception is 'linguistic schizophrenia' (Pavlenko 2006: 3). Nevertheless, there is an undeniably intimate connection between language and identity (e.g. Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2000; Kanno 2003; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Pavlenko 2006; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007; Jackson 2008; Kramsch 2009; Llamas and Watt 2010) which is said to be 'a fundamental element of our experience of being human' (Llamas and Watt 2010: 1). Furthermore, the questions above point out the importance of perception and social interaction in identity. Some multilinguals and dual nationality individuals are left to wonder if their duality or multiplicity of identity is 'legitimate' in the moral force of the discourse of nationalism. Therefore, whether multilinguals really feel differently in their use of different languages and what actually 'prompt' differences in behavior need to be analysed critically with ideological and political implications in the main research question.

Athis point, the questions embedded in the title of the present thesis need to be discussed. The seemingly simple questions 'where are you from?' and 'who are you?' can be difficult to answer for those with multiple languages and prolonged overseas sojourns. Actually, the difficulties are not so much in producing the answers as having them accepted by their interlocutors. The primary function of these questions is to establish the identity positions in first-time encounters so as to set the ground for the ensuing social interaction or transaction. As mentioned in Section 1.1.1 above, the question, 'Where are you from?' is infused with the ideology of nationalism which assumes a one-on-one correspondence with nationality and language, and other concurrent indices of identity. This is why their answers tend to take the form of autobiographical narrative (Sears 2011: 80) to explain and justify their contested identity with regards to these social interactional forces at hand. Consider the brief exchange below from a study of expatriates (Sears 2011: 80):

Question: Where are you from?
Long-term global nomad: How long have you got?

The above demonstrates the need for the 'long-term global nomad' to explain and justify his answer. It also portrays his unwillingness to reveal the complexity of his identity unless it is really of significant interest to his interlocutor. This suggests the psychological burden to juggle through the 'oughts' of identity (cf. Giddens 1991; Bauman 2004) and its dilemmas today.

Hence the questions above point out the need to critically analyse the assumptions behind the visible and audible indices of identity such as physical appearance, accent and use of language. This guided my search to establish the theoretical and methodological parameters to design and conduct the present research. Poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches to identity emerged as the most appropriate and effective. These view the notion of discourse as the medium and site of identity negotiation and construction. The following questions have been incorporated into the present research design:

1. How exactly are identities discursively produced or performed?
2. What is the process or mechanism by which the individual speaker takes up positions in discourse to which they have been summoned? (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 35)

These allow the original research question to analyse different individual accounts and social phenomena to ensure that the outcomes can be reliably supported by the existing theories and new ways to employ and build on them. In order to further clarify this, the context of the present research will be discussed below.

1.3   The Research Context

In this section, I will discuss the research context with the discussion of mobility in late modernity and how this appeals to the desire and agency of

expatriates to go abroad. I will then present my background as an insider of the context of the present research and explain its venue.

1.3.1 Global Mobility and Expatriates

Mobility has always been one of the main themes of humanity (e.g. diaspora, immigration, migration), but it has been acknowledged as a way of life today more so than ever before (cf. Glanz et al 2001: 101; Hayden 2006: 2 – 3; Block 2007: 30; Hermans and Dimaggio 2007: 31; Taylor 2010: 1; Sears 2011: 71). This is mainly due to the increase in private sector companies 'outgrowing their national territories and, as new 'multinational' or 'transnational' or 'global' forces, reshaping community life' (Coupland 2003: 467; cf. Hayden 2006: 42). This was also aided by technological developments leading to time-space compression (cf. Giddens 1991; concepts and discussions in Block 2007: 32; Hayden 2006: 2; Coupland 2003: 467) through mass media and electronic means of communication. These allow people to easily keep in touch with their families and friends at home, contributing to the relative ease of mobility. Furthermore, the notion of 'self help' and the 'do-it-yourself' pursuit of individual desire for a better life style helped individuals to take the matter into their own hands. The multilevel migration systems theory (Faist 2000; Castles and Miller 2003cited in Block 2007: 31) summarises the above points of migration at three levels. The macro level concerns global politics, global markets, media, ideologies and others. The micro level is

the individual values and expectations such as 'the desire to improve one's standard of living or gain political autonomy' (ibid.). The meso level consists of various networks mediating between the macro and micro levels; social ties (e.g. family or occupational), symbolic ties (e.g. belonging to certain groups such as ethnic, national, political, religious, etc.) and transactional ties (e.g. reciprocity, solidarity, access to resources, etc. cited in ibid.).

Expatriates (Block 2007: 32) are also known as: 'Third Culture Kids (TCKs)' (Useem 1993 cited in Sears 2011: 74 and in Pollock and Van Reken 2001: Chapter 2), 'Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCKs)' (Pollock and Van Reken 2001); 'global nomads' (Langford 1998 cited in Sears 2011: 80 and in Pollock and Van Reken 2001; cf. Hayden 2006: 42), 'transmigrants' (Block 2007: 33), 'middling transmigrants' (Conradson and Latham 2005 cited in ibid.: 68), 'people who move' (Sears 2011:81); 'global citizens', and 'world citizens'. The conceptualisation the term and their synonyms above require the examination of 'national identity' (Block 2007: 29 – 30) and 'migrant identity' (ibid.: 30 – 33). The former is summarised as 'based on shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, language and religion associated with a nation state' (ibid.: 43). The latter is summarised as 'ways of living in a new country, on a scale ranging from classic immigrant to transmigrant' (ibid.) and focuses on capturing the subject positions of the vast number of people who have migrated during the course of their life (ibid.: 30 – 31). Expatriates need to constantly shift

through different socio-cultural practices, languages and belief systems in their transient life style.

A salient tendency of expatriates is the idea to take the matter into their own hands to improve their situation by pursuing a desired life style in a place abroad, deemed ideal for achieving the object of their desire. Desire is 'what makes us human, namely, the need to identify with another reality than the one that surrounds us' (Kramsch 2009: 14). Individual desire is increasingly seen in the current trends of mobility. Whilst not all expatriates may have been voluntarily sent to their destination abroad by the companies and institutions that they work for, individual desire and agency cannot be ruled out here, for their agreement to go abroad may be tied to their promotion within their work place or to other benefits. Others who voluntarily ventured abroad usually saw that their opportunities for self-fulfillment or professional achievement have been exhausted at home. Thus their desire to go abroad includes tapping into linguistic, cultural and symbolic capitals elsewhere, appearing to offer prospects for better business and life style. Such migration has even been dubbed 'the New Diaspora' (Willis et al 1994 cited in Hayden 2006: 42; cf. Korean education migrants in Kang 2012). It represents context of the present research.

Mobility, however, has its own price to pay in terms of identity. Expatriates pioneer opportunities in different territories with an option to repatriate or establish permanent residency abroad without changing their citizenship. Every move involves several major change in life, at once, in a move to a

new country (Langford et al 2002 cited in Hayden 2006: 24), such as: changing job, moving house, separation from parents or adult children and major purchases such as a new car (Hayden 2006: 24). Furthermore, their transition issues are compounded by language issues (cf. Pollock and Van Reken 2001; Hayden 2006; Sears 2011). They must commute between different countries, societies, cultural and linguistic realms. These are considered as 'critical experiences' (Block 2007; cf. Hayden 2006; Sears 2011). These adjustments instigate identity dilemmas, negotiation and (re)construction. Thus individuals' identity is said to be 'most put on the line' (cf. Block 2007: 75) when they are abroad:

> '*Who's he when he's at home?* […] when he's at home, he doesn't need to be anybody. It's when he's not at home that his identity matters.' (Joseph 2010: 17; original emphasis)

However, for some, their identity saga does not end when they return home. As mentioned in Section 1.1.1 above, their repatriation sometimes feels like arriving in a foreign country because their concept of home may have shifted. Resettling in their own countries can become a critical experience as well, as a kind of culture shock (cf. Pollock and Van Reken 2001; Hayden 2006; Sears 2011).

1.3.2 The Researcher

The background of the present author as a multilingual expatriate with prolonged overseas sojourn will be presented below. My position is that of

an insider of the context of the present research. I have been living abroad for about two-thirds of my life, having left my native Japan at the age of twelve. I lead my life in four languages that I have studied and acquired during the course of my life. I have significant social and emotional connections with English, French, German and Japanese. I also live with the socio-cultural knowledge gathered to varying degrees during my study and work sojourn in seven countries. My family, friends and colleagues are also mostly multilingual expatriates with similar experiences and identity questions.

Whenever people ask me where I am from or where my home is, I cannot give a straight answer. My answers vary depending on the context and audience of a particular social interaction and range from being very brief to telling an autobiographical narrative. The main issue here is the extent to which my identity matters to my interlocutors. My identity is constantly 'put on the line', both abroad and at 'home'. Where this occurs the least is in the company of those who can tolerate multiplicity and hybridity in identity and those who share a similar multilingual and/ or expatriate background.

It is every intention of mine to keep my personal perception and biases to a minimum but utilise my experiences and perception as resources to interpret the relevant theories, approaches and raw data to effectively conduct the present study.

1.3.3 The Venue of the Present Research

My own expatriate sojourn in Thailand was the longest, on and off since 1979. I was living and working there at the time of the present research and my familiarity with expatriate communities there contributed to my successful recruitment of the nine participants. Thailand is a popular tourist and business destination and hosts many expatriates from all over the world. The expatriates I knew lived in other countries as well and from their accounts of experiences and perceptions, many commonalities in expatriate life can be extrapolated. Thus they represent expatriates in general and their experiences and perceptions in Thailand can be transferred to other expatriate contexts. It must be clarified here that Thailand is the venue of the research but the present study was not intended to specifically examine how Thai nationals negotiate and construct their identities or how foreign expatriates adjust to Thai society.

This section presented the context of the present research. I will discuss the outline of the thesis and its intended audience and knowledge contribution in the final section of the present chapter.

1.4   Overview of the Thesis

As discussed in Section 1.1.1 above, poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches have been adopted for the present research as

the most appropriate theoretical and methodological framework to examine the identity negotiation and construction process of the nine participants. I will give an overview of the research below.

1.4.1 Thesis Overview

Identity consists of the personal and social. It is 'an act of social positioning, of self and others' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 18; cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Block 2007) in social relations and interactions. Individual subjectivities are mediated through discourse as subject positions and positioning also occurs in discourse. Individuals' different ways of 'being' are contested and negotiated through their use of language and membership in various social groups and institutions. Identity is constructed as narratives in teller-audience social interaction and is seen to be multi-faceted and hybrid in late modernity. Therefore, it is best served by an interdisciplinary approach (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007; Edwards 2009; Llamas and Watt 2010). Thus the main paradigm and theoretical approaches to identity in the present thesis come from the poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches which examine construction and negotiation of identities as situated in intersubjectivity, social relations, contexts of interaction, discourse and power. The methodology is in the qualitative paradigm and focuses on discourse and narrative analysis.

1.4.2 Outline of the Thesis

The present chapter introduced the rationale, main aims and research questions, and the context of the present research. Chapter 2 will review the relevant literature and introduce the main theoretical framework. This will be followed by Chapter 3 on the research design and methodology. The next four chapters consist of data analyses in three parts. Chapter 4 will introduce the first four of the nine participants and their identity indexicality issues in the discourse of national identity. Chapter 5 will do the same with the remaining five participants. Chapter 6 will analyse their identity negotiation and construction in their social dynanics. Chapter 7 will bring together the items analysed in chapters 4 – 6 to organise them in identity narratives. Chapter 8 will discuss the findings from the data analyses and extrapolate the thesis. Chapter 9 is conclusion which will critique the present thesis work and state the original knowledge contribution.

1.4.3 Readership and Knowledge Contribution

It is hoped that the inquiry undertaken by the present research would contribute to a further understanding of the process of identity negotiation and construction amongst multilingual expatriates. The context of the present research is an important contribution to the growing number of research undertaken amongst new types of migrants and movement of

people in globalisation (e.g. cf. Block 2007, Taylor 2010, Sears 2011, Kang 2012, Block 2012). Thus it aspires to underscore its significance in relation to the traditionally researched identity contexts.

The intended audience of the present thesis is broadly divided into two groups: students and academics engaged in a similar topic of research in the relevant disciplines, and other individuals for whom the content is relevant, interesting and helpful to further their own understanding of their identity negotiation and construction process in a similar context.

1.4.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter stated the rationale and purpose of the present research and introduced its context and gave an overview of its content and organisation. In the next chapter, literature review will be conducted in order to synthesise the main theoretical framework for the design and analysis of the present research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review of the Theoretical Framework

This chapter will review the concepts and theories of identity in the late modern poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches to demonstrate how the theoretical framework in the present thesis was derived. Two sets of contrasting paradigms will be examined first, followed by essential aspects and mechanisms of identity negotiation and construction. This will be followed by the synthesis of the main theoretical framework and a reflection of the literature review.

2.1   Rationale and Chapter Organisation

Identity is complex, multi-faceted and dynamically constructed in social interaction. It can be thought of in terms of 'being' or 'doing' who we are with regards to our social relations and contexts of social interaction. Our identity *matters* in the company of others across time and space. It is how we perceive ourselves in relation to others, how we act and react to our social environment and relationships, and how we live or make decisions about certain things with an imagination of ourselves in future with lessons from the past. It is also how we talk about who we are to and with others.

The view of identity above is social constructionist. It demonstrates a major shift from the traditional psychological concept of the 'core self' which is innate, self-contained and *a priori* social relations and

interactions. This was part of the structuralist view of identity, seen in terms of demographic categories, cultural practices, languages and the inner psychological elements. Eventually, however, it was realised that these categorisations and their corresponding identity 'traits' were not sufficient to explain human irregularities in various social phenomena. Therefore, new views and approaches to identity had to evolve. Effective theoretical framework and approaches to identity need to be dynamic with critical perspectives and lateral thinking to understand how individuals negotiate and construct their identities and why. Identity has come to be understood as 'multiple', always being partially manifested in social interaction. The key points for the present literature review will be summarised below.

In order to probe deeper into the social constructionist theorisation of identity, poststructuralist approaches are needed to examine the complex process of identity negotiation and construction. Social relations and interactional dynamics are complex. Behind their complexity are such factors as ideology, relations of power and different forms of capital. These are hidden beneath the 'normal' social and institutional relations and interactions. Poststructuralist approaches recognise the role and influences of these on individuals' identity negotiation and construction (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 13). To analyse these, the concept of discourse needs to be examined. It refers to a particular form of social and public language use. It embeds such social interactional forces as ideology, hierarchical relations of power, norms, values, cultural

knowledge and practice in different manners and forms of language use such as register. Therefore, it can effectively account for how people 'do' their identities in social interaction and for what possible reasons. This is why it has become an integral part of identity research using social constructionist and poststructuralist approaches in recent years.

By adopting discourse, the present theoretical framework does not explicitly draw on the concept of culture. In the general move away from conceptualising identity in static categories and as preceding social interaction in structuralism, the notion of culture also came to be seen as too static. Culture is understood as 'the relatively fixed worldview, modes of behaviour and artefacts of a particular group of people' (Block 2007: 12). It has been regarded as something that 'establishes for each person a context of cognitive and affective behaviour, a blueprint for personal and social existence' (Brown, 1980: 123 cited in Block 2007: 59). Discourse includes elements of culture as part of its knowledge scheme and interactional norm. Therefore, having culture understood as part of discursive practice can more aptly explain the subjective, intersubjective, social and public process of identity negotiation and construction in the current approaches to identity.

Discourse can also account for individual subjectivities and the construction of selfhood. Positioning theory draws on discourse to discuss how selfhood is constructed and negotiated. This arose from the fact that

social roles were too static to account for it in social psychology (cf. Davies and Harré 1990).

Different paradigm and paradigm shifts are part of the ongoing pursuit and construction of knowledge. Therefore, they need to be examined carefully with questions regarding their ability to produce as holistic and balanced knowledge as possible within their parameters. In theorising identity, the differences between the two main opposing paradigms, structuralism and social constructionism, would be better served by theories and perspectives that can bridge the gap, complement each other or lead to new approaches and understanding. Therefore, I believe, in line with the more recent developments in identity research, that 'personal and social identity are inseparable' (Taylor 2010: 3; cf. Edwards 2009). This is why the present literature review will begin with the examination of two sets of contrasting paradigms and review the process and mechanisms of discursive negotiation and construction of identities.

The present chapter is organised in the following manner. Section 2.2 will examine two sets of contrasting paradigms and theoretical approaches on identity negotiation and construction in order to provide the context for the present theoretical framework. Then in Section 2.3, the most significant aspects of identity negotiation and construction extracted from the present literature review will be examined. It will end with the synthesis of the present theoretical framework and reflection.

2.2 Contrasting Paradigms and Theoretical Approaches

Research on identity has seen some paradigm shifts and developments in the past few decades in different fields and branches of the social sciences, such as sociology, sociolinguistics, social psychology, ethnography, anthropology, cultural, global, media and gender studies. There are distinct concepts of identity such as personal identity, self-identity, social identity and collective identity which are studied in psychology, social psychology, sociology, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, anthropology, human geography, philosophy, history, political science and others. In order to provide the context for the present thesis theoretical framework, two sets of contrasting paradigms will be reviewed in order to address the theorisation dilemmas: structuralist versus social constructionist/ poststructuralist and personal versus social identity.

The core issue in the debate between the structuralist and social constructionist/ poststructuralist paradigms on identity is comparable to the quantitative/ qualitative debate in research methods. Each of them approaches the construction of knowledge in a distinctively different way, but one cannot do without the other. Despite their differences, it has been observed that in late modernity, identity is 'bound up with both challenge and conformity to essentialism' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 21) and that researchers 'veer back and forth between structuralism and poststructuralism' (Block 2007: 14). Social constructionists see identity sees it in the plural form, as being dynamic, social relational, multimodal,

hybridised and even ambiguous. However, it is both impractical and impossible to completely ignore the structuralist identity types and categorisation schemata. Conceptualisation and study of identity in different academic disciplines have their own history. It is in the context of research and what researchers brought into them. And these will continue to generate different perspectives, theories and approaches. The details of the contrasting paradigms will be discussed below.

Structuralist approaches to identity sought 'universal laws or rules of human behaviour' (Block 2007: 12). This meant that the self was seen as 'the product of the social conditions in and under which it has developed' (ibid.) and that they are determined by their membership in social and demographic categories, formed and shaped by a fixed view of 'culture' and biological characteristics, all of which precede their existence (ibid.). A principal underlying concept here is essentialism, which is:

> the position that the attributes and behaviour of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/ or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group. As an ideology, essentialism rests on two assumptions: (1) that groups can be clearly delimited; and (2) that group members are more or less alike.' (Bucholtz 2003 cited in Block 2007: 12)

Hence essentialism produced the effect of 'othering' by homogenising sociocultural groups or 'inappropriately attributing qualities of authentic membership' (Coupland 2010: 105; cf. Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997)'s study of 'reifying native speakers'), confining individuals to their perceived 'essence' of predetermined social categories and their

associated practices and biological features. Such categorisation of people gave rise to separation, isolation and marginalisation of some groups and individuals based on the socio-cultural and politico-economic powers vested in its boundaries. This created the approach to identity through difference, which is the main criticism of structuralism and essentialism in the poststructuralist view.

The term poststructuralism means 'surpassing of structuralism' (Block 2007: 12). As the word suggests, it seeks 'more nuanced, multileveled and ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us' (ibid.). Its theory recognises:

> 'the sociohistorically shaped partiality, contestability, instability, and mutability of ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies'. (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 10)

The above was not part of the earlier structuralist approaches including sociopsychological, variationist and interactional sociolinguistics approaches. Poststructuralist inquiry focuses on the analysis of asymmetrical relations of power produced by power struggles between different groups of people. This has its origin in Hegel (1807 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24)'s 'submission' or 'an imagination of submission' between the powerful and not-so-powerful groups. This is why the automatic assumption of one-on-one correspondences between language and biologically or demographically determined identity categories in intergroup accounts (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 4 –

10; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 25 – 27) was criticised by poststructuralists for having ignored 'power relations and complex socio-political, socioeconomic, and sociocultural factors which shape interactions between various groups in multilingual societies' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 6). Similarly, studies in SLA contexts in the 1990's (e.g. McKay and Wong 1996; Norton Peirce 1995, 2000; Pavlenko 2000, 2002 cited in ibid.) also became aware of relations of power and the ideologies behind them amongst different groups of people. They acknowledged that 'the relationship between individuals' multiple identities and second language learning outcomes is infinitely more complex than portrayed in the sociopsychological paradigm' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 6). Thus there is no doubt that identity is 'a matter of considerable political significance' (Hall in Dugay et al 2000: 29).

Social contructionists 'conceptualize identities as an interactional accomplishment, produced and negotiated in discourse' (Davies and Harré 1990, Edwards 1997, Gergen 1994, Harré and van Langenhove 1999 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 13). This view can 'explicate the process by which people orient to consistency in their accounts of themselves and other people […], whilst simultaneously showing that identity is contingent on the local conditions of the interactional context (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 18). Much of the social constructionist understanding of identity owes its development to the 'social identity theory' (SIT) by Tajfel and his colleagues in the 1980's (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24 – 5). However, SIT and the work in variationist

sociolinguistics were criticised still viewing identity as *a priori* social interactions, as if 'switched on' as a cause-and-effect response in particular group interactions and their 'correlational fallacy' in their strict categorisation of people (ibid.: 25 – 6). Through the studies of oppressed and marginalised groups such as women, ethnic minorities, postcolonial writers and others, it became clear that relations of power and workings of ideology had to be taken into account in analysing the inequality between groups, people and the languages they use. This was the 'poststructural turn' in the social view of identity. It incorporated power and ideology into the analysis of social dynamics and individuals through the concept of discourse. This led to an enhaced understanding of identity with its 'irregularities' and multiplicity. These are not seen as irrational anomalies but understood as 'consistent' in the continuity of who people are. Therefore, this was an important move forward to include the social interactional contexts of political and institutional factors and personal and socio histories and to account for irregularities and consistency in a person's life continuum.

Hence the key to a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of identity is to maintain a balance in theoretical perspectives and approaches by keeping what works well from each paradigm (cf. Block 2007: 14). The demographic categories are still needed to refer to different identity categories in analyses (e.g. race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, social class, language and so forth; cf. Block 2007: 27; the 'positionality principle' by Bucholtz and Hall 2012: 21). And the social, discursive view

that 'there is no aspect of identity that lies outside social relations' (Lawler 2008 cited in Taylor 2010: 3) can never fully account for individual subjectivities. Thus as I stated previously, my position is also to arrive at a balanced account of identity processes by keeping what each paradigm best offers. To this end, it is crucial to closely examine the context, design and methodology of different pieces of published research work to determine the applicability and appropriateness of different theories and findings.

The other set of contrasting paradigms, the personal and social views of identity, will now be examined. The theoretical divide here is between the traditional psychological understanding of identity and the more late-modern social theorisation of identity. The former is more in line with the essentialist approach, and the latter is more in line with the poststructuralist and social constructionist ideas. Ideally, as with the first set of paradigms, these should be combined to produce a more holistic view of identity (cf. Edwards 2009 and Taylor 2010). However, it is important to understand how their differences developed, and the salient points will be examined below.

The concept of self is synonymous with 'personal identity'. The term 'self' has many synonyms: 'selfhood', 'position', 'role', 'personality', 'category', 'person formulation', 'person description', 'subjectivity', 'subject', 'agent', 'subject position', and 'persona', with some terms being more precisely connected to particular theories or traditions than others (Benwell and

Stokoe 2006: 5 – 6). These are mainly from the psychological view of identity which be traced back to the 'Enlightenment self' (ibid.: 18). The focus on the individual began in Europe with the emergence of humanism in the Renaissance with the growing secularisation, the use of reason and development of the scientific methods (ibid.: 18 – 9). The individual was considered to be 'the sovereign subject' and 'the human agent' with the capacity for reflexitivity (ibid.: 19), capable of making conscious, rational and methodical choices for him or herself. However, this shifted in the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century, in which the 'natural', innate expressions of the individual became the focus (ibid.). And this led the individuals to work towards his or her natural self-fulfilment, imbued in the morality for each to aspire to his or her own uniqueness (ibid.: 19 – 20). This is believed to have led to the late modern preoccupation with the idea of self-help and self-fulfilment (ibid.). The self gained further importance through the work of Freud in psychoanalysis in the early part of the twentieth century.

The psychological view of identity, 'housed primarily within an individual mind' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 19), however, eventually came to be seen as too *a priori* or static a concept. This was also impacted by the general crisis of modernity in the latter half of the twentieth century, known as the 'crisis of identity' (Erikson 1968 cited in Edwards 2009: 15; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 22). It emerged as 'an anti-essentialist formulation of the self with incredibly liberatory potential' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 22). Erikson's work is credited for situating 'individual phenomena in their

social contexts' (Erikson 1968 cited in Edwards 2009: 15). This conceptual shift also became the 'crisis' of identity which became associated with the 'critical concern' in poststructuralism (Block 2007: 13). Here, the 'crisis of representation and associated instability of meaning' in modernity saw 'the inappropriateness of the Enlightenment assumption of the rational autonomous subject' (ibid.). Hence the notion of identity as 'a product of the social' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24 – 29) became more appropriate.

In the social constructionists' view, 'identity is an intersubjective product of the social' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 8) and that 'the self comes to be defined by its social position in social practice' (ibid.: 24). This incorporates the notion of self into the social, and the term 'intersubjective' indicates exchanges of subjectivities between different 'selves'. The statements below summarise these points. Identity is:

> 'neither contained solely inside the individuals nor does it depend exclusively on how others define the individual. Rather, one needs to consider both self-generated subject positionings as well as subject positionings that are imposed on individuals by others.' (Block 2007: 26)

And identity:

> 'can refer to an individual's own subjective sense of self, to personal classification 'markers' that appear as important, both to oneself and to others, and also to those markers that delineate group membership(s).' (Groebner cited in Edwards 2009: 16)

The idea of identity being 'intersubjective' was already put forth by Donne in the seventeenth century: '[o]ur personal characteristics derive from our

socialisation within the group (or rather, groups) to which we belong' (Edwards 2009: 20). And Hegel observed in 'The Phenomenology of Spirit' in 1807 that 'external factors, such as the social world, prevented the consciousness from being entirely free or autonomous' (cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24). These contrast with the idea of the Enlightenment 'sovereign self'. The individual's self-consciousness 'always existed in relationship to an 'other' or 'others' who serve to validate its existence' (Hall 2004 cited in ibid.). These views explain why identity is also defined as the 'social positioning of self and other' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 18) and that the self 'comes to be defined by its position in social practice (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24). Therefore, the notion of self is indispensable but its conceptualisation differs in the personal and social paradigms.

Hence the notion of identity as 'an intersubjective product of the social' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 8) necessitates the examination of both the personal and social understanding of identity. It would be useful to look deeper into the individual through a synonym of self, 'subjectivity', and its related word, consciousness. Subjectivity refers to 'the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world' (Weedon 1997 cited in Block 2007: 14). This brings up another synonym of self, 'agent', which refers to individual desire formulated into intentions to act. Agency and desire are also both personal and social constructs. In the agency-structure debate, they are said to be generated in discourse with mutual

31

influences between the individual or 'micro' discourse and the social, public 'macro' discourse (cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 35). This can be explained by the Bakhtinian concept of dialogism in which 'individuals are continuously formed through conversation or imagined conversation [with him/herself]' (Taylor 1989 cited in ibid.). These again point to the necessity to understand how the psychological and social conceptualisation of self developed and how they are increasingly examined as complementary in the recent theorisation efforts to synthesise a balanced, holistic understanding of identity.

This section examined two sets of contrasting paradigms in the theorisation of identity to date: the structuralist versus the poststructuralist/ social constructionist, and the psychological versus the social. The historical developments dating back to the Enlightenment shed light on how these opposing perspectives and approaches came to exist. The late modern developments led to the search for a more balanced approach with the contrasting paradigms being converged and fused as appropriate. Although each paradigm must be respected for its particular epistemological process, it is important to continue to critically evaluate the existing theories and approaches to arrive at a holistic understanding of how identity is constructed. In the next section, the significant aspects of negotiation and construction of identity extracted from the literature review will be discussed.

2.3. Identity Negotiation and Construction

In this setion, I will examine the mechanisms and processes of identity negotiation and construction in discourse and social interaction. Section 2.3.1 gives a brief overview for my take on the theretical framework. This will be followed by the discursive mechanisms and processes from Section 2.3.2 – 2.3.5.

2.3.1 Negotiation and Construction of Identities

As seen from the previous section (2.2 above), identity is negotiated and constructed through discourse. Identity is 'negotiated' when individuals feel that certain aspects of their identity are contested by others. Negotiation of identities is:

> 'a transactional interaction process, in which individuals attempt to evoke, assert, define, modify, challenge, and/ or support their own and others' desired self-images, in particular ethnic identity.' (Ting-Toomey 1999 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 4)

Negotiation is not necessarily limited to ethnic identity. It occurs when 'certain identities are contested' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20). Discursive construction of identities sees that 'selves and identities are constituted in talk' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42). Therefore, individuals are said to take up a certain position in a conversation. This is the beginning of identifying oneself as a certain type of individual. However,

this is not freely done, as individuals already come with certain traits that mark their identity, known as identity indices. The interlocutor in a conversation will assume certain things about the individual engaged in the conversation based on such indices of identity as physical appearance, the accent in their speech, the use of particular words or expressions, gestures, body language, and others. Therefore, identity negotiation occurs when the identity assumptions by one person engaged in the conversation about the other person do not match what the latter feels about who he or she is. This is called positioning. In this scenario, the latter has been positioned by the former as a certain kind of a person. If the latter disagrees with it, then he or she will try to position himself or herself as the kind of person who he or she wants to be known as. The former may or may not accept this move. In this manner, negotiation and construction of identity take place in talk.

Therefore, negotiation of identity is theorised in terms of positioning and is understood as 'an interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20). These involve hidden assumptions, ideologies and relations of power. Therefore, the process of identity negotiation and construction work in two major domains. One is in the subjectivities of individuals. The other is in the intersubjectivity in social relations and interactions. Both domains are served by discourse, which is the medium and site of identity negotiation and construction. Individuals' subject

positions are generated in discourse and are summoned by available discourse. In discourse, subject positions take up a position, as if acting out a part in a story (cf. Davies and Harré 1990). However, this is an interactive process and their inhabited position can change or be changed by others as an 'identity story' develops. There can be an infinite number of possibilities to combine, alter or create new subject positions and discourses to negotiate and construct identities. This process involves individuals' evaluation of their past and present self and projection into the future against the context of the particular social interaction as its backdrop during the process. The context of the interaction houses sociohistory, ideology, power, socio-cultural norms, values and different forms of capitals which can influence a particular instance of positioning.

This is why there needs to be an organising scheme to make sense of these different instances of positioning and the social factors behind them. One human tendency is to talk about their perception and experience in the form of story telling. In order to understand the issues behind the contested identities, conducting a self and interactive analysis on what it means will take place in the form of identity narratives. This process is not just a conversation between individuals but could also be done as self-talk with a part of the self as an imaginary audience. It is only when we tell who we are in relation to others and our past to the audience in front of us, to whom our identity matters, that meaningful construction of our identities can take place.

The above, in a nutshell, is the understanding of negotiation and construction of identity in the present theoretical framework. It has been synthesised from a wide range of existing literature in Applied Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Social Psychology, and other relevant academic disciplines. The following points outline the important aspects of identity. It is:

1) negotiated and constructed across time and space throughout an individual's life time;
2) negotiated and constructed through discourse in social relations and interactions through positioning of different subject positions;
3) representations of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in social interactions;
4) represented and co-constructed as narrative in teller-audience social interactions; and
5) multiple and hybrid.

These will be discussed below.

First of all, time is a crucial element of identity which also has an important function as an organisation device in the construction of identity. 'Human existence is temporal' (Polkinghorne 1991: 149), and we grow and change in our finite existence and continue to be engaged in identity work, both consciously and unconsciously. This is reflected in a definition of identity as follows:

'I use the term identity to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future.' Norton (1997: 410)

Norton's work (Norton Peirce 1995; ibid.) first called for attention to social identity in Applied Linguistics and focused on individuals' desire, imagination, agency and social investment to theorise their dynamic construction and negotiation of identities across time and space (cf. Block 2007: 2). Similarly, identity is 'about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future' (Block 2007: 27). The process is both synchronic and diachronic. In identity narratives, the narrator remains the same person throughout his or her life but looks into the past as well as into the future as he or she narrates their identity story.

Next to time, space is also a significant organiser in identity construction. Space here can be physical and geographical, through which demographic identity categories can be indexed. Or it can be abstract, such as social, cyber or other forms of 'space' where certain social, cultural, institutional or spiritual practices take place. The 'spatial turn' in the poststructuralist and postmodern theory argues that '*space*, rather than *time*, is crucial to contemporary cultural and social analysis' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 211, original emphasis). Space is also 'central to the production and maintenance of ingroups and outgroups in everyday life (Paasi 2001 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 214). This accounts for the significance of belonging associated with space, such as national identity, or for such an abstract concept as 'third space' (Bhatt 1994) where identities are constructed. There is also a notion of 'place identity' in which memories and feelings attached to different places contribute to how people negotiate and construct their identities (cf. Taylor 2010: 10).

As previously stated in Section 2.2, identity today is increasingly understood as a 'relational phenomenon' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 23) and 'an active process of discursive 'work' in relation to other speakers' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 18). Social forces are at work here and the relationality principle states that 'identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 23). The important idea here is recognition and this requires the discussion of indexicality which assumes certain connections between individuals and their identity indices. This is why the poststructuralist discursive approaches are is effective to show that such categories and their indices are ideologically constructed in discourse.

Another important point about identities is that they are multi-faceted and partially represented (cf. the 'partialness principle' by Buholtz and Hall 2010: 25). This gives rise to the idea of hybrid identities. An individual's identity will always be a particular version of himself or herself with multiple subjectivities and identity categories that can partially emerge or combine with one another to represent categorically unprecedented expressions of identity. These can lead to the construction of new indices and expressions of identity amongst a group of people to defy the established indexical order in third space.

The above has been channeled into the following four constructs in order to proceed with the detailed examination of the process and mechanisms of the discursive negotiation and construction of identities:

1) Indexicality
2) Social dynamics and discourse
3) Narrative co-construction of Identity
4) Thirdness and Hybridity

Each of these will be reviewed below.

2.3.2 *Indexicality and Its Issues*

Indexicality is a construct based on the view that language is inextricably linked to identity. It sees the visible, audible and otherwise tangible aspects of individuals' language use as indexing their identities. The common sense assumptions are rife in indexicality, laden with ideologies and certain beliefs. In this section, the theory of indexicality and order of indexicality will be examined first, followed by a critical analysis of the indexicality issues in multilingual contexts.

First of all, in indexicality, 'linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21). The indexicality principle (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21) states that: 'identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes' such as identity categories and labels, 'presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity

position'; and 'the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21).

An 'index' is 'a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context for its meaning' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21) and it works in the 'semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings' (Ochs 1992 and Silverstein 1985 cited in ibid.). It relies on the relationship between co-occurring things (Johnstone 2010: 31) such as thunder, lightning and rain (ibid.) or smoke and fire (Joseph 2010: 17), or pronunciation and identity (Johnstone 2010: 31). There are three main forms of language use in indexicality: reflexivity, metapragmatics and enregisterment (ibid.: 29). Reflexivity is the Bakhtinian notion that '[e]very utterance is an example of how an utterance can be structured, how it can sound, and what it can accomplish' (ibid.: 32). This evokes the idea of discourse (cf. Section 2.3.2 below) in that what we say is understood to model the identities that we are seen to be representing (Johnstone 2010: 32). Metapragmatics refer to all the ways in which what we utter can be framed or contextualised (ibid.), representing a geographical place or social class (e.g. upper class snobbery; ibid.: 33). Registers are like 'styles' (Eckert 2000 cited in ibid.: 34) or 'cultural models of action that link diverse behavioural signs to enactable effects' which include images and particular type of conduct (Agha 2007 cited in ibid.). Thus a particular form of language is 'enregistered' when it is included in a register (ibid.). There is also the concept of 'idiolect' (Edwards 2009: 21) which is 'that particular

combination of accent and dialect, that particular assemblage of formal and informal registers, that particular pattern of stress and intonation which […] we would find unique to the individual' (ibid.). Therefore, linguistic styles and social contexts of use can be recognised as indexical patterns with co-variation (Coupland 2010:100). They are known as identity 'indexical resources' (ibid.), which are 'a template of known, generalised associations between linguistic styles and social meanings' for speakers to draw on (ibid.). They can be combined in a number of different combinations in social interactions for identity negotiation.

Indexicality works because 'associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21). This brings up the order of indexicality (Silverstein 2003 cited in Joseph 2010: 16). The first order is seen as relatively 'value free' such as geographical information. The second order is said to more ideologically loaded, such as eliteness, educational background, etc. (Joseph 2010: 17). The indexical order can develop infinitely. Identity is said to be dialectically constructed in the interplay between a certain level in the order (n) and the one just above it (n + 1) (Silverman cited in ibid.). There is a more poststructuralist view, 'orders of indexicality' (Blommaert 2007 cited in ibid.), which incorporates the social theory of Foucault to examine the institutional context in which orders of indexicality operate and how speakers manage to achieve their own agentive goals (Blommaert 2007 cited in ibid.). In general, it is agreed that 'identities […] are constructed at the interstices and margins of the categories and places to which they are

tied' (Joseph 2010: 17). This evokes the idea of identity constructed in 'third space' (cf. Bhatt 2008; Pollock and Van Reken 2001).

Thus indexicality presents issues in identity negotiation and construction. The ideology and power inherent in it (Bucholz and Hall 2010: 19 – 22; cf. Joseph 2010: 17; Johnstone 2010: 35) feed the essentialist assumption of one-on-one correspondence between language and identity. For example, nationality, ethnicity, native language and accent are assumed to be the 'birthright' indices of people's 'imposed' and 'assumed' identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 21). Furthermore, varieties within a language (e.g. regional dialects, non-standard varieties, sociolects, etc.) and accent also index national, geographical, social and cultural origin and belonging. Therefore, identity issues arise for people who have acquired multiple languages, nationalities and socio-cultural knowledge as a result of leading a migrant life style. The main problem is the 'norms of recognition' (Butler 2004 cited in Block 2007: 26) and the construct of 'authenticity' (Coupland 2010: 99; cf. 'the politics of normative authentication' in ibid.) where the 'authentication' (Bucholtz 2003 cited in Block 2007: 26) of individuals is assumed through their native languages and countries. The word 'authenticity' implies 'stasis' grounded in essentialism (Coupland 2010: 99).

At this point, the source of indexicality issues, the inextricable relationship between language and identity, needs to be examined. Language and identity are 'ultimately inseparable' (Joseph 2004 cited in Edwards 2009:

20) because it is a medium for us to construct the 'very sense of who we are, where we belong and why, and how we relate to those around us, all have language at their centre' (Joseph 2010: 9). Its significance to identity is shown below:

> 'The connection between language and identity is a fundamental element of our experience of being human. Language not only reflects who we are but in some sense it *is* who we are, and its use defines us both directly and indirectly.' (Llamas and Watt 2010: 1, original emphasis)

It is also seen as 'an emblem of groupness' (Edwards 2009: 54), such as national or ethnic language. The notion of language identity further supports this point:

> 'Language identity may be understood as the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language (e.g. English) a dialect (Geordie) or a sociolect (e.g. football-speak). A language identity is generally about three types of relationship with such means of communication, what Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997) call language expertise, language affiliation and language inheritance […]' (Block 2007: 40).

Hence language is such an essential part of human being such that a person without it is just as good as a computer without any hardware. However, indexicality is just one way to construct our identities and there are ways to negotiate identities *with* language. Two examples of indexicality applied in negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts, 'crossing' and 'passing as a native speaker', will be reviewed below.

The sociohistory of 'crossing' (Rampton 1995) is located in the default assumption of 'native' speakers. They were 'reified' through the political ideology of nationalism and its symbolic function (e.g. 'ethno-symbolic power of myth and memory' by Smith 1999 cited in Edwards 2009: 22; cf. Joseph 2010: 16), with such a view that: the 'prototypical British, Australian, French, or US citizens are imagined as white' (Pavlenko and Blackeldge 2004: 24; cf. Miller 2004; Hatoss 2012). Hence individuals who do not fit into the orders of indexicality were not recognised for their 'irregularities'. Individuals, however, 'have the potential of resisting their ideological colonization' (Gramsci 1971 cited in ibid.: 246). Language 'crossing' as proposed by Rampton (1995 cited in Pillar 2002: 181 and in Doran 2004: 112) examined how people use a language 'that doesn't obviously belong to the speaker' to defy their imposed or otherwise ascribed identities. Failing to be identified by their putative national identity indices, crossing allowed them to move along laterally in solidarity with other marginalised people to achieve a sense of belonging in a new manner, in a newly created social space (cf. Doran 2004: 113).

Another example of negotiating indexicality is 'passing as a native speaker' (Piller 2002). It is 'a performance for first encounters' (ibid.: 192) by second language (L2) speakers to demonstrate their language acquisition achievement. Although this appears to be the ultimate goal of many second language learners, Piller (ibid.)'s discussion dwells on the moral implication of 'passing' as being an 'imposter, the spy' (ibid.: 198), assuming a 'fake' identity of a native speaker (ibid.). The word 'fake' is

value-laden with a negative connotation, pointing to stasis in essentialism and its ideology.

The above examples pointed to the alignment of certain ideological values as part of the underlying issue in indexicality. This may be served by a discussion on the symbolic value of language (Edwards 2009: 54 – 55). This and group identification dynamics draw on such a unifying tool as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2006). This is particularly strong in national identity, which consists of 'shared history, descent, belief systems, practices, language and religion associated with a nation state' (Block 2007: 43). Language and nationality are part of identity indexicality through the discourse of nationalism and its ideologies. National language is a key component of nationhood (cf. Joseph 2010: 15 – 16; Llamas and Watt 2010; Edwards 2009; Anderson 2006). Furthermore, languages possess certain kinds of capitals and that 'language choice and attitudes are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors' views of their own and others' identities' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 1). Although 'no language can be 'logically' described as better or worse than another' (Edwards 2009: 59), inequalities between languages exist owing to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992; Canagarajah 1999) or in the economic, cultural and symbolic capitals vested in it, such as 'English as the Global Language' (cf. Crystal 1997; Pande 2007; Kang 2012). Bourdieu saw linguistic practices as 'a form of symbolic capital, convertible into economic and social capital, and distributed unequally within any given speech

community' (Heller 1992, 1995 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 12). These capitals are a 'symbolic resource which may be tied to the ability to gain access to, and exercise, power' (Heller 1992, 1995 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 12). Their influence on groups of people has been recognised:

> 'There are unequal power relations to deal with, around the different capitals – economic, cultural and social – that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others in the different communities of practice with whom individuals engage in their lifetimes.' (Block 2007: 27)

Bourdieu (1977, 1982, 1991 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 10) also suggested the concept of symbolic domination in which 'a symbolically dominated group is complicit in the misrecognition (meconnaissance), or valorization, of that language and variety as an inherently better form' (ibid., original emphasis). Therefore, indexicality is tied with belonging to a group, and language is the medium through which this is accomplished.

Language is thus used as an index to construct a sense of group, community and belonging. This will be further analysed by examining four relevant constructs in multilingual contexts: varieties within a language, accent, code-switching and audibility. The use of different varieties of English in the former British colonies has been seen as using a particular social register to access economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals or to create or shrink social distance. For example, speaking English was regarded as 'educated' or 'cultured' in the post-colonial India (Pande 2007:

202). And now, with globalisation, English has shifted from being seen as a language 'forced down the throats of a colonised population' (ibid.: 201) to a language that 'seems to give Indians an edge in international competition' (ibid.). The key concept here is that of 'home grown' English in India, which emerged as the new lingua franca without carrying 'the burden of being British' (ibid.: 202). It successfully became the preferred language of the elite and the ruling class, also spreading amongst the middle class (ibid.: 207). Moreoever, it has also been helping to break the topics of traditional social taboos (ibid.). Therefore, the 'home-grown variety of English' became a new identity index for the generation which embraces modernisation and further development of their nation.

Another complex identity index is accent. Accent has been acknowledged as 'a vital identity marker' (Kiely et al. 2000 cited in Llamas and Watt 2010: 230) which is 'a social characteristic of an individual that he/she might present to others to support a national identity claim' (ibid.). Accent indexes the traditional demographic identity categories along with 'place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing/ education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress, behaviour and commitment/ contribution to place' (Kiely et al 2000: Section 1.4). For instance, if someone was born in Scotland but has an English accent, 'a claim to be Scottish is harder to sustain' (ibid.: Section 4.8 - 4.9). Accent can thus instantly evoke certain preconceived notions about a particular national and geographical origin or social class. It is practically non-negotiable unless an individual can mimic accents very well or in the case

of multilinguals, have grown up simultaneously with different 'authentic' accents in each language. As seen in 'passing as a native speaker' (Pillar 2002), altering or adopting an accent still conjures an impression of 'being an imposter'. As it is something usually acquired since birth or at a relatively young age, a strong belief in the power of accent to index identities is firmly rooted in certain ideological beliefs about identities by birthright.

Another strategy of identity negotiation is code-switching (in the present thesis, 'code-mixing' is used synonymously), used by a community of multilinguals to negotiate and construct a unique group identity to negotiate an imposed identity. Switching codes and making a different kind have been studied in interactional sociolinguistics as a resource to index ethnic identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 8). The markedness model (Myers-Scotton 1998, etc. cited in ibid.: 8) is an example. It viewed 'talk as negotiation of rights and obligations between speaker and addressee' (ibid.), in which there are 'unmarked' and 'marked' language choices (ibid.). The 'unmarked' choice is usually the dominant language and its use endorses the status quo of the social interactional norms and expectations indexed by it. On the contrary, the use of the 'marked' language choice (e.g.code-switching) signals 'a different balance of rights and obligations' (ibid.), such as solidarity to narrow the social distance between the speakers (ibid.; cf. crossing by Rampton 1995 cited in Doran 2004: 112).

Pertinent examples of code-switching as a way of identity negotiation and construction are found in Doran (2004)'s work on Verlan in Parisian suburbs and in Pande (2007)'s previously discussed study of the 'home-grown variety' of English in the post-colonial India. In the former, 'Verlan' as a sociolect consisting of syllabic inversions of French words and borrowed vocabulary from Arabic, Portuguese and other languages (Doran 2004: 97 -8), became a community of practice and tool of 'validating the existence of a local multi-culture within which they could affirm the hybridity of their own identities' (ibid.: 111). It 'indexed their ties to […] a variety of languages and cultures' allowing its users to express their hybrid identity. In Pande (2007)'s study, code-switching in India became a 'legitimate mode of communication' (ibid.: 205) out of socio-cultural and political reasons. This demonstrates that code-switching is a form of collective identity negotiation to create a new type of identity index to negotiate socio-culturally, institutionally or politically imposed identities.

Lastly, audibility will be examined as a form of identity indexicality and means of identity negotiation. Audibility is salient for indexicality because it is a part of language identity (Block 2007: 41 -2; cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 24):

> '[A]udibility is about developing an identity in an additional language not only in terms of linguistic features, but also dress, expressions, movement, behaviour and other forms of semiotic behaviour. Audibility may thus be seen as corresponding to the extent to which the individual can 'do' the multimodal package required by a particular community of practice'. (Block 2007: 42)

In addition to the 'performative' (cf. Section 2.3.3 below) aspect of it, audibility is also one's ability to be heard (Block 2007: 41 – 42; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 24 - 25) in a second or foreign language or 'the degree to which speakers sound like, and are legitimated by, users of the dominant discourse' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 24). It is also known as the 'power to impose reception' (Bourdieu 1977 cited in Miller 2004: 294; Bourdieu 1991 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 15; cf. Block 2007: 42; Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 1997) and 'right to speak' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 15) or 'right to speech' (Bourdieu 1977 cited in Block 2007: 42). Audibility and its related concept of visibility are based on perception (both aural and visual) of normative expectations, much in the sense of the 'politics of normative authentication' (Eckert 2003 cited in Coupland 2010: 99) or 'norms of recognition' (Butler 2004 cited in Block 2007: 26). It is a type of positioning in terms of how a speaker's contribution is hearable (cf. van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 17) and how he or she can position him/ herself in the social interaction in order to gain access to the discussion floor. Speakers are not always in control of them. It is important for successfully indexing second and foreign language speakers as valid speakers of the target language (cf. 'passing as a native speaker' by Pillar 2002).

This section examined the significance of the indexicality and its issues related to language use. In the next section, I will examine how discourse is a medium and site of identity construction by its use in social interactions with its relations and positioning.

2.3.3 Discourse and Social Dynamics

Discourse is an integral part of the poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches to identity. It is seen as the medium and site of identity construction and negotiation. It mediates differentand subject positions, and it is in different discourses that identities are assumed, imposed, contested or reinvented. Discourse also relates to the idea of indexicality in Section 2.3.2 above in terms of metapragmatics, register and orders of discourse. It also constitutes canonical 'storylines' to construct and negotiate narrative identities (cf. Section 2.3.4 below).

This section will begin with the theoretical discussion of discourse. It will then review how it can generate subject positions in terms of desire and agency. It will then examine the intersubjective construction of identities in terms of recognition and belonging. Then the sites of identity construction, such as community of practice, national identity and place identity, will be discussed. Finally, positioning theory will be discussed as an overall framework for how identity is discursively negotiated and constructed.

The fundamental concept of discourse is that it is the use of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1992: 63). This is based on the social constructionist ideas that 'language use is shaped socially and not individually' (ibid.). Therefore, discourse is 'an institutionalised use of language and language-like sign systems' (Davies and Harré 1990: 45). Such institutionalisation of language 'can occur at the disciplinary, the

political, the cultural and the small group level' (ibid.). Discourse is said to have the following main functions which mutually influence each other:

- Social identities and subject positions and identity function of language;
- Social relationships between people and relational function of language
- Systems of knowledge and belief and ideational function of language (Fairclough 1992: 64; cf. Davies and Harré 1990: 46)

Drawing on these, I will discuss how discourse is vital to the conceptualisation of an individual's identity as emerging 'through the process of social interaction […] as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate' (Davies and Harré 1999: 35).

First of all, discourse is the vehicle and organiser of knowledge. This means that '[t]o know anything is to know in terms of one or more discourses' (Davies and Harré 1990: 45). Discourse is 'a multi-faceted public process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved' (ibid.). This is not the same as 'conceptual schemes' which are 'static repertories located primarily in the mind of each individual thinker or researcher almost as a personal possession' (ibid.). Thus there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure (Fairclough 1992: 64 – 65). The particular knowledge and meaning are also part of the relationship whose context is determined by shared history. This reflects the Bakhtinian idea that utterances and meanings are built on previous

utterances (Bakhtin cited in Pavlenko 2006: 8) and their meanings are situated in context.

The capacity of discourse to construct knowledge through social process leads to its function to generate subject positions. Individual subjectivities are constituents of 'self' such as feelings, perceptions, desire, imagination, agency and others. Discourse as vehicle and organiser of knowledge can mediate subjectivities into subject positions. This begins with the 'overt introduction of referential identity categories into discourse' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21; cf. positionality, indexicality and relationality principles in ibid. 20 - 21). These are certain attitudes or sociological or ethnographic identity categories (ibid.: 21). These can be classified as 'macrolevel demotraphic categories', 'local, ethnographically specific cultural positions', and 'temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles (ibid.). Individuals are understood to assume these 'available identity positions' (ibid.: 23) as 'temporary roles' (ibid.: 20) in discourse. Identities are considered as the 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us' (Hall 1996 in Dugay et al 2000: 19). Theorisation here demonstrates the juxtaposition of the structuralist categories in social constructionist framework.

Subject positions lead to the intersubjective aspect of identity negotiation and construction through discourse. First of all, they need to be somehow mutually recognised. This is done through a type of indexicality order (e.g.

language reflexivity, metapragmatics and register under indexicality in Section 2.3.2 above) in discourse. Individual's agency will negotiate and construct identities through interactional forces and a kind of social performance to present him or herself in a certain image. This is important for making a statement about their group belonging through recognition and positioning. And this is influenced by the discursive force that can 'hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses' (cf. 'interpellation' by Althusser 1971 cited in Hall 1996 in Dugay et al 2000: 19). Subject positions are 'summoned' (cf. analytical concept of the speech act level in Davies and Harré 1990: 45) by, taken up (Benwell and Stokoe 2006) or temporarily 'sutured' to a discourse (Hall 2000: 19) in which it can emerge as an expression of identity. This is as if 'characters' (Davies and Harré 1990) are called into an identity 'story' or assigned 'temporary roles' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) in it. They need to 'get somewhere' in a particular identity plot to negotiate and construct their identities in social interaction. Negotiation and construction of identities thus takes place by drawing on the socio-cultural and other kinds of shared knowledge, interactional forces and communicative norms in different kinds of discourse.

As for discourse being the site of identity construction, they provide the matrix or discursive 'realms' for identity negotiation and construction. These may in the form of 'identity storylines' with particular contexts and social dynamics. They can also be particular community or space constructed in discourse, such as community of practice, imagined

communities, nation, and third space. The above demonstrates the need for human subjects to be recognised and belong somewhere where their recognition is part of their identity.

Theorisation of subject positions and their summoning have some theoretical concerns. The main issue is the difference between structuralist and social constructionist/ poststructuralist approaches. As seen above, it is not possible to do away with the static, essentialised identity categories as points of reference. 'Labelling and categorisation' are seen as 'social action' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 22) in data analysis, and they are necessary in order to examine which identities are contested and what identities are desired and constructed. However, labelling addresses a fundamental issue that 'identities are constructed through, not outside, difference' (Hall1996 in Dugay et al 2000: 17). This is strongly criticised in 'identity politics' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 28; cf. Section 2.2) where 'marginal, oppressed' group members have been marked as 'other' (ibid.; cf. the 'markedness model' in code-switching in indexicality in Section 2.3.2 above). It reflects human egotism, for '[i]n attempting to promote the self, we cannot fail to denigrate the other' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 29). The labelling issue has been resolved to an extent in the social constructionists' view individuals occupy these static identity categories and positions *temporarily* before moving onto others in whichever the course of their identity negotiation and construction develops (cf. Bucholz and Hall 2010: 20 – 21; Davies and Harré 1990).

Similarly, the mechanisms of 'summoning' subject positions have been critiised because the subject was presumed to exist prior to discourse. Both Althusser's interpellation (Hirst 1979 cited in Hall 1996 in Dugay et al 2000: 21) and Foucault's discursive subject positions were criticised for subject positions being 'a priori categories which individuals seem to occupy in an unproblematic fashion' (McNay 1994 cited in ibid.: 23), lacking the critical, political element (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 32).

Therefore, the theorisation issues here need to be carefully considered in terms of how theories were derived from which research methodologies and data to enhance case-specific and overall understanding. Identity as 'an over-zealous project of outlawing essentialism, and the shift into only discursive treatments of authentication tactics, risks trivialising deeply held subjective convictions and allegiances' (Rampton 2006 cited in Coupland 2010: 105). Furthermore, discursive approaches have been criticised for failing to 'deal with the 'inner' unconscious mind (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42) and being an enterprise in which 'there can never be any end, of any sort, in sight' (Edwards 2009: 24).

At this point, how subject positions inhabit certain discourses temporarily will be examined through desire, agency and imagination. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.1), desire is important because it can lead to agency for individuals to take up positions in discourse. Individuals may do so by negotiating the current position with which they are not content. Desire is said to be 'structured by the disourses of desire, the values,

beliefs, and practices circulating in a given social context' (Pillar and Takahashi 2006: 61). It is 'constituted in public and private discourses' (ibid.) and 'dialectically constituted in the relationship between the macro-domains of public discourses and the micro-domains of individual experience' (ibid.: 59). This draws on the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia with the 'interrelationship between the macro-level of ideologies and the micro-level of conversation' (ibid.: 61). The macro-level ideologies may be vested in symbolic and cultural capitals in globalisation, English as the Global Language, the spread of English-as-an-international-language (EIL). For example, desire was studied as an instigator of identity negotiation in the face of certain social disadvantages. A pertinent example is Kinginger (2004)'s study which followed a female student who sought upward social mobility and becoming 'cultured' through learning French and going to France. Another case examined some Japanese women's desire to escape their chauvinistic society by learning English and going to Australia (Piller and Takahashi 2006). In both of these works, individual desires at micro level to transcend their current socio-economic positions and cultural circumstances found the macro discourse which led to their agency to be exercised to negotiate and construct their identities.

Leading from the above, agency, another synonym for 'self' (cf. Section 2.2; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 4) will be discussed. The present literature review demonstrates that agency is discursively produced, although the so-called 'structure-agency debate' (Coupland 2010: 100) continues with

regards to 'whether people are free to construct their identity in any way they wish' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 10) or are 'constrained by forces of various kinds, from the unconscious psyche to institutionalised power structures' (ibid.). In structuralism, agency was viewed as 'located within an individual rational subject who consciously authors his identity without structural constraints' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 26). In poststructuralism, agency became seen as 'the accomplishment of social action' (cf. Ahearn 2001 cited in ibid.), as 'distributed agency' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 26), 'joint activity' or 'co-construction' in socio-cultural linguistics (ibid.). This sees agency as ascribed through the perceptions and representations of others as assigned through ideologies and social structures (ibid.). Speaker agency is seen to be reflected in re-enactments of the established indexical relationships in talk, helping to make sense of self and other people's performances (Coupland 2010: 100), and that '[s]tructure and agency feed each other in stylistic practice' (ibid.).

Besides desire and agency, imagination is also vital for subject positions. Its capacity to project beyond the present situation is important for the negotiation and construction of identities. It 'plays a crucial role in the process of creation of new identity options' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 17). It can also create and sustain a group through certain ideologies and values, such as the concept of 'imagined communities' (cf. Anderson 1991, 2006). This point will be elaborated under belonging later on in this section. I will now discuss the intersubjective aspects of identity

negotiation and construction by examining the notion of performativiey and belonging.

Identity is intersubjectively negotiated and constructed through discourse, and the concept of performativity needs to be examined next. Performativity sees identities as discursively produced and dynamic performances which are 'bodily and linguistic enactments of discourses at particular times and in particular places' (Block 2007: 17). It has its origin in gender identity and its issues (cf. Butler cited in ibid. and in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 32 – 34). The commonly believed as biologically determined, therefore immutable, gender identity has been shown to be constructed in discourse (cf. cf. Butler 1990, 1993, 1999; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007):

> '[T]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results.' (Butler 1990 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 33)

Butler (cited in ibid.) sees that the ongoing performances of gender identity are done through the use of 'intertextual borrowings, resignification, reflexivity and disruptive tropes such as irony' (ibid.). This is based on the idea of indexicality, in which identity needs to be recognised as 'emergent in cases where speakers' language use does not conform with the social category to which they are normatively assigned' (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 20). Thus gender identity is performed through certain discursive indices. This leads to an issue similar to the structure-agency debate above:

individuals performative a particular identity through the 'stylised, conventionalised gender performances which are informed by the authority of historical, anterior voices' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 33). Therefore, they cannot transcend the gender identity discourse but the repetition of these 'gender iterations […] guarantees the *possibility* of change' by building on the previous iteration' (ibid.; original emphasis). Thus agency is seen to 'exceed the power by which it is enabled' or assumes a purpose unintended by power (Butler 1997: 15 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 34) in this view of gender identity as a discursive performance.

A concept of discourse reflecting the elements of performativity above is 'Discourse' spelled with a capital 'D' (Gee 1999). It is defined as 'language plus "other stuff"' (Gee 1999: 17) and is:

> '[...] making visible and recognizable who we are and what we are doing always involves a great deal more than "just language". It involves acting-interacting-thinking-valuing-talking (sometimes writing-reading) in the "appropriate way" with the "appropriate" props at the "appropriate" times in the "appropriate" places. Such socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting, in the "right" places and at the "right" times with the "right" objects [...], I will refer to as "Discourses", with a capital "D".' (Gee 1999: 17)

Although Gee did not explicitly refer to the discursive construction of identity, or performativity, the main function of 'Discourse' is to help an individual accomplish his or her social identity by being recognised as such by others (ibid.: 18). 'Discourse' has come to be seen as a significant resource of identity construction (Block 2007: 16).

An issue with identity as discursive performance is its 'authentication' (cf. Coupland 2010: 99 - 107). Authenticity implies 'stasis' (Eckert 2003: 393 cited in ibid.: 99) and such words 'appropriately' and 'right' in 'Discourse' (Gee 1999) above indicate the existence of normative evaluation of actions, thoughts and timings through the workings of some ideologically and value-laden orders of indexicality (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 22). As it was seen in 'passing for a native speaker' (Piller 2002, Section 2.3.2 above), this has a moral implication in multilinguals' negotiation of identities. Therefore, the 'ongoing construction and performance of identities in multilingual contexts' (cf. Auer 1998 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) must be distinguished from the actual 'negotiation of identities which takes place only when certain identities are contested' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20).

Next, belonging as an important construct in the intersubjective aspect of identity negotiation and construction will be examined. Belonging is crucial to identity because 'no thoughts are given to identity when belonging comes naturally' (Bauman 1999 cited in Block 2007: 20). Belonging can be defined from micro to macro scale such as families, friendship circles, communities of practice, and nations. Membership in these groups can be involuntary (e.g. nation or family at birth) or voluntary (e.g. friendship or communities of practice), achieved through individuals' desire, agency, imagination, consciousness and orders of indexicality through discourse. The sense of unity can derive from such discourses as: nationalism (e.g. patriotic loyalty, authenticity through descent and heritage, common

language, etc.), moral values (e.g. certain norms, beliefs, ideology etc. within a group); communities of practice (e.g. shared outlook, interest, philosophy, etc.) and so forth.

Individuals position themselves, others and are also positioned by others in a particular group, institution or wider organisations in identity negotiation. In social identity, 'the self is defined primarily by virtue of its membership of, or identification with a particular group or groups' (cf. Hegel cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24 – 34). An important foundation theory for group construction and dynamics is the Social Identity Theory (SIT; cf. Section 2.2 above). Social identity is:

> 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1978 cited in Joseph 2010: 13; cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 25)

SIT is credited for its 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' models which determine members' identities through a process of difference (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 25). The ingroup operates on the peer regulation of norms or the 'relative hierarchisations that we seem instinctively to impose on ourselves' (Joseph 2010: 13). The 'in-group favouritism' (Edwards 2009: 26) is based on strong emotional identification, prone to the creation of 'us and them' borders (ibid.). This creates the 'out-group homogeneity effect' (ibid.) which reduces the 'others' to being all the same, leading to stereotyping and prejudices (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 25; cf. homogenising the 'other' in Coupland 2010: 105).

The main critique of SIT is its structuralist orientation seeing identity as 'something that lies dormant, ready to be 'switched on' in the presence of other people' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 26), having a 'causal relationship to actions and behaviour' (ibid.) and being a 'cognitive, pre-discursive and essentialist phenomenon' (ibid.). Nevertheless, it paved the way for other concepts and perspectives to be generated, such as communities of practice, nationalism, and home have evolved from the concepts from SIT and other theories. These will be examined under discourse as site of identity construction next.

Communities of practice are defined by 'social engagement' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 27) of individuals rather than groupings by traditional demographic or ethnic categories. They are 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992 cited in Block 2007: 25; Joseph 2010: 14; cf. Coupland 2010: 102). The boundaries are defined by their members around these three criteria (Meyerhoff 2002 cited in Coupland 2010: 103):

     i.   mutual engagement by members (whether harmonious or conflictual)
    ii.   the sharing of some jointly negotiated enterprise (of a relatively specific nature)
   iii.   the existence of a members' shared repertoire (linguistic or otherwise)

Communities of practice, therefore, is a discursive social space in which individuals opt for their personal choice and exercise agency. This concept has been credited for its openness of formation through which analysts

can 'elicit expression of the underlying ideologies from members of the community' (Joseph 2010: 13). However, communities of practice have been criticised as an 'analytical domain' for variationist sociolinguistics (cf. Meyerhoff 2002 cited in Coupland 2010: 102 - 3) to seek sub-groups within a 'community' to conduct speech correlational studies (cf. Coupland 2010: 103 on the study by Eckert (2000) and others), mainly amongst adolescents and school-based groups (Bergvall 1999 and Meyerhoff 2002 cited in ibid.). This makes it difficult to bridge the local and global processes (Rampton cited in ibid.: 104). Nevertheless, their theoretical foundation is useful for understanding social identities through belonging. Next, identity through belonging in a larger community of nation will be discussed.

Nation is discursively constructed and the discourse of nation and nationalism is the most important for the present research. It is constituted by social, political, subjective and intersubjective elements such as: history, political ideology, ethno-symbolic power of myth and memory (Smith 1999 cited in Edwards 2009: 22), imagination (e.g. Anderson 1983, 2006 cited in Block 2007: 30; Llamas 2010: 227), shared beliefs, culture and language, norms, and habits (e.g. Billig 1995 cited in Joseph 2010: 14 – 15). These are practiced through the use of flags, coins, banknotes, and so forth in every day life as the 'ideological habits' in the form of 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995 cited in Joseph 2010: 14 - 15). This was observed during Victorian times amongst the lower middle class citizens to negotiated their class identity by enacting 'their national belonging by

showing themselves to be 'the most "respectable" sons and daughters of the fatherland'' (Hobsbawm 1990: 122 cited in Joseph 2010: 15). Thus nation is understood as 'a subjective or 'imagined' community in Anderson's sense' (Edwards 2009: 171), 'imagined' through the 'image of communion' (Anderson 2006: 6; cf. Llamas 2010: 27), sustained by the 'continual acts of imagination' (Billig 1995 cited in Joseph 2010: 14 - 15) in the discourse of nationhood. This sees its 'subjects' opting to 'see themselves as forming part of a larger group' (Block 2007: 30), although none of them could intentionally choose to be born into it.

National identity is discursively constructed and is not fixed at birth (Block 2007: 30), as has been traditionally viewed. 'Banal nationalism' as mentioned above sees that 'an identity is to be found in the embodied habits of social life' (Billig 1995 cited in Joseph 2010: 14 - 15), including language (Joseph 2010: 15). National identity is 'a kind of Bourdieu-ian habitus […] an acquired system of generative schemas objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted' (Wodak et al 1999 cited in ibid.: 29). It allows for consistency (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42) to be developed and implemented in everyday practice, which is a 'strongly sanctioned normative requirement for being a sensible, accountable, rational, reliable human being' (Edwards and Stokoe 2004 cited in ibid.). Thus it has implications for ontological security.

The discursive power of nation as seen above can summon its subjects with a strong appeal for their ontological security. The political construct of

nation is said to be a response to the crisis of ontology in modernity with 'Enlightenment and Revolution' having destroyed 'the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Anderson 2006: 7). Since then, 'most individuals do not know how to construct a universe [of meaning, or of purpose]' (Berger et al 1973 cited in Edwards 2009: 23). Hence 'imagined' ethnonational communities emerged as 'a replacement to what modernity has swept aside' (ibid.), such as the church (ibid.). The discourse of nationhood uses such terms as 'motherland', 'fatherland', 'ancestors' and 'forefathers' to create a discursive realm for belonging, and the 'ethno-symbolic' power of myth and memory makes national identity as 'the most fundamental and inclusive' of all the collective identities (Smith 1999 cited in Edwards 2009: 22). Some argue that 'perception, subjectivity and symbolism' are more significant in the discussion of ethnicity and nationalism (Edwards 2009: 155) and that 'what ultimately matters is not what is, but what people believe is' (Allcock 1994 cited in ibid.: 154).

Language plays a key role in the formation and reproduction of national identity (Joseph 2010: 15). National language indexes nationality and creates the sense of deep cultural unity' (ibid.), mediates the 'sacred texts' of the nation, and holds the gate-keeping power (ibid.; cf. Blackledge 2004 and Pavlenko 2004 concerning immigration and national language). These work together to give national language 'the force of a cultural-historical 'ethno-symbolic' myth' (Smith 1998 cited in Joseph 2010: 15 – 16). Language is central to the national habitus (Joseph 2010: 15) and its discursive and text forms serve as the ideological foundation of

nationhood. Examples of national identity discourse include: 'wider Romantic yearning for authenticity' (Smith 2004 cited in Block 2007: 29), loyalty (cf. Connor 2007 cited in Edwards 2009: 164) and 'born and bred' narrative (Taylor 2010: 11). Their power of summoning extends to individuals' sense of moral obligation, loyalty and pride.

Like national identity, 'home' is a discursive realm of belonging. It is an involuntary form of belonging at birth, like national identity, but can be a voluntary form of belonging later in life, similar to the communities of practice. Individuals can exercise their desire, agency and imagination to choose a physical space that is discursively constructed as ideal. It is a shifting concept amongst those with high mobility (Sears 2011: 81). For them, it is difficult to identify 'which place claimed their primary allegiance' (ibid.). For example, home can be 'the house or dwelling that a person lived in immediately after birth and/ or their childhood house(s)' (Mallett 2004 cited in Taylor 2010: 43). Or it can symbolise 'the family relationships and life courses enacted within those spaces' (ibid.). These reflect the pervasiveness of migration in the late modern period in which 'changing where you live has become a way-marker for an adult life course, especially a middle-class one' (Taylor 2010: 1.). This is represented by such discourse as the 'property ladder narrative' (ibid.). It also involves strong emotions depending on the memories associated with it.

Home related to the concept of 'place identity' (cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Taylor 2010). It examines how people make sense of their 'self' via

the attribution of meanings to places' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 212). In contemporary narrative theory, 'tellers express a sense of who they are through stories about where they are' (Johnstone 1991 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 216). 'Places' in identity work 'are re-conceived as dynamic arenas that are both socially constituted and constitutive of the social' (Dixon and Durrheim 2000: 27; cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006). Hence home is an important discursive space for the discursive construction of identities.

Lastly, positioning theory will be examined for the overall mechanism and process of how subject positions emerge in discourse (Davies and Harré 1990; van Langenhove and Harré 1999; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007) and negotiate and construct their identities. The main idea is that this is done through an interactive form of narrative (e.g. Hall 1990 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 18 – 19; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: Chapter 4), said to take place in a co-constructed story line (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20 – 22; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42 – 43 and Chapter 4) for meaning-making. Positioning theory has its roots in social psychology (cf. Davies and Harré 1990, 1999; van Langenhove and Harré 1999; Benwell and Stokoe 2006), developed to replace the concept of role which became too static and inadequate to account for 'selfhood' (Davies and Harré 1990: 43; cf. Langenhove and Harré 1990). A position in a conversation is 'a metaphorical concept through reference to which a person's 'moral' and personal attributes as a speaker are compendiously collected' (ibid.: 17). It

can explain 'the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines' (Davies and Harré 1990: 48). This is done through 'the assignment of fluid 'parts' or 'roles' to speakers in the discursive construction of personal stories that make a person's actions intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 17). Thus social interactions are not meaningful unless the interactants can mutually identify and simultaneously position each other in some sort of a familiar 'scene' or 'story' unfolding. This will be discussed more in detail in Section 2.3.4 below.

Moral order is one of the significant discursive forces in how positioning works. Positioning has a two-tiered order. The first order positioning is 'the way persons locate themselves and others within an essentially moral space by using several categories and storylines' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 20). The second order positioning occurs when the taken-for-granted moral assumption in the first order is breached by one of the conversation participants (cf. ibid.). This is salient for the present theoretical framework for two reasons. One is to understand the mechanism of discursive negotiation of identities, and the other implicates reliability of the present data collection. The first one is explained through the 'mutually determining triad' in a conversation with each pole [position, story line and social force of actions] impacting on the other two' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999 cited in Block 2007: 19). Thus a certain social moral force is at work regarding individuals' identification with

certain subject positions and their positioning in the context of the developing conversation. The second point concerning reliability has an implication for data collection in terms of how the research participants interpreted the present interview opportunity to position themselves in our identity talk. This will be discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.

Negotiation of identities is understood in terms of positioning because '[…] many individuals find themselves in a perpetual tension between self-chosen identities and others' attempts to position them differently' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20). This is because '[n]either storylines nor positions are freely constructed' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 19). 'Story lines' derive from 'narrative forms already existing in the culture' (ibid.) and positions are determined by the moral order embedded in the 'assigned parts' in the 'storylines', in the 'mutually determining triad' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 17; cf. Block 2007: 21; see above). This relates back to the structure-agency debate (cf. Coupland 2010: 2000). There are different types of positioning, but in the present research, reflective (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20; cf. reflexive in Davies and Harré 1999: 37) and interactive positioning will be used for data analysis (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20; Chapter 3, Section 3.4.5). The former will also include positioning 'within' individuals as self talk (cf. heteroglossia in Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 21). Positioning will be further discussed in the next section under identity narratives.

This section reviewed the important concepts and functions of discourse as both the medium and site of identity construction. These lead to the discussion of narrative identity in the next section.

2.3.4 Narrative and Social Co-Construction

In this section, the significance of narrative in the discursive construction of identity will be examined. Its structural and constitutive elements will be discussed first, followed by the concept of emplotment to produce cohesion and meaning. Then 'self as narrator' and the teller-audience co-construction of identity narratives will be reviewed. Discursive resources essential for narrative production will also be examined. Some points follow from the previous section on discourse, such as its knowledge constructing capacity and positioning.

In the present theoretical framework, the term 'identity narrative' and 'narrative identity' are used concurrently, as they are both representations of social construction of identity. The focus of this chapter is to examine its constituents and mechanism to discursively construct identities. This will proceed with the following important functions of narrative:

- Organiser of time, experiences and phenomena
- Meaning-maker of experiences and phenomena as perceived and narrated by the narrator
- Social construction of identities through teller-audience interaction

The process of narrative identity construction is theorised in the similar manner as the general discursive construction of identity (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 138), but it has further advantages. These are the tandem work of temporality and plot to produce coherence and meaning, and the integration of psychoanalytical approaches. The discursive approach has been criticised for leaving out 'the study of experience, the unconscious, subjectivity' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 149; cf. Section 2.3.3), not going beyond language to guess what speakers might have in mind or did not explicitly state (cf. Edwards 2006 cited in ibid.: 158). As discussed previously under belonging and national identity (cf. Section 2.3.3 above), modernity is prone to crisis (Giddens 1991: 184), having lost the traditional 'dependable' authorities and its routines has overwhelmed individuals with anxiety, leading to the disintegration of self-identity (Polkinghorne 1991: 149). Identity is 'fractured and fragmented' in modernity (cf. Block 2007; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Bauman 2004; Giddens 1991) and '[e]ach phase of transition' becomes an 'identity crisis' (Giddens 1991: 148). Hence narrative sense-making is significant for ontological security. Narrative has been widely used in psychotherapies to help people regain their sense of cohesion through a revised plot (Polkinghorne 1991: 151).

Narrative is 'one of the fundamental ways in which humans organize their understanding of the world' (Cortazzi 2001: 384). Contemporary narrative inquiry has its origin in literary theory, sociolinguistics, psychology and anthropology (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42) and pays 'particular attention to the role of narrative in the meaning-making process of human

experience' (Kanno 2003: 8; cf. Polkinghorne 1991; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 18; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42, 130 - 131; Sears 2011: 74). It focuses on 'what connections individuals make between separate events, how one experience leads to another (Dewey 1938/ 1963), and what identities they express in the telling of their stories' (Kanno 2003: 8). In positioning theory in Section 2.3.3 above, the idea that 'selves and identities are constituted in talk' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 42) was introduced. Individuals are seen as 'storied selves' (Sarbin 1986 cited in ibid.):

> 'Through life stories individuals and groups make sense of themselves; they tell what they are or what they wish to be, as they tell so they come, they are their stories.' (Cortazzi 2001: 388)

Virtually all human experience is mediated through socialisation and acquisition of language (Giddens 1991: 23), and discourse and narrative are the media through which we can name, articulate, analyse and evaluate the actions and events around us and make them coherent and meaningful at different times and throughout our lives.

Narrative sees that 'experienced time is structured and configured time' (Polkinghorne: 140), and that 'schematic organization of temporally occurring life events can produce a coherent and integrated self-understanding' (Polkinghorne 1991: 138). In general, narrative structure broadly consists of beginning, middle and end. Its main constituents are 'plot, sequence and events' (Bruner cited in Taylor 2010: 32). There are different models for organising events around temporality depending on

73

the purpose and context in which a narrative develops (e.g. flashback). Our past and future will be interpreted and conceived differently depending on our present narration and evaluation of them: 'the social and psychological past is not fixed' and 'the social future can influence the social past' (van Langenhove and Harré 1999: 15). The structure and its plot development are subject to various discursive forces in the course of narration through positioning (cf. the mutually determining triad by van Langenhove and Harré 1999 in Section 2.3.3 above). The plot can have the familiar 'action, scene, actor, instrument and goal, plus trouble' (Bruner 1990: cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 131) or other variations from familiar cultural canons and story lines. It can serve the purpose of problem-solving, testimony, foster solidarity and ratify group membership, treatment ('therapeutic emplotments'), and development and maintenance of institutional, professional and other types of identity (Cortazzi 2001).

In order to further probe into the ability of narratives to make meaning, plot will now be reviewed. As a kind of discourse, narrative is constructed from 'the specific vocabulary and grammar of its discourse or its "stock of working historical conventions", and the pattern of its belief and value system' (Scheibe 1986 cited in Polkinghorne 1991: 144). It needs context and familiar discursive material to provide cohesion and meaning:

> 'A fundamental philosophical assumption behind narrative inquiry is that human beings experience their lives and identities in narrative form. Separate events and actions become meaningful only in the context of a plot of which they are a part.' (J. Bruner, MacIntyre, Polkinghorne cited in Kanno 2003: 9)

74

Plot is equated with 'stories' as 'narratives that operate as a schematic structuring of temporal events' (Polkinghorne 1991: 138). It is adapted from 'the literary and oral stories produced by one's culture' (ibid.: 147). They are known as 'cultural story lines', 'master narratives', 'canons' and myths (cf. May 1975 cited in ibid.: 142). For example, myth was seen as a powerful constituent of the discourse of nationhood (cf. Section 2.3.3 above). It is 'a story having the power to provide life with meaning' (May 1968 cited in Polkinghorne 1991: 145) and has been equated with the term 'self-narrative' (ibid.). It 'empties words and images of their historical context and fills them with timeless ideological content that serves the interests of its creators' (Barthes 1957 cited in Kramsch 2009: 11). It can also fulfil 'a creative, imaginative function that can break the stale conventions of society and open up untold scenarios of possibility' (ibid.).

Despite the above notions of plot as culturally crafted story lines, plot can be modified by narrators as they produce their own identity narratives. New and unique plot can be generated in the teller-audience interaction (Polkinghorne 1991: 142). However, even as 'original' narratives, their modifications will inevitably be limited to a fathomable degree of transgression for them to make sense and be recognised (e.g. as pastiche or parody or counter-story). Furthermore, in real-life narratives, plot does not come edited and published as 'good literary productions' which 'follow a single plot and incorporating only the events that are part of that plot' (Polkinghorne 1991: 146). Therefore, analysts must probe 'less polished, less coherent narratives that pervade ordinary social encounters and are a

hallmark of human condition' (Ochs and Capps 2001 cited in Georgakopoulou 2006a: 238). Narrative identity work must 'explain deviations or exceptions from the canonical or normal narratives of the culture' and 'explain this in terms of what a speaker wants or believes or intends' (Bruner cited in Taylor 2010: 32). Deviations indicate human agency and 'subject positions are not merely 'taken up' in a passive way, but are highly situated, interactional 'work' (Wetherell 1998 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 161). Lastly, similar to the criticism of labeling subject positions, analysts were criticised for ascribing theorised labels to stretches of text (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 158), seen to be too analyst-centred (Woofitt 2005 cited in ibid.: 159) and essentialist. However, as discussed before (cf. Section 2.3.2), labels such as 'born and bred' narrative (Taylor 2010) are indispensable in a systematic analysis.

A crucial element which distinguishes one plot from another and gives rise to a new plot is individuals' 'critical experiences' (cf. Block 2007: 20; Chapter 1, Section 1.3.1). As part of sense-making, people talk about what 'happened' to them in order to evaluate them in the wider context of their life continuum. In addition to such life events involving major changes and impact such as birth, adolescence, marriage, procreation and death (May 1967 cited in Polkinghorne 1991: 148), critical experiences can be an 'ontological assault' on people's sense of who they are, such as illness (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 139); or 'coming close to dying' (Labov 1972 cited in Block 2007: 20). These all involve challenges, adjustments and change. Through their 'before and after' developments, critical experience

accounts show how significant change is in identity narratives (cf. Georgakopoulou 2006a: 236). In order to analyse how these are incorporated into narratives, the process of emplotment will be discussed below.

Emplotment is an important process through which cohesion is brought to narrative 'emplotment' (Polkinghorne 1991). It is the 'means by which narrators weave together the complex of events into a single story' (Polkinghorne 1991: 141). It is 'a procedure that configures temporal elements into a whole by "grasping them together" and directing them toward a conclusion or ending' (ibid.). It allows different events to be made into a unified story (ibid.) and 'particular actions take on meaning as a contribution to the unfolding plot of the story' (ibid.). Events can be configured into a plot interactively or dialectically (Polkinghorne 1991: 141). Therefore, emplotment is:

> 'not the imposition of a ready-made plot [...] instead, it is a dialectical process that takes place between the events themselves and a theme that discloses their significance and allows them to be grasped together as parts of one story.' (ibid.: 142)

This is the most important aspect of constructing a narrative. In addition to its dialectical process, it should call for the examination of its dialogic side in the discursive construction of identities. The awareness of narrator will be examined next.

Stories take on meaning through teller-audience interaction, even in self-talk with the self as audience (cf. Cortazzi 2001: 384). Therefore, the position of 'self as narrator' needs to be discussed. Individuals are considered as 'narrators', not 'authors' of their life stories (MacIntyre 1981 cited in Polkinghorne 1991:145) in some contemporary narrative analysis. This is mainly based on the fact that self-narratives will always be incomplete because we 'cannot experience death, the closure of [our] story, in advance' (Polkinghorne 1991: 145). We are always 'in the middle of our own stories' and are not in control of its outcome or ending (ibid.: 146). Also, social positioning and other factors make it impossible for us to always author our life stories. Hence in the present theoretical framework, we as individuals will be seen as 'narrators of our self-stories, constructing plots or story lines that integrate and give meaning to all the different, dispersed or critical events that have been part of our existence' (Polkinghorne 1991: 146).

The notion of self as narrator can be compared to 'subject-in-process' (Kramsch 2009: 96 – 98). By narrating the past events which led to the way they exist today, individuals present a version of who they are to an audience, to whom their identity matters. Therefore, the narrator of the autobiography is the same individual as the 'protagonist' in the autobiographical account. The 'narrator in the here and now' must describe the protagonist of the story in the 'there and then', who happens to share the same name as the narrator and eventually fuse the past and present to 'become one person with a shared consciousness' (Bruner

2001: 27). For example, in Eva Hoffman (1989)'s autobiographical account (cf. 'Lost in Translation' cited in Kramsch 2009: 98), Hoffman is shown as the teller and 'subject-in-process' in an excerpt and is analysed through the three different 'I's' at three different points of time in her life: 'I (1)' is Hoffman's 'experience of intentionality' or the 'beginning' of her story, and her 'I (2)' is an immediate evaluation of her action as 'I (1)', and 'I (3)' is an older Hoffman narrating and evaluating the experience of her younger self as 'I (1)' and 'I (2)' (ibid.). A similar analysis of different time frames to produce coherence during autobiographical interviews was conducted by indexing the narrator (the interviewee) as N1, N2, N3 and N0 from the pre-interview correspondence time until the actual interview time respectively, and the researcher (the interviewer) as R1, R2, R3 and R0 in the same manner (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2000: 11). These examples demonstrate how individual subjectivity develops in the temporal structure of narratives.

Lastly, the issue of reliability and validity in identity narratives needs to be discussed. One way to account for reliability is that life stories are not just self-centred or narcissistic (Polkinghorne 1991: 146). Narcissism does not allow for sound social relations and broader connections with the social world' to be made (Giddens 1991: 170) and a narcissist 'forecloses a relation to both past and future' (ibid.: 177), not making his or her search for self-identity as a 'realisable quest' (ibid.: 170). Instead, narrative in social constructionist view is 'a powerful medium through which other people's experiences can be understood and shared' (Kanno 2003: 8). As

subject positions and identities arise in the awareness of others, there exists a collective understanding and moral obligation to validate each other's accounts. These will be further discussed in methodology in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.3).

This section examined the features and mechanisms of narrative construction of identities. The last aspects of identity construction and negotiation, thirdness and hybridity, will be discussed next.

2.3.5   Third Space and Hybridity

Multiplicity and hybridity characterise the conceptualisation of identity in the social constructionist and poststructralist approaches. In this section, the notion of multiplicity will be discussed, followed by ambivalence and third space. Then the concept of hybridity will be reviewed to conclude the discussion on the essential elements of identity.

First of all, multiplicity in identity needs to be examined. It has multiple assumptions and interpretations. First of all, it refers to the plural form of the word identity in the social constructionst and poststructural approaches. Identity is described as a 'complex and multi-layered construct' (Block 2007: 27). As seen in sections 2.3.2 – 2.3.4 below, identities are represented by different demographic and ethnographic categories, social roles, different languages in individuals' language

expertise, subject positions, discourse, narrative themes and canons, and places they lived. Multiple social interactional forces are at work in the negotiation and construction of identities such as discourses, ideologies, beliefs, myths and symbolic capitals. Multiplicity can also be 'multimodality' (ibid.: 16, 27) of identity 'the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001 cited in ibid.). This is reflecte in Gee (1996, 1999)'s notion of 'Discourse' with the use of 'laguage and "other stuff"' (Gee 1999: 7) such as 'acting, interacting, feeling, believing, valuing' and 'various sorts of characteristic objects, symbols, tools, and technologies' (ibid.). It could also be 'idiolect' in which a particular combination of accent, dialect and registers characterise the way a group of people speak (Edwards 2009: 2010), or a combination of accent and social and cultural capital (cf. Miller 2003 cited in Block 2007: 41). It may also be heteroglossia (Bakhtin cited in Smith and Riley 2009: 181) or heterogeneity in texts (Fairclough 1995: 192). Multiplicity is also seen in multiple subject positions and different types and order of positioning in social interactions. It can also be the different versions of an individual narrated to different audiences in different instances of identity construction process. Therefore, multiplicity represents the multiple ways in which identities can be constituted, negotiated and constructed.

Multiplicity as explained above represents a collection of different elements that constitute a concept or entity. The categories and their labels developed in structuralism have come to coexist with their labels

still intact in the multiple understanding of identity. The plural form of the word 'identities' is a case in point. This relates to the main theorisation issue examined in the present chapter on the structuralist/ essentialist versus socialconstructionist/ poststructuralist divide. The notion of 'multiple identities' can go beyond the conceptualisation of individuals as consisting of separate multiple identity categories and languages. This is because this 'multiple' view can still lead to the problematic impression of 'linguistic schizophrenia' in the discourse of 'bilingualism as linguistic schizophrenia' (Pavlenko 2006: 3). And just as narrative works with 'emplotment' to grasp different events and story elements with a theme and central plot, the conceptualisation of multiple identities needs an 'emplotment' device. Therefore, multiple identities or multiplicity of identity should be seen in light of hybridity, which is a more integrated way to conceptualise the multiplicity of identity. In order to examine this construct, the concept of ambivalence and thirdness must take place first.

Ambivalence is 'the uncertainty of feeling a part and feeling apart' (Block 2007: 21). It is the 'state of human beings who are forced by their individual life trajectories to make choices where choices are not easy to make' (ibid.: 22). The issue here can be traced back to the in-group identification and criticism of SIT that identities are constructed through difference (Hall 2000: 17; cf. Section 2.3.2 and 2.3.3. above) and can only be recognised in relation to the 'Other' (ibid.), in the conflictive, opposing scales and polarities. Ambivalence is laden with feelings of being lost, isolated, disengaged and uncertain. It can be described as 'the acute

discomfort we feel when we are unable to read the situation properly and choose between alternative actions' (Bauman 1991: 1 cited in ibid.). These have been equated with feelings of ontological insecurity (cf. Giddens 1991 in ibid.) and emotional pain.

Hybridity is 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling cited in Pietrese 2004, cited in Bendor 2007: 266). Individuals should be able to emerge from the identity negotiation process in a 'not-altogether predictable way' (Block 2006: 36). This is a 'reinvigorated notion of hybridity' which is 'relational, processual and contextual' (Kraidy 2005 cited in Bendor 2007: 266). This view developed in response to the critique of hybridity, which described it as 'a certain state of mixture' (Bendor 2007: 270). The above notion of 'process-centric "hybridisation"' (ibid.) was developed recently, compatible with the social constructionist and poststructuralist's move away from static, passive notion of essentialised identity.

Hybridity occurs in a 'third place' (Bhabha 1994, Hall 1996 cited in Block 2007: 21-22) where 'elements encounter and transform each other' (Papastergiadis 2000 cited in ibid.). 'Third space' (Bhabha 1994) is an important construct for identity construction and negotiation. It is where:

> 'two systems of identity representation converge and are co-modified and commodified in response to the global-local tensions on the one hand, and the dialogically constituted identities, formed through resistance and appropriation, on the other.' (Bhatt 2008)

Third space is that interstitial space between different identity categories (cf. Section 2.3.2 above). A similar concept of 'third place' was proposed by Useem in 1979 (cited in Pollock and Van Reken 2001: 20), in her notion of 'third culture' as the 'interstitial' culture between the country of origin of expatriates and their host country. Third space is a necessary step in conceptualising ways to bridge the gap between diametrically opposed constructs of identity. It is a 'mechanism to negotiate and navigate between a global identity and local practices' (Bhatt 2008: 182). It is also a 'semiotic space between competing cultural collectives […] where cultural identity across differences of class […], gender roles […], and cultural values […] is negotiated […]' (Bhatt 2008: 178). In postcolonial studies, it is an 'emergent space in which marginalised, subaltern forces may flourish' (Bolton 2000, Young 1995 cited in Bendor 2007: 267) in negotiating postcolonial identities (Bendor 2007: 267). In such cases, it is useful as 'imagined third space' (Bhatt 2008: 182) which 'facilitates the construction of new social identities' (ibid.) in a 'discursive space' that offers individuals 'the possibility of a new representation, of meaning-making and of agency' (ibid.).

Third space is seen to generating new practices and indices of identity such as 'linguistic hybridity' (Bhatt 2008: 182). This can be code-switching using vocabulary from different languages and a particular sociolect against the standard variety (cf. Verlan in Doran 2004; 95, 120; Section 2.3.2), code-mixed languages, or different varieties of English (cf. Section 2.3.2). Code-mixed use of language can be seen as 'hybridized

metaphorical play with language names' (e.g. 'Engleutsch' as 'textual icons' by Belz cited in Block 2007: 121) and 'hybridized syntactic play' (ibid.). It is also 'discoursal hybridity' (Bhatt 2008: 181), infused with the Bakhtinian heteroglossia (ibid.) and the view that 'social life is fundamentally a multivoiced phenomenon' (ibid.: 182). Analysing the use of different languages itself does not provide answers to understand why people resort to code-switching as part of their identity negotiation work, as seen in the earlier interactional sociolinguistics research (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 10; cf. Section 2.3.2 above). This is where poststructuralist approaches are necessary in order to give individual and collective negotiation of identities a critical and thorough analysis.

Expressing hybridised identity as above in third place needs to be critically analysed with regards to different social interactional forces inherent in discourse and group dynamics. As discussed under performativity and positioning theory (Section 2.3.3 above), a subject may not transcend the discourse it inhabits (cf. Butler 1990 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 33). It emerges in discourse and inhabits it accordingly and temporarily. The possibility of change in constructing a new identity is in the repetition of certain discursive performances through an introduction of new elements in each iteration (cf. ibid.). Third space and hybridity add to this by focusing more on the collective positioning of a certain group of people. For example, this was seen in the emergence of Verlan as a new linguistic community of practice amongst the socially marginalised immigrant youth in France (cf. Doran 2004). And as mentioned in identity negotiation

process amongst the post-colonial individuals, hybridity is more of a collective form positioning than individual to counter social oppression or marginalisation.

This section examined multiplicity, ambivalence, third space and hybridity in the discursive negotiation and construction of identities. It concludes the examination of essential elements of identities in the present theoretical framework. The next section will conclude the present literature review.

2.4 Conclusion

The present chapter reviewed the relevant literature on the negotiation and construction of identities in poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches. In this section, the present theoretical framework will be synthesised, followed by a critique of the present literature review.

2.4.1 Synthesis of the Theoretical Framework

Identity negotiation and construction occur when individuals' identities are contested and positioned in one way or another. This is mainly caused by the discrepancy between the putative indices of their assumed identity and their 'actual indices' of identity in terms of their language expertise, language use, socio-cultural practices, values, norms, beliefs, and subject

positions. This resulted from their personal history, invisible to the naked eye, through their upbringing and experiences. Thus these changed the conventional order of identity indexicality for some individuals, particularly in their national identity. National identity is constructed and maintained by such identity indices as native language, sociolect, accent, gestures, and socio-cultural practices. When the conventional order of indexicality is breached, individuals are questioned about their sense of who they are with regards to who they should or ought to be. Individuals are much more complex than just their assumed identity indices, but many social encounters begin with identity positioning based on them. National identity is by far the most contested identity category in first-time encounters in international contexts.

In order to study the process of identity negotiation and construction in social interaction, both the individuals' perception and positioning of their identity and how they are perceived and positioned by others must be analysed. The above-mentioned identity indexicality issue requires the analysis of factors operating behind the recognition scheme of identity indices, and why individuals feel compelled to negotiate their contestated identity through it. Poststructuralist approaches allow for the examination of personal and sociohistory of the context of identity positioning and the ideological and symbolic powers vested in the dominant discourses operating in it. These and social constructionist approaches actively seek how subjectivities emerge as subject positions through available discourses in relation with other individuals in their social environment.

Discourse contains socially and culturally recognisable linguistic, socio-cultural and institutional indices of identity such as metapragmatics, registers, cultural canons, values, norms, thoughts and ideologies. The poststructural take here is to conduct a critical analysis of how individuals orient to certain identities, perform them in social interaction, and construct a unique expression of identity for themselves. This requires the examination of the dynamics of institutional and social relations influencing, and to a large extent, governing interactions such as power, ideology, cultural and symbolic capitals, symbolic domination, morality and ontological beliefs. Although discourse provides resources for individuals to negotiate and construct their identity, it is not just a 'script' to be followed in the determinist sense. There can be an infinite number of possibilities to combine available discourses which, in turn, can alter or create new subject positions and 'identity story lines'. It must be stated that it is different kinds of discourse that are implicated in identity construction rather than the use of different languages. In this sense, each language can be viewed as a macro discourse with its function to index and construct national, cultural, ethnic and other kinds of categorical identity types.

The discursive process of identity construction involves how individuals evaluate their past and project into the future in relation to their self in the present moment. This is known as narrative identity. Narrative is a form of discourse which organises separate events and experiences through temporality, theme and plot in order to synthesise meaning. These can

only be meaningful if they are told as a story to an audience who can empathise with it, validate it or refute it. This is a form of negotiation of identities which forcibly leads to construction of identities. Individuals are considered as narrators of their identity stories, as subject-in-process. This can be applied to self-talk in which the narrator reflectively engages in the evaluation of his or her experiences in the past, in a dialogic process with his or her past and present subject positions. This is why it is necessary to incorporate the psychological and personal in order to effectively analyse the discursive negotiation and construction of identities.

For the purpose of the present research, the mechanisms and process of identity negotiation and construction can be explained through the constructs of indexicality, positioning through discourse and social dynamics, narrative co-construction, and third space and hybridity. This is because the research question involves the examination of the construct of national identity, which heavily operates on orders of indexicality to assume a static position grounded in ethno-symbolic myths, disseminated through a collective, ideologically-inspired imagination. It has the power to provide ontological justifications both at a practical and ideological level. The common perception of identity is still rooted in such ontological beliefs as the 'birthright myth' and is recognised as 'authentic' against a set of certain indices of identity. These account for the assumptions people have about each other, such as the correspondence between nationality and native language, accent, varieties within a language and sociolect. These

demonstrate the hegemonic workings of nationalist ideologies and norms of authentication in identity politics.

Identity is a social and relational phenomenon, which concerns belonging in different social groups, communities and institutions. Belonging is a type of positioning. It summons its subjects through the discursive force of ideology and morality, such as in the concepts of imagined communities, communities of practice and home. The summoning has the power to keep their subjects through loyal allegiance, alignment of social, cultural and moral values, ensuing emotions such as pride, passion and affinity, and subliminally, the sense of ontological foundation. This is also reinforced through collective memory and history, myths and canons found in relevant discourses of group consciousness and belonging.

However, not every individual will be summoned by such discourse to endorse their belonging in a particular community because their subject positions may be summoned by other kinds of discourse. This is due to different factors and reasons such as the highly mobile and commodified life style of late-modern globalisation, the 'self-help' discourse to actively search for a better life somewhere else, other kindes of subjective motives, different values and norms inherent in different socio-cultural, institutional and philosophical discourse, or others. An individual's identity will always be a particular version of himself or herself derived from multiple identity categories and their discourses which combine with one another. This gives rise to the concept of identities as multi-faceted,

constantly shifting and partially represented. It can be considered as hybrid identity in which unprecedented combinations of traditional identity categories create unprecedented expressions of identity in a seamless manner. Linguistic examples of these are 'crossing' and other new sociolects, code-switching and varieties within a language, including the development of a new and empowering kind. These represent the collective efforts to defy the established orders of indexicality to negotiate and construct identities. This takes place in 'third' space at the crossroads and margins of the existing categories. These examples of hybrid identities demonstrate that different subject positions, story lines and discourses can meld together in social interaction to synthesise unique expressions of identity. Individuals are not just passive subject positions who cannot escape positioning through the forces and constraints of particular discursive realms. Their desire, agency and imagination can allow them to seek alternative ways to position or alter positioning to discursively negotiate and construct their identities.

Hence identity negotiation and construction are discursively mediated and it is important to understand individual agency and group structures in order to hone in on what people wish to state as their identities and how this can be socially recognised as legitimate or not for an enhanced understanding of individual uniqueness and collective consciousness to allow for its expression democratically in wider social and institutional contexts.

2.4.2 Limitations of the Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework

In this section, the limitations of the present literature review and theoretical framework will be discussed, with points for further investigations.

First of all, although a variety of concepts of identity construction and negotiation, as well as those of time and space, were consulted in the present literature review from several academic disciplines, they all have a strong foundation in the thoughts of the Ancient Greeks and the European epistemological history in the Enlightenment, the Romantic Movement and Modern Age. The reason for pointing this out is that Eurocentric views remain dominant in academic publications in English, and there is a need to state my position as an 'immigrant' to the Western schools of thought and academic traditions in order to put this point in context. The tendency for the present literature review was established due to the academic sociohistory of the concepts and theories being built on one another to be developed into the current understanding and frameworks of identity today. However, these ideas did not just develop in a single geographical area or socio-cultural perspectives. They have been constructed in a web of social, institutional, cultural, academic and other relations and interactions involving different individuals and groups of people from wider geographical regions, traditions, and paradigms. Included in these are international and post-colonial scholars and their institutions. Thus whilst the foundation thoughts and paradigms of the present theoretical

framework could be subject to the criticism of Western ethnocentricism, linguistic imperialism and globalisation, it is all too easy to do so. As postcolonial writers state, it is not possible to go beyond any type of 'isms' without knowing and using the words of the dominant power holders and authorised conventions of ways of knowing to transcend the inequalities of power and construct knowledge in a more egalitarian global academic community. Hopefully, poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches can contribute to the further hybridisation of collaboration across different traditions and academic disciplines in knowledge construction processes.

Secondly, it is impossible to never misread any piece of text in the literature consulted (cf. Block 2007: 4 on his discussion of misreading citing Selinker). This draws on the Bakhtinian concept of how every utterance is built on a previous utterance. This can be extended to the fact that every research paper is built on previously published papers, and its interpretation depends on how it interpreted the other existing ones in a particular community of knowers. This is why misreading could occur to 'outsiders'. Another issue here is that presenting a piece of research is an act of positioning (Langenhove and Harré 1999: 32). Researchers bring in their own beliefs and biases and appropriate their understanding and acquisition of knowledge against the criteria established in their community. Thus there is a certain gatekeeping force operating in the process of positioning in academic communities through a type of audibility. Furthermore, this may also be due to a particular knowledge

market and its demands playing a part in the availability and interpretations of certain kinds and depths of knowledge. Much care was taken to cross reference and consult as many of the original sources in the secondary sources, but I acknowledge that the present literature review contains some of my misinterpretations of certain concepts and theories due to my limited or lack of knowledge in their specific contexts of production and the critiques I missed.

Finally, one can never know enough to keep up with the constantly generated, updated and evolving knowledge. This has always been the case in history. Whilst it is important to discover and digest knowledge, it is important to keep in mind that certain things remain constant and new knowledge serves to validate them and further elucidate them. Therefore, old theories do not need to be dismissed as outdated or untrue in a rushed manner. As demonstrated in Section 2.2, the structuralist-poststructuralist debate continues in search of a balanced view and many aspects from both have been incorporated into the further development of effective theories and practice. This, in fact, is the essence of the pursuit of knowledge and effective theories. It is vital to exercise lateral thinking to acknowledge diversity in thoughts, theoretical frameworks, methodology and epistemology and cultivate discernment for keeping what to further develop and what to defer or discard. In this sense, the phantom of the Enligtenment search for universally applicable theories and truth needs to be put to rest. We need to continue with the search to emancipate our constructs and thoughts from attachment to a particular paradigm in order

to pursue 'the best way possible' by staying tuned to the current developments, phenomena and consciousness to understand our surroundings better and seize the keys to cope with the inevitable changes in future.

2.4.3 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature for the theoretical framework and approaches to the present research. It began with the rationale for the present theoretical framework in Section 2.1, followed by the review of the two relevant sets of contrasting theoretical paradigms in Section 2.2. The details of the discursive mechanisms and processes in identity negotiation and construction were examined in Section 2.3. The present theoretical framework was synthesised in Section 2.4 along with a reflection on the limitations of the present literature review. The research design and methodology will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

In this chapter, the design and methodology of research for the present thesis will be explained and discussed in detail. It will begin with the rationale for the research design and methodology, followed by an overview of the contents of the chapter and their organisation.

3.1   Introduction: Rationale and Overview

As discussed in Chapter 1, the purpose and aims of the present research are best served by a combination of different concepts, theories, and approaches in its design and methodology in order to ensure a balanced treatment. The focus of data collection and analysis is on how the internationally mobile and multilingual research participants discuss how they perceive their identity and are perceived by others in different social interactions. Therefore, qualitative research paradigm was chosen. Semi-structured interviews were deemed the most suitable form of data collection. The theoretical framework introduced in Chapter 2, based on the social constructionist and poststructuralist approaches, will guide the present data analysis. It will employ a combination of different aspects of discourse and textual analysis to study the participants' accounts of identity negotiation and construction process. The main idea here is that individuals have multiple subject positions that are summoned by different discourses to position or be positioned in social relations and interactions (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). Therefore, data analysis needs to focus on

discourse as the medium and site of identity construction by identifying and analysing the participants subject positions, the dominant and available discourses, and discursive realms in which their negotiation and construction of identities took place. After analysing these separately, they need to be pieced together in order to interpret the overall process and its meaning to arrive at an enhanced understanding of how multilingual expatriates negotiate and construct their identities in the face of the powerful, essentialised discourse of national identity and its indices. Therefore, narrative will be employed as temporal organiser and meaning-maker (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4) of the participants separate anecdotes and mini-narratives scattered throughout the interviews. As the interview accounts and data analysis will be subjective and intersubjective, due measures were taken to ensure reliability of the findings. Ethical considerations were also given to the use of information donated by the participants. A brief overview of the chapter will be given below.

The present chapter will begin with the significance of interviews in qualitative research and the semi-structured interview for the present research. It will then discuss issues of validity, reliability and traingulaion, followed by ethical measures as per the established research guidelines (e.g. University of Leicester, the UK Research Council). The method of data collection will then be explained, starting with setting the context, the participant recruitment process, conducting semi-structured interviews, transcription and interview follow-ups. Finally, the approaches and

procedure of data analysis will be explained, followed by a critical review of the present research design and methodology.

3.2   Research Design and Methodology

Applied Linguistics draws on a wide range of social science disciplines such as: sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, psycholinguistics, ethnography, ethnomethodology, linguistic anthropology, cultural anthropology, and others. The choice of research paradigm and theoretical framework will depend on the topic, research question and context of research. In this section, I will discuss the importance of interviews in qualitative research and a hybridised form of discourse analysis for the present thesis.

3.2.1 Interviews in Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has its philosophical origin in phenomenology and symbolic interactionism (Merriam 1998: 9; Cohen et al. 2000). It is distinguished from quantitative research by its focus on individuals and social interactions in everyday lived experiences. Researchers investigate human actions and phenomena in social interactions in different everyday life contexts. They investigate 'meaning people have constructed' (Merriam 1998: 6) in order to study how people 'make sense of their world

and the experiences they have in the world' (ibid.). Thus 'understanding' is

the main objective (cf. Maxwell and Mishler cited in Cohen et al. 2000:

106) and 'the primary rationale for the investigation' (Merriam 1998: 200).

The insider's perspective or 'emic' understanding of human and social

phenomena is valued more than the outsider's perspective or 'etic'

perspective (ibid.: 6 – 7). The following are the main characteristics of

qualitative research:

1. Reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds
2. The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis
3. Qualitative research usually involves field work
4. Qualitative research primarily employs an inductive research strategy which builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses, or theories rather than tests existing theory
5. The product of a qualitative study is richly descriptive
6. The design of a qualitative study is emergent and flexible, responsive to changing conditions of the study in progress
7. The investigator in qualitative research spends a substantial amount of time in the natural setting of the study, often in intense contact with participants (Merriam 1998: 6 – 8)

The above captures the salient characteristics of qualitative research (cf.

Holliday 2007; Cohen et al. 2000). These inform the present research

design and methodology, which place importance on emic understanding,

'at their word' (cf. Freeman 1996 cited in Block 2000: 757). This is why

interview has been chosen as the present research tool and its strength

and different types of data collecting functions will be discussed below.

Interview is said to be the most common way to collect data in qualitative

research (Merriam 1998: 70; cf. Fielding and Thomas 2001: 123). It can be

seen as an '*inter-view*, an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest' (Kvale 1996: 14 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 267) that 'sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production, and emphasizes the social situatedness of research data' (Cohen et al. 2000: 267). It is also understood 'in terms of a theory of motivation which recognizes a range of non-rational factors governing human behaviour, like emotions, unconscious needs and interpersonal influences' (Kitwood 1977 cited in ibid.). This intersubjective (Laing 1967: 66 cited in ibid.) view leading to social co-construction of knowledge is central to the present inquiry.

There are many kinds of interviews and their classification methods. One way to categorise them is 'by the degree of structure imposed on their format' (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124; cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 273; Merriam 1998: 73). They can be divided into: 1) standardized or [highly] structured; 2) semi-standardised or semi-structured; and 3) non-standardised or unstructured or focused (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124), or even informal (Merriam 1998: 73). In structured interviews, the same questions and schedule (the order in which they are asked; cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 275; Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124; Merriam 1998: 81) are maintained for all interviews. It can be thought of as 'an oral form of the written survey' (Merriam 1998: 74; Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124). The disadvantage here is that the questions are too predetermined and rigid, which makes them more conducive to elicit the investigator's preconceived notions of the world (Merriam 1998: 74). At the other end of the pole is the

non-standardised interviews which are exploratory and interviewers use a 'guide' instead of schedule to elicit ideas and comments freely on a topic they wish to discuss with their interviewees (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124). These may serve to 'formulate questions for subsequent interviews' (Merriam 1998: 74 – 75). There is also 'non-directive interview', derived from therapeutic or psychiatric interview of introspection (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 273). Non-standardised interviews require skilled researchers with interdisciplinary background. Otherwise they 'may feel lost in a sea of divergent viewpoints and seemingly unconnected pieces of information' (ibid.: 75), as well as risking inappropriate analysis of the psychological processes.

Between the structured and non-structured interviews are the semi-standardised interviews. Here, the major questions are asked the same way as in the structure interviews but their sequence can be altered and more probing questions can be added (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 124). It can also have 'a mix of more and less structured questions' (Merriam 1998: 74) in the schedule which allows the interviewers to tune into the interviewees' speeches to 'respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic' (ibid.). This allows for emic data to be collected through the process of dialogic co-construction of knowledge.

Hence semi-structured interview was chosen for the present data collection for its flexible, attuned qualitative process. It also has the

capacity to allow analyists to extract and construct 'life stories/ history' or narratives that people tell during interviews are the main advantages. This type of analytical process has been applied in studies of transient transmigrant families through interview data (cf. Sears 2011; González Barea, García-Cano Torrico, Marquez Lepe, Ruiz Garzón, Pozo Lorente, and Dietz 2010). This is similar to 'narrative interviews' and their eliciting techniques (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 141 – 142). Thus the present data collection and analysis should effectively answer the present research question with its difficulties as explained in its context in Chapter 1 (cf. Section 1.2 and 1.3).

Next, the interview schedule or the questions needed to be devised in order to effectively elicit the kind of data sought for the present research. As in any form of interviews, semi-structured interview schedule was seen to have, inevitably, a determining effect on what participants say (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 141; cf. Block 2000: 759 - 760). Therefore, the questions asked during the participant recruitment phase and at the beginning of the second interview were designed drawing on different methods and their applicability for the present methodology. The following methods were influential: 'biographical methods' (Chamberlyne, Bornat and Wengraf 2000 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 141), Biographic Narrative Interpretative Method (BENIM, cf. Wengraf 2005 cited in ibid.: 142), and 'Free Association Narrative Interview' (FANI, cf. Jefferson 2000 cited in ibid.). Biographical methods are from ethnography and focus 'in detail on the subject's personal narratives in order to gain insight into their

personal understandings and meanings' (González Barea et al. 2010: 432). The elicitation techniques for life stories focus on principal chronological periods (ibid.: 433) and the evaluation of significant life events as told and evaluated by interviewees (ibid.). The key life story narrative element here is the inclusion of plans and ambitions for the future, personal ideology and the defining central life theme (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 142). BENIM (cf. Wengraf 2005 cited in ibid.: 142) emphasises a passive role for the interviewer in its aim to 'produce a story that is as unhindered by the norms of social interaction as possible' (ibid.), as a 'a weaver of tales, a collage-maker or a narrator of the narrations' (ibid.). FANI (cf. Jefferson 2000 cited in ibid.) combines BENIM and other forms of narrative interviews with the psychoanalytic principle of free association (ibid.). Therefore, care was taken to come up with questions to prepare the present research participants for their first and second interviews. The questions asked during the participant recruitment phase are listed in Appendix A and the guiding questions asked at the beginning of the second interview are listed under Appendix C. These will be discussed under data collection in Section 3.3.3 below.

Following from the effects of the interview questions above, the issues in interviewer and interviewee interaction must now be discussed. Interviews are seen as 'conversations and co-constructed discourse events' (Block 2000: 758; cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 142) and that 'interview data are not seen as the production of an individual interviewee but as the co-construction of interviewer and interviewee' (Block 2000: 759). This and

the intersubjective and socially-situated nature of interview imply that interview data may be constrained by everyday life routines, parameters and factors affecting interpersonal transactions (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 268); and influenced by cultural repertoires of the people participating in the interviews (Barker and Johnson 1998: 230 cited in ibid.). The former refers to the agendas of the interviewer and interviewee, and the latter refers to the effects of discourse to negotiate and construct meaning. For instance, research participants adopt certain 'voices' in response to the researcher's prompts and questions in research interviews (Block 2000: 759.). These 'voices' are shaped by discourse which can assign, negotiate and construct meaning by drawing on particular socio-cultural knowledge, practice, reasoning and manner of speaking that can be proposed, affirmed, refuted or revised in social interactions. The following summarises the dialogic and reflexive nature of this issue:

> '[…] the voices of others inhabit individual's voices, which in turn inhabit the voices of those with whom they participate in ongoing dialogue. What people say, therefore, is both constituted by and constitutive of the words of those with whom they share membership in a particular discourse community.' (Block 2000: 759)

Therefore, it is not possible to be completely 'objective' and 'empirical' in the sense of quantitative methods. In qualitative methods, how reality is constructed and its limitations in investigation must be validated within its methodology, reason, theories and analytical framework. Issues of validity and reliability in interview data will be discussed in Section 3.2.3 below.

This section examined different types of interviews and how they can elicit qualitative data in the qualitative research paradigm. In the next section, the role of researcher will be critically examined with the relevant issues in qualitative research.

3.2.2 Role of Researcher in Qualitative Research

In qualitative research, the role of the researcher is instrumental as discussed in the previous section. The significant aspects of the researcher's role and the issues they raise will be examined below.

First of all, the researcher needs to be actively involved in the co-construction of reality and meaning-making by being closely engaged with the research participants and context (cf. Merriam 1998: 6 – 8). The researcher must also have tolerance for ambiguity, sensitivity and good communication skills (Merriam 1998: 24). These include appropriate use of their intuition and critical perspectives in their involvement and decision making. Therefore, the researcher's awareness and attuned involvement are vital in conducting qualitative research, whose central objective is to understand the intersubjective and social phenomena in human social interactions.

In the present research, my role as a researcher is advantageous for understanding the context from my insider's perspective and experience.

These have informed the direction I needed to take to determine the theoretical framework and research methodology. I could apply an adapted form of the 'snowballing' method of referrals to cast the search net wider to recruit the participants. This was important in order to ensure, as much as possible, validity and reliability of the data and the findings (cf. Section 3.2.3 and 3.3.2 below).

However, the idealistic view of the insider above has some serious issues as well. First of all, it is vital to maintain the position of the outsider in order to uncover the 'common sense' and its hegemonic workings. Insider researchers 'must find ways of recovering the stranger position' (Holliday 2007: 13) to minimise their personal bias to the best possible extent. However, this conflicts with the expectation that researchers should make use of their own subjectivity reflexively as 'socially located persons' (Cameron et al. cited in Holliday 2007: 10). Nevertheless, human subjectivity and intersubjectivity are best understood through a systematic, reflexive use of the same as interpretive and analytic tools. Therefore, it is important to maintain both insider and outsider positions.

Secondly, research itself is an ideological practice (Holliday 2007: 13) and act of positioning (Langenhove and Harré 1999: 31). Research writing is understood to be a product of a particular discourse community, inevitably imbued with ideology (Holliday 2007: 15). Thus qualitative researchers must be critically aware of their biases and position regarding their effects on how their research will be conducted and presented.

Despite the above risks of subjective and ideological biases, it is important for the researcher to develop his or her own voice in qualitative research. An individual's perception, thoughts and feelings are at the heart of what gives a piece of text its voice. The knowledge claim would be more effectively presented through the voice that is aware of its position and the causes concerning those involved in the research.

This section examined the importance of the role of researcher in qualitative research. The question of validity and reliability of data and measures for triangulation will now be discussed.

3.2.3 Validity, Reliability and Triangulation

In this section, important issues concerning validity, reliability and triangulation in qualitative research will be critically examined. Validity is fundamental to research and its findings. It is fundamental to any philosophical inquiry in which the nature of 'truth' and knowledge and the relationship between epistemology and methodology are crucial to understanding (Sikes 2000: 258). Although the concepts of validity and reliability are 'multi-faceted' (Cohen et al.: 2000: 105), validity needs to be 'faithful' to the paradigm and methodology of the particular research undertaken (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 106; Sikes 2000: 258). It must be 'congruent with the philosophical assumptions underlying the paradigm' (Merriam 1998: 2000). In order to examine this further, the following

models of validity will be discussed: internal validity, external validity and reliability.

Internal validity is particularly important to the discussion of reality, i.e. 'how research findings match reality' (Merriam 1998: 201). Reality is:

> '[A] multiple set of mental constructions… made by humans; their constructions are on their minds, and they are, in the main, accessible to the humans who make them.' (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 295 cited in Merriam 1998: 203)

Subjective and intersubjective representation of reality is at the core of qualitative inquiry (cf. Sikes 2000: 267; Block 2000: 758). Reality is 'multi-layered' (Cohen et al. 2000: 120), as it is constructed in what people say about their experiences as they perceived and evaluated them in different social contexts. Hence there will always be a tension between what counts as 'reality' or 'truth' and methodological commitment to validity (cf. Stronach and MacLure 1997 cited in Sikes 2000: 266). In this regard, two main levels of internal validity are: 1) the story told by a research participant, and 2) the validity of the analysis, or the story told by the researcher (Riessman 2008: 184). The former is difficult to determine, as some informants may only disclose a particular 'layer of truth they will make accessible' to the researcher (Powney and Watts 1987 cited in Sikes 2000: 264). Others may deliberately tell a lie (Sikes 2000: 257 – 8; Fielding and Thomas 2001: 139). In the latter, the analyst's claim of reality may differ from that of the participants (cf. Hammersley 1992: 50 – 1, cited

in Cohen et al. 2000: 107). More on this will be discussed under interview reliability issues below.

Due to the human inconsistencies above, multiple methods are desirable (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 139) to enhance internal validity: 1) triangulation (of methods, sources, investigators and theories); 2) member checks (or respondent validation to ask respondents if they agree with the data analysis, etc.); 3) long-term observation (or persistent observation or prolonged engagement in the field); 4) peer examination (or peer debriefing); 5) participatory or collaborative modes of research; and 6) researchers' biases (Merriam 1998: 204; the items in parentheses above are cited from 'credibility in naturalistic inquiry' by Lincoln and Guba 1985: 219, 301 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 108). Furthermore, checking for emergent themes across interviews, respondent validation, and researcher reflexitivity are essential (Sikes 2000: 267; cf. narrative as organiser and meaning-maker in Chapter 2 and in the present chapter, Section 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 below).

Despite the above-mentioned measures for internal validity, it is essential to recognise that 'it is impossible for research to be 100 per cent valid' (Cohen et al. 2000: 105). The 'optimism of perfection' (ibid.) or the positivist and postpositivist take on research being smooth, logical, coherent, etc. (Sikes 2000: 268) can be argued indefinitely. For practical purposes, validity should be seen as 'a matter of degree rather than as an absolute state' (Gronlund cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 105). This

acknowledges the fact that '[l]ives are rarely neat and tidy' (Sikes 2000: 268) and that certain research assumptions and biases cloud the issues of validity. As per the present theoretical framework, the essential point is to maintain the research practice and pursuit of validity and reliability a dynamic affair with critical perspectives and approaches in the chosen methodology.

External validity measures 'the degree to which the results can be generalized to the wider population, cases or situations' (Cohen et al. 2000: 109). In qualitative research, it is understood as comparability and transferability (Lincoln and Guba 1985 et al., cited in ibid.) which can allow researchers in the same or similar field of study to decide if findings from one piece of research are comparable to, transferable or generalisable with another case or research setting (ibid.). However, these concepts should not be applied in the same way as in quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba 1985, cited in ibid.) because depending on the nature and process of research, production of generalisable knowledge may not be an appropriate goal for interpretive research (cf. Erickson 1986 cited in Merriam 1998: 210).

Related to external validity is the concept of reliability. This is also from quantitative research with the question of consistency, replicability, accuracy and precision. A reliable piece of research must 'demonstrate that if it were to be carried out on a similar group of respondents in a similar context (however defined), then similar results would be found'

(Cohen et al. 2000: 117). In qualitative research, the key point is the fitness for purpose (Cohen et al. 2000: 120), e.g. 'a fit between what researchers record as data and what actually occurs in the natural setting that is being researched' (Bogdan and Biklen 1992: 48, cited in ibid.: 119). Reliability can be: 1) fidelity to real life; 2) context and situation-specificity; 3) authenticity; 4) comprehensiveness; 5) detail; 6) honesty; 7) depth of response; and 8) meaningfulness to the respondents (Cohen et al. 2000: 120). It also entails dependability (ibid.; Merriam 1998: 206).

There is a number of issues concerning validity and reliability of interview data. The important ones to be discussed here are the construct of 'interview', trust between researcher and participants, and what 'truth' is. The first concerns the fact that interview is a 'staged act' for research. As such, the outcome will not be the same as 'naturally occurring talk'. Two perspectives on reading the interview data, 'veridical' and 'symptomatic' (Kvale 1996 cited in Block 2000: 758), further probe the issue here. In the former, the research participants are seen as well-meaning individuals and their accounts are seen as reliable (Block 2000: 758). The latter sees the participants as being concerned with their 'presentation of self' (cf. Block 2000: 758; Sikes 2000: 264 – 5) and how they construct the interviewer, their relationship, and the purpose of the interview (Block 1995 cited in Block 2000: 758). For example, the participants could be using the interview as an opportunity to vent their frustration or concern (cf. Block 2000: 758). There are issues with the veridical view as well, in its well-meaning assumption of the participants' intention to participate in research

and that language is a good indicator of thought and action (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 139) or transparent (cf. Wells 1975 cited in Hull 1985: 28). These relate to the interviewer-interviewee co-construction of knowledge as discussed earlier.

The second issue is the trust between the interviewer and interviewee. The premise of trust and telling the truth is grounded in the epistemological underpinnings of qualitative research (cf. Sikes 2000: 258; 263). However, interviews will have different purpose and meaning for each participant, as discussed above. A permissible view of this may be performativity (cf. Goffman cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006) and narratives as a representation of a social interactional situation. However, some informants may have a serious hidden agenda and abuse the opportunity 'to construct an identity' (ibid.: 264; cf. Block 2000: 758 – 9) and 'present themselves in what they believe will be seen as a favourable light' (Sikes 2000: 264), as an alibi to cover up a serious issue (cf. ibid.). This is difficult to control, as it has been reported that even in well-known cases of qualitative research, some seasoned researchers discovered that their informants deliberately told lies (ibid.: 256).

A further complication is added with the question of defining what 'truth' is in interview accounts (cf. Sikes 2000: 258). Or what is *not* true is in the intentional betrayal of factual events or knowledge, such as telling a lie. This is a serious ethical breach. A lie is defined as 'a conscious and deliberate intention to deceive' (Sikes 2000: 257 - 8). It has been argued

that the 'potential for corruption or frailty' lies within the person rather than in the research paradigm (Sikes 2000: 258). Therefore, 'methodological correctness' cannot necessarily guarantee valid data (cf. Giroux 1983 cited in ibid.) due to different agendas and other dynamics of human life and social relationships (cf. Sikes 2000: 268; Fielding and Thomas 2001: 139). Some even argue that 'the purpose of qualitative research is often not so much 'truth' telling as it is story re-presenting' (Sikes 2000: 267; cf. co-construction in Block 2000: 758 – 9). If identity is understood as different kinds of positioning and interview data is seen as co-construction of knowledge, then there would always be constant negotiation between what researchers set out to do and how participants position themselves in the data collection process, which may include acts of deception for various reasons. The crucial point, however, is for informants and researchers to maintain an established ethical code of conduct.

As discussed above, different types of validity and reliability are not foolproof in ensuring reliability of information and validity of the findings. Another method, triangulation, will now be discussed.

The process of triangulation to optimise validity also finds its origin in quantitative research. Hence many qualitative researchers argue that triangulation is too normative or positivistic (Cohen et al.: 2000: 115; Merriam 1998: 204; Miles and Huberman 1994: 266 – 7). Some qualitative researchers argue against multiple investigators, theoretical and methodological triangulation because it cannot be assumed that

investigators necessarily corroborate another's work and that 'the search for theoretical and methodological triangulation is epistemologically incoherent and empirically empty' (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 307, cited in Cohen et al.: 2000: 115). As discussed under validity, triangulation needs to fit the research paradigm and methodology. There are different types of triangulation (Cohen et al. 2000: 113). In educational or social sciences research, it is understood to be 'the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour' (Cohen et al. 2000: 112). Thus multiple or mixed methods in research methodology need to be congruent with the research paradigm and espistemology to effectively serve the purpose and process of the inquiry.

In the present research, the most pertinent forms of triangulation are theoretical triangulation, investigator triangulation and methodological triangulation. The following measures were taken to ensure reliability and validity of data analysis findings: 1) theoretical triangulation built into the analytical framework; 2) e-mail follow ups after the two interviews; 3) observation of some participants' bilingual interactions at work; and 4) participant feedback via e-mail on the summary of the data analysis.

This section examined the methods and issues in validity and reliability, including triangulation. In the next section, ethical considerations and measures will be discussed.

3.2.4 Ethical Consideration and Measures

In academia and amongst the general public, research has been seen as noble and righteous in its own right, with its pursuit of knowledge and discovery of facts, places, concepts, phenomena and so forth as its very virtue. The understanding was that research findings would naturally lead to the advancement and benefit of Mankind as a whole. Thus moral and ethical implications of how research was conducted and what its outcomes were used for were not really questioned publicly until the twentieth century. After the Second World War, however, some of the infamously atrocious experiments conducted during the war came to light, e.g. the Nazi concentration camp experiments and nuclear energy uses (Merriam 1998: 212). And these led to the development of ethical standards and regulations in research ethics today 'as a consequence of the atrocities of which research was a part' (University of Leicester 2011: 3). Ten ethical principles concerning research with human subjects were established by the Nuremberg Code in the Nuremberg Military Tribunals in 1945 (Farrell 2005 cited in ibid.; cf. Merriam 1998: 212).

Since then, in the UK, USA and other countries, research regulations have been formalised at the governmental level to protect human subjects from harm in biomedical, behavioural and social research (Merriam 1998: 213; University of Leicester 2011: 3). The following basic research ethic principles are particularly important: 1) Informed consent; 2) Autonomy of participants; 3) Anonymity and confidentiality; and 4) Research with

vulnerable groups (University of Leicester 2011). Each of these will be discussed below.

In qualitative studies, ethical dilemmas can occur in data collection, analysis and dissemination of findings (Merriam 1998: 213; cf. Section 3.2.3 above). As previously discussed in Section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 above, the role of researcher as insider or closely acquainted with the community researched raises the question of trust in data collection and validity and reliability in data analysis and its publication. Thus the implications and ramification of research ethics are crucial to the process and outcomes of research. Researchers must abide by research ethics so as to protect the privacy of their informants and not turn research into a passive affair for 'the researched'. In order to collaborate with other human beings, be they participants or colleagues, consent must be obtained and ethical guidelines followed.

In the present research, each of the nine participants was informed about their anonymity and confidentiality in the research process prior to their final agreement to participate in the present research. They were shown the informed consent form prior to the first interview (cf. Appendix B) and signed it after agreeing to the terms of their participation. The interviews then took place. I have completely altered the participants' given names in the present thesis. Also included in the consent form was a statement on the autonomy of participants. This guaranteed their right to participate with regards to the period during which the two interviews were to be

conducted, and the extent of information sharing with respect to their comfort level and appropriateness (University of Leicester 2011). As the nine participants indicated their interest and willingness to participate, this did not become an issue during the data collection period. Frequent contact was maintained via e-mail to set up interview dates and timings in order to ensure their participation in both interviews.

Regarding research with vulnerable groups, the participants were deliberately chosen to be old enough not to require parental consent, i.e. 18 or older in age. However, I am aware of the fact that they shared some sensitive issues and feelings with me. They have volunteered to open up their identity accounts and some parts of their life stories. Some of their recollections were emotionally laden, so the significance of vulnerability in conducting qualitative research with human subjects has been taken seriously in the present research.

With all the measures taken above, I am aware that the issue of interview date reliability, as discussed in Section 3.2.3 cannot be resolved one hundred per cent in any research. To the best of my knowledge, the participants of the present research have given me honest accounts of their identity negotiation and construction process in the interviews. I, in turn, have done the best I could to use my insider knowledge, e.g. 'black market' (Hull 1985: 27) or 'second record' (Stenhouse 1978 cited in Hull 1985: 28) to judge whether the versions shared by the participants are 'true' and fit to be used for the present inquiry. In terms of ethical

measures, the trust I have placed in my participants and their trust in me to confide their identity accounts, along with the research design and methodology, are the basis of my declaration that the information presented here is genuine to the best of my knowledge. 'Research depends on trust' (Sikes 2000: 266) and I hope that this can be maintained through the moral alignment each party sees in the purpose and context of the research. I will discuss the data collection procedure in the next section.

3.3   Data Collection

In this section, I will discuss the research design and data collection methods. I will begin with setting the research context, the criteria for participant selection and the piloting phase, followed by the first and second interview recordings and transcription, and follow-ups.

3.3.1 Determining the Context of Research

Establishing the setting and context of research are important in order to make the process and outcomes to be meaningful (Holliday 2007: 33.). A systematic inquiry or study can only be conducted within a certain, well-defined parameter because 'what constitutes relevant research data in a particular project is defined by the researcher' (Sikes 2000: 266).

Interviews and observations that are socially located within a bounded setting can 'become valid because they interconnect via an environment which contains other actions, events, icons and so on which give them meaning' (Holliday 2007: 34). An example of a set of criteria for establishing the setting might be:

1. The setting must have a sense of boundedness.
2. The setting should provide a variety of relevant, interconnected data.
3. There should be sufficient richness.
4. The setting should be sufficiently small.
5. There should be access (Holliday 2007: 34)

Drawing on the above, how the context was determined for the present research will be explained below.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.3), the present research was conducted in Thailand. However, the research population was not Thai nationals but 'multilingual expatriates'. They could be of any nationality, including Thai, who met the participant search criteria. They are individuals who: 1) are current expatriates; 2) are former expatriates; 3) are in the first two categories above who strongly believe that their expatriate experience had a significant impact on their identity; 4) are in the first three categories who are multilinguals who use two or more languages regularly; and 5) are available for face-to-face interviews for the planned duration of data collection period.

Therefore, the setting was actually the 'community of practice' or 'imagined community' of multilingual expatriates in Thailand. Socioeconomically, it represented a 'middle class' stratum. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3.1), this was mainly due to the current developments in globalised economy, giving rise to more middle class citizens living abroad for different reasons. Secondly, the snowball sampling method of the intended research population yielded this outcome. My position as a socio-economically middle-class educator with advanced graduate degrees who have been living in different expatriate communities for a major portion of my life inevitably had an effect on the recruitment pattern of the participants. For instance, the occupation of seven out of the nine participants at the time of the interviews happened to be in education, and the remaining two were self-employed. The three university students have since graduated and are now working in different types of companies. The nine participants came from very different backgrounds prior to their arrival in Thailand in terms of their work experiences, socio-economic background, acquainted geographical areas, socio-cultural traditions and outlook on life, but they shared enough in common as multilingual expatriates to be considered as a research group.

Being aware of the small sample population size, individual differences such as age and gender were taken into account to ensure as much diversity as possible. However, it must be noted that these variables were not a part of systematic coding scheme and analysis in the present research. The nine participants were five females and four males, with the

youngest at the time of the interview being 19 years old and the oldest was in the upper 60's. Their language expertise is different save for the common language of English. They represent five nationalities, some with dual nationality, and different races and ethnicity within a given nationality (cf. Table 3.1 The Participants' Profile Summary below). The limit of nine participants was mainly due to the practical constraints in the scope of data analysis in the present research. It made the interview transcription and analysis process manageable in line with its purpose and methodology.

Access to the participants was convenient through geographical proximity and electronic message. In addition, their keenness to participate in the interviews ensured data collection and follow-ups. The question of identities amongst the sample population, i.e. multilingual expatriates, has been discussed in such existing publications as: 'Third Culture Kids' (Pollock and Van Reken 2001) and international education (e.g. Journal of Research on International Education; Hayden 2006; Sears 2011). Therefore, this contributed to the overall ease of access in data collection and follow-ups.

3.3.2 Participant Recruitment

The participant recruitment process took place through an adapted way of the population sampling method known as 'snowballing' referrals (cf.

Cohen et al. 2000: 104). There are several interpretations of this method, but its origin dating back to the 1940's is conceptually important. It began with an empirical study of personal influence via media by the Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research (Barton 2001 cited in Handcock and Gile 2011: 367). To do so, it 'asked individuals in an initial diverse sample to name the people who influenced them' (Robert Merton cited in ibid.). Thereafter, a 'second wave of influential people were interviewed as a "snowball sample"' (Merton 1949 cited in ibid.: 367-8). In the 1950's, snowball sampling was further developed to research 'hidden population' (Heckathorn 2002: 12). It had the advantage of 'interviewing a man's immediate social environment' by using 'the sociometric questions in the interview for sampling purposes' (Coleman 1958 cited in ibid.: 368). This was expanded by Goodman (1961 cited in ibid.) into a specific form as '*s* stage *k* name snowball sampling'. This drew on the initial probability method of sampling known as 'seeds' (Heckathorn 2002: 12). The researcher then makes a list of people who will make further contacts within their known social networks and so, the referral continues in these stages known as 'waves' (ibid.). This is also known as chain-referral sampling (Erikson 1979 cited in ibid.) and respondent-driven sampling (RDS by Heckathorn 2002: 13).

However, there is a number of biases associated with these methods such as 'volunteerism' (ibid.: 12) in which 'more cooperative subjects agree to participate in large numbers' (ibid.); 'homophily bias' (ibid.: 13) in which recruitment patterns reflect such social ties as friendship, family kinship

and other associations (ibid.). As previously mentioned in setting the context of the present research, this leads to recruiting people who are 'similar in age, education, prestige, social class, and race and ethnicity' (Galton cited in McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1987 cited in Heckathorn 2002: 13). This causes the biases in one wave to lead to the subsequent ones. (Heckathorn 2002: 13). However, statistically, in the quantitative research paradigm, these biases have been calculated to demonstrate the validity of chain referral sampling (ibid.: 13, 29 – 31). However, statistical analysis was not employed in the present research.

Therefore, the present research adapted steps in snowballing and RDS as discussed above. The population sampling in the present research was not exactly the socially stigmatised 'hidden population' (cf. Heckathorn 2002; Cohen et al. 2000), but they were 'hidden' because of their individualised experiences and could not be located in a single group, organisation or institution. A key prerequisite in this approach is that 'the target population be linked by a contact pattern' and that 'members must know one another *as members of the population*' (Heckathorn 2002: 29; original emphasis). Another significant point is that the sample should be small and that respondents should only be recruited once (ibid.). This leads to the depletion of the population through waves of contact (ibid.). Therefore, this sampling approach worked in the present research in terms of the sample population linked by a contact pattern and can relate to one another as members of the 'multilingual expatriate' community of practice or TCKs and ATCKs.

My intention was to undertake the present research in the 'everyday life' social interactions of multilingual expatriates fulfilling the criteria discussed in the previous section. Therefore, my 'seeds' were developed in the pilot phase by contacting colleagues, acquaintances, friends and others who could meet the context of the present research (Section 3.3.1). During this phase, about 30 people were initially contacted via electronic mail to either participate in the research or introduce individuals who may be interested in participating (see Appendix A for the Participant Recruitment Electronic Message Form). The initial survey response led to further participant search through the word of mouth, both in physical and cyber space. For example, one participant who was referred to me by a long-term expatriate friend of mine helped me to recruit three other individuals from very different backgrounds who agreed to participate. This led to a curious coincidence in that one of them happened to be connected to the place where I worked at the time of data collection. Thus the expatriate connections made through English happened to bring some strangers together who actually shared a connection to each other unbeknownst to them.

The nine participants were clearly connected with some commonalities in their multilingual and overseas sojourn experiences. There are homophily biases present, but this was, in a sense, necessary from the point of view of this context as being a community of practice in its own right. The participants recruited through this snowball sampling approach represents a 'subset' of the total population (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 92) of 'multilingual

expatriates' or 'multilingual people who move' in Thailand and elsewhere. The transferability of the findings resides in the second phrase above introduced by Sears (2011). Hence snowball sampling method adopted in the present research was able to establish certain points on which reliability of data could be claimed. The participants shared many anecdotal accounts containing 'critical experience' (cf. Block 2007) pertaining to their identity negotiation and construction experiences. This should contribute to the reliability of data through an effect akin to community of practice through their desire to seek understanding for their identity quest amongst other 'multilingual people who move' (cf. Section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 above)

Table 3.1 below gives a quick overview of the participants' profile, arranged in the alphabetical order of their given pseudonyms. In the 'Nationality' column, their race or ethnicity is also mentioned in order to provide more information regarding the complexity of their identity. For example, Mansukh, Dao, Bua and Mai all have a Thai passport, but racially (i.e. biological phenotypes) and ethnically (i.e. inherited culture, religion, language, etc.), they are different.

Table 3.1 The Participants' Profile

Participants' Pseudonyms	Gender	Age at the time of interviews	Nationality and Race or Ethnicity (significant to identity)	Languages in Language Expertise (in the order of the most to the least fluent)
1. Bua	Female	Mid 30's	Thai (Thai) and American	English, Thai
2. Dao	Female	Mid 30's	Thai (Chinese)	Thai, English
3. Isabela	Female	Mid 40's	Columbian and	Spanish, English,

			American (Caucasian)	French, Portuguese
4. Justin	Male	21	American (Caucasian)	English, Thai, Spanish, Mandarin
5. Lorenzo	Male	In the 60's*	Columbian and Italian (Caucasian)	Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek, French, English, German, Thai
6. Mai	Female	19	Thai (Chinese)	English, Thai, Mandarin
7. Mansukh	Male	19	Thai (Punjabi)	English, Hindi, Punjabi, Thai, Japanese
8. Walter	Male	Early 40's	German and American (Caucasian)	German, English, Turkish, Spanish, French, Thai
9. Yolanda	Female	Late 50's	Dutch (Caucasian)	Dutch, English, French, Italian, German, Thai

*Lorenzo passed away in 2010.

Each of the participants will be introduced in Chapter 4 and 5. In the next section, data collection period will be explained.

3.3.3. Data Collection

The raw data were collected from 2008 – 2010 in the form of semi-structured, face-to-face individual interviews with the participants. Each participant was interviewed twice in English. The duration of each interview varied from half an hour to a little over an hour. All the interviews were recorded on a digital audio recording device.

The first interview did not have a fixed schedule. However, it had an overall structure in terms of eliciting information, as it was conducted as a

follow-up to the recruitment piloting phase with six questions asked via electronic mail as prompts (cf. Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Piloting Electronic Message Form; Section 3.2.1 above). The questions asked about the participants' perception of who they are, their language expertise, their evaluation of language proficiency (they had to name their 'best' language), their favourite language, their least favourite language, and a brief summative statement of their identity. Initial coding of important information was prepared by highlighting the points which appeared to be significant in the individual e-mail correspondence. The questions were designed to elicit their view on who they are in terms of their nationality-language indexicality (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.1 and 1.2; Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). The effects of these questions were seen on the way the participants proceeded to discuss their identity with regards to my explicit and tacit expectations as researcher. Therefore, the participants expected to talk about how they saw or felt about their identity based on our prior correspondences.

The first interview was intended to gather the participants' sense of who they are by generating a free association of ideas pertaining to the different languages they speak, the contexts of their use, their nationalities and their overseas sojourns. Consequently, their 'free association' of ideas was triggered in part by some points raised in our correspondences and by whatever the topics our conversations happened to cover.

The second interviews began with a set of nine questions (see Appendix C), inspired by the interview techniques discussed previously in Section 3.2.1 (cf. FANI and biographical methods). The intention was not to elicit life stories but to elicit accounts of 'critical experience' which seemed to contribute significantly to who they are today. The nine questions asked the following: 1) how the event changed the course of their life, 2) when & where it happened, 3) why it would be crucial to defining who they are today, 4) if it did not happen, whether they would still be the same person or not; 5) how they felt then, 6) what difficulties they had in terms of adjustment, learning, growing, etc. from this event; 7) how they feel about it now, 8) how long did it take for them to come to terms with it, and 9) what changes or results it brought to their life.

The participants were asked to read them just prior to the recording and to use them as guiding questions. They were invited to go beyond them as well. Care was taken to formulate the questions in terms of 'good' and 'bad' questions (Merriam 1998: 76 – 79). Nevertheless, they inevitably reflected my own bias and research interests. For instance, despite the effort to avoid 'multiple questions' (ibid.), question 2, 6, and 9 ended up being multiple. Question 6 assumes that transitions involving another language and country are difficult. And the intention of question 8 may not have been clear to some interviewees, although my intention was to gather information on their identity 'continuum' throughout life. Therefore, allowing the participants to talk about the time taken to reconcile with their identity issues across different time periods in their life to date seemed to

be significant. Critical experiences included culture shock both in and outside of their country of origin, ontological insecurity whilst negotiating identities, and anxiety caused by 'disrupted or discontinued' life story events (e.g. moving, illness, changing jobs, marriage, divorce, having a baby, etc.) possibly leading to 'the dissolution of the narrative unity' (Polkinghorne 1991: 150).

Given the individual differences in interpreting such questions, the guiding questions elicited different life events for the participants to begin their identity accounts in the second interview. However, some recurring topics and themes discussed in the first interviews were revisited by most participants, demonstrating their significance in their identity negotiation and construction process.

The raw data derived from interviews need to be processed in order to be analysed. Interview transcription is the widely used method which will be discussed in Section 3.3.4.

In terms of grouping or categorising manageable chunks of the participants' interview data, the term 'accounts' will be used in the present data analysis to designate specific incidents, episodes and recurring ideas which the participants discussed during the interviews. Accounts are akin to discourse, having developed from the communication theory and speech act theory of Austin (1962), Searle (1969) and Habermas (1979, 1984 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 292). They are also interchangeable with

the term 'narratives' at times because they are socially situated, have a recognisable beginning and end, and serve 'to explain our past present and future oriented actions' (Cohen et al 2000 294).

In interview data collection, there will inevitably be issues of bias, both on my part as researcher collecting data and on the part of the participants (cf. Section 3.2.1 above). First of all, the prepared questions may influence the responses elicited (cf. Section 3.2.1 above). Secondly, there are issues with the social construction of knowledge in terms of observer/ interviewer effects, the issue of trust, validity and reliability (cf. Section 3.2.3 above). Hence there is a need 'to discover as much about how research subjects feel about the information they provide as about the information itself' (Holliday 2007: 4). At analytical level, the detailed textual and intertextual reading incorporating the approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis should be able to achieve this to a great extent, which will be discussed in the procedure (section 3.4.3) below. The interview transcription process will be discussed next.

3.3.4 Interview Transcription

Interview transcription is the bridge between data collection and analysis in interview-based qualitative research data analysis. It is an important process during which the audio recorded raw interview data are converted into text data. In this section, the process and its issues will be discussed.

Interview transcription for the present data analysis needs to produce the kind of text that could be analysed by discourse analysis methods. The transformation from the audio to the visual text form is not a simple, straightforward affair. The difficulties in the process of transcription have been recognised in qualitative research (cf. Hull 1985; Cohen et al. 2000; Riessman 2008; Benwell and Stokoe 2006). This is because transcription necessarily involves the transcriber's bias and will 'inevitably lose data from the original encounter' (Cohen et al. 2000: 281). The prefix 'trans' in the term 'transcription' denotes a change of state or form (Kvale 1996 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 281). However, this usually ends up being 'selective transformation' (ibid.) through the eyes of the transcriber or researcher. Producing any type of text is bound to encounter this type of issue due to the format and process to produce coherent or *meaningful* text. Transcription issues will be disussed below.

The first issue of transcription concerns the change in the format of data recording, from oral/ aural to visual/ textual. It is the 'translation from one set of rule systems (oral and interpersonal) to another very remote rule system (written language)' (Cohen et al. 2000: 281). A naïve view of this may be compared to photography, capturing the actual words as they were spoken. However, even photography is not free from the photographer's views and techniques to capture the 'reality' as it is seen by him/ her. When transcribed using words and symbols, they become 'decontextualized, abstracted from time and space, from the dynamics of the situation, from the live form…' (Cohen et al. 2000: 126). Therefore, it is

'unrealistic to pretend that the data on transcripts are anything but *already interpreted data*' (ibid.: 125).

Secondly, following from the above, written text reifies a certain interpretation of reality as seen by its author. Qualitative research interview is 'a social encounter, not merely a data collection exercise' (Cohen et al. 2000: 281) and interview transcriptions are 'interpretations of social situations' (ibid.: 126). This interpretative problem of interview transcription has also been linked to the structural elements of language:

> '[T]ranscription is deeply interpretive as the process is inseparable from language theory. The "same" stretch of talk can be transcribed very differently, depending on the investigator's theoretical perspective, methodological orientation, and substantive interest.' (Riessman 2008: 29)

Language here can be seen as 'discourse'. The analytical and interpretive issues have been compared to interpretive work in literature or historical documents, in 'the analysis of written art' (Hull 1985: 30). The interview transcript may be interpreted with similar techniques as historians reconstructing the past accounts and literary critics arriving at a particular understanding (cf. ibid.). This may give rise to:

> 'a viewpoint whose position is public and explicit to the extent that it rests upon the public theoretical tradition of social science rather than upon a living intentionality which, like that of the true participant is locked into the situation observed' (Stenhouse 1978 cited in ibid.).

The view of language as discourse is reflected in the social, public factors influencing understanding and that 'data and the relationship between meaning and language are contextually situated' (Mishler 1991 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 282). Thus even holding the questions, the interviewer, the interviewee, the time and place constant does not guarantee stable, unambiguous data (Scheuerich 1995 cited in ibid.). This is the socially situated aspect of negotiation and construction of meaning.

Despite the interpretive biases, there are definite advantages to the researcher undertaking his/ her own transcription rather than using transcription services (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 136 - 137) or software. The process of transcription allows the researcher to be familiar with the data and helps with the identification of emergent themes for analysis (ibid.). In the present research, the two interview recordings for each of the nine participants were transcribed by myself. This was done with the intention to enhance my knowledge of the contents of the interviews (cf. Fielding and Thomas 2001: 136 - 137) and get intimately acquainted with what the participants said in the interviews (cf. ibid.; Merriam 1998; cf. data collection issues in Section 3.3.3 above). However, this has the issue of time: 'one hour of interview takes four to six hours to transcribe' (Fielding and Thomas 2001: 136). In my case, each of the 18 interviews took about 10 – 15 hours to transcribe. However, this process allowed me to achieve the two goals above.

Different styles and conventions of transcription were consulted in order to incorporate measures to optimally honour the participants' voice under the notion of interview as co-construction of knowledge (cf. Kvale 1996 cited in Cohen et al. 2000: 282; cf. Cohen et al. 2000; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Pavlenko 2006; Block 2007; Riessman 2008). The main issues are how useful the transcribed data are for the overall purpose of research (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 126), and 'what the researcher chooses to describe' (Holliday 2007: 64; Riessman 2008: 29). Readability was given a priority for discourse analysis, with the inclusion of details of non-verbal forms of communication to render the data analysis as holistic as possible (cf. Cohen et al. 2000: 281). Each interview recording was aurally examined at least once prior to transcription for taking notes on the important points made by the participants (cf. Merriam 1998; Fielding and Thomas 2001: 134 – 6) to prepare for the coding of certain items such as recursive words, expressions and topics in order to locate salient identity issues and a potential identity 'theme' for each participant. Subjectivity and intersubjectivity are central to the present data analysis, thus it is vital to illustrate aspects of social reality which can only be revealed in descriptive data of this type (Cohen et al. 2000: 125, 281 - 2; cf. Fielding and Thomas 2001: 136). Such close observations of the participants' speech were aimed to enhance reliability of the analysis and its findings (cf. Holliday 2007: 64; ibid.).

The Jefferson Transcription System (2004 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: ix – xii) was adapted for the present interview transcription in order

to maintain readability. The layout consists of three columns beginning with line numbers on the left, the participants' pseudonym initials and my initials (CK) to indicate speaker turns, and the talk itself. The conventional UK spelling was used for words that are intelligible in the recordings. The unintelligible parts were resolved by the closest phonetic transcription or left in empty parentheses, indicated as 'unintelligible'. These transcription keys are listed under Table 3.2 below. The so-called 'filler words' or 'bunched utterance' ('uh huh', 'er', 'um', etc. cf.: Merriam 1998: 80), pauses, facial expressions, tone of voice, irregularities in the speed of their speeches (e.g. slow, fast, with frequent pauses, etc.) and other paralinguistic features observed during the interviews were also included. They are summarised in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.2 Transcription Keys*

Symbols	Description
:	Elongated vowels
(.)	A very short pause of less than a 10th of a second.
[…]	A longer pause of 1 - 10 seconds.
[pause]	A much longer pause of 10 seconds – 1 minute.
[chuckling] etc.	Non-verbal forms of communication or emotional displays during the interviews (cf. Table 3.3 below).
[	Onset of overlapping talk.
[ ]	Untranscribable talk.

* cf. Jefferson Transcription System (2004) cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: ix – xii.

Table 3.3 Non-verbal Forms of Communication Incorporated in Interview Transcription (noted in brackets, [ ] in the transcripts)

Emotional Display	Pauses (also indicated by breathing)	Speed of Speech*	Tone of Voice
• chuckling • holding back tears • pondering	• exhaling/ out-breath* • hesitating • inhaling/ in-	• fast • slow • stuttering, etc.	• falling (the end of speech, contemplation, etc.)

smiling troubled wondering, etc.	breath* sighing, etc.		rising (questions or uncertainties)etc.

* cf. Jefferson Transcription System (2004) cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: ix – xii.

Although there may have been other ways to produce interview transcripts for the present data analysis, the procedures summarised above to arrive at the material of the present analysis served the purposes of the present data analysis (cf. chapters 4 – 7). In the next section, interview follow-ups will be discussed as part of methodological triangulation.

3.3.5 Interview Follow-ups

Theoretical triangulation (cf. Chapter 2) and data collection follow-up are the triangulation measures implemented in the present research. The two interviews with each participant were followed up by electronic mail correspondences. In addition, where the possibility existed, informal on-site visits observing the participants in action were conducted.

During the data analysis phase in 2010 - 12, contact was periodically maintained with the participants for follow-ups. The interview data was complemented by their after thoughts and views on their identity negotiation and construction via electronic mail. Hence some dialogic process was maintained to serve as testimonials for their ongoing engagement with their question of identity. After completing the data

analysis, a summary was sent to each participant for their feedback. The contents of their replies ranged from affirmations, reflections to explicit wordings that they suggested for me to portray how they wanted to be perceived. It helped with the validation of my analysis and interpretation.

The idea of informal observations on site arose from ethnographic approaches to observe the participants in 'real' life situations as part of methodological triangulation. However, due to the circumstances in working life, these could only be carried out with Dao and Bua. Their availability during my summer vacation and their job situation allowed it to happen. Observing Dao and Bua conduct their work in English and Thai with Thai and international people gave me first-hand insights into their language and national subject positions and how they negotiated their 'Thai' and 'English-speaking' identities. These contributed to the validation and critique of my own data analysis and interpretation.

3.4   Data Analysis

In this section, the present data analysis methodology will be discussed in detail. It will begin with the rationale for methodological approaches, followed by the tools and procedure. An overview the data analysis chapters (Chapter 4 – 7) will also be given.

3.4.1 Rationale

The purpose of the present data analysis is to investigate the main research question: 'How do expatriates discursively negotiate and construct the sense of who they are with regards to their putative national identity?' To this end, an adapted, hybridised form of discourse analysis will be applied based on the present theoretical and methodological framework to investigate the mechanisms and processes of identity negotiation and construction. It needs to be able to examine and analyse the participants' different subject positions and positioning, as well as the different discourses and social dynamics implicated. A summative analysis must take place through the use of narrative as organiser of and meaning-maker of critical experiences to support the participants' temporary conclusion about their identity to date. The present analytical tools, method and procedure derived from the literature consulted will be explained below.

3.4.2 Methodical Approaches

A hybridised form of discourse analysis inspired by critical discourse analysis, narrative analysis and positioning theory was developed for the present data analysis. The main aim is to effectively examine and analyse the participants' subjectivity and reflective positioning (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 20), intersubjectivity and interactive positioning (ibid.),

and how they synthesised a new understanding of who they are in their identity narratives in teller-audience interaction as recorded in the interview transcripts. Discourse as medium and site of identity negotiation and construction must be analysed through the examination of different subject positions and how they were constructed through discourses that summoned them, and in which discursive realms. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and poststructuralist approaches provide the conceptual framework to critically analyse social interactional dynamics that are taken for granted such as indices and orders of indexicality, relations of power, ideology and symbolic capitals. Positioning theory examines how subject positions reflectibely position themselves and are interactively positioned in different social interactions through those discourses serving as ideological myths, cultural canons and identity storylines.

Concepts and approaches from critical discourse analysis (CDA) were chosen because of their focus on textual and intertextual analysis. Textual analysis examine linguistic items such as nouns, pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, wording, expressions and other structures producing coherence and general meaning in texts. Intertextual analysis examines 'how texts selectively draw upon *orders of discourse*' (Fairclough 1995: 188; original emphasis). These concern genres, narratives and different types of discourse and how their conventions were established (ibid.). Its dynamic and dialectic conceptualisation owes its development to Bakhtin, for the view that the sociohistory of the context in which texts were produced influences their production and that genres, discourses, registers and so

forth 'may be mixed in texts' (ibid. 189). This relates to the notion of heteroglossia (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). These are vital for the examination of how language and discourse influence and mediate subjectivity and subject positions. Intertextuality can also account for intersubjectivity, which will enhance the analysis of the participants' positioning and the discourses involved in it. Another advantage is that 'the intertextual constitution of texts is connected with audience' (ibid.: 204) and that 'audience anticipation is always relavant to intertextuality' (ibid.: 205). This will serve the analysis of social interactional dynamics and narrative identities (chapters 6 and 7 respectively).

The literature on CDA focuses on one language and its workings due to the difficulty in using translated data in textual analysis (Fairclough 1995: 190-1). This is not a problem for the present analysis, as all interviews were conducted in English. However, in order to closely examine multilinguals' transition from one language to another and how different languages may have influenced their positioning, I have extended the concept of discourse to view each language as a macro discourse with its general socio-cultural and other discursive elements and forces (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Block 2007, Jackson 2008, Kramsch 2009). The procedure for the present data analysis will now be explained.

3.4.3 Procedure

The present data analysis is divided into four chapters. Chapters 4 – 6 examine the participants' negotiation of identities and Chapter 7 will examine their construction of identities, leading to their temporary conclusion. Chapter 4 and 5 will introduce the participants in two groups with their nationality-language indexicality issues. Chapter 6 will examine their negotiation of identities in their social relations and interactios. In Chapter 7, a summative analysis will be done using the concept of emplotment to bring together the analyses undertaken in chapters 4 – 6.

The analytical procedure will examine the following important elements in the participants' interview accounts:

a) Subject positions
b) Discourses
c) Identity issues
d) Identity negotiation
e) Introspection
f) Identity construction
g) Overall conclusion

However, they will not be applied in the above order to each section of data analysis in a single chapter. The present procedure below will explain how and where they will be analysed in the ensuing chapters.

First of all, subject positions are essential 'labels' to serve as analytical pieces to account for the participants' subjectivities and position in a certain discourse. They will be derived from demographic categories or positions in a certain identity storyline as observed in the interview

transcripts. These can be single nationality subject positions (e.g. American) or two national subject positions. In the hyphenated national subject position, the latter may be the dominant or official (e.g. 'American-Thai' in which 'Thai' is either the passport nationality or the stronger subjective identification; cf. Section 3.3.2 below). These could also be cultural or political, such as 'Western' or social, such as 'mother'. They could also be an identity position in the available discourse, such as: 'global nomad', 'world citizen' or 'English-speaker'. The important point about these labels is that they capture 'who' the participants perceive them to be, reflecting their desire and agency. Subject positions are the crucial starting point of the analysis to see how they shift and 'get somewhere' in identity storylines. Therefore, subject positions will be analysed in all chapters (4 – 7).

Secondly, discourse analysis will examine how subject positions are generated, sustained or changed in the discourses that summoned them and what kinds of discourse featured predominantly in the participants' positioning. The analysis will consist of the following: linguistic and textual elements, intertextuality and micro and macro discourses generated and reflecting political ideologies (e.g. nationalism), socio-economic phenomena (e.g. globalisation), socio-cultural norms and values (e.g. social hierarchy, morality, etc.), cultural myths and canons (e.g. the 'Renaissance Man', self-help, etc.). Pertinent textual elements will include personal pronouns (e.g. the use of the inclusive 'we', the generic 'they', etc.), the reflexive aspects of language (e.g. language structure and

patterns indexing certain identities; Johnstone 2010: 32; Fairclough 1995: 188), metapragmatics (e.g. words and pronunciation indexing social class, etc. in ibid.; cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2), and metaphors (cf. Fairclough 1995: 203; Kramsch 2009: 46, 66). Elements of intertextuality include indexicality and its orders (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2), enregisterment (ibid.), orders of discourse (cf. CDA in Section 3.4.1 above) and emplotment (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4). These will be examined in all chapters (4 – 7).

The discourses imbued in ideology and normative authentication of individuals, vital for the participants' positioning, will be analysed (e.g. natilnalism, symbolic capital and domination, etc. in chapters 4 - 7). Discourses will also be divided into 'macro' and 'micro' categories (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). This will depend on the scale of their impact and operation, circulating in wider social, cultural, political and economic phenomena such as 'born and bred' and 'globalisation'. These can give rise to subject positions depending on individuals' desires and agency, such as 'searching for a better life somewhere else'. Micro ones are these macro ones adapted and personalised by individuals and other, more personal ones, such as 'being different' or 'ambivalence in identity'. These will be examined in all chapters to contextualise the analysis of positioning.

Regarding identity issues, these will be either explicitly or implicitly shown in the participants' accounts on how their assumed identity was contested

and which identity indices, discourses and social dynamics were involved. These experiences, particularly if they recur in different parts of the interviews or were narrated with strong emotions, will be considered as their critical experiences. The important thing is to locate and examine the participants' evaluation of the different identity-contesting episodes in terms of idexicality and positioning. These will be examined in chapters 4 - 6. Challenges to desired expectations, adjustment issues and identity dilemmas will also be examined.

The participants' negotiation of identities will be analysed in chapters 4 – 6 through positioning with regards their identity issues and critical experiences as discussed above. How the participants drew on the available discourses to refute unfavourable positioning and how they negotiated identity indices to present an 'unconventional' version of who they are, e.g. in their hybridised identity, will be analysed. It will also involve the analysis of how their desire and expectations were betrayed and what discourses they have sought to mediate their agency to find a solution. This will include collaboration with others such as code-mixing to create their own community of practice in third space.

Introspection is an important element of reflective positioning and understanding multiple and shifting subjectivities. This will be examined in all chapters. This will hone in on their feelings and paralinguistic features (cf. Table 3.3 above) in the transcripts and locate their reflections such as self-evaluation of events, actions and themselves in the past. It will also

include their moral alignment with certain subject positions and their associated discourses. This is aimed to closely track down the process bridging negotiation and construction of identities.

Regarding the participants' construction of identities, this will be analysed as identity narratives in Chapter 7. The change in their understanding of who they are across time and space in terms of their shifted subject positions and outcomes of reflective and interactive positioning should serve as the theme for emplotment. This will organise the findings from chapters 4 - 6 into a temporary structure with beginning, middle and end. The 'end' will examine the participants' synthesis of their temporary identity conclusion. Following from introspection, the participants'position as 'narrator of their own identity story' will be examined. This is important to demonstrate the significance of process in identity negotiation and construction in order to strengthen the overall analytical claims being made. The overall conclusion of who they are will begin in Chapter 7 and will be fully discussed in Chapter 8.

3.4.4 Overview of the Data Analysis

An overview of each of the chapters will be given below. Each chapter will begin with its rationale and purpose. Transcript excerpts will be used and the analytical procedure explained in the previous section will be holistically and selectively applied. Each chapter will end with a short

conclusion with issues to be addressed in the ensuing chapters and in the discussion chapter (Chapter 8).

Chapter 4 will introduce the first four participants and examine their nationality-language indexicality issues. A short biographical summary of their background will be followed by their identity issues involving orders of indexicality such as: national stereotypes, socio-cultural interactional norms and moral alignment.

Chapter 5 will introduce the remaining five participants in the same format as Chapter 4. The critical indexicality are the same as above but also with: accent, varieties within a language, nationality and native language indexicality, and multiple heritage and nationalities.

Chapter 6 will examine the nine participants' identity negotiation in social dynamics and positioning. It will analyse the influences from their family and friends, and in the use of particular registers of language such as institutional social hierarchy and political correctness.

Chapter 7 will synthesise the participants' identity narratives with their critical experiences analysed in chapters 4 – 6 for their construction of identities across time and space. Their initial desire to go abroad, the critical experiences, and their 'coming home' to who they are will be analysed.

3.5   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed the design and methodology of the present research in the qualitative paradigm. The main aim of the data analysis is to answer the main research question through the study of the participants' interview transcripts. The rationale and procedure for data collection through semi-structured interviews were discussed, followed by the same for data analysis using an adapted form of discourse analysis. Tables and appendices were included to show the interview questions, transcription keys and data analysis procedure.

Some issues in Chapter 3 are the following. Firstly, the population sample is very small. This was mainly due to the extent and quality of data analysis intended for the present research. It was more diverse than a single case study, but the findings will be limnited to the sample population. Therefore, it would be best if the present research could be considered as a case study of some multilingual expatriates in Thailand. Secondly, data analysis procedure has room for further improvement. Although each element and the overall procedure were carefully devised, its overall application across four chapters could present some confusion. Given the present theoretical framework and the research design, this was the best extent to which this procedure could evolve during the course of research and writing. The first four participants will be introduced in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: Negotiating Indexicality Issues (1)

This is the first chapter of data analysis. It will introduce the first four out of the nine participants with their identity issues concerning indexicality. How they negotiated the contested indices of their identities will be analysed using the tools and concepts outlined in the analytical procedure section in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3). The analysis in this chapter should contextualise the remaining data analysis chapters (5 – 7). The chapter will end with a summary and preliminary discussion of the findings to be followed up in Chapter 8.

4.1   Rationale and Overview

The first four participants will be introduced with their identity indexicality issues. These include nationality and native language, accent, national stereotypes, socio-cultural interactional norms and moral values. These are assumed as 'common sense' in everyday life. They are influenced by such discourse as nationalism and 'born and bred' myth (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). These deploy such symbolic indices of belonging as national language, shared history, heritage and culture. They instil in their subjects an infallible sense of loyalty and pride, as if to provide ontological meaning and security. There are other discourses propagated by the mass media to promote the image of certain nations as being ideal (e.g. liberal, egalitarian). These summon the desire and agency of some

individuals to be emancipated from their socio-cultural norms and practice that disadvantage or marginalise them by learning the language of the 'ideal' nation (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). Mass media can also spread skewed or negative national stereotypes which can affect people's perception.

The first four participants have certain things in common. The first is that their overseas sojourn is relatively short compared to the other participants. The second is that their significant sojourn abroad is limited to one country. Although one of them seems to have travelled more widely than others, the travelling experience cannot be compared with the actual living in another country in the present study. Thirdly, language-identity indexicality mainly consists of two languages: their native language and English. Although one of them is also conversant in other languages, their impact is minimal to the present study. They will be introduced below with a short biographical summary, how they came to participate in the interviews and other relevant information in the following order: Dao, Justin, Yolanda, and Mai. Some specific references to their first and second interview transcripts are indicated in parentheses (e.g. 'Line 123, first interview'). In the interview transcript excerpts, the speaker turns are indicated by the participants' pseudonyms or due to space, their initials, and my initials, CK.

4.2. Dao

Dao was born to Thai parents in the capital of Thailand. She and her siblings grew up speaking Thai and attended a Catholic secondary school where English was offered as an integral part of the academic program. However, the main language of education and daily life was Thai and she completed her education up to the BA degree in the Thai educational system. Dao's grandfather was a Catholic priest and her family has always been open to incorporating aspects of Western life style and learning English. This point will be revisited in Chapter 6.

After obtaining her BA, she began working for her alma mater which has an international college with lectures delivered in English. Eventually, she obtained scholarships to earn her MA and PhD degrees in English. These degrees were offered in conjunction with an American university, so she lived in the USA for about two years as part of her graduate study. She was referred to me by an expatriate friend of mine who works at her university. At the time of the interviews, she had just completed her PhD and was promoted to a director position at the international college.

Dao has been exposed to English from an early age onwards thanks to her father's keen interest in having his children learn to speak English well. She uses both English and Thai in her current bilingual work environment. According to Dao, she loves English because it suits her personality better than Thai. She believes that English led to her current career success and

job satisfaction: '[…] that [learning and liking English] probably also reflect by my career as well' Line 60 and 86; Line 78 and 85; 60 - 86 first interview). Dao sees that her personality is more compatible with the way people express themselves and exchange ideas in English. This is an important recursive theme in her identity accounts (e.g. Line 38, 57 and 114, first interview). This was evident from the beginning of our correspondences prior to the interviews. An excerpt of her electronic message reply below during the participant recruitment phase demonstrates her introspection and subject position:

Excerpt 4.1

'I think I'm a straight forward and extrovert person. I rarely keep my feelings inside, but always try to communicate to others how I feel or what I think whenever I have a chance. Still there might be some times or occasions that my identity is not that obvious because of the culture limitation (i.e., organizational culture, hierarchical culture).' (Participant Recruitment Electronic Message, August 2008)

Dao introduced herself as being extrovert and expressive, 'rarely keeping her feelings inside'. This introspective account of her subject position and reflective positioning was repeatedly mentioned in the interviews as the main reason why she prefers English over Thai. Her mentioning of 'the 'culture limitation' (i.e. organizational culture, hierarchical culture' above is a reference to the socio-cultural norms of interaction in the Thai language. She said that she does not really like Thai because of the formalities, especially concerning social hierarchy and different forms of addressing others associated with the structure. These refer to register and

metapragmatics (cf. Johnstone 2010: 32; Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2) in the use of Thai as a particular form of discourse. Dao perceives English as the linguistic medium to emancipate herself from the 'culture limitations' of the social hierarchy. English enables her to 'speaking up her mind' (Line 112, first interview). In this connection, she discussed an instance in which she was positioned as 'not a typical Thai' by her American doctoral supervisor which had an emancipatory effect for her negotiation of identity. It will be analysed below.

In the first interview, Dao shared an anecdote when her American PhD supervisor ('advisor') said to his wife that she is 'not a typical Thai'. The interview excerpt below captures it in her own words:

Excerpt 4.2

Dao […] uh… my advisor, you know, and his family came to Thailand and they went to vacation in Phuket. And I picked them up from the airport. And… I would like them to feel like home, so I brought some fruits with me, and what is it…? It's uh… 'jackfruit'… may be? [both Dao and CK chuckle because of its distinct smell] [omission] But then, my advisor and his wife are saying, 'hmmm… interesting!' and they, they are… they tried to be polite, I'm sure, but then their son… you know, he's about… the [small?] age, and he said, 'oh, good!', you know, and then 'oh, good, I like it'. So then, I said to him, at that time, spontaneously, 'Do you really like it? Or you just wanna show off?' You know [cracks up laughing] And at that moment, my advisor said [to his wife], 'See? I told you she's not a typical Thai'.

CK Uh, huh, mmm [nodding in agreement/ approval]

Dao And then, I was like, 'What?' So, I said, 'Oh, I took it as a compliment'. [Laughter with CK sounding out 'hmmm' in agreement] So, it's like I speak my mind, you know, I speak up, you know, and then for me, it's funny, it's joke… and I joke with him. But probably, in his eyes, not so many Thais do that [omission] But I'm not sure if I'm comfortable saying

this sentence in Thai with others. You know, so that's probably why my personality might go with English language better? May be?
(Line 39 – 58, first interview)

Dao received her being positioned as 'not a typical Thai' as a compliment. She could not hide her enthusiasm when she was telling this anecdote in the interview. Her emotional reaction was seen in her surprised exclamation 'What?' followed by bursting into laughter as she talked about it. The word 'compliment' shows that she was able to transcend the socio-cultural norms of communication in her native language to negotiate a desired subject position of 'not a typical Thai'. Her tutor's remark that she is 'not a typical Thai' endorsed her own observation that her use of English allows her to speak more freely according to her personality. This also shows her mastery of English in both linguistic and metapragmatics (Silverstein 1993; Agha 2007 cited in Johnstone 2010:32), about which she is really proud. As she stated above, not many Thais seem to joke with their supervisors in the hierarchical chain of command within different levels of organisation based on age (e.g. respecting older people, filial devotion, etc) and other factors such as educational credentials or work experience. Dao explained: '[…] in Thai language, we have… many vocabularies that you have to choose [to address people] and if you choose the wrong one, then it sounds impolite or intimidating…' Line 13-14, first interview). This is underscored by her remark: 'But I'm not sure if I'm comfortable saying this sentence in Thai with others' (Line 56 – 57, first interview). Of course, even English, she could not do so freely with strangers. She already had a working rapport with her PhD supervisor and

in the context of their relationship, this exchange was socially appropriate. Dao tried to advocate her point that English better suited her personality by making a preliminary conclusion at the end of the above excerpt. Her use of the words 'probably' and 'might', and the tag question 'Maybe?' suggest that she was introspectively engaged in reflective positioning in my presence. This was in the early part of the first interview and winning the audience consent to present an identity statement is a process of identity negotiation. Or she may have been engaged in reflective positioning in the discourse of nationalism, wondering about her subject position in terms of the discourse of nationalism and its nationality-language indexicality, possibly fearing that her preference for English may position her as unpatriotic.

In the course of the interviews, Dao repeatedly mentioned that English suited her personality better. The excerpt below just precedes Excerpt 4.2 and she was substantiating her perception with regards to register and metapragmatics:

Excerpt 4.3

'So, see, when I talk to Thai, I concentrate on politeness. But yeah, when I talk to foreigners, I don't really have to think about politeness, because I'm more comfortable. For me, English language is kinda… no hierarchy? So, for me, you know, I can use any words with them comfortably. But for Thai… you know, I don't know… I think there are degrees of politeness or something, you know, to show that you respect them. Something like that. That's why I feel more comfortable, you know, and… And that also reflects my personality as well.'
(Line 32 – 38, first interview)

As in Excerpt 4.1 and 4.2, Dao's observation above infers that her reflective positioning is largely determined by the hierarchical communicative norms embedded in the 'Thai discourse'. She retains her Thai subject position and demonstrates her competence as a discerned speaker of Thai complying with the socio-cultural norms, summoned by the 'Thai discourse'. Her Thai subject position is maintained by her use of the word 'foreigners' to designate non-Thais. When she speaks in English to foreigners, she does not 'really have to think about politeness' because she is 'more comfortable' in the language (Line 33 – 34, first interview). This may contain some elements of 'othering', assuming that non-Thais do not worry about formalities in English. She may be 'more comfortable' in English in another discursive sphere where she is liberated from the taxing social obligations. This can be argued that she retains her Thai subject position with due moral obligations vested in it. Thus entering the desired discursive realm in English is a temporary relief from her communicative responsibilities of being a Thai national. This 'foreign' language allows her to 'be herself', an outspoken person, within its perceived discursive parameters. Not all English speakers would agree that 'there is no hierarchy' in English (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.4). This type of comparison will risk leading to linguistic determinism. The context of the above extract is Dao's use of English at work. When she has to talk to her boss, who is American, she does not 'have to think about the vocabulary…' (Line 18, first interview). Her reference to 'vocabulary' here is actually about register. However, when speaking in Thai, even with her subordinates, she perceives having more difficulty due to the 'degree of politeness' in Thai

(also stated in Line 23 – 26, first interview, just before the above extract). This was reiterated by her statement 'I'm more comfortable [in English]' appearing in Line 10, 34 and 37 in the first interview transcript and also in the second interview transcript. Dao's position of 'not a typical Thai', therefore, is a negotiated subject position transcending the Thai discursive norms in social hierarchy and achieving linguistic and metapragmatic competence in English.

However, Dao's negotiated identity of 'not being a typical Thai' is a specific subject position to occupy in the discourse of 'Thai social hierarchy' but is not necessarily a claim to refute her Thai national identity. Although she feels more comfortable expressing herself in English, she seems to be identifying herself as a 'Thai national who is very good at English' and who can use English to the advantage of her social positioning. For instance, Dao wrote in her initial participant recruitment electronic message (cf. Excerpt 4.1) that:

Excerpt 4.4

'I never have such problem [of using the polite form of speech in Thai] when speaking English. Perhaps it's because I'm not an English native speaker, I then assume and expect that others might forgive my mistakes. Additionally, I feel that whenever I speak English, I can be very straight forward, which is not an acceptable personality of typical Thai.' (Participant Recruitment Electronic Message, August 2008)

Dao's mentioning of her non-native speaker of English subject position shows her pleading for her 'right' to make mistakes in English. By the

156

same token, this may suggest that she hopes to be forgiven for 'being straightforward' in English. This could explain her feeling 'comfortable' in English, dissociating herself from the social and moral obligations in different discourses and registers of English. This also shows her assumption in language-nationality indexicality that her main identity position is Thai, in the language that she does not expect to be forgiven for her linguistic or metapragmatic mistakes. Her ease of expressing herself in English so far lacks introspections about her moral alignment with English and its discursive forces apart from the general perception and some first-hand experience that people seem to be able to be straightforward with each other. Thus paradoxically, her positive reception of 'not being a typical Thai' is only meaningful to her Thai subject position seeking socio-cutural emancipation according to her personality compatibility. No 'ontological' reason is evident for her to adapt an 'English' or 'American' subject position apart from relieving her from the social communicative burden in Thai. Therefore, being 'atypical' Thai is a favourable subject position in relation to her firmly established Thai subject position, which also gives her an international edge. More about Dao's subject positions with regards to her desire to learn English with the origin in her family's investment in the symbolic capital vested in will be discussed in Chapter 6 and 7.

In the next section, I will introduce Justin who was also positioned as 'atypical' of his national stereotype. However, he reacted in a contrasting manner to Dao and this will be analysed below.

4.3 Justin

Justin was introduced to me by Dao (cf. Section 4.2 above). He is an American citizen who was completing his BA programme at Dao's university at the time of the interviews. He was 21 years old and first came to Thailand when he was 16 years old on a language exchange home stay programme in the north. That was his first overseas sojourn. As he really enjoyed his time there, he decided to return to Thailand to study for his BA degree. He found Dao's university through some friends' recommendations in his home town (Line 29 – 38, first interview transcript).

Learning Thai language and way of life was a main theme representing Justin's desire and agency in his interview accounts. He practised and monitored his progress in Thai by using MSN Messenger to build his language skills and confidence (Line 131 – 152, first interview). He also employed such effective strategies as mimicking Thai speakers (Line 549, first interview): '[…] I do… kind of mimic almost like a parrot does' (Line 554, first interview), including gestures and body language. He acquired the paralinguistic features so well that eventually, nodding became a habit even when he went back to the USA (Line 562- 572, first interview). He also prioritised interacting with spending time with his Thai friends. This appeared to have contributed to his becoming fluent in just one year and acquiring a good Thai accent (Line 277 – 278, first interview). However, Justin evaluated his accent to be 'hardly perfect' (Line 277, first interview)

and hesitated to affirm that he was fluent: ' 'Fluent'… is a… very big term…' (Line 159, first interview).

A main identity dilemma for Justin concerned whom he was perceived to be and who he ought to be. This was discussed in a number of anecdotal accounts in both interviews. During the second interview in which the participants were asked begin with a significant event which led them to their current identity (cf. Appendix C), he chose to talk about a 'small problem' with his Thai girlfriend (cf. chapters 6 and 7). This was associated with American stereotypes propagated by the mass media which likely caused his girlfriend's parents to refuse to meet him (Line 12 – 15, second interview). Her parents 'just don't like (.) um white teenagers or college students in particular' (Line 17 – 18, second interview). Justin consulted his Thai friends in the music band whom he has known for three years. His account below shows how they perceived him:

Excerpt 4.5

> '[…] um… and so my friends were suggesting…. well, you should
> just go and talk to 'em anyways… um you just tell them that you're
> not [emphatic] a typical (.) American teenager or a foreign…
> student… and I said well, what do you mean [intonation up] and
> they said, well, you don't… your personality isn't that w' the least bit
> of what people tend to be… foreign (.) attitude towards things…'
> (Line 18 – 22, second interview)

Justin's Thai friends' comment that he is not a typical 'American teenager' or 'foreign student' (Line 18 – 23, second interview) demonstrates their positioning of him as 'one of them' in their social group. Negative

stereotypes of American teenagers as boisterous and immoral are portrayed in popular films, television shows, magazines, newspapers and the Internet. Justin's friends' denial of his 'typical American' subject position implicitly demonstrates their Thai pride in their nationalism discourse claiming a better more moral order than amongst the American youth. Their assertion that he is 'not one of them' or not the kind of people whom his girlfriend's parents should scorn (Line 29 – 30, second interview) reinforces the claim behind their comment in solidarity.

However, Justin was not as excited as Dao was (cf. Section 4.2) by being labelled 'atypical' of his national identity. He reported asking his friends 'well, what do you mean'. The word 'well' signals both some surprise and a care taken to ask for clarification from his friends, implying his uncertainties in how he should reflectively position himself. In the excerpt below, Justin follows up on this. His speech was in a mumble and at times unclear, as if he were half speaking to me and half to himself:

Excerpt 4.6

> 'Um… which was strange for me that they were… implying that… you know, I wasn't [emphatic] who well I'm supposed to be [a quick sigh]… um supposed to be as far as the… the [tsk] uh [???]ing what people are [unintelligible mumble]… the identity… of my… my peers… my… not my peers but my American counterparts…' (Line 32 – 35, second interview)

Justin's identity dilemma is clearly expressed through his pauses, sigh, emphasis on the negation 'wasn't' and unintelligible mumbles. He perceived it to be 'strange' that his friends were positioning him as not who

he is 'supposed to be'. He distinguished the identity of his peers and his compatriots. There was a breach of logic in the discourse of nationalism imbued with the 'born and bred' canonical ideology. On one hand, Justin identifies with the national subject position of his friends by using the word 'my peers'. On the other hand, he clearly identifies himself as an American with the use of 'my American counterparts' (Line 37, second interview). Therefore, his subject position here is 'an American in Thailand'. This is further evidenced by his use of the modal verb 'supposed to be' above, repeated twice in Excerpt 4.6. This reflects the birthright myth in the discourse of nationalism.

Thus Justin's reaction for being positioned as 'not a typical American teenager' markedly contrasted from that of Dao's (cf. Section 4.2). From the way Justin was investing in learning Thai and socialising with Thai friends, it is a temptation to conclude that his reaction should have been similar to Dao's for having transcended his language-nationality indexicality (e.g. 'passing for a native speaker' in Piller 2002; cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). Justin's Thai friends positioned him as a legitimate Thai speaker with a good understanding of Thai socio-cultural norms of communication. His dilemma seems to be in his moral alightment. His other interview accounts shed light on this with his concerns regarding certain Thai socio-cultural practices with which he did not agree, such as social class difference. This will be analysed in Chapter 6.

Justin's continued to reflect on his confusion about his identity:

<u>Excerpt 4.7</u>

'[…] so, that's confusing (.) to me sometimes (.) you know, when people say that (.) that kind of thing or I think those kinds of thoughts that, you know, where do I belong… what kind of… who am I […] In my in culture… identity sense'. (Line 38 – 42, second interview)

Justin's reflection concerns his ontological security in the discourse of national identity. His concerns are based on other people's perception 'when people say […] that kind of thing' and his introspection 'I think those kinds of thoughts'. There is some ontological insecurity reflected in his questions 'where do I belong' and 'who am I' above. He extends these into the discursive realm of nationalism by adding 'in my culture'. These demonstrate Justin's ambivalence at the crossroads of his American and Thai discursive spheres. He seems to be seeking authentication of his identity (cf. Coupland 2010: 99) in 'culture'. As discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3.2), authenticity is part of identity politics and relates to indexicality (cf. politics of normative authentication in Coupland 2010: 99) whose order through certain ideologies are embedded in discourse. His use of the possessive adjective 'my' in 'my culture' above reinforces his American subject position. His introspection here demonstrates the fact that his identity was contested as a result of a phenomenon similar to 'passing for a native speaker' (Piller 2002) in his linguistic and metapragmatic achievement in which he breached one level in the identity indexicality order. Nevertheless, he encountered the next level of indexicality order that he cannot surpass, which is his Caucasian race which is not an index of an 'authentic' Thai. Thus although Justin gained

audibility in Thai and solidarity from his Thai friends, race as a non-index of Thai nationality and other factors made him realise the non-negotiable aspects of identity. This gave rise a feeling of ambivalence (cf. Block 2006, 2007) in his positions of being a 'good speaker of Thai' and a foreigner in Thailand. His ambivalence emphasised by the questions he asked about his own identity in Excerpt 4.7 above. This will be further analysed in relation to his social dynamics in Chapter 6 and in his language and cultural adjustments in Chapter 7.

In the next section, Yolanda will be introduced as someone who can both deny and accept her national stereotype in search of a more international identity.

4.4   *Yolanda*

Yolanda is a Dutch national whom I met in northern Thailand as a family friend a few years prior to the interviews. She was born and raised in the Netherlands and lived there most of her life. She was well travelled in Europe and South East Asia prior to splitting her residency between the Netherlands and Thailand in her mid-forties in order to improve her life style. She is multilingual in Dutch, English, German, French and Italian, and was in her late fifties at the time of the interviews.

Yolanda identified with both Dutch and not-so-Dutch subject positions. Spontaneously, she would say that she is Dutch (Line 22, first interview).

However, she also feels 'getting close to 'international'' (Line 24, first interview). Her 'international' subject position seems to be linked with her overseas sojourns and multilingual expertise: 'Yeah… of course, um… I think… the more (.) you live abroad, the more you don't really… you know, feel that… that root from your… um mother tong' mother… country anymore' (Line 47 – 48, first interview). I will analyse her Dutch and international subject positions with regards to her moral alignment with certain values and realities in the Netherlands and Thailand.

Yolanda's use of the languages in her language expertise gives rise to her different subject positions. She believes that languages reflect certain cultural characteristics and behavioural tendencies which index national identity. For example, she likes the sound of French and Italian when she wants to be romantic (Line 155 – 159 and 177 - 181, first interview) but prefers to use German when she wants to speak 'harsh' (Line 161 – 163, first interview). She finds English to be a pragmatic language (Line 165, first interview) because of the variety in vocabulary which allows her to be more precise in her speech (Line 187 – 190, first interview). She feels that 'in one language you: you can better express certain feelings than in another' (Line 168 – 169, first interview). Thus Yolanda seems to choose certain registers, reflexivity (e.g. utterances shown how they can be constructed in a language based on previous patterns in Johnstone 2010: 32) and other discursive components from different languages to express herself accordingly.

Yolanda's use of her French, Italian, German and English did not really lead to developing a subject position in each language as per the discoursive expectation in indexicality. The fact that this was not sufficiently substantiated in her interview accounts (cf. Dao in Section 4.2 above) links how her different languages simply come out of her mouth this to the idea that language is reflexive (Johnstone 2010: 32). This was influences by her mood, interlocutors and stereotypical images (e.g. French and Italian idealised for 'feeling romantic', etc.). She said that 'it just varies' and 'just coming out' three times in Line 72, 74 and 79 (first interview) and that language 'just comes out of my mouth' (Line 57, first interview; Line 229 – 230, second interview). She noted: 'it's very weird how languages go through my head' (Line 212, second interview). However, she admitted that her use of different languages depends on her interlocutors and situations of her social interactions. This included when she talked to herself. When asked if she could explain what makes it vary, she said: 'Yeah… no… not really [assertively], not really, no, no, no, no' (Line 81, first interview). Language being 'reflexive' is explained as: 'Every time we say something we are potentially modelling to our hearers how someone with the identities that are being oriented to at the moment would say it' (Johnstone 2010: 32). This contains the element of 'normative character of the situated events of linguistic production' (Taylor 1997 cited in ibid.). These were located in her stereotypical descriptions of French, Italian, German and English above in their perceived ability to perform certain communicative tasks better, by virtue of this normative indexicality.

Unlike the account of the unconscious emergence of certain languages above, the instance in which her subject position could be linked to her language use was observed in her account of consciously choosing to use certain languages. Her view was influenced by linguistic and cultural determinism but she demonstrated that this does not need to be so through the insights gained in her travels:

Excerpt 4.8

Y	And… um… so, yeah, I-I think there is a big difference… uh in uh… culture… the behaviour… uh… the the Thais being very tolerant, for instance
CK	Mmm, mmm…
Y	Which I like
CK	Mmm, hmmm, yeah, so I mean these are cultural… sort of conventions and rules that we
Y	[Right
CK	Have to follow, right, yeah
Y	Oh, you don't have to… but you it's your s'… for a generation and generations it's done that way, so…
CK	Mmm…
Y	It looks like it's kind of in your genes, but when you start travelling
CK	Yeah
Y	You see other ways, and then you can decide… you can choose
CK	[Mmm… mmm, hmmm
Y	Whether you want to continue… with your own… way
CK	Mmm…
Y	Or that you say, 'oh [high-pitched voice]… hmmm
CK	Mmm, hmmm
Y	'This… fits more uh in into my personality, actually
CK	Mmm
Y	[Inhales] 'Than following my parents or my… country people' (Line 234 – 254, first interview)

Yolanda's observations that 'cultural… sort of conventions and rules' are 'kind of in your genes' shifted to the acknowledgement that there are 'other ways' to be and adapts an agentive view of identity negotiation

demonstrated by her comment: 'you can decide… you can choose' to continue or not with certain cultural ways associated with a language. The main criterion for choice is whether certain cultural conventions in a language are compatible with her personality or not (cf. Dao, Section 4.2). This reflects her desire to draw on a particular language as discourse to translate it into agency to negotiate her socio-cultural positioning (cf. Dao, Section 4.2). This can be summoned by one of the macro discourses of late modernity and globalisation, 'searching for a better life'. Consequently, Yolanda sees her overseas experiences as enrichment to her life (Line 262, first interview) and a catalyst for change:

Excerpt 4.9

CK	[Omission] yeah, um… do you… do you feel you behave any differently or not not at all, um…
Y	Than before… I uh left Holland?
CK	Mmm, hmmm
Y	I-I think I became a different person, well 'different person' is a big word, but
CK	Yeah…
Y	Um… yeah, I changed because of uh you know, I picked up… you know, here and there… some… uh… let' enrichment or how do you call that, uh… 'upgrade' myself
CK	[Chuckles] Okay, right, yes
Y	[Also chuckling] By… uh learning from other people (Line 354 – 363, first interview)

The comment 'upgrade myself' above sums up her positive evaluation of the changes she sees in herself as a result of her overseas experiences. She also commented in the second interview that: 'I think the longer you live abroad, the more you find out we're all the same' (Line 61, second interview) and: 'the longer you live abroad… the more you find out that,

you know, we should compliment each other and not criticise each other'
(Line 89 – 91, second interview). I will return to this introspection as part of
her identity construction in Chapter 7.

The accounts in which Yolanda clearly identified her Dutch subject
position were related to cultural practice. The excerpt below is extracted
from the segment of our talk when I asked her if language has much to do
with her identity:

Excerpt 4.10

Y	I think it's more… personality than… language
CK	[Ah ha… right… and how would your personality… uh:m… be more influential in… who you are… or… uh…
Y	Oh, by the culture of the country where you're living it's influenced
CK	Okay… so do you notice some things particular or specific about yourself, you know, my identity like is like this because of my Dutch upbringing… do do you know any examples?
Y	[Yeah… I can gave an example
CK	Yeah
Y	And that is straightforwardness
CK	Uh huh, right… okay [chuckling lightly], yeah…
Y	[That's very Dutch
CK	Mmm, hmmm
Y	No nonsense
CK	Right [chuckling], okay, yeah…
Y	[Yeah… so, so… um… yeah, that's typical Dutch. We're known for that
	(Line 211 - 225, first interview)

Yolanda's main argument above is that her personality is shaped by
cultural influences. She used the inclusive pronoun 'we' to position herself
as a Dutch national, aligning herself with the national stereotype of being
straightforward. Her confidence about the origin of her 'no nonsense',

straightforwardness is seen in the 'born and bred' nationalism discourse. To her mind, being Dutch means having the straightforwardness and other national stereotypes being inculcated in her thoughts and daily practice through heritage, as if 'genetic' as previously observed. Later on in the first interview, she again identified with the Dutch subject position without any hesitation when we were discussing social taboos and how the use of English words could help address them in Asia, such as sexual harassment. She said, 'I don't have any problems with that [sexual harassment] because first of all, I'm from Holland' and 'everything is very open' (Line 561 - 564, first interview). She used the inclusive pronoun 'we' again to explain that there are hotlines to help people with such problems in the Netherlands (Line 566, first interview). The importance of culture as an identification mechanism in national consciousness was reiterated in the second interview: 'we come back to the culture that we (.) we say that it's wrong…' (Line 112; also in Line 124, second interview).

Thus Yolanda's Dutch subject position was clear in her interview accounts in which she embraced certain socio-cultural values and practices from her native country. By contrast, she did not position herself as a Dutch national when she lacked moral alignment with certain aspects of the Dutch society. For instance, she perceived that: 'Well, I feel a little bit out of place back in my home country' (Line 88, first interview). This comment was in relation to how she finds people in the Netherlands 'aggressive', lacking the tolerance she observed in Thai society, which she values (Line 96 and 235, first interview; cf. Excerpt 4.8 above). Furthermore, she stated: 'it's… not really my… my home country anymore' (Line 98, first

interview). This is a strong dissociation with her native country based on her lack of moral alignment with the way Dutch society has been developing. She reiterated: 'I don't want to go back to Holland, no…' (Line 307, second interview). Her detailed reasons are given below:

Excerpt 4.11

CK   [Omitted] what are the initial… sort of adjustment…
        difficulties [back in the Netherlands]?
Y   [Violence?
CK   Uh huh
Y   Violence?... Um… [pause] uh… traffic?
CK   Yeah…
Y   Poli:ce? … Money?
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Y   Uh… expenses? Um…mmm taking care… of my own…
        again, in my own house, I mean cooking… cleaning,
        everything… um… I don't have to do it up here, and so…
        yeah [abruptly]
CK   But when you say 'violence', [omitted] wh-what do you mean
        by 'violence'?
Y   Uh:m… Thailand… t'to… [pause] to my mind is… still
        peaceful country compared to… most other countries in this
        world
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Y   So… um… yeah, aggression… or it's… it's more aggression
        than violence. Maybe 'violence' is a wrong word…
        'aggression'
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Y   Like people being aggressive
CK   Okay
Y   Yeah
CK   Is it the way they speak or do they actually… th'the body
        language or what they say, or…
Y   [Both, yeah, yeah body language as well as… uh… but
        they're all stressed out
        (Line 340 – 361, second interview)

Yolanda positioned herself as a kind of victim of modern society and its angst (cf. Giddens 1991). 'Violence' is an imminent threat to every

individual lurking in modernity, particularly in urban settings. 'Traffic' also poses potential threats of harm in accidents and the stress felt in traffic jams. 'Police' as a problem may be due to their authoritarian power seen in patrolling and surveillance. 'Money' and 'expenses' pose yet another type of threat to individuals' ontological security in capitalism. Yolanda also discussed people's aggressive behaviour in public places in the Netherlands, including rude gestures such as flipping the middle finger (Line 363, second interview), shouting and scolding (Line 365, second interview), or name-calling ('bitch', Line 369, second interview). As she noted that people are stressed out, this social scene in her home country fed her desire to go somewhere else in the discourse of 'searching for a better life style'. In her interview accounts such as above, she did not position herself as belonging to her home country (cf. 'I feel different in my own country' and 'it's not my country any more' above).

However, there are instances when Yolanda's expectations were betrayed abroad which strengthened her moral alignment with her Dutch subject position. The excerpt below shows the time when she again clearly identified with her Dutch subject position in terms of being straightforward. This was in her account of Thais being polite and tolerant but difficult to ascertain their true opinions and thoughts behind their polite façade. Yolanda clearly sided with her Dutch compatriots as seen in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 4.12

     Y   Uh:m… [pause] yeah, of course… um… you never know

<pre>   what they [Thais] really think
      CK   Mmm…
      Y   That's frustrating
      CK   Whereas in Holland, what do you think, you know, when
              people are… kind of rude to you…
      Y   [Oh, we… we'll let you know [chuckles lightly]… they all let
              you know…
      CK   Yeah… so… is it clear in terms of understanding all…
      Y   Yeah [confidently], yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
              (Line 485 – 497, second interview)</pre>

Yolanda positioned herself as a Dutch national with the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we'. She also used the third person plural 'they' to include 'the Dutch people' in the Netherlands. This additional emphasis demonstrated the fact that in her mind, there was no doubt about the Dutch straightforwardness. Her repeated 'yeah' six times in a confident manner above also shows her strong emotional endorsement. Thus the use of personal pronouns 'we' and 'they' reveals group consciousness and allows reflective positioning in the discourse of nationalism and nation as an 'imagined' community'.

In the next section, a participant who has been having the 'expatriate' experience in her home country, Mai, will be introduced.

4.5   Mai

Mai is a young Thai national, born to Thai parents and raised in Thailand. Her family's ethnicity is Chinese but the language was not part of her upbringing. She learned Mandarin as an FL at school (Line 17 – 25, first interview) as per her grandfather's wish (Line 36 – 37, first interview).

Mai's home language is Thai but her academic language has always been English from preschool onwards. She attended English-medium international schools in the Thai capital and went to study in the UK for her BA degree. Mai was also introduced to me by Dao (cf. Section 4.2) when she happened to be back in Thailand doing her work placement at Dao's university and agreed to be interviewed.

Mai's identity issues stem from her language-nationality indexicality order. It is unproblematic that her nationality is Thai and she speaks Thai with her family and friends. The fact that her ethnicity is Chinese but she does not speak any of the Chinese languages does not need to be an issue in Thailand, where the official and national language is Thai. How English should index her identity is the problem in the common indexicality order. English can index her international school identity. All of her formal schooling was done in English since early childhood at two different English-medium international schools in Thailand. International schools offer a unique educational environment through the medium of English in many cases, with multiple or mixed academic programmes and different social dynamics (e.g. in teacher-student and parent-school rapports, cf. Sears 2011; Hayden 2006; Pollock and Van Reken 2001). It is thus capable of generating its own institutional identity in the discourse of 'international mindedness' and 'global citizenship'. In the second international school where she spent her primary and seconday school years, about seventy per cent of her teachers were from the UK and the curriculum was a combination of the UK National Curriculum and the

International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma Programme. The student body consisted of more than 50 different nationalities from various business, non-governmental and diplomatic sectors, many of whom were multilingual expatriates. And the high tuitions and fees added to the elite feel of the place. Hence Mai's schooling became equivalent to a study abroad (SA) context in her home country. She is very grateful for the education she received there (Line 46.3, first interview) which aligns her with the international school subject position.

Thus her international schooling can allow English to index her international school student subject position. It can also account for her proficiency in English and atypical Thai thoughts and behaviours (cf. Section 4.2). However, Mai's proficiency gap between her English and Thai became an identity issue. It was revealed in her interview accounts that the lack of sophistication and limited proficiency in reading and writing Thai affected her sense of patriotism, threatening her Thai subject position. Although she speaks Thai fluently, she is more comfortable in English, both in her academic work and free time activities involving the entertainment media. Most of her thinking flows automatically in English, especially in certain genres such as debate and argumentation because she has been trained in school (Line 213 – 224, first interview). She is also capable of 'fancying up the language… in English' (Line 226, first interview) but not in Thai. And English also became part of her family life because her siblings and cousins were also sent to the same international due to Mai's parents seeing its long-term benefits for their family business

(Line 433 and 417 – 469, first interview; cf. Chapter 6 regarding parental investment in symbolic capitals and her sister's support). Thus English became her dominant language, undermining her sense of loyalty as a Thai citizen in the discourse of nationalism.

Mai's threat to her Thai subject position also comes from the perception of her compatriots. Despite the fact that she feels more capable of expressing herself in English, Mai's friends were mainly Thai and other Asians at her international secondary school (Line 135 – 7, first interview). This tendency continued in her SA experience in the UK. However, she discovered that making friends with Thai expatriates was not as simple as it was at her international school back in Thailand. There were two main problems with this. The first concerned her insecurity about her Thai language. The second concerned Thai expatriates' social grouping in the UK. This was based on socio-economic status and associated values. According to Mai, 'Proper Thais' were those who were educated in the Thai system and went abroad for the first time for their MA degree; 'Studious Thais' were on scholarship; and the 'London Thais' were extremely affluent 'hi-so' Thais who 'enjoyed life' more than studying. The invisible group boundaries were clear and with her international school background and personal values, Mai felt that she did not share enough in common with any of the Thai expatriates at first. Yet apart from the English language, she did not have much in common with her UK classmates, either. She ended up finding solace in the company of her sister who was studying at another university in the UK. Eventually, she

began socialising with her Thai friends who shared the same work ethic and values in general.

Mai grew up with ambivalence. Although she is grateful for her education at her international school, it took her many years to feel comfortable in the environment. She recalled feeling lonely at first because it was 'very different' (Line 55, first interview) there and began to feel more at home when she met other Thai students with similar experiences (Line 60 – 64, first interview). She repeatedly referred to her feeling of not really belonging anywhere, which is a theme throughout the interviews. Her ambivalence was her 'critical experience' prior to her sojourn in the UK. Once there, she felt that her Thai subject position was contested by other Thai expatriates on account of her limited Thai proficiency:

Excerpt 4.13

Mai   I think when you're an international school student (.) you're not… like other Thais
CK   Mmm…
Mai   But you're not like foreigners… so, it's almost like you're in between
CK   Mmm…
Mai   Um it's like a mix, cultural… person… almost… I think
CK   [Mmm…
Mai   I don't want to be too extreme… um but I I sometimes think it is… 'ca:use… you face problem where Thais say, 'I can't believe that… you're not that good at Thai' that's because I've been in international schools since so young… I'm used to writing in English
(Line 236 – 245, second interview)

The above excerpt reveals the assumptions in the language-nationality indexical order on the part of her Thai compatriots. This was seen in the comment 'I can't believe that … you're not that good at Thai'. The use of 'that' shows that her Thai is still acceptable but not good enough for 'normal' Thais. This made her side with her international school subject position, not being 'like other Thais'. In the UK, she was positioned as highly westernised by some 'Proper Thais' (Line 292, first interview). In accordance with the general impression of the high-fee paying international school students in Thailand, they saw Mai as 'rich and spoiled' (Line 503, first interview; cf. international schools in Hayden 2006; Pollock and Van Reken 2001) and not good at Thai hence unpatriotic (Line 505, first interview). The critical experience of her Thai subject position being challenged is shown below:

Excerpt 4.14

Mai	So, here you are, you start off and there is… a p'… prototype… a-a stereotype
CK	Mmm, hmmm, mmm, hmmm
Mai	Of… of certain way… and… and wh' when I meet the Thais living abroad, there're Thais… 'Thai', the proper Thai
CK	Mmm….. [Omission]
Mai	[Omission]… and these are the Thais that… aren't familiar with international school kids
CK	Mmm…
Mai	And they're very Thai
CK	Mmm, hmmm
Mai	And it's different because (.) when I speak… if I sp'… if they hear me speaking English, they suddenly get a little intimidated
CK	Mmm, hmmm…
Mai	It's like… you know, are you them or are you us? There's a… I do sometimes feel like on defense
CK	Mmm…

Mai   But I'm kind of an emotional person as well… [a quick inhale]
         so er I do try to… kind of be friends with the Thais (.) 'cause I
         feel at home with them, but

CK   [Yeah

Mai   At the same time, I'm very Western for them
         (Line 289 – 310, fist interview)

There is a social rift between 'Proper Thais' who are 'very Thai' and a 'very Western' Thai like Mai. Her international school background and fluency in English 'intimidate' the former, likely caused by the SA context in which their strife or prestige of studying in English in another country is 'trivialised' by a young Thai outside of their social circle. The ultimate trial is revealed in their question to Mai: 'are you them or are you us?'. The use of the personal pronouns in the plural form highlights the 'us versus them' identity conflict. Technically, she was positioned as a foreigner by her compatriots, in addition to the foreigner subject position which she already held in the UK. This positioned her in the 'No-Man's-Land' of ambivalence in the discourse of national identity. This is a third space (cf. Useem cited in Pollock and Van Reken 2001: 20; Bhabha 1994 and Hall 1996 cited in Block 2006: 36) between her host country, the UK and the discursive sphere or proxy of Thailand populated by 'Proper Thais'. Her exile into this third space struck her vulnerability, indicated by her remarks 'feel like on defense' and 'I'm kind of an emotional person' above. Her desire to align with her Thai subject position, trying to be friends with the Thais 'cause I feel at home with them' was not recognised. Her feeling 'at home' with them despite this positioning suggests a kind of moral alignment on Mai's part to identify with the Thais rather than with other nationals or groups. This will be revisited in Chapter 6.

Thus Mai's critical experiences consist of her international school experience within her own country and her SA experience in the UK. There are some differences but there is a common thread. First of all, her experience in the UK led her to introspection of her identity: 'it was very… kind of getting to know oneself. It was a huge exploration on… to myself' (Line 261 – 262, first interview). She also began the second interview with the same topic (cf. questions for the second interview in Appendix C). This is due to the fact that she was literally on her own most of the time, unlike the way she was back home. If she were positioned as 'not a typical Thai' in Thailand, she could rely on the support system consisting of her family and friends who understood her situation at international school. Her family knew her 'as a Thai… just as a Thai who's… has a very liberal and modern Western kind of thinking' (Line 274 – 5, first interview). She admitted: 'I never realised how at home I was… in Thailand, in the in in… in an international school' (Line 266 – 268, first interview). Amongst each other, they used a code-mixed language called 'Tinglish' (Line 180 – 181, first interview) which was an important instance of collective negotiation of identity by hibridity. However, in the UK, she lacked the support system compounded by cultural and climate differences. Hence Mai's home country still offered some shelter for her critical experience through the social support system and familiarity of place and culture. These social dynamics will be revisited in Chapter 6. Yet her asymmetrical proficiency in English and Thai and her national pride produced conflicts in both situations. This will be examined below.

Mai' asymmetrical proficiency in English and Thai is 'a soft spot' for her (Line 479, first interview) and makes her feel insecure about her national identity, as if she is completely summoned by the 'born and bred' discourse of nationalism: 'when anyone comments on my Thai, I get very nervous because… I'm very proud of being Thai' (Line 491 – 492, first interview). Mai's strong patriotic feelings in the face of her being positioned as otherwise are shown below:

Excerpt 4.15

Mai   [Omitted] there is a uh uh typicalised… opinion… like a stereotype for international… students in Thailand
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Mai   Oh you're rich, you're spoiled
CK   [Chuckles]
Mai   And you can't speak Thai, you don't love your country…
CK   Mmm… [with empathy]
Mai   [There's that kind of… abrupt… unfair… opinion, and…
CK   Yeah…
Mai   And I'm very aware of that and get very sensitive because I'm very proud of who I am
CK   Mmm…
Mai   I'm very proud of my country despite… this whole thing… I feel that we have potential
CK   Mmm…
Mai   And… but… at the same time, in order… to improve, we have to see… the weaknesses
       (Line 497 – 514, first interview)

Mai has been defending her patriotism 'despite… this whole thing', clearly referring to her perception of an unfair positioning by 'Proper Thais'. The strength of Mai's patriotism is seen in her constructive criticism for her country as a 'critical friend': 'in order… to improve, we have to see… the weaknesses'. This is perhaps a vantage point gained through her

schooling at her international school, having had the opportunity to perceive her own country through the eyes of her foreign and Thai teachers and classmates. She emphasised her pride and love for her country at different types in the interviews but at the same time, expressed the deep pains in her ambivalence of identity:

Excerpt 4.16

Mai	I think… I didn't… I didn't realise how foreign I am
CK	Uh huh
Mai	Until I talked to other Thais
CK	Right [enthusiastically], yeah…
Mai	It it it… it was really like… embarrassing… t' I even though I didn't say anything, I was embarrassed of myself… I was like… how can you be a Thai and not… know these things or not say these things or not think or feel these things
CK	Mmm, hmmm…
Mai	And I felt really embarrassed at how… like 'cause I'm real' (.) I love my country, [speaks really fast in one breath] I'm really proud of my country, I'm proud of who I am, proud of my heritage
CK	[Yeah…
Mai	Um… I just felt like… why… like what am I not that Thai [intonation up] (Line 306 – 318, second interview)

Mai's Thai subject position is in a constant flux of confidence and doubt with her English and Thai proficiency and Western and Asian ways of thinking. This ambivalence concerns the 'normative authentication' of identity involving the discourse of nationalism and authenticity. The excerpt below illustrates her dilemma through the metaphor of having parents from both the East and the West:

<u>Excerpt 4.17</u>

    Mai   'Cause I'm so used to reading in English… but… I didn't
           think like in terms of (.) aut' automatic thoughts… that they
           were so much more Western
    CK   [Mmm, mmm…
    Mai   Than my Thai friends'… that was scary to me
    CK   Mmm…
    Mai   But at the same times, when I was with my English or foreign
           friends, my automatic thoughts were a lot more Thai than
           theirs
    CK   Mmm…
    Mai   So, w' it's very hard… I think… like um… it's almost like you
           have… parents from different countr' from the East and West
           because you don't know… exactly where you fit in
           (Line 331 – 340, second interview)

The above metaphor of having parents from two different cultural paradigms aptly captures her ambivalence and thirdness. Mai sufficiently realises that she is a product of both Western and Eastern thoughts with an inference to her 'mixed' subject position. The dual heritage does not find hybrid as a solution in the available discourses here but maintain the duality as the norm in the structuralist sense. This heightens the issue of national identity constructed in the discourse of nationalism which summons its subjects to show an infallible sense of national pride and loyalty through the use of national language and other symbolic discursive resources.

Mai's identity issues are further compounded by accent which is another index of national identity. She broached the topic towards when she expressed her desire to be 'a little more diverse' in her socialising patterns across different nationalities. She cited accent as being a hindrance to this: 'But my accent… to a certain extent [repeated], it's (.) a small barrier

(.) barrier, I think' (Line 1141 – 42, first interview). Accent is a non-negotiable identity index which could also be used as a tool of exclusion (cf. Giampapa 2004: 201; Llamas 2010: 229 – 236; Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). For some reason, Mai speaks English with an American accent. This is a curious phenomenon, as she never lived in the USA and was immersed in British accent at her international school. She said she would only put on a British accent to 'mock her friends' (Line 1152, first interview). She noted that in the UK, her American accent was 'alarming' to many British people (Line 1146, first interview) and said that: 'So… maybe if I started a British accent, I can… fit in more' (Line 1150, first interview; cf. Line 15 – 16, second interview). Mai's American accent can let her 'pass' as a native speaker of American English. Even some Americans thought that she was from the USA (Line 1148, first interview). When asked her how she 'picked up' her American accent, she said that it was because of the media, through the television programmes and films she watched:

Excerpt 4.18

    Mai   [It's the Series… it's the Series… It's the brainwashing of… uh like 'Gray's Anatomy', 'Desperate Housewives', 'Prison Break' and all those…

    CK   No… [bursts out laughing]

    Mai   Series are like… this… ult' uh the sentiment [??? unclear] this to me is like the ultimate (.) New York accent, a lot of American - American accent

    CK   Really, is that where you picked up your American accent?

    Mai   Yes, definitely

    CK   Have you… have you lived in the States?

    Mai   No [emphatic], never been

    CK   Wow… [surprised]

Mai   And my accent is very American
                        (Line 1159 – 69, first interview)

The above shows that Mai's accent, at least in her observation, aligns with her favourite entertainment media, mainly from the USA. This relates to the importance of desire and the idealisation of certain situations and societies associated with a particular language (cf. Piller and Takahashi 2006; Section 4.2 above). She criticised Thai soap opera at length (Line 1174 – 1204, first interview) in the same segment of talk. Thus accent remains an identity gate-keeping mechanism but it is curious to see that this could be negotiated through mass media in the contemporary mediatised world (cf. Agha 2011) in the age of globalisation (cf. modernity and mass media in Giddens 1991; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007). This shows that the virtual mediation can also lead to a physical form of identity negotiation and construction.

Lastly, I will return to Mai's introspection and negotiation of her subject positions at personal and public levels. In the excerpt below, Mai uses the metaphor of a chameleon to conclude that she does not have a fixed identity yet:

Excerpt 4. 19

                Mai   [Omitted] I identify myself as… a Thai… [omitted]
                CK   Mmm…
                Mai   But I don't know… who I am… as as on a personal level
                        [intonation up]
                CK   Ah…
                Mai   But on a basic… more level… er as a Thai
                CK   Mmm…

Mai	Who… meet… has to be careful with the first impression
CK	Mmm, hmmm…
Mai	Um… and I can… kind of fit in with a Thai… crowd
CK	Mmm, hmmm
Mai	But I have to be careful with what I would say…
CK	Mmm, hmmm…
Mai	As well as the Western crowd… so, it's almost like a chameleon… you can fit
CK	Uh huh
Mai	You change. You get used to changing… your personality. [Omitted due to unintelligible mumble] like my sarcasm…
CK	Mmm…
Mai	I have to cut that when I'm in a Thai crowd…
CK	Okay
Mai	[I get very too sarcastic… which can be… seen as an insult or rude to other people
CK	Mmm…
Mai	Whereas… if I said that to… an English guy… he'll just burst out laughing
CK	Mmm… hmmm, mmm, hmmm
Mai	So, you you get to act… So, I don't think I have a fixed identity [chuckles mildly]… or maybe I haven't found it yet (Line 1244 – 69, first interview)

Mai began by stating her Thai subject position. She showed her uncertainty about it at a 'personal' level, but continued with her 'being a Thai'. Her observation here is less laden with emotional burden as her prior interview accounts. She knows that she can fit into both Thai and western crowds. However, she is hinting that it is a little more work to fit in with her compatriots in terms of being careful about what she says, in order to not offend anyone in the Thai register and communication norms (cf. Dao in Section 4.2). This infers more sense of moral obligation or communicative burden in Thai, which supports her identification with the Thai national subject position. Her conclusion about identity negotiation is clear: it is about changing in order to fit in, like a chameleon changes its colour to adapt to its surrounding. She stated 'you change' as a matter of fact and emphasised its necessity by adding 'you get used to changing'.

She also discussed this in terms of performativity (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3): 'So, you get to act…'. She offered a temporary conclusion that she does not have a 'fixed' identity or has not found 'it' yet. In any case, her point of reference is her Thai national subject position. This is still influenced by the identity discourses steeped in essentialist, structuralist ideals. Mai's other metaphor about having parents from East and West' in Excerpt 4. 17 above represents her identity as a 'mixture' of Thai and western cultural values and her code-mixed language use in 'Tinglish. This will be further analysed in her social relations in Chapter 6 and 7.

4.6   Chapter Conclusion

The first of the four participants were introduced and their issues of indexicality were examined and analysed in this chapter. This began with the ascribed identities of national stereotypes and how they have been positioned as being 'atypical'. Dao reacted positively because it allowed her to transcend the social complexity in Thai and emerge as an outspoken individual 'according to her personality' in English. On the contrary, Justin felt torn between who he 'ought' to be as per the 'born and bred' discourse of nationalism and his shifted subject positions during the course of his study abroad. Yolanda showed her desire to be 'atypical Dutch' when it came to social phenomena with which she did not agree in the Netherlands. On the other hand, she strongly identified herself as Dutch when it came to aligning herself with certain stereotypes whose moral groundings 'suited her personality', such as being straightforward.

Mai grew up being atypical Thai in her international school environment in her home country, but her being positioned as atypical by her compatriots during her university study abroad on account of her limited proficiency in Thai conflicted with her sense of patriotic pride and loyaty.

Therefore, stereotypes examined ascribed identities through the discourse of nationalism with its binary logic of 'either or' deeply inculcated in the participants' and others' perception of identity. Their use of personal pronouns, particularly 'we' and 'they' revealed their subject positions and the positioning of others (e.g. 'us' versus 'them'). These strengthened the discourse of nationalism. Although the participants' reactions were different, the common ground was their moral alignment with the values inherent in the stereotypes. This showed how their national pride may be fostered and their negotiation agency could be exercised using the discourse of 'searching for a better life' in the age of globalisation.

Issues and emotional pains in ambivalence were expressed in the participants' accounts. Social relations and moral alignment seemed to affect their negotiation. For Dao, this was the conflict between the Thai social hierarchy and her personality. Mai reported coping better in her home country with the support of her family and friends. Justin had good Thai friends but his lack of moral alignment with some aspects of Thai society summoned him to his American subject position. The same can be said about Yolanda. Ambivalence is also about authenticity. Regarding this, language proficiency and accent were non-negotiable indices and

added complexity to it. Nevertheless, the participants creatively negotiated their ambivalence and multiplicity by using code-mixed languages and metaphors in a move towards hybridised identity. These will also be examined in the accounts of the remaining participants in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Negotiating Indexicality Issues (2)

This is the second chapter of data analysis. It will introduce the remaining five participants with their identity issues concerning indexicality. How they negotiated the contested indices of their identities will be analysed using the tools and concepts outlined in the analytical procedure section in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.3), in the same manner as in Chapter 4. The analysis in this chapter should enrich the contextualisation of the data analysis chapters (6 and 7). The chapter will end with a summary and preliminary discussion of the findings to be followed up in Chapter 8.

5.1 Rationale and Overview

The remaining five participants will be introduced with their identity indexicality issues such as: nationality and native language, accent, national stereotypes, socio-cultural interactional norms and moral values. The same procedure as Chapter 4 (cf. Section 4.1) will be applied.

The participants here have the following things in common. The first is their dual nationality; they have two passports or changed their nationality. The second is that their expatriate experience has more substantially influenced their life than the participants in Chapter 4. And consequently, their language-identity indexicality issues are more complex. They will be introduced below with a short biographical summary, how they were

recruited and other relevant information in the following order: Walter, Mansukh, Isabela, Bua, and Lorenzo

5.2   Walter

Living abroad and negotiating his identity have been a theme in Walter's life. He was 'born in Germany and raised as such' (Line 29, first interview) by his German parents and completed his schooling up to the eleventh grade in German. His overseas experience began when his parents, both English teachers, sent him to England for the first eight summers of his life to learn English well. Then Walter lived in Turkey between the age of 11 and 15 due to his father's job. His father chose to live in a Turkish village near Istanbul, away from other German expatriates, which led Walter to become a confident Turkish speaker (Line 75 – 84 and 233 – 239, first interview). Even in Germany, Walter felt accepted as a Turkish speaker amongst the Turkish residents (380 – 382, first interview). Walter then went to the USA for his higher education (Line 55 - 57, first interview) and studied Spanish with relative ease thanks to eight years of Latin he had in the German school system (Line 88 – 89, first interview). He travelled to different countries in Central and South America (Line 91 – 97, first interview). He also studied French at school and learned Thai after his arrival, but he felt that these two languages did not have a large role to play in his education, cognitive development (Line 70 – 73, first interview) and identity. At the time of the interviews, he was in his early forties,

working at a language institute in Thailand and completing his doctoral dissertation in English. I met him in a professional development context.

Walter's identity issues are his dual nationalities and his level of confidence in the languages which index them (cf. Mai in Chapter 4, Section 4.5) in the language-nationality indexicality. During the course of his life, he acquired an American passport in addition to his native German. The issues surfaced at the beginning of the first interview when I asked how many languages he speaks. He identified six: German, French, Spanish, Turkish, a little bit of Thai, and English (Line 7, first interview). The excerpt below captures his lack of assertiveness in his English:

Excerpt 5.1

W	Uh… I speak… [pause] s-six languages
CK	Mmm hmmm, what are they… can you list them for me?
W	[Yeah, German, French, Spanish, Turkish… [pause] little bit of Thai… that's just five… and English [intonation up]… does that count?
CK	Yeah, of course [chuckles], of course it counts
W	[Okay, so, English, six, yeah, okay, there's six
CK	[All right, good, um… and how would you rate your uh fluency in in any one of them uh which one do you feel
W	Mmm
CK	[The most comfortable or fluent or proficient in
W	Uh:m… [pause] well, probably English at this point, I would say English is would be number one I would… the cons'… yeah… I would consider myself rather fluent in English (Line 3 – 16, first interview)

Walter speaks English fluently without a noticeable accent. In fact, I would not have known that it was not his first language had he not told me so

when we first met. Walter's pause at the beginning of the above excerpt could be due to a number of reasons, from being in an interview situation to really needing some time to recall all of his languages in his language expertise. However, the overall interview data strongly suggest that he was actually hesitating to give an answer. This is already seen in his question above 'does English count?' and the short pauses in his last turn of the excerpt with the words 'well', 'probably', 'would', 'yeah' and 'rather'.

As mentioned above, Walter learned English at an early age, speaks it as a native speaker, completed his tertiary education in it and was even writing his doctoral dissertation in English. Therefore, the words typically indicating hesitation about his English and his self-evaluation as 'rather fluent' in his last speech turn above indicated that this was his identity issue. Immediately after the above excerpt, he said that he was less fluent in German 'because of the errors that keep creeping in', especially in writing (Line 18 - 22, first interview). German is his native language (Line 37, first interview) and he is conversationally fluent in it (Line 41, first interview), but he said that he is not confident in his reading and writing proficiency (cf. Mai in Chapter 4, Section 4.5) despite the fact that he completed his primary and secondary education in it.

Despite his lack of assertion, Walter' subject position is that of an 'English-speaker' (Line 554 – 56, first interview). He cited his education as the main reason, having gained greater proficiency in terms of control of vocabulary, ease of expression (Line 655, first interview; cf. Mai in Chapter 4, Section 4.5) and formal register in academic and professional contexts.

English was the medium of his learning and vehicle of his cognitive and meta-cognitive development (Line 581 – 594, first interview). Through his education, he also gained 'cultural concepts' which shaped his outlook on life (Line 541 – 543, first interview) and his sense of self. This made his German subject position remain in the background. His asymmetrical proficiency in English and German affects his positioning in the discourse of nationalism (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5). This is further compounded by his accent. Although American, his accent could not index a particular geographical location in the USA which became problematic. These indexicality issues gave rise to ambivalence (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5; Chapter 4) and will be analysed below.

Ambivalence impacts Walter's sense of who he is. It is something with which he has been living and expressed it as a 'matter of fact' in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 5.2

CK	And what about your identity, you know, when people ask you, 'who are you?', w-what's your standard answer?
W	Well, I mean I have two passports. I have a German passport and an American passport
CK	Ah
W	[Which… gives me an additional flexibility to not being able to… belong anywhere
CK	[Ah, okay, yeah…
W	Uh:m, so what what'd I say what… I pretty much tell them that, I mean you know, I'm a dual citizen
	(Line 204 – 211, first interview)

Walter's reference to 'passports' rather than nationalities reveals his attempt to cope with the ambivalence. The words 'well, I mean' at the beginning of the excerpt refers to the fact that his nationalities are imposed and non-negotiable in relation to how he feels about who he is. The words 'pretty much' and 'I mean, you know' in the last turn of his speech above evidence his necessity to resort to strategies to cope with what appears to an impossible discursive force to negotiate in the 'born and bred' myth instilling the 'infallible sense of belonging and pride' amongst its subjects. The coping mechanism is seen in his remark: 'an additional flexibility to not being able to… belong anywhere'. The word 'flexibility' has a positive connotation and could mitigate the pains of ambivalence in the feeling of not belonging anywhere (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5). The word 'able' above demonstrates his agentive presentation of self to deliberately stay neutral to cope with a non-negotiable positioning situation.

Further along the first interview, Walter's coping strategy led to negotiating the non-negotiable using other available discourses to identify himself as a creation of different cultural components. He stated that he is 'just a mix of everything' (Line 224, first interview) and preceeded to elaborate on it as below:

Excerpt 5.3

> 'So, the Turkish culture with its (.) potential hot-bloodedness or thick-headedness [CK chuckles]… er together with the German… idea of stoicism and doing thing for… you know, themselves and not for anything else, as well as the American idea of creativity, and

> uh… and and looking at larger concepts an' and following them if (.)
> that is your greater purpose… all of this has basically… er created
> who I am an' and how I act.' (Line 276 – 280, first interview)

The above statement sees Walter positively embracing the different cultural influences on his synthesis of self. It epitomises multiplicity in the discourse of multiculturalism. The prefix 'multi' refers an amalgam of static cultural categories. It is not automatically equated with hybridity (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5), but his words 'all of this has basically… created who I am and how I act' above demonstrate a hybridised view, along with his preceding statement with the use of the word 'mix'. This presents Walter as an international individual, which is in line with the macro discourse of Global Citizenship in his upbringing. It was Walter's parental desire: 'I think they really just wanted to raise me as a world citizen' (Line 181, first interview). Walter added with some humour that he may have been a 'social experiment' (Line 188, first interview) and indeed, its side effect is the chronic feelings of ambivalence. Walter said that his first eight summers in England made him different from his classmates in Germany and made him feel that he did not really fit in German society (Line 161 – 163, first interview). However, he was reconciled with this: 'my parents made me feel comfortable with … the fact that I was different or they were different from everyone else' (Line 169 – 170, first interview). The support from his family validated their discourse of 'being different' in 'search of a better life style'. This led Walter to develop a German subject position in a paradoxical but complimentary way: 'So I never felt… very close… to… any other Germans and since Germans are very well individualistic anyway… [pause] it kind of in eh that sense I was very German' (Line 172

– 173, first interview). Such is representative of Walter's identity issues. To further examine this phenomenon, his identity struggle in the USA will be analysed below.

Walter had two main identity issues in the USA: accent idexicality and national stereotypes. Walter discussed that accent was an essential identity marker in the USA and although he speaks English perfectly and has a U.S. passport, he admitted with some resignation that he was never really accepted as an American. His accent failed to index a specific geographical location within the USA to perform a 'born and bred' credible American. In the excerpt below, he discussed how he was constantly recognised as 'out of state' state:

Excerpt 5.4

W   Yes, they just see you from out of state
CK   [Bursts out laughing] Okay…
W   That's it, yeah
CK   But they don't doubt the fact that you're an American
        [intonation down]?
W   [Pause; breathes in] Well… if they're that perceptive
        [exhales]… and they dig… [sighs] yeah… I mean but then…
        [pause]
CK   Mmm…
W   You know, then if it comes down to the passport issue, then
        it's…
CK   No, but just you know, without (.) knowing all the background
        information
W   [Oh no, they doubt that
CK   Yeah…
W   [Yeah, yeah, so I was never considered American while I
        was there, yeah I was just
CK   [Never or even
W   Never. No, nev'
CK   Ah, w-why is that, sorry?

> W   Well, because… [slight hesitation] my accent. I mean, I was
> always… I-I never really fit in there, you see
> (Line 329 – 343, first interview)

Walter was positioned as from 'somewhere else' within the USA or at worst, a non-American on account of his accent. Accent turns out to be the non-negotiable index of identity and an impassable gate-keeping mechanism of national and regional identities (cf. Llamas 2010; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Giampapa 2004: 209; Chapter 4, Section 4.5). His fluency in English, his American passport, and cultural and moral alignment -- he fitted in with his 'mind set' (Line 345, first interview) -- could not validate his presentation as an American. What he needed in his 'identity kit' (cf. Gee 1999 cited in Miller 2004: 292) was a specific American accent to place him in a specific geographical location within the USA to evidence his Americanness in the 'born and bred' discourse in the American soil, to perform a 'credible' American who 'could be recognised as such' (Gee 1999: 18).

In the USA, Walter was also positioned by negative stereotypes associated with Germany. Immediately after the above excerpt (5.4), he discussed an incident when a car dealer in his state complained about the economic situation in the country and vented his anger against foreign cars, including German cars (Line 347 – 366, first interview). Walter felt discriminated but dismissed it as part of living abroad. However, he was living in one of his two passport countries. Walter concluded in what appears to be part of his coping strategies: 'But (.) you know, that happened and that's what it is' (Line 368, first interview)'. This was

underscored by the fact that he encountered these types of incidents at other times: 'Well, basically, as a German it happens everywhere […] Because I mean you know, the the 'Heil Hitler' comes out wherever you are' (Line 372 and 374, first interview). Walter's comment revealed the necessity for him to have a set of coping strategies to live with the historical 'German baggage' associated with one of his passports. His sighs, pauses and hesitations in the preceding segment of his talk suggest the underlying emotional pain associated with indexicality issues and the limit of his identity negotiation prospect.

Walter's indexicality issues underscore the importance of his coping strategies to negotiate what he can possibly negotiate against the gatekeeping mechanisms of nationalism discourse. Having the 'flexibility to not belong anywhere' is one strategy to cope with the pains of ambivalence, allows him to position himself outside of the essentialised national identity discourses to play out the subject position of 'world citizen'. And although he did not explicitly state, living and working in a 'third' country such as Thailand, amongst international expatriates, is another negotiation strategy to locate his own niche to maintain his subject position of world citizen in a more cosmopolitan discourse.

This section examined Walter's identity indexicality issues with regards to his dual citizenship, asymmetrical proficiency in English and German, accent and negative. The next section will examine how Mansukh, a

transnational migrant, uses different languages, varieties within a language, code-switching and accent in his identity positioning.

5.3 Mansukh

Mansukh was 19 years old at the time of the interviews and was studying for his BA degree in Singapore. His identity indexicality issues are in his nationality, ethnicity, languages and migrant background. His nationality is Thai but at a glance, he will be taken for a young man from northern India. He was born and raised in Thailand until he went to Singapore for his university study. He identified himself as Punjabi even though he never lived in India (Line 89, first interview). He and his family live amongst the 'Indian society', which is an 'immigrant community' that is 'very segregated' (Line 126 – 8, first interview) from the rest of Thailand as well as from the other Indians living there (Line 146 – 175, first interview). His grandparents' generation immigrated to Thailand from India in the 1950's (Line 139 first interview). However, they do not live as 'classical immigrants' (cf. Block 2007: 32), being linguistically and culturally assimilated in their new countries. Rather, they live as 'transnational migrants' (cf. Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001 cited in Block 2007: 33), maintaining their own languages and way of life and keeping in touch with what is going on in India (cf. Line 139, first interview). In fact, they never considered themselves as 'immigrants' or 'naturalised' Thai citizens (Line 126 – 144, first interview). Mansukh did not mix with Thais whilst growing

up, having attended international school (Line 644, first interview) and being looked after by Burmese maids (Line 1020, first interview).

Mansukh's identity issues are further complicated by his ethnicity and its indices. He is Punjabi but his family heritage consists of the Sikh and Hindu religions and cultures going back to his grandmother's time. Mansukh has thus been mixing with both Hindus and Sikhs (Line 176 – 211, first interview) and grew up speaking Hindi, Punjabi and English, including an old variety of English and their unique way of mixing codes such as 'Hinglish'. Mansukh evaluated the level of his languages in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 5.5

CK	[Omitted] how many languages do you speak?
M	Uh… well [emphatic]… I speak (.) supposedly four
CK	Uh huh
M	Well, but (.) three of them I don't do very well, so [chuckles with a mixture of slight embarrassment and resignation]…
CK	Can you list them for me?
M	I um… English
CK	Yeah
M	I am perfectly fluent
CK	Yes
M	Um reading, writing and everything… Hindi, I can speak
CK	Mmm, hmmm
M	I can listen, whatever perfectly
CK	Yeah
M	But I can't read at all
CK	Ah… right
M	It's Thai which I can sort of speak, read, write a little bit here and there to get around, but
CK	Mmm, hmmm
M	Not very well
	(Line 4 – 22, first interview)

The only language in which Mansukh had absolute confidence was English, his first language (Line 28 – 29, first interview) with his assertion 'I am perfectly fluent' above. He speaks it with his mother (Line 75, first interview), who also attended an English-medium international school in Thailand. Despite this, he had a slight pause ('I um…') before he named it which could possibly hint at some uncertainty in his language identity (cf. Walter in Section 5.2 above). After English, Hindi plays an intimate role in his daily life in the following ways: being close to his heart for the entertainment media (e.g. movies, etc.), forging solidarity amongst his family and 'society' members (e.g. through the use of 'Hinglish'), and expressing certain emotions (e.g. 'useful for cussing', Line 78 – 81, first interview). He cannot read or write Hindi, but this did not seem to affect his subject position similar to the way it did in Mai and Walter's cases (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5 and Section 5.2 above). He was not confident in his use of Thai (cf. 'I can sort of speak, read, write…' above) which is practically a foreign language for him (Line 20 – 22; 1025, first interview). His fourth language is Japanese, which he studied as an FL in school but has forgotten since leaving school (Line 24 – 26, first interview).

Mansukh's language-national identity indexicality is complex owing to his ethnicity, migration history and his international school background (although they were not really acquainted, Mansukh and Mai attended the same school). English is his first language but it does not index his national and ethnic identities due to his physical appearance (cf. Justin and Mai in Chapter 4). Punjabi is a straightforward index of his ethnicity

according to the common order, but he cannot speak it too well and like his Hindi, cannot read and write it at all. He can understand some Punjabi through his knowledge of Hindi. Hindi does not index his ethnicity but is the dominant language in his family and community and in their cultural life as 'Indian immigrants'. Mansukh's subject position is thus more 'Indian'. This is in accordance with his transmigrant position in Thailand. He is an 'immigrant' and 'expatriate' in his 'home' country. This is where the demographic identity category based indexicality clearly shows its limit in positioning Mansukh's identity. Mansukh admitted: 'I don't feel very Thai' (Line 642, first interview). He never showed much moral or emotional alignment with the Thai subject position.

Another identity issue of Mansukh lies in his desire to live his life differently than the people in his society and construct a 'cosmopolitan' identity for himself. The interview data demonstrated his highly agentive view of working towards whom he would like to be. This comes from the fact that his moral alignment is not with some of the dealings in his Indian society (Line 249 – 255, first interview). He used a strong language to portray them and expressed his desire to live his life differently (Line 248 – 253, first interview). To construct his desired identity, he draws on the discourses, registers, metapragmatics and sophisticated language use gained through his 'cosmopolitan' education. In addition, he is aware of adjusting his accent and varieties of English (e.g. Victorian, Standard British, Singaporean, etc.) as resources to negotiate and construct his identity.

The issue of accent, however, retains its gatekeeping force and imposes limitations on Mansukh's attempts to negotiate his identity. His default accent in English is American-British (Line 244, first interview) which already distinguishes him from other members of his Indian society. He claims that it resulted from his international school education and the American entertainment media (cf. Mai in Chapter 4, Sectiom 4.5). He pointed to his accent as a factor making him different from others:

Excerpt 5.6

    CK   Ah… so, deep inside, you know, somewhere in your head or in your heart, I mean, what is your identity then?

    M   Um like… er u:h… my identity is… um… neither [Hindu nor Sikh], actually. I don't identify with any of them

    CK   Okay… that's fine, that's fine, yeah…

    M   [Ah… yeah… uh… sort of [??? unclear] aspired something more cosmopolitan than that

    CK   Okay, yeah…

    M   Um… I think first of all my accent and first and all of them [??? unclear]

    CK   Mmm, hmmm…

    M   Like… um… [pause] 'cause I went to uh… well, I went to an international school, but even then, my accent is very… well… sort of more… [tsk] towards the American-British side of

    CK   [Mmm, hmmm

    M   Er um mmm more American-British

    CK   Mmm, hmmm

    M   So in that sense, I also differ […]
        (Line 233 – 246, first interview)

Accent gave rise to his ambivalence in identity, much in the same way as it did for Walter (cf. Section 5.2 above). Mansukh said that even his own father does not understand his English because it is 'accented' and different from the rest of the Indian society (Line 1103, first interview), and that very few people understand his accent (Line 1125, first interview). He

perceives 'cosmopolitan' to be located in neither Hindu nor Sikh side of his society. In this case, his accent serves to distinguish him and work towards constructing his desired identity. It is part of his positioning work with his awareness of the cultural and symbolic capitals vested in the 'standard' American and British accents (e.g. 'Oxford English' or Received Pronunciation). The desire to learn another language for their cultural and symbolic capitals have been documented in SLA (e.g. Norton 1995) and FL contexts (e.g. Kinginger 2004, Piller and Takahashi 2006; Jackson 2008; Kramsch 2009; Dao, Mai and Walter through their parents in Chapter 4). Such desire has been instrumental in expatriates' agency to go abroad summoned by the discourse of 'searching for a better life style' (cf. Dao, Justin, Yolanda and Mai in Chapter 4 and Walter in Section 5.2).

However, Mansukh's desire to construct a cosmopolitan identity for himself has some conflict with his moral obligation towards his family and society. For example, his mother told him to retain his Indian heritage and 'behave like an Indian' (Line 258 – 9, first interview) during his school days. Mansukh's mother was probably speaking from her experience at her English-medium international school whilst growing up in Thailand (Line 1112, first interview). Mansukh did not defy her advice: 'Not that I don't deny that I'm Hin'… Indian (.) actually… I like being Indian as well' (Line 283, first interview). His statement that he 'likes being Indian as well' demonstrates his recognition of his multiple subject positions. He appreciates the refined aspects of the Indian (Line 285, first interview) and English cultures which allow him to be morally aligned with his 'Indian' and

'cosmopolitan' subject positions. Mansukh feels 'more Indian' with regards to certain norms and values in his society (Line 628 – 6, first interview). This is reflected in his preference for the Victorian Age English literature, whose sense of order and morality aligns with the values upheld by his Indian society (Line 291 – 292, first interview). Nevertheless, his multiple subject positions conflict with the expected allegiance to his Indian society, making the question of ambivalence linger.

A further point to be considered for Mansukh's pursuit of a cosmopolitan idea was seen in his his 'aesthetic' bias for certain accents and varieties of English, possibly with his projection of the cultural capital vested in them. For example, he does not like American accent although he watches many popular American television shows (sitcoms) and his accent is British-American (Line 391 – 399, first interview). He prefers British accent because it is 'slightly more refined' (Line 401, first interview). This is supported by his love of the Victorian English Literature, as mentioned above. And while studying in Singapore, he was in a dilemma as to whether he should use the local variety of English, Singlish in solidarity with his classmates or not. He does not rate 'Singlish' as being refined (Line 449 and 532, first interview). His observation is affirmed by his university which encourages its students to use British English for academic and professional purposes (Line 464, first interview). Mansukh is highly aware of the cultural capital in British English which provided him with cultural resources, such as the sayings from the Victorian times, through which to present himself as an erudite and sophisticated individual

(Line 471 – 483, first interview). He subscribes to an online dictionary site build his vocabulary of sophisticated English every day. He can impress those for whom such cultural capital has a value, with an elite flair.

However, Mansukh's aesthetic bias towards British English created a distance between him and his local classmates in Singapore, being seen as a snob (Line 476 – 477, first interview). In order to have more social contacts at university, Mansukh decided to use 'Singlish' with his classmates. Mansukh thus saw the importance of using different varieties of English to negotiate his position in social relations. His decision to use 'Singlish' had a clear purpose, unlike his use of 'Hinglish' which comes naturally as part of his society's discourse associated with such intimate aspects of his life as upbringing, childhood memories and shared culture through entertainment media. Through the use of different varieties of English and code-mixing as sociolects, he comes in and out of different discursive realms or 'life worlds'. His negotiation rationale indicates the significance of solidarity and belonging, which will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

This section examined Mansukh's identity indexicality issues with his complexity in the nationality-ethnicity- language indexicality order. In the next section, Isabela's identity issues will be examined.

5.4   Isabela

Isabela is a multilingual of Columbian origin who was in her mid-forties at the time of the interviews. I met her in a job-alike opportunity. Her identity issues originated in her desire to study English and see the world. During the course of her life, various adjustment issues challenged her ranging from life styles, stereotypes and changing nationality. Even then, her emotional identification remained with her Columbian subject position. I will begin with her language expertise below.

Learning English was instrumental in realising Isabela's desire. She was born and raised in Columbia until the age of 19 and only spoke Spanish (Line 26 and 103 – 104, first interview). She studied French and English in high school and continued with the latter after graduation. During this time, she met a U.S. citizen whom she married. They then went to live in the USA. Whilst there, she earned her BA degree in Spanish and French with a minor in Portuguese (Line 118 and 168 – 188, first interview). She also gave birth to her daughter. Then she earned her MA degree in French and Spanish. She 'truly' became bilingual in Spanish and English around the age of 22 (Line 69, first interview), thanks to her tertiary education in the USA. Her French is 'pretty good' (Line 122, first interview) and she can understand jokes (Line 122 – 124, first interview) thanks to her home stay in France (Line 122 - 124 and 131 – 132, first interview). However, she ascertains that her French is not on the same level as her English (Line 126, first interview). For her career, she has been teaching Spanish at

international schools in different countries which allowed her to see the world. She has been teaching through the medium of English but has also been able to speak French regularly with her colleagues. English has become her dominant language over the years (Line 144 – 146, first interview) through her education, family and professional life.

In the USA, Isabela lived in the Midwest for seven years (Line 679 –681, second interview). She eventually changed her nationality to American because of the hassles she received at airports in the USA due to her Columbian nationality associated with a negative stereotype in drug dealings (Line 683 - 702, second interview). Isabela tells people that her nationality is American, particularly in her professional context (Line 347 – 353, first interview). However, she has never really morally and culturally aligned with many aspects of American society, particularly in the rural, conservative Midwest. Furthermore, years of working abroad at international schools contributed to her no longer feeling 'one hundred per cent Columbian' (Line 5 – 8 and 356, first interview; cf. Excerpt 5.7 below).

Once her desire became reality, Isabela discovered that it also gave rise to her identity issues. She mentioned her identity dilemma right at the beginning of the first interview:

Excerpt 5.7

> 'Ah… well [a short puff of air], regarding my identity, I think uh… I, I
> would like to… see myself […] one hundred per cent Columbian…

because… uh that's what I was born… that's where my parents are from… and…so… my all my feelings are there. Bu:t…I'm no:t [elongated vowel and emphatic]. Um [pause]… because I uh… I lived overseas…' (Line 5 – 8, first interview)

The discrepancy between 'would like to be' and 'but I'm not' one hundred per cent Columbian above is the central theme in her identity dilemma. The paralinguistic features of pauses and hesitations above show her deep-seated emotional conflict. The main issue is in her application of the 'born and bred' myth to her identity duality. She 'should be' one hundred per cent Columbian based on her national, language and cultural identity at birth. However, her desire and agency took her out of Columbia and she feels that she is no longer 'one hundred per cent' Columbian. She has a strong desire to see herself as 'one hundred per cent Columbian' ('that's what I was born'), being loyal to the discourse of family heritage ('that's where my parents are from'). Her use of the connective 'so' in Line 7 above ground her reason in this discourse as to why 'all of her feelings' are 'there', in Columbia. However, she had to negate this seemingly 'infallible sense of national identity by birthright' on account of having left 'there' and moved on with her life. She cited being with people who are from other countries (Line 11 – 12, first interview) and speaking in another language as main reasons for no longer being 'pure' Columbian: 'speaking in another language […] also makes you (.) think in another way' (Line 14 – 15, first interview). This is compounded by the official loss of her national identity at birth.

Despite her identity dilemma, Isabela recognised her identity as a 'mixture' at the beginning of the interviews:

Excerpt 5.8

> 'So…for me, it's a mixture… A mixture uh o:f, uh most… I think I would say… the… American culture because I've been more exposed to it… A:nd… and Latin… being being a Latin American in Columbia…' (Line 17 – 19, first interview)

Her subject position of 'mixture' draws on the notion of culture as an essential component of identity. The word 'mixture' was used repeatedly mentioned in both interviews with an international emphasis (Line 356 – 360, first interview). This will be revisited in Chapter 7.

Isabela's identity dilemma is situated in the discourse of nationalism. I will refer to this discourse as the 'infallible sense of national identity at birth'. In this discourse, duality and diversity do not fit in as it operates on the ideology of authenticity granted at birth. This draws on the myth of 'born and bred' through blood lineage as the ultimate proof of national identity. Isabela's evaluation of her changed national identity, illustrated by her own words in Excerpt 5.7, shows a kind of regret. In the sentence, 'I would like to see myself as one hundred per cent Columbian… but I'm not', the conjunction 'but' strongly demonstrates that reality is not the same as her desire. It expresses her mourning for the identity now lost. As mentioned above, Isabela made the difficult choice to give up her Columbian nationality for U.S. citizenship after being repeatedly harassed at customs

checkpoints in the USA due to her Columbian nationality associated with the negative stereotype of drug dealers (Line 683 - 702, second interview). One incident which particularly upset her was when police dogs jumped at her toddler daughter's teddy bear. Isabela was really furious (Line 722 - 740, second interview). Hence this was a necessary step to negotiate a legitimately difficult negative identity positioning.

Isabela encountered other incidents in the USA which betrayed her expectations. She had a certain image of the USA as a free and liberal country through the mass media which fed her desire to go there. However, when she first went there with her American husband, they lived in a rural, conservative area (Line 27 – 28, second interview) which overturned many of her ideas and expectations. Some local people asked her: 'Oh, how does it feel to be free?' (Line 220, first interview). This bothered her (Line 223 – 225, first interview) and she replied: 'we're freer than here' (Line 233, first interview). Isabela also saw that Americans were not as open and were superficial (Line 7 – 14, second interview). This grew worse with the distribution of gender-based roles in the household: 'women cooked and cleaned and men drank beer and watched television' (Line 67 – 105, second interview). It was a 'hard adjustment' (Line 16, second interview) and she missed her Columbian culture (Line 242 – 263, first interview). This will be followed up in Chapter 7.

Further to her betrayed expectations above, Isabela finds that using English can restrict some aspects of her personal expression compared to

Spanish. She needed to be more careful about what or how she says certain things in American English due to its political correctness (Line 428 – 447, first interview). Isabela gave an example of the perception difference between her American colleagues and herself in which a confident impression of a person was interpreted as arrogant by the former (Line 477 – 504, first interview). Through her life in the USA and working at predominantly American international schools, Isabela is well aware of the socio-cultural norms of communication in American English. And it seems that her American subject position obliged her to take on its communicative burden (cf. Dao in Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Isabela felt that this affected her personality over the years (Line 534 – 535, first interview). This was commented by her sisters: 'you've changed so much… You used to be soooooo … [pause] open and so… fun' (Line 541, first interview). She agrees that English is practical for 'getting things done quickly in meetings' (Line 449 – 452, first interview; cf. Yolanda in Chapter 4, Section 4.4) but prefers to use Spanish and French if she wants to relax, speak freely, joke around and enjoy herself (Line 445 – 459, first interview; cf. Yolanda in Chapter 4, Section 4.4).

Isabela further discussed her desire to keep her Columbian identity in the interviews. Her language use is intimately tied with her reflective positioning and she expressed her concern about losing her Spanish in her current life dominated by English (Line 563 – 590, first interview), making her think in English (Line 624 – 625, first interview). She feels strongly about retaining her Columbianness through her use of Spanish,

including her Columbian accent when speaking English. She said she has to 'have an accent' and would never want to lose it because speaking like an American would be faking her identity (Line 850 – 851, first interview):

Excerpt 5.9

> I   Ah… so, you know… how people say I have an accent? I have to have an accent; I like to have an accent
> CK   Really? [Really surprised]
> I   I like to have an accent because…
> CK   Wow!
> I   [It's just that… that's… that's good because that's me. If I didn't have it… if I if I
> CK   [Mmm, hmm
> I   [Spoke English perfectly like an American, I don't think I would… feel… good
> CK   Huh!
> I   But um… more part of who I am would go…
>   (Line 856 – 865, first interview)

The issue of 'faking identity' was discussed in 'passing for a native speaker' (Piller 2002; cf. Chapter 2, Section 3.2.2). The ideology of authenticity (Coupland 2010: 99) inherent in indexicality seems to be summoning her subject position in this discourse. By contrast, when speaking French, Isabela wants to sound like a native speaker, which would not make her feel like faking her identity. She did not know why this was the case (Line 869 – 872, first interview). This may be due to the fact that she does not have a strong investment in her French subject position and speaking it with an authentic accent demonstrates her mastery in the foreign language (cf. Dao and Justin in Chapter 2). Thus despite her desire to learn English, it was never her intention to develop her identity through it. Spanish is an important index of her Columbian subject position. However, it is Columbian Spanish that is essential to her identity.

She referred to speaking Spanish like Spaniards from Spain as 'faking' herself (Line 915 – 918, first interview). Columbian Spanish also symbolises her connection with her mother, her sisters and her daughter. Certain cultural practices such as being more openly affectionate with family and friends are more conducive in Spanish, suiting her personal tendencies and preferences. Nevertheless, her values and perspectives are more aligned with the ones associated with Spanish in general. She finds solidarity with her European colleagues through her use of Spanish and French and their shared mentality and cultural practice. She feels that she can be freer to express herself in Spanish because 'people are not going to judge me' (Line 719 – 722, first interview). As she gets older, she feels the need to connect more with her native language and culture (Line 953 – 955, first interview) and wants to keep English secondary to Spanish in her language identity (Line 950, first interview).

This section examined Isabela's complex identity issues with language indexicality, betrayal of expectations, stereotypes, political correctness, accent and use of Columbian Spanish. In the next section, Bua will be introduced with her long-term moving back and forth between her native Thailand and USA.

5.5   Bua

Bua has dual citizenship in Thailand and the USA. She was introduced to me by her cousin, Dao, who also participated in the present research (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Her main identity issues arose from her growing up in both the USA and Thailand. Bua was born in Thailand and first moved to the USA when she was two years old. Her parents' divorce in her early childhood led her to commute between the two countries. Her mother spent 35 years working as a medical doctor and her father returned to Thailand to set up a guest house in the early 1980's. Bua stayed with her mother in the USA until about four years of age and again between the ages of eight to eleven. She attended a local school from the third to the sixth grade (Line 131, first interview). Her adolescence was spent in Thailand with three years each in junior high school, high school and college (Line 140, fist interview). She then went back to the USA when she was 19 or 20 to attend university (Line 59 – 65, first interview). Eventually, Bua made the decision to permanently return to Thailand in 2004 to take over the management of her father's guest house. She was in her early thirties with a daughter who was in kindergarten at the time of the interviews.

There are two main identity issues for Bua concerning indexicality. The first one concerns her national subject positions with regards to their positioning in each of her countries. The second one is to do with her bilingual language maintenance, in the use of certain registers and finding

215

apt expressions in each of the languages. The first issue with positioning concerns identity politics associated with being a minority in the USA, and dealing with racial prejudice in both the USA and Thailand. Bua discussed the 'minority' isse at the beginning of the interviews, which turned out to be a recurring topic:

Excerpt 5.10

> Well… you know the main main issue in the States about minority… There's a lot of racism in the States… I don't know about any other part of the world… but… to compare it with Thailand, I think… being a minority there… um… a lot of minority's… uh get a lot of pressure.. from that… issue, but… I don't… feel it that much maybe because I felt… like I also have another home, which is… in Thailand… and um my strong feelings… towards… um… either in Thailand or in the States, I felt… comfortable enough… that… to claim that both of the places are… home… um… because um… uh… I've been there for so long… and um… and uh… you know, I hold the passports and stuff, so… and… I hav'… I-I haven't really come across… any… you know… uh… like a serious issue… about… about the culture itself… So, to me… I love places… I can… uh… I can live in both places…
> (Line 24 – 33, first interview)

Although Bua concluded the above stretch of talk on a positive note with 'I love placese' and 'I can live in both places…', the 'minority issues' of racial prejudice and racism are very close to her heart. She has some painful memories and returned to the topic at the beginning of the second interview (see below). The frequent short pauses punctuating her speech above demonstrated her effort to recall and narrate her feelings and perception. Her ultimate solution to cope with these difficult issues was her 'other home' in Thailand. This clearly gave her the option to repatriate to the country which offered her more advantages and political shelter. In

Thailand, she belongs to the majority of the population and her physical appearance indexes her as Thai. It is regarded as a positive accomplishment to have lived in the USA and speaking English fluently (Line 401 – 402, first interview). Therefore, although she feels comfortable enough to claim both countries as her 'home', her decision to permanently return to Thailand had some advantages.

In the second interview (cf. Appendix C), Bua began discussing the issues of being a minority again. She was studying art and dance at her university in the USA. This led her to meet many African-Americans. This was problematic for two main reasons: Bua's father was against her studying dance, as it was not seen as a 'good thing' in Thai culture (Line 78 – 83, second interview), and in Thailand, lighter skin is preferred (Line 133, second interview). Bua's emotional pain arose from both the general racial problems in the USA and her parents' prejudice agains African-Americans, as shown poignantly in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 5.11

B   … I think um the turning point in my life was when I really… [pause] saw the… the issue of um… [tsk] racism
CK   Mmm, hmmm
B   [Pause] That was hard for me because my my parents were getting on me… for being around them… [voice trailing off as if she was about to cry] [pause] sorry [in a whisper] [sighs] [apologising for crying] and um… I remember [very emotional, fighting back tears] I didn't… I was really um embarrassed and uh… [pause] and uh I felt for my friends 'cause they were my good friends, you know [getting a tissue and sound of paper crumpling]… and [pause] at that point (.) I remember… just being quite confused, you know because

217

um… when I was growing up there in West Virginia, I was young… I didn't really saw that… [pause] I knew [emphatic] (.) what it was like when people will say… like racist stuff but I didn't really… understood it
(Line 96 – 107, second interview)

The above excerpt saw her emotions surge and she was fighting to hold back tears. It revealed one of the most painful memories in the USA narrated in the interviews. The tension amongst the racial minorities in the USA compounded the issue for a young Bua. She was positioned by her parents as studying something 'inappropriate' and being associated with the 'wrong' people. In the tacit mainstream racial discourse in the USA, she was positioned as a minority. Ultimately, Bua's knowledge of eventually returning to Thailand to manage her father's guest house made it easier for her to cope with the issues of being a minority in the USA (Line 27 – 28 and 93 – 94, first interview; cf. Excerpt 5.29 above).

In Thailand, however, Bua realised that she still needs to fight racism for the sake of her daughter. In the USA, Bua was married to a US citizen whose: 'mom is black his (.) or his mom is white his dad is black with a mix of American Indian in on both sides… but… if you see his personality and his issue, he's definitely African-American' (Line 121 – 123, second interview). Her daughter from this marriage faced some racial prejudice in Thailand: 'my daughter… [pause] um she… she's having that issue already here in Thailand… um without knowing it' (Line 126 – 127, second interview). Lighter skin is preferred in Thailand and this is the same effect as the racial issues Bua encountered in the USA. She commented: 'my daughter is came out (.) pretty light, you know, so everybody in Thailand

uh kind of give her compliments of that' (Line 139 - 140, second interview). However, she discussed the perception of some teachers at her daughter's school in Thailand as implicitly harbouring racial prejudice. Bua's daughter's dual nationality and multiple racial background gave rise to her further awareness in racial issues and different subject positions in Thailand.

The second of Bua's identity issues is her bilingualism in terms of the level of language proficiency in English and Thai and the use of certain registers and expressions in each language. These seemed to influence her national subject positions in terms of feeling more secure in them if she could express herself effectively (cf. Mai in Chapter 4, Section 4.5 and Walter and Mansukh in the present chapter). This demonstrates language-nationality indexicality in the discourse of nationalism. However, as Bua has been growing up in both of her countries, there are other factors which contribute to her subject positions and identity negotiation such as the racial issues as discussed above. Bua simply found it difficult to keep up with both of her languages if she did not use them often (Line 5 – 13, first interview). For instance, whilst growing up, she had to relearn Thai and English at different times in her life after prolonged sojourns in each country. Since her permanent repatriation to Thailand in 2004, she has been using more Thai and noticed that she sometimes forgets some English words (Line 11, first interview). This also depends on the topic of conversation or specific situational use of language associated with certain experiences and memories, as she explained below:

<u>Excerpt 5.12</u>

> 'Some words in Thai… in Northern Thai can express how I feel… more… than English, but then… sometimes… I find that English words… American words… can express more of what I'm feeling right then and there.' (Line 170 – 174, first interview)

Her observation that not only Thai but the northern dialect and certain American words can accurately express her feelings indicates her memory of the situational use of the languages and their associated emotions (cf. languages are reflexive in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2 and in Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Her perception is aptly supported by 'more of what I'm feeling right then and there'. She repeated the expression 'right then and there' in the second interview: 'there are certain words in northern Thai that's somehow, when me and my friends talk, we felt like (.) it really… shows what… we feel (.) it really bring out the emotion […] Right then and there' (Line 14 – 18, second interview). Her repeated use of the expression clearly shows her close connection to certain situational uses of her languages. Bua also discussed her translation difficulties, particularly with idiomatic expressions (Line 180 – 242, first interview). She said: 'I can say it [whatever the word] in English but I can't translate in Thai; couldn't find the right words for it' (Line 180 – 181, first interview). Her language issues such as switching back and forth between English and Thai as well as between dialects in Thai (Northern and Central), and her translation difficulties (Line 183 – 244, first interview) influence the degree of comfort or certainty in her national subject positions. However, these alone did not

seem to strongly influence the discursive construction of her subject positions.

Besides Bua's language expertise, her subject positions are also influenced by how she might align herself socio-culturally with the socio-cultural norms and values associated with Thai and English (cf. all the participants in Chapter 4 and 5 so far). During the interview, Bua said: '… if I speak to you in English like this… [pause] I'm totally [emphatic] more like myself' (Line 552, first interview). She explained that she needs to watch her words when she is speaking to a Thai who is older than she is (Line 159 and 554 – 560, first interview; cf. Dao and Mai in Chapter 4). As previously discussed, the social hierarchy in Thai governs the use of socio-culturally appropriate registers and paralinguistic features such as body language (cf. Line 154 – 159, first interview). For example, crossing legs while sitting on a chair or using lively hand gestures would be seen as being rude in Thai (Line 566 – 574, first interview). She is highly cognizant of this and remarked with a sense of humour that she can 'switch from American to Thai' (Line 576, first interview) in her every day interactions:

Excerpt 5.13

B   I-I know how Thai people think… [pause] um… [pause] I'm confident that I know [chuckles]
CK   Mmm, mmm…
B   And I can switch… like… you know… from American to Thai
CK   Okay
B   [I can… I can picture… everything the way they see things… so…
CK   Mmm…

B	I have my… Thai automatic… kind of expression, too, like I go into the Thai mode [laughs]
CK	[Also laughs] Okay…
B	Or… okay, maybe it's… I have this, you know, the atmosphere… like uh an American

(Line 573 – 582, first interview)

The above excerpt shows Bua's multimodality, switching from one cultural mode to another associated with language switch. She learned to do so whilst growing up in her two countries. Nevertheless, Bua said that her personality suits the American mentality better (cf. Dao in Chapter 4, Section 4.2) and said: 'I feel more comfortable… [pause] as an American… being in America' (Line 125 - 127, first interview). This is despite the minority issues she discussed before, implying the overall difficulties with the communicative burden of honouring Thai social hierarchy and other aspects of Thai language and society (cf. gestures and body languages that are perceived to be rude in Thailand above). This is supported by Bua's statement above about knowing how Thai people think. It evidences her Thai subject position which is summoned by Thai discourse of normative communication. This includes her discussion in the interviews about her position as a 'Thai female' and the image of a traditional or a 'normal submissive Thai lady' (Line 111 – 112, first interview). She felt more insecure and afraid to be judged by older Thais in her early twenties. As she was interested in dancing, acting and art at university, the stereotypical image of the lifestyle associated with these caused worries for her parents and relatives (Line 118 – 120, first interview), including the racial tension amongst the minorities in the USA. Bua said: 'It's not hard now since I'm a mom' (Line 116 and 120, first

interview). This new social role of hers and being older helped her establish a more 'traditional' female image in Thai society. Consequently, Bua felt that she could switch better between her languages and cultures (Line 591 – 602).

As a last aspect of her language indexicality issues, Bua's other solution to the duality of her identity is code-switching. She has been practising it with other Thais who shared a similar background. This became the medium to negotiate her identity in her bilingual and bicultural situation in the community of practice with other Thai expatriates, to normalise their collective experience in a hybridised expression of identity:

Excerpt 5.14

B	… If the friends… that are Thai [intonation up]… and they are… kind of bilingual [intonation up]
CK	Mmm, hmm
B	Uh… we would usually… and even in my family with my cousin, we would speak Thai and English, like… in one sentence
CK	So, you would code-switch a lot
B	Yes, a lot
CK	[Yeah, ah… right
B	[A lot, in my family
CK	[Yes
B	[Yes, you know…
CK	And that's… that was normal, for you guys, was it?
B	[It was normal
CK	[Yeah, right [chuckles lightly]
B	[It's normal…
CK	Do you…
B	[Until we come here and we started doing that to Thai people and we…
CK	[Laughs]
B	We realised that wasn't normal [laughs]
	(Line 255 – 273, first interview)

Her perception that code-switching was 'normal' was only positioned as the contrary after her repatriation to Thailand. Her use of the personal pronoun 'we' included other expatriate Thais in a similar circumstance.

One other significant point in indexicality issue is the role 'born and bred' discourse played in her brother's decision to not learn Thai. Bua's brother, nine years her junior, was born in the USA and he refused to learn to speak Thai (Line 388 – 397, first interview). Bua recalled: 'he kept on saying he's American; he didn't wanna learn Thai' (Line 395, first interview). Bua said that she never had this phase. It seems that Bua's brother was summoned by the discourse of American nationalism which includes assimilation expectations (cf. Pavlenko 2004: 43, 49). Bua was practically still an infant when she first moved to the USA, but this discourse never really summoned her, even after she obtained her American passport.

This section examined Bua's national identity issues. In the next section, the last participant, Lorenzo, will be introduced.

5.6   Lorenzo

Lorenzo was the oldest participant in his mid-sixties. He was introduced to me by a long-term European expatriate friend of mine living in Thailand. At the time of the interviews, he was lecturing part-time in English at a Thai

university and was also working on a manuscript, translating his own work from Italian to English. Amongst the nine participants, he was the only one who said that he did not have any identity issues. Nevertheless, Lorenzo has experienced some identity issues whilst growing up in his dual nationality and multilingual upbringing. These will be examined in light of his language use and his identity conclusion as 'mixture' or a product of different cultures and their civilisations.

During the participant recruitment correspondences, Lorenzo first stated Columbian as his nationality. However, he later revealed that his father is Columbian and his mother is Italian. The excerpt below shows his duality and ambivalence:

Excerpt 5.15

> CK […] so who are you and what nationality are you, how
>   did you answer that question?
> L   Well, uh… it it didn't bother me anyway because I said I've f-
>   f' uh… I had an Italian mother and a Columbian father
> CK Mmm…
> L   Uh officially… uh I was the son of a Columbian (.) diplomat
> CK Mmm
> L   So I had uh um… I am Columbian
> CK [Ah…
> L   But I never felt strictly one or the other
> CK Mmm
> L   Because I felt… both [emphatic]
>   (Line 494 – 504, first interview)

Lorenzo began his reply with 'it didn't bother me anyway', sounding well grounded and confident in his dual national subject position. He stated each of his parents' nationalities in a matter-of-fact manner. However, he

identified more as a Columbian on account of his father's official status of diplomat. This was as if his father's profession and diplomatic status authenticated his Columbianness. However, he stated never feeling 'strictly one or the other' and complemented it with 'because I felt… both' in an emphatic tone of voice. This mitigated the feeling of ambivalence.

In the interviews, however, Lorenzo often identified himself as Italian because the topics covered his upbringing and his schooling in an Italian secondary school and university. He named Italian and Spanish as his two 'mother languages' (Line 260, first interview) but in the interviews, he spoke more about his association with Italian. Lorenzo actually grew up in a multilingual environment since infancy. The first language he spoke was German, as he was minded by a German nurse during the first few years of his life in Columbia because both of his parents led a very busy life (Line 266 – 270 and 305, first interview). Sometimes his mother had to speak to him through the German nurse who acted as a translator (Line 270 – 287, first interview). However, she had to leave Columbia and thereafter, Spanish became his 'mother language' (Line 294, first interview). He began writing in both Spanish and Italian at four years of age (Line 305 – 307, first interview). He continued to spend much of his time with other caretakers who were Italian and French (Line 444 – 450, first interview). This had him acquire French fluently, even surpassing his French teacher at school (Line 452, first interview). When he was about ten years old, his parents sent him to a summer camp in the Brittany region of France where he was immersed in French for three months

(second interview). Lorenzo recalled that he had no trouble making friends with French children and participated in activities. Lorenzo also acquired English through a similar language immersion opportunity (second interview). When he was 13 years old, his father's posting took him to Washington, D.C. in the USA. He was first sent to a summer camp in the nearby state and was later enrolled in an American high school for a year. He became fluent in English within a year.

After his sojourn in the USA, Lorenzo was sent back to Italy for the rest of his secondary education and university because his father deemed the Italian educational system to be the best in the world. After having enjoyed 'freedom' at an American high school, Lorenzo resented the Italian system which he perceived to be strict and had many more subjects to study including Latin and Classical Greek. He began studying the classical languages at around age ten or twelve already (Line 672 – 706, first interview). Despite his initial dislike for these languages, they became an integral part of his language expertise (Line 702 – 706, first interview) and led to his becoming 'the product of the classical languages' (first and second interviews) with their cultures and history. He also thanked Latin for his multilingual proficiency (Line 662 – 671, first interview). He later returned to the USA for his MA degree and taught Italian and Latin at universities and high schools in the state of California.

Lorenzo's subject positions were 'sutured' (cf. Hall 1996: 19) to the discourses of the languages in his language expertise. He was confident

about his proficiency in Italian, Spanish, French, English, German, Latin and Classical Greek. He strongly believed that his thoughts, reasoning and cultural identity were firmly rooted in these languages and their cultures which he inherited:

Excerpt 5.16

L   Uh… but I always have… uh uh point of view that is… usually… the result of a way of reasoning which is… that of the… of of the Greek [chuckles]
CK   Mmm
L   Philosopher [chuckles] which… there is no doubt I have inhe:rited [with a strong feeling]
CK   Right
L   Because it's what I have been brought up
CK   Yes
L   I've been fed (.) with it
CK   Mmm
L   So I cannot (.) get rid of it
CK   Right
L   And I'm not [emphatic]… unhappy; I'm very happy
CK   [Mmm, mmm
L   That I had it
         (Line 615 – 628, first interview)

Lorenzo observed that his point of view could arise from a particular way of reasoning in a language. His use of the verb 'inherited' suggests that his belief is in the discourse of 'born and bred' national identity. Not only was he 'brought up' in it but was also 'fed with' it. This metaphorical use of the verb demonstrates the cognitive, cultural and philosophical nurturing of his identity from the Ancient Greek thoughts. Furthermore, he 'cannot get rid of it', as if they are truly 'sutured' to his subject position. His last comment that that he is 'not unhappy' about this birthright heritage shows a slight

resistence to the idea that he was never consulted to be brought up this way. However, as is with most upbringing, individuals do not choose it but are born into it, so his metaphors and logic are consistent with the discourse. He confidently identified himself as a product of the early and modern European cultures, including Mediterranean, in both interviews and the participant recruitment electronic message:

Excerpt 5.17

> L   Uh… I belong to… ultimately I belong to… a uh… say Greek or Roman Judaico-Christian… uh type of culture
> CK   Mmm…
> L   This is… this is my culture. I'm a product of that
> CK   Mmm, mmm…
> L   And you can (.) widen that and say maybe Mediterranean
>   (Line 518 – 523, first interview)

Lorenzo was extremely proud of what these cultures have produced in European civilisation, ranging from the arts to the foundation of today's political systems (Line 565 – 585, first interview). This reinforced his pride in belonging to 'that culture' (Line 654, first interview) as a larger, collective, 'imagined' (cf. Anderson 2006) European civilisation:

Excerpt 5.18

> 'My identity is that of a man of letters and of a historian. A personality formed by the classical studies. I am the result of a Greco-Roman Judaico- Cristian culture, but attracted to other cultures and other Thoughts, especially Buddhism. I guess I have an inquisitive mind as a rounded man of the Renaissance'. (Participant recruitmene electronic message survey 8 July 2008)

Consistent with the metaphor of upbringing in the identity discourse discussed above, he perceives his personality to be 'formed' by the classical studies. His subject position of 'Renaissance Man' is multimodal and hinting at hybridity consisting of different reasoning, thoughts and logic. Simultaneously, he leaves his identity open by showing that his inquisitive mind is attracted to other cultures and thoughts.

Lorenzo's identity negotiation and construction through the use of his different languages will now be discussed. Lorenzo's two 'mother languages' indexed his two nationalities but he had other languages which he claims to have synthesised his subject position of Renaissance Man. Through his study, Italian became slightly more dominant than his other languages (22 – 27, first interview) but he maintained that he feels equally at ease in Spanish and English (Line 29 – 34, first interview). In addition to his predominantly European cultural heritage, he identified closely with the South American sense of humour (Line 912 – 933, first interview). He said that they have 'the sense of humour that nobody has' (Line 918, first interview) which comes into Spanish (Line 920, first interview). However, as far as the interview data are concerned, this was the extent of his identification with his Columbian and South American identity.

Languages just come to Lorenzo' mind (Line 50, first interview; cf. Yolanda in Chapter 4, Section 4.5) and he feels that certain things are better expressed in a certain language simply because that language gives him a better expression (Line 38 – 40, first interview; cf. Bua in Section 5.5

above) or adds 'colour' to a sentence (Line 44, first interview). The excerpt

below portrays the fluid movement between his different languages:

Excerpt 5.19

L	Uh... sometimes I think… of certain things in uh… um… a certain language… because that language gives me a better expression. This is how I sort of… w' work with all of them at the same time.
CK	Ah…
L	There are expressions in each language
CK	[Yeah
L	That really give (.) colour to a sentence
CK	Mmm…
L	Uh that can uh probably are more adequate to express
CK	[Mmm
L	Your thought
CK	Mmm
L	Uh… [pause] And so… I use it because it comes to my mind
CK	Mmm
L	And sometimes in the middle of uh… reasoning, maybe in Italian
CK	[Mmm, hmmm
L	An an expression comes to my mind in Spanish
CK	Mmm
L	Because that's the most adequate way to define, to describe uh… a certain situation, a certain thought
CK	Ah…
L	Uh… a certain person, the quality of a certain person
CK	Yeah
L	This kind of things. Knowing different languages… uh the way I know them
	(Line 37 – 61, first interview)

His description above seems to be a combination of languages being

reflexive (Johnstone 2010: 32; cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5) and drawing on

different discourses that he knows and are available to him. His remarks

'because that language gives me a better expression', 'more adequate to

express your thought', 'it comes to my mind', point to reflexivity of

language modelling expressions indexing certain linguistic structures for situational and contextual use. Lorenzo admitted that sometimes his language transition occurs 'so fast' (Line 106 and 108, first interview) and that: 'maybe you are not really thinking in one language' (Line 110 – 111, first interview). It could be triggered by a particular 'trend' of reasoning (e.g. in Spanish, Italian, French, English, etc., cf. Line 142 – 143, first interview) and specific vocabulary available for specific descriptions or actions in his different languages. Later on in the interview, Lorenzo recognised that his choice of expression in different languages is also triggered by the memories of the use of certain languages in certain contexts which he experienced (Line 248 – 250, first interview). For instance, the words 'colour to a sentence' and 'the quality of a certain person' in the excerpt above evoke imagery, supporting his ability to associate certain words and expressions with ideas, thoughts, his perception and memory. This is similar to the effects of metaphor whose semiotic representations are associated with culture and other shared knowledge.

A conscious aspect of Lorenzo's linguistic transition is seen in his aesthetic preference for certain languages (cf. Yolanda in Chapter 4, Section 4.4 and Mansukh and Isabela in the present chapter). He prefers Italian and French because he considers them as beautiful languages and praised the precision of expressions in Latin and Greek poems and literature. However, English for him was just a 'practical' language. He does not like the sound of it, particularly the kind in the British and

American news programmes on television. He described the accent as 'unpleasant and monotonous' and remarked that 'we are forced to speak it as an international language' (Line 996 – 1153, first interview). Thus his aesthetic view of a language led to his conscious choic of language, agentively advocating his subject position as a cultural product.

Lorenzo further supported his conscious or unconscious language transitions for specific words and line of reasoning by discussing the problem of translation (cf. Bua in Section 5.5 above). He said that each language has certain sounds that act as an artist's material to express himself (Line 815 – 819, first interview). For example, specific Italian dialects such as Neapolitan or Sicilian (Line 75 – 95, first interview), Latin (Line 215 – 224, first interview) and Greek give him very precise words and expressions that are not translatable. He gave an example of a verb in Greek which gives 'the sound of the waves' and said: 'Now, how can you translate that?' (Line 802 – 809, first interview). He said that the moment it was translated, the sound, for example the vowels in Italian and Spanish, is gone (Line 825 – 827, first interview). He discussed his disapproval for translation in general and the personal difficulties he encountered in translating his own work from Italian to English (Line 854 – 868, first interview). The sounds in Italian gave a certain impression in a particular context and he was not able to translate them in English. He said: 'Something is… bo:rn in Italian… it stays in Italian' (Line 876, first interview). This is not to say that he is incapable of translating. Rather, it shows a multimodal view of his language identity in which he perceives

each language as a discursive resource to generate his subject positions which, in turn, become a different medium or colour, in the artist's sense, to let him explore the scope of expressions that are available to him in order to create his unique self expression.

Hence Lorenzo's proficiency in all of his languages, developed through his studies (Line 205 – 211, first interview), allows him to freely and at times unconsciously use his different languages as resources for his identity negotiation and construction. He emphasised the importance of having a good command of each language in order to integrate them well into the overall sense of self: 'you have to speak them well' (Line 197, first interview) in order to go from one language to another smoothly. As analysed above, linguistic structural reasons (e.g. languages being reflexive) may be at work, but his reference to the thoughts and reasoning associated with each language presents a discursive view of languages as identity resources. Lorenzo discussed an interactional view of his language transition in his self-talk, in which he imagines an audience with a specific language use (Line 174 – 175, first interview). His language transition depends on which language his imagined audience speaks. So then, his language transitions do suggest discursive negotiation and construction of his identity. The reasoning and arguments emerging during the course of his self-talk grant him different cultural subject positions (e.g. Greek, Latin, Mediterranean Spanish, Italian, etc.). However, Lorenzo makes it clear that this phenomenon does not leave him with ambivalence in the manner of 'linguistic schizophrenia' (Pavlenko 2006: 3). He

confidently declared that there was no room for confusion in his mind about his languages and identity (Line Line 482 – 485 and 483 and 693 – 706, first interview). He said he never felt differently when speaking his different languages because he has been speaking them since a very young age (Line 16, first interview). Thus he is confident about who he is – the product of different civilisations and cultures, the 'Renaissance Man'. Lorenzo summarised his languages as contributing to his multilingual existence as follows:

Excerpt 5.20

L   Yeah, I think that they all… form… a unit
CK   Right
L   It's… it's all together
CK   Yeah…
L   [Uh I-i-it's me
CK   It's you, yes…
L   It's me… I am [emphatic] the one who speaks different
        languages
CK   Right
L   I-I express myself in different languages
CK   Mmm
L   But… all these languages are part of myself (.) to the… it's
        me. I don't (.) see any distinctions at all…
        (Line 892 – 903, first interview)

Lorenzo's use of the first pronoun 'I' to state that 'I am the one who speaks different languages' demonstrates his conscious possession of the languages and understanding of how they collaborate to serve his cognitive activities. He is himself in all the languages and his identity conclusion is that he is a 'mixture' (cf. the participants' perception in Chapter 4 and 5):

L But in my case, having been brought up with different
   languages
CK Yeah
L Uh… I am myself… in which language… I am myself in all
   the languages
CK Mmm
L I am a mixture…
   (Line 119 – 123, first interview)

Lorenzo's interview accounts have thus shown his versatile use of his languages to construct a multimodal, hybrid identity versed in the richness of cultures associated with them.

5.7 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter introduced the remaining five participants through the examination of their indexicality issues with regards to the research title questions of 'Who are you?' and 'Where are you from?'. The issues that emerged and analysed here are similar to those in Chapter 4. The main difference is that the problems of the participants in the present chapter are layered with further indexical order issues such as: dual or changed nationality, multilingual upbringing and extensive expatriate experiences comparable to the immigrant ones. These include prejudice and discrimination and dexterous multimodality in identity hybridisation. The participants and their 'fellow travellers' in similar circumstances negotiated their identities by resorting to various coping strategies such as: the use of

varieties within a language as socioletcs and dialects for solidarity, and code-switching to claim their own identity in third space. They drew on cultural canons, reasoning patterns, thoughts and expressions to synthesise a 'mixture' identity.

Where negotiation of identity was not possible in their long-term expatriate life, the participants encountered the feeling of ambivalence and its deep emotional pain. Hybridisation as explained above was an individual and collective option, but some also utilised the discursive gatekeeping mechanisms in the ideologically laden orders of indexicality to assert who wanted to be by believing in the 'born and bred' discourse. This was seen in Isabela's agentive action to maintain her native national subject position after having lost it by retaining her Columbian accent and personal preference for Spanish. Here, her identity indices can be said to have been accepted with consent to reemerge as a 'conscious Columbian' with an international background.

The analysis also examined the participants' use of different languages as discourses imbued with socio-cultural norms, values, thoughts and practices as their medium of identity construction. Their aesthetic preference for certain languages seemed to have strengthened their moral alignment in generating their cultural subject positions. Lorenzo saw different words and expressions as 'artist's tools' to creatively produce rich expressions drawing on different thoughts, reasoning and concepts. Mansukh eyed the cultural capital in his aesthetic evaluation of certain

forms and varieties in a language to allow him to construct a cosmopolitan identity. The deterministic view of 'language as reflexive', providing linguistic patterns and cultural 'blue print' to model and index certain identities will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Three participants reported their negative positioning in the USA. This seemed to have been the effect of the discourse of American Nationalism (cf. Pavlenko 2004: 43, 49) including such elements as politically and historically coloured national stereotypes and gate-keeping forces such as accent and racial differences. For Walter, this hindered him from being accepted as a credible American on account of his accent and the historical semiotic link between the expression 'Axis of Evil' in the Second World War and the word 'German'. For Isabela, it was the political perception that her native Columbia is a country full of drug dealers lacking in political freedom. For Bua, it was what being an Asian minority implicated and the tension amongst other minority groups such as African-American.

The issues analysed here will be followed up in Chapter 8. In the next chapter, the nine participants' identity negotiation and construction will be analysed in terms of their social dynamics.

Chapter Six Negotiating Social Dynamics

Building on the analyses of how the participants negotiated their indexicality issues in Chapter 4 and 5 above, the present chapter will focus on their negotiation of identities through their social dynamics. The analysis will focus on the participants' positioning in their significant social relations, namely family, friends and institutional relations. The analytical procedure will follow the outline in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3.

6.1   Rationale and Chapter Overview

One of the main arguments in the present theoretical framework is that identity is social and relational. Therefore, pertinent and significant social relations such as family, friends and institutional relations and their discourses will be examined. These social relations also serve to explain desire, agency and critical experiences in identity work.

First of all, family is a micro social unit in which individuals begin their identity construction and negotiation. It is shaped by socio-cultural norms, values, shared practice and heritage, and different discourses with myths and ideologies. There are specific social roles for its members such as mother, father, son and daughter. These become the starting point for generating individuals' social subject positions in daily social interactions and cultural practice. Families share one or more languages and are engaged in their own identity negotiation and construction. A family also

has a vested interest to maintain and enhance its socio-economic status and life style. To this end, different economic, cultural and symbolic capitals are accessed through their collective desire and agency. Family desire, investment and indexicality and negotiation issues in dual nationality will be examined.

Secondly, friendship can form on the basis of personality compatibility, like-mindedness or shared interests in a community of practice. It represents the human necessity to forge a supportive relationship with other individuals outside of their families to be in solidarity in their greater social community. It can also be formed by other possible factors such as intrinsic inspiration for mutual self-improvement or calculated personal gains. In any case, as family, friends have an effect in affirming individuals' ontology as social beings. The support mechanisms here can be seen in such identity negotiating and positioning mechanisms as audibility (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2, 2.3.3; Block 2007: 41; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) and code-switching (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5; Chapter 4; Chapter 5).

Finally, institutional social dynamics will be analysed. This will focus on social hierarchy and political correctness.

6.2   Family

In this section, parental desires, agency and investment in future to educate their children as internationally-minded people in the discourse of 'English as a Global Language' and 'Global Citizen' will be analysed. It will begin with the accounts of Dao, Mai, Walter, Mansukh and Lorenzo. Then the parental investment in their children's bilingual upbringing with regards to the 'born and bred' discourse of nationalism and indexicality will be discussed through Bua and Isabela's accounts. Then the effects of prolonged overseas sojourn on family relations will be analysed through Isabela's poignant account of having grown apart from her mother and sister 'back home'. Lastly, in the 'other family relations', family and extended family members contributed to the participants' desire, agency and negotiation of identities will be analysed through the accounts of Walter, Mai and Mansukh.

6.2.1 Parental Investment in Symbolic Capitals

Dao, Mai, Walter, Mansukh, Bua and Lorenzo discussed their early exposure to English by their parents (cf. Chapter 4 and 5). This is owed to the macro discourse of 'English as the Global Language' and 'Global Citizen', and their economic and symbolic capitals. According to the former, it takes strong economic powers to maintain and expand their language status as a global language (Crystal 1998: 7 – 8). Once a

language becomes a 'global language', it will possess symbolic and cultural capitals (cf. Kachru's model of the spread of English around the world cited in Crystal 1997: 53 – 54). Out of these reasons, many parents see the benefit in having their children learn English in order to access the capitals for a better future. The sample of the present research is very small, so a hypothesis cannot be generated. However, seeing the developments in globalisation and expatriates' discourse of 'searching for a better life', it can be pointed out that the desire for English as a global language is part of the discourse of globalisation in the post World War II world (cf. international schools and its capitalising on English in Pollock and Van Reken 2001; and Hayden 2006; Sears 2011). The parental desire and agency as revealed in the interview data of the above-named participants will be analysed below.

As mentioned previously (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2), Dao's family was always open to English and its associated cultures (e.g. Western food and mass media entertainment). Dao's father encouraged his four daughters to learn English in their early childhood. He taught them English words. Dao remembers being surrounded by English words at home, even as patterns printed on her bed sheets (Line 151 – 158, first interview). He would also ask them to read English words and find their definitions using a dictionary at home. Her father also preferred to watch American or British movies in English over Thai programmes (Line 171 – 176, first interview). Dao and her siblings attended a Catholic school (her grandfather was a Christian minister; cf. ibid.) where English was taught, which allowed her to

complete her tertiary education through it. She married a Thai national with a similar experience. He also works in an international environment using English. Furthermore, Dao's extended family is also interested in investing in English. Her nephew was sent to Australia in the summer to learn English. And her cousin Bua (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5) and her family lived in the USA for a long time. These help account for Dao's family's investment in English as the Global Language. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2), Dao developed passion for English which led to her career success and job satisfaction. Therefore, Dao's parents' investment in English gave her a social grounding, in both an ontological and practical sense, to foster her subject position of being an 'English Enthusiast' who could successfully utilise the symbolic and economic capitals vested in the language to her advantage.

Walter's parents' desire and agency seemed to stem from the fact that they were both English teachers in Germany, presumably because of what English had in store for them. They wanted him to learn English well since early childhood (Line 161 – 167, first interview; cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2) and realised this desire by sending him to England during the first eight summers of his life. Although this experience made him feel like he never fitted in Germany (Line 159 – 163, first interview; cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2.5), Walter acknowledged that his parents raised him differently with a vision of world citizenship:

<u>Excerpt 6.1</u>

> 'I think they really just wanted to raise me as a world citizen, so
> […A]s as someone who would be open to the world, someone who
> would question what… you know, question the existing… structure
> of things and…' (Line 181 and 183 – 184, first interview)

Walter's response above demonstrates the educational vision behind his parents' intention for him to acquire English through the discourse of 'World Citizen' or 'Global Citizen'. His parents' desire for him to become 'open to the world' and 'question the existing… structure of things' imply instilling critical thinking to examine the status quo, presumably in the post-World War II Germany, to rise above the negative war history and its politics. In one sense, Walter's attainment of 'world citizenship' was reflected in his identity conclusion that he is the product of Turkish, German and American cultures (cf. Excerpt 5.3 in Chapter 5, Section 5.2). However, Walter left the impression in the interviews that his feelings of ambivalence or 'not belonging anywhere' remained in juxtaposition with his world citizen subject position. He said: '[…] my parents made me feel comfortable with … the fact that I was different or they were different from everyone else' (Line 169 – 170, first interview in Chapter 5, Secion 5.2), and the discourse of 'being different' was in Walter's family. Therefore, as in Dao's case above, parental support through the use of certain discourse can legitimise certain ways of being for individuals. Of course, children who become adults will learn to exercise their own agency, but parental influences from childhood through the available discourses in the family are a significant factor in the social relational view of identity construction

in terms of ontology and acquiring the knowledge of how discourse infiltrates the public social spheres.

Mai received all of her schooling in English (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5) thanks to her father's view in gender equality. As a successful businessman, Mai's father saw the importance of accessing the economic and symbolic capitals vested in English for the continued prosperity of their family business. At first, he planned to send his son, a family heir, to a well-reputed English-medium international school (Line 429 – 434, first interview). However, he decided to extend this opportunity to all of his children and her cousins as well. Another participant who was sent to the same English-medium international school was Mansukh (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.3). In his case, it was also due to the fact that his family never identified with their Thai subject position. Nevertheless, from his family's business dealings and economic status, their investment in Mansukh and his younger sister to study through the medium of British English and its educational system clearly point to the economic and symbolic capitals in English. Lorenzo was a son of a Columbian Diplomat (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.6) and the opportunity for him to learn English arose when his family moved to Washington, D.C. in the USA. Lorenzo's father prioritised Italian as having the best educational system. Nevertheless, as Lorenzo himself recognised that English is an international language, the cultural and symbolic capital vested in it was something that he and his family valued in the age of globalisation.

This section examined the effect of parental investment in economic, cultural and symbolic capitals vested in English as the Global Language on the participants' construction and negotiation of identities. In the next section, parent-child relationships will be examined.

6.2.2 Parent-Child Ties

In this section, the social and discursive effects of parent-child relationships will be examined as having a significant impact on the participants' identity work. The anecdotal accounts of Bua, Isabela and Lorenzo will be analysed concerning dual citizenship and bilingualism to provide a social dimension in indexicality issues.

Bua's identity indexicality issues included challenges of bilingualism (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5). This also involved her American-Thai daughter after their permanent repatriation to Thailand. Bua's daughter, Arisa (pseydonym), was around 6 years old at the time of the interviews (Line 280, first interview). She was born in the USA and her first language was English. Bua spoke more English to her when they lived in the USA (Line 282 - 283, first interview). However, since Bua's divorce and their return to Thailand about four years prior to the time of the interviews, Bua became concerned that Arisa was forgetting English (Line 280 - 350, first interview). Bua's concern, of course, was based on her own experience of learning and relearning Thai and English each time she lived in either country during a long period of time (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5).

A significant anecdote here was the time when Arisa got upset when Bua spoke to her in English at her Thai school. In the Thai environment, Arisa did not want to be spoken to in English by her mother. Bua tried to understand this and said that 'she doesn't want me to speak English to her because she can't understand me anymore' with a chuckle (Line 320 – 321, first interview). She was uncertain about how much English and Thai Arisa actually knew (Line 329 and 340, first interview). Bua heard from Arisa's teachers at school that she often helped her Thai classmates during their English lessons (Line 334 – 336, first interview). However, Arisa still preferred not to speak English with Bua (Line 338, first interview).

Isabela reported a similar incident with her daughter, Columbian-American daughter, Felicia (pseydonym). Felicia was born in the USA but Isabela spoke to her in Spanish 'all the time' (Line 144, second interview). This worked out until she began attending a local kindergarten. Felicia looked like 'another American kid' (Line 146, second interview) but only spoke Spanish. In the excerpt below, Isabela talked about Felicia's refusal to speak Spanish with her after being in her American kindergarten for some time:

Excerpt 6.2

> I   [Omission] but she only spoke Spanish and the kids wanted to talk to her but they expected her to be American who speak English and she couldn't understand and they
>
> CK   Oh…

I	Started to treat her, you know badly [??? unclear] and she didn't want to (.) and one day after that, she wanted to be like all the kids, so every time I talked to her in the Spanish
CK	Mmm
I	She'll cover her ears and run away

(Line 148 – 156, second interview)

Felicia's desire and agency to 'be like all the kids' are observed in the excerpt above. English was 'seen as the key to assimilation' in successful Americanisation of immigrants, albeit tacitly (Pavlenko 2004: 49). As a kindergartener, Felicia could not name such expectations or discourse. However, it can be said that she picked up its discursive foce through the socialisation dynamics at her kindergarten. It has been observed that children around this age tend not to want to be different from their peers. It has been established that around five years of age, children are able to modify their language use according to their interlocutors and purpose, which is a kind of sociolinguistic competence important for being a successful member of society (Foster-Cohen 1999: 86). Hence young Felicia's refusal to be spoken to in Spanish, which temporarily ostracised her from her peer group was an act of identity negotiation.

Felicia's refusal to use Spanish was difficult for Isabela to take but eventually, she let go of Felicia's Spanish thinking that she could always learn it again later. However, this was never realised (Line 160 – 168, second interview) because Isabela and her family ended up living in several different countries during most of Felicia's formative education years due to their work at English-medium international schools (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2.7). Isabela expressed her regret: 'And then I can

kick myself for that because…' (Line 174, second interview). Later on, as a young adult at university, Felicia became proud of her Columbian heritage and began referring to her identity as Columbian-American (Line 190, second interview). She expressed her desire to obtain a Columbian passport and learn more about the culture (Line 194 – 201, second interview). Although not explicitly stated, this contributed to Isabela's view of her 'mixture' identity and being 'one hundred per cent Columbian at heart'.

A similar case was also reported by Lorenzo asking his mother not to speak to him in Italian at around the same age as Arisa and Felicia when he and his family lived in Columbia (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2.9). He heard mostly Spanish around him. Thus at one point, he asked his mother not to speak to him in Italian in front of his Spanish-speaking peers. Although these three cases do not form a substantial corpus of data, the participants' accounts are consistent with child language acquisition and socialisation theories (cf. Foster-Cohen 1999: 86). As far as the effects of social relations on identity negotiation and construction are concerned, the young children's refusal to use a different language that their peers do not understand demonstrates the existence of SIT-like peer monitoring mechanism to delineate group boundaries to construct identity through difference.

Next, Isabela's relationship with her sister and mother will be examined as being a 'critical experience' that challenged the sense of who she is. In the

first interview, Isabela discussed how much she has changed as a result of living abroad. Her sister even said that she 'used to be sooo fun' (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.4). She admitted that she no longer had the same connection with them back in Columbia. As she talked about this (Line 298 – 335, first interview), she was nearly overcome by her emotions. The excerpt below immediately follows her account of her reunion with her mother and sister in Columbia, about two years prior to the interview. Although she was happy to see them, it shows her regrets and poignant emotions:

Excerpt 6.3

I	U:m… but sometimes, you know then conversations and things like that, I see that like my sister was so keen to have… me back because in a way, she feels… lonely; she's the only one there [in Columbia]
CK	[Ah
I	And then, I started to feel… guilty: [breathes in] … because I… didn't have… that… same connection [intonation slightly going up]
CK	[Mmm
I	I thought, y'know it was sa:d, but but we we think differently, completely different
CK	[Ri:ght…
I	And so… she's my flesh [sighs and laughs with slight resignation]
CK	[Mmm
I	You know, it is the same blood, you know, the same as my mother, but
CK	[Mmm
I	You change, and it's sad [voice trailing off; Isabela's expression flashed a tearful anguish]… I think it's sad
CK	[Mmm… a bit like growing apart
I	[Ye', mmm… [coughs; almost inaudible, holding back tears] (Line 319 – 335, first interview)

This was the only moment in which Isabela really had to control her emotions during the interviews. Her feeling guilty showed her desire to see the world conflicting with her sister's desire to have her back in Columbia, possibly to help support her mother, indicated by Isabela's observation of her sister's perception: 'she feels… lonely; she's the only one there'. Isabela's guilt was underscored by the fact that she thinks 'completely differntly' from her. The 'born and bred' discourse exacerbated her feelings: 'she's my flesh' and 'it is the same blood, you know, the same as my mother'. These words reflected her positioning grounded in the discourse of blood lineage. As Isabela wished to see herself as 'one hundred per cent Columbian' follows a similar logic, but her feeling differently from them could not be changed. This contradictory reflective positioning in the 'infallible sense of national identity by blood lineage' gave her an incredibly hopeless feeling of non-negotiability of her subject position. Ontological reason being one thing, the significance of family and their emotional connection and support must be recognised in interactive positioning and identity negotiation process.

In the next section, Walter's relationship with his grandfather and Mai's relationship with her sister will be analysed.

6.2.3 Other Family Relations

The second interview began with the participants' significant event which led them to become who they are today (cf. Appendix C). For Walter, it

was the time he spent with his grandfather who cultivated his interest in different languages and cultures:

Excerpt 6.4

'[Exhales] I first became interested in… different languages a:nd also in different cultures (.) not only when my parents took me to England, but when… my grandfather started living with us.' (Line 1 – 3, second interview)

Walter's grandfather was living on his own and his parents invited him as they did not want to send him to a senior citizen's home. He had a fascinating life history. He fought in the First World War at age seventeen and lost one of his legs below the knee. He then went to the place known as Palestine today and worked in a school for the blind. There, he met his grandmother. Walter heard other interesting stories from him and also learned some Arabic words. They undertook many activities together, just playing, doing homework or telling stories. Walter had much respect for him and wanted to be like him when he was older (Line 13 – 15, second interview). His presence complemented Walter's parents' will to raise him as a 'world citizen'. Walter explained his grandfather's impact as follows:

Excerpt 6.5

'A:nd… um… it really was crucial to defining who I was today, as for Question Three [cf. 'Narrative Interview Guide for Participants' in the Introduction] in so far as it shaping me… because I knew what I was supposed to do because my parents tried to teach me well (.) and exposed me to the overseas… various overseas experiences but… [pause] they somehow I was not able to see as clearly what it

252

had done for them as I could (.) for my grandfather.' (Line 17 – 21, second interview)

Walter's grandfather helped Walter understand his parents' vision in the discourse of 'world citizen' by offering a perspective from a different angle. Walter emphasised his appreciation for the way his grandfather opened his eyes by constantly showing him that things can be interesting despite their appearances (Line 313 - 316, second interview). This led Walter to open up to learning English:

Excerpt 6.6

W	I had no interest in learning because I didn't see the need [slightly emphatic] to learn
CK	Ah… okay
W	I didn't… see the need to rush I didn't the need (.) to be in a foreign country [England] and then speak [stops firmly]
CK	Mmm
W	To these people because they didn't seem interesting to me
CK	[Lets out a chuckle]
W	Until my grandfather came… into view and he… was the one who exposed me to the va:rious interesting facets that didn't come… they weren't apparent initially
CK	Mmm, hmmm
W	By looking at someone until you then flushed out a story and told me what was going on
CK	Mmm, hmmm…
W	Then I realised people could look very boring but can still have led very interesting lives
CK	Mmm, mmm…
W	That's when I started to, you know, lowering my filter and said hey… [pause] what's going on here in England… what can I learn and how can I speak (Line 285 – 300, second interview)

The above excerpt reveals the eye-opening moment for Walter and the significant role in which his grandfather played. His affective 'filter' was

high in the FL context, lacking interest in the 'other' who did not look interesting. His grandfather showed that interesting stories can be 'flushed out' of people and this somehow triggered his desire to explore beyond people's surface appearance. Walter's interaction with his grandfather seemed to supply a variety of previously unknown discourses and subject positions to Walter and served as a discursive space for him to negotiate his subject positions along with the family discourse of 'being different' and 'world citizen'.

In the second interview, Mai talked about accepting the use of 'Tinglish' with her sister as a claim to their collective hybrid identity. The background to this is her ambivalence and being positioned in the 'No Man's Land' of identity during her university study in the UK (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5). The excerpt below shows Mai's realisation, in the company of her sister and her friends, that 'Tinglish' is a form of identity negotiation to legitimise hybridity in their 'community of practice' as international students:

Excerpt 6.7

Mai	But when I went to see my sister, it was the best
CK	Mmm…
Mai	And there was a lot of international school students there as well
CK	Mmm…
Mai	A:nd… so we… it's all right to speak Tinglish [chuckles]… half-Thai, half-English
	(Line 259 – 263, second interview)

Mai's acceptance of 'Tinglish' was a healthy way out of her ambivalence. Having reconnected with a family member in the UK who knew and

understood her well, this was equivalent to a 'coming home' experience. It allowed her to reconnect with her unique past of being an international school student. This subject position did not find a suitable discourse amongst Thai expatriates and her local UK classmates. It found a home with her sister who shared the same educational background and this allowed her to position herself more easily in the discourse of hybrid identity, also in the company of other international students at her sister's university in the UK. Thus findint the right discourses for her subject positions was crucial for Mai's construction of identity and her sister's discursive realm helped to facilitate it.

This section examined the participants' discursive construction and negotiation of identities through their significant family relations. In the next section, friendship will be examined as another set of significant social relations in the participants' identity work.

6.3   Friendship

Friendship is another significant form of social relations that could influence negotiation and construction of identities. In this section, friendship as solidarity and belonging will be analysed with membership positioning factors such as audibility.

Justin's Thai friends helped him establish his niche and feel at home in Thailand through his various social circles (Line 216 – 262, first interview;

255

cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3). They helped him gain access to more 'insider' knowledge of Thai society and mentality. This was also an important time of growth in Justin's life, attending university in a foreign country on his own away from his family and friends back home. He summed up his experience as: '… So, it almost feels like I do have a home here' (Line 422, first interview). His acceptance by his Thai friends was demonstrated by audibility. Audibility is known as the 'right to speech' and the 'power to impose reception' (cf. Bourdieu's work cited in Block 2007; Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). It is considered as an important aspect of language identity and is a form of positioning (cf. ibid.). Justin observed that his Thai friends understood his Thai but he could not be understood by some other Thai nationals, even though he was speaking correctly in terms of grammar and vocabulary usage (Line 194 – 200, first interview). He recalled: '… when you're talking to someone they're looking at your face, they automatically feel something that clicks in their mind but they… they're not… hearing Thai? [Chuckles] Even though, they a:re?' (Line 195 – 197, first interview). His Thai friends confirmed that Justin spoke Thai correctly but agreed that the other side was not expecting to hear Thai coming out of the mouth of a foreigner, especially Caucasians whose appearance did not index Thai speakers (Line 199 – 200, first interview). In this anecdotal account, Justin reiterated his appreciation for the supportiveness of his Thai friends: 'Friends are… ve:ry supportive… we're very supportive about learning Thai' (Line 218; also 222 – 223, first interview). He commented that: 'They they treat me… like one of their friends […] You know I'm one of the group…' (Line 415 and 417, second

interview). This had a deeper impact on his feelings towards his life in Thailand: 'Yeah, it's in some ways it's a second home in Bangkok' (Line 422, second interview). As can be seen from both Justin and his friends testimonials, audibility is not just an achievement in SLA but a form of positioning in social dynamics. It can strengthen group consciousness and in this case, solidarity and mutual support.

The word friendship can encompass different kinds of support and affinity towards one another. Yolanda (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4) discussed her friendship with a man whom she had known for years. She began her second interview about this. It was quietly emotional, as their relationship ended with his death about a year prior to the second interview. Her account showed her agency and projection into the future.

Yolanda began the second interview (cf. Appendix C for the interview schedule) with a reflection on her relationships with people, particularly with her 'friend' (Line 5, second interview) Hendrik (pseudonym) and why it did not work out. She used the word 'friend' but it was evident in her account and my earlier conversations with her that she was more emotionally involved with him. They had known each other for 18 years (Line 289, second interview). Her reflection proceeded in psychotherapy-like self-evaluation of her desire to become more tolerant of other people and accept them as they are (Line 2 – 20, second interview). She called it a 'eureka' moment (Line 31, second interview). Towards the middle of the

interview, she returned to the topic and this time, expressed her desire to start something new and change:

Excerpt 6.8

Y   Well, I think that now it's pa'… about time to move on… and
CK   [Okay
Y   And in a different way
CK   Mmm, mmm…
Y   Yeah… to… to… uh… get out of that… you know, same routine
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Y   That I had for many years
CK   Yeah
Y   I think it's about time… I change
CK   Mmm, hmmm… and you want to
Y   [Yeah… yeah
CK   Move on and do something… different
Y   I want to move on… let go of what happened and what has happened and… uh start a new life… start a new… way…start… start… yeah, start again
       (Line 259 – 272, second interview)

'It's about time to move on' is a familiar canon of agentive proactiveness portrayed in contemporary entertainment media (cf. the concept behind the 'self-help' literature in Chapter 2, Section 2.3) as well as in some classic works of literature. Yolanda's desire to 'get out of that… same routine' that she had for 'many years' is an agentive statement in the discourse of 'searching for a better life'. Her reiteration about moving on towards the end of the above excerpt, along with 'it's about time… I change' and 'let go of what happened and what has happened' desmonstrate her desire to seek catharsis for her regrets and unresolved issues. These and 'start a new life… start again' are also canons of contemporary 'do-it-yourself' self-help discourse in 'search of a better life'

and other related discourses of modernity. Her deployment of these projects promises of change in future. Her desire to do so was reiterated later on: 'Yeah, I-I I'll leave it open, and… but I'm open for a change' (Line 293, second interview). Her introspection and reflective positioning as an agent of change emerged from her account of a critical experience which was her relationship with Hendrik which ended unresolved due to his death. As seen in Walter and Mai's supportive family relationships above (cf. Section 6.2.3), social relations can sometimes introduce discourses with a catalytic effect for negotiating and constructing identities. The emotional impact associated with this is perhaps as strong as the ontological belief and its strong emotions in the discourse of nationalism. This demonstrates how significant relations, be they family or friends, can impact and steer the course of on individuals' negotiation and construction of identities with agency and projection into the future.

This section examined the importance of friendship for solidarity and belonging. Supportive social relations can instill the sense of 'home' or belonging in individuals. Significant relations can also bring about catalytic self-realisations about the next course of action to take in life. In the next section, the participants' institutional relations will be analysed.

6.4   Institutional Relations

In this section, the discursive forces in institutional relations such as social hierarchy, social class and political correctness will be examined as factors influencing the participants' identity work.

As discussed previously, both Dao (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2) and Bua (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5) felt that they had to be very careful when speaking Thai due to the hierarchical social structure linked with the use of language and embedded in registers. Their communicative burden is grounded in the moral obligation of their subject position as Thai nationals. By contrast, speaking English made them feel more comfortable in their work and private life. This may be because their subject position as English speakers was not summoned by the same discoursive moral obligation in the hierarchical relations in Thai. To further probe into this point, how Isabela felt restricted in the American discourse of political correctness will be analysed and compared.

Dao's subject position as a Thai speaker is inevitably connected to her other subject positions such as her institutional and social roles. Dao located certain linguistic elements in Thai to illustrate her point. For instance, social roles and positions within the hierarchical structure in a particular social unit are used to address people in the polite register (Line 113 – 142, first interview). This is rarely the case in English, in which the personal pronoun 'you' is commonly used, unlike in specialised institutional contexts such as the monarchy or military. The pronoun 'I' can

be used by ordinary peope without being seen as self-centered and egotistical. However, institutional roles are used in lieu of personal pronouns in Thai, indicating a clear chain of command (Line 125 – 142, first interview). For instance, in parent-child conversations, children will address their parents with their social roles, e.g. 'Mom' and 'Dad'. Parents generally also address each other as 'Mom' and 'Dad' and will refer to themselves as such (Line 127, first interview). Similarly, at work and in other institutional interactional contexts, people in superior positions will be addressed by their roles such as 'teacher' or 'director'. According to Dao, this is how the social hierarchical relationship is maintained in the Thai language and culture. The institutional roles are fixed in the hierarchical order and cannot be negotiated with Thai registers. This is why she believes that 'everyone is so equal' in English (Line 138 – 142, first interview) with the use of the 'neutral' personal pronoun 'you' not associated with the role names and the social meaning embedded in them. Her use of English thus allows her to inhabit the discourse of egalitarian social relationship professed by the discourse of political correctness (cf. Justin's view of the USA being more egalitarian below).

As previously analysed in Chapter 4 and 5, both Dao and Bua claim that their personality is more compatible with their self-expression in English. They refuted the stereotypical image of a quiet or 'submissive Thai lady' through their use of English and its discourses. 'Being Thai' discursively locked them into the stereotype from which they wanted to disengage but lacked the discourse to achieve it. Dao observed that: 'English puts more

confidence in me' (Line 190 – 191, first interview and Line 47 – 48 and 129, second interview). She asked to be transferred to the international college where English was the official language of interaction. And the confidence she gained through her use of English helped her speak up her mind in Thai, which she has been advising her students to do the same (Line 188 - 193, first interview).

Relating to social hierarchy, Justin discussed a 'little problem' with his Thai girlfriend's parents at the beginning of the second interview (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3). His girlfriend was Chinese-Thai. This ethnic minority usually occupies the affluent upper class in Thai society (Line 61 – 62, second interview). Justin observed that these people 'consider themselves to… t-to be above… others… now I don't think they mean harm by that' (Line 67 – 68, second interview). Justin's dilemma was that not only did her parents refused to meet him on account of his being an 'American teenager' (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3) but she refused to socialise with his Thai friends from lower social classes (Line 75, second interview) and rural areas in Thailand (first interview). She also did not like his Thai friends with darker skin. Justin recalled: 'Um… my girlfriend won't go with me… she might feel uncomfortable with all these non-… u:m [tsk]… [pause] non-… Thai-Chinese… higher society types?' (Line 88 – 89, second interview). Justin said that this sort of behaviour would be considered 'politically incorrect' in the USA (Line 103 – 107, second interview) and that where he came from, 'It'd be perfectly acceptable to talk to someone who is not… the same profession as you […] Or even status… […] Or income level, I guess' (Line

598 – 602, first interview). Justin also noted the social class and status difference between those in the capital city and the provinces (Line 614 – 615, first interview). Thus Justin found it difficult to align himself with certain socio-cultural phenomena in Thailand, which led to his 'confusion' or at times ambivalent feelings about his identity (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3).

The discourse of political correctness had a different impact on Isabela's feeling about using English will be analysed. Unlike Dao and Bua, Isabela had a different opinion about her use of American English. She felt that she had to be very careful when speaking English, in the discourse of political correctness, particularly at work. Her subject position as American was likely to be summoned by it, just as Bua and Dao's national subject position had the effect on them. Isabela felt more compelled to conform to the socio-political interactional norms in American English due to her institutional role and relations at work and her living and working amongst Americans for more than half of her life.

Thus the perception of English differed considerably between Bua, Dao and Isabela. What the analysis here seems to have revealed is how the participants' subject positions are influenced by their alignment with the moral values inherent in the discourse of national identity. The moral obligation summons its subjects to comply with the socio-cultural norms and values in the discourse. Conversely, if the participants did not have a strong national subject position in one of their languages, then they

benefited from the emancipator effect from the use of another language as discourse to circumvent the social taboos and communicative norms and obligations in negotiating a different subject position.

This section examined the institutional relations and their discursive forces influencing the participants' negotiation of identities. The overall chapter conclusion will be given next.

6.5   Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, how the participants negotiate and construct their identities in their various social relationships was analysed through the subject positions taken in different discourses operating in their social interactions. Family relations and their influences were examined first with a focus on: investment, bilingual and bicultural identity, and providing moral support and encouragement. This was followed by the analysis of friends as providing another type of support through solidarity in group belonging. Finally, the institutional use of language in terms of social hierarchy and political correctness was analysed. Social dynamics are governed by the dominant norms and values in dominant discourses and structure of each language to a large extent. These influenced the participants' positioning in relation to the use of a particular language. Support from family and friends proved to be vital for certain catalytic, agentive positioning for the participants. Social relations proved to be vital for identity work and the findings from this chapter will be further elaborated in Chapter 8.

In the next chapter, the participants' interview accounts are threaded into identity narratives with a structure of how they began their life as an expatriate, the adjustment issues and critical experiences as the middle part, and ending with a temporary conclusion of who they are.

Chapter Seven: Constructing Narrative Identity

Chapter 7 is the last of the four chapters of data analysis. Here, the participants' identity themes and issues analysed in chapters 4 – 6 with the chapter titles beginning with 'negotiating' will be examined under 'constructing' identity, through the narrative framework across time and space.

7.1   Rationale and Overview

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, narrative has been recognised as an organiser of experiences to give meaning to separate events in individuals' life. In this chapter, salient concepts of narrative as a form of discursive practice will be applied to weave together the participants' fragmented events and perception into cohesive identity narratives. They are emplotment (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3) and self as 'narrator'. Emplotment will allow the examination of the participants' identity 'themes' and issues and how they have reached a temporary conclusion. The 'beginning' will recapture their desire and decision to go abroad. The 'middle' will examine their critical experiences in terms of their agency, positioning and introspection. The 'end' will examine the synthesis of their temporary identity conclusion. The concept of the participants as 'narrator of their own identity story' will examine introspection of their identity

issues, shifted subject positions and positioning including the context of the present interviews.

Although the nine participants' identity narratives differ considerably, they share certain points in common. In the 'beginning', their desire to enhance their life style and see a different 'world' will be analysed in terms of learning another language and enhancing their career and life style. In the middle, their critical experiences will focus on the following: 1) the first time abroad, 2) moving between two countries and 3) culture shocks 'back home'. The 'ending' will all be temporary, as identity develops ongoingly throughout an individual's life on a continuum. This will be analysed in terms of their concept of 'home', belonging and 'mixture' identity with a hint of how they would like to see themselves in future.

7.2   The Beginning: Desires

In this section, the starting point of the participants' expatriate life, the desire to go abroad, will be examined in terms of learning another language and enhancing their career and life style. From the data analysed in chapters 4 – 6, these were inspired by the discourse of globalisation, 'searching for a better life somewhere else', and 'world citizen' for enhanced life style and fulfillment.

7.2.1 The Desire to Learn Another Language

As seen in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3, desire is discursively mediated. In the present data analysis, desire was seen in the following ways: 1) improve life style by finding means to do so; and 2) personal development in terms of gaining different perspectives and knowledge. Therefore, acquiring another language is seen as the beginning of the expatriate identity narrative with desire and agency. Acquiring another language also widened the scope of available discourse and subject positions to negotiate and construct identities. For instance, subject positions generated in another language is known as Target-Language (TL) mediated subject position (Block 2007: 148), and study abroad and adult migrant contexts (cf. Block 2007) provide the 'critical experiences' which bring the question of identity to the fore.

Dao loves English and it was instrumental in allowing her self-realisation and fulfilment (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2). The discourse of English as the Global Language introduced English to her family as a valuable language. As seen in Chapter 4, she pursued ways to improve her English which led to her present career success. Her desire to major in English became the turning point in her life. She began her second interview with it because it featured her desire and agency against her parents' wish for her subject choice of study at university. Even though Dao's father was the one who encouraged his daughters to learn English, majoring in it at university was not as valued as studying those subjects which led to jobs with a higher

social status and remunerations such as engineering, pharmaceutical industry, business and management, etc. Her family members shared the general perception that languages and the arts are the 'soft' options. Her sister compared these subjects to a 'doll' and the natural sciences and mathematics to a 'lion' or 'the king of the jungle' in academia (Line 13 – 15, second interview). Nevertheless, Dao told them that she 'loves English so much' (Line 20, second interview) and would do any career that would use English (Line 23, second interview). She decided to pursue her decision to study English and worked at proving herself that she was really good at it (Line 26 – 27, second interview; cf. Section 7.2.2 below). Thus for Dao, her desire to learn English was strongly connected with her view that it allowed her to express herself freely to 'suit her personality'. This subsequently influenced her post-graduate study and career path which saw her go abroad.

In a similar vein, Isabela discussed her desire to learn English when she was still in Columbia, as she saw it as a language that would allow her to travel and see the world, which has been her dream since childhood (second interview). Incidentally, this led her to meet an American, whom she married, and she went to live in the USA with her husband. However, her desire to see the world was not fulfilled in the rural, conservative part of the country where she lived. She then discovered a job fair for teachers to work at international schools scattered literally all over the world. This finally took her to live and work in several different countries. Therefore, her desire to learn English was instrumental in attaining the object of her

desire, which was to see the world beyond her native country and its life style.

The attraction of learning a language other than English for personal enrichment through travelling was discussed by Justin. His first sojourn in Thailand was during his high school time on a language exchange programme (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2). Later, by chance, he met someone from Thailand who inspired him to go there for his BA degree. Justin pursued it instead of seeking admission at well-known universities in the USA. His desire to learn Thai and study in Thailand gave him an opportunity to live his life differently than most of his peers. His desire was likely to be the result of growing up in what he called an 'artsy', intellectual community in the USA where some graduates of such elite academic institutions as Harvard and Oxford chose to settle. For Justin, learning Thai and having Thai friends changed his life (cf. Chapter 4 and 5).

For the other participants, their desire to learn another language and go abroad was mainly transferred from their parents. Their desire and agency to learn a language were not as evident in their account as was the case for Dao. They accepted and followed the life style instigated by their family's investment in English through its global language status and discourse and appreciated the outcomes. However, if passion was an indicator of their individual desire and agency, then it did not match the level exhibited by Dao towards her pursuit of English (cf. Section 6.2.2

below for a further discussion). The desire to enhance life style will be analysed next.

7.2.2   The Desire to Enhance Lifestyle

As discussed before, expatriates are summoned by the discourse of 'searching for a better life style somewhere else'. This is also influenced by the 'do-it-yourself' self-help discourse of modernity to proactively seek one's own fulfillment. Thus these are simultaneously macro and micro discourses, macro in terms of globalisation and personal in terms of medium to articulate desire and exercise agency. They can generate subject positions accordingly. They begin the expatriate identity storyline.

Yolanda decided to split her time between her native Holland and Thailand in her mid-forties in 'search of a better life somewhere else'. She discussed her disappointment with the 'aggressive' Dutch society, financial concerns and other issues associated with life there, particularly in urban settings (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4). In sum, she saw her international, expatriate life style with her ability to use different languages as 'upgrading' herself (cf. ibid.). In Thailand, her life style was enhanced in terms of being able to afford household help. Her 'maid' was like a 'friend', with the additional benefits of keeping her company and providng cultural knowledge (first interview). She also appreciated the tolerant mentality amongst the Thais (cf. ibid.). 'Tolerance' extended to things like never

getting traffic tickets for offenses with which she would not have gotten away in the Netherlands (ibid.). Therefore, moving to Thailand had several advantages to enhance her life style.

Lorenzo also had a similar personal motive as Yolanda to establish his residency late in his life in Thailand. His friends recommended northern Thailand as a culturally interesting region shaped by Buddhism where he could discover interesting cultural artifacts, sites and people. Incidentally, it became the last station in his life's journey, as I learned that he passed away there about a year after the second interview was conducted.

Life style enhancement for Isabela happened gradually during the course of her expatriate life. Her desire to travel and see the world (second interview) was fulfilled when she began teaching at international schools abroad. This happened after her first overseas experience of living in the rural Midwest in the USA for about seven years, which did not meet her expectations of America. She taught in the Middle East and South Asia prior to working in Thailand, where she had been living for more than 10 years at the time of the interviews. Although living in different countries can be inconvenient or stressful, she and her family benefited from some expatriate privileges at international schools (e.g. expatriate salary benefits at competitive international schools in Pollock and Van Reken 2001; Hayden 2006, and general 'upgrading' of life style as per Yolanda's account above) to which she did not have access in Columbia or the USA.

For Dao, studying abroad and obtainining her doctorate in English resulted in being promoted at work after repatriation. This was not only a career enhancement but also an improvement for her overall sense of well-being. It was as if English gave her a sense of 'ontological security' (Giddens 1991) in her negotiation and construction of identity. Dao always stated that English suited her personality (cf. Chapter 4 and 5). For example, when she was initially assigned to a predominantly Thai-speaking part of her university after obtaining her MA degree in the USA, she reported that her confidence went down (Line 131 – 138, second interview). She thought she could not speak her mind in Thai. After a year, she decided to exercise her agency and asked to be transferred to the international section, where she would be teaching and doing administrative work in English. She requested: 'I would like to improve my English' (Line 142 – 143, second interview). Her transfer not only fulfilled her immediate career objective but also led her to take the decision to permanently work there, as shown below:

Excerpt 7.1

D	So I moved there… And when I f' f'… well, I I kinda fell in love there, you know… if… I feel really… that's me
CK	Mmm…
D	You know… Adminis- administrative work [intonation slightly up]
CK	Mmm
D	Um… using English, you know improve my English, you know learn from my bo:ss… And… um and that's why… again, because I felt it was so right over there
CK	Mmm, hmmm
D	And I decided to work at [her university]… for the rest of my life

CK   Mmm

D   [You know, because I feel like… I'm not going to go anywhere… [a quick breath in] you know, this is like what I want, what I would like to do

    (Line 155 – 166, second interview)

The above is a small segment of narrative beginning with 'so I moved there' as the starting point of this story, developed with '… and that's why… again, because…', culminating in the plot climax 'And I decided to work there… for the rest of my life', and ending with 'I'm not going to go anywhere… this is like what I want, what I would like to do'. Her expressions above demonstrate her emotions and convictions: 'I kinda fell in love there'; 'I feel really…'; 'that's me'; and 'I felt it was so right over there'. The words 'kinda', 'really', 'so' and 'like' are all intensifiers emphasising her conviction in her subject position to present a credible identity story of an individual inhabiting the discourse of 'do-it-yourself' self-help. This narrative presents a positive ending of Dao attaining a kind of ontological security as a 'Thai' silenced by the 'Thai discourse' with its social hierarchical register. Her personal expression was emancipated by 'English as the Global Language' (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.4). Her identification of who she is in 'I feel really… that's me' at the beginning of the narrative serves as the thesis statement for the storyline logic, followed up by concluding statement of having found the answer in her decision to work there 'for the rest of my life' as a kind of summative homecoming experience. This draws on the classic story ending of finding what she was looking for in her identity plot: '[T]his is like what I want, what I would like to do' (Line 166, second interview). Thus her desire and search for an enhanced life style was narrated in this small narrative using the available

discourses as plot lines in her overall identity narrative across the two interviews.

The other participants' desire to enhance their life style was not explicitly discussed in the interviews. However, the parental investment in learning English and other languages and having had the opportunities to go abroad, it can be inferred that the discourse of 'searching for a better life somewhere else' has its effects on their remaining as expatriates or choosing to work in an international setting (e.g. Bua's guest house in northern Thailand attracts many foreign travelers).

This section served as the beginning of the participants' identity narratives. The next section will begin with the 'middle' part of identity plot development with their critical experiences.

7.3   The Middle: Critical Experiences

A plot needs to develop in a narrative and it usually does so at the expense of the protagonist's trials and tribulations. Adjustment issues in the participants' identity narratives will now be analysed as their critical experiences which contributed to their identity negotiation and construction. Different subject positions were generated in response to different critical events, and sought discourses to 'take them somewhere'. Critical experiences can only take on meaning through an organising

structure such as narrative. Here, the concept of 'self as narrator' and emplotment (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3) are important. Events and associated subjectivities are narrated by the present-day individual looking back on himself/ herself as 'another self' in another time and place. Emplotment occurs when the present self-as-narrator evaluates the different events and their feelings and perception in light of a theme or quest to produce cohesion and sense out of them. This is a process to seek an understanding of the otherwise disparate events and fragmented memories. Emplotment relies on consistency in accordance with the theme and its available plot lines. It should not force meaning upon the subjective interpretation. Rather, it should deduce meaning from different storylines and its social, relational patterns without being overly set in existing storylines. It needs to check for credibility and reliability of the narrator's subjective interpretation with regards to the social, relational nature of producing knowledge and understanding.

This section will analyse the participants' critical experiences as follows: 1) the first time abroad, 2) moving between two countries, and 3) culture shock back home.

7.3.1 The First Time Abroad

Mai's SA experience in the UK provided her with a few challenges. It was her first time living abroad *and* away from her parents and other family

members. On one hand, Mai appreciated the freedom she gained in the process, such as going around to places on her own and having her own bank account (Line 1107, first interview). On the other hand, she felt lonely at times, especially during the school holidays when 'everyone goes back home' (Line 1089, first interview). She wondered: 'oh, what am I doing here?', 'What's the purpose?' and began faulting things around her (Line 1096-9, first interview). She referred to this as 'having too much "me time"' (Line 46, second interview). However, this offered her an introspection opportunity to reflect on who she is. In the excerpt below, Mai demonstrates her 'self-as-narrator' in evaluating her experience as part of emplotment:

Excerpt 7.2

> Mai   Um… I think it was crucial… in defining myself in the sense that… uh I had more time to myself
> CK   Mmm…
> Mai   Because I think when you are (.) in school… and then you're doing sports and you're going out with friends… you don't have time to just sit and think… uh which is weird… and then, I had a lot of 'me time', which was almost too much…
> (Line 41 – 46, second interview)

Her reflection 'I think it was crucial… in definint myself' above demonstrates her subject position as narrator of her own identity negotiation and construction story. After the above excerpt, Mai recalled: 'I did find out a lot about myself' (Line 56, second interview). This was followed up with her reflection which was in line with the social relational view of identity. She discussed the challenge of going to a lecture hall with

277

200 other students. This was an adjustment from high school, where she was in classes consisting of no more than 25 students at a time. Finding 'people I chose to be friends with' (Line 56-57, second interview) was based on sharing some commonalities. Mai recalled: 'when I start to see.. what is it that I have in common with my friends, then I start realising more about myself' (Line 60 – 61, second interview). Therefore, the combination of her 'me time' and her search for people who shared some things in common with her facilitated much introspection of her identity.

Another thing that Mai realised about her position in the UK was that she was in the minority. Actually, this was also the case in her overall Thai national subject position at her international school in Thailand, whose admission policy capped the host country nationals at 33 per cent of the total student body. However, she did not perceive it as such, for out of the 50-plus nationalities, Thais still represented a proportionately large contingency and being in her own country, she was part of the majority when she stepped outside of the schoo gate. Her being positioned as a foreign student in the minority of the student body had another dimension:

Excerpt 7.3

> Mai   [Omission] I think about the language and identity, that's when I realise (.) how different… I guess… 'cause I didn't have a problem with English language… apart from the fact that I sound (.) American … [chuckles] uhm… whereas my identity, 'cause I've studied at international school for so long… I've gotten used to… being exactly who I am and not having to worry about it at all
>
> CK   Mmm…

Mai   And suddenly, when I go to England, although I'm meeting
        all these people from (.) with different nationalities, which I'm
        used to
CK   Mmm, hmmm
Mai   It's actually very different 'cause… I've become the minority
        instead [intonation slightly up]
        (Line 14 – 23, second interview)

It was previously analysed that her international school alumna position made her a minority amongst expatriate Thais in the UK as well (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5). Thus her being a minority consisted of her being a foreign student in the UK university, and being a minority in amongst the expatrieate Thais in the UK, especially in the eyes of the 'proper Thais'. The indexicality issue of accent may have compounded her perception as well. Thus Mai's first time abroad experience was crucial for her to negotiate her subject positions in relation to her Thai, UK and international peers.

Isabela's first time abroad was an encounter with the reality different from her imagination of the USA (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.4). Her desire to learn English was mediated by such discourses as 'American the Land of Opportunity', 'America the Land of Freedom' and 'America the Land of Democracy' propagated through the mass media and other literatures. When she went there for the first time with her American husband whom she met in Columbia, they lived in a rural, conservative area (Line 27 – 28, second interview). The betrayal of expectations for Isabela in the USA was intensified by the changes she observed in her husband once they were in the USA. She said he was 'more like a Columbian guy' in Columbia (Line 60, second interview) but became 'just like all the other American people'

back in the USA (Line 62, second interview). She felt that the social scene was more conservative in the USA than in Columbia because men and women would do things separately, such as women going out on 'ladies' night' and men watching sports on television and drinking beer. And she observed that there were distinct household roles and chores for each of the sexes, such as women cooking and cleaning up at Thanksgiving dinner and men watching football on television and drinking beer (Line 67 – 105, second interview; cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.4). This was not in alignment with her social view and she was disappointed.

The most difficult adjustment event for Isabela was when she was expecting her daughter:

Excerpt 7.4

I	Yeah and then also… I got pregnant… after a while… when I was there… and that was… that was the hardest
CK	Right
I	That was [??? unclear] the thing because I think all the things that I wanted to… [tsk] ignore… [tsk] then my my mother also my mother was going to come and… um when I was going to… have my daughter
CK	Mmm, hmmm
I	And I'm very close to my mother… but at the end, she couldn't
CK	Mmm
I	So that was really, really… hard… and I started to… tha:t's when I started to feel… you know lonely or maybe uh scared about the change I'll have I was going to have a baby… and
CK	Yeah…
I	Uh I'm not even sure if… if… if this is the life I want, so I looked a lot, oh my god, I'm in Iowa… [starts chuckling] (Line 114 – 128, second interview)

In this short narrative segment, Isabela began her story with the presentation of the problem in the available 'identity saga' plots including the known 'crises' in life such as 'birth, adolescence, marriage, procreation and death' (May 1967 cited in Polkinghorne 1991: 148; cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3). Moving to another country, going through culture shock, and any one of the above crises are all familiar to the expatriates' identity narratives. Her thesis statement about being pregnant as 'that was the hardest' above is well supported by the fact that her mother from Columbia could not come and be with her at the time of her daughter's birth in the expatriate narrative. Isabela's disappointment that this was 'really, really hard' is evidenced by the fact that she is 'very close to [her] mother' and 'I started to.. that's when I started to feel… you now lonely or maybe uh scared about the change I'll have'. 'I was going to have a baby… and yeah…' demonstrates her angst in the face of the imminent change to her social status and its associated moral obligation, compounded by the earlier disappointment she expressed in American society and her husband's conformity to it. This can present her story as a moral alignment challenge to her national subject position in the context of the expatriate identity narrative. She doubted her decision to come to the USA: 'I'm not even sure if… if… if this is the life I want'. Her repetition of 'if' three times with pauses in between reinforces the seriousness of her reflection. The same question was asked by Mai in her critical introspection of her identity when she felt lonely in the UK (see above). As did Mai, Isabela 'looked a lot' at her situation, possibly to look for an answer, and realised: 'oh my god, I'm in Iowa'. She recalled this with a sense of humour. This has a

281

meaning for those who know the Midwest and its general tendencies in the USA. At the end of this short narrative, Isabela was able to look back on it as narrator with a little sense of humour, indicated by her chuckling. In this case, the interviewer (the present author) knows the Midwest from her SA experience at university, and as this information was shared prior to the interviews in informal conversations, Isabela's remark was received with due empathy. Thus the narrative did not present an answer for 'the hardest' experience of living abroad for the first time for Isabela, but it concluded with her justification of her perception by linking her problem to the place and its socio-cultural context. This could be considered as the eye-opening, insightful moment in introspection, leading to the next catalytic action to change the course of her life in the cathartic inhabiting of the self-help and 'searching for a better life somewhere else' discourses.

Both Isabela and Mai doubted the choice they made to go abroad when things betrayed their expectations in their original desire. They felt scared and lonely. Their experiences proved to be critical experiences for their identity narrative, having an important plot development function.

7.3.2 Moving Around and Searching for Home

The participants' interview accounts of moving between their country of origin and their new countries revealed different ways in which these experiences impacted their identity plot line development. One issue that

arose from this was identifying themselves in terms of where they belong, as per the title question of the present thesis: 'Where are you from?' Hence the idea of 'home' and belonging will be analysed as part of their critical experiences (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). As discussed in Chapter 2 (Sectin 2.3.1), the concept of place is significant for discursively constructing identity in terms of belonging (e.g. 'imagined communities' in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3). It is influenced by the discourse of nationalism in which one's origin and is tied to the place of birth in the birthright myth. As we have seen, this discourse is powerful in summoning its subjects to take positions within its parameters. The participants referred to 'home' both in the physical and abstract sense. This demonstrates the discursive aspect of constructing belonging in terms of its physical and institutional facet represented by the 'born and bred' discourse and its emotional side reified by the old adage of 'home is where your heart is'.

Justin felt that Thailand became his second 'home' in the company of his supportive Thai friends (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.3). However, moving back and forth between Thailand and the USA during his school holidays became a taxing adjustment issue. This became a critical experience in negotiating and constructing his identity as a bilingual and bicultural subject. During his first and second year at university, he returned to the USA once or twice a year (Line 348, first interview) during the summer vacation. At first, he was excited to be home with his family and friends. After some time, however, he began missing Thailand. And after returning to Thailand, he would miss his family back in the USA (Line 355 – 364,

first interview). In his third year, he felt the stress of the adjustment between two distinctly different ways of life he was leading in both places:

Excerpt 7.5

J	Um… I did I did notice a change towards third… and this year and that… the time spent between wanting to go back to that place and wanting to be in a new place…
CK	Mmm, hmm
J	[Got… drastically longer… to where I… [tsk] [breathes in] remember being in Thailand between visits to my family… and friends
CK	[Mmm, hmm
J	[In the U.S… for almost a year and feeling that you know, I'm not really ready to go back and do this again [intonation going up]
CK	[Mmm, hmm
J	[I want to, but it's almost too soon… and felt like… uh
CK	Almost too soon… um… can you explain that a bit more?
J	Well, it worked the same way when I went back working for two months
CK	Mmm, hmm
J	A:nd… I was about to go back to Thailand… and felt the same thing… it was almost… too soon to be… jumping between countries
CK	Ah, okay… alright
J	[Felt like jumping between too much (Line 366 – 382, first interview)

In the excerpt above, Justin is introspecting his feelings from the past as narrator of his own critical experience. This is indicated by: 'I did notice a change' and 'I remember'; and the use of the passive construction: 'the time spent…' and 'wanting to be…'. His use of the adverb 'drastically' to describe how 'long' the time spent in each country felt in anticipation of the eventual move leads to his identification of the problem causing his emotional stress: 'I'm not really ready to go back and do this again'. Cross-cultural and linguistic adjustments can be emotionally stressful (cf. Pollock

and Van Reken 2001; Kanno 2003; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Hayden 2006; Pavlenko 2006; Block 2007; Kramsch 2009; Sears 2011; Kang 2012). As previously mentioned (Chapter 4, Section 4.3), Justin worked very hard to learn Thai and break into the way of living in Thailand during the course of his undergraduate study. This experience led him to develop new subject positions, shifting from 'foreigner', 'American', 'atypical white American teenager' (cf. ibid.), to being 'one of us' amongst his close Thai friends. However, his metaphor of 'jumping between countries' above demonstrates the magnitude of his adjustment stress. His perception that it was 'too soon' to be 'jumping between countries reflects the adjustment toil of inhabiting a set of subject positions in Thai language and culture, and inhabiting others in English and American culture. This is almost as if he was experiencing 'linguistic schizophrenia' (Pavlenko 2006: 3 - 5).

Thus Justin's anxious anticipation of returning to the USA can be seen as an imminent threat to the stability in his dual linguistic, cultural and national subject position. The discourse of nationalism does not allow for his negotiation of this position to legitimise his hybrid identity. A sense of disunity in narrative is said to cause disintegration of self-identity (cf. Polkinghorne 1991: 149 – 151). Hence the adjustment issues between his two countries are Justin's critical experience in the negotiation and construction of his bilingual identity.

Bua felt 'at home' both in the USA and in Thailand because she grew up in both countries (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5). However, she discussed the issue of being in the racial minority as a critical experience. She found consolation in the fact that she had another home, Thailand, to negotiate her minority subject position, as she explained below:

Excerpt 7.6

B   But… I still felt like… [tsk] um… when I go for like job interviews and stuff… I I I am cautious that I'm Asian… um… [pause] I don't think… but I don't think I really worry about the issue [intonation up] for… maybe for the reas'… for the fact that… I knew I always have to come back to Thailand

CK   Mmm...

B   Everything was… would be just for a certain amount of time [intonation up], you know

CK   ['Cause you still have your Thai passport

B   Yes

CK   [Right, OK

B   And I knew I had to come back to help dad with the guest house

CK   Right

B   So, I'm always like… I just kind of like… OK, well, I know I'm Asian, but… are they going to hire me [intonation up]… but I wasn't really like 'oh, I'm Asian' [a sad voice], you know…
(Line 500 - 511, second interview)

Bua's knowledge of having another home country outside of the USA put her in a privileged position to evade racism. This was in her affirmation: 'I don't think I really worry about the issue', 'I knew I always have to come back to Thailand', 'everything… would be just for a certain amount of time'; and her repetition of the fact that she had to return to Thailand to fulfill her family obligation. This was a great advantage, for Bua discussed her painful memories associated with racial prejudice and racism in different

parts of the (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.5), which was reflected in her frequent pauses, rising intonation and a sad tone of voice in the above excerpt. Thus her 'other home' could discursively liberate her from her non-negotiable identity as an Asian minority citizen in racial politics in the USA.

Although Mai was feeling insecure about her Thai subject position on account of her Thai being less proficient than her English (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5), using Thai and Tinglish became mechanisms of belonging and finding a 'symbolic' home for her. She admitted that there were many differences between her and other Thais in the UK (Line 102, second interview) but aknowledged that: 'I felt so much more at home… when I'm with the Thais…' (Line 105, second interview) on account of using Thai (Line 106, second interview). This included the 'familiarities of hearing Thai', sharing jokes and talking about their favourite Thai food (Line 108 – 110, second interview). She said: 'that make you realise as if… you're not away from home…' (Line 113, second interview). Her 'epiphany' happened when she realised how much she missed Thai in the UK:

Excerpt 7.7

    Mai   […] the funny thing is I didn't know that I was homesick
    CK   Mmm, hmmm
    Mai   Until I met the other Thais
    CK   Ah…
    Mai   It's really funny 'cause I was with these two for two months
            uh I barely spoke Thai…I was… it's really cool… I-I got to
            know these girls and they were really nice and I didn't know I
            was missing anything… then I went down and saw all these
            Thais and although I wasn't close to any of them, it was

> like… [pause] wow, I miss this… A:nd I started to have… er
> once a week, I go downtown to meet these (.) Thais, um…
> and the more… and then suddenly, at one point, suddenly, I
> cried [voice as if stifling tears]
> (Line 179 - 188, second interview)

This narration shows the necessity for emplotment to synthesise meaning in 'random' observations and accounts. Although Mai represented the most introspective 'self as narrator' amongst the participants, her 'talking' will not lead to her understanding of her experience in the absence of any theme or plot to render it as a cohesive story which can be interpreted. The purpose of 'talking' has been emphasised in the significance of narrative identity construction in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1 and 2.4.3). For example, she may have been down playing her emotions by beginning the above segment with 'the funny thing is' and 'It's really funny'. However, at the end of the above account, no sooner than the words exited her mouth, she found herself fighting back tears. Mai was otherwise very confident and cheerful during the interviews. Her reporting of 'I cried' in the past triggered the same emotion in her present self. As if she sensed her emotional surge, she built it up with 'and then suddenly, at one point, suddently' to introduce her emotional event of crying. Thus her 'it was funny' and previous statement about not feeling very Thai due to her international school background (Line 638, first interview) demonstrate the fact that she never realised that she had multiple subject positions about her identity and was tormented by the lack of discourse to endorse her hybridity in understanding who she was. Mai's conclusion 'I linked being able to speak Thai to being at home' (Line 206, second interview) a little after the above reinforces her acknowledgement of the significance Thai

language played in her identity negotiation and construction, despite her previous insecurity in it. Earlier, she discussed her positioning 'atypical Thai' by 'Proper Thais' in the UK on account of her Thai (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5). Further in the second interview, Mai discussed visiting her sister and making new friends with like-minded Thai students at her university. That was when she concluded that it was 'OK to use Tinglish' (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3). Therefore, Mai's subject positions of 'Thai speaker' and 'Tinglish speaker' could be generated through the discourses of 'multilingual international school alumni' and 'world citizen' which are part of the emplotment for her unfolding 'multilingual expatriate identity' storyline in the present research interviews. It allowed her to find her symbolic home in her use of Thai and Tinglish, both at her international school and in the UK.

Walter's view of home became more practical based on daily living needs rather than on a feeling of belonging during the course of his life involving many cultural and linguistic transitions. His ambivalence and the 'flexibility to not belong anywhere' are reflected in his view of home below:

Excerpt 7.8

W	I mean you know as as many times as Third Culture Kids you're not at home anywhere, so
CK	Right… yeah, so how do you feel… uh uh regarding that, I mean, where's home for you?
W	[inhales deeply] Well, home used to be where the heart was but these days, home is just where [sighs]… you know, where there's a lot of food
CK	[Laughs]
W	And it's not good food, but should be at least a lot of it… and um… you know and a bed, basically… so, it's

```
CK    Mmm…
W     You know
CK    So, wherever you are at the moment
W     Yeah
      (Line 192 – 203, first interview)
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His subject position of 'Third Culture Kids' (TCK; Pollock and Van Reken 2001) is used to justify the fact that 'you're not at home anywhere'. This is linked to his identity position of having the 'flexibility to not belong anywhere' and his pains of ambivalence (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2). His reduction of home to a place with 'a lot of food' and 'bed' reflects his resignation of 'not being abe to belong anywhere' in the discourse of TCK and Adult Third Culture Kids (ATCK; Pollock and Van Reken 2001). This is understood in the interview as social co-construction of knowledge, as the present interviewer is also an ATCK. Therefore, my 'putting words into his mouth' above by supplying the conclusion that 'home' is 'wherever you are at the moment' is shared and appropriate knowledge in the discourse. Walter's critical experience had a discourse to justify his ambivalence, and the 'flexibility to not belong anywhere' was a positive view to construct his identity. As the last of the critical experiences in the middle part, culture shock 'back home' will be discussed next.

7.3.3 Culture Shock Back Home

Some participants talked about feeling a little out of place or having a culture shock back in their home country. For example, Yolanda discussed her disappointment with the Dutch society in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4). She

and other participants had developed a new subject position in another language and culture whilst living abroad. Their new subject positions were generated in other available discourses imbued in socio-cultural norms, values and ideologies. They agreed that they eventually readjusted to their home countries again. Their country transitions were tied with their accommodation of different discourses in a particular social interactional context and its dominant language. This process turned out to be a critical experience in their identity negotiation.

Justin discussed his 'bit of culture shock' in the USA (Line 290, second interview). He felt the pressure of going back and forth between Thailand and the USA in the previous section (7.3.2 above). He alluded to this in different parts of the interview: 'it's somewhat scary, in a way… about going back […] it'd be such a change… for me' (Line 321 – 324, first interview'. With regards to Thailand being his 'second home' (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3; Chapter 5, Section 5.3; Section 7.3.2 above), he mentioned his Thai friends and 'growing up' in Thailand during his university years (Line 329, first interview) as his anxiety to return to the USA. He referred to it as 'going on a trip to foreign country (Line 279, second interview). One of the reasons for his impression was seen in his account of being shocked by the conservative view of his grandparents in the Midwest in the USA during his second summer of university study. Although Justin grew up there for a part of his life, he felt strange there and commented on the cultural difference (Line 318, second interview) he observed: 'A:nd… I… I don't know… 'z so much shocking to see… you know, the Midwest…

um… it was a very, very different place from what I've been living in for the last three years, you know' (Line 306 – 307, second interview). His reference to the place 'where he has been for the last three years' was Thailand, but his prominent memory of the USA was liberal community in the northwestern coast of the USA (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6.4). Thus this was part of his 'culture shock' at home with a new realisation about the diversity amongst views of 'people back home'.

Dao also discussed her 'culture shock' back home in the second interview. It was along the similar breach of moral values as Yolanda and Justin which she did not notice before in her home country. For her, it was the behaviour of her compatriots that she observed in the mass transit system in her city in Thailand. People did not queue up to board the train in an orderly manner, which bothered her. Dao recalls that she never noticed this prior to her sojourn in the USA (Line 242 – 277, second interview). Dao repeatedly expressed her disappointment and said that she decided to not to take the train to work any more (Line 297, second interview). She admitted that she could not change her compatriots' behaviour. Her reasoning was if she continued to take the train to work, then she would have to do the same and 'become one [of them] (Line 293, second interview). She saw that she could not evade the socially maintained group mentality and dynamics in public places. Thus as was the case with Yolanda and Justin, her lack of moral alignment with the societal phenomena associated with her country of origin plunged her in culture shock at home. This was an incident necessitating her to negotiate her

national subject position drawing on the other discourses and their socio-cultural norms in them.

This section examined the participants' critical experiences as the 'middle' part of their identity narratives in which the plot lines developed. The next section will examine the 'ending' or the temporary conclusion of their identity construction in narration.

7.4   Temporary Conclusion: Narrative Identity

In this section, the participants' temporary conclusions of their identity in the interview data will be analysed as the last part of their identity construction. The main feature here is how they dealt with the critical experiences (cf. Section 7.3 above) and the change they recognised in their identity subject positions as a result of their expatriate experiences in different linguistic, cultural and discursive media. Change and transformation are important components of narrative identity plot lines (cf. 'the narrative of change' in Swan and Linehan 2000 cited in Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 152; Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3) as part of the 'narrative of change' in the 'popular narrative in Western culture' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 152; cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3). It is a catalyst and of emplotment leading to the catharsis of their identity issues in the present analysis across time and space. It is important to examine the participants' 'narrator' subject position for their identity narratives (cf. Polkinghorne

1991 in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3). As narratives unfold in 'talk-in-interaction' in a specific context to a specific audience, they will inevitably vary in versions, including editing and revisions (cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006). Thus the teller-audience co-construction with me as their 'fellow traveller' is also important.

As mentioned above (Section 7.3.3), Mai demonstrated her awareness as a narrator of her identity narrative the most out of all the participants. The two excerpts below show her introspection and narration with a specific reference to her present self as 'someone looking back on a different me':

Excerpt 7.9

Mai	But… I do remember looking back… kind of more like someone looking back on a different me
CK	Mmm…
Mai	'Cause I think you you grow and you become comp' someone completely differently years changed me, I guess
CK	Mmm…
Mai	But looking back as an observer almost, I do feel like I was almost… lonely because I th-think it was very different
	(Line 48 – 55, first interview)

Mai's specific reference to her present self is located in her expressions 'I do remember looking back…', 'someone looking back on a different me', and 'as an observer almost'. She analyses her feeling lonely then as a result of being 'very different' from her present self. It is the narration process discussed under 'subject-in-process' in Chapter 2 (cf. Section 2.4.3; Kramsch 2009; Lucius-Hoehne and Deppermann 2000). In the

second interview, she elaborated on her self-evaluation of the past events as a subject-in-process in a move towards emplotment:

Excerpt 7.10

    Mai   Because it was suddenly… it was not just me in a different
             country… it was me [emphatic]… relook' looking at myself…
             in a different perspective
    CK   Right
    Mai   I was very different
             (Line 356 – 359, second interview)

Mai mentioned the fact that she was very conscious of the interview and wanted to impress me as her interviewer. Her consciousness is indeed notable in her position as a narrator of her own identity accounts, except that she was not always aware of it. Her narrator position emerged naturally during the course of the interviews as she searched in her memory to recall different events and feelings that contributed to the person she is today (cf. questions for the second interview in Appendix D). Below is another instance of her self as narrator:

Excerpt 7.11

    Mai   um, so I er eventually I arrived at the part, it's okay… I
             think… that I'm g' I'm okay the way I am
    CK   Mmm, hmmm, mmm, hmmm
    Mai   Um… and I have to accept the fact that I'm different but see
             it as a positive instead of seeing it as a negative…
             (Line 366 – 369, second interview)

Her use of the words 'eventually I arrived at the part' demonstrates the temporal, processual view she of her identity construction in narrative. Not only the discourse of change, she draws on the discourse of 'being different', which is also an integral plotline for the multilingual expatriate identity narrative (cf. Walter in Chapter 5, Section 5.2). Mai's interview accounts demonstrated the social interactional process of constructing a particular version of who she is.

As part of the participants' temporary conclusion, their 'mixture' identity will now be analysed. The term 'mixture' was uttered by most the participants, although it was not used in the interview schedule. On one hand, this is a coincidence. On the other hand, the word captures the essence of multilingual expatriates' identity stories, just as the terms TCK and ATCK have become a household name.

For Isabela, the word 'mixture' appeared at the beginning of the interviews. This was actually soon after her opening remark showing her identity dilemma regretting that she is no longer 'one hundred per cent' Columbian: '…So…for me, it's a mixture… A mixture o:f, uh most… I think I would say… the American culture because I've been more exposed to it… A:nd… and Latin being being a Latin American in Columbia' (Line 17 – 19, first interview). Despite her identity dilemma above legitimised by her loss of Columbian passport when she became a U.S. citizen, Isabela was able to conclude that she is a 'mixture'. This may be her personal belief, supported by the discourse of 'born and bred' seen in her use of the word

'culture' above. Incidentally, it is also endorsed by her compatriots in Columbia. When she returned to Columbia after having changed her nationality, she received affirmation about her Columbianness 'bred' in her: 'But in Columbia, they say, oh… you're always a Columbian' (Line 749, second interview). This seemed to help her resolve her identity dilemma in the discourse of nationalism when she changed her nationality. She said: 'So [laughs] … forget about it' (Line 751, second interview) to dismiss the official documents and other symbolic tools of nationalist discourse. The 'born and bred' discourse appealed to her subject position summoned by it and its companion discourse of culture as heritage. To be Columbian is thus deeply rooted in her individual 'imagination' (cf. Anderson 1991, 2006) shared in the collective imagination of Columbians. The excerpt below demonstrates this point:

Excerpt 7.12

CK   [Oh… right, so you are, in fact, both [Columbian and
        American]
I   Yeah
CK   Yes, yeah… great… okay, and yeah… just to wrap it up… I
        guess… um… so… does it… really matter… which one you
        are [intonation up]… or what's your sort of um
I   Uh… no, I don't think it matters to me because in my heart…
        I mean, I am one hundred per cent Columbian… [pause]
        yeah…
        (Line 754 – 759, second interview)

Thus her identity subject position is well grounded in the 'born and bred' discourse. Her concept of 'mixture' in her earlier statement included

cultures of North and South America, clearly putting culture at the center of her identity construction.

Relating to the 'born and bred' discourse, Mai compared her 'Asian' and 'Western' thoughts to an offspring of marriage of East and West (cf. 'it's like having parents from both' in Chapter 4, Section 4.5). She also consciously acknowledged her hybrid subject position as a 'mixture', again with a cultural emphasis in thought patterns. The excerpt below was about her filian devotion for her parents:

Excerpt 7.13

Mai	You know, that's very Asian I think and I feel like… um… an' and English… mixture… Asian
CK	[Well, you're conscientious…
Mai	Yeah…
CK	Yes
Mai	Asian in the sense of filial devotion and Eng' an' and Western in the sense that… I'm my own person now, I just saw that… you know, I have to… myself… [??? unclear] so…
CK	Mmm…
Mai	And there's a blend there
CK	Yes, yes…
Mai	There's a blend there…
	(Line 888 – 896, first interview)

Mai's use of the word 'blend' is a synonym for 'mixture'. Her positive reply to my complimenting her on her 'filial devotion' and observation 'I'm my own person now' indicate her conscious awareness of being a 'mixture' of different thoughts. Her use of the word 'blend' infers her understanding of it in a hybrid sense, where thoughts and discourses transition seamlessly

in her mind. Accessing them and coming up with unique expressions and views would be an instance of hybridity. Another instance of Mai's awareness was seen in her use of the metaphor 'chameleon' (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.5) with regards to selectively adapt to the socio-cultural environment from her 'mixed' cultural repertoire. This showed her awareness for the need to be adaptable because her 'mixture' identity would not always be understood by people around her.

Walter also strongly believes that 'culture is an integral part of language' which influenced and contributed to who he is today (Line 268 – 280, first interview; cf. Chapter 5 Section 5.2). Walter discussed his subject position of 'mix of everything' (Line 224, first interview) or a product of different cultures including thoughts and practical knowledge (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2). He used the metaphor 'cultural and linguistic mosaic' (Line 251, first interview). This is interesting in that a mosaic represents a coherent image but is made up of tiny, individual pieces, both of the same of mixed material. It reflects his ambivalence to a certain extent. Another example of cultural influence in an ambivalent of paradoxical way was seen in his perception of being 'German' and 'un-German' simultaneously. This drew on the 'cultural logic' of being German which included 'being different' and 'being united' (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2; Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1). Therefore, compared to Mai's view of 'mixture' above, Walter's conclusion still left me with an impression of ambivalence concerning his self-evaluation of identity.

Other participants' 'mixture' identity was seen in practice of code-switching. Mai, Mansukh and Bua referred to their significant social relations using code-mixed languages in third space to negotiate their identities as a group whose members recognise multimodality and hybridity. In addition, Mansukh also used different varieties of English (e.g. Singlish) and accent (British and American) to negotiate his subject positions as a 'mixture' in different social and institutional settings (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.3). Lorenzo also referred to himself as a cultural product, in a similar manner as Walter above. He also did this through his confidence and versatility in his multilingualism, in his examples of language transitions as being culturally defined in terms of their line of reasoning and argumentation (Line 123, first interview; cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.6). A similar language transition was also discussed by Yolanda as part of her multilingual identity (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.4). This was rated highly as having 'upgraded' herself (cf. ibid.).

Finally, for Justin and Dao, their 'mixture' identity was reflected in their identification with their two language communities, and in their account of locating their 'symbolic home' in their second language communities. The latter was shown in terms of audibility, emancipation from socio-culturally stressful hierarchical language use, and finding growth, achievement and a sense of fulfilment in the other language. This was also shared by the other participants in different degrees.

Hence the participants' 'mixture' identity consists of a complex interplay of different subject positions in multiple discourses. Their general conclusion of 'mixture' identity began with cultures as the essential elements. Then different degrees of acknowledgment was given to their overseas experiences, growth during the course of time, and in the experiences gained in their search for a better or more worthwhile way of life. Therefore, change across time and space was significant for their identity construction, affected by different discourse and their socio-cultural norms, values and indexicality issues. Their accounts reflected their subject positions as 'subject-in-process' and 'narrator' of their identity negotiation and construction processes. This was seen more implicitly in their recollection of the past or more explicitly as their present self looking back on their past self in the context of the present interviews. The present researcher's insider background and interest in listening to their identity negotiation and construction accounts also had an effect on eliciting these and other views and comments during the interviews.

The participants' accounts revisited some topics and built on them, and this is where the present analyst's application of emplotment was useful in concluding the present data analysis. 'Truth' and 'reliability' need a framework within which they can be argued, tested and established. Therefore, the present analyst's use of emplotment and other analytical tools and procedure in the present analysis were a necessary part of the present research design to analyse the raw data. For example, Isabela's conclusion that she will 'always be one hundred per cent Columbian at

heart' could be shown as her 'identity journey' using emplotment to give a structure and framework for her identity dilemma presented right at the beginning and her expatriate saga. Dao's reiteration that she loved English could not have been clearly pieced together without understanding her family's investment in the language and how she came to use it to liberate herself from certain socio-cultural constraints in her use of Thai. Yolanda saw her international experience as having 'upgraded' her, and this makes more sense to understand her open-ended plans for future after realising the importance to pursue meaningful life following the death of her close friend. As subjective as interview accounts are in the qualitative methods, reliability and validity can only be located within the chosen epistemology.

7.5   Chapter Conclusion

In the present chapter, the participants' construction of identities was analysed as identity narratives. The raw data were collected in semi-structure interviews, so despite the guiding questions, they did not come with themes and plot lines sign-posted under 'assembly instructions'. This is why the previously analysed identity issues and other relevant untreated accounts were brought together in a basic narrative structure with emplotment (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3) and other procedural steps discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.4.5) by the analyst. Change was the key theme of emplotment in light of the relevant themes extracted from the participants' identity issues and critical experiences in chapters 4 – 6. This

was followed through with the examination of salient accounts of the participants' shifted subject positions and introspection of 'self-as-narrator' through discourse across time and space. The participants almost unanimously gave the temporary conclusion of their identity as 'mixture'. They cited different cultures as its components. This was probably due to the dominant 'born and bred' discourse and its view on culture as a key mechanism to sustain it. Some participants gave a more hybridised view of 'mixture', while others presented a multimodal view or even an ambivalent impression. These had to be shown in context, and this is why it was important to use narrative as organiser of their identity process. The overall data analyses will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter Eight: Discussion of the Findings

In the present chapter, findings from the data analyses conducted in chapters 4 - 7 will be discussed in order to arrive at an effective synthesis of the answer for the present research question. To this end, the participants' negotiation mechanisms and processes will be summarised first (Section 8.2), in light of the theoretical framework and analytical procedure as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3 and Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3. The same will be applied for the discussion on the participants' construction of identities (Section 8.3) and their view of their 'mixture' identity (Section 8.4). Then the the main thesis will be extrapolated from the analysed (Section 8.5).

8.1   Introduction: Summary of the Identity Constituents

In this section, the findings from chapters 4 – 7 will be summarised first in order to provide the essential material for the discussions in sections 8.2 – 8.4. The subject positions, discourses and discursive realms that emerged in the analyses will be listed for analytical purposes.

The present research question asked how multilingual expatriates discursively negotiate and construct the sense of who they are with regards to their putative national identity (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2). The following elements, mechanisms and processes were analysed in the raw

data in chapters 4 – 7: subject positions, discourses, identity issues, identity negotiation, introspection, identity construction, and overall conclusion. The summary of each chapter will be given below.

Chapter 4 and 5 examined the issues of indexicality with regards to the participants' putative national identity. The grouping of the participants across two chapters was based on a scale of their 'multilingualness' and overseas experience in order to examine how these may have affected their identity negotiation against the typical indices of national identity. National stereotypes, accent, audibility, dual nationality, multilingual upbringing, and issues associated with living abroad were examined. As the participants were introduced for the first time, their salient identity issues were also portrayed.

Chapter 6 analysed the influences of the participants' family, friends and institutional norms on their negotiation and construction of identities based on the social relational view of identity negotiation and construction. The parental investment in the discourse of English as the Global Language (cf. Crystal 1997) was influential in introducing the symbolic and cultural capitals in English to some participants. Then how parents' efforts for bilingual upbringing of their children ran against the SIT-like peer norm regulation phenomenon amongst young children was examined. Inspiration and support from other family members were also analysed as part of social dynamics in identity negotiation and construction. Outside of family, friendship was examined as an important social relationship

providing the sense of solidarity, in-group consciousness and affirmation of ontology. Finally, the institutional factors in the use of language such as the particular register in social hierarchy and political correctness were examined as influencing the participants' positioning with regards to their dominant subject positions in certain identity discourses.

Chapter 7 conducted a summative data analysis to synthesise a cohesive understanding of the participants' salient accounts and mini narratives scattered in different parts of the first and second interviews as analysed in chapters 4 – 6. It was vital to holistically establish an overall understanding of the participants' identity conclusion of being a 'mixture'. A narrative structure of 'beginning', 'middle' and 'temporary conclusion' was applied to examine the participants' desire to go abroad, how it was met with critical experiences, and how they eventually came to see themselves as changed individuals. Discursive process was analysed in the participants' agency to learn another language and go abroad and how they negotiated their subject positions through different discourses in the face of indexlicality, adjustments and other challenges. A theme would emerge from recurring topics demonstrating their significance in the context of the participants' personal and sociohistories. Their identity conclusion at the time of the interviews were analysed with the notion of self-as-narrator in the teller-audience interaction for the issues of reliability in terms of norms of co-construction of knowledge in the present interviews as the 'community of practice' of multilingual expatriates seeking to enhance their – our -- understanding of who we are. The

names of subject positions, discourses and discursive realms from the above chapters will be given below.

The analyses in chapters 4 - 7 led to the identification of the subject positions by the following categories: 1) nationality, 2) ethnicity, 3) language expertise, 4) culture, 5) mobility, and 6) moral values. For example, under 'nationality', there were: Thai, American, Dutch, German, Columbian and Italian. Some participants had dual citizenship, so their labels included 'dual citizen' or were hyphenated, e.g. American-German, Italian-Columbian. The hyphenation also occurred to show a strong cultural identity in addition to the official passport identity, e.g. Columbian-American for Isabela, who had to renounce her Columbian nationality when she became a U.S. citizen. Another layering to this was ethnicity of some participants such as: Chinese-Thai and Punjabi-Thai. There were also 'atypical' national subject positions with reference to national stereotypes. An adjective such as 'proper' was also inserted in front of national subject position names, such as Mai's description of 'Proper Thais'. Furthermore, 'fake' was also used in reference to 'authenticity' of national subject position with regards to such an index as accent.

Amongst language expertise were the labels by language names, but not all of them featured significantly in the participants' accounts. The salient ones are 'English' and 'Thai' speakers with regards to issues of indexicality. Added onto these were national subject positions, e.g.: a Thai speaker of English and an American speaker of Thai. Adjectives indicating

307

their level of confidence in the languages were also relevant, e.g.: a confident speaker of English, a good speaker of Thai or 'I am one in all of my languages'.

As for culture, some participants stated that they were 'products' of different cultures, such as 'Renaissance Man'. This is where the subject position of 'mixture' was discussed by most participants. The now classic 'Third Culture Kids' was also mentioned, as did the more contemporary word 'cosmopolitan'.

Regarding mobility, the participants never directly referred to themselves as 'expatriates'. This was an instance of ascribing a discursive label by the analyst. The same was the case for 'transmigrant' ascribed by the present analyst based on the literature reviewd. Transmigrants are neither immigrants nor 'indigenous', but not really expatriates, either, so this category was of interest in indexicality issues. The closest association with mobility in globalisation was 'world citizen' or 'international school student/ alumni'.

Finally, moral values were about their identification with certain socio-cultural norms and values. Hence 'being straightforward' was synonymous with a Dutch subject position and 'being liberal' was associated with certain country or parts of a country. 'Minority' indicated marginalisation, and 'being different' and 'atypical' also showed deviation from normative thoughts and actions.

As for discourse labels, they were closely tied with the construct of nationalism, such as: 'born and bred', 'the infallible sense of national identity', and 'the infallible sense of loyalty and pride for one's country of birth'. These were imbued in political ideology, group identification and belonging, modern anxiety for ontological security, and the 'oughts of morality' in identity authentication. The 'product of culture' mentioned above also shared this 'genetic' view of heritage in the 'born and bred' discourse. Other salient ones related to mobility was in the macro discourse of 'self-help', such as 'searching for a better life somewhere else' and 'do-it-yourself self-help' to agentively seek opportunities to enhance life style or world view. These were also under the macro discourse of globalisation, 'English as the Global Language', 'global citizen' and 'international-mindedness'.

Discourse labels were also used as narrative themes and plot lines. The salient ones were 'change' and 'mixture', as in: 'I became a different person after going abroad'. These were seen in terms of increased language expertise, cultural knowledge and practice, and professional and personal growth opportunities. However, these were often in moral conflict with the discourse 'born and bred' authenticity of national subject position. Regarding support from family and friends, a 'coming home' experience was a significant element in identity narrative emplotment, through which the conclusion of 'mixture' identity and decision to practice code-switching saw a reconciled construction of identity with regards to the previously contested essentialist indices and discourses of identity.

The 'discursive realms' were such spaces as 'community of practice', nation as 'imagined community', third space and the use of code-switching, and so forth, constructed by discourse. They also included socio-cultural normative practices such as social hierarchy, gender roles and prejudices, and political correctness. It needs to be pointed out that the above are negotiated in social relations and transactions, which should be included here as well.

In the next section, the participants' negotiation of identities will be discussed in terms of their identity issues and identity negotiation through indexicality, discourse and social dynamics.

8.2   Negotiation of Identities

The main reasons for the participants to negotiate their identities arose from their indexicality issues in the discourse of belonging. Important to belonging was the participants' moral alignment with the values and norms associated with the discourses constructing a particular group identity in order to fulfil their sense of membership and legitimise their socio-cultural behaviour and lines of thinking. These reflect the aspects of identity as positioning and recognition situated in relevant discourses of social interaction. The participants used the following means to negotiate their identities: different indices of identity, including non-negotiable ones;

different languages and their dominant discourses governing norms of social interaction; and moral alignment in different languages.

Indexicality issues were important to explore the participants' difficulties in answering the question, 'Where are you from?'. The 'orders of indexicality' (Blommaert 2007 cited in Joseph 2010: 17) were examined in national identity indices in chapters 4 and 5 to critically analyse the common sense assumptions embedded in the discursive construction of national identity (cf. Blackledge 2004: 71 – 73; Pavlenko 2004: 35 – 36; Block 2007: 29 – 30; Edwards 2009: chapters 2, 8 – 10; Joseph 2010: 15 – 16). They linked national language and national identity (cf. Joseph 2010: 15 – 16; Edwards 2009) in the 'born and bred' discourse. Culture was added to this as another dimension of the heritage-based, fixed view of identity. Nationalism also provided ontological security (Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3) which was tacitly behind the participants' identity dilemma in the 'born and bred' discourse.

Orders of indexicality here contested the participants' national identities through the following: proficiency in their putative national language, accent, use of different varieties within a language, thought patterns and moral alignment. These operated on the 'oughts' of morality in normative authentication, such as strong national pride and the 'infallible sense of loyalty to one's country of birth' amongst some participants. Thus if one or more of these were contested by others, both by their compatriots and

foreigners, then their sense of identity seemed to be destabilised and their subject positions needed to be negotiated.

However, certain indices of identity were non-negotiable and these left the participants in the painful feelings of exclusion, marginalisation and ambivalence. Accent proved to be a non-negotiable index of national identity (cf. Llamas 2010: 231 – 236). Mai used the word 'barrier' to describe its effect on her American accent in the UK. Walter also cited it as a reason for never having been recognised as American in the USA.

However, there were two instances of using the gate-keeping force of accent to agentively negotiate national subject positions. The first was shown by Isabela to reinstate her lost national subject position. She 'intentionally' retained her Columbian accent when speaking English. This also helped her retain her 'Columbianness' after she changed her nationality to American. The second one was in terms of identification with popular culture in globalisation, by Mai and Mansukh. They thought that their American accent came from watching their favourite American television shows. They never lived in the USA, but they definitely picked up an American accent through their claimed source. This also shows these two young individuals' reflective positioning in the discourse of 'cosmopolitan' identity in globalisation. They aligned with certain facets of American culture portrayed in popular entertainment media and consequently, acquired an American accent in an attempt to negotiate and construct their identity.

Another non-negotiable identity index was race in the order of indexicality. For instance, in Thailand where multiethnicity and multiraciality are not the norm, Justin's Caucasian appearance could never index him as a Thai speaker, no matter how well he spoke it. However, he gained audibility amongst his close Thai friends. They accepted him as 'one of them' and commended his spoken Thai and socio-cultural knowledge. A similar issue was shared by Mansukh, who is Punjabi-Thai. He and his 'Indian Society' have been living in Thailand for more than half a century, but they never perceived themselves as Thai citizens. Bua discussed racial issues in her interviews. She could not negotiate her minority position in the USA. She used her dual nationality and Thailand as her 'other home' to emancipate her from the undesirable position of being the minority in the USA. A related issue of 'racism' was discussed by Walter and Isabela in the USA. In their case, their Caucasian appearance was not the issue but their mentioning of 'German' and 'Columbian' as their national origin invited politically incorrect remarks such as 'hail hitler' and 'drug dealer'.

Another non-negotiable index was the national language. On the whole, the participants' national subject position was contested and threatened, both in reflective and interactive positioning, if they were not proficient or sophisticated in their national language (cf. Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997). This was discussed by Mai and Walter, and to some extent, by Mansukh and his ethnic language. Mai was particularly affected by her lack of proficiency in her native Thai, noted by her compatriots who were labelled as 'Proper Thais'. Mai was positioned as 'atypical Thai' by them in

313

the UK. She could not negotiate this position at all. Her solution was to reinstate her 'Thai' position amongst those Thais who also spoke English, with whom she could practice the code-mixed 'Tinglish'.

Another non-negotiable indexicality issue was the use of appropriate register to maintain the socio-cultural norms of communication in a language. Dao, Mai, and Bua, all in their Thai subject positions, reported feeling much more comfortable to express themselves in English due to its perceived lack of the hierarchical register (official and polite form of language). Using English was an instance of negotiating their 'Thai' subject position to regain their outspoken personality. It allowed them to be emancipated from the discourse of social hierarchy in Thai which summoned their Thai position. Thus as long as they spoke Thai, they could not negotiate their 'personality' subject position of a 'freely speaking individual'. This even earned them the position of 'not a typical Thai', which was received by Dao as a compliment.

By contrast, Isabela felt that her use of American English constrained her freedom of expression. She felt that the discourse of political correctness made her overly cautious. She could express herself more freely in her native Spanish with regards to her opinions and emotions. She felt that Spanish had a different sense of humour and outlook on society and politics.

These contrasting cases above demonstrated the communicative burden to which their national subject position was summoned and 'sutured' when speaking in their national language. The negotiation solution was to use another language and its discourse. Of course, this infers that their subject position in the 'other' language is not too strongly identified with its national subject position. This may demonstrate a correlation between the strength of identification in a subject position and the summoning power of its pertinent discourse.

The above led to the examination of the significance of moral alignment in belonging. This was the participants' subjectivities identifying with the dominant socio-cultural values in a particular national or language subject position (e.g. social hierarchy, class, politeness in speech and in public places, etc.). For instance, Dao, Yolanda, and Mansukh discussed their not feeling proud of their national or ethnic subject position due to their disapproval of certain socio-cultural practices and phenomena associated with it. Justin could not accept being positioned as 'not a typical American' as a compliment due to his lack of alignment with certain socio-cultural practices in his 'Thai Speaker' subject position. Developing in-group consciousness and the sense of belonging through moral alignment was similar to the construct of imagined community or community of practice, through which the participants wanted to be identified as individuals with a certain sense of morality and values. This relates to the above example of using another language to negotiate one's national subject position to be

emancipated from the unfavourable positioning in a particular social discursive practice.

Further to the above, the perceived aesthetic quality and practicality of certain languages had a similar effect as moral alignment on the participants' negotiation of subject positions. For example, Yolanda, Mansukh, Isabela and Lorenzo talked about their personal preference for the sound of certain languages on account of their being musical, poetic, romantic, precise and rich in expression (e.g. Italian, French, Latin and Queen's English). English was generally seen as a practical and internationally useful language and was preferred for meetings and business transactions as well as a lingua franca in international social interactions (e.g. Dao, Yolanda, Isabela, Bua and Lorenzo). The important point here is that the perceived qualities and advantages in these languages allowed some participants to take up subject positions in them as subjects that can be summoned by the discourses representing their desired values and cultural capitals, voluntarily joining an ideal community of practice (e.g. as cultured, sophisticated people, etc.) through them.

This section examined the participants' negotiation of identities in light of the macro concept of belonging, through the examination of discursive mechanisms in indexicality and moral alignment. In the next section, the participants' construction of identities will be discussed.

8.3 Construction of Identities

The participants' identity accounts in the first and second interviews contained recursive themes and subplots in their overall identity plot in their life continuum. The subplots were 'micro' representations of their identity in localised social interactions. They needed to be channelled into the 'macro' identity plot. Therefore, construction of identity took place in discourse throughout the interviews, but it had to be analysed summatively through the basic narrative structure and emplotment in Chapter 7.

The participants' identity construction examined the participants' subject positions in terms of their desire and agency first. These began with their desire to go abroad in 'search of a better life'. These were generated in the macro discourse of 'English as a Global Language', World Citizen, and the cultured, 'Renaissance Man'. For Dao, her 'Thai' national subject position was layered with a 'Thai who loves English' and a 'good speaker of English', reflecting her desire to learn English for self-fulfillment which led to her career success and finding 'home' at her bilingual work place. For Justin, it became an 'eager learner of Thai', 'an American in Thailand', a 'good speaker of Thai', 'one of us' by his Thai friends, and 'jumping between two countries too soon'. The first four reflected his agency to study in Thailand and the last one demonstrated the hectic adjustments he eventually had to go through between his distinctly different life styles in Thailand and the USA. For Yolanda, it was 'Dutch', a 'well-travelled Dutch', an 'international person' and 'not feeling at home' Dutch. The first

three showed her desire to travel abroad, converse in different languages and enjoy meeting people from different countries. However, she had culture shock back home when certain social phenomena bothered her. An ongoing search for 'home' and adjustments between Thailand and the Netherlands were her identity narrative theme.

For those with two passports or ethnicity or change of nationality such as Bua, Isabela, Lorenzo, Mansukh, and Walter (Chapter 5), their dual nationality and language positions led them to take on the 'being different' subject position in the discourse of 'Third Culture Kids' or 'Not Belonging Anywhere'. This was a result of being positioned as 'different' throughout their life since early childhood. For Isabela, it was the official loss of her native Columbian nationality when she gained her American nationality that gave her the identity dilemma as a problem to be solved in her identity narrative to create her 'mixture' or multiple identities of 'one hundred Columbian at heart', 'Columbian-American', 'Spanish speaker', 'multilingual expatriate', and others (e.g. her social roles such as mother, sister, spouse, etc.).

Thus the participants' identity narratives began with their desire to go abroad, developed through their indexicality and other identity issues as critical experiences, and ended with their temporary conclusion of who they are. Discourse operated as identity theme, plot and medium in terms of macro and micro discourses such as desire, agency, beliefs, lines of reasoning, storylines and so forth, to generate individual subject positions.

These summoned their subject positions through inculcated values and moral order. This is where patriotic loyalty and moral alignment became salient in the participants' construction of subject positions and their positioning in different discourses of identity.

Through the above, what proved to be significant for the participants' construction of identities is the notion of belonging, as was the case for their negotiation of identities (cf. Section 8.2 above). The participants' search for an overarching identity in which they could feel at home was the main theme of their identity narrative. Thus the concept of 'symbolic' home was located in the discursive realms of community of practice and imagined communities in third space, where they could practice expressions of hybridised identities.

Thus in summary, national identity discourse was not only able to summon the participants' different subject positions but once summoned, it had the power to oblige them to pledge their membership in return for ontological security. This was the 'suturing' of national subject position to its discourse and the discursive force inherent in it. It had a major influence on the internationally mobile and multilingual participants' identity. However, the participants were able to create their own communities of practice and imagined communities in third space with those who share their 'identity plight'. Salient instances of the participants' construction of identities will be summarised below.

As an example of subject position construction through a language outside of their nationality indexicality order, Mai and Mansukh used their 'best' language, English, to construct their 'international school student/ alumni' subject position. In this subject position, English could logically index this subject position because the majority of the international school students learn through English. This also meant that their preference for entertainment and socialisation would be mostly through English amongst their peers at school. Therefore, this was an adopted identity index to construct a suitable subject position for them when other indices of nationality indexicality did not work for them.

In Mai's case, however, the 'born and bred', 'infallible sense of national identity' discourse had a stronger effect on her reflective positioning. In interviews, her Thai national subject position showed dominance because she adopted other subject positions from it, such as: 'Westernised Thai', 'international Thai', 'Tinglish speaker', and so forth. She repeatedly expressed her pride in being a Thai which was shaken by her positioning by 'Proper Thais' as not being authentic on account of her lack of proficiency in their national language. Mai's repetition 'I'm proud of being Thai', 'I love my country', 'I feel at home speaking Thai' throughout the interviews showed her national subject position constructed by the summoning power vested in the national identity discourse. From her account of 'feeling at home when speaking Thai', it was seen that this gave her some ontological security in the face of ambivalence she faced

both at her international school and university in the UK as being a 'Good English Speaker' but not positioned as an American or British citizen.

Lorenzo used his cultures and languages to index his 'Renaissance Man' identity. He was very confident in the languages in his language expertise and expressed an integrated view of himself in his five modern and two classical European languages. He reflectively positioned himself as the product of the Western European and Mediterranean cultures. For him, culture was the main framework for understanding his 'mixture' identity, in which he was able to transcend the individual cultural boundaries to attain a hybridised view of cultural identity. Similar observations were made by Yolanda, Walter, Isabela about their identity being the product of the cultures in which they were raised or lived significant life experiences. Yolanda compared the passing on of cultures as 'as if in your genes', demonstrating her alignment with the moral force inherent in the 'born and bred' discourse.

This section discussed the discursive construction of the participants' identities. In the next section, the participants' temporary conclusion of who they are as 'mixture' will be discussed.

8.4   The 'Mixture' Identity

The word 'mixture' was used by most of the participants to refer to how they perceived their identity. Where the word was not uttered, they

showed this with reference to their being a 'product' of different cultures and users of different languages. In addition, they recognised their sojourns abroad as having contributed to the change in their view of who they are. This shifted from identity being represented by single or hyphenated nationalities to transcending fixed categories to be a 'mixture'. In this section, their discursive construction of this subject position will be discussed.

The word 'mixture' is the synthesis of the participants' view of who they are with regards to their personal and sociohistory of being raised as or becoming multilingual and expatriate. Their experience was aided by the discourse of 'being different', which could counter the discursive force of the 'infallible' sense of national identity. For instance, Lorenzo knew that he was different from his peers from the beginning due to his background of being a son of a diplomat and international marriage. His education history also added to this with multiple languages of instruction and educational systems. Walter also grew up knowing that he was raised differently from most of his compatriots by being exposed to different languages and schooled in different continents. Bua also knew that she was not raised like most of her compatriots, going back and forth between two countries. When she returned to Thailand, she realised that she was really different from most of her compatriots, particularly in terms of her language use which was 'normal' in her family. She came to be known as 'different' amongst her Thai friends. Mai and Mansukh knew that their international school experience made them different from their compatriots

in their country of origin, even before going abroad for their university study. Furthermore, Mansukh's ethnicity and transmigrant status did not make him identify with his passport identity. Dao, Justin, Yolanda and Isabela went abroad and their experiences made them 'different' from many of their compatriots. Isabela changed her nationality and lived in several countries, so these shaped her 'being different'. Thus 'mixture' identity reflects the participants' experience of living in a different country and its linguistic and socio-cultural milieu which made them different from the stereotypical tendencies in their country of origin. It needs to be mentioned that this was strengthened in the company of those who shared and understood their experiences and subject positions.

So far, this view of 'mixture' is that of multiplicity, of a combination of different constituents of identity such as discourse and cultures represented in them. Lorenzo, Walter and Isabela's view of their being a 'product' of different cultures may be comparable to Mai's metaphor of 'chameleon'. She explained that we need to change and blend in with our immediate socio-cultural and linguistic environment. Walter used the metaphor of 'cultural mosaic'. In this view, presumably, little bits of cultural knowledge, expressions, discourse and so forth are arranged to represent a cohesive picture of identity. This is one definition of 'mixture', as if looking at a candy jar. If the jar is an individual, then its content is different pieces of candy from 'all over the world', never mixing with each other but representing a colourful and attractive entity.

Another view of 'mixture' identity is that of a hybridised, multimodal way of being. This was observed in the participants' creative language use such as code-switching in 'Hinglish' and 'Tinglish'. This was transitioning from one language to another by substituting a word or expressions in a sentence uttered in one language, or beginning a sentence in a language and ending it in another language. This was practised amongst those who shared at least two languages in common. This was not just a language play but an expression of representing hybrid identity amongst a group of people. Mai, Mansukh and Bua grew up with the practice, which gave them a sense of 'coming home' whenever they could practice this with those who were not necessarily their family or friends but were part of their community of practice. It had a particularly therapeutic effect for Mai in finding her social niche during her study abroad.

Another form of language transition was observed within individuals as their thoughts transitioned with their languages. For example, having her 'Western' and 'Asian' thoughts 'coexisting' in her value system, Mai used the word 'blend'. This is different from her earlier 'chameleon' metaphor. 'Blend' implies a more seamless fusion and hybridisation of thoughts, reasoning, and value systems. In Lorenzo's description, languages were used as discourse supplying him with different ways to reason, argue or describe his thoughts and ideas in a more 'colourful' way. This was not random, as a particular way of thought from one language was seen as more precise to develop and conclude an argument and was therefore, triggered automatically in the reflexive patterning and modelling. Or

Lorenzo would imagine an audience in a related context to proceed with his self-talk. Yolanda discussed a similar language transition phenomenon in her mind, although she did not really know why languages just 'come and go'. Walter referred to his different languages and their associated cultures as having shaped who he is and the way he acts.

The participants' understanding of their identity as a 'mixture' referred to different cultures and languages that shaped the way they think, act and be as a result of living abroad and continuing to live with the legacy of the experience by using the languages, socio-cultural knowledge and practices gained in it. This needed to be contextualised within their personal and sociohistory to analyse its development over the years, by examining and understanding their identity positioning in different discourses and their operant discursive forces in those interactions in which their national identity was contested. In terms of their discursive construction of identity, the 'mixture' view consists of multiple subject positions mediated by different discourses. There is a complex interplay of different subject positions in search of different identity options and discourses to negotiate who they are in the face of the essentialist discourse of national identity. They found discursive realms in third space to construct their 'mixture' identity in the company of those who share the same kind of experience. Hence their 'mixture' view was an agentive way to construct their identity in their social relations and in the discourse of 'searching for a better life somewhere else' and 'world citizen'. Although they were not necessarily aware of the hegemonic working of various

ideologically-laden discursive forces, they found ways to negotiate their identities to transcend the positioning confining them to the assumptions of their ascribed identity. Thus their awareness of their 'mixture' identity demonstrates a poststructuralist view of identity, although this is yet to be publicly accepted as a given in everyday encounters and views of identity.

8.5   Conclusion: Thesis Extrapolation

In this section, the discussions from the above sections (8.2 – 8.4) and from the theoretical framework (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1) will be used to extrapolate the main thesis in order to conclude the discussion of the findings.

'How do multilingual expatriates discursively negotiate and construct the sense of who they are with regards to their putative national identity?' The present research question was asked because it is difficult for many multilingual expatriates to answer the question 'Where are you from?' As seen from the findings above, it is employed to screen individuals by their national identity, from which conclusions could be 'logically' drawn about their thought patterns and idiosyncratic tendencies. National identity indices introduce many socio-cultural assumptions into the potential new social relationship. Therefore, the question is a positioning tool. Many multilingual expatriates do not fit the typical indexicality order, and the participants' positioning accounts revealed their struggles at times in the

form of ambivalence and the resulting feelings of isolation, marginalisation and confusion. Therefore, negotiation was what the participants had to undertake in order to defy their positioning ascribing them to the national stereotypes and their assumptions with which they did not agree.

Negotiation was conducted through different types of discourse. This was done through the use of discourse as concepts and 'beliefs' to draw on in order to reason, justify, modify and synthesise their identity positions. Both macro and micro discourses were used in order for the participants to negotiate their positions against the monolithic discourse of national identity and its myth and indexical order. Therefore, it was important to identify different discourses and subject positions for analytical purposes. Although this practice is criticised by some as returning to essentialism (cf. Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Bucholtz and Hall 2010; Coupland 2010), the analytical process of discursive construction needs to be systematic and must further evolve through a discerned combination of the personal and social theoretical approaches to identity and those of the structuralist, social constructionist and poststructuralist.

Regarding the participants' conclusion of their 'mixture' identity, it was demonstrated that the discursive social constructionist view of identity was not widely known but practised through their negotiation and construction of identities. Culture, in the essentialist sense, was still the main constituent of identity, along with language, in their view. Culture was also pervasive in the 'born and bred' discourse of national identity. This played

a major role in the participants' identity dilemmas and ambivalence. It summoned their national and language subject positions with its ontological justification power: culture and language providing the foundation of their thought and practice in every day life, and an infallible sense of loyalty to their 'mother' or 'father' land. However, the participants transcended these essentialising discursive parameters to position themselves as 'mixtures' of different cultural knowledge, practices, values, languages through their intercultural, international, multilingual experiences. They drew on such discourse as 'searching for a better life somewhere else' and 'world citizen' in the age of globalisation. Their accounts revealed a complex interplay of different subject positions in search of different identity options and discourses to negotiate and represent who they believe to be, shaped by their personal history, in the face of the static discourse of national identity. Hence their 'mixture' view was an agentive way to recognise their multi-faceted, hybrid identity.

Additional languages seemed to increase subject positions, discourses and discursive realms, but being multilingual per se was no different than negotiating subject positions in one language. Using a different language allowed for emancipation from unfavourable positioning in one language, but this depended on the degree of identification with the language and national subject position and to what extent the communicative burden in it was borne. Therefore, multilingualism did not resolve the identity negotiation issues but helped multilinguals to have additional discursive resources and realms in their identity positioning. This 'negotiation

privilege' was a double-edged sword, being simultaneously the source and resource of multilingual expatriates' identity issues in the discourse of national identity.

Therefore, the thesis statement that can be drawn from the present data analysis is that individuals draw on different discourses to negotiate and construct their identities through positioning in social interaction. Discourse and its parameters, and the particular 'identity story line' in the interaction will steer the positioning progress and produce outcome, but negotiation will never be completely one-sided or insurmountable. Individuals' agency, desire, imagination and beliefs are viatl in their negotiation and construction of identities across time and space in their life continuum. There is no 'happily ever after' ending in the identity saga, in achieving labels, categories and status. However, this may be found in individuals' outlook on their identity and its ongoing nature. The conclusion of 'mixture' identity is a case in point. A mixture can be any number of indices, elements, ways, concepts, story lines, contexts, spaces and time. Therefore, although our identity narrative will continue until our physical death, our narrative identity can have 'chapter conclusions' in different stages of life. As it takes time for new plots and stories to become a 'classic', it is hoped that the social constructionist, poststructuralist versions of hybrid but not 'just a random mixture' and 'flexible without being substantial' identity stories will be circulated and further developed on a global scale.

An interdisciplinary approach allows for a balanced theorisation of how individual subjectivities emerge as subject positions and lead to identity construction through discourse (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Block 2007; Edwards 2009; Llamas and Watt 2010). It is best to incorporate the psychological approaches to analyse subjectivities and subject positions in construction of identities (cf. Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Pavlenko 2006; Block 2007; Edwards 2009; Llamas and Watt 2010; Taylor 2010). In so doing, however, academic knowledge and training in different disciplines need to be taken seriously by researchers in order not to 'run the risk of being theoretically and empirically superficial' (Block 2007: 200).

The present chapter discussed the findings from the four data analysis chapters to arrive at a conclusion on the process of negotiation and construction of identities amongst multilingual expatriates in Thailand. The conclusion is intended to be a direction to continue to pursue an enhanced understanding of the dynamic and multidimensional conceptualisation of identity in the context of globalisation in late modernity.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Summary

The present thesis set out to anwer the research question: How do multilingual expatriates discursively negotiate and construct the sense of who they are with regards to their putative national identity? This question was answered in multiple ways, as summarised above (Chapter 8, Section 8.5). National identity and its constituents were the main focus because it is still a monolithic edifice in international encounters. National and cultural stereotypes and typical indices of national identity such as native language and accent still act as a screening mechanism in first encounters with 'foreigners'. The contexts in which 'multilingual expatriates' with 'mixture' identity are more commonly accepted are on the rise, mainly in education sectors such as international schools, but they are still in the minority. Therefore, the aim of the present thesis was to increase the awareness for multi-faceted, multimodal view of identity or identities by elucidating the discursive mechanisms and process of identity negotiation and construction through the accounts of nine multilingual expatriates.

The present research was conducted in Thailand, known to be a popular host to many expatriates. The context of identity negotiation and construction was globalisation and late modernity. The present context is transferable to other multilingual expatriate communities (cf. Hayden 2006: 46) because there is no such thing as a 'nation of expatriates' and their

'new diaspora' (cf. ibid.: 42) covers most countries in the world through the globalisation of economic enterprises and operations of governmental and non-govermental organisations (cf. Pollock and Van Reken 2001; Hayden 2006; Sears 2011).

The present theoretical framework was based on the poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches to identity. The research design and method were in the qualitative paradigm to allow for the effective application of the theoretical framework to conduct a detailed analysis of the nine participants' identity negotiation and construction process from the interview data. The population sample was obtained through participant referrals using an adapted form of snowball sampling method. The analytical framework and tools consisted of a combined form of discourse analysis incorporating the elements of textual and intertextual analyses in CDA. The nine participants' identity interview accounts were analysed in terms of their nationality-language indexicality issues, social relations and other dynamics including the use of different kinds of discourse, and critical experiences for their identity construction. The concept of narrative as organiser and meaning-maker of people's accounts was applied for the summative analysis. Narrative was also significant for the teller-audience co-construction of knowledge. This also had implications for the reliability of data. This was in the spirit of qualitative research as a social activity built on a clear mission to understand human behaviour and the due moral integrity required to undertake it. Therefore, the interviews were conducted in the 'imagined

community' of multilingual expatriates as a community of practice. The desired outcome here was reliability of information shared amongst us through in-group identification, solidarity and mutual understanding in the causes for the present research in the mediatised, commodified and globalised world today.

9.2   Contribution to Knowledge

The present thesis will be contributing the following to the existing pool of knowledge: 1) discourse is more significant than different languages in terms of identity negotiation and construction amongst multilingual individuals; 2) in general, many assumptions about national identity are still strong and more awareness should be raised publicly to understand it as a discursive construct; and 3) the context of multilingual expatriates is an important one for further research in identity negotiation and construction to present a working definition of 'international', 'global' or 'world' citizen in the current age of globalisation.

First or all, the findings from the present research demonstrated that discours is what the participants have been using to negotiate and construct their identities rather than the different languages in their language expertise. Therefore, 'feeling differently' when speaking in another language can be explained more appropriately in terms of different subject positions, discourses and their social interactional forces.

This is not to say that different languages and the cultures associated with them have nothing to do with identity. Culture is integrated into discourse as a particular form of communal knowledge and social practice. Culture is inherent in some lines of reason and construction of knowledge such as philosophical thoughts or canons in identity story lines. Different languages have words and structures that cannot be translated, confining certain expressions within them to index their speakers. However, using these as static concepts has been the main issue, and discourse has widened the ways in which they can still be applied in understanding individuals' subject positions and discursive dynamics in social interaction.

Secondly, the present research demonstrated that the link between the discourse of national identity and its ideological, symbolic power is still taken for granted in general, necessitating multilingual expatriates to engage in ongoing and difficult negotiation of identities. The question here is to what extent has the notion of hybridised identities permeated the public discourse of identity in the age of globalisation. The participants' conclusion of their 'mixture' identity demonstrates the fact that this is being achieved more widely compared to a few decades ago. Nevertheless, their accounts still reflected linguering feelings of ambivalence or being disloyal to their country of origin. Therefore, there is a need to continue to advocate the dynamically constructed notion of identity through discourse with due poststructuralist concerns in order not to be locked into the non-negotiable discourse of essentialised identity categories.

Lastly, the context and issues of multilingual expatriates should be further researched in order to deepen the general understanding of identity negotiation and construction amongst highly mobile multilingual individuals in the age of globalisation. The findings here have implications for how multilingualism and global citizenship are promoted. Although people belonging to this category are more privileged than other types of migrants, their identity dilemmas and issues are similar and have definite implications for addressing the unresolved socio-political issues in national stereotypes and other kinds of prejudices in international relations. Therefore, the identity issues investigated here must be taken seriously in order to really understand what it means and entails to be multilingual and globally mobile in today's world. Thus my position is that the findings from the present thesis can be presented as proposals towards 'global citizenship'. This is a socio-political awareness-raising activity in its own right.

9.3   Reflections

The present thesis conducted a qualitative inquiry to answer the research question and analyse its implications. However, at least the following shortcomings have been identified. Firstly, the size of the literature review was unproportional in relation to the entire length of the present thesis. This was due to the fact that theoretical triangulation took precedence over methodological triangulation. Furthermore, the synthesis of the present

theoretical framework was challenging and took longer to complete, both in terms of the page numbers and duration during the course of the writing period. Secondly, the size of the sample population was small (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.3 and 3.5). Thirdly, research methodology needed to be strengthened, in the areas of reliability, methodological triangulation, and data analysis method (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.4). Furthermore, the development of the present thesis argument contained flaws in some parts due to its premises not being clear enough to be followed and the possible misreading of certain theoretical constructs. Lastly, the analysts' interpretation of the data may have gone beyond what the participants actually meant. The subjective and interpretive nature of the present research rendered my keeping the 'stranger' position difficult at times, being led on by my reading lenses in every aspect of the present research.

Despite the above, the present inquiry explored the discursive mechanisms and process of identity construction in relation to the existing research, theories and methods. Exploration is an important component of inquiry and research which can 'open up possibilities' (cf. Butler 1999: viii) for people who need alternatives and ideas which they have not realised could exist. Therefore, I hope that the findings here can benefit those who have not realised that their identities can be negotiated and constructed ongoingly through different discourses for their own emancipation and empowerment.

Secondly, developing my own voice was important in making a knowledge claim with due accountability and empathy. Through the presentation of my own research, I am putting myself in a certain position in academic discourse with regards to the existing research. A researcher's voice needs to gain audibility in the community of researchers engaged in similar interests and topics. My voice and claim are 'authentic' in so far as my being one of the multilingual expatriates, but such a claim can be made by anyone. This is why there was this need to undertake a systematic research to develop my voice through it, despite the appearance of the impersonal academic discourse and register. The claims to 'truth' can take different forms, but they need to be grounded in a certain epistemological procedure. It is hoped that the findings from the present research will find their readership both amongst the multilingual expatriates and the wider public.

9.4   Conclusion

In conclusion, it is hoped that the findings stated in the present thesis will be helpful for furthering the current understanding of the negotiation and construction process of identity amongst multilingual expatriates. The contents of the present thesis have implications for critically examining multilingualism, multiculturalism, internationalism and global citizenship in today's globalised world with high mobility spreading amongst middle class citizens in an unprecedented manner.

Word count of the main body of text (from Chapter 1 – 9): 82,423

Appendix A   **Participant Recruitment Piloting E-mail Form**

Pilot Email Questionnaire on Identity Negotiations through Different Languages

APG Transfer Report July 2008 by Chika Kumashiro Wilms

1. Electronic Mail Address: _____received on July 7, 2008

Negotiations of Identity and Language Use
Electronic Mail Questionnaire (Piloting Phase)

July 2008

Chika Kumashiro-Wilms
APG in Applied Linguistics, School of Education
University of Leicester, Leicester, UK

Dear _____,

 I would be most grateful if you could take a moment to answer some questions to help me with my research on identity negotiations and language use. I am interested in finding out how people who can speak more than one language fluently feel about their identity when they speak the languages in their language repertoire. In other words, I would like to hear your 'language story'. Please rest assured that I will follow confidentiality and other codes of ethics in research. Thank you, in advance, for your time and contribution.

Best wishes,

Chika Kumashiro-Wilms
(ckw5@leicester.ac.uk)

Instructions:

Please feel free to write down whatever that comes to your mind after reading each of the questions. You can answer each of the questions separately or if you prefer, you can write down all your points together in a single piece of narrative text. It should take you about 5 – 15 minutes depending on how strongly you feel about answering these questions.

1) Who are you? Please briefly describe yourself.

2) Please describe your 'language repertoire'. For example, how many languages do you speak fluently and since when? Which language(s) do you use regularly and for which purposes?

3) What is your 'best' language? How did you choose your answer? Please explain.

4) Out of all the languages that you speak, which one do you like the most and why? Does that language best represent you and if so, why?

5) Out of all the languages that you speak, which one do you like the least? Why?

6) So, what is your identity? If you were asked this question, how would you explain your answer? Please kindly explain your answer and write down anything else you would like to add, as comments, observations, or questions.

Thank you very much for your time and contribution.

Appendix B   **Informed Consent Letter and Form for Participants**

October 8, 2008

Dear _____ ,

I am writing to you today in order to invite you or confirm your intention to participate in my research. It is about identity negotiations through the use of different languages in bilingual/ multilingual adults with expatriate experiences for my PhD degree in Applied Linguistics through the University of Leicester in the United Kingdom. You have been contacted because your background seems to be highly beneficial for my research. I would be most grateful if you could take a moment to read about what your participation entails below.

The main aim is to conduct an inquiry into negotiations of identities through the use of different languages amongst bi- and multilingual adults, i.e. people 18 years of age or older, with current or prior experiences of being expatriates in countries other than those of their citizenship(s). To this end, I need to collect narrative accounts from willing persons befitting the above descriptions on how they feel about their identity when they use different languages. For example, do you as a bilingual/ multilingual person feel differently when you speak in this language or that? How do you usually respond to such questions as 'where are you from?' and 'who are you?', and how do you really feel about your identity deep inside?

Hence I need to collect perceptions on identity negotiations and biographical narratives, both oral and written, through personal interviews

and short surveys and narratives via electronic mail. I have decided to call on participants from three broad age categories, ranging from undergraduate to post-graduate university students to professionals and householders to people who are in the retirement age range, to allow for different perceptions across the ages. I intend to have nine participants in total, three from each of the three age categories. I shall also try to strike a balance in gender, e.g. four females and five males or vice versa.

I believe that your background and experiences could provide information vital to my research, whose educational aim is to address the issues on identity negotiations amongst bilinguals and multilinguals in order to gain further insights into the connections between language and culture, social norms and relational dynamics, and what it really means to be an 'international' person or a 'global citizen'. Your anonymity and confidentiality are guaranteed, and in the event that you are unable to continue providing information for whatever the reason, your decision to discontinue will be respected without questioning.

If you agree, I would appreciate it very much if you could sign the form below and mail or fax it to me at my postal address:

Chika Kumashiro-Wilms
Bangkok International School (*pseudonym)
123 Sukhumvit Road
Bangkok 123456
Thailand (*fictitious address for anonymity)

Tel: +66(0)2-123-4567
Fax: +66(0)2-890-1234

If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to e-mail me at: chikawi@yahoo.com

I would like to thank you in advance for your time and having carefully read through this letter. I shall look forward to hearing from you soon.

Best wishes,

Chika Kumashiro-Wilms (Ms.)

Informed Consent Form

I hereby agree to be part of the identity research as proposed by Chika Kumashiro-Wilms, in the Department of Applied Linguistics, School of Education, University of Leicester in the United Kingdom. I have read the aims and purpose of the research and the guarantee of confidentiality and my rights as a participant.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Appendix C Narrative Interview Questions for the Second Interview

Narrative Interview Guide for Participants   December 2008

Dear _____,

Thank you very much for agreeing to do a follow-up interview. This time, I would like to hear more about some important events in your 'language and identity' story. Before we begin, can you briefly recall an event or a turning point in your life which had a particular impact on your identity or **who you are today**? The following questions may help you think:

1. How did this event change the course of my life?
2. When did it happen? Where was I?
3. Why would it be crucial to defining who I am today?
4. If it did not happen, would I still be the same person today?
5. How did I feel then?
6. What difficulties have I had in terms of adjustment, learning, growing, etc. stemming from this event?
7. How do I feel about it now?
8. About how long did it take for me to come to terms with this event?
9. What changes or results has it brought to your life?

An example might be when you went abroad for the first time or when you had to add another language in your life for schooling, work, or personal life (e.g. joining a community of like-minded people or particular way of life, personal relations, etc.).

So, today's interview is mainly about you telling me a story of your identity development to date. Now you can take a few minutes to think about what you would like to say. You are by no means obliged to follow any structure or use some or all of the questions above. Just be free and yourself. And

please do remember that confidentiality will absolutely be respected and also, if you feel like you cannot go on at any time during your story telling, you are free to stop and talk about something else in relation to your language repertoire, language history, and identity, or take a break.

I am very grateful for your sharing today and would like to thank you, in advance, for your time and interest in participating in my research.

Best wishes,

Chika Kumashiro-Wilms

I hereby agree to take part in this interview.

Name: _____ (please print)

Signature: _____   Date: _____

Appendix D Sample Analysis of Interview Transcripts

Below is a sample of how interview transcripts were analysed. First of all, an excerpt was selected based on a recurring topic and theme, and how it was relevant for the purpose of the analysis in each chapter (Chapter 4 – 7). Then the items listed in Table 3.2 and 3.3 (Chapter) were examined in order to recapture how the particular segment of the talk was narrated during the interview. Then the procedure listed under Section 3.4.3 were applied.

From Chapter 5 Negotiating Indexicality Issues (2):

Excerpt 5.7

> 'Ah… well [a short puff of air], regarding my identity, I think uh… I, I would like to… see myself […] one hundred per cent Columbian… because… uh that's what I was born… that's where my parents are from… and…so… my all my feelings are there. Bu:t…I'm no:t [elongated vowel and emphatic]. Um [pause]… because I uh… I lived overseas…' (Line 5 – 8, first interview)

The discrepancy between 'would like to be' and 'but I'm not' one hundred per cent Columbian above is the central theme in her identity dilemma. The paralinguistic features of pauses and hesitations above show her deep-seated emotional conflict. The main issue is in her application of the 'born and bred' myth to her identity duality. She 'should be' one hundred per cent Columbian based on her national, language and cultural identity at birth. However, her desire and agency took her out of Columbia and she

feels that she is no longer 'one hundred per cent' Columbian. She has a strong desire to see herself as 'one hundred per cent Columbian' ('that's what I was born'), being loyal to the discourse of family heritage ('that's where my parents are from'). Her use of the connective 'so' in Line 7 above ground her reason in this discourse as to why 'all of her feelings' are 'there', in Columbia. However, she had to negate this seemingly 'infallible sense of national identity by birthright' on account of having left 'there' and moved on with her life. She cited being with people who are from other countries (Line 11 – 12, first interview) and speaking in another language as main reasons for no longer being 'pure' Columbian: 'speaking in another language […] also makes you (.) think in another way' (Line 14 – 15, first interview). This is compounded by the official loss of her national identity at birth.

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