

MARGARET MARIE PALMER

**BELIEFS, IDENTITIES AND SOCIAL CLASS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
LEARNERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND BRAZIL**

Dissertação apresentada à Universidade Federal de Viçosa, como parte das exigências do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras, para obtenção do título de *Magister Scientiae*.

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I dedicate this study to the participants, who so openly and willingly shared a bit of themselves with me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AL	Applied Linguistics
L1	First language
L2	Second language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELL	English Language Learners
Q	Questionnaire
VN	Visual Narrative
WN	Written Narrative
I	Interview

ABSTRACT

PALMER, Margaret Marie, M.Sc., Universidade Federal de Viçosa, February, 2018. **Beliefs, identities and social class of English language learners: a comparative study between the United States and Brazil.** Adviser: Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos.

Identity studies have grown in Applied Linguistics, understanding the concept as a crucial factor in learning an additional language, whether a second or foreign language (LEFFA, 2012; NORTON, 2001; TELLES, 2004). In addition, the concepts of beliefs and identities have been considered interrelated (BARCELOS, 2015). However, while common aspects of identities such as gender, race and orientation are discussed, social class is rarely considered (BLOCK, 2014). At a time where immigrant rights are being discussed in the United States and public education funds are being cut in Brazil, the aim of this study is to identify and compare the identities, beliefs and factors of social class between two groups of participants in two contexts: immigrant students to the United States and Brazilian students, both groups in their first year at a public high school from low socioeconomic neighborhoods. Based on Bourdieu's concept of social class, this study considers the influence of *habitus*, fields and capital (BONAMINO ET AL, 2010; BOURDIEU, 1986; SANTOS & MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2016) and the intrinsic relationship between beliefs and identities (BARCELOS, 2015). The twelve (12) participants in this study are students of English as an additional language in the above-mentioned contexts that completed a questionnaire, an interview, and written and visual narratives as data collection instruments. The results have suggested English expressed as a form of capital (PENNYCOOK, 1997) and a cyclical relationship between beliefs, identities and social class. Access to English capital seems to affect both personal and societal beliefs about English learning, which in turn affects the participants' identities as future users of English. Both groups make efforts to access the English-speaking world in different manners and degrees. While the immigrant students to the United States make efforts to enter into the inner circle of English speakers in their community, the Brazilian students either adhere to the beliefs within their social class that English is inaccessible to them or they try to break out of the cycle by investing in the imagined community of English speakers (NORTON, 2001). This study brings implications for learning English as well as possible social impacts of the use of English in an increasingly globalized world.

RESUMO

PALMER, Margaret Marie, M.Sc., Universidade Federal de Viçosa, fevereiro de 2018. **Crenças, identidades e classe social de aprendizes da língua inglesa: um estudo comparativo entre os Estados Unidos e Brasil.** Orientadora: Ana Maria Ferreira Barcelos.

Os estudos sobre identidade têm crescido na Linguística Aplicada, sendo esse conceito entendido como um fator crucial na aprendizagem de uma língua adicional, seja ela estrangeira ou segunda (NORTON, 2001; LEFFA, 2012; TELLES, 2004). Além disso, os conceitos de crenças e identidades são vistos como inter-relacionados (BARCELOS, 2015). Entretanto, enquanto aspectos comuns das identidades tais como gênero, raça e orientação são discutidos, o conceito de classe social raramente é considerado (BLOCK, 2014). Em uma época em que os direitos dos imigrantes estão sendo discutidos nos Estados Unidos e o financiamento para educação pública está sendo cortado no Brasil, o objetivo deste estudo é identificar e comparar as identidades, crenças e fatores de classe social de dois grupos de participantes em dois contextos: alunos imigrantes nos Estados Unidos e alunos brasileiros, ambos em seu primeiro ano do ensino médio em escola pública de bairros de classe social-econômica baixa. Baseado no conceito de classe social de Bourdieu, este estudo considera a influência de *habitus*, campos e capital (BONAMINO ET AL, 2010; BOURDIEU, 1986; SANTOS & MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2016) e a relação intrínseca entre crenças e identidades (BARCELOS, 2015). Os doze (12) participantes deste estudo são alunos de inglês como língua adicional nesses contextos e responderam um questionário, concederam uma entrevista e fizeram narrativas escritas e visuais como instrumentos de coleta de dados. Os resultados sugeriram a língua inglesa expressa como forma de capital (PENNYCOOK, 1997) e uma relação cíclica entre crenças, identidades e classe social. O acesso ao capital do inglês parece afetar tanto as crenças pessoais quanto as da sociedade sobre aprendizagem de inglês, o que, por sua vez, afeta as identidades dos participantes como futuros usuários de inglês. Os dois grupos fazem esforços para acessar o mundo falante de inglês de forma e graus variados. Enquanto os imigrantes dos Estados Unidos se esforçam para entrar no círculo interno de falantes de inglês na sua comunidade, os alunos brasileiros tentam ou aderir às crenças presentes em sua classe social de que inglês é inacessível para eles ou quebrar esse ciclo investindo na comunidade imaginada de falantes de inglês (NORTON, 2001). Este estudo traz implicações para aprendizagem de inglês bem como possíveis impactos sociais do uso de inglês em um mundo cada vez mais globalizado.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Applied Linguistics (hereafter AL) has become increasingly relevant as the world globalizes and people interact with each other, sometimes using their first language (hereafter L1) or second language (hereafter L2). As Jay Walker states (TED Talk, 2009), English is becoming a language for problem solving and, moreover, it is the language of opportunity. With English being a *lingua franca*¹, AL has the opportunity to extend the impact of teaching and learning to learners of English as a foreign language or English language learners (hereafter EFL or ELL², respectively) (JENKINS, 2006). As a consequence, there is a need to address beliefs in the teaching and learning process to better understand how the English language is viewed by global learners and what its status is in local society.

The question that surfaces is whether or not English is equivalent to opportunity for everyone, as Walker (2009) argues. The concern in this project is the barrier that may be being formed among people of different classes, in relation to access to learning the English language. According to Block (2015), social class is a relevant factor in AL studies, because the variation of situations in which people of different classes come into contact with the English language directly affects the learning and teaching of the language itself. Block (2015), when referring to Pennycook (2007)³, states that learning English in many situations is for privileged people. This can create exclusion with those who do not have the same opportunities. Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) questions the role of identities in considering who has access to the language and which group of people can learn the language. Although researchers often separate concepts of identities and social class, it is necessary to consider social class when researching the identities of students, since the different dimensions of identities (whether nationality,

¹ A language that is adopted as a common language between speakers whose native languages are different. (Definition from Oxford Online Dictionary)

² It is necessary to note the difference between the terms EFL and ELL to understand the learning context and the needs of the learners. Learners of EFL (English as a foreign language) live in a country where the dominant language is not English. They need a lot of oral practice, immersion and exposure to English, and reasons to learn English to stay motivated (BELL, 2011). However, English Language Learners (ELL) are a diverse group living in a country where the dominant language is English and can benefit from language support programs because they can speak other languages at home or may be immigrants to the country. The term is primarily used in the U.S. to describe students in elementary and high school. ("English Language Learners: A Policy Research Brief." National Council of Teachers of English, 2008)

³ Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London, UK: Routledge.

gender, race, ethnicity or orientation) relate to social class. Telles (2004) highlights how identities are changeable and malleable and depend on our experiences and interactions, whether positive or negative ones. Furthermore, when thinking about identities, one must consider how language itself affects learners' identities and vice-versa.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to understand the identities in construction and the beliefs about learning the English language of two distinct groups from vulnerable social classes in the demographic realities at two public schools, one in Minas Gerais (MG), Brazil and another in California (CA), United States of America (USA).

The study of beliefs about teaching and learning languages is recognized in the field of AL as,

Much more *crucial* [authors' emphasis] than was thought before in determining how learners approach their learning of second or foreign languages and as such are complex mediational tools intertwining with learner action in complex ways. (KALAJA & BARCELOS, 2013, p.5)

Knowing this, it is important to research how beliefs about the English language can influence the identities of these English learners in these two contexts. Many students who study in public schools in Brazil believe that only those who had the opportunity to study abroad or in a private English school can learn English (BARCELOS, 2011). Similarly, immigrants from the United States, who have a low English proficiency, are often considered less intelligent and, to some extent, are given this identity by the community, perhaps unintentionally (REEVES, 2006). In both contexts, a belief that is imposed by the surrounding community has the power to impact the learner's beliefs and identities. Thus, the relationship between beliefs, identities and social class in English language learning is perceived.

This is a qualitative study that aims to complement other studies in the field of AL by investigating the beliefs about learning the English language and identities in two groups of learners, one in Brazil and the other in the United States, both from vulnerable social classes. In order to do this, I used multidimensional data collection tools to analyze the beliefs and identities being constructed about the English language learning of students from a public school in a low-income neighborhood in the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil and in the State of California, USA. Thus, it will be possible to

compare the beliefs, identities and social class observed through the various instruments. The voices of the participants from the vulnerable social classes in each context can broaden global perceptions about the English language to investigate whether they agree with the idea that English is the “language of opportunity” as Walker (2009) argues. Though he explains this opportunity as a way to solve problems through effective worldwide communication, that may not be the case for many learners. In contrast, authors Pennycook (1997), Mastrella (2007), Santos (2017) and Block (2012) argue that English can be a source of exclusion, inequality and a struggle for social mobility.

As referenced above, according to Barcelos (2011), the belief that studying English in a public school in Brazil is inferior to learning abroad or in a private English school can have a negative effect on students' self-esteem and motivation. That being said, these beliefs can be reinforced or stimulated by the surrounding community and, according to Mastrella-de-Andrade (2013), new identities can emerge with the influence of social, cultural and historical contexts, whether at the global or local level. In addition, Block (2014) iterates the importance of considering social class as a relevant factor in identity studies and language education. When thinking about these complex concepts (beliefs, identities and social class) in the education context, this study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the beliefs about English and learning English of the ELLs at a public school in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil and of the ELLs of a public school in the state of California, United States?
2. How are the identities as users of English constructed by the ELLs in both contexts?
3. What impact does social class have on the ELLs' language learning in both contexts?
4. What is the relationship between the ELL's beliefs, identities and social class in each context?

1.1. Aims of this study

Considering the questions raised above, the general aim of this study is to investigate and compare the identities, beliefs and social class factors of two groups of

students from a vulnerable social class about the teaching and learning process of the English language.

According to the general aim, the specific aims are as follows:

1. Investigate the ELLs' beliefs about English and about English learning in two public high schools: one in Minas Gerais, Brazil and the other in California, the United States;
2. Investigate how the ELLs' identities as users of English are being constructed in both contexts;
3. Investigate the impact that social class has on the ELLs' language learning in both contexts;
4. Investigate the relationship between the ELLs' beliefs, identities and social class.

1.2. Significance of the study

This study is justified by four main reasons, which are detailed in the following paragraphs.

First, according to Moita Lopes (2006), "AL needs to build knowledge that explores the relationship between theory and practice in contemplating the voices of the South" (p. 106). In this study, the South concerns those of a vulnerable social class in the communities themselves. This study provides the opportunity to better understand the participants' point of view, which in turn can be shared with participants from other parts of the world and the English teaching and learning community within AL. These vulnerable social class populations deserve the opportunity to express their understanding of English language learning.

Second, there are not many studies that consider social class in AL both internationally and within Brazil. According to Block (2015), the social class situation is different in each culture and society. There are already global AL studies on social class in Colombia, France, Canada, India and England. In Brazil, where there is a great discrepancy between the classes, there are few studies in AL that address this question (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009; SANTOS & MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2016; SANTOS, 2017). In the contexts chosen for the study, it is possible to perceive barriers that do not facilitate English learning, although the surrounding community stresses the need for the students to know this language. In addition, with the tension of immigration in the United States today, identities and beliefs are more vulnerable to

radical change for immigrants who are dealing with the process of "disqualifying" and "reclassifying" (BLOCK, 2015) their identities according to the surrounding society. That is, the immigrants are arriving in a new country, abandoning the class they had in the country of origin and are being reclassified by the new community, by the work and the social position that they come to occupy. Thus, this study is important in AL because it inserts another perspective of the concept of social class both within Brazil and internationally.

Third, there are no studies that have investigated the relationship between the three concepts of beliefs, identities and social class. Block (2015) discusses social class and points out how social class is related to identities, but he does not consider the concept of beliefs nor does he bring the three concepts together. Therefore, it is relevant to identify the construction of identities, beliefs and factors of social class in those populations, which may have different or similar views regarding the role of English in society, both on a local and global level.

Finally, the status of a language is very important in its reception and in the construction of identities and beliefs (KALAJA ET AL., 2013). The status of the English language makes a difference in the opportunities and readiness to learn or use it, as well as the beliefs towards it. In Brazil, for example, knowledge of English is fundamental for some professions and helpful in academic life and social networks, while also contributing to inequality (MOITA LOPES, 2008). The impact of English is increasing in Brazilian society, one contributing factor to the growing social stratification (SANTOS, 2017). In the United States, it is essential to live in society. English has become more and more important for those who seek social class mobility. As Moita Lopes (2008) discusses, the English language involves political, cultural, economic and ethical questions in society. Therefore, I hope that this study contributes to how English learning is seen in the world. With an optimistic goal, the study seeks to give a voice to those who are generally excluded from the conversation of English as a "language of opportunity", one that may be a solution for communication between diverse linguistic groups (WALKER, 2009), yet that can also be a source of exclusion for others that do not have access to it (PENNYCOOK, 1997).

1.3. Overview of the thesis

In this introductory chapter, I presented the aims of this study, the four research questions that guided the study, and discussed the relevance of the study for the language education research in the field of AL.

In chapter II, I discuss the theoretical framework on which this study is founded. It is divided into four sections that deal with the definition and conceptualization of beliefs; the relationship of beliefs to identities and social class; the definition of identities and its importance in language learning; and the definition of social class and its relevance in globalization and AL.

In chapter III, I detail the methodology used to collect the data, first explaining the ethical considerations taken to develop the study and then describing the two different contexts and the participants, explaining the data collection instruments and presenting the data analysis procedures.

In chapter IV, I discuss the findings of this study concerning the beliefs, identities and factors of social class that the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) suggest in the data. Then I present the beliefs, identities and factors of social class that the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) suggest in the data.

Finally, in chapter V, I respond to the research questions, discuss some implications and limitations of the study and offer suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework and review the literature on the concepts that constitute this study. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, I define the concept of beliefs and explain its implications in the field of English language learning. The second section describes the concept of identities and the third explains the concept of social class and its implication in language learning.

2.1. Beliefs

This section discusses the concept and nature of beliefs, learners' beliefs about learning, public schools in Brazil, immigrants in the United States as well as the relationship between beliefs and the concepts of identities and social class.

2.1.1. The concept and nature of beliefs

The concept of beliefs has long been of interest in the fields of Philosophy, Education and Anthropology, yet a rise of interest in AL took place in the 1990's (BARCELOS, 2007a; KALAJA, BARCELOS & ARO, 2018). Since then, the concept has been widely discussed, defined and characterized by many researchers in AL, who have used a variety of terms in reference to it. They have also discussed the difference between beliefs and knowledge, and have sought to understand the impact of beliefs in the language learning process. Kalaja & Barcelos (2013) explain the "current state of affairs" in reference to beliefs as the following:

The current state of affairs is further characterized by the recognition by most researchers that learner beliefs about aspects of language learning are much more crucial than was thought before in determining how learners approach their learning of second or foreign languages and as such are complex mediational tools intertwining with learner action in complex ways. (p. 5)

The authors reference the range of research orientations between traditional cognitive approaches and socially oriented approaches, all of which recognize the important role that beliefs hold in language learning. Ramalho & Vicente (2009) have also confirmed the influence of beliefs on actions. That is, the student's actions in the English classroom are linked to their beliefs about how to learn. For this reason, many AL studies recognize the importance of beliefs in teaching and language learning (ALANEN, 2003; KALAJA & BARCELOS, 2013; HOSENFELD, 2003). Nevertheless, Pajares (1992) points out the difficulty researchers have had in

investigating beliefs empirically, as “many see it so steeped in mystery that it can never be clearly defined or made a useful subject of research” (p. 308). For this, a variety of research approaches, both quantitative and qualitative, cognitive and social, have been explored. In order to “clean up a messy structure”, Pajares (1992) makes an effort to explain the broad and all-encompassing nature of beliefs, stating the following:

Human beings, after all, have beliefs about everything. Conceptualizing a belief system involves the understanding that this system is composed of beliefs connected to one another and to other cognitive/affective structures, complex and intricate though these connections may be, that form beliefs about constructs—beliefs about politics, about abortion, about art, about the nature of knowledge. (p. 315)

Here, the author shows the complexity of the belief system and goes on to emphasize the importance of studying specific beliefs for greater understanding. That could refer to beliefs about teaching English or beliefs about student involvement in the learning process. He attempts to clarify the importance of beliefs in education research, claiming that it could be one of the most affective factors that impacts teacher actions (PAJARES, 1992).

Barcelos (2007a) also emphasizes the complexity of the belief system by explaining the origins of beliefs in humanity, stating that this concept “is as old as our existence, for since man began to think he came to believe in something⁴” (p.113). That is to say, there is an intricate relationship between our thoughts and our beliefs. As an effect of this close relationship, the difference between what we know and what we believe has been widely discussed in the field, to be further explored in this section. Barcelos (2006) defines beliefs as:

A form of thought, [...] constructions of reality, ways of seeing and perceiving the world and its phenomena, co-constructed in our experiences resulting from an interactive process of interpretation and (re) signification. As such, beliefs are social (but also individual), dynamic, contextual, and paradoxical. (p. 18)

The variety of attributes this definition applies to the concept is summative of many studies in order to combine both cognitive and social perspectives. Beliefs are aligned with thought and perceptions of an individual’s surroundings, influencing how the world is seen and perceived. Not only do beliefs affect one’s vision of the world, but also one’s actions within the context. However, beliefs are paradoxical in that at

⁴ Original in Portuguese: “É tão antigo quanto nossa existência, pois desde que o homem começou a pensar, ele passou a acreditar em algo”.

times actions may contradict beliefs and one belief may not make sense to everyone in society, but as long as it makes sense to the individual, it will remain constant (BARCELOS, 2003; PAJARES, 1992). That is to say, beliefs do not only depend on what one experiences, but also how one recalls the experience, which in turn alters how one reacts, internalizes and interprets new information. Individuals may alter or distort information in order to sustain their belief, demonstrating “a tendency to build causal explanations surrounding the aspects of those beliefs, whether these explanations are accurate or mere invention” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 317). To complete the cycle of reinforcing beliefs, Pajares (1992) explains how beliefs are formed, sustained, and projected in the future in order to stay consistent with their origins. In sum, beliefs are founded in collected experiences in social settings that, in turn, are interpreted and given significance by the individual.

Bernat & Gvozdenko (2005), in alignment with Barcelos (2006) and Kalaja & Barcelos (2013), define beliefs with six aspects:

First, beliefs are claimed to be contextual, personal, experiential, social, cognitive, and constructed in discursive practices. Second, they are described as dynamic and variable from one situation to another. Third, they are intrinsically related to actions, which guide and influence them. Fourth, beliefs are part of a teacher’s interpretive ability to make sense of the social world around him or her and respond to the problems he or she is faced with. Fifth, beliefs are organized into clusters; earlier beliefs, [...] are more difficult to change because these are more closely related to a teacher’s emotions and sense of self. This explains why some beliefs may be more resistant to change. Finally, beliefs play an important role in helping teachers to understand themselves and others and adapt to the world. As such, they provide meaning, structure, order, direction, and shared values. They also help individuals to identify with groups and social systems, thus reducing dissonance and confusion. (p. 1)

The authors also emphasize the contextual, social, cognitive, and constructed elements of beliefs, explaining how they help the individual understand and adapt to the world, in turn, creating identities with what they associate and identify. Importantly, the authors reinforce the difficulty to change beliefs that are established early in life, as they are considered central, organized into clusters and more closely related to one’s “sense of self”, that is, one’s identity.

Fu (2015) reinforces the variable and dynamic nature of beliefs in relation to socio-cultural theory and, in reference to Jarvis (2006)⁵, confirms the cultural aspect of

⁵ Jarvis, P. (2006). *Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning*. NY, Routledge.

beliefs in which the concept “can be defined as a part of culture and culture is in itself about the knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs, values and emotions that have been added to the biological base of human kind” (FU, 2015, p .13). In this sense, Fu emphasizes how beliefs are social as well as individual in that they exist in culture as well as how the individual manifests beliefs in other elements of culture.

A polemic topic amongst researchers and an important distinction to be made is the difference between beliefs and knowledge. Pajares (1992) explains that beliefs are based on judgement and evaluation, thus harder to change once established within an individual. The author, in reference to Nespor (1987)⁶, explains the difference as such: “Beliefs have stronger affective and evaluative components than knowledge and that affect typically operates independently of the cognition associated with knowledge” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 309). Beliefs, in this sense, are subjected to affective and evaluative components. The authors seem to suggest that knowledge is based on accepted, objective, cognitive truths, causing them to be more malleable once new information is received, “open to evaluation and critical examination” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 310). This is not true for beliefs, as Pajares (1992) explains, since a well-established belief is difficult to change because it would be uncomfortable to an individual, as one would have to change his or her way of understanding the world. For change to happen, beliefs may either be assimilated – when an individual incorporates new information into the existing belief system – or accommodated, when an individual replaces or reorganizes existing beliefs for a new belief.

In that sense, a change in beliefs may more often be assimilated in order to not disregard the well-established belief, rather than to completely accommodate to new beliefs presented to the individual, something that humans tend to avoid (PAJARES, 1992, p. 320). In the reciprocal way that core beliefs are difficult to change, new beliefs are most vulnerable to change, disregard and influence. These new beliefs go through a process of being incorporated into an individual’s belief system: “With time and use, they become robust, and individuals hold on to beliefs based on incorrect or incomplete knowledge even after scientifically correct explanations are presented to them” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 317). The author distinguishes between central and peripheral beliefs, those that are closer to an individual’s identity and those that are still being established and incorporated into an individual’s belief system. Furthermore, he

⁶ Nespor, J. (1987). The role of beliefs in the practice of teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 19, 317-328.

describes the belief system as a type of web or network composed of substructures of beliefs, values and attitudes that either reside on central or peripheral strands of the web:

Their strength may be interpreted by their functional connections to other beliefs and structures, and this connectedness permits one to infer their importance and predisposition to action. In all, it is a conceptual model with a very simple premise: Human beings have differing beliefs of differing intensity and complex connections that determine their importance. (PAJARES, 1992, p. 318)

The author explains how this intricate system influences actions in varying degrees, emphasizing that some beliefs are more strongly held onto based on the connections made between these substructures of beliefs, values and attitudes.

In reference to Nespor (1987), Pajares (1992) explains the paradox of the belief system in that, although they are less defined by logic and reason, they are “far more influential than knowledge in determining how individuals organize and define tasks and problems and are stronger predictors of behavior” (p. 310). The authors suggest the complexity of beliefs as well as its influence on our actions and behavior. As some researchers would like to distinguish between beliefs and knowledge (NESPOR, 1987 apud PAJARES, 1992), others argue that beliefs are at the core of all knowledge (PAJARES, 1992; LIMA, 2005). Pajares (1992) identifies human perception influenced by a structure of knowledge, which included schemata, constructs, information and beliefs but also note how this knowledge system is unreliable because “beliefs influence how individuals characterize phenomena, make sense of the world, and estimate covariation. They influence even cognitive knowledge” (p. 310). All knowledge passes through an individual’s personal evaluation, to be understood how he or she wishes. Students’ understanding of how to learn an L2 may be influenced by a confusing and uninterested teacher who does not challenge or encourage them to study. In a similar way, a citizen may interpret a law based on how the government implements other laws. The beginnings of the universe are perceived from knowledge coming from how scientists interpreted data. It is true that the cohort of studies seems to give facts, yet these facts also passed through individual scientists’ evaluations.

Lima (2005) further explains this type of filter quality that the concept of beliefs has as the following:

We understand the term belief as a filter through which all knowledge passes and as something that is not available in a systematized form for all people, as with knowledge, but exists both in the individual and

in the social dimension and can be questioned and rejected by other people who do not share the same belief system⁷. (p. 22)

This explanation of beliefs in relation to knowledge emphasizes the individual and social dimensions where systems of beliefs are accepted and rejected amongst individuals, depending on context and experience.

Although it may be questioned, a belief is not instantaneously true to the individual possessing it, but it changes as new beliefs are incorporated into an individual's belief system, and these new beliefs may or may not replace the former. In this way, we consider knowledge as something systematized and accepted by a consensus as something true, and it can be altered if the consensus is favorable to such a change, and thus a new systematized knowledge will come into existence⁸. (LIMA, 2005, p. 22)

Lima introduces the term “consensus” in order to distinguish between beliefs and knowledge. Whereas beliefs may be questioned, an individual does not immediately throw out old beliefs but rather looks for a middle-ground or a way to replace an old belief. In a way, a consensus of individual beliefs takes place. This consensus takes place on a larger scale in reference to knowledge, where beliefs are systematized and accepted as a given truth, able to be changed when new information causes a new consensus to be made. Lima (2005) suggests the system of beliefs within an individual and within a society involves a consensus in some form or another.

As a cause of the complex nature of beliefs, described above, “beliefs are hard to identify so they must be inferred in research” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 314). Furthermore, it is important to investigate the relation of different beliefs, rather than thinking of them as independent of one another (PAJARES, 1992). For example, studying beliefs on learning a foreign language on the backdrop of a larger system of beliefs will reveal consistencies and, just as important, inconsistencies. Through these connections, more intelligent, provocative and interesting inferences may be observed (PAJARES, 1992). Applied to the context of this study, belief statements such as “we need to learn more English to have more opportunity” indicate behavior intentions of

⁷ Original in Portuguese: “Entendemos o termo crença como um filtro pelo qual passa todo e qualquer conhecimento e como algo que não está disponível de forma sistematizada para todas as pessoas, como está o conhecimento, mas existe tanto na dimensão individual como na social e pode ser questionado e rejeitado por outras pessoas que não compartilham do mesmo sistema de crenças. ”

⁸ Original in Portuguese: “Apesar de poder ser questionada, a crença não deixa instantaneamente de ser verdadeira para o indivíduo que a possui, mas se modifica na medida em que novas crenças são incorporadas no sistema de crenças de um indivíduo e essas novas crenças podem vir a substituir a anterior ou não. Desse modo, consideramos conhecimento como algo sistematizado e aceito por um consenso como algo verdadeiro, podendo ser alterado caso o consenso seja favorável a tal mudança e, assim, um novo conhecimento sistematizado passará a existir. ”

the student to try and continue to learn more. Their intentional behavior to study and learn more English can be categorized into beliefs about how to learn English as well as its meaning in the world. The specificity of the belief helps to understand it more clearly.

That being said, I now discuss beliefs in a more specific framework – those beliefs of learners about how to learn.

2.1.2. Learner beliefs and beliefs about learning

As foundations to this study, the beliefs about learning a language are considered of utmost importance to one's learning, as the relation of beliefs to an individual's actions has been directly drawn in the above section. Kalaja et al. (2018) give a comprehensive definition to the term "learner beliefs" as "the conceptions, ideas, and opinions learners have about L2 learning and teaching and language itself" (p. 1). The learners' beliefs about the specific language they are learning, as well as about how to learn and teach an L2 are interconnected and will impact the learner's specific belief system. Recognizing how each learner brings his or her own intricate beliefs system to the classroom context, Bernat & Gvozdenko (2005), in accordance with Breen (2001)⁹ and Kalaja & Barcelos (2003), point out the impact that learners' beliefs have on the learning process and success in the L2. They offer examples of beliefs that may impact learning:

Second or foreign language students may hold strong beliefs about the nature of the language under study, its difficulty, the process of its acquisition, the success of certain learning strategies, the existence of aptitude, their own expectations about achievement and teaching methodologies. (BERNAT & GVOZDENKO, 2005 p. 1)

As there is a variety of beliefs about each element in the learning process, the challenge for the teacher is to find a way to work with all the students' beliefs, as well as their personal ones. A student may already enter a classroom expecting not to learn a language because of previously-formed beliefs that the language is impossible to learn, that he or she is not capable of learning foreign languages, or a pre-existing expectation to not learn in their specific school context, as is the case for many students (and teachers) in Brazilian public schools (COELHO, 2005; LIMA, 2005). Fu (2015) further argues that "in many circumstances, beliefs have been understood as inner traits, but also, they will possibly change after the different environmental learning

⁹ Breen, M.P. (Ed.), (2001). *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

experience” (p. 9). That is to say, the students enter the classroom with beliefs constructed within the educational culture in which they have been inserted. Depending on how well-established these beliefs are, the individual may apply previous learning strategies as well as assimilate or accommodate to new beliefs about their personal capabilities, effective teaching activities, or about the language itself (FU, 2015). In a spiral process, beliefs are constructed and reconstructed within the sociocultural context of the education system. Pajares (1992), in accordance with Lasley (1980)¹⁰, explains the process of educational culture that Fu (2015) refers to by defining the terms “enculturation”, “education” and “schooling” as the following:

Enculturation involves the incidental learning process individuals undergo throughout their lives and includes their assimilation, through individual observation, participation, and imitation, of all the cultural elements present in their personal world. Education is the directed and purposeful learning, either formal or informal, that has as its main task bringing behavior in line with cultural requirements. Schooling is the specific process of teaching and learning that takes place outside the home. As individuals incorporate others' ideas and mores, beliefs are created and fostered and generally endure, unaltered, unless they are deliberately challenged. (PAJARES, 1992, p. 316)

These definitions explain the distinctions between learning environments, whether it is through the individual’s incidental learning process of “observation, participation, and imitation” throughout their lives (enculturation); through the individual’s experience in being socialized and behaving appropriately in a given culture (education); or through teaching and learning that takes place in the school environment (schooling). These three educational components demonstrate how an individual’s beliefs about learning are created in dynamic and complex ways, forming a learner belief system that will be carried into varying learning environments.

In reference to the Dewey principles of interaction and continuity, Barcelos (2000) gives an interesting outlook to learner beliefs and the importance of recognizing the students’ environmental influences in their learning. The author explains how the two principles are related as they both “involve reciprocal influence of the elements. In other words, in interacting with others and with the environment the individual both shapes and is shaped by the interaction” (p. 16). Barcelos (2000) explains the reciprocity of elements as a transaction that takes place between the individual and environment. These principles are important in understanding how the students’

¹⁰ Lasley, T. J. (1980). Preservice teacher beliefs about teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 31(4), 38-41.

contexts and experiences and the social practices of the classroom will interact with and affect one another. That is to say, the individual is an influential part of the whole classroom as a sum of individual influences, which contribute to the class culture. The whole classroom in turn influences the individual's actions and behaviors within the context. This concept also echoes the concepts of fields and *habitus* (BOURDIEU, 1989) in the discussion on social class in Section 2.3. In fact, *habitus* may be considered another word for beliefs, in the definition of the concept I am adopting in this study, as both terms refer to dispositions of an individual that may affect the ways in which a person behaves because of past experience and influences, as well as a determining factor in future actions of the individual.

An important understanding of the sociocultural framework adopted by many applied linguists (ALANEN, 2003; FU, 2015; KALAJA et al. 2018;) is the role of mediational tools in one's learning. Both language and beliefs are seen as mediational tools in distinct ways, in that they may "enhance or inhibit a learner's actions or behavior" (Fu, 2015, p 13). Kalaja et al. (2018) explain how language is a type of mediational means, stating the following:

L2 learner beliefs are viewed as discursively constructed on specific occasions of talking or writing instead of assuming these to reside in a learner's mind and so be observable only by indirect means (Kalaja, 1995). Language thus gets a bigger role than in previous studies: it does not just reflect (with distortions) what goes on in the mind but through it the social world around the learner is constructed out of the mental stuff, including beliefs (and, e.g., motivation and attitudes). (p. 3)

Here, the authors explain the constructive element of language in which beliefs, as well as identities and the social world around the learner, are recognized, reflected upon, understood and ultimately, formulated. The act of speaking or writing is seen as discursive, not merely an act of transmitting what is in the individual's mind, but rather an act of constructing the learner's understanding of and actions within their environment. Kalaja et al. (2018) further explain the integral role that language plays in mediating social interactions, as an additional component to other mediational means such as other people, artifacts (social tools), signs and symbols. The authors see that the common thread between the traditional and more recent sociocultural approach is that beliefs impact actions. However, the sociocultural approach emphasizes how beliefs are contextual, not necessarily innate, and influenced by other things around them, thus, "finding out what influences beliefs is more important than mapping the

beliefs themselves” (KALAJA et al., 2018). That is to say, in order to find out what influences beliefs, the sociocultural approach considers the mediational tools as a crucial component. Furthermore, the authors reference a study by Alanen (2003) that suggests that beliefs themselves may be seen as a type of mediational means. They state,

Beliefs would thus mediate human activity in the same way as signs and symbols. If learner beliefs function as a tool, they shape the action of learning. However, some beliefs are merely content items that are repeated. Some beliefs are thus recycled in social interaction and others (also) used as mediating tools for action. (KALAJA et al., p. 4)

The authors reinforce the complexity of beliefs in that some may be used as mediational means that influences the learner’s actions whereas other beliefs are merely recycled and thus less impactful on an individual’s actions. The “complexity turn” that has taken place in the field of AL emphasizes the need to consider the internal and external factors of a learner, both considering individual motivations, experiences and attitudes as well as the impact of learning contexts and other influential people in the learning process (KALAJA et al., 2018).

Lima (2005) recognizes the complex interaction between students and teachers in the classroom, pointing out that their beliefs may or may not converge but they will be mutually influenced in a process of construction and reconstruction of beliefs about teaching and learning. Nevertheless, Lima (2005) explains that even if the students and teachers do not concretely enter into one another’s “repertoire of beliefs”, they still exist in a shared space for a time period. That collection of beliefs in the classroom will be questioned, individual beliefs will be considered valid or not, and the new beliefs will either be assimilated (incorporated) or tolerated (considered divergent of their own beliefs) for the time that the individuals interact in the same classroom environment (LIMA, 2005). That being said, the context is of great importance, emphasized in that, “we can think that the individual may hold a particular belief in one context under certain circumstances but have another totally opposite belief in another context ¹¹” (LIMA, 2005, P. 28). For example, a learner may have different beliefs about how to learn English or Mandarin, their personal capabilities to memorize equations or vocabulary, and in a different context hold onto the well-established belief in Brazilian

¹¹ Original in Portuguese: “Podemos pensar que o indivíduo pode lançar mão de determinada crença em um contexto, sob determinadas circunstâncias, mas ter outra crença totalmente oposta em um outro contexto”.

society that learners will not learn English in a public school but they will in a private English school (BARCELOS, 2007b).

In conclusion, the variety of ways to study beliefs such as “ethnographic classroom observations, narratives in different modalities, and interviews” taking a sociocultural approach, offer data that “make it possible to gain insights into the learning and teaching of L2s as subjectively experienced by learners, with an emphasis on their personal meanings and interpretations” (KALAJA et al., 2018, p. 3). These methods look to better understand the sociocultural contexts of the students, the environmental influence and the role of other individuals and society in existing beliefs, as well as the alterations made to beliefs once inserted in new environments or having gone through new experiences.

2.1.3. Beliefs about public schools in Brazil

Aforementioned, the pre-existing belief that individuals do not learn English in a public school is prevalent throughout Brazilian society (BARCELOS, 2007b). This in turn becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy in that both the teachers and students arrive to English class in a public school with no expectation to actually learn English. This belief then influences the students’ and teacher’s actions within the context, as well as their attitudes towards the teaching and learning of the language, both negatively affecting the learning process. The result is that the students in fact struggle to learn English in school and the reputation that public school English instruction is ineffective repeats itself in a vicious cycle. Some students accept the belief as a reality, while others may make efforts to learn what they can. Still others may seek out other ways to learn English outside of the classroom, either independently through social media or by attending a private English class. A number of studies have been done on learning and teaching foreign languages in public schools (BARCELOS, 2007b; COELHO, 2005; LIMA, 2005; ZOLNIER, 2007). When mentioning the relevance of the research results on beliefs in the field of AL, Barcelos (2007b) states that,

Studies reveal, quite strongly, the role of beliefs in the vicious cycle that is installed mainly in public school contexts. The results point to the strength of beliefs allied to contextual factors that shape and are shaped by reality. (p. 62)

The context of Brazilian society gives an example of the influence that contextual factors have on beliefs, “shaping and shaped by reality” in a reciprocal, cyclical process. Barcelos (2007b) offers examples of recurring beliefs in the Brazilian

context and the relation between "the intentions of the teachers and the interpretations of the students" (p. 112). For students, key words like "studying abroad", "customs", and "native speaker" appear in the belief list. For teachers, key words like "public schools," "disinterested students," "teaching easy and basic things" appear on the belief list. Thus, there is a dynamic, contextual and social relationship between the student and the teacher, as well as the society, which impacts the beliefs lived out in the context of the school. In addition, Zolnier's (2007) study demonstrates the discrepancy between the students' and teacher's beliefs, which could be a cause of the students' dissatisfaction and the teacher's frustrations. Zolnier (2007) also points out how the students believe that English is to be spoken, and that their main challenge is speaking. These recurring beliefs in the public school context suggests the nature of how beliefs are created and passed on within a society through individuals and yet also how belief systems may differ between individuals in the same context, causing a struggle to adapt – accommodate or assimilate – to new beliefs (PAJARES, 1992).

Lima (2005) points out that there has been a growing interest in studies on learner beliefs since the 1990s in Brazil. However, many studies look at beliefs of students in their undergraduate course, while there are few studies in the context of elementary and high school (LIMA, 2005).

2.1.4. Beliefs about immigrants in the United States

Marietta (2006) explains the heated topic of immigration policy in the United States and the difficulty in addressing the issue with a variety of "opinions, rhetoric and statistics concerning the impact of immigration on the U.S. economy" (p. 1). Just as public schools are stigmatized in Brazil for poor quality of education, many immigrants to the United States receive a poor reputation even before arriving. More specifically, Latino immigrants receive a negative image because many Americans believe they take advantage of public services (CID, 2011). The author, in reference to Abrego and Gonzales (2010)¹², explains the contradictory laws in place towards undocumented immigrants, stating: "young undocumented immigrants can legally attend school, but they do not have the opportunity to work, vote, receive financial aid, or even drive in most states. This makes the few opportunities that they do have difficult to achieve" (CID, 2011, p. 7). Cid points out on a structural level the conflicting beliefs about the

¹² Abrego, L., & Gonzales, R. (2010). Blocked paths, uncertain futures: The postsecondary education and labor market prospects of undocumented Latino youth. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, 15(1/2), 144-157.

opportunities hoped to achieve in a new country and the legal limitations. All of these factors contribute to the beliefs created in society toward immigrants, specifically from certain stigmatized nations, whether or not they have legal documents to be in the country.

Within the education context, immigrants in the United States who have a low English proficiency, are often considered less intelligent and, to some extent, are attributed to this identity by the community, perhaps unintentionally (REEVES, 2006). Vandrick (2014), upon explaining Persell's (1997)¹³ understanding of the relationship of social class and educational success in the United States, points out the prominent impact of beliefs in the U.S. society, including teachers and educators, about IQ and cultural deprivation that which harmfully discriminate against lower-class children, causing them to be less successful in school.

In the following section, I discuss the relationship between beliefs, identities and social class in English language learning.

2.1.5. Relationship between beliefs and other concepts

Though already referenced in this section, I would like to briefly and more explicitly draw some ties between the construct of beliefs and other key constructs in this study. As beliefs have been described as a complex, dynamic, contextual and paradoxical system of attitudes, morals and values, the relationship between a belief system and identities and social class have become apparent. I discuss each concept in the following paragraphs in this section.

Several studies referenced in this section recognize the relationship between beliefs and identities (BARCELOS, 2015; BERNAT & GVOZDENKO, 2005; KALAJA, BARCELOS, ARO & RUOHOTIE-LYHTY, 2015; PAJARES, 1992). Pajares (1992) understands the deep relation of beliefs to identities when an individual becomes very comfortable with a belief, up to the point of it becoming a part how they define themselves, essentially becoming part of one's identity. The individual embodies the belief, which in turn, influences social interactions, relationships, activities and other elements of their identity. He explains, "People grow comfortable with their beliefs, and these beliefs become their 'self,' so that individuals come to be

¹³ Persell, C. H. (1997). Social class and educational inequality. In J. A. Banks & C. A. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (3rd ed., pp.87–107). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

identified and understood by the very nature of the beliefs, the habits, they own” (PAJARES, 1992, p. 317-318). Barcelos (2015) specifies how “the more central a belief is, the more related it is to our identities and emotions and other beliefs” (p. 310). She cites Dewey’s (1933)¹⁴ concept of “pet beliefs”, which are described as “beliefs to which we get attached to and which we do not let go of easily” (BARCELOS, 2015, p. 310). Once beliefs become a part of our core, we create a web of attachments, emotionally charged and tightly related to how we identify ourselves.

The relationship between beliefs and social class is recognized as a key factor in the reproduction of class and class differences. Bourdieu (2013) explains,

Simple creations of social beliefs that exert real power over the believers, whether it be the power to consecrate material objects by transferring to them the sacred collective or the power to transform the representations of those who delegate their power to them. The belief, an adhesion that ignores the fact that it makes what it adheres to, does not know or does not want to know that everything that makes the intrinsic charm of its object, its charisma, is only the product of countless operations of credit or discredit, all equally unconscious of their truth, which take place in the market of symbolic goods and which are materialized in officially recognized and guaranteed symbols, signs of distinction, indices of consecration and diplomas of charisma such as titles of nobility or school titles, marks of respect objectified and demanding the marks of respect, pomp and apparatus that have the effect not only of manifesting the social position but also of the collective recognition that we confer for it simply by authorizing it to make such a demonstration of its importance.¹⁵ (p. 114)

Bourdieu explains the symbolic value that an object, ability, or trait is given by the reproduction of innumerable operations of credit and discredit. That is to say, beliefs that a society holds towards a certain good is what gives the good any value. These beliefs transferred from the sacred collective of society delegate power, importance, recognition and value, creating what Bourdieu calls symbolic capital. Moita Lopes (2008) specifies how English involves capital interests in political,

¹⁴ Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

¹⁵ Original in Portuguese: “Simples criações da crença social que exercem um poder real sobre os crentes, quer se trate do poder de consagrar os objetos materiais transferindo para eles o sagrado coletivo ou do poder de transformar as representações daqueles que delegam a elas seu poder. A crença, adesão que ignora o fato de que faz existir aquilo a que adere, não sabe ou não quer saber que tudo o que faz o encanto intrínseco de seu objeto, seu carisma, é apenas o produto de inúmeras operações de crédito ou descrédito, todas igualmente inconscientes de sua verdade, que se realizam no mercado de bens simbólicos e que se materializam em símbolos oficialmente reconhecidos e garantidos, signos de distinção, índices de consagração e diplomas de carisma como os títulos de nobreza ou os títulos escolares, marcas de respeito objetivadas exigindo as marcas de respeito, pompa e aparato que têm por efeito não somente manifestar a posição social como também o reconhecimento coletivo que lhe conferimos pelo simples fato de autorizá-lo a fazer semelhante demonstração de sua importância.”

cultural, economic, social and ethical issues in Brazil, exemplifying how language can be a form of symbolic capital. Vandrick (2014), in accordance with Gao (2014) and Shin (2014), emphasizes a global phenomenon that applies to both contexts in this study. She states, “the prevalent belief that English, and perhaps an education in an English-dominant country, will create a better future maintains the class privilege that some English learners already have” (VANDRICK, 2014, p. 88). This class privilege is placed on a global scale, whether the status of the English language is being adopted by an immigrant student seeking new opportunities in an English-dominant society or by a public school student in Brazil with little access to the language in his or her daily life.

In this section, I have attempted to explain the epistemological history and development of the concept of beliefs, before and since being recognized in AL. Given that the concept of beliefs has been understood by researchers in a plethora of ways, I have also provided a definition and nature of beliefs that will be used in this study. This section also explored the impact of learners’ beliefs on their behaviors, interactions and ultimately, success, with second or foreign language learning. Finally, I briefly discussed beliefs in Brazilian society towards public school education, beliefs in U.S. society towards immigrants and lower-class students, as well as the relation between beliefs and other concepts that appear in this study (i.e. identities, social class & emotions).

The following section explores the concept identities, a fundamental theme in foreign and L2 learning.

2.2. Identities

This section discusses the following: concept of identities; identities and (school) community; imagined communities, investment, and language education; and the construction of identities and narration.

2.2.1. The concept of identities

The concept of identities is characterized by its complexity, variation, fragmentation, and plurality because of the influences of culture and society around, and that of social contexts such as school, home, groups of friends, social function or work environments, to name a few (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2013; PERES, 2013; SOUZA, 2013). Souza (2013), from a socio-historical-cultural perspective, emphasizes that identities are revealed through discourse and language. Thus, they are

built *in* interaction and *through* interaction. Since the concept of identities has endured various stages of understanding (the Enlightenment stage where identity was thought of as a fixed, static nucleus, followed by the Sociological stage that considered the interaction with the Other in the construction of identities), the postmodern perspective is widely used in AL (LEFFA, 2012; MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2013; NORTON, 2001; PERES, 2013; SOUZA, 2013) In this postmodern perspective, identities are not a unit or a fixed core, but rather fragmented, complex, plural, and dependent on discourse. That is to say, an individual has several identities. Telles (2004) emphasizes the cultural impact in identities, that is, "a set of signs and symbols that are built collectively in each culture in different historical contexts"¹⁶ (p.59). From this perspective, we can understand the postmodern perspective as also sociocultural, influenced by the collective culture and historical contexts both of the individual and the society at large.

Leffa (2012) explains the evolution of the concept of identities as passing through the three states of elements – solid, liquid and gas. The solid state corresponds with the Enlightenment perspective because in the past, people had one identity all of their lives, with no movement and no change in class, position or work. The liquid state associates with that of the sociological stage in which the perception changed to see individual's identity as more flexible to the varying situations that an individual confronted, interacting with different people and contexts, social mobility being a larger possibility. Finally, the gas state corresponds with the current post-modern perspective adopted by a majority of applied linguists because identity is difficult to hold onto; it is always evolving, changing and moving place and time. Like gas, it is unable to be contained and is ephemeral. The element of fire comes into play as the source of energy for this gaseous state of the concept of identities. Fire represents interaction, touching, lighting, and running into different people and situations that will give spark to an identity, to a change, to an evolution. The energy or fuel that produces these varying identities is seen as outside of the subject itself (LEFFA, 2012), influenced by geographical, historical and dialectical factors, to be explained below.

The first factor – geographical – explains how a location can change one's identities or how one sees him or herself in relation to the surroundings, how they are represented in a society, how they are received in a new culture, how they have access

¹⁶ Original in Portuguese: "É um conjunto de sinais, signos, símbolos que se constroem coletivamente em cada cultura em diferentes contextos históricos".

to a culture and if they are accepted or are always on the outside once they cross borders (LEFFA, 2012). Haesbaert (2011) reinforces the importance of space in identity construction, explaining the following: “The spatial mobility of our time, where many live, without a doubt, multiple identities, through the conjunction of multiple territories [...] is not permanent but in between different spaces¹⁷” (p. 73). This geographical space does not need to be as dramatic as different countries, as is the case for the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) in this study. Rather, this spatial mobility could include the school an individual attends, the supermarkets and shopping malls frequented, the neighborhood an individual resides, one’s workplace or place of worship, or even where one travels, to name a few examples. In other words, we may present different identities, dependent on the geographic space. As Haesbaert (2011) points out, these geographical spaces are a culmination of various territories, echoing the concept of fields that Bourdieu (2004) discusses in relation to social class, further discussed in the Social Class section below.

Haesbaert (2011), in reference to the impact of a space-time relationship on identity construction, reiterates what Leffa (2012) considers geographical and historical factors, stating that, “Identity construction today must also be approached within a ‘multiple input matrix’ [...] where the space-time relationship will always be fundamental to designing it¹⁸” (p. 73). Haesbaert (2011) recognizes the relationship between time and space since they are contributing factors to the ever-evolving construction of identity, as well as matrixes with many entryways, emphasizing the complexity of perspectives to see identities as well as to construct them. Leffa (2012) explains the historical factor of identities as the culmination of experiences that creates identities and their evolution. In a study on the identities of English teachers participating in a continuing education program, Sól (2013) refers to the “trails” that the teachers bring into their reflections, which demonstrate the influences between past, present, and future experiences. That is to say, the historical culmination of experiences has an impact on the present teacher’s experience, which will impact the teacher’s future experience. The teachers reveal an attitude of displacement in general, in that they highlight that they are not as they were before, denying this person in the past.

¹⁷ Original in Portuguese: “A mobilidade espacial do nosso tempo, onde muitos vivem, sem dúvida, identidades múltiplas, pela conjugação de múltiplos territórios...num permanente “*in-between*” de diferentes espaços”.

¹⁸ Original in Portuguese: “A construção identitária, hoje, também deve ser abordada dentro de uma “matriz de múltiplas entradas – onde a relação espaço-tempo será sempre fundamental para desenhá-la”.

However, in reality, the author emphasizes how we are not able to erase our past, as it is a contributing factor to who we are today. In this way, the author points out how in each moment we are results of the past, present and future. In other words, we carry our historical trails at every instant.

Beyond the geographical and historical factors, Leffa (2012) also highlights the dialectical influence on individuals' identities. The author explains how identities change through interaction with another person or concept. Leffa (2012) uses the example of speaking another language and how that can create a different position, making the subject uncomfortable and vulnerable. For example, a Brazilian who learns English will add a dialectical factor into her identity, taking on different perspectives of the world, and yet it will not alter her nationality (LEFFA, 2012). Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) suggests this dialectical relationship in identities, in reference to daily interactions in which we participate, stating that the “question of an existing identity between speaking and doing/completing, to be said and to be done, always occurring in relations of coexistence [interaction] between people and their communities¹⁹” (p. 2). The author suggests a relationship between our actions and words, which are impacted by the dialectical relationship between individuals and their communities.

In this sense, it is necessary to emphasize the importance of the concept of difference when talking about identities, because, according to Souza (2013), identities are built not only from what we are, but also from what we are not, “the Other”. Compared to the Other, the individual can form a representation of himself: "I am not a good student in English; I am not a native speaker of the language; I am not a boy; I'm not black; I'm not Brazilian; I'm not heterosexual" and other ways to differentiate oneself from the Other. Keeping these associations in mind, we need to think about the identities that are being formulated by the language we use to interact on a daily basis, whether in the L1 or L2, while we construct verbal representations of the Other and ourselves. Leffa (2012) further explains the recognition of the Other and the importance to confront it and have an open discourse about the difference. This approach is different than ignoring or completely omitting any notion of difference. Omitting difference is a position of power, as it refuses to give energy to the different identities, contexts, race and/or class that is present. As Leffa (2012) explains, omission keeps the one who omits in power. Mastrella (2007) further emphasizes the role that language

¹⁹ Original in Portuguese: “questão da identidade existente entre falar e fazer/realizar, ser dito e ser feito, ocorrendo sempre nas relações de convivência entre as pessoas e suas comunidades”.

plays in power dynamics, as an essential tool for accessing social networks. Referencing Heller (1987)²⁰, the author explains:

It is through the language that the person gains access - or this is denied - to social networks of power that gives learners opportunities to speak. With this, we can perceive that language is not simply a neutral means of communication, but it is in it and through it that meanings are constructed and social relations are established²¹. (p. 109)

According to the author, through language, individuals gain access to social networks of power that allow them to have their voice heard, to communicate their opinion, to establish social relations and thus certain identities within society. These power relations are essential in the construction of identities and come into play when looking at identities constructed within communities, specifically in the education system. They are also essential in creating dynamics of power and exclusion in a social class (to be discussed in more detail in Section 2.3 on social class).

2.2.2. Identities and (school) community

Louro (1997) discusses how the language and the structure of the school system is also a form of construction of identities, as well as barriers. The divisions between adult (teacher) and child (student), boy and girl, house and street, work and leisure that may exist before and are more defined as a child enters into the school system. The phrase that Louro (1997) uses to define this concept is "the schooling of bodies and minds". This term schooling offers a dominant and negative connotation, referring to the space that each of these items occupy. Louro (1997) goes on to explain how time and space are divided in the education system and how students learn their preferences. In addition, they learn what skills they have and what they do not have, through the lens of difference. Compared to the Other, one student has one skill and the Other does not; that is, one has English skills and one does not have them.

Soares (2011) uses the term "self-image" to understand the concept of identities being formulated in the school system, highlighting the impact that society has on student learning and success. According to the author:

By exerting influence on students' self-image - which is then devalued and therefore not engaged in learning - and on the behavior of the

²⁰ Heller, M. The role of language in the formation of ethnic identity. In: Phinney, J.; Rotheram, M. (Ed.). *Children's Ethnic Socialization*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987, p. 180-200.

²¹ Original in Portuguese: "É através da língua que a pessoa ganha acesso – ou esse lhe é negado – a redes sociais de poder que dá aos aprendizes oportunidades de falar. Com isso, podemos perceber que a língua não é simplesmente um meio neutro de comunicação, mas é nela e por meio dela que os significados são construídos e as relações sociais estabelecidas".

teacher - which, for example, lightens and reduces content, because of "deficiencies" of students - this prophecy ends up being fulfilled; subschooling accentuates discrimination, and, contrary to expectations, compensatory measures confirm the failure to "compensate" for "deficiencies"²². (SOARES, 2011, p. 23)

Second-language learners suffer from this judgment at school because teachers, peers, and the community use a standard of judgment whether it is for students in the context of student-immigrants in a public school, or for students who have the opportunity to study English in a private course in Brazil. Thus, the community imposes an identity on those who do not speak the standard language, categorizing them as students with a disability. This in turn is reflected in the student's personal identity.

Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) explains a phenomenon of identities given to individuals as a "disciplinary power" in the education system, described by Veiga-Neto (2002)²³, in which the modern world is explained as the following:

It is the world in which we all recognize ourselves and internalize the values that each individual has and the positions that each individual occupies. In educational practices, we find the first and definitive 'truths' about who we are, who we can be and what we can do²⁴. (p. 3)

The authors agree in how the school community gives us the definitive truths of who we are, who we can be and what we can do through the recognition and internalization of values that each person has and the positions that each person occupies. In a sense, the influence of the community on an individual's identity seems preconditioned, as the society sets a standard and places each person in or outside of what is accepted or not. That being said, Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) makes a point to clarify that an identity is not preconditioned and that even though there are identities that an individual is given by society, they construct their own identities by how they deal with these classifications, how they act and react. There is still a role of the individual in the construction of their identities (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009). This refers to the aforementioned dialectical factor that Leffa (2012) addresses.

²² Original in Portuguese: "Os demais dialetos – de grupos de baixo prestígio social – são avaliados *em comparação com* o dialeto de prestígio, considerando a *norma-padrão culta*, e julgados, naquilo em que são diferentes dessa norma, "incorretos", "ilógicos" e até "feios". Essas atitudes em relação aos dialetos não-padrão não são linguísticas; são *atitudes sociais*, culturalmente aprendidas, pois se baseiam em valores sociais e culturais, não em conhecimento linguístico. Na verdade, são julgamentos *sobre os falantes*, não sobre a sua fala". (SOARES, 2011, p. 23)

²³ Veiga-Neto, A. J. Foucault e Educação: Outros estudos foucaultianos. In: Silva, T. T. da. (Org.). *O Sujeito da Educação: Estudos foucaultianos*. Petrópolis: RJ, Vozes, 5ª ed., 2002, p. 225-246.

²⁴ Original in Portuguese: "É o mundo no qual todos nós reconhecemos e internalizamos os valores que cada um tem e as posições que cada um ocupa. Nas práticas educacionais é que encontramos as primeiras e definitivas "verdades" sobre quem somos, quem podemos ser e o que podemos fazer. "

It also refers to the struggle for inclusion that some individuals face in order to be considered an important participant in a particular context.

2.2.3. Imagined communities, investment and language education

Considering the relevance of the surrounding community on an individual's identity, I now discuss the concept of imagined communities and its impact on a learner's identities (NORTON, 2001). First of all, imagination is seen as a way in which an individual positions oneself in the world by "transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (WENGER, 1998, p. 176 apud NORTON, 2001, p. 163), not to be confused with a mechanism to escape reality but rather as a way to visualize future possibilities and thus create ways to interact with one's immediate reality. The connection to the full concept of "imagined communities" is made through the key concept of alignment. Norton (2001) states,

It is here that the notion of alignment becomes central, because it is through alignment that learners do what they have to do to take part in a larger community. It is possible to argue that the communities of practice that characterized Katarina and Felicia's learning trajectories were communities of the imagination – what could be called imagined communities. When Katarina and Felicia entered their language classrooms, they not only saw a classroom with four walls, but envisioned a community that transcended time and space. Thus, although these learners were engaged in classroom practices, the realm of their community extended to the imagined world outside the classroom – their imagined community. (NORTON, 2001, p. 164)

The author ties together imagination and community with the important step of alignment, in which the learners used what was being learned in the classroom to imagine the community to which they desired access, outside of the classroom walls. The participants Katarina and Felicia had different connections to imagined communities, which affected their "promise for access" (NORTON, 2001, p. 164). This factor may or may not affect the investment in which a learner makes to access these imagined communities, as the author considers the investment unique to the learner, both dependent on the context and the conditions that the learner practices the language (NORTON, 2001). The investment that the learners make is in hopes of an outcome. In this sociocultural perspective of learning a language, the learners "are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (NORTON, 2001, p. 166). That is, through the language, the learners' identities

are being constantly reconsidered and transformed. Norton (2001) adopts Bourdieu's (1977)²⁵ perspective about capital in that,

If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will increase their value in the social world. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on their investment in the target language – a return that will give them access to the privileges of target language speakers. Thus, an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (p. 166)

Norton (2001) recognize the learning of an L2 as an investment in symbolic and material resources as well as in their own identity. The author suggests that language learning is an investment in time and effort in order to access more social networks, which in turn render more economic and symbolic capital. This implies that the higher the investment, the higher the stakes and the expectations of a rewarding outcome. Through the promise of acquiring access to the individual's imagined community, the learner can make the investment. A parallel can be made to Norton's imagined community and the concept of desire to do or be someone as Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) addresses. The impact of this investment causes a struggle to be included in a given context. Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) argues that even with a deep desire to enter an imagined community (i.e. a specific occupation, social activity, or neighborhood), an individual may be excluded from that activity based on given identities from society. In fact, it can be a fight or struggle to be included.

Norton's (2001) study investigated the real impact of these imagined communities on the learners. She makes the observation that the learners were less comfortable interacting with others that represented either the symbolic or material investment that interested them. The author explains the distinction between the two investments as the following: "By symbolic investment, I refer to the desire and need learners had for friends, education and religion, while material investment references the desire for capital goods, real estate and money" (NORTON, 2001, p. 166). This citation explains symbolic investment in relation to cultural or social capital that an individual may acquire whereas material investment is more closely related to potential economic capital. Next, the author points out the impact of these investments on the learners' interactions, which she investigated by asking them about when they feel most and least comfortable to speak English. She discovers that "the very people to whom

²⁵ Bourdieu, P. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

the learners were most uncomfortable speaking English were the very people who were members of – or gatekeepers to – the learners’ imagined communities” (NORTON, 2001, p. 166). The results suggest a relationship between the investment in the target language and the imagined identity that the learners create in order to have an opportunity to access it.

The impact of sociocultural influences on one’s identity is evident in Norton’s study and the author shows how “language learning is a social practice that engages the identities of learners in complex and sometimes contradictory ways” (NORTON, 2001, p. 167). That is to say, learning a language is not simply a classroom activity. Rather, it is a social practice that challenges the language learners’ identities beyond the classroom. Reciprocally, the class environment is also affected by the imagined communities that the language learners bring with them. The learners may take part of two or multiple communities and Norton (2001) suggests that the teacher should give importance to all of these as a way to engage the students in their learning.

Taking into consideration the identities being constructed in the school environment, it is important to consider what role learning a foreign language has on constructing an identity as well as what social relations are made available to the individual. Mastrella (2007) explains that, focusing on the identities of EFL learners:

[It allows] greater access to the type of social relationships that are established in the formal contexts of teaching, that is, in the classroom, as well as the discourses that position the subjects and the interactions that build and (re) negotiate identities, constructing themselves even though they are conflicting. In addition, we consider that to deal with the identity of the learning subject is also appropriate because it allows us to deal with individual and social issues in a more balanced way, not dissociating the subject from his or her context, not making dichotomies between individual / psychological and social factors, but recognizing the subject as subjected to the structure and, at the same time, in agency and operation, in a model of relations in constant formation and transformation²⁶. (p. 110)

The author explains how learning a foreign language will cause conflict between subject positioning and renegotiation of identities in terms of the language, not ignoring the formal teaching context in the classroom that will make an impact. She

²⁶ Original in Portuguese: “[Possibilita] um maior acesso ao tipo de relações sociais que se estabelecem nos contextos formais de ensino, isto é, na sala de aula, bem como aos discursos que posicionam os sujeitos e as interações que constroem e (re)negociam identidades, se constituindo enquanto conflitantes. Além disso, consideramos que tratar da identidade do sujeito da aprendizagem é também apropriado por permitir que lidemos com questões individuais e sociais de forma mais equilibrada, não dissociando o sujeito de seu contexto, não fazendo dicotomias entre fatores individuais/psicológicos e sociais, mas reconhecendo-os enquanto tais em sujeição à estrutura e, ao mesmo tempo, em agência e operação, num modelo de relação em constante formação e transformação”.

recognizes both the language and the subject as an agent in the constant formation and transformation of individual and social identities.

In considering the texts cited above, one can see how identity plays an important role in the student's learning of any language, since it can shape the influences, experiences, and beliefs that are constructed by the individual in interaction with the surrounding environment. Moreover, the role that language has in the construction of identities is central, since identities are created through language. That is, we can think, speak, feel, give meaning to the world and have the possibility for change and transformation through language, according to Mastrella-de-Andrade (2013). In addition, the author emphasizes that studies about the learning of a foreign language need to consider the social identities of the students and teachers that are produced and reproduced in the daily interactions, since they are intrinsically related to the learning process (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2013).

2.2.4. Construction of identities through narratives

To conclude this section on identities, I address the role that narrative studies hold in constructing identities. First, to reiterate, language and identities are intimately linked; language produces identities and both are co-constructed (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009). As the nature of narrative studies is a social interaction between researcher and participant through language, many research studies have seen the benefits of narrative studies in order to better understand participant identities.

Telles (2004) emphasizes the relevance of the theme of identity in teacher training and explains a narrative research focused on L2 undergraduate students studying *Letras*²⁷ at a public university in Brazil. In the study, the author tries to recognize how identities are constructed and transformed by the narratives of the students. The narratives have the purpose of facilitating the deconstruction of identities constructed in and by society, while the students have the opportunity to reflect on their stories. The results have suggested that the students were able to form connections and meanings between the theories of reading about teacher training (which happened in conjunction with the research) and the events highlighted in the personal narratives. In four categories of stories (family, pedagogic, foreign language learning and professionalization), the students reflected on their identity formation. In this way, we

²⁷ The *Letras* major is comparable to Language and Literature majors in the United States, but rather than separating the two subjects, the *Letras* major in Brazil requires the students to take courses involving both linguistic and literature studies.

can understand the importance of time and new experiences for these students, and how they have used time as an advantage and an opportunity to grow and transform. Besides that, the students were able to verbalize and construct a reflection through the narrative activity. In short,

The reflexive process of narrative research opens spaces of interaction in which these senses crystallized in time and space are questioned and that such inherited identities are de-territorialized, dismantled, and crossed by other levels of subjectivity composition, so that the participant of the research could re-state such concepts and live the stories they wanted to live²⁸. (TELLES, 2004, p. 81)

The author describes how narrative research assists identity construction, emphasizing the role of reflection in order to revisit events that otherwise had been crystallized. The importance of narratives, expressed through language, is also shown to be a crucial tool in understanding, constructing and transforming identities.

This section on identities has attempted to explain the evolution of understanding this concept; the impact that the education system as a social community has in constructing identities; the relevance of the concept in learning a foreign language; the investment an individual makes to be included in an imagined community, affecting one's identity; and the construction of identities through narration.

The last section of this chapter describes the concept of social class and explains its relevance in the field of AL.

2.3. Social class

This section on social class discusses the progression of the concept of social class, the relevance of social class in AL and the definition that I use in this study. I also argue the units of social class being four types of capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic), the relationship between English and capital, as well as how globalization enters into the equation of social class.

2.3.1. Concept of social class

The concept of social class has been discussed since Karl Marx's theory of a two-class system between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, where it was principally

²⁸ Original in Portuguese: Ela nos mostrou que o processo reflexivo da pesquisa narrativa abre espaços de interação nos quais esses sentidos cristalizados no tempo e no espaço são questionados e que tais identidades herdadas são desterritorializadas, desmanchadas e atravessadas por outros níveis de composição da subjetividade, para que a participante da pesquisa pudesse ressignificar tais conceitos e vive as histórias que desejassem viver”.

thought of as an economic distinction between the two classes (BLOCK, 2014). Over the years, many philosophers from various fields of study have approached social class from different perspectives, contributing to an evolution of the term, transforming along with changes in socioeconomic relations and globalization. What was once a two-tier social class system was further divided into three categories (upper class, middle class and lower class), according to Block (2014). The categories of classes are various depending on which theory they are viewed, whether Marx's bourgeoisie or proletariat, or more recent and elaborate categories with six nominations: high class; medium-high class; medium-low class; worker class; low class (BLOCK, 2014; VANDRICK, 2014). What is apparent in all theories is the difficulty of categorizing social class, since it has no fixed barriers, is constantly changing and has many influential factors involved, similar to other variables in the construction of identities (VANDRICK, 2014).

Block recognizes the complexity of social class in the “multitude of phenomena” on the concept and the range of elements that contribute to the social class index, including the following: property, wealth, job, place of residence, education, social networks, consumer patterns, symbolic behavior, spatial relationships, mobility, and chances in life (2015, p.3). The list of social class factors is extensive, some being more quantifiable than others. These elements interact to create an individual’s social class, that which can be adjusted by changes in and interaction within these elements. For example, a promotion may allow an individual to move into a more affluent neighborhood (place of residence), which may result in new social networks (i.e. neighborhood events, club membership) and consumer patterns (i.e. local supermarkets and services) in accordance with the space in that the individual is interacting. In this study, I consider the following definitions of social class as a foundation:

Social class is an amorphous term, but can generally be defined as an unofficial hierarchical stratification of people in a given society, who are ranked according to their social, economic, occupational, and educational statuses. (VANDRICK, 2014, p. 86)

Social class is a multi-dimensional construct [...]. Classes are not merely economic phenomena but are also profoundly concerned with forms of social reproduction and cultural distinction. (SAVAGE et al., 2013, p. 223)

I see social class as fundamentally an economic notion [...]. The economic base of society, and above all, the individual’s relationship to the means of production, therefore does not determine everything that happens at the social and cultural (and indeed political) levels of

existence, but it is the driving force in society in very subtle ways. (BLOCK, 2014, p. 56)

These definitions consider the economic notion of social class as a foundation either as a status factor amongst others (see Vandrick above), as a base to social reproduction and cultural distinction (see Savage above) or as an individual's interaction or "driving force in society" (see Block above). Whether the economic notion is subtly or explicitly expressed, it is a founding block of social class, yet it is not exclusive, as Block (2014) dutifully clarifies in reference to Bourdieu's theory, acknowledging the importance of neighborhood and community "and above all, there are phenomena such as taste and legitimacy, framed in terms of cultural and social capitals, *habitus* and the notion of fields" (BLOCK, 2014, p. 61).

Block (2014) considers the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu as a summative perspective that takes into account not only the quantitative socioeconomic markers of social class such as income and degree of education that many researchers have used, but also the qualitative markers, which produces a complex web of interactions. Bourdieu (1986) explains the variables of social class as a culmination of types of capital. In a way, these forms of capital – social, cultural, economic and symbolic - are units to, in a sense, measure social class, which I discuss in detail later in Section 2.3.4.

2.3.2. Relevance in Applied Linguistics

Social class in AL is often not considered when discussing learners' identities, but is starting to be recognized as a crucial factor in the field (BLOCK, 2015; VANDRICK, 2014). Following scholars within AL such as Block, the perspective I adopt in this study is that social class is seen as an integral factor within identities, one that deserves much more attention than it has received thus far (BLOCK, 2014).

Block (2015) criticizes the field of AL for its lack of consideration to the concept of social class when addressing identities, calling attention to the "class erasure" that occurs in varying degrees. This "class erasure" ranges from brief consideration of social class when discussing identities, to inclusion of the concept at the end of a list of identity factors after race, gender and ethnicity, for example, to overall exclusion of social class from the discussion. He argues that applied linguists need to consider the relationship between identity factors of recognition (gender, race, ethnicity, religion, orientation, etc.) and (re)distribution (social class mobility) and find the intersectionality in order to avoid class erasure and better consider the impact of

social class in an individual's identity. Social class is perceived to interact with the other elements of the construction of identities, in that an individual's race, gender and ethnic identities also affect their social interactions and ultimately their social class.

Therefore, finding this intersectionality means "how to take into account the ways that different types of discrimination and inequality overlap and/or are inextricably linked" (BLOCK, 2014, p. 69). The author gives the example of a case study of an Ecuadorian immigrant woman in Catalonian society, where class terms are impacted by her low-level service job, gender, immigrant status, skin color, and by the fact that she is culturally and linguistically different. These identity factors are inseparable, interlacing, and cumulative in regards to an individual's social class. Block's (2014) study considers the participants' struggle for social mobility, along with other factors of exclusion, which Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) also identifies.

All of that being said, Vandrick (2014) points out how social class manifests in the relations of the learners with the language, with the teachers, and with the surrounding society. It is necessary to recognize the importance of the effects of social class in AL, specifically in learning an L2:

The effects of social class status are not abstract but strongly affect the experiences of participants in second language education. The status of social class can cause many disadvantages or allow much privilege. Because it has so many concrete consequences, it is important that those involved in language education, whether teaching a language, preparing language educators, or conducting research in language education, should consider dealing with social class in their teaching and research. (VANDRICK, 2014, p. 89-90)

Vandrick (2014) validates the importance of not only considering social class in AL, but also the consequences of its status within a given society, whether it may cause disadvantages or privileges. Social class is not merely a characteristic or representation of self. Rather, it is in fact a hierarchy of status, founded on dynamics of exclusion in order for one class to gain more power. Kanno (2014) also emphasizes the importance of class in AL research, stating the following:

The analysis of social class in relation to language learning and teaching is in essence the investigation into and critique of how a social structure (class) conditions an agentive act (language learning and teaching) and how the agentive act in turn might reproduce or challenge the social structure. (p. 119)

The agentic act in this case is the language learning and teaching. Kanno (2014) understands the two-way, cyclical relationship between language education and social class in how they condition one another. Returning to Block's (2014) assertion of the importance of intersectionality in AL research, the author draws attention to where we as researchers are putting our efforts, stating:

For me, intersectionality means attention to and the problematisation of different identity inscriptions, as well as an engagement with the material base of human existence and the social relations emerging from this material base. In short, it means an engagement with social class articulated with a broader view of identity [...]. In any attempt to understand how individuals and collectives live their lives in increasingly more complex twenty-first-century societies, there is a need for intersectional thinking. (p. 70)

This excerpt not only draws on the intersectionality between social class and identity, but also the role of beliefs within society. These three concepts emerge in and overlap amongst each discussion, giving relevance to the importance of intersectionality in AL research. In this study particularly, overlaps are seen in social class and beliefs while looking at Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* and fields in social class, discussed below. In addition, there are intersections of capital and identities, to be discussed further on in this section as well.

2.3.3. Bourdieu on *habitus* and fields

The concept of social class is intricately explored by Bourdieu and constitutes a large part of the theoretical framework of this study. Here, I briefly describe the concepts of *habitus* and fields. Though these concepts are not fully explored in this study, they are touched on and are an important basis to understanding social class, as well as related to other concepts such as identities and beliefs.

Bourdieu understood the economic foundations of social class but also expanded the concept to include the crucial element of the social and cultural impact. When considering this impact, Bourdieu describes the concepts of fields and *habitus* as integral parts of social class. Many scholars have since become interested in Bourdieu's contribution to the idea of social class. Block (2014), for instance, explains the concept of fields as the following:

Fields may be seen as domains of social practices, such as education or the world of art, within which there are ever evolving and emergent ways of thinking and acting, which participants adopt as they struggle for positions of power, distinction and legitimacy. (p. 55)

In this definition of fields, the impact of sociocultural influences may be seen. The space in which individuals interact with one another influences their participation in the space. This field – or space – involves struggle for social mobility, or in Block’s words, “power, distinction and legitimacy” (p.55). Within a field, social classes are defined in a hierarchical manner, in that one individual is able to dominate the field more powerfully than another. As discussed in the following section, there is a link between gaining forms of capital and the influence of the fields around the individual. For example, cultural capital by means of diplomas and academic qualifications are needed to enter certain academic circles. The capital is created in these fields and is needed to enter other fields that may correlate. Thus, the relation between fields and power is evident. Block (2014) continues to describe fields as “the sites of both the reproduction and creation of sociocultural and socioeconomic stratification” (p. 55). That is to say, it is the space of class struggle and social mobility and in order for someone to be on top, there must be other groups or individuals below. This field can be a culmination and overlap of different social circles, which may be unique for each individual. In the above citation, Block mentions the “ever evolving and emergent ways of thinking and acting”, which is a reference to the *habitus* of an individual within a field. It also echoes the concept of beliefs previously discussed in Section 2.1. Block (2014) explains *habitus* as “structured by past experience and it structures activity in the present and future” (p. 55). The social embeddedness of *habitus* relates to the concept of beliefs of both individual and social surroundings. A synonym used for *habitus* is “dispositions”. These dispositions are defined as the following:

Formulated out of the individuals’ engagement with and participation in situated social practices and they are formed and later shaped in an ongoing manner by social structures which exist both previous to and independently of individual’s activity. (BLOCK, 2014, p. 55)

We can understand *habitus* in various ways, as a behavior and a way that an individual holds him or herself. In fact, these dispositions may or may not be consciously chosen, but an effect from exposure to a certain action or thought within a community. The social structures that exist “previous to and independently” of an individual explain the sociocultural impact of a field on an individual’s *habitus*. The question of this ever-evolving *habitus* is made apparent as Block emphasizes past structures influencing current ones that which, in turn, affect the future structures. There is a relation here also to the discussion of beliefs, which exist in society,

influencing, reflecting or determining individual activities, as well as identities as something that are multifaceted and always changing.

Authors Wodok and Weiss also adopt the concept of *habitus* and fields in the Critical Discourse Analysis area of study and describe *habitus* as the following, in reference to Scollon and Scollon (1981)²⁹:

Complexes of practices such as genres of speaking or movement sequences leave a residue in the *habitus*, which is the embodiment of a person's life experience [...]. One's first experiences with discourse in language of whatever varieties in whatever combinations condition verbal interaction for a lifetime and [...] any change is experienced as a change in identity. (WODAK & WEISS, 2003, p 185)

Here, the authors explain their understanding of the culmination of experiences that compile an individual's *habitus* and that any change to the community or conditions of the individual result in a change in identity. In this way, the excerpt relates *habitus* to identity, or even deeply-rooted, central beliefs. They recognize the compilation of experiences as the composition of *habitus* that continues to evolve with more experiences. The authors also clarify the distinction between groups that influence the *habitus* mentioned above with Bourdieu's concept of fields with the following:

The *habitus* as Bourdieu conceives it is embodied in a field of objectifiable relations, accumulated capital in a bank owned by someone else, with rules and structures that exist apart from the individual agent that continually reenacts them. (WODAK & WEISS, 2003, p 186)

The citation explains how *habitus* is partly unconscious in that the individual is reenacting the rules and structures of the field. In this way, the authors clarify what a field is – a space where rules and structures dictate actions of individuals within it and which determines the relationships of the individuals. They continue to explain the relationship of both *habitus* and fields in the following citation:

In Bourdieu's conception, the *habitus* is a master hardware program, generated by and generating procedural rules within a field. As such, it accumulates symbolic capital analogous to databases, symbolic and convertible, rather than hard currency. (WODAK & WEISS, 2003, p 186)

²⁹ Scollon, R. and Scollon, S. (1981) *Narrative, Literacy and Face in Interethnic Communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

The authors understand the participation of an individual's *habitus* in a field, in that they contribute to the procedural rules to some extent but their programming is also generated by the field itself. The relationship between *habitus* and field is inseparable and influential in the individual's social interactions, hence his or her social class. Finally, the authors explain a result of the dynamic relationship as a database made of symbolic capital, which is also convertible, flexible and ever-fluctuating, a reference to the units of social class, which is further discussed in the following section.

2.3.4. Capital as units of social class

Bourdieu (1986) suggests that social class can be expressed through a collection of types of capital, which together create variations of social class and can, in turn, contribute to social mobility if acquired. The author suggests four different types of capital: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic, the latter being a result of the other types. Economic capital refers to material goods and income. Social capital can be understood as the social networks and relationships in which an individual has access. Cultural capital has three states: objective (art, books, historical artifacts), incorporated (gestures, hobbies) and institutionalized (diplomas, degrees and education) (BOURDIEU, 1999). The institutionalized capital affects the scholarly success and school options that people seek out, the value given to diplomas, and the belief that the diploma – considered a good of institutionalized cultural capital – can be converted into economic capital. These capitals can vary in quantity and can influence one another (BOURDIEU, 1986). An individual can accumulate a large amount of social capital while not having much economic capital. At the same time, the individual can use his or her social capital to acquire more economic or cultural capital. These capitals can be exchanged, converted, transmitted and reproduced to obtain more of another.

To better understand the relationship, take the following example: if someone does not have much economic capital but he or she has a friend that has a club membership, the individual may be invited to the club and enjoy access to it as a guest. This would demonstrate an individual embracing his or her social capital while having the same amount of economic capital. Moreover, if the same individual used his or her social capital to get an interview with a colleague of the friend with the club membership, if the interview went well and he or she got a better-paying job than before, this would demonstrate transferring one's social capital to economic capital. In turn, this economic capital may allow the individual to move neighborhoods, creating new social capital, cultural capital fields, and ultimately producing symbolic capital.

All of these elements interact and impact one another. Figure 1 demonstrates the relationship of the types of capital.

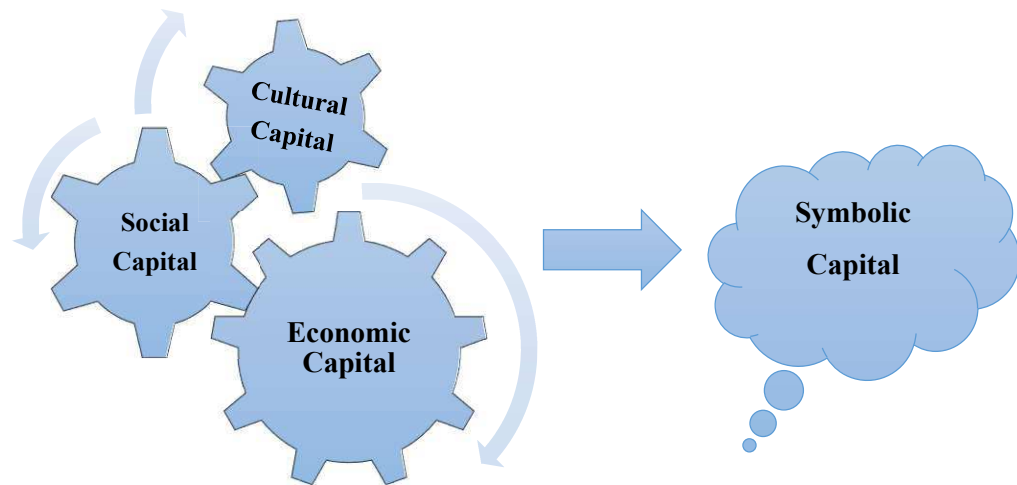


Figure 1: Relationship between types of capital

Symbolic capital is defined as “the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate” (BOURDIEU, 1986, p. 17). Symbolic capital is different from material capital, which is quantitative. Thus, symbolic is qualitative and depends on how the society views a certain attribute, giving the individual more prestige and honor. This is related to the beliefs that a society has about something, which in turn creates the value of that skill, object, job, etc. For example, the English language may be a symbolic capital more than a skill that affords material capital in Brazil, as it holds a certain level of privileged status even if it is not used in the individual’s job. However, possessing this symbolic capital can and often is a requirement for many jobs in Brazil.

Now that a general explanation of each form of capital has been addressed, some implications and the relationship between these forms of capital is explained through several scholars (BONAMINO, ALVES & FRANCO, 2010; BOURDIEU, 1999; PENNYCOOK, 1997; SILVA, 1995). Bourdieu explains the relationship between cultural capital and *habitus*, as the following:

Cultural capital is a good that has become a being, a property that became a body and became an integral part of the "person", a *habitus*. The one who owns it "paid with his own person" and with that, the most personal [price], his time. This "personal" capital cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, title deed or even the title of nobility) by inheritance or transmission by purchase or exchange. It can be acquired [...] in a totally disguised and unconscious way, and

remains marked by its primitive conditions of acquisition³⁰. (BOURDIEU, 1999, p. 4)

Cultural capital is seen as part of one's *habitus* as it is incorporated into an individual's disposition. Bourdieu emphasizes the difference between cultural and economic capital, in that the former is not instantaneously transmitted as is the latter. Rather, cultural capital may be acquired unconsciously and continues to be defined by this subtle manner of acquisition. Silva (1995) explains the relationship between cultural and social capital as mutually reinforced:

Cultural capital and social capital reinforce each other: a culture can only be seen exclusively on the basis of the delimitation of social contacts and these, in turn, are formed and perpetuated from a cultural base. Relationships of friendship, marital choices, professionals and occupational positions tend to be culturally homogeneous. Social relations also form communication networks that can be activated to obtain advantages, resources or for the formation of new contacts that in turn guarantee access to new advantages and new resources³¹. (p. 27)

Silva (1995) expresses the cyclical relationship between social and cultural capital in that an individual's cultural capital will give him or her more access to social capital and vice versa. By acquiring more capital, an individual has access not only to more material goods but also to communication networks, opportunities, advantages and resources available only to those with a specific type of cultural and social capital. Social and cultural capital go hand in hand, as Silva (1995) explains that in order for one's capital to be fully enjoyed, an individual needs to be able to acquire it culturally and know how to use it socially. The process is cyclical and one type of capital helps grow another. Noteworthy, this amount can vary and suffer losses or gains, depending on the individual's field or *habitus*.

³⁰ Original in Portuguese: "O capital cultural é um ter que se tornou ser, uma propriedade que se fez corpo e tornou-se parte integrante da "pessoa", um *habitus*. Aquele que o possui "pagou com sua própria pessoa" e com aquilo que tem de mais pessoal, seu tempo. Esse capital "pessoal" não pode ser transmitido instantaneamente (diferentemente do dinheiro, do título de propriedade ou mesmo do título de nobreza) por doação ou transmissão hereditária, por compra ou troca. Pode ser adquirido, no essencial, de maneira totalmente dissimulada e inconsciente, e permanece marcado por suas condições primitivas de aquisição. "

³¹ Original in Portuguese: "Capital cultural e capital social reforçam-se mutuamente: uma cultura só pode se tomar exclusiva com base na delimitação dos contatos sociais e estes, por sua vez, se formam e se perpetuam a partir de uma base cultural. As relações de amizade, as escolhas matrimoniais, as profissionais e posições ocupacionais tendem a ser culturalmente homogêneas. As relações sociais também formam redes de comunicação que poderão ser acionadas para a obtenção de vantagens, recursos ou para a formação de novos contatos que por sua vez garantem o acesso a novas vantagens e novos recursos. "

Pennycook (1997) further explains this complementary relationship of social and cultural capital as the following:

Cultural capital, furthermore, is of little value unless it can be used in specific social contexts, access to which is provided by one's social capital. Social capital, then, is one's group membership, one's ability to participate in different social contexts and thus to use and gain other forms of capital. One might, for example, have the embodied and objectified cultural capital to enter certain domains (business, academic communities, etc.) yet one may still be excluded on social terms (through issues of gender, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation, etc.). (p. 1)

The author emphasizes how social capital allows an individual to embrace his or her cultural capital and how one may have a large quantity of cultural capital – this goes for economic capital as well – but if they are socially excluded, based on identity factors, they may not have the same experience or facility to enter specific domains.

To reinforce this idea, Silva (1995) demonstrates how the distinction that comes with cultural capital can be used as an instrument of power:

Those who have access to this cultural capital, to this information, will have greater value, more "distinction," as well as easier access to other scarce resources. In this sense, the concept of cultural capital ceases to be just a class sub-culture and becomes a strategy, an instrument of power³². (p. 27)

Social mobility not only requires economic capital but also access to cultural capital. Furthermore, the individual also benefits from knowing how to use his or her capital in social interactions. That being said, a culmination of the three capitals (economic, social and cultural) can suggest a projected class, but the real class will depend on status factors, that is, the symbolic capital that the surrounding society gives to the individual's combination of capital. If a given society does not value art, the artist will not gain capital. If one society values the sport of basketball over soccer, the basketball player will gain more economic and symbolic capital, thus more power.

Bonamino et al. (2010) explains similar ideas of the relationship of the three capitals in reference to student literacy and school performance. The authors also explain a distinction that Coleman (1988) makes from Bourdieu's theory of capital in that Coleman emphasizes the family factor that helps a student learn to read and the

³² Original in Portuguese: "Aqueles que têm acesso a esse capital cultural, a essas informações, terão maior valor, mais "distinção", assim como acesso facilitado a outros recursos escassos. Nesta acepção, o conceito de capital cultural deixa de ser apenas uma subcultura de classe e passa a ser uma estratégia, um instrumento de poder".

importance of that relationship, family dialogue being considered a key factor. Social capital helps to gain access to material goods and can influence economic capital in the future, whereas cultural capital involves not only tastes but knowing how to use specific cultural goods when presented to an individual. As demonstrated in this section, each capital is complex in itself. When it interacts with another capital, it becomes more complex, variable and its potential expands. These forms of capital suggest an individual's social class to an extent, as it demonstrates activities, experiences, habits, knowledge, beliefs, goods, careers, and relationships acquired (BLOCK, 2014). In this study, English can be seen as a type of capital, one that can afford increased access to more opportunities, relationships, and knowledge amongst other things. Furthermore, it can be seen as a tool of power.

Pennycook (1997) explains Bourdieu's view of the relationship between power and capital as "something that has different value in different contexts, mediated by the relations of power and knowledge in different social fields" (p. 2). The description of symbolic capital is echoed in this citation, as the value that a community or group gives something determines the symbolic capital and power that something holds. Pennycook (1997) explains the value of cultural, social and symbolic capitals as just as significant as economic capital, stating the following:

Unlike standard, materialist views of political economy, Bourdieu sees economic capital as only one amongst the different forms of capital. Thus, one's ability to use one's differential access to material goods only relates to power to the extent that it is combined with cultural, social, and symbolic capital. (p. 2)

Power is thus directly associated with a culmination of all types of capital. Furthermore, as capital is seen as a crucial factor in understanding social class, this connection hints at the importance of understanding the relevance of social class in society, as the struggle for social mobility is made up of these units of power.

2.3.5. English as Capital

Considering English as a form of power, Pennycook (1997) brings up some crucial points on the situation of English as a global language and problematizes its acquisition in the following way:

By looking at English use not as a coherent, global activity but rather as a series of acts of desire for capital, we can see how forms of capital accrue to English with detrimental effects in many contexts, and how both pedagogical and cultural strategies of opposition need to be developed. (p. 2)

He addresses the challenges posed by English teaching and the need to critically address our pedagogical approach, to not just teach the language but to teach through the language, questioning and reflecting the possible outcomes of having English capital. He also refers to the promise of English acquisition, as it does not always open up so many doors as hoped, since other factors, such as “socioeconomic level or class” (VANDRICK, 2014) may get in the way. Pennycook (1997) relates English to capital through Bourdieu’s theory and argues that English has power because its users are powerful:

It is the history of the accumulated capital associated with English that gives it power. It is the potential it offers-to open social networks, to provide access to economic privilege, to help accrue the cultural capital of education systems, the potential perhaps above all to show one's possession of the symbolic capital of English that gives it its power. Language has power, argues Bourdieu, because of the power of its users. (p. 3)

The excerpt here shows how English capital is related to the social class of the user and that the relationship between language and power cannot be separated, especially in the case of English as a global language. That is, Mandarin, Polish and Hebrew capital imply different access, power and symbolic capital because of its users and their history. English as capital means that it is a source of power, in that it holds a prestigious status globally. In turn, those that have access to English capital hold more power than others, which also leads to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in various situations.

2.3.6. Inclusion, exclusion and globalization

It is apparent that English is associated in power relations around the world. Pennycook (1997) argues the impact of this phenomenon both on a global and local level, stating the following:

On the one hand we need to problematize the very notion of language, of English being a global language, of one person's use of English in one part of the world somehow being connected to another person's use elsewhere; on the other hand, we need to develop a means of dealing with questions of power and English, since the use of English in many contexts is always tied to questions of power. (p. 1)

Pennycook wants to make explicit the role that English as a global language has in questions of power and that English use in one location is not an isolated event, as it impacts the world at large. This is important to remember when thinking about who is being excluded from a conversation so that others may be included. Pennycook (1997)

emphasizes the need to consider English for more than just learning a language but rather a political and social action, both for those who learn it and those who do not learn it, whether by choice or by lack of access to learning resources. Vandrick (2014) points out how socioeconomic factors affect immigrants entering the education system with hopes to achieve social mobility. She states:

Although many immigrants hope that education will allow their children to enter the middle class and have more secure futures, [...] ELLs often do not do well in school and have far lower rates of access to, and attainment in, postsecondary education, as Kanno and Cromley's recent (2013) research demonstrates. Their research also shows that many of the reasons for ELLs' lower success rates are not linguistic but instead have to do with socioeconomic level or class. (p. 88-89)

Often, much emphasis is put on learning English and being a good student, but Vandrick (2014) recognizes the influence of education policies that accommodate to students of high social class, who are used as the dominant model of education. For this, the students that are not a part of the high social class and have not learned the social practices or accepted behavior for success within the education system will struggle more. In that way, English capital has deep implications in notions concerning who is included or excluded from opportunities.

Furthermore, the status of English in the community makes a difference in learning opportunities. Without such opportunities, students may be placed aside and not highly considered capable of learning the language (KALAJA et al., 2013). Kleinman (2013), problematizing a Eurocentric educational system, emphasizes how the language' status may be associated with acquisition of power on a global scale. She highlights the relationship between periphery and power, "specifically with knowledge as a form of power" (p. 46). The author supports research that is not "on" the periphery, but "from the periphery", that is, it values and legitimizes studies that are not "Eurocentric" (KLEINMAN, 2013), but they are South-South dialogues. This research that she partakes follows an inclusive logic to,

Get rid of binary categories of the past, as colonizer versus colonized, center versus periphery, oppressor versus oppressed, nature versus culture, unity versus diversity [which] no longer correspond to the new configurations of power, which obey a logic inclusive: this and / or that. (KLEINMAN, 2013, p. 48)

Kleinman understands the binary categories mentioned as forms of power, in that one group is excluded so that another group may be included. In considering the

researcher's perspective in the context of English for the populations from the South – that is, social groups that experience exclusion in a form because of English – we need to include in AL the beliefs about learning and teaching English from students in a vulnerable social class as well as their identities under construction (VANDRICK, 2014).

In the case of Brazil, Santos (2017) points out the inadequacies of the public school system, which has not been able to carry out its objectives in reference to English learning. She states:

Many students need to turn to language courses to meet this [English] requirement, which is becoming more demanded both academically and in the labor market. However, the cost of an English language course in [private] language schools is high and is not part of the family budget for most of the Brazilian population. This reality accentuates inequality in the country, promoting the exclusion of those in situations of social and economic vulnerability³³. (SANTOS, 2017, p. 4)

Santos (2017) explains the role that English plays in creating greater inequalities within Brazilian society. Those that have access to economic capital are able to afford the expensive private English classes, something that is impossible for many people. In this sense, those that cannot afford English classes are excluded from access to English capital, which, as we saw above, opens doors to many other opportunities. As the public education system struggles to meet their English instruction goals, the students from low-income neighborhoods fall further behind in keeping up with the English-speaking world. In fact, similar to Block's commentary on the beliefs harbored by teachers and in society as a whole towards certain groups of students is true for the English education at public schools in Brazil, where it is widely accepted that the students will not learn English (BARCELOS, 2007b). Having said that, the social impact of learning a language is evident (BLOCK, 2003; VANDRICK, 2014) and should be better investigated in AL studies, especially when considering learners' identities as well as the beliefs involved.

Finally, Pennycook (1997) argues that English learning is directly related to power relationships, which need to be considered in teaching the language:

³³ Original in Portuguese: “Com isso, muitos estudantes precisam recorrer aos cursos de idiomas para suprir esse requisito que a cada dia passa a ser mais exigido tanto academicamente como no mercado de trabalho. Porém, o custo de um curso de inglês em escolas de idiomas é alto e não faz parte do orçamento familiar da maior parte da população brasileira. Essa realidade acentua a desigualdade no país, promovendo a exclusão daqueles em situação de vulnerabilidade social e econômica.”

A more critical perspective, however, suggests that we need to understand English language teaching as one arm of global linguistic imperialism, as interlinked with the dominance of Western ideology, culture and capitalism, and a crucial element in the denial of linguistic human rights. (p. 1)

In short, English capital is crucially linked to inclusion and exclusion on a global scale. It is an “arm of global linguistic imperialism”, which cannot be ignored but critically addressed in the classroom. In other words, English capital is a key part of the emergence of globalization.

Santos (2017) explains the term globalization as related to “the approach, expansion, exchange of ideas, values and commodities, and is also synonymous with modernity, but for some authors these definitions may not be as simple as they seem³⁴” (p. 17). The complexity operates in terms of power and the paradox to obtain it, understanding globalization as a contradictory phenomenon of “equality as to difference, comprehension and expansion, convergence and divergence, nationalism and internationalism, universality and particularity³⁵” (COOPPAN, 2004³⁶, p. 105 apud SANTOS, 2017). That is, while some people may be included, others are excluded. While some concepts converge, others diverge. While some concepts become universal, others become more private. In the case of English, it “has been commonly associated with the official language of globalization, which can both include and exclude citizens³⁷” (MACIEL, 2011, p. 255). This idea of English as a pivot to inclusion or exclusion of citizens has been reinforced several times in this section in order to make the division clear, and to understand the relevance of this study. Santos (2017) reinforces the question of social exclusion as a result of globalization, stating the following:

One of the implications of globalization that has been the subject of discussions and studies of several researchers is related to teaching and learning English. The need for current knowledge of English may become a factor of social exclusion³⁸. (p. 19)

³⁴ Original in Portuguese: “a aproximação, expansão, troca de ideias, valores e mercadorias, e também é sinônimo de modernidade, mas para alguns autores essas definições podem não ser tão simples como parecem”.

³⁵ Original in Portuguese: “igualdade quanto a diferença, compreensão e expansão, convergência e divergência, nacionalismo e internacionalismo, universalidade e particularidade”.

³⁶ Cooppan, V. Ghosts in the disciplinary machine: The uncanny life of world literature. *Comparativa Literature Studies*, v. 41, n. 1, p. 10-36, 2004.

³⁷ Original in Portuguese: “a língua inglesa tem sido comumente associada à língua oficial da globalização, que tanto pode incluir como excluir os cidadãos”.

³⁸ Original in Portuguese: “Uma das implicações da globalização que tem sido objeto de discussões e estudos de diversos pesquisadores diz respeito ao ensino e aprendizagem de inglês. A necessidade do conhecimento de inglês na atualidade pode se tornar um fator de exclusão social”.

The use of the English language has become an act of power both in global and local contexts, as the status of the language holds a large amount of symbolic capital. Whether or not an individual is able to access this symbolic capital depends on the resources that are available to them in their particular social class. That being said, even if an individual acquires English capital, she may or may not be able to embrace the expected opportunities that come with the capital depending on her social class. As argued in this section, the use of English is intricately involved in the struggle for social mobility, both on a global and local level.

This chapter has highlighted some key points and discussion about the concepts of beliefs, identities and social class both in relevance to AL as well as in language learning education. In the first section, I discussed how beliefs impact an individual's actions, how they can be created and reinforced in society and how they are related to identities and social class. In the second section about identities, I highlighted how identities are constructed historically, geographically and dialectically, how they are influenced by their surroundings and how an individual may be excluded from an activity or opportunity based on an identity. Finally, in the third section, I discussed the importance to consider the impact of social class in the language classroom, how the types of capital (social, cultural, economic, and symbolic) contribute to a social class and how the English language is considered a form of symbolic capital that is impacted by its global status. After considering these concepts in the literature review, the next chapter discusses the methodology used in order to carry out this research study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the methodology used in this study. It is divided into five sections, with two of these sections having three subsections, in accordance with the two research sites and the distinctions in methodology between the two contexts.

In the first section, I describe the nature of the study as a whole. The following two sections discuss the context and the participants and are divided by research site. Research Site 1 (CA) took place in California, United States and Research Site 2 (MG) took place in Minas Gerais, Brazil. Within these sections, there are three subsections that discuss the ethical procedures to enter the field, the context and the participants in the study. In the fourth section, I present the data collection instruments and procedures. Lastly, in the fifth section I explain the procedures to analyze the data.

3.1 Nature of the Study

This study qualifies as qualitative research according to Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991) and other studies in AL (BENSON, 2013; BURNS, 2013; CRESWELL, 1998). According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research seeks to reveal the multiple dimensions of a case to demonstrate complexity to the reader. By collecting data from various sources, the researcher creates a history of information for the purpose of carrying out a holistic and multidimensional understanding of the subject matter (CRESWELL, 1998; SELIGER H.W. & SHOHAMY, E., 1989). When collecting written, visual, and oral narratives in this research, the goal is to synthesize and reveal the participants' experience in an attempt to understand the meaning they give to the task of learning the English language. What the researcher needs to remember is the objective of qualitative research, according to Creswell (1998):

Qualitative research is a process of search for understanding based on the distinct methodological traditions of research that explores a social or human problem. The researcher constructs a complex and holistic photograph, analyzes words, draws on detailed points of view from informants, and conducts research in a natural environment. (p.15)

With this definition of qualitative research, it is clear that this type of research, in comparison to quantitative research, allows the use of different tools to accomplish the study objectives. Benson (2013) states that qualitative research allows study participants to be treated as people and not merely data sources. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research gains “a better understanding of the learner and user of a

language as a ‘person-in-context’” (BENSON, 2013, p.7). That is, in the school context, we see how the learner and the teacher are individuals with multiple identities and beliefs interacting in the classroom, creating several factors that will affect the learning and teaching of a language. As this research study seeks to better understand the identities and beliefs of the participants in different social contexts, the qualitative methodology is the most adequate approach for the proposed objectives. In sum, this study is characterized as a qualitative study in that it takes place in the natural environment of the participants and it focuses on describing and telling the participants’ unique stories, from their own perspectives.

3.2. Research Site 1 (CA): Context and Participants

In this section, I describe the procedures to enter the field and the contexts and participants in the study in congruence with what took place in a public high school in a large city in California, United States. As the sole researcher of this study, I collected all the data at the site through my observations and the data instruments. Although I was living in Brazil, I went to the U.S. during the months of January and March 2017 and collected that data there. I then came back to Brazil and collected the data in the Brazilian school during the months of May and July 2017.

3.2.1. Ethical Procedures for Field Entry

In August 2016 while preparing my project for the Ethics Committee of the Universidade Federal de Viçosa (UFV), I submitted the required documents to the California school district where the high school is located and my study was approved to be carried out at the start of 2017. On January 25, 2017, I visited the high school for the first time to introduce myself to the student participants. On January 27, 2017, I explained my research study to the students, emphasizing that their participation would be completely voluntary and that their privacy would be upheld throughout the research process. I handed out the Parental Permission Form – either in English or Spanish, depending on their parent or guardian’s communication needs – to 23 students (Appendix A & B, respectively).

On February 15, 2017 I repeated the above-described procedure for the group of 10 newly-arrived students, in order for them to be able to participate in the study as well. Out of 33 students, 25 returned the parental permission form; this study uses only those 25 students’ information as data.

3.2.2. The School

This part of the study took place at a public high school in California in a low-income neighborhood of a large city. This city is considered a sanctuary city³⁹, which protects undocumented immigrants from aggressive deportation law enforcement. The high school was founded in 1959 and has since developed a wide variety of educational and extracurricular programs for approximately 2,200 students. 100% of the students enrolled in the high school are minorities and 92% of the students are economically disadvantaged, based on a measure of student poverty – the percentage of students receiving free or reduced-price lunches. There are 94 full-time teachers. The school is large and has facilities including a parent education center, a swimming pool, a football field, a soccer field, a baseball field, a large auditorium, and over 50 classrooms. This information was retrieved online from a news website, reporting a U.S. government census study.

The English Language (EL) class is part of a welcome program for recently-arrived immigrants to the United States. The students have the EL class every morning Monday-Friday from 7:55am- 9:55am. The class is Level B, the second of three levels before the students can transition into college preparatory classes.

The class was meeting in a portable bungalow at the time of study while the school was undergoing major renovations. The room is rectangular with desks in a rectangular U-shape facing the front of the classroom, where two large whiteboards and the Smartboard are located. On the east-end of the room is the entrance, a window, and the teacher's desk equipped with a computer, teaching materials, and the Smartboard projection technology. The back wall has students' work posted on it – a vocabulary word, its definition, synonyms and an artistic representation of the word as well as a personal coat of arms activity. There is a long table that sits up against the wall, with 4 computer stations. In the corner of the room by the west-end window, a tall bookshelf sits with the class textbooks. The front wall above the whiteboards has some classroom rules, misbehavior procedures and English-themed posters. Scattered and hanging on the walls of the room are college flags from various different universities around the United States. There is storage for 5 extra laptops for the

³⁹ Cambridge Online Dictionary: a city in the U.S. or Canada where illegal immigrants – people who have moved to live in a foreign country permanently – are not prosecuted.

students' use (besides the personal laptops each student receives from the school) and an area for craft and coloring materials in the front west corner of the classroom.

3.2.3. The Participants

The participants are all recent immigrants to the United States participating in a welcome program that aims to help students boost their English skills and prepare them to transition into the regular high school classes. Being a level B class, the students are in their first or second year of high school with the flexibility to move up levels every 6 weeks – albeit on a semester system with other courses – according to their proficiency. The students not only take English classes in the welcome program, but also biology, history and math classes. Though I did not observe it for myself, the English teacher informed me that all of the teachers in the welcome program teach strictly in English so as to facilitate the learners' English immersion and preparedness to enter the high school's regular class rotation.

The participants range in background, with a majority of them coming from a Latin American country – mainly from Mexico, and some from El Salvador, or Guatemala. There are also 7 students from non-Hispanic countries including Vietnam, Thailand and India. The participants' ages range from 13 to 18 years old. Many of the students' first exposure to the English language was upon their arrival to California.

The students expressed a variable level of interest in the research study, some more enthusiastic than others, and a general interest in learning English in the class. This class was selected because of the teacher's willingness to allow me to carry out the research study and because the students represented a population of first and second-year learners, that which coincides with the comparative population in Minas Gerais, Brazil.

3.3. Research Site 2 (MG): Context and Participants

In this section I present the context and participants at Research Site 2 (MG), first describing the ethical procedures for field entry, which were similar to those carried out for Research Site 1 (CA).

3.3.1. Ethical Procedures for Field Entry

In September, 2016, I contacted the public high school in Minas Gerais and asked for permission from the school and the English teacher to conduct a study with the students from one of the first-year English classes. After receiving their permission, I submitted my project for the Ethics Committee of the Universidade Federal de Viçosa

(UFV), and my study was approved to be carried out at the start of 2017. On April 27, 2017, I visited the high school for the first time to introduce myself to the participants. On May 8th, 2017, I explained my project to the students, emphasizing that their participation would be completely voluntary and that their privacy would be upheld throughout the research process. I handed out the Parental Permission Form on May 9th, 2017 to a class of 31 students (Appendix C). I followed up with the students in the proceeding weeks to give permission slips to students that were absent on the day of distribution and to collect the signed permission slips.

Out of 31 students, 23 returned the parental permission form; this study uses only those 23 students' information as data.

3.3.2. The School

The high school is located in a city in the Zona da Mata region of Minas Gerais, in a low-income neighborhood far from the urban center of the city, tucked into a hillside off a cobblestone road. This public high school has a reputation in the city for being poor and of low-quality. In a personal communication with Professor Diogo Turini (Phd, Political Scientist – UFV)⁴⁰, he explained that many students change their uniform upon leaving school because they are not proud of where they study, given their poor reputation.

The high school was founded in 1991 as a state school. It has 394 students for both elementary and high school, 180 of the students being in high school, as well as 54 faculty members. This information was retrieved online from the school's website. A majority of the students are black or *pardo* (mixed-race) and are economically disadvantaged, considering the low-income neighborhood where they live. The school is a one-building structure, made up of 12 classrooms, administration offices, a teacher's lounge, science laboratory, computer laboratory, kitchen, library, an outdoor court for physical education classes, amongst other basic infrastructure necessities such as bathrooms and water faucets. This information was retrieved online from the school's website.

The English class took place in one of the 12 classrooms, in which the students stay throughout the morning from 7am to 11:30am and the teachers rotate from one classroom to the next, a typical system for public high schools in Brazil. The students

⁴⁰ This personal communication took place on September 20, 2017

have English class twice a week; this particular class had English class on Mondays at 8:40am and Tuesdays at 10:35am for 50 minutes. The class level is first-year high school students, which also includes students repeating their first year. For this, the participants' ages range from 15-18 years old.

The classroom has individual portable desks for the students and a larger one for the teacher. There is a blackboard in the front of the class and doors that open to the hillside, often kept open for air circulation, on the opposite side of the room entrance. Perhaps because the teachers rotate between classrooms, the walls are bare, without any students' work displayed or English language posters (different from the walls at Research Site 1 – CA). The students do not use a textbook, rather, they copy what the teacher writes on the blackboard into their notebooks and once in a while are given a worksheet to complete a practice exercise.

3.3.3. The Participants

The students are all from the city in which the study was carried out, a city in the Zona da Mata region of Minas Gerais. Some of the students had studied at the school since elementary school, while other students were just beginning to attend it, freshmen in high school. Some students were repeating their first year of high school. A majority of the students are minorities, either black or *pardo*. The participants' parents work in low-paying jobs such as housecleaners, domestic workers, or construction workers. The students' ages range from 13 to 18 years old. Many of the students' first formal English language class was at the start of high school. One student had learned some English at a private school that he previously attended in another city.

The students expressed general interest in the research study, some more enthusiastic than others but all were compliant and willing to do the activities in class. Some expressed a general interest in learning English in the class while others expressed no interest at all and did not pay attention to the teacher but rather they joked around and talked with their classmates. This class was selected because of the teacher's willingness to allow me to carry out the research study and because the students represent a population of first and second-year learners, which coincides with the comparative population in California, United States, previously discussed.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

The data collection instruments used in this study (see Table 1) were the following: a semi-open questionnaire (Q), which asked about the participants' personal background, family background and language learning experience so far; a visual narrative (VN) where they depicted a representation of how they see themselves as learners of the English language; a guided written narrative (WN) where they reflected on their past, present and (hoped for) future experience with the English language; six interviews (I) with students selected by analyzing the first three instruments; and my field notes. Table 1 gives further information about these data collection instruments, including the date when they took place and the objectives of each instrument.

Instruments	Date Executed (Research Site 1 – CA)	Date Executed (Research Site 2 – MG)	Objectives
Semi-open Questionnaire (Q) (Appendices D & E)	January 27, 2017	May 15, 2017	a) Draw a profile of the students; b) Identify the participants' beliefs, identities and social class in relation to their English learning.
Visual Narrative (VN) (Appendices F & G)	January 31, 2017	May 29, 2017	a) Understand participants' English learning experience in a visual form; b) Identify the identities, beliefs and social class of the students.
Written Narrative (WN) (Appendices H & I)	February 23, 2017	June 6, 2017	a) Identify students' learning progress from the beginning to the present.
Semi-structured Interview (I) (Appendices J & K)	March 1, 2017 through March 10, 2017	June 20, 2017 through July 3, 2017	a) Understand the construction of participants' identities, beliefs and social class and possible relationships between the concepts.

Table 1: Summary of data collection instruments

With a variety of instruments, a qualitative study is able to provide triangulation, an aspect that adds to the credibility of the research, since it allows the researcher to have data from different sources (FLICK, 2009). For that reason, I have used a variety of data collection instruments that gave the participants multiple ways to

express themselves, whether in writing, drawing or talking in an interview. The triangulation of data was distinctly important in both contexts of data collection for the following reason: in California the language of instruction was English, the study was done in English and many students struggled with the language; in Minas Gerais the language of instruction was mostly Portuguese, the study was done in Portuguese and thus the usage of the English language was not required. Thus, the visual narrative, as is described below, served as a valuable instrument to support the data as the English learners were given the opportunity to express themselves in a unique way other than writing or talking in English.

3.4.1 Semi-open questionnaire

A semi-open questionnaire (Q) was the first instrument utilized with the objective to draw a social profile of the participants, considering the parents' or guardians' level of education, their professions, and how many people living in the participant's household, amongst other factors. The questionnaire did not serve to identify or place each participant in a social class category, but to establish a foundation of basic information so that I could have a notion of the population at each research site. The questionnaire can be distributed in various manners, considering the preferences of the subject and the conditions of the context (SELIGER & SHOHAMY, 1989). In this case, it was prepared semi-open to allow the participants to respond in a free form with the objective to not restrict or influence their responses (see Appendices D & E). In the context of Research Site 1 (CA), the questionnaires took place as a classroom activity and thus it was done in English (being the common language of the population and amongst all of the participants in the study). In the context of Research Site 2 (MG), the questionnaire was also completed as a classroom activity but it was executed in Portuguese, as the common language of the participants. At Research Site 1 (CA) on January 27, 2017, it was conducted as a class activity. A total of thirty-three (33) students completed the activity but only twenty-five (25) students' questionnaires were considered in the data collection due to missing essential items from the other eight (8) students. A majority of the students completed the questionnaire on above-listed date but some students joined the class later or were absent on January 27, 2017 and thus completed the activity in class on a different date. Similarly distributed on May 15, 2017 at Research Site 2 (MG), a majority of the students completed the questionnaire. Absent students completed it later. In total, twenty-five (25) students completed the questionnaire, but only twenty-three (23) students were considered, as

the other two (2) students were missing other essential items (such as their permission slip to participate in the study).

3.4.2. Visual Narrative

This study uses a visual methodology that is new in relation to the more traditional types of narratives such as written and oral. Kalaja (2013) discusses how the data always varies between individuals. For this, data that utilize different modalities add a diverse dimension. The physical and concrete act of making a visual narrative (VN) is different than that of an oral narrative. Thus, the traditions behind the two types of narratives are unique. As discussed in Chapter II, language is a strong form of mediation. However, according to Kalaja et al. (2008), “there are other kinds of mediational means that can be used in learning, thinking, and problem solving: symbols, drawings, and metaphors, to name just a few, are also used by people to help them organize their activity and carry out their actions” (p 7). Kalaja et al. (2008) explain that there is no way to really achieve a precise reality of a narrative or a belief. However, the visual narrative amplifies and deepens the meaning of a belief as a unique modality of understanding. The use of this instrument to identify a dimension of English language learners' beliefs is based on a few studies in Finland that have used this tool with diverse populations including Finnish foreign language teachers in training, Finnish language learners in Finland and multilingual children in Finland. A visual narrative has a multidimensional way to reveal new perspectives of learners when supported by written and oral narratives. I believe that the expansion of previous studies on visual narratives (BORG et al., 2014; HAKKARAINEN, T. 2011; KALAJA et al., 2008, 2013; KALAJA et al., 2015; PITKANEN-HUHTA & PIETIKAINEN, 2014) like this study, allows a better understanding of how English is seen by two populations coming from a vulnerable social class. The visual narratives were completed by the students in the classroom as a class activity. The students were given the instructions to draw themselves as they see themselves as an ELL, and then to describe their drawing in a few phrases below the drawing (see Appendices F & G).

At Research Site 1 (CA) on January 31, 2017, the visual narrative was conducted as a class activity. A total of thirty-three (33) students completed the activity but only twenty-five (25) students' visual narratives were considered in the data collection due to missing items from the other eight (8) students. A majority of the students completed the activity on the above-listed date. Some students joined the class later or were absent on January 31, 2017 and thus completed the activity in class on a

different date. Similarly distributed on May 29, 2017 at Research Site 2 (MG), a majority of the students completed the visual narratives. Absent students completed the activity later. In total, twenty-five (25) students completed the activity, but only twenty-three (23) students' visual narratives were considered, as the other two (2) students were missing other essential items (such as their permission slip to participate in the study).

3.4.3. Written Narrative

A written narrative (WN) is a qualitative tool that can help reveal beliefs or identities. According to Benson (2013), narrative has "an important role" in the contextualization of individual difference in the learner (p.7). According to Telles (2004), "It is important to point out that the very process of the construction and writing of narratives seems to have contributed to the explanation of these identities⁴¹" (pp. 60-61), and a better understanding of the participants themselves. Thus, the written narrative not only has the purpose of collecting data, but as a reflective process, it also,

Opens spaces of interaction in which these senses crystallized in time and space are questioned and that such inherited identities are deterritorialized, dismantled and crossed by other levels of subjectivity composition, so that the research participant could re-state such concepts and live the stories that wanted to live⁴². (TELLES, 2004, p. 81)

In this study, the written narratives were used so that students could have an opportunity to build their history through the written word and so that the researcher could better understand how their identities were being constructed in both contexts. The students were given a guide to make clear the topics they should mention in the narrative (see Appendices H & I). The written narrative was applied in class at Research Site 1 (CA) on February 23, 2017 and at Research Site 2 (MG) on June 6, 2017. Twenty-five (25) students completed the written narrative at Research Site 1 (CA), and 23 students at Research Site 2 (CA). A majority of the students completed the activity on the day of distribution. Some students completed the activity at a later date due to their absence on the date of executing the activity. The students that also turned in their permission slip and completed the visual narratives and questionnaires were included

⁴¹ Original in Portuguese: "É importante apontar para o fato de que o próprio processo de construção e redação das narrativas parece ter contribuído para a explicitação dessas identidades".

⁴² Original in Portuguese: "abre espaços de interação nos quais esses sentidos cristalizados no tempo e no espaço são questionados e que tais identidades herdadas são desterritorializadas, desmanchadas e atravessadas por outros níveis de composição da subjetividade, para que a participante da pesquisa pudesse ressignificar tais conceitos e viver as histórias que desejassem viver".

in my data collection. Otherwise, their contribution was marked as incomplete and I could not consider their activity in the data analysis.

3.4.4. Semi-structured Interview

A semi-structured interview was used to add another dimension of modality to the other data collection instruments and to broaden the understanding of the data provided by participants from different perspectives (see Appendices J & K). Six participants in each context were chosen to be interviewed, selected by gender (3 males and 3 females), completion of the first three instruments along with the permission slip, and by the range of beliefs and identities suggested in the first analysis of data – those which represented common beliefs and identities amongst the whole group or that demonstrated a distinctive, unique example. The semi-structured interview, according to Richards (2009), asks the questions as a guide only, since the objective in a qualitative interview is not to receive exact answers to the prepared questions, but rather to better understand the whole situation and, at the same time, to offer an opportunity for participants to share other information and reflect on their experience with the English language. According to Patton (1990), the interview directly affects the participant and the interviewer, so one has to be cautious in the approach. Having said that, the participant was well informed before the interview of the option to not answer or stop the interview if at some point he or she felt uncomfortable. Table 2 offers information about the Research Site 1 (CA) participants’ age, country of origin and when they started learning English. Table 3 does similarly for the participants at Research Site 2 (MG), however, it shows the participants’ city of origin in Brazil.

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Country of origin	Started learning English
1. Daisy	15	Mexico, USA	In 2010 (California)
2. Angeline	15	Vietnam	In 2012 (Vietnam)
3. Nick	16	Mexico	In 2016 (California)
4. Marcos	17	Guatemala	In 2016 (California)
5. Gabriela	17	Mexico, USA	In 2016 (California)
6. Jordan	18	Mexico	In 2016 (California)

Table 2: Research Site 1 (CA) Participants

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	City of origin	Started learning English
1. Bianca	15	Viçosa, MG	In 5th grade
2. Gabriel	16	Viçosa, MG	In 9th grade
3. Leila	16	Viçosa, MG	In grade school
4. Juliana	16	Viçosa, MG	In 6th grade
5. Vinicius	17	Viçosa, MG	In grade school
6. Tiago	18	Viçosa, MG	In 5th grade

Table 3: Research Site 2 (MG) Participants

At both research sites, the library was used to conduct the interviews, allowing for privacy and fewer interruptions. Two interviews at Research Site 1 (CA) were conducted outside the cafeteria on lunch tables, as the library was reserved for an event. Similarly, two interviews at Research Site 2 (MG) took place in the school cafeteria, as the library was occupied. The interviews happened during class time, and I asked the students if they were comfortable with being interviewed before they were excused from the classroom. The interviews at Research Site 1 (CA) were completed between March 1, 2017 and March 10, 2017. A majority of the interviews for the students took around forty (40) minutes. One only lasted twenty-nine (29) minutes. The interviews at Research Site 2 (MG) were completed between June 20, 2017 and July 3, 2017. The interviews varied between twenty-nine (29) minutes and forty-three (43) minutes. The students were reminded at the beginning of the interview that if there was any question that they did not understand, they could ask me to repeat or rephrase the question. They were also advised that if they felt uncomfortable with any questions I asked, they could ask to skip to the next question. I explained that there were no right or wrong answers and that I was looking to hear their thoughts and opinions about their experience at the school, learning English and about the English language itself.

3.5. Data analysis

The analysis of data in a qualitative research presents some difficulties, since it is necessary to remember the subjectivity of the researcher as well as the nature of qualitative data that usually suggests several ways of looking at the data and problematizing it, which more frequently open up more questions instead of responding concretely to the initial questions (BENSON, 2013). However, it is important to

remember the purpose of qualitative data. According to Creswell (1998), the striking work of qualitative research aims to construct a narrative with the collected data: "By the slow process of collecting data and analyzing them, we form our narrative – a narrative with many forms in qualitative research, we tell a story" (p.21).

Thus, the data analysis involved three general steps, including the following: a) reading all the instruments to identify meaningful units that answer the research questions; b) placing these units in similar categories; c) reviewing these categories several times for questions of truthfulness and reliability (PATTON, 1990). In considering the nature of qualitative research, the initial objectives serve as a guide for the researcher, but do not suggest possible outcomes; that is, it has no "preconceived concept" before beginning the study (SELIGER & SHOHAMY, 1989). It is the role of the researcher to recognize, unravel and construct the story of the data in a meaningful and true way to the reality of the context in question.

At the end of the data collection, the data of the participants at both contexts were compared to analyze the two populations with the intention of identifying their possible beliefs, identities as well as factors of social class. As the study has several instruments of data collection, it was necessary to consider the data of all the instruments together to understand possible relations between them (FLICK, 2009; SELIGER, & SHOHAMY, 1989). For example, in categorizing a participant's written narrative data, the broader and/or deeper meaning was also considered; that is, correlations between the data and also a correlation between the participants were considered.

In this chapter, I have described the nature of the study, as well as the context and participants at both Research Site 1 (CA) and Research Site 2 (MG). I also explained the data collection instruments, some details on the procedures of application and the students' participation. Finally, I explained the data analysis procedure that I carried out in order to better understand the data collected. The next chapter brings the results and discussion of the analysis.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of the study, divided into three sections. The first section analyzes the beliefs, identities and social class of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA). In the second section, I investigate the beliefs, identities and social class of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG). The final section draws some comparisons between the two research sites, which is then revisited in Chapter V when answering the research questions.

4.1. Research Site 1 (California, United States)

This first section discusses the beliefs, identities and social class presented in the data collection at Research Site 1 (CA).

4.1.1. Beliefs at Research Site 1 (CA)

At Research Site 1 (CA), the participants demonstrated varying beliefs about learning English and about the English language itself. To begin, I discuss the participants' beliefs about learning English, which are organized as follows: 1) the importance of language use through media resources and social interactions, emphasizing elements such as music and conversation in English; 2) beliefs about individual learners' progress and personal abilities to learn English; and 3) beliefs about the education system in which they are inserted, where comparisons are made to their country of origin. Then I continue to discuss the participants' beliefs about the English language itself, again, organized into the following subcategories: 1) the necessity of English for their future, whether for work, studies, or to succeed in the new country and 2) English for social interaction.

4.1.1.1. Beliefs about learning English

This section discusses the beliefs of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) about learning the English language, which include the following: 1) the need to use it more and more, 2) their personal abilities to learn English and the progress they are making, and 3) the difference in their English education in their home country and in the United States.

4.1.1.1.1. Use of English

The participants from Research Site 1 (CA), all recent immigrants in 2016, expressed a belief in the importance to use English through various modalities – music,

television, internet, books, or paying attention in class, types of mediational tools for learning, as Kalaja et al. (2013) explain. Furthermore, there was a strong emphasis on the belief that in order to learn English, one needs to actively use the language to communicate and interact with others. The participants unanimously understand the importance of interacting with the language in order to learn it. The participants approach learning English by constantly looking for more outlets to practice their English as if acquiring “more English” were a form of symbolic capital (BOURDIEU, 2013), to be further discussed in this chapter in the Social Class section. Table 4 relates the variety of ways the participants explicitly express how they learn English, divided in the categories of media sources and social interaction.

Participant	Media sources	Social interaction
Nick	“Listen[ing to] music in English and listening to my cousins and friends” (Q)	“Talking to my friends more, speak English more” (I)
Marcos	“Listening to music and reading books and texts with my friends” (Q)	“Practicing with friends” (I)
Daisy	“I listen and sing songs in English... sometimes I read books”. (Q)	“I speak with my friends and cousins in English”. (Q)
Angeline	“I learn English by... “listening to English music and watching TV shows”. (WN)	“I practice English outside with the teacher from other subject, my friends”. (Q)
Gabriela	“TV shows, music [in] English [...] movies” (Q)	“With my cousin [...] speak [ing] with other people, my work” (Q)
Jordan	“I learn English by [...] listening to music”. (WN)	“Only with my uncle” (Q)

Table 4: Use of English Language at Research Site 1 (CA)

As can be observed, all the participants mention music as a source of practicing English. All of them also mention that they learn with their friends and/or relatives and they practice by speaking with another person, whether it is their teacher, friends, cousins, co-workers, or uncle, in Jordan’s case. The belief that the participants learn English by in fact *using* the language is emphasized when Jordan states, “*only* with my uncle”, suggesting that he believes his variety of outlets to practice outside of school is limited and could therefore affect his learning.

In short, we can see that the phrase “more English” appears throughout the data, suggesting that the participants recognize that they have acquired some English but are eager to learn more and more, as a majority of the learners seem to see any chance to practice English as an opportunity to acquire more English skills. This illustrates how a belief can be used as a mediational tool to learn English. That is, the participants’ belief in the importance of learning English seems to influence them to seek out more learning opportunities (KALAJA & BARCELOS, 2016; PARAJES, 1992). This recurring theme of the need to use English is seen in the participants’ visual narratives (Figures 2-5).



Figure 2: Gabriela's VN drawing



Figure 3: Marcos's VN drawing



Figure 4: Daisy's VN drawing



Figure 5: Nick's VN drawing

Three participants (Nick, Daisy and Gabriela) depict a dialogue between two people speaking English. Marcos also depicts English as a means of interaction, yet in front of a large group of people where he is the speaker. The descriptions of the participants’ drawings are helpful to better understand their drawings, as they use

phrases such as “more English”, “communicate with people”, and “talking only with English”.

Both Daisy and Marcos opt to depict how they see themselves as future users of English in their visual narratives, which I also interpret as a reflection on their belief that they need to use the language to learn it, for future communication purposes. Nick reinforces the belief that he does not need to speak perfectly in English when he describes his visual narrative. He seems to suggest that the more you use the language, the more you learn, independent of the learner’s level of English.

Jordan and Angeline (Figures 6 and 7) are the only ones that do not draw the same interactional scene as the other participants. They depict themselves alone – studying at a desk and full of questions and excitement (Angeline) or downtrodden with feelings of worry and defeat (Jordan).

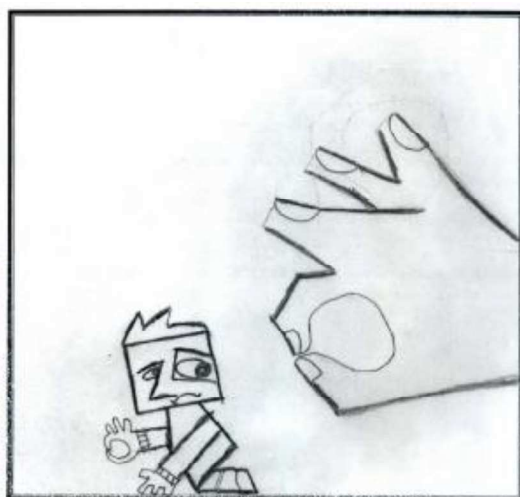


Figure 6: Jordan's VN drawing



Figure 7: Angeline's VN drawing

Nevertheless, their descriptions of their drawings contribute to the overall discourse of the belief to use the language as much as possible, reflecting the impact of interaction with their environment (BARCELOS, 2000). For example, Jordan shows his understanding that he needs to speak the language in order to learn it in his visual narrative description: “I feel sad because I cannot speak English ☹” (Jordan, VN). Contrary to Gabriela and Nick’s emphasis on practicing to learn, whether or not their English is perfect, Jordan struggles with the need for perfection. His belief about needing to speak perfectly gets in the way in his learning. In a counterintuitive way, Jordan contributes to the overarching belief about learning, not only held by the participants but also present in the surrounding discourse, that it is necessary to use the language as much as possible to acquire more English skills.

Jordan's example concludes this discussion and leads us into the discussion of the participant's beliefs about how they see themselves as English learners, including their personal abilities and progress.

4.1.1.1.2. Beliefs about personal ability and progress with the language

The participants demonstrate a variety of beliefs about their ability to learn English, immersed in the language and culture upon their arrival to the new country and being faced with this immediate challenge. They also comment on their progress with the language, making observations about how they have improved from when they first started to the present moment and what they hope for their future learning. To illustrate these beliefs about personal ability and progress, Table 5 brings the comparisons of the results in the written narrative (WN), in which the participants reflect on their English journey from the start to the present.

Participant	Learning English was... (WN)	Now... (WN)
Nick	"Really hard"	"I feel like I [have] learn[ed] more English".
Marcos	"Very hard for me"	"I am learning English in the United States".
Jordan	"Boring"	"I understand a little".
Daisy	"Good and positive"	"I feel very good and positive because I know more English and I understand more".
Gabriela	"In my work and the music in English"	"I take a core medicine course, although many [people didn't] support me that I could and now I can".
Angeline	"Practice [with] whoever wants to use English"	"I can understand whenever someone ask me and [I] know something about English".

Table 5: Reflection of Participants at Research Site 1 (CA) on Their English Learning Progress

Nick, Marcos and Jordan express some progress from a difficult beginning to the present moment where they have learned some English. Daisy, Gabriela and Angeline express positive beginnings with the language to the present moment where they recognize that they have learned more. All but Jordan relate some sort of progress in their language learning, which seems to affect their beliefs about their abilities in a positive way. In Jordan's case, he feels more debilitated in his learning, further expressed in the interview. Furthermore, both the questionnaire and written narrative, in different ways, prompted the participants to reflect on their journey with learning

English thus far. Nick, Daisy, Gabriela and Angeline express a positive belief towards their experience using phrases like “learn more English and I am happy”, “I can already write, read and speak the true mind”, “know more English” and “I don’t believe that I can use English to talk with other person, that’s great!”. On the contrary, Jordan and Marcos express a lack in progress in their language learning and a need to learn more. Marcos expresses his concerns about his personal English speaking abilities in the interview, explaining,

Excerpt 01: I am always nervous because, oh my English, oh my pronunciation is not good so I think I am not explaining good so I need to learn more English [to] explain more [to] other persons. I think the other person is not understanding me. (Marcos, I)

Marcos is uncomfortable speaking in English when he is not sure if the other person is understanding him and he expresses a need to learn “more English”, knowing that he has learned some English but with a strong desire to continue learning more as a means to better communicate with other people. Jordan’s responses in the interview reinforces his belief that he does not speak well, that he is not improving and yet he does not seem to attribute it to an intrinsic inability but rather to the fact that the language itself is a challenge to learn. When asked in the interview to describe his visual narrative, Jordan states, “My English is [not] good”. He continues on to express his opinion about English, emphasizing the difficulty to learn: “My opinion, it’s hard. It’s very very very very hard. It’s hard to learn but [speaking English] can be achieved. *Pero es* very very very very hard” (Jordan, I). Regarding his ability to learn, he seems to believe that he is learning bit by bit, and that it is not an intrinsic problem. This contrasts Nick’s belief about learning English – that it is okay if it is not perfect. Nick is less demanding on himself to speak perfectly, as long as he is communicating.

Nick, Angeline, Gabriela and Daisy seem to be happy with their progress as they are experiencing their ability to learn. The following excerpt shows Angeline’s contentment with being able to speak English, as well as her belief that her hard work ethic has helped her in the process, and it will help her more in the future:

Excerpt 02: Now I can speak English [...] I think I spent a lot of time in here so that makes my English better [...] I don’t know why I can speak English [...] I think it’s a habit [...] I think I need to talk more English with my friend to get more with this. I can do anything like the other when I try my best. (Angeline, I)

Angeline expresses a disbelief or shock that she can speak English and also that English is a habit – acquired by time and space. She also expresses a strong belief in her

capability to learn. Through her hard work and dedication, she compares herself to others and understands that she has opportunity available to her when she tries her best. Similarly, Gabriela expresses her confidence in her abilities to learn English and overcome any obstacle in the way, while also expressing pride in her progress with English as of now. When asked when she started to learn English she explains,

Excerpt 03: Here in the United States, on September 1st in 2016 I initiated the class here at [the high school]. And now I have one year and 6 months here and I speak a lot. [...] And I think, 'I can do it. I can do it.' That's why I speak more. (Gabriela, I)

Gabriela sees herself as someone who speaks English, attesting the short amount of time she has been in the United States in comparison to her progress. She attributes her progress to her internal dialogue when she thinks "I can do it. I can do it". Gabriela is very confident in her English-speaking abilities, as she sees her progress with the language from when she first arrived. Being able to see her progress greatly affects her belief in her abilities, as well as her identification with the language. She attributes her progress to her own belief in her capabilities when she shares how she thinks she can do it and because of that, she is able to speak. This shows how a belief can influence an individual's actions (BARCELOS & KALAJA, 2016). The relationship to her belief in her ability seems highly correlated to her belief in her progress. She concludes her interview by projecting her voice beyond the interview, seemingly to other English learners and/or immigrants by saying:

Excerpt 04: To the other people, you can do it. If you want to go, try. The teacher say[s] if you really, really want, you try and you get it. And I see other people like me and then when they come back and finish high school and I say, oh my god if you can do it, I can do it. (Gabriela, I)

Her final words are a powerful address to a specific audience of newcomers, sharing her story and encouraging words that they too can "try and get it" with the right attitude, motivation, work ethic and encouraging people. Gabriela embodies the words of the teacher that expresses the importance of wanting something in order to get it. She seems to hold on to these words as her driving force in the new country, which she then tries to pass on to a larger audience in the interview.

In sum, the participants express a variety of different beliefs in their personal ability to learn English and their progress. These beliefs seem to influence their progress in learning English in varying degrees. Though both Marcos and Jordan do not suggest a doubt in their ability to learn, they attribute the challenge to the language

itself or to a matter of time. Nevertheless, their faith in their ability is not as strongly present as the other participants and that could suggest a correlation to their progress.

So far, I have discussed the participants' beliefs in the use of language as well as in their personal abilities and progress with the language. The next set of beliefs refers to the comparison they make between the education system between their home country and their new country.

4.1.1.1.3. Education system in home country versus new country

This section complements the participants' beliefs about learning as their shifting worlds may also cause a change in the previous beliefs discussed (PAJARES, 1992). The participants express a noticeable difference in the education system between their home country and the new country that they are now living. Table 6 displays the contrasting beliefs about the education system in the United States and the participants' home countries.

Country	Belief		
	Quality of education	Quality of English instruction	Quality of life as student
United States	"The school is [better] here". (Daisy, I)	Good explanations, smaller classrooms, more help offered (Gabriela, Daisy, Marcos, I)	Everything is free (Gabriela, Angeline, I); Offers help for undocumented children (Jordan, I)
Mexico	"[When you ask for help] in Mexico they say, oh wait I have more students". (Gabriela, I)	"My teacher was no good [...]. He says oh can you please copy this sentence 5 times [...] and he says that year and so that did not help me". (Daisy, I)	Very expensive (Gabriela, I)
Guatemala	Poor	"It is bad English. I don't understand nothing". (Marcos, I)	Poor
Vietnam	Poor; lack of opportunities for students	Focus on grammar only	"Very expensive" (Angeline, I)

Table 6: Participants' beliefs about education in different countries

This table illustrates how the participants believe there are more opportunities, better schools, better prices and help for undocumented immigrants in the United States, in contrast to their home countries, which have poor education systems, fewer opportunities for students and are more expensive. When asked if their lifestyle in the

United States is similar or different to their home country, all six of the participants responded that it is “different”. All participants mentioned the schools being different. All participants but Nick had more opinions to share about the topic either in the written narrative or in the interview, which is discussed below. This belief can be interpreted as a discourse in the global scheme of “the North” being a better place (KLEINMAN, 2013) or the possibility of achieving the “American Dream” (CID, 2011), or it can be seen as empirical evidence from the participants’ experiences.

Both Daisy and Gabriela were born in the United States but returned to their parents’ home country at a young age. Daisy returned to the United States because she thought that “the school is [better] here” (Daisy, I). She continued to explain that she had English classes in Mexico but of poor quality, criticizing the English teacher’s methodology of having the students copy sentences off the board. Gabriela also describes her English education in Mexico through a lens of her lack of understanding, stating,

Excerpt 05: I don’t like it because I don’t understand. And here I understand everything but over there [...] it’s different the teacher [...] I don’t understand and the teacher over there, they don’t explain to you. Over here they explain everything and when you need help they say yes of course. And in Mexico they say, oh wait I have more students. (Gabriela, I)

Gabriela makes deliberate and continuous comparisons between the two contexts, which has implications when considering the question of globalization and social class (MACIEL, 2011; SANTOS, 2017), discussed more in depth later in this chapter. For the concept of beliefs – which I argue has a direct relationship with social class – Daisy and Gabriela portray the United States as a better place to learn not just English but other subjects as well, attributing it to the methodology used, better explanations and activities such as presentations and conversation in English. The participants view the United States as a better place to learn, coinciding with Pennycook’s (1997) assertion on the value given to English-speaking countries, but there is also a pressing necessity for these participants to learn English in order to achieve legitimacy in American society. This factor can also contribute to their view on the American education system.

Marcos makes similar comments to the English instruction in Guatemala stating that one obstacle he faced was that “the English in my country is different” and he overcame it by “reading books here” (Marcos, WN). He further explains his criticism

of the English instruction in Guatemala with the following: “In my country I have one class of English and [it is] not very good English. It is bad English. I don’t understand nothing” (Marcos, I). He suggests that the English itself is different, distinguishing Guatemala’s English as bad, followed by his lack of understanding. Marcos contributes to the belief discourse on the education system in the participants’ countries of origin that gives higher value to education in the North (VANDRICK, 2014) and supports reasons for their migration to the United States.

Furthermore, Jordan continues to applaud the United States for their education system when asked about what he likes about the country, stating the following: “What I like here is that the country offers you a lot of help so that undocumented children can learn, to have the opportunity to learn in the school.” (Jordan, I). This statement is significant for three reasons. First, at a time when a change in presidency resulted in heated tension between different groups on what to do about immigration policy in the United States, this statement is an immigrant student’s voice representing the group being excluded from the conversation as well as one who is directly affected by any changes to come. Second, Jordan chooses the word “undocumented”, taking a political stance in the discourse where the term for the many Latino immigrants that are considered either “illegal” or “undocumented”. Third, Jordan voices a belief of the opportunities available in his new country of residency in comparison to his country of origin, Mexico, highlighting the opportunities to learn in school. His commentary exemplifies the beliefs of many immigrants about the opportunities that they gratefully take advantage of in their new country, something that Cid’s (2011) research also showed.

Finally, Angeline, the only participant emigrating from an Asian country, states similar beliefs about the education system in the United States in comparison to her home country of Vietnam, stating the following:

Excerpt 06: I think the U.S. is very good because I can learn anything for this [...]. I think always the U.S. is better because I can get the social insurance for Medicare, [it] is always free because I am below 18 years old. But Vietnam [does] not have that. I always need to give them money and I get the insurance and this is always free. The school is always free. The lunch is always free. And in Vietnam you always have to pay. The U.S. is always better. (Angeline, I)

Angeline affirms her belief that the United States is better not only for education reasons, but for the opportunities available in comparison to Vietnam, including affordable medical insurance, school and meals. Having her basic needs met, she can

focus on her English-learning in the new country. She makes direct comparisons between the two countries, similar to Gabriela, strongly asserting her belief that she is in a better country now.

This section has discussed the participants' beliefs about learning the English language, in regards to the way to learn a language, their personal abilities and progress with English as well as the education system in the United States. As Pajares (1992) discussed, it is important to consider the relationship between different beliefs, since the connections between them provide more provocative inferences. That being the case, it is possible to see a relationship between how the participants believe their progress is going with their belief in their personal abilities, as well as in relation to their new learning context, why it is important to learn English and how to best learn the English language. These beliefs exemplify the big picture in this study – that is, the struggle to be included in the new society in which they are inserted and their fight for social mobility by learning English (PENNYCOOK, 1997; VANDRICK, 2014). The next section continues to explore their beliefs about the English language and the implications in relation to their struggle for inclusion in an English-speaking world.

4.1.1.2. Beliefs about English

In this section, I consider the beliefs that the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) have about the English language itself, including beliefs about the importance of English, the necessity for the future for various reasons and the belief of English for the purpose of social interaction.

4.1.1.2.1. English for the future

The participants express a range of reasons for how they see English holding a crucial role in their future plans, whether it is for their work or study endeavors, or for their overall success in the new country. Daisy for instance makes direct correlation with her English speaking capabilities and her future goal to work in finance as an accountant or at a bank, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 07: Because I understand more, I speak more, I can write more and [...] maybe because it's a new life [...]. I think [it's] so good because English and Spanish, that's good for my future [...]. I think [it] is so good because in the bank I need to speak English and Spanish and so I think that's good because I need to learn more. (Daisy, I)

Daisy understands the role of English in her new life in the new country where she is investing time, energy and hope in a better future for herself (NORTON, 2001).

She suggests a relationship between better schooling in the United States, the language skills she is acquiring in both English and Spanish, and her future as a professional, showing a greater understanding of how all of these factors contribute to her success in the United States.

The participants express a strong correlation between their future work or education goals and the use of English. All of the participants but Jordan mention higher education after completing high school either in the questionnaire or written narrative, as can be observed in their responses in Table 7.

Participant	Prompts		
	How do you see yourself using English in the future? (Q)	In the future, I plan to... (WN)	In five years, I see myself... (WN)
Nick	“For college and for work”	N/A	“Graduating college”
Jordan	“Helping [my uncle] to communicate with others about his work when he cannot”	“Finish high school”	N/A
Marcos	“For my work and talk with other people for to come to the United States”	N/A	N/A
Daisy	“I see my speak more English with all the people and teaching other people”	N/A	“Studying in college and working and learning more everyday”
Gabriela	“I want to help other people”	“Go to university”	“Finish university and work as a great nurse”
Angeline	N/A	“Connect to the university and become a good teacher”	N/A

Table 7: Reflection of Participants at Research Site 1 (CA) as Future Users of English

The responses imply needing English for their future professional goals and studying in a college in the United States, as well as to interact with and help other

people. Angeline, for instance, further emphasizes her interest in continuing onto higher education and ends her interview with a message to her fellow Vietnamese community, expressing her belief of the possibility and opportunities for success in the United States:

Excerpt 08: I think I want to [tell the] Vietnamese to come here in the future. I think high school is very easy if they [are] hard working, always focused on their teacher so they can pass and connect to college or university. (Angeline, I)

She expresses her belief that it is easy if they hold a few key values, explicitly, being hard-working and focused at school and, implicitly, being ready to face future challenges. She and her colleagues demonstrate in a variety of ways their belief that English is important for their life and future success in the country, as an integral part in their future studies and work pursuits.

Both Gabriela and Jordan reiterate the importance of English for success in the United States. Gabriela explains that before she did not like English: “I was like, no thank you, I don’t need it. But when I come here I said [...] I need it.” (Gabriela, I). Gabriela makes a comparison to her belief about English before in Mexico, where she did not make an effort to learn because she did not see it as useful for her life. Yet upon arrival to the United States, her belief endures a radical change when she realizes the importance of English in her life becoming a necessity. Jordan explains his immediate need for English when he states, “to learn to help my uncle and my uncle’s work. I like to work. [...] I *need* English here” (Jordan, I). Like Daisy and Gabriela, Jordan makes a direct correlation between English and career goals. The participants understand the necessity of English in relation to their new location, as an integral piece to their success in the new country. In addition, the following section demonstrates the participants’ beliefs about English as a means of communication.

4.1.1.2.2. English for social interaction

Though the participants seek out English for professional purposes, they also emphasize a need for English-speaking skills in order to communicate and interact with others, both on a personal, immediate level and on a global scale, when reflecting on the role of English in the world. All participants had positive answers about English in the world, considering it an essential communication tool. As they seem to highly value English, they seem to undervalue their own language. However, the participants further mention the benefit of being bilingual. Daisy, Marcos and Angeline gave significant

answers that support the belief that English as a global language for communication is a positive thing:

Excerpt 09: I think it's good because all people learn more a language so that's interesting because you know [an]other language. (Daisy, I)

Excerpt 10: I think it is [...] good [that] the world only speak[s] English. That's nice for everything to understand for others and low problems for this topic. (Marcos, I)

Excerpt 11: I think English is the popular language in the world because [...] I think all person always know English. So if I can speak English if I have a trip to go anywhere, I can use English to talk with them, to get help, or any experience. (Angeline, I)

Daisy sees learning additional languages in general as a positive thing, without directly stating English, but Marcos and Angeline explicitly project the belief that the whole world speaks English and it is good for mutual understanding and communication with all types of people.

Referencing the visual narratives previously discussed in Section 4.1.1.1. (or see Appendix L) on the belief of the use of English, the moments of interaction through English that are depicted by four of the six participants (Daisy, Nick, Gabriela and Marcos) signify a strongly-held and common belief within their community that English is for the purpose of interaction and communication. The two visual narratives that do not directly show this dialogue (Angeline and Jordan) still innately demonstrate this belief in the descriptions of their drawings.

For Daisy, Gabriela and Marcos, communicating in English is not only for their own purposes, to relate to people that already speak English. In fact, they also express the desire to share this skill with other family members or immigrants. They repeatedly mention how they want to help newcomers and people from their country to learn English, in the questionnaire, written narrative and interview. While they express a desire to pass on their English-speaking skills to their surrounding community in order to help others, Angeline expresses her point of view from somebody that is still acquiring these skills. She also describes the role that communicating with others in the language holds:

Excerpt 12: I think learn[ing] English is always make friends. Always talk with friends so they can give me more [...]. I think when I can speak English I can make many friends because I think only the student here only speak English and I need to speak English to talk with them. They give me [inspiration] to speak. (Angeline, I)

Angeline offers an example of how English can be used to make social capital (BOURDIEU, 1987). She understands that communicating in English helps her practice the language as well as make new friends. In this excerpt, she steps away from her future goals of using it in her profession and recognizes the immediate need to use English to make friends and speak with them. The implications of these beliefs go beyond learning the English language, suggesting their desire to enter both the local and global community of English speakers as suggested by Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) as well as Norton's (2001) discussion on imagined communities. The participants believe that they are in the right place to learn English, that they will learn the language, that they are capable and that they need to speak English in order to be successful. As suggested by Pajares (1992), there is a web of beliefs forming that contribute to their learning in various ways, as well as their beliefs about the role of English in their future success (PAJARES, 1992). This web creates the friction and drive to learn more as they confront an immediate necessity to learn English.

In this section, I have discussed the beliefs that the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) suggest in the data collected, including beliefs about learning English as well as beliefs about the language itself. It can be observed that some of the participants' beliefs are affecting part of their identity construction as an ELL, a relationship that both Barcelos (2015) and Pajares (1992) address, which is further discussed in the following section about identities.

4.1.2. Identities at Research Site 1 (CA)

In addition to the concept of beliefs discussed above, the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) revealed their identities as English learners, both as students and users; as future users of English as professionals; and as members of their family.

4.1.2.1. Identities as English Learners

Before presenting the analysis, the difference between learner, student and user needs to be distinguished, as I use the terms "student" and "user" as sub-categories of "learner", as observed in the data of this study. A learner refers to an individual learning inside or outside of the classroom, apart from the traditional methods of learning a language with a textbook and a teacher. The term "student" refers to those participants that identify themselves as an English learner in the traditional classroom, not utilizing other learning modalities such as medial, interpersonal interaction and more casual, day-to-day exposure to the language. A user is a learner that uses the language in more

casual settings and identifies as a user of the language. A student's learning is more formal or intentional, whereas as a user's learning is more broad, versatile, and independent of a specific space or time. As Figure 8 demonstrates, a learner includes being a student, user and/or a non-user of the language.

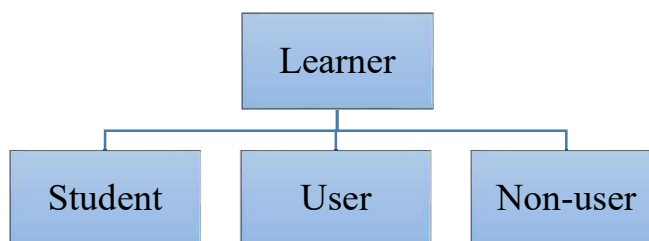


Figure 8: Division of Types of Learners

How they presently identify themselves greatly influences whether or not they see themselves as users or non-users of the English language in the future, that is, their identities as future users of the English language. I make a distinction in this study because it was apparent in the data that some participants see themselves as a student without using the language. Other participants do not consider themselves English students studying the language in the classroom, but rather as users in informal settings. Still others may have English class and interact with social media in English but see themselves as non-users. As Haesbaert (2011) and Leffa (2012) emphasize, identities are various, diverse and paradoxical. That is, depending on the space or situation, the participants could identify themselves as students, users and/or non-users.

For the most part, the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) do not identify themselves as non-users, though Jordan and Marcos express moments where they feel like they cannot communicate. The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) express strong identities as English learners, either as a student of the language, as a user of the language in his or her everyday life, or both. When asked how the participants practice outside of class, their responses show a variety of ways they use the language in their daily life, including listening to music, watching television, reading books, and talking with friends, cousins, family or teachers. It is apparent that the participants use English outside of the classroom through media sources and interaction with friends and family. The participants suggest a community of learners in which they are involved, where they have people to practice English with outside of the classroom in addition to music, books, and movies.

Furthermore, the participants expressed moments when they feel challenged and encouraged to learn English. For Nick, Daisy, Jordan and Marcos, they feel either encouraged or challenged while interacting with other people in English. If the other person doesn't understand them, they feel challenged. If the other person helps them or motivates them, they feel encouraged. This represents their identities as users of the language, emphasizing the role of social interaction in how their identities as users are being created (LEFFA, 2012, MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009, SOUZA, 2013). Angeline and Gabriela identify themselves more explicitly in both roles as students and users, expressing their focus on grades but also their focus on using the language outside of the classroom through social interaction. They mention events like field trips and getting good grades, which encourage and challenge them. Both Angeline and Gabriela identify themselves as English students more frequently (appearing also in their interviews) than the other participants, who seem more concerned with using the language in their daily activities than their performance at school. In Table 8, the identities of the participants as students, users and non-users are displayed.

Participant	Strongly identifies as	Also identifies as	Excerpt (I)
Daisy	User	Student	“Maybe because it’s a new life [...] because I speak with a new language”.
Marcos	User	Student	“[Research Site 1, CA] open the doors for new students and new countries”.
Nick	User	Student	“Talking to my friends, more, speak English more”.
Jordan	Non-user	User	“I feel bad that I don’t speak it as well. This is not correct, my English”.
Gabriela	Student & User	N/A	“The customer [said] oh you don’t speak English please [...] I don’t need you [to] help me. And I say, you know what, I speak English”.
Angeline	Student	User	“I think high school is very easy if they hard working, always focused on their teacher so they can pass it and connect to college or university”.

Table 8: English Learner Identities of Participants at Research Site 1 (CA)

Table 8 categorizes the participants' suggested identities as English learners, considering the three categories in this study. Daisy, Marcos and Nick all identify themselves strongly as English users in that they practice English inside and outside the classroom and seek out opportunities to improve their English skills, considering the classroom as another learning tool amongst many. Jordan strongly identifies himself as a non-user, as he struggles to learn English and feels challenged throughout the experience, though he has moments when he feels he is learning bit by bit. Gabriela strongly identifies both as a student and user, emphasizing how important her grades are for her, but also explaining how she needs English for her daily life at work and that she tries to improve it in all aspects of her life. I believe that Angeline more strongly identifies herself as an English student, as she focuses strongly on her grades and academic performance. She identifies as an English user but she strongly holds onto her Vietnamese identity, preferring to socialize with them in and outside the academic environment.

It is important to observe the participants' imagined communities suggested in the data. Five of six participants feel more comfortable speaking with their friends, relatives and other ELLs. For example, Marcos states, "With my friends because my friends understand me in English and [...] even though I don't say it well, they understand me"⁴³. These participants also explain that they feel less comfortable speaking with a proficient English speaker, which is the imagined community they want to enter. Nick relates, "When I speak with other people who speak real[ly] good English, [I feel] uncomfortable". The participants attributed this discomfort to concerns about pronunciation and the other person understanding them. Jordan relates that he never feels comfortable speaking English and compares his English to that of the native English-speaking researcher (myself in this case). The results suggest identities as English learners who indeed are still learning and are eager to reach a proficiency where they would feel more relaxed and happier with their English-speaking skills. Their responses suggest that their imagined community is that of the proficient English speakers, as they feel most uncomfortable speaking English with people that have already learned English. Similar to Norton's (2001) and Mastrella's (2007) observations about symbolic and material investments and the language learner's agency discussed in Chapter II, their imagined community is related to the investment

⁴³ Translation from Spanish. Original transcription: "with my friends because my friends understand me in English and...aunque no lo diga bien, me entiende"

they make to learn the language, an investment that does not only mean being able to communicate in English but also to socialize with and be included in the English-speaking world in which they desire to be included and also to be an agent in their language learning progress.

Looking at the data collected, we understand how these identities have developed through the participants' personal experience, influenced by geographical, historical and dialogical factors, as suggested by Leffa (2012).

4.1.2.1.1. English user

A majority of the participants identify strongly as an English user. Those participants express an interest in using English in their day-to-day lives and take their English learning outside of the classroom. English classes are considered another resource for learning.

Daisy constructs her identity as an English user, directly linking language to identity. Born in California, she expresses her difficulties in returning to the United States after many years of living in Mexico:

Excerpt 13: My first days here is so, 'oh my God' what [did] he say, or what [did] she say because I [did] not understand but later I know more, every day I know more and that's good [...]. I forgot all my English and so that was sad. So in September 2015, I returned to the United States and that is good because I return to my country. But it is difficult because I not speak nothing of English. It's good but it's difficult. I am remembering my language of the past. (Daisy, I)

This excerpt shows Daisy's connection between national identity and language when she says that it feels good to come back to her country and remember the language of her past. As discussed in Chapter II, she exemplifies the impact that historical and geographical factors have had on her identity as an English user (HAESBAERT, 2011; LEFFA, 2012; SÓL; 2013). As Souza (2013) explains, language and identity are directly linked. Daisy exemplifies this connection between language and the construction of her identity in the United States, explaining that because she can communicate in English now, she is living a new life. She identifies herself as a citizen in the United States but she recognizes that, in order to fully identify, she needs to be able to speak English well. Here, Daisy strongly identifies as an English user, rather than a student learning English in a classroom.

Marcos and Nick recognize the support of their surrounding community to help them learn English. They explain situations where they can feel comfortable practicing

English because of the other ELLs' support. Marcos states, "my other friends [say] to me, "*tu puedes, tu puedes, tu puedes*⁴⁴" and I [say] thank you, thank you. They are talking English [to] support [me]" (Marcos, I). Marcos feels grateful for the support he gets from his friends and emphasizes the continuity of this support by repeating three times "you can, you can, you can". Here, he exemplifies the way he is supported in his community to learn English – he is not alone in this process; it is a dialectical process with the surrounding community (LEFFA, 2012; MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009). As an English user, he participates in a community of other learners, that which he expresses as a crucial contribution to his determination and persistence.

Gabriela also explains a challenging episode at work where her English was challenged even before she spoke. It seems as if she has constructed an English user identity so concretely that comments from other people only further encourage her to assert her identity as competent and confident in the language. As Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) explains, the individual still holds a crucial role in identity construction, even with the other surrounding influences. Gabriela exhibits her strong character by making it clear that she, in fact, does speak English, despite any preconceived notions the customer may have made. Gabriela projects her English speaking abilities not only in the space of the restaurant but also in her new country. Her complete faith in her ability to communicate in English drives her forward beyond the voices from others that may challenge her abilities. She gives an example, stating, "They say oh you can't do it. You don't understand because it's in English. I say, so what! I understand! If I pay attention in everything, I can do it" (Gabriela, I). There is no denying Gabriela's booming English user identity; she believes strongly in her capabilities, perhaps constructed through positive feedback from other learners and her good grades as well as positive experiences communicating in English. The relationship between identities and beliefs is demonstrated through Gabriela's example, as she shows how a superficial belief in her language abilities from when she first arrived in the new country has transformed into a core belief, contributing to the construction of her English user identity (BARCELOS, 2015; PAJARES, 1992).

⁴⁴ Spanish for "you can, you can, you can".

4.1.2.1.2. English student

All of the participants but Jordan have the goals to go to college and continue being students. They express that part of their purpose in learning English is so that they may be successful in school and continue their education after high school.

Angeline, Gabriela, Nick, Daisy and Marcos identify themselves as students, seeing the classroom as a helpful learning tool. Moreover, Gabriela and Angeline strongly identify themselves as English students, strongly encouraged by their good grades:

Excerpt 14: When I have diplomas I think oh my god that's me, it's me. And my grades when is A and B and only A, B, A, A, A oh my god I love it. (Gabriela, I)

Excerpt 15: I think I am confident because I get only A for my schedule because I think that easy for me. I am hard-working at home and always do my homework after school so I can get A's. I think all the teachers are easy with me. (Angeline, I).

For Angeline, getting good grades is of utmost importance. She recognizes her ability as a student, being dedicated and hard-working, yet she also attributes some of her success to the degree of difficulty that the coursework presents. Angeline's identity as an English user is to reinforce her identity as an English student, as her priorities to be a good student are made explicit.

4.1.2.1.3. English non-user

Most participants do not identify as English non-users, but there are contexts where Nick, Daisy, Marcos, and, in particular, Jordan feel challenged to communicate in English. Jordan expresses a strong identity as an English non-user. Although I am categorizing for clarity, we know that identities are dynamic and contextual, and can have an influx. It may be that in a certain context, they are non-users and a student or user in another. In Jordan's case, he explains that he never feels comfortable speaking in English and yet he needs to speak English in his job, working with his uncle in construction. These two factors seem to create a tension in Jordan as he identifies more as an English non-user than as an English user. Jordan suggests a strong belief about people who speak English correctly, stating the following: "I feel bad that I don't speak it as well. This is not correct, my English. Yeah, you speak correctly. I don't" (Jordan, I). Jordan suggests his imagined community here, being the native English speaker (NORTON, 2001). Jordan feels that he should be improving quicker, yet he is not seeing the results. He compares himself to other people, specifically native English

speakers, identifying himself as the opposite – someone that does not speak correctly. Different to other participants that communicate in English without worrying whether it is correct or not, Jordan suggests a perfectionist attitude towards speaking English.

This section has looked at the English learner identities of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA), either as an English student, English user, English non-user or a combination of the categories. I now explore the participants’ identities as future users of English, particularly focusing on their goals as professionals.

4.1.2.2. Identities as future users of English as professionals

A recurring theme in the data collection is the participants’ expression of professional identities, where they show the necessity of English in the future. In Table 9, we can also observe the evolving identities as future professionals. This table shows the different professional goals the participants have. It is implicit that they will need English to reach these goals. In the meantime, they are constructing their identities as future professionals by learning English, seeking out new opportunities in the new country, discovering what they would like to do in the future as well as investing in their English-learning (NORTON, 2001). All of the participants see themselves using English in their future and they all explicitly believe they will use their English-speaking skills in their profession. All of the participants but Jordan plan to go to college to accomplish their goals, as can be observed in Table 9.

Participant	English in future?	College?	Career?	Excerpt
Nick	Yes – Work College	Yes	Police Officer	“For college and for work” (Q)
Marcos	Yes – Work, Encourage others to come to U.S.	Yes	Businessman	“For my work and talk with other people to come to the United States” (Q)
Daisy	Yes – Help newcomers	Yes	Accountant or Banker	“I see my[self] speaking more English with all the people and teaching for other people” (Q)
Gabriela	Yes	Yes	Nurse	“Finish my university and work as a great nurse” (WN)
Angeline	Yes	Yes	Teacher	“Connect to the university and become a good teacher” (WN)
Jordan	Yes – Work	No	Construction	“Help my uncle communicate with others about his work when he cannot” (Q)

Table 9: Identities of Participants at Research Site 1 (CA) as Future Professionals

Three participants – Gabriela, Daisy and Marcos – have shown their desire to help people in their professions, either as a nurse, banker or businessman, respectively. They also demonstrated a desire to help recent immigrants integrate into the new country, expressing their appreciation for the help they received and an understanding of how scary it may be, showing a deep compassion for others in similar situations. Professionally, four participants (Daisy, Marcos, Angeline, and Gabriela) explicitly recognize the benefit of being bilingual. Daisy states,

Excerpt 16: I'm not liv[ing] with my [parents] and my brothers so sometimes it's difficult but I think it's so good because English and Spanish, that's good for my future [...] because in the bank I need to speak English and Spanish and so I think that's good because I need to learn more. (Daisy, I)

Daisy identifies with both languages in her future; she does not intend to lose her identity as a Spanish speaker, yet she hopes to construct a future identity as a bilingual professional. In the above excerpt, she weighs the difficulties with the benefits, understanding that the benefit to be bilingual outweighs the difficulties of living away from her family in another country.

Marcos, Angeline and Gabriela are specific in their intentions to go to college to pursue a career in business, education or nursing, respectively. Marcos expresses his future goals in higher education in order to reach a larger goal of having his own business, stating,

Excerpt 17: I think of going to college and graduat[ing] [...] because my [main] challenge is to finish university, have a doctorate and [...] create my business [...]. The other people [come from] Guatemala to the U.S. that [don't] have money so I think to help this person, or this person have a family in Guatemala that is here in the U.S. [...] like me, for my story, for my life. (Marcos, I)

Marcos combines his future dream to be a business professional with his personal experience of having lived in Guatemala while his parents lived in the U.S. For him, education is the key to reaching these goals. He believes that with a doctorate degree, he can then create a business that will help reunite families that have been separated between Guatemala and the United States. In fact, he hopes to help people that are enduring a similar experience to his. His identity as a professional includes English as a tool in higher education in the United States and as a bridge of communication.

Jordan's purpose of learning English is for both an immediate and future need in the construction business, saying that he needs English "to help my uncle and my uncle's work. I like to work. I need [to] learn English [...]. I *need* English here" (Jordan, D). Though Jordan struggles with English, he is very clear with his goals to learn the language, not necessarily because he enjoys it but because it is widely spoken in the United States. The role of English in his future profession holds a significant role in his aims, as an integral part of his success in the new country.

In short, all of the participants, in one way or another, associate learning English with their future endeavors as professionals. These identities being constructed as future users of English are affected by experiences, geographic location, social interactions, and beliefs that they hold as suggested by Leffa (2012), Souza, (2013) and Mastrella-De-Andrade, (2013). Similarly, they offer examples of the influence of fields in which the participants interact and how their *habitus* is evolving within these fields, a contributing factor to their identities, including their social class (BOURDIEU, 1989). In the next section, the participants explain the role that English plays in their identity as a member of their family.

4.1.2.3. Identities as members of their family

The participants' identities as English learners and future professionals are closely tied to their identities within their family, whether they are learning in order to help a family member, to support their family or they are offered support from family and friends. To understand the home dynamics of the participants, their native language is spoken in their homes by all the participants. Daisy, Gabriela and Nick state that both English and Spanish are spoken. Therefore, home is where close ties to their culture are preserved, and yet English is now also playing a crucial role in the construction of these families. Four participants (Gabriela, Daisy, Marcos and Jordan) express the support they give to or receive from their family members in order for all of them to achieve their goals.

Marcos' story is what most greatly shows his identity as a family member in relation to English. He explained that he only lived with his parents for the first two years of his life, and they were reunited in California after ten years of separation. He is explicit about his intentions to learn English, stating,

Excerpt 18: Because my dad and my mom don't talk in English in my house. It is hard because I am the leader in my family. My dad is a worker. He is a good father. He is my [support] and my mom is my

life. My family is my life. I like my family so I am studying English for my family [...] for my work or other things, or the court. I am here in the court [because] my dad not understand English. (Marcos, I)

He explains his role in the family as the leader because he speaks English. Thus, he is given more responsibilities to be a spokesman for his parents. He explicitly states that because he loves his family, he is studying English. Marcos suggests a relationship between learning English and a better life for his family. Marcos associates English with opportunity and the essential factor to help his family achieve social mobility, thus suggesting the symbolic capital that English holds (PENNYCOOK, 1997) and the reasons for investing in it (NORTON, 2001).

In sum, Daisy, Jordan, Gabriela and Marcos all express their identities in relation to their family members, demonstrating the role of English in their lives. The identities expressed at Research Site 1 (CA) show the participants' eagerness to learn English associated to their identities as English learners, future users of English as professionals and as family members. In all of the categories, the participants relate English to the construction of their identities in a new country, a crucial part to the whole experience of immigration. As the participants endure new identities in formation, they express difficulties and growing pains that come with the experience. Becoming identified as an immigrant is a challenge to one's identity, and whether or not the individual wants to be recognized as different will determine their personal identity construction (BLOCK, 2012). Their past experiences, social interactions, and personal beliefs determine the identities that are constantly being constructed in the participants' English-learning environment (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2013).

4.1.3. Social Class at Research Site 1 (CA)

This section of this chapter discusses the implications of social class in the context of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA). The identities of the participants are further explored through a social class lens, where a relationship between the different types of capital and their English learning is suggested.

The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) are all recent immigrants, which already poses a challenge in social mobility, as they must build up their lives in a new country from the bottom up. The professions that their parents or guardians possess are low to middle class jobs, including construction workers, waiters, mechanics and factory workers. A majority of the participants live in large households with five to eight people; Jordan lives with his uncle only. Their parent or guardian's level of

education is at most a Bachelor's degree (Gabriela's aunt) but otherwise, the participants reported that their guardians had completed some or had graduated from high school. Jordan poetically explains a common ground that the participants at Research Site 1 (CA), that is, the struggle for social mobility in a new country:

Excerpt 19: My experience – we are different people, and we together [...] en español no? Aunque todos tienen diferentes culturas, when we came here, well we came here with an objective, purpose [...] a goal, una meta, cuando estamos aquí necesitamos tener en mente lo que queremos para lograrlo.⁴⁵

My experience – we are different people, and we together [...] no Spanish? Although everyone has a different culture, when we came here, well we came here with an objective, a purpose [...] a goal, when we came here we need to keep in mind what we want in order to achieve that. (Jordan, I)

Jordan understands that everyone is going through a similar experience of learning English and that they have one thing in common – an objective, a goal they want to achieve. Jordan describes the participants' purpose for immigration, as well as other immigrants to the United States seeking a better future. In general, it can be said that the participants come from a low social class, considering their immigrant status, their family's occupations and the low socioeconomic neighborhood in which they live. However, social class, as explained by Bourdieu (1986) and Block (2012) is a complex concept that can be influenced by several different factors. Therefore, this section considers the relationship between English and social class (in the form of types of capital), the *habitus* and fields of the participants, as well as the relationship between English and exclusion from social mobility or opportunities.

4.1.3.1. English and Capital

In lieu of the concept of social class explained in Chapter II, this section attempts to understand the ways in which English is expressed in relation to capital for the participants at Research Site 1 (CA). I understand the culmination of different forms of capital – social, cultural, economic and symbolic – as significant in social mobility. In this section, webs of capital are constructed and the influence of types of capital on one another is made apparent, as discussed in Chapter II.

The concept of social capital plays a crucial role in acquiring relationships to practice speaking English as seen in Section 4.1.1.2.2. on the belief that English is

⁴⁵ Jordan uses a mixture of Spanish and English. My translations to English are below the original excerpt.

important for social interaction. In a cyclical manner, being able to speak English also plays a crucial role in acquiring more social capital, as the more English speaking abilities an individual has, the more people with whom he or she can communicate, differing per country and the opportunities available in each context. Vandrick (2014) points out how immigrants hope to use English as a capital to improve their chances in life, yet there are many other factors that will determine their success at social mobility. The access to postsecondary education is a form of cultural capital, which may be obtained through social and economic capital. Thus, the question of access to capital reveals the struggle for power amongst classes. Pennycook (1997) pointed out the direct relationship between capital and power, and how a lack of access to a source of capital prevents the conversion of their resources to power. To best facilitate social mobility, all types of capital should be accessible. In the case of immigrants, lack of social capital can be detrimental to their chances in life.

There is a close relationship between social and cultural capital. Units of cultural capital, as Bourdieu (1999) explains, may include factors such as educational degrees acquired or knowledge about certain subjects, such as languages. The participants demonstrate several ways that English may be considered a cultural capital. As the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) are from low socioeconomic backgrounds and identify with socially vulnerable factors such as being immigrants from working class families, they do not suggest that they possess a significant amount of economic capital. Yet in their hopes for learning English, they express an interest in using English in order to acquire more economic capital. Through their discourse it is possible to infer that English plays an important role for the acquisition of social and cultural capital. In other words, first they need to acquire social and cultural capital through the English language in order to convert it into economic capital.

The role of English as capital is exemplified by Gabriela in her interview when she states, “The goal is you need to practice your English. That’s it. Mr. Welch⁴⁶ says every day you need to practice your English. It is very important for your life, your career” (Gabriela, I). This excerpt, previously cited in Section 4.1.1.2.1. on beliefs about English for the future, shows the voices within the community that are giving the participants support, encouragement and perspective about the importance of English for them to confront future obstacles and challenges. Gabriela demonstrates the need

⁴⁶ Mr. Welch is a pseudonym to protect the identity of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA)

for English in order to access economic capital, reproducing Mr. Welch's words. She also shows the influence that an authoritative figure has on her pursuit to learn English. He represents a person that possesses a lot of social capital as the ESL Coordinator of the high school, and Gabriela demonstrates an acquiring of social capital by associating with him. The ripple effect of social capital is seen here, as Gabriela reaps the benefits of Mr. Welch's social capital and in turn, creates her own social capital by association with him. In effect, she internalizes the belief that English is necessary for her future, passed onto her from an authoritative figure, and thus reproduces, or distributes this belief within her social circles. This demonstrates the possibilities that social capital affords to an individual (in this case, to Gabriela) or the possibilities that an individual (Mr. Welch, in this case) affords to a community, which can also be said about the exposure to the English language itself (BOURDIEU, 1986; PENNYCOOK, 1997).

All of the participants make a direct link between studying English, working and money – money being the ultimate goal in order to help their families and to improve their current socioeconomic situations. For instance, Marcos' intention to achieve an institutionalized cultural capital (a doctorate degree) is to help his parents work less. He wants the highest degree of education, and although it is not necessarily needed to create a business, he associates this cultural capital as his ultimate goal. This may represent a symbolic status that he wishes to achieve, a type of social capital to be recognized as a doctor. It also suggests English as a form of cultural capital, as a portal to getting a doctorate degree (BOURDIEU, 1999). Similarly, Angeline and Gabriela participate in academic clubs and extracurricular activities on campus (an opportunity to acquire social capital) in order to improve their qualifications for college. Gabriela explains how English is required to enter her medical club, as there are no ESL teachers present. Again, English is linked to all forms of capital for the participants; it is the basic unit in order to access the capital in their immediate surroundings and in their future goals. For the participants at Research Site 1 (CA), they are making investments for their future, motivated from the imagined communities they wish to enter, as Norton (2001) explains.

Jordan also demonstrates how social capital is believed to bring economic capital referring the advice his uncle gave him about reaching his goals:

Excerpt 20: Todo es difícil más teniendo siempre en mente tu meta is good. Aprender inglés es one of my goals. Mi tío [...] sabe hablar un poco de inglés pero esta hay cosas que se le dificulta, y por ese se dice

a mí que yo aprenda inglés porque se me gusta su trabajo que igual como es trabajo de construcción [...] tú necesitas saber inglés para dilo que para las personas.⁴⁷

Everything is difficult but always keeping in mind your goal is good. One of my goals is to learn English. My uncle knows how to speak a little bit of English but there are things that challenge him, and that is why he told me to learn English if I like his work in construction [...] you need to know English to talk with people. (Jordan, I)

Jordan's understanding of the importance of English suggests a direct link between social and economic capital. Similar to the role that Mr. Welch played in Gabriela's situation, Jordan's uncle influences his goal to learn English in order to talk with clients. He needs to speak English in order to communicate with other people so that he can do his job well. In theory, he can construct a roof without speaking English, but in order to be successful in reaching his goals, he needs to work with clients and make a good impression so that he may network for new clients and help his uncle's business grow.

Gabriela explains the loss of social capital in her move to the United States, in hopes to gain more economic capital in the future, sharing, "when I come here I feel sad because I'm alone, only me [...] but I say I can do it for my mom, I can do it" (Gabriela, I). Her family is a strong source of social capital in Mexico (COLEMAN, 1988) as they are her support system and inspiration. When Gabriela decided to go to the United States, she left her social capital behind in order to acquire more economic capital in the future. She feels this lack of social capital, emphasizing feelings of loneliness and isolation in the new country. As an immigrant, she faces the challenge to build up her social capital once again, something that all immigrants must face, regardless of what social capital they possessed in their homeland. Yet her inspiration comes from her mom, her core social capital, and that is what pushes her to continue working hard in the new country in order to acquire an economic capital that will make her family's living conditions in the future more agreeable.

In sum, as explained by Bourdieu (1986), the forms of capital are shown to be interrelated; having one form of capital can enable an individual to access another form of capital, as we have seen in the above examples. The culmination of capital influences an individual's social class, as the contribution of social and cultural capital can help one's economic capital grow. For the participants at Research Site 1 (CA), they are

⁴⁷ Since Jordan uses a mixture of Spanish and English, my translation to English is below the original excerpt.

investing in their English language education with hopes to convert this social, cultural and symbolic capital to economic capital in the future. These forms of capital interact and change in amount; some expansion of economic capital may contribute to further acquisition of social capital. Other influences on the acquisition of these forms of capital are the fields that an individual participates and the *habitus* that is influenced by the field.

4.1.3.2. *Habitus* and Fields

Considering Bourdieu's concept of social class in full, I see it as important to mention the role that *habitus* and fields play in understanding the participants' situation. Though this study does not delve into the question of *habitus* and fields, it is worth mentioning the dispositions (*habitus*) the participants hold and spaces (fields) that the participants occupy and involve themselves. For example, when Angeline talks about her future dreams, she demonstrates her forming *habitus*:

Excerpt 21: I want to be a teacher because I like children [...] and I really want to be an independent woman too. I don't want to get help from others. And I want to connect to university in the future – UCI. [To reach these goals], for now I need to speak well in English. I need to be hard working and always do homework after school. I think I need to talk more English with my friend to get [better] with this. I can do anything like the other when I try my best. (Angeline, I)

Angeline demonstrates her disposition as a hard-working student trying to speak English well in order to reach her goals. This disposition – or *habitus* – reflects how she views the world through experience, influence or surrounding discourses. Whether or not she is conscious of it, a collective of moments has created her interest in teaching, becoming an independent woman, and going to college. Moreover, she has come to believe that in order to reach these goals, she needs to speak English. She also believes that her hard work will pay off and that she is capable of achieving her goals like others. These beliefs also are structured within her surroundings and indeed her personal experience as an immigrant. That being said, Bourdieu's concept of fields (spaces) has a strong impact on the *habitus* of an individual, clearly seen in the participants' experience as recent immigrants to a new culture. In order to avoid redundancies, rather than fully exploring *habitus* and risk repeating many ideas that arose in the section on beliefs, I premise that this study relates *habitus* and beliefs and that the fields significantly affect participants' *habitus*, as was discussed in Chapter II and is argued below.

The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) were able to strikingly demonstrate the influence of a field on one's *habitus*, especially when asked to compare their home country to their new place of residence. They not only noted the difference in language, but also the opportunities available in the new country as opposed to their homeland as well as the intersection of fields that may impact each participant in a distinct manner. Table 10 juxtaposes the various fields and *habitus* that the participants express in this study.

Field	<i>Habitus</i>	Excerpt (I)
California	More opportunity, accessible and good quality education	“The country offers you a lot of help so that undocumented children can learn to have the opportunity to learn in the school.” (Jordan, I).
Mexico, Guatemala, Vietnam	Less opportunity, violence, poor education, expensive and strict	“In [Guatemala], [there is] only the board and the markers and here [there] is a television and have a computer. In my country, only books [...] all my class is problematic, in my class.” (Marcos, I)

Table 10: Comparison of the participants' *habitus* in different fields at Research Site 1 (CA)

As can be observed in the table, the participants make strong comparisons between their homeland and California, expressing their belief that there is more opportunity in California, better education, cheaper schools and public services, as well as better quality of life in general. They express the impact of the change in field on their *habitus*, as well as the intersection of fields, which also influences their *habitus*.

Jordan, for instance, demonstrates in two distinct moments an intersection of fields that in turn impact his disposition at this moment in time. Jordan voices his opinion about his experience in California, stating, “What I like here is that the country offers you a lot of help so that undocumented children can learn to have the opportunity to learn in the school.” (Jordan, I). Jordan recognizes that he has opportunities to learn at school, with help from the United States, suggesting a difference than his home country of Mexico. He continues to explicitly state the difference as such: “I don't like Mexico [because] there is a lot of poverty. I also don't like because there are more opportunities here⁴⁸” (Jordan, I). Like many of his colleagues, he took the risk to immigrate to the United States because the situation in his home country was worth the

⁴⁸ Original excerpt: “I don't like Mexico [...] *tiene mas pobreza que aqui*. I don't like also *pues aqui tienes mas oportunidades*”.

risk, with a lot of poverty and a lack of opportunities. He associates the help offered to “undocumented students” a countrywide phenomenon, yet it is in fact specifically more robust in sanctuary cities, such as the one to where he has immigrated. The high school itself also has a well-developed program to help immigrant children integrate into the new country. His specific space reflects a disposition he has adopted, yet not only he, but many of the other immigrant students that are eager to take advantage of the opportunities they have available in the new country. He also demonstrates an intersection of fields when commenting on a social phenomenon of young people his age, which also suggests the social class with which he associates:

Excerpt 22: Well, I see that que mucha gente joven [...] tiene hijos y la meta de que tenia de antes ya como tienen compromiso no puede, a lo mejor es un poco más difícil [...]. No tener compromisos como esos antes de no lograr a mi meta. Es primero mi meta e después pensar en eso⁴⁹.

Well, I see that many young people [...] have kids and the goal they had before, as they already have a commitment, they can't [do it], maybe it is a little more difficult [...]. To not have commitments like those before achieving my goal. First, it's my goal and then think about that. (Jordan, I)

Jordan recognizes another field where many young people have children before reaching their goals, and he distinguishes this practice as something that he does not want for his life. He is very intentional in first reaching his goal before thinking about having a child. This particular field may associate with the Latino culture around him, in which he is integrated as a Spanish-speaker and by his Mexican nationality. Jordan's interview demonstrates the intersection of two fields, which directly affects his *habitus* as well as determines his future actions. As Block (2014) emphasized the need for intersectional research, Jordan exemplifies how social class and identities interrelate and influence each other within the intersection of fields.

It is interesting to consider how Angeline compares the two contexts between the United States and Vietnam, as she comes from a different region in the world. She compares the two fields in a way that shows how her *habitus* is evolving within the new field at the Research Site 1 (CA) in California. She states the following:

Excerpt 23: I think the U.S. is very good because I can learn anything for this. In Vietnam, I am very shy because in Vietnam [there are] not many activities outside to get student get more. But in [Research Site

⁴⁹ Since Jordan uses a mixture of English and Spanish, my translation into English is below the original excerpt.

1 – CA], I think in one year, 5 or 6 activity outside and I learn many knowledge for this and I think that's good. (Angeline, I)

Angeline contributes her conquering her shyness to the amount of activities she participates outside the classroom, which differs between Vietnam and California. She recognizes how much she has learned from field trips and clubs, which contributed to her confidence. Her *habitus* is directly affected from the change of fields. She compares the different schedules between Vietnam and California, which may allow her to have time for extracurricular activities. Angeline's disposition changes because before in Vietnam, she did not have a problem with the long schedule because she did not know any difference. Now that she has lived a more relaxed schedule, she prefers it and recognizes the importance of having the opportunity to do extracurricular activities. Finally, Angeline explains why she likes California, not forgetting her national roots:

Excerpt 24: I like, because in California, there is [a nearby city] , this is all Vietnamese. So I can [go] there and talk Vietnamese with them so I like California because it [has] Vietnamese [...] I think the people here [are] always friendly and in Vietnam, some teachers [are] very [...] I don't know, but, crazy [...] I don't like. In the U.S. [it does] not happen. Yeah I think the U.S. is always better. (Angeline, I)

Angeline does not want to let go of her Vietnamese identity, so she is pleased to find a Vietnamese community in California. Similar to Nick's surprise that he was not the only Spanish-speaking student at the school, Angeline expresses a thrill to be able to still speak Vietnamese in her new country of residence. Once establishing that she can preserve her Vietnamese culture in her new field, she can affirm that the "U.S. is always better", because the teachers are not abusive with their students if they do not get a good grade, amongst other reasons. Angeline strongly seeks to preserve her Vietnamese identity, which in turn contributes to her specific *habitus* within the given field, ultimately distinguishing her social class from the Latino participants, as will be reaffirmed in the following section on English, Inclusion and Exclusion. Yet, she also recognizes the benefits of her new field, one that has deeply influenced her *habitus* and will continue to alter its "structured structures" (BLOCK, 2014; BOURDIEU, 2004) in the future.

4.1.3.3. English, Inclusion and Exclusion

Finally, it is crucial to analyze the role that English as a form of capital creates in power relations, whether it collaborates with other capital to include or exclude the participants from the society in which they participate.

The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) express moments of inclusion and exclusion as immigrants learning English. Looking at their visual narratives through a lens of social class, the participants demonstrate their efforts to be included in the English-speaking world, as well as the struggle to enter it. Three participants (Daisy, Nick and Gabriela) suggest the social capital associated with speaking English, depicting a conversation between two English-speaking individuals. In contrast, Jordan particularly shows the pressure to speak English, alone and downtrodden in his picture, suggesting exclusion from the English speaking world as long as he struggles with learning the language. All of the visual narratives, as seen in section 4.1.1.1.1. (or see Appendix L) suggest the struggle first and foremost to be included in the English-speaking society to which they have immigrated.

Beyond depicting interactions through conversation, the participants express other moments of wanting to be included in the global English conversation, as well as a desire to access new opportunities available to them in their new country. Marcos expresses the inclusion that he felt upon arriving to the welcome program on campus, stating that the program at Research Site 1 (CA) “opens the doors for new students and new countries” (Marcos, I). This seems to mean that new students are able to access new countries, or interact with people from them. In contrast, the participants express moments of experiencing exclusion in the new country because of race, immigrant status, nationality, ethnicity language or a combination of these, as illustrated in Table 11. It is relevant to note the intersectionality of these identity factors in association with social class, as the participants seeks social mobility (BLOCK, 2014).

Participant	Cause of Exclusion	Excerpt (I)
Marcos	Race, immigrant status	“The people have documents and the other people don’t have documents and so they say go back!” “The other people, say you are black so is different people”.
Nick	Nationality	“My dream was to go to the military but I think the president thinks bad things about Mexicans”.
Gabriela	Race, language	“The customer says, oh you don’t speak English, please, I don’t need you [to] help me. And I say, you know what, I speak English”.
Angeline	Ethnicity	“I can talk English with [the Mexicans] but I think I have a different option with them because my option in Vietnam and [theirs] is Mexico so we have some difference [...] so I think I only talk with Vietnamese”.

Table 11: Causes of Exclusion for Participants at Research Site 1 (CA)

Their responses to the experiences are influenced by their English-speaking abilities. Whereas Gabriela is able to assert her English-speaking identity to the customer, Marcos explains the challenge of not being able to respond to their comments and defend himself well because he is still learning English. In contrasting ways, Marcos and Gabriela demonstrate the power of English capital, and the exclusion that they face to have varying amounts of this capital. Here they experience a mixture of exclusion factors that in turn also contribute to identifying their social class within society (BLOCK, 2014; MASTRELLA DE ANDRADE, 2009). English appears as a symbolic capital based on race, nationality, and language. Marcos is in the struggle to seek out a position and place in the new field and to be accepted. Yet his *habitus*, which has been structured from past hardships and separation from family, in this new field now is structured to use these challenges as fuel for him to continue forward and listen to his voice and those supportive voices around him that say “yo puedo⁵⁰” and “tu puedes⁵¹”. In other words, he expresses his agency to learn English (MASTRELLA, 2007). In Gabriela’s case, she does not let that act of discrimination marginalize her in her own work environment. Gabriela’s response, “You know what, I speak English”, shows how she is able to use her English skills to insert herself in the dialogue and make her voice heard.

Nick experiences the impact of the national discussion about the rights of undocumented immigrants being challenged even more so with the inauguration of President Trump at the beginning of 2017. He seems discouraged to pursue his dreams of joining the military due to his cousin’s strong assertion that the U.S. government would not allow that. Nick shows the exclusion he is feeling because of his nationality, which is perhaps unjustly dramatized by his cousin. This is a type of symbolic capital (BOURDIEU, 1989) given by society attributed to his Mexican nationality. Then again, his cousin expresses a belief being passed along the field of discourse and being reproduced by many people. Nick represents a reality for many of the immigrants. Though they may learn English and go to college, they may fall short on their dreams because of discrimination, or they may settle for something less than their dreams because of a belief within the society, whether or not there is an institutional law against Nick’s participation in the military, for example. This echoes Mastrella-de-Andrade’s (2009) study on desire and exclusion, which questions who can speak English and what

⁵⁰ Spanish for “I can”.

⁵¹ Spanish for “You can”.

opportunities does the language actually afford an individual when other social exclusion factors come into play.

As explained by Leffa (2012), the construction of identities is done through different geographical, dialectical and historical factors. We can see that Angeline exemplifies the different possible outcome of identity construction as an immigrant to the United States coming from Vietnam into a largely Spanish-speaking community. Her geographic field change is different than those coming from Latin America; the dialectical factor is influenced by the Vietnamese language and influences who she interacts with in the field; and her experience in Vietnam differs more sharply than the other participants coming from a region in Latin America. These identity factors also intersect with her social class, as they determine with whom she associates and the variations in her fields and *habitus* (BLOCK, 2014). As Souza (2013) discusses how an individual constructs an identity in contrast to “the Other”, Angeline projects the difference between where she and the other students are from. Even though the students can use English as a *lingua franca*, she believes they have different options or preferences and different cultures, for example, she did not appreciate them touching her and breaching her personal space comfort level. Angeline demonstrates that knowing the same language does not equate to equality or relating to the person on the same level (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009). This is an important assertion when considering social class in this study. Knowing English is believed to be the crucial factor to gaining social mobility and more opportunities in the future, but perhaps there are more factors involved in this process, as Vandrick (2014) mentioned, such as beliefs towards a certain nationality or ethnicity or gender differences. Perhaps knowing English may not be the only factor to succeed in the new country or in a globalizing world. Other identity factors such as race and nationality are demonstrated as a social barrier in the above examples.

In this section, I attempted to construct an understanding of the diverse units that compose the concept of social class, which included three forms of capital (economic, social and cultural), which all contribute to a symbolic capital, as well as the relationship between *habitus* and fields. By no means does this study completely reveal the social class of the participants, yet it touches on certain elements that suggest their social class beyond the economic factor. This section suggests the intimate relationship between the forms of capital and how *habitus* and fields also intersect to create a concept of social class that is primarily an economic variable yet also much

broader and multi-faceted than merely income and expenses. As expressed through the participants, social class affects an individual's decisions, future goals and aspirations, interactions with other people, and opportunities made available (VANDRICK, 2014). In the case of this study, learning English may challenge a current social class. It may differentiate one class from another, distinguishing who can speak or learn English; it may also open doors for social mobility to an individual in a social class that lacks opportunities otherwise. On the other hand, not learning English may also reinforce strongly-established social structures (or beliefs) where the students are expected to learn or are taught the bare minimum of English to fulfill a state requirement (KANNO, 2014).

The first three sections of this chapter have discussed the beliefs, identities and social class of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA). Next, Research Site 2 (MG) is discussed.

4.2. Research Site 2 (Minas Gerais, Brazil)

The next three sections in this chapter discuss the beliefs, identities and social class of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG).

4.2.1. Beliefs at Research Site 2 (MG)

At Research Site 2 (MG), the participants also demonstrate varying beliefs about learning English and about the language itself, as in the case at Research Site 1 (CA). I first discuss their beliefs about learning English and later, their beliefs about the English language itself. The results show a variety of beliefs amongst the participants, which is later synthesized with their identities and social class.

4.2.1.1. Beliefs about learning English

In this section, I discuss the suggested beliefs that the participants expressed about learning the English language. With some parallels to Research Site 1 (CA), these beliefs include: 1) their use of English through exposure; 2) their personal abilities and progress in learning English; and 3) the role of the education system in Brazil on their learning.

4.2.1.1.1. Exposure to English

The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) express beliefs about their English learning through general exposure to the language, which often includes music and other media outlets, as well as other sources of English – around the city or at school. They express a belief that to know English means communication in the language, and

yet they also express how they feel about the lack of practicing speaking skills in their English education. There is little presence of using language by speaking it. In this sense, the participants hold a more passive role in their English language learning, some taking more advantage of opportunities to learn the language than others. Overall, they learn by general exposure in their surrounding community, with a larger emphasis on the input than on the output of the language. The participants' visual narratives and their explanations suggest varying beliefs about learning English, yet they also demonstrate an overarching belief of learning through exposure to the language. Whether it is seeing English on the streets through advertisements, clothing or food items, or listening to music or watching television, the participants express the variety of outlets available for them to absorb the language as if through osmosis; English seems to be omnipresent in their context, whether in music, media or on the streets of their city, examples of mediational means (KALAJA et al., 2013). There seems to be no escape from exposure to the language; whether or not the participant have agency to learn through the exposure is another question.

In figures 9-14, it is possible to notice several aspects that suggest the participants' beliefs about learning English in their visual narratives⁵². Tiago's visual narrative shows voices of English all around him, thus depicting its omnipresence in his life, and yet he expresses how he feels disoriented with the language, isolated as he cannot relate or understand the voices in English around him. In the questionnaire, he identifies his exposure to English outside school in rap music and that he sings rap to practice English.

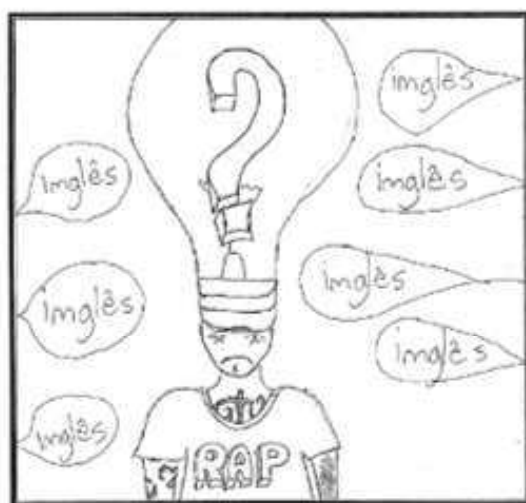


Figure 9: Tiago's VN drawing

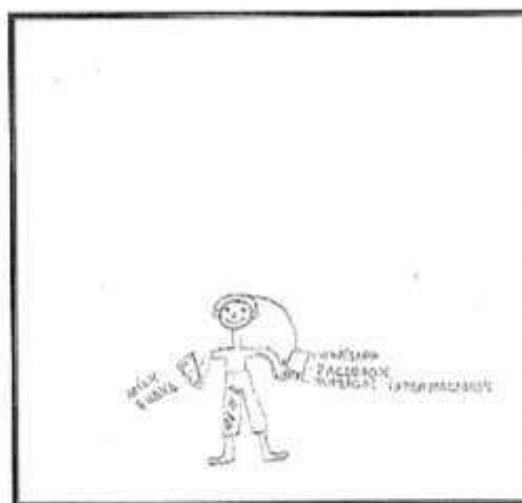


Figure 10: Gabriel's VN drawing

⁵² For a more detailed table with the VNs and the participants' descriptions, see Appendix M.

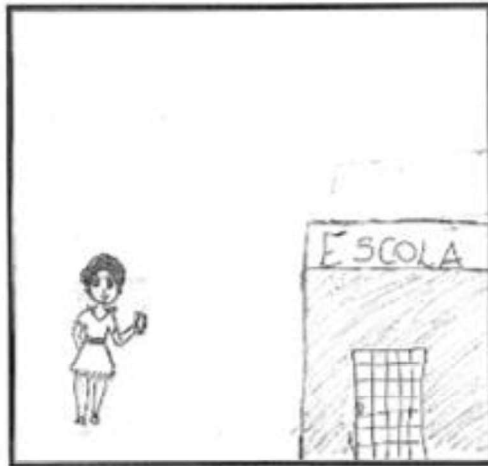


Figure 11: Bianca's VN drawing

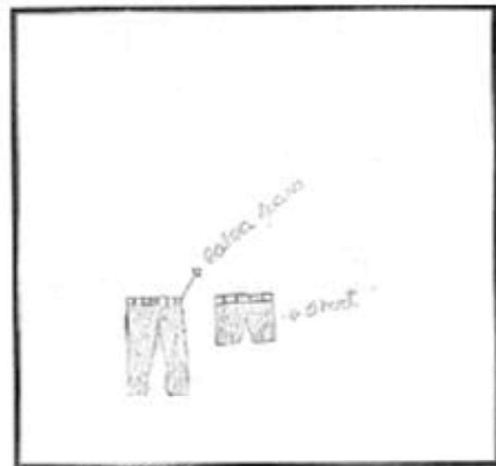


Figure 12: Juliana's VN drawing



Figure 13: Vinicius's VN drawing



Figure 14: Leila's VN drawing

Gabriel depicts language exposure in their everyday lives – with shopping, as name brands like *Nike* appear; on food products, as some have English names like “milkshake”; and their descriptions of the drawing also show their exposure to English in social media sources and music. He also expresses his belief that English is learned at school when he states his opinion about how to learn a language. Yet he also reiterates the omnipresence of English in their local context, explaining that many things are written in English on the streets. These differences in data may suggest the nature of his exposure to the language being more visual, hence being more instinctive or natural to draw his interaction with the language through wearing English name brands, consuming products with English names and listening to music in English. This could also suggest that Gabriel finds it easier to communicate through drawing, rather than speaking. In any case, this contrast in data exemplifies the strength of data triangulation and the use of a variety of instruments to allow participants to express themselves that Flick (2009) discusses.

Leila and Bianca also mention school as where they learn, and Leila refers exclusively to school, while Bianca expresses how she believes her cellphone helps her learn English. Bianca explicitly asserts her belief in the value of exposure to the language in order to learn; having a tool like a cellphone with her 24 hours of the day is seen as a crucial source of learning. Bianca also highlights the importance of both music and internet for learning English when she is asked about what activities help her learn. Different to Leila, Bianca does not attribute school as her main source of English learning; rather she highlights the value of other media sources like her cellphone, the internet, and music to learn. When she does mention school, she again emphasizes that the best activities to help her learn English involve music – listening to and reading the lyrics to the song. As mentioned earlier in this chapter in the section on beliefs at Research Site 1 (CA), these beliefs about how they learn reinforce their behavior and actions taken in order to learn the language (PAJARES, 1992).

Both Leila and Vinicius depict a scene in their visual narratives where English is present and yet the participant is not present. Their absence may signify a distance they feel from the language. Triangulation of the data with other instruments later suggests that Leila sees the classroom as the exclusive space for learning English, as she explains in the questionnaire that she does not have contact with the language outside of the class, nor does she practice. When asked how to learn a language, Leila mentions several English media sources (magazines, internet, music) around her, recognizing the availability of English in her surroundings, yet she still seems to express a disconnect between these sources of English and her language learning. Leila's beliefs on learning English are limited to the classroom and even there, she is not finding the experience enriching.

In short, the participants recognize that they have many outlets that expose them to the language, and some in fact interact with these outlets, as previously demonstrated. Yet there seems to be an imbalance between the amount of English the participants are exposed to and the little they actually produce and reproduce the language. Although other participants express an interest in speaking and understanding it as a crucial part to learning English, they are not learning to speak, according to the data. Whether at or outside of school, their education is not providing them with opportunities to hone their communication skills in English, similar to how Santos (2017) discusses about the inadequacies in the Brazilian public schools. Different from the visual narratives at Research Site 1 (CA), where the participants

express learning English by interactive communication, the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) recognize the importance of speaking the language but are being excluded from practicing this skill. Thus, a contradiction between their beliefs and actions may be causing an impact on their personal abilities and progress with learning English, to be discussed in the next section.

4.2.1.1.2. Personal abilities and progress

Related to the beliefs about how to learn English are the beliefs about the individual's personal ability to learn the language and the progress they are making. As seen in the definition of beliefs in Chapter II, the beliefs held by an individual can affect their actions (BARCELOS & KALAJA, 2011). Thus, beliefs about one's ability to learn can in fact affect their language learning. The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) demonstrate a variety of beliefs about their personal abilities with the English language, including their difficulty and/or inability to learn, their fear to make mistakes and their progress with the language as of now.

All of the six participants express difficulty with learning English and various reactions to that difficulty, whether it is a block in their learning or a positive belief that they will overcome the difficulty through music or through their own agency. Participants use phrases such as “more or less”, “I've learned a little”, “difficult to learn”, “very complicated to learn”, “I don't understand much”, and “I know almost nothing”. All of the participants mention the difficulties to learn the language recognize the challenge and show little progress in their learning. The participants express a stagnant learning in which they relate their progress to the difficulty of learning. Bianca, Tiago and Juliana express a focus and independence necessary to learn English, as they recognize that they are not going to learn everything they need in the English language classroom. Tiago states that nowadays he learns English through English rap, rather than in the classroom. Bianca and Juliana believe that their agency to learn will supersede the challenges. Juliana reflects on the community of language learners around her, explaining the obstacles to learn and expressing some beliefs about learning English in the community:

Excerpt 25: Nós temos dificuldade para aprender inglês. Eu estou me aprofundando bastante, no inglês, agora [...]. É um pouquinho complicado [...]. Se a gente tiver vontade de aprender, a gente

consegue. Só não aprende quem não quer. Se tivermos foco, a gente consegue.⁵³

We have difficulty learning English. I'm going a lot deeper into English now [...]. It's a bit complicated [...]. If we want to learn, we can. Those that don't learn are the ones who don't want to. If we are focused, we can. (Juliana, I)

The excerpt surfaces a discussion about beliefs held in the surrounding community and Juliana's personal beliefs about her ability to learn. Juliana begins by stating that she is not alone in the challenge to learn a language and that she recognizes how it is also challenging for those around her. In fact, a belief is imposed on her by the community, that it is difficult for public school children to learn English, especially at the public school that she attends, on the periphery of the city in a low-income neighborhood and with a poor education infrastructure. This is an example of what Barcelos (2007b) asserts about beliefs in a given community that perpetuate actions within a particular field. She has internalized the belief amongst the community and she expresses the difficulty in learning English, especially in speaking correctly. Nevertheless, she clarifies that this difficulty is not a barrier for her, because she has agency to learn, which is similar to Gabriela's belief at Research Site 1 (CA). However, rather than the participants interacting with a language learning community, as is the case for participants at Research Site 1 (CA), the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) express isolation in their language learning. Though they may have agency to learn, they suggest the lack of a learning community as a barrier.

In contrast to the agency that Bianca and Juliana attribute to their ability to learn, Gabriel and Leila express their difficulty rooting from their situational or personal ability without much hope for them to learn:

Excerpt 26: Eu, por exemplo, não sou muito bom em inglês, mas em algumas coisas, [...] por exemplo, cores, eu sei um pouco [...], mas não lembro muito.

I, for example, am not very good in English, but some things, [...] like some colors like that, I know very little, [...] but I don't remember much. (Leila, I)

Excerpt 27: Eu quero aprender, mas ao mesmo tempo eu não acredito que isso vá acontecer.

I want to learn, but at the same time, I don't believe that it will happen. (Gabriel, I)

⁵³ The original excerpt in Portuguese is followed by my translation into English for all of the participants' excerpts at Research Site 2 (MG).

Leila explains her difficulty through her personal ability and believes that learning English is not her strength. Gabriel, on the other hand, even though he wants to learn English, does not believe that he will. He was not able to further explain what he meant by “I don’t think it is going to happen” during the interview. Looking at the other data he provided, he explains that “people like us” have a challenge to learn English. When I asked what he meant by “us”, he explained that he was referring to Portuguese-speaking people. I would argue it is more significant and specific than that; he is likely referring to the context in which he is inserted which affects the beliefs he is adapting towards learning English - a context where learning English is undervalued and teachers and the education system do not believe in the public school students, and where the students internalize this belief that they will not learn English at school (BARCELOS, 2007b).

In addition, five of six participants mention the making of errors while speaking English. Gabriel, Juliana, Leila and Bianca express making errors as a challenge, while Vinicius expresses his lack of concern with making errors and Juliana expresses moments of not being concerned as well:

Excerpt 28: Eu não esquento a cabeça se tiver certo ou errado, se eu tiver falando errado, eu não ligo.

I don’t worry so much. If I’m right or wrong, if I am speaking wrong, I don’t mind. (Vinicius, I)

Excerpt 29: Quando estou perto de uma pessoa [...] será que ela vai rir de mim? [...], mas tem hora que eu não ligo para nada, e saio falando. Estou na fase de aprender ainda, então se eu errar isso não importa, todo mundo vai errar.

When I’m close to a person [...] will she laugh at me? [...] but there are times that I do not care about anything, I just speak. I’m still learning so if I make mistakes, it doesn’t matter, everyone is going to make mistakes. (Juliana, I)

Excerpt 30: Tem algumas coisas que consigo entender, mas dá medo de falar e estar errado [...] isto que me faz sentir desconfortável. Tem o professor também [...], e os colegas que reparam em qualquer coisinha que falo errado, e aí eles me zoam.

There are some things that can be understood, but it is the fear of speaking and being wrong [...]. that makes me feel less comfortable, with the teacher as well. [...] Any little thing [the other students] notice, they tease you. (Gabriel, I)

Excerpt 31: Eu não consigo cantar, eu tento, mas tem hora que sai tudo errado [...]. Falo tudo errado.

I'm not able to sing. I try, but there are times that it all comes out wrong [...]. I say everything wrong. (Leila, I)

Excerpt 32: Quando o professor perguntava alguma coisa para mim, se eu não souber ou não conseguir falar [...]. Mas eu acho que era mais medo de errar, fiquei desconfortável.

When the teacher asked me something. I do not know how to talk and it's over and I couldn't speak [...]. I think I was more afraid of making mistakes, and I was uncomfortable. (Bianca, I)

Vinicius, Juliana, Gabriel, Leila and Bianca all express situations where they feel uncomfortable to speak because of their fear of making mistakes. Both Vinicius and Juliana explain that there are times when they do not have that fear, knowing that everyone is going to make mistakes at some point, but indubitably there are situations where they are concerned if someone is going to laugh or judge them. Gabriel, Bianca and Leila emphasize their fear of making mistakes, where Gabriel explains the source of his fear as his colleagues, because “any little thing they notice, they tease you⁵⁴”. In congruence with those that find learning English a challenge, again Gabriel and Leila express a factor in their beliefs about their personal abilities that create a block for them to learn. Interestingly, these five participants refer to the fear of producing the language during the opportunities to speak, rather than to write, for instance, on a test.

Overall the participants do not express a strong belief in their ability to learn English. Those that express some ability attribute it to their own interest and agency to learn (Bianca, Juliana and Tiago). Those that do not express ability and emphasize the difficulty for them to learn do not believe they will use the language in the future (Gabriel & Leila). Thus, an intersection between beliefs and identities can be seen here, as a correlation between a strong belief about an individual's ability and an identity as a future user is suggested (BARCELOS, 2015). In the next section, on beliefs about the methodology of instruction, the participants demonstrate a relationship between their abilities and the way in that they are being taught English.

4.2.1.1.3. Education system: Language teaching methodology

The participants make several observations about the way in which they are being instructed; Tiago, for instance critiques the methodology or the education system while Leila begins to critique it and then resolves to blame herself for her lack of attention or ability to learn. Tiago explains that he is challenged to learn the language

⁵⁴ Original in Portuguese: “Qualquer coisinha que reparam eles zoam”.

in the way that the school requires, by memorizing the material quickly for tests. He comments on the class at large, stating:

Excerpt 33: Ninguém mostra que não sabe de nada, tudo mundo fica em dúvida nas provas, inclusive eles têm as mesmas dúvidas que eu [...]. Mais atividades criativas, não só passar coisa no quadro porque ninguém vai entender, eu pelo menos, não entendo.

No one shows that they know anything, everyone is uncertain on the tests, they even have the same doubts that I do [...]. More creative activities, not only to write things on the board because no one will understand, at least, I don't understand. (Tiago, I)

Tiago takes a critical look about what is going on in the classroom and sees that it is not only he that is challenged or does not know a specific concept – in fact, his colleagues have the same questions as he does. The whole class is struggling with learning by activities that are taught in a more traditional style – that of copying the lesson written on the chalkboard. He expresses a desire for more creative activities. In his description of activities that will help the students “want to learn”, he in turn expresses a lack of desire to learn rooted in the method of instruction being implemented in the classroom. Tiago is a voice for the whole class. Leila reinforces this belief that the activities do not help her learn but she blames herself for not learning. When asked about what activities in the classroom help her, she responds with the following:

Excerpt 34: Mesmo se a atividade é introdutória e explica tudo claramente [...], nem assim eu entendo. Por exemplo eu posso até chamar o professor na carteira, mas tem horas, que nem mesmo ele explicando, eu entendo [...]. Parece que eu fico com cabeça viajando em outra coisa, pensando em outras coisas.

If there were an introductory activity, explaining it clearly [...]. Even then, I still don't understand. For example, I can even call the teacher to my desk, but there are times that I don't even understand him explaining to me [...]. It seems that my head goes some other place, thinking about something else. (Leila, I).

Leila believes an introductory activity would not only help her “but for the other students also. It would be easier, right?” (Leila, I). Both Leila and Tiago express a desire for something to catch their attention. Even when Leila asks for help, she cannot concentrate on the question at hand. When asked why she believes it is difficult to learn English, again she references the method of instruction: “maybe it is the way that they teach, but there are some teachers that explain very well, it's just that maybe we don't

pay attention and don't remember [...]. It's very difficult⁵⁵” (Leila, I). Leila thinks of various reasons why she and the other students do not learn. It is interesting that both Leila and Tiago speak not only about themselves, but include the whole class in their discourse.

Beyond the local class discourse, Vinicius explicitly brings up the topic of public school education in Brazil when asked to describe his personal experience learning English: “Bad because we don't have a formal education in public schools⁵⁶” (Vinicius, Q). This statement is further analyzed in the Social Class section below (4.2.3), but it is worth drawing attention to the relation of beliefs about the language teaching methodology on a small scale and what implications that may suggest about the education system at large in Brazil. Vinicius, who has studied English at a private school before, expresses a common belief in Brazil that one does not learn English in public schools (BARCELOS, 2007b). As Pajares (1992) discussed the importance of looking at specific beliefs to understand how they may affect other beliefs, this belief about learning English in Brazil that is deeply-rooted in society can influence other beliefs about how to learn and one's ability to learn.

This section exemplified the participants' beliefs about learning the English language. The next section explores their beliefs about the language itself and its importance (or irrelevance) for future travel, professions and social interactions.

4.2.1.2. Beliefs about English

This section investigates the beliefs about the English language itself of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG). The most apparent belief amongst this population is that the role of English is for traveling, studying or working outside of Brazil and that it does not hold much importance in their community in Brazil, reinforcing the ideas of social class and exclusion that Vandrick (2014) and Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) discussed in Chapter II. Some participants see a need for English in their future professions and others see English as a tool for social interactions.

Table 12 displays the participants' reasons for why they do or do not see themselves using English in the future. Two participants (Bianca & Tiago) see themselves using English in the future whereas three participants (Gabriel, Leila &

⁵⁵ Original in Portuguese: “Talvez pode ser o jeito que ensina, mas tem alguns professores que explica muita bem, só que a gente talvez não presta atenção, ou talvez a gente presta atenção e não guarda [...]. É muito difícil”.

⁵⁶ Original in Portuguese: “Ruim pois não temos um aprendizado formal em escolas públicas”.

Vinicius) do not imagine the possibility, either because they do not believe the language relevant for them, they do not believe themselves capable of learning English, or they see English reserved for traveling abroad outside of Brazil. One participant (Juliana) seems to waver in her belief about using English in the future.

Participant	English in the future?	Why or why not?	Suggested Belief
Bianca, Tiago	Yes	“Quero viajar para o exterior e para isso, preciso de inglês por ser uma língua universal” [I want to travel abroad and for this, I need English because it is a universal language]. (Tiago, Q)	English for travel; important for the future
Vinicius, Gabriel, Leila	No	“Não penso em sair do Brasil” [I don’t think about leaving Brazil]. (Vinicius, Q) “Não, porque é muito complicado falar” [No, because it is very complicated to speak]. (Gabriel, Q)	English for travel; English is difficult to learn, not for me
Juliana	No / Yes	“Não tenho facilidade em aprender inglês” [Learning English isn’t easy for me]. (Q) “Sempre falava eu vou fazer doutorado. Eu acho que os estudos lá nos EUA são muito bons” [I always said I would get a doctorate. I think the education in the U.S. is very good]. (I)	English for travel; English is difficult to learn, not for me

Table 12: Beliefs of Participants at Research Site 2 (MG) about using English in the future

Bianca, Tiago and Vinicius exemplify the belief of English for traveling purposes, with Vinicius expressing the opposite intention of Bianca and Tiago – that of not wanting to leave Brazil. Contrastingly, Tiago says that he is “crazy to get out of [Brazil]. I always have been” (Tiago, I). Gabriel, Juliana and Leila do not intend to use the language in the future for personal reasons – for the language being complicated, difficult to learn or that English and she (Leila) don’t “go well” together, to be discussed further on in this chapter in Section 4.2.2.1.2. (English Non-users) in Identities and Section 4.2.3.3. (English, Inclusion and Exclusion) in Social Class. This small excerpt gives a hint at how all three concepts in this study – beliefs, identities and

social class – are interrelated and affect one another (BARCELOS, 2015; BLOCK, 2014).

Though not all of the participants see themselves using English in the future, they all recognize English as a global language and as necessary to travel outside of Brazil, though not necessarily to an English-speaking country. Leila, Gabriel and Vinicius express the importance of English for general traveling, though not necessarily a personal reality, rather a distant possibility. As Maciel (2011) and Santos (2017) point out, the effects of globalization include a community's relationship with English as a global language, where they experience exclusion from the opportunities for not knowing English. Leila, Gabriel and Vinicius consider the possibility of using English for travel but also do not express much strong intentions to make that happen, even though they recognize the importance. In contrast, Juliana, Bianca and Tiago express desire to leave Brazil, reinforcing the belief that education in a foreign country is better than in Brazil (Juliana) which echoes Tiago's belief that things in general are better outside of Brazil. This belief reinforces Kleinman's (2013) efforts to decentralize Eurocentric power where the North is always considered better. Bianca, like Juliana, expresses a strong desire to learn English for the specific purpose of higher education in a foreign country. She believes that English is essential for her future, thus constructing an identity as a future user of English, to be further discussed in the next section.

As all of the participants recognize English as important for traveling, an underlying theme of English for professional reasons and social interaction is suggested. Juliana sees plans for English in her profession as an agronomist, stating that, "there are many places that contract agronomists that speak other languages too, that I could go abroad to work in other schools, that teach other languages too"⁵⁷ (Juliana, I). She finds a possibility of using English in her profession within Brazil. Vinicius, already working in construction as a roofing assistant, sees less importance of English in his work up to now, but finds reasons why it may be important for certain social interactions in the area of commerce:

Excerpt 35: No meu serviço nunca aconteceu, mas algum dia pode acontecer [...]. Talvez no comércio, para poder comprar produtos de

⁵⁷ Original in Portuguese: "tem muitos lugares que contratam agrônomo que fala outras línguas também né, que nem eu posso sair para trabalhar em outras escolas, que ensinam em outras línguas também"

fora, terei que lidar com pessoas que falam inglês. Acho que vou precisar um pouco.

It never happened at my job, but some day it might happen [...]. Maybe in commerce, to be able to buy products from abroad. You have to deal with people who speak English, I think I'll need a bit. (Vinicius, I)

Vinicius does not believe that there is an immediate need for him to improve his English, but he finds that the little he knows as of now may be helpful if he is working with an English-speaking customer or buying foreign products. This excerpt is a good example of how narratives may construct new knowledge and awareness (TELLES, 2004), as Vinicius seems to be discovering new reasons why English may be important for his future as he speaks in the interview.

Gabriel and Bianca believe in the importance of English for traveling and study, which implies a need for social interaction. Gabriel states that he wants to learn English in order to,

Excerpt 36: Falar com os outros, se comunicar com outra pessoa [...]. Às vezes vou precisar mais para frente, quem sabe viajar, ir para algum lugar longe [...]. O professor fala, que para ir a lugares assim, de todas as línguas, o inglês é o mais importante [...]. Se você sabe inglês, já pode comunicar com pessoas de muitos lugares.

Talk to others, communicate with another person [...]. Sometimes you will need it later on, to visit somewhere, to travel to a place far away [...]. The teacher says that in most places like this, English is the most important of all languages [...]. And if you know English, you can already communicate with [people from] many places. (Gabriel, I)

Here, Gabriel reiterates what his teacher told him about learning English, and indeed it is becoming part of his belief system, as he also expresses the importance of English to communicate with others from different countries. Gabriel exemplifies what Pajares (1992) explained as the culmination of varying beliefs that create a larger belief system for an individual or a community. Only one participant, Juliana, explicitly states a desire to go abroad specifically to an English-speaking country, the United States; this suggests that the participants recognize English as a global language to be used as a *lingua franca*, as a form of communication around the world with people who also speak English as a second language. When asked what his opinion on English in the world is, Tiago explains that he does not think it is much of an opinion rather than a fact that “English is used practically for everything nowadays, it is considered the

business language, so I think it is essential to learn English, at least for the time being⁵⁸” (Tiago, I). Tiago’s statement reinforces what Pennycook (1997) stresses about the power of the English language as well as how Kalaja et al. (2008) understands the status of a language, endowed by a given society. He recognizes that it is not about his opinion, but a fact that English is used everywhere and thus essential to learn the language. In the necessity to learn English, other languages are excluded as well as those individuals that do not have access to quality language instruction. He makes an important statement that summarizes the beliefs that the participants express about the importance of English – it is not a matter about personal opinion or preference, rather, given the high status of the English language as the *lingua franca* for international commerce and communication, it has become essential – for travel, for future opportunities and social interactions. Thus, the English language is a powerful source of social, cultural and, particularly, symbolic capital that trickles into the belief system at Research Site 2 (MG). Pennycook (1997) explains the role of English in a community such as this one as an effect of globalization on a local level.

In conflict with this belief in society of the importance of English nowadays is the participants’ beliefs about learning the language – that which involves difficulty, inability to learn, agency to supersede the challenge, and lack of progress for how long they have been learning. In the context of the participants’ reality, there are opposing forces between the importance of English and their ability to learn, which is a result of the surrounding community’s beliefs that they cannot learn English. Barcelos (2007b) emphasizes the impact of society’s beliefs on an individual’s actions. In this sense, the surrounding community influences their own beliefs, providing a force of exclusion. As discussed by Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009), who pointed out how an individual may be excluded from an activity based on given identities from society, the participants understand the importance of English and recognize that they are not currently able to take part in the global dialogue and they believe they are not going to learn in their current conditions. Those participants that believe in their agency to learn make a greater investment in their language learning, according to Norton’s (2001) and Mastrella’s (2007) discussion on the role of agency in the construction of a language learning identity. Other participants take a more passive role, as if hoping to learn English by stumbling upon the language through general exposure, osmosis, or

⁵⁸ Original in Portuguese: “Inglês é usado praticamente para tudo hoje em dia, é considerado a língua comercial então eu acho que é essencial aprender inglês, pelo menos para o tempo atual de hoje”.

happenstance. For a majority of the participants, it is as if they are looking at the language from a distance, even though it is in their face, day after day. Yet those that do believe in their agency to learn are able to sustain an English learning identity, which thus allows them to confront the barriers they face in their surrounding community and gives them a higher chance of overcoming these barriers. This discussion brings up two concepts that Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) critiqued: who is able to learn English (identities) and who has access to English (social class). The following section discusses the identities of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG), where I consider the question of who is able to learn English.

4.2.2. Identities at Research Site 2 (MG)

This section discusses the identities of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) as English learners. As may be expected, given the completely different contexts of the two groups of participants, the identities of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) are significantly different than those at Research Site 1 (CA). The participants have constructed two types of identities: a) as English learners, either as a student, user, or non-user (however, there were also some overlaps between these identities); and b) identities as future users of English, either as a possibility or not.

4.2.2.1. Identities as English learners

The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) identify themselves as English learners in varying degrees, in distinct situations and at different moments. This section looks at the multiple identities that these participants have in relation to learning English (LEFFA, 2012; MASTRELLA, 2007; MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2013; SOUZA, 2013). Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) emphasizes how identities are constructed through language and, reciprocally, how an identity can also include or exclude an individual from learning, using, speaking or teaching an L2.

Therefore, looking at the construction of the identities of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) is also looking at constructs of power and the struggle to be included in the English global conversation (PENNYCOOK, 1997). The participants' identities as English learners refer to how they have constructed and continue to construct their identities either as a student (in the classroom in the more traditional form of education), as a user (around town, interacting with media, friends, in their day-to-day lives), or as a non-user (those that recognize the existence of the English language but do not identify as a user of the language). For the participants that identify

as students at Research Site 2 (MG), English is considered just another subject in school to learn, and it is a subject that stays in the classroom and does not permeate their daily lives. For the non-users, a low value is given to the purpose to learning English. In some cases, similar to Research Site 1 (CA), the participants identify both as a student and user or as a student and non-user simultaneously. Table 13 illustrates what the participants suggest about their English learner identities, either as users, non-users or students.

Participant	Strongly identifies as	Also Identifies as	Excerpt (I)
Bianca	User	Student	“Meu celular me ajuda bastante, porque é uma forma mais fácil de aprender que a escola” [My cell phone helps me a lot because it is an easier way to learn than at school].
Juliana	User	Student	“Eu amo inglês. Está no meu dia-a-dia” [I love English. It’s in my daily life].
Tiago	User	Non-user	“Hoje em dia, aprendo mais o inglês em músicas do que na escola” [Nowadays, I learn more English with songs than at school].
Vinicius	User	Student	“São muitas as coisa que não aprendi na escola, mas aprendi nos filmes” [There are many things that I didn’t learn at school but I learned in films].
Gabriel	Non-user	Student	“Fico com vergonha de falar em inglês. Eu falo tudo errado” [I’m embarrassed to speak in English. I say everything wrong].
Leila	Non-user	Student	“Não combina comigo [...]. Eu acho que a pessoa tem que ter um perfil” [It doesn’t go well with me. I think the person has to have a profile].

Table 13: English Learner Identities of Participants at Research Site 2 (MG)

I have made two categories of identification, one being how the participants most strongly identify; and the other being how participants also identify as English learners, similar to the discussion about the participants’ identities at Research Site 1 (CA). As identities of an individual are fragmented, multiple and ever-evolving (LEFFA, 2012; NORTON, 2001; SOUZA, 2013), the participants also demonstrate how an individual can have multiple identities as a learner.

Three participants construct their identities as English users (Bianca, Juliana and Tiago), demonstrating a strong interest in learning the English language and asserting their identities as English users, while the other three participants construct their identities as non-users (Vinicius, Gabriel and Leila). None of the participants construct a strong identity as an English student but for five of the six participants (besides Tiago), learning English in the classroom plays some role in constructing their identities as English learners.

All of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) recognize that they have some knowledge of and interest in learning English. It seems that everyone but Leila identifies somewhat with the language, but Leila lacks any sort of identification towards the language, which becomes more apparent throughout this discussion. The other learners express some notion of identification with English, whether it is that they see themselves learning the language or wanting to speak it in the future. Gabriel, Tiago, Bianca and Juliana mention their imagined communities (NORTON, 2001), where they relate learning English as access to these communities. Gabriel states that he wants to learn English “so that one day I can travel to a place like Spain, so that I would know how to communicate with them” (Gabriel, I). Tiago says that he would like to learn English in order to “understand the gringo rappers that I listen to” (Tiago, I). Both participants suggest the opportunity that English affords them to enter into their imagined communities, that is, a community of international English speakers where English is the *lingua franca* (JENKINS, 2006).

In general, the participants express an imagined community of English users that are able to speak English, as they all feel uncomfortable speaking English around strangers, in a classroom, around their colleagues or to their teacher, which is in alignment with what Norton (2001) discusses about imagined communities being those that they want access. Two participants (Gabriel and Leila) never feel comfortable speaking English. Juliana, Leila, Gabriel and Bianca express a concern when speaking with other people, whether it is the fear of making mistakes or believing that everything they say comes out incorrectly: “When I am close to another person, when I say like, do you think she will laugh at me?⁵⁹” (Juliana, I). Their imagined community is a low proficient English speaker, as it is a challenge enough to speak in their surrounding community. Gabriel makes an interesting comment about learning English, explaining

⁵⁹ Original in Portuguese: “Quando estou perto de uma pessoa assim, que eu falo assim, será que ela vai rir de mim?”

that is difficult “for people like us”. I later asked him to clarify what he meant by this phrase and he said he wanted to say, people that speak Portuguese. This phrase may also be significant when thinking of beliefs and identities being formed within the surrounding community, a relationship that Bernat & Gvozdenko (2005) explore. While saying “people like us”, Gabriel is also suggesting that there are other groups that do not find it difficult to learn English. In my interpretation, Gabriel is referring to the social class in which he is involved, similar to how Block (2014) discusses the impact of an individual’s field on their *habitus*, to be further discussed in Section 4.2.3. on Social Class below.

4.2.2.1.1. English Users

The participants that most construct an identity as English users are Tiago, Bianca, Juliana and Vinicius. They feel encouraged to learn or speak English with music or having fun speaking with friends. Though Vinicius seems to deny any interest in learning the language, he also has moments where he identifies himself as a user, for example, speaking English with English-speakers at a Chinese snack bar in town. He is an English user, as he still finds ways to use English in his daily life because even though he does not intend to use English in the future, he still values his English learning experience at his previous private school, practices his English outside of the classroom listening to music, and especially, watching films.

Tiago’s identity completely surrounds his rap lifestyle. After two years of getting involved in rap, he is now identified by other students at the school as a rapper: “practically everything that I do these days, even at school, people see me as a rapper, I live like that, I hope to become famous like this.⁶⁰” (Tiago, I). Tiago’s life is completely immersed in his recent discovery of his love for rap. Every commentary that Tiago made about English relates back to rap. He explains that, “nowadays, I learn more English through music than at school, I identify more [...]. I intend to use English someday to sing gringo rap⁶¹” (Tiago, WN). Rather than an English student, he identifies more as an English user (specifically as a rapper), or someone who listens to rap in English and would like to rap in English in the future. He demonstrates his interest in learning English by his association with a fellow group member that speaks

⁶⁰ Original in Portuguese: “Praticamente tudo do que eu vou fazer hoje em dia, até na escola as pessoas já me viram com rapper, eu vivo assim, espero ficar famoso nessa”

⁶¹ Original in Portuguese: “Hoje em dia aprendo mais o inglês em músicas do que na escola, me identifico mais; eu pretendo usar o inglês algum dia para cantar RAP, gringo”

English, explaining the following: “My DJ speaks English, he’s not from here, his name is Lenny and he speaks English very well [...]. Sometimes when we watch anime [...] he translates for us”⁶² (Tiago, I). Lenny is a reference point for Tiago to interact with English and have some connection, link or community to engage with, which is discussed in depth in Section 4.2.3 on Social Class. Again, Tiago connects an experience he has with English to his rapping identity, demonstrating how English appears amongst his fellow group members and himself.

4.2.2.1.2. English Non-Users

Gabriel, and Leila most strongly identify as non-users of English. Vinicius also most strongly identifies as a non-user, but there are moments that he contradicts himself. There are moments that Tiago also identifies as a non-user of English, though not as strongly as the other participants.

In the same sense that Leila and Gabriel construct an identity as struggling students, they also construct an identity as non-users of English. As much as he has interest in learning the language, Gabriel clearly states that “even though [I want to learn], I don’t believe it’s going to happen⁶³” (Gabriel, I). Gabriel’s identity is most strongly as a non-user of English, showing a discrepancy between his interest and his progress with the language. However, there still exists some curiosity about the language for both participants. As seen in Chapter II, Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) discusses the factors that influence who can and cannot learn English in a given society. Leila explains an experience where she draws the line between who can speak English and who cannot:

Excerpt 37: Teve uma vez eu estava andando pela cidade e ouvi um casal falando em inglês, e eu não entendi nada. Mas eu acho bonito. A gente não consegue falar, mas eles falam muito bem. Tem uma lanchonete no centro de Viçosa e os funcionários que lá trabalham também falam inglês, mas eles também sabem falar português e eles falam muito bem.

One time when I was walking around town, I heard a couple speaking English and I didn’t understand anything, but I thought it was beautiful. We can’t speak, but they speak very well. There is a snack bar in downtown Viçosa and the staff who work there also speak English. But they also speak Portuguese and they speak very well. (Leila, I)

⁶² Original in Portuguese: “O meu DJ fala inglês, não é daqui não, o nome dele é Lenny e ele fala inglês muito bem [...]. Às vezes quando a gente vê anime [...] ele traduz para a gente”.

⁶³ Original in Portuguese: “Mesmo assim, eu desacredito que [vai acontecer]”

Leila perhaps unintentionally separates “us” from “them”, similar to Gabriel when he said that “we have a hard time learning English” (Gabriel, I). In this case, Leila expresses interest and curiosity in something that even though she did not understand, she thought was beautiful. She identifies as a non-user of English here in comparison to the couple who is speaking very well, or as Souza (2013) explains, she constructs an identity in comparison to “the Other”. She identifies another group of people that speak well, the same workers at the Chinese *lanchonete*⁶⁴ to which Vinicius previously referred. She expresses a lack of access to the language several times, saying that “we aren’t able to”, yet the language itself draws her attention. The ties between language and identity construction are seen, as Leila reinforces her English non-user identity through her narration, both in the written narrative and interview (TELLES, 2004). Both she and Gabriel are identified as struggling English students and as a non-user of English, the latter particularly represented in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 38: Tem pessoas que já sabem [inglês], e querem aprender mais. Mas outras que não sabem porque acham que não combina com a vida, em geral [...] com a minha vida, não combina [...]. Mas estou doida para aprender, só que é muito difícil. Eu vou falar em inglês, mas não vai ter outra pessoa para falar comigo para saber o que eu estou falando [...]. Eles vão falar, ‘ela está ficando doida porque está falando e nós não estamos entendendo nada’.

There are people who already know [English], and they want to learn more. But others who don’t know because they think it doesn’t fit with their life, in general [...] in my life, it does not fit [...]. I’m crazy to learn, but it’s very difficult [...]. If I go to speak in English, but there’s no one else that speaks English to know what I’m talking about [...] they’re going to say, ‘she’s going crazy because she’s talking and we don’t understand anything she’s saying’. (Leila, I)

This excerpt is further discussed in the Social Class Section 4.2.3.3. (English, Inclusion and Exclusion), as it is crucial to understanding the social dynamics at Research Site 2 (MG) and the role that English has in the social structures. In the case of Leila’s identity as an English non-user, she is quite practical and logical about it. She makes it clear that one must have a certain profile to learn English and that is not her profile, an identity that Vandrick (2014) relates to social class through a given field or one’s surroundings. In this sense, Leila constructs an identity as a non-user of English.

⁶⁴ A snack bar/corner store in Brazil

4.2.2.1.3. English Students

None of the participants' responses suggest a strong English student identity where they feel comfortable or encouraged in the classroom as a student. However, some participants identify as a student in different ways. Bianca and Juliana identify themselves as an English student as support for their English user identity, seeing the classroom as an extra tool to help them reach their English-speaking goals, a type of mediational tool for their learning (KALAJA et al., 2013).

Both Leila and Gabriel come closest to identifying themselves as English students in the classroom at Research Site 2 (MG) – struggling students at that. Leila emphasizes her isolation in her studies, explaining that as a student, she does not converse with her colleagues in English explaining that “none of my classmates, friends, nobody speaks in English with me.⁶⁵” (Leila, I). She does not learn with the teacher, or her colleagues, but she never mentions any intention of she herself going after people as her initiative to practice English. It seems to be a common discourse to blame external circumstances and not recognize her agentive role. In Gabriel's case, he is the shyest participant and expresses a fear of making mistakes and the teasing that he will get if he says something wrong from his classmates, as expressed when asked when he feels less comfortable speaking English. This shows the relationship of him amongst his peers and the identity that he holds as an English student in relation to them.

Vinicius is the only participant that has had experience learning English at a private school when he lived in a different city and often relates back to his experience in comparison to the public school where he is currently attending English classes. Vinicius sees his past English learning as something that has stuck. As he studied in a private school before and seems to value the English education there as much better than in the public schools. He is confident in his abilities and shares his experience as an English student. At some moment, he had a positive experience answering three questions in English, which thus positively reinforces his identity as an English student. Nevertheless, Vinicius is not motivated to learn English now, saying things like, “we don't learn in a public school” and “I don't need the language”, but perhaps it is a way to protect himself or excuse himself from the task.

⁶⁵ Original in Portuguese: “Eu não sei não, porque nenhuma colega meu, amigos amigas, nenhuma conversa em inglês comigo não”.

The next section explores the identities that the participants have as future users of English (or not); the relationship between their identities as English learners seems to relate to how they see themselves as future users of English.

4.2.2.2. Identities as future users of English (or not)

The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) that most strongly identify as English users also identify as future users of English, particularly in higher education or their professional lives. In contrast, the other participants that did not strongly identify as English users do not see themselves using the English language in the future. Three participants (Bianca, Tiago and Juliana) see themselves as future English user and the other three (Gabriel, Vinicius and Leila) do not see themselves as future English users. Table 14 details what future profession the participants consider, whether or not they consider using English in the future and why.

Participant	Future Profession	Future User of English	How?	Reason	Excerpt
Bianca	Agronomist	Yes	University, Abroad	Important for Future	“Preciso de inglês por ser uma língua universal” [I need English because it is a universal language]. (Tiago, Q)
Juliana	Agronomist	Yes	University, Abroad	Important for Future	
Tiago	Rapper	Yes	“Gringo Rap”, Abroad	International Rap	
Gabriel	Lawyer	No	Abroad	Not capable	“Desacredito que vai acontecer” [I don’t believe that it will happen]. (Gabriel, I)
Vinicius	Construction Work	No	N/A	Not relevant for him	
Leila	Police Clerk	No	N/A	Not for her	

Table 14: Identities of Participants at Research Site 2 (MG) as Future Users of English

Among the participants who identify themselves as future English users, they usually state that they want to leave Brazil and study or work outside of Brazil, using phrase such as “I am crazy to leave Brazil” and “English is the most used form of communication, so I must learn it”. Tiago and Bianca both hold a purpose to learn to communicate with others. The participants that do not see themselves using English in the future also attribute it to the challenge to learn the language or lack of applicability

in Brazil. In the case of Juliana, it is difficult to understand, because sometimes she says that her experience with learning English has been “terrible” (Juliana, Q) and that she struggles to learn foreign languages, even though she would like to learn (as seen in Table 14), and other times she speaks of how encouraged she is to learn the language and that “one day I intend to go to the United States to study there⁶⁶” (Juliana, WN). She identifies as a student and even with the difficulties, she sees herself studying abroad in the future. Later in the interview, Juliana attributes her changing temperaments towards English to her emotional instability and to family problems at home. In the interview she shares her dreams, stating the following:

Excerpt 39: Eu quero sair daqui e ir direto para a universidade [...]. Um sonho que eu tenho é aprender falar inglês perfeitamente [...]. Eu quero conhecer a Suíça [...]. Eu vou trabalhar. Vou me esforçar, e algum dia eu vou conhecer a Suíça.

I want to get out of here and go straight to college [...]. A dream I have is to learn to speak English perfectly [...]. I want to get to know Switzerland [...]. I'm going to work. I'm going to sweat, and someday I'll visit Switzerland. (Juliana, I)

Juliana constructs her identity as a future English user by expressing how she understands that she is going to work and sweat to get where she wants. Her future dreams are complex, and in contrast to her response in the written narrative, she dreams about speaking English perfectly in order to go abroad to Switzerland. She identifies the need to speak English in order to achieve her dreams, and as she believes so strongly that she will achieve her goal, she is constructing an identity as a future English user. Juliana gives another example of how beliefs and identities are interrelated (BARCELOS, 2015) as well as how strongly English is seen as a form of capital in order to achieve social mobility (BLOCK, 2014; BOURDIEU, 1989; PENNYCOOK, 1997).

Leila, Gabriel and Vinicius lack in an identity as an English user in the future; perhaps it is not coincidental that they also have constructed an identity as non-users of English, as seen in the previous section. All three of the participants do not exclude themselves from the possibility of learning English but they also do not express any strong goal to learn. That is, they do not make any investment in the language (NORTON, 2001). Different from learners such as Juliana and Bianca that actively seek out new ways to learn English, these participants suggest more detachment from learning the language and that if they were to learn, it would be something that just

⁶⁶ Original in Portuguese: “Um dia pretendo ir para EUA estudar lá”.

happened coincidentally. These participants see English as a tool for traveling abroad, and yet they do not necessarily insert themselves into the possibility of traveling abroad. For example, when reconsidering the possibility of using English in the future, Leila talks about traveling abroad but never uses the pronoun “I”. Instead, she distances herself using the pronoun “you”:

Excerpt 40: Se você for viajar para outros lugares você precisa saber inglês [...]. Para outras razões, eu acho que não. A não ser, por exemplo, se você vai fazer vestibular ou está na faculdade, e então eles passam alguma coisa em inglês. Como você vai saber? Para saber tem que ter estudado.

If you travel to another place like this, you need to know English [...]. For other reasons, I don't think so. Maybe, for example, if you're studying for college or already there, there may be something in English, how will you know? You have to study all that for you to know. (Leila, I)

First, Leila thinks of the use of English for traveling, then for passing the college entrance exam. Yet throughout the excerpt, she detaches herself still, using the pronoun “you” and the future conditional (i.e. if you were to travel, if you are in college). She does not insert herself into the reality of learning or using English in the future. She understands the possible situations where English may be used, but she does not identify herself as a future English user.

Similarly, Vinicius and Gabriel distance themselves, as Vinicius focuses on getting a job in Brazil and does not see himself traveling outside of Brazil. When talking about a job that he will get after high school, Vinicius considers the possibility of needing to use English, stating, “I don't think of going abroad, but it depends on the job that I'll have [...]. I don't personally think [about going abroad], now if something happened that my job needed me to leave Brazil and speak English, yeah, but I don't personally think about that⁶⁷” (Vinicius, I). Everything depends on the job for Vinicius. In fact, he is already working in the roofing industry, helping a roof constructor in town. Here, we see a glimpse of social class identity – his immediate focus on getting a job, knowing that is a priority, and not necessarily continuing with school. There seems to be an immediate pressure to work, perhaps given his social situation. According to Block's (2014) understanding of the field's impact on an individual's social class, Vinicius's discourse hints at the social class and field that which he partakes. Gabriel

⁶⁷ Original in Portuguese: “Não penso de ir para fora, mas depende tudo no serviço que eu vou ter. Eu mesmo não penso, agora se acontecer que o meu serviço precisar e eu tenho que sair do Brasil e falar inglês, sim, mas eu mesmo, não penso”.

mentions multiple times an interest and desire to learn English to travel and communicate with other people, “because there’s always English in places far away, [and] you need to learn to communicate with them”⁶⁸ (Gabriel, I), yet he ends the interview admitting that “I want to learn, but at the same time, I don’t believe, I don’t think it is going to happen”⁶⁹ (Gabriel, I). He sees the opportunity and possibility to communicate with others, particularly outside of Brazil, yet he does not necessarily believe that he will learn. This excerpt shows an intersection between beliefs and identities, as Pajares (1992) also discussed, demonstrating that Gabriel’s belief results in him not holding an identity as an English user in the future. There is a strong contextual influence on the individual’s identity construction from the fields that one interacts with, as historical, dialectical and geographical factors cumulate in a field (HAESBAERT, 2011; LEFFA, 2012). Gabriel’s example also shows how a belief in a society can give identities to individuals, yet the individual still holds the agency to decide how to react. According to Mastrella (2007), they still have role in identity construction. There is also a point of diversion between beliefs, as participants at Research Site 2 (MG) decide whether or not to internalize the societal belief of learning English at a public school in Brazil, a widespread belief that Barcelos (2007b) demonstrated in her study. The data suggests that those that internalize this belief continue in a cycle of identifying as non-users of English, which in turn creates a classroom full of non-users of English. However, those that decide not to subscribe to this belief suggest stronger identities as English users and more possibility to be English users in the future.

We can see that there may be a relationship between identifying as an English user now to identifying as an English user in the future. Tiago, Bianca and Juliana most strongly identify as English users and future English users, whereas Vinicius, Leila and Gabriel identify most strongly as English non-users and also not at future English users. Vinicius, given that he does not plan to leave Brazil, uses the language ever so often in his city but does not see himself as using the English language in the future. All participants reinforce the belief that English is needed abroad, outside of Brazil and do not emphasize the need of English within Brazil. Only Bianca mentions a need for Brazilians to learn English, both for inside their country and to bring their name to the

⁶⁸ Original in Portuguese: “Que sempre tem inglês num lugar, lugar longe, você precisa, aprender comunicar com eles”.

⁶⁹ Original in Portuguese: “Eu quero aprender, mas ao mesmo tempo eu descredito, acho que não [vai acontecer]”.

international context to show their importance to other people and countries, to be further discussed in the next section on Social Class.

4.2.3. Social Class at Research Site 2 (MG)

This section discusses the factors of social class that intersect with the participants' English language learning. I first discuss the relationship between English and capital, then the impact of *habitus* and fields for the participants, and finally the exclusion that they endure, and their fight for social mobility, due to the status of the English language as well as other identity factors rooting from their low socioeconomic class.

According to some social class factors mentioned by Block (2014), the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) are from a low socioeconomic neighborhood and attend a school that is tucked away in the hillside of the city. The school has a reputation for being of lower quality than other public schools in the city. Their parents' level of education varies between completing some grade school to completing some high school. Their parents' professions suggest a working class group. The fathers have occupations such as housekeeper, firefighter, construction worker or retired. The mothers are either housekeepers or work in a restaurant's kitchen. The participants have between two and four siblings and have a household of four, five or six people.

4.2.3.1. English and Capital

The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) show a relationship between the different types of capital and their English learning, though the connection seems more limited and inconsistent amongst the participants compared to the participants at Research Site 1 (CA).

Juliana's data shows a link between English and economic capital, as she criticizes how other people do not see how English can in fact be helpful in the future. She recognizes that the other people are not aware of the possibilities. That is, according to Bourdieu (1986), the others are lacking in a social capital to expose them to the possibilities of using English. Juliana's comments give a good glimpse at the social class in which she and her fellow colleagues participate. She continues to express the difference between the importance of English and the beliefs that other Brazilians have towards the language, which reflects most closely the beliefs amongst her surrounding community, in other words, the *habitus* in the surrounding field:

Excerpt 41: Eu acho [o ensino e aprendizagem de inglês no Brasil] bom, mas tem muitas pessoas que não ligam, que pensam ‘isso não vai servir para nada’. Tem gente que fala que não dá futuro. Só que eles não conhecem a parte do mercado de trabalho que procura pessoas que falam inglês.

I think [the teaching and learning of English in Brazil] a good thing, but there are a lot of people who do not care. They think, ‘this is not going to be good for anything’. There are people who say that it doesn’t help your future. But they don’t know the side of the job market where a lot of jobs are looking for English speaking people. (Juliana, I)

In reference to English as capital, the participants express some possibility in the future to turn English into a type of economic capital as a possibility. They express more of an interest in gaining cultural capital as entrance into the English-speaking world. There is some interest in learning English but the participants lack in social capital as a way to acquire English skills and later convert it to more cultural and economic capital. As Pennycook (1997) explains, an individual may acquire much cultural capital but if one does not have social capital, it may be hard to use the capital at hand. That is to say, English knowledge (a form of cultural capital) may not be useful if the participants do not have contacts or community to apply their knowledge (social capital). Juliana explains the interest in acquiring English capital at the school as the following:

Excerpt 42: A maioria [dos meus colegas] não sentem vontade de viajar para fora como eu sinto, mas sim, eles têm algum interesse. Eu acho que meu interesse é mais para aprender inglês que por causa de ir para fora. Por isso que eu estudo bastante e também porque, algum dia, quero chegar perto da minha mãe e falar assim, ‘Mãe, eu sei falar essa língua’ [...]. E eu acho que falar duas línguas ajuda bastante e vai ser legal para o meu currículo também.

Most [of my colleagues] don’t want to going abroad the way I think. But, yes, they do have a little interest. I think my interest is more to learn English to go abroad. That’s why I really study hard and also someday want to go up to my mother and say, ‘Mom, I can speak that language’ [...]. Because I think it’s going to be a beautiful thing for my resume too. (Juliana, I)

This excerpt shows various aspects of the participants’ relationship with capital at Research Site 2 (MG). Juliana explains that other students do not have much interest to learn the language in order to use it, different than she who would like to travel abroad. The participants do not seem to recognize much necessity to use English in Brazil, and those that express an interest in learning the language specifically consider using it to go abroad. This may have to do with a lack of social capital in their circles that exposes them to possibilities and opportunities with the English language, a topic

that Pennycook (1997) addresses. Juliana explains her first motivation to learn English in order to go abroad, which is a type of social, cultural and economic capital, as an individual would need social contacts, cultural knowledge and finances to go abroad. This is representative of Bianca and Tiago as well. Yet she also explains her motivation to tell her mother that she has learned English, that is, giving back to her mother in a way that will make her proud. Coleman (1988) emphasizes the important influence of family as social capital, which Vinicius also demonstrates by whose motivation to finish high school for that reason – to achieve his mother’s goal. This is also seen at Research Site 1 – CA, where Gabriela and Marcos want to learn English to help their family. Finally, Juliana demonstrates an interest in learning English in order to be able to put on her resume that she knows two languages, something that will help her in her future career pursuits. She recognizes the difference between her dreams and those of her colleagues. English seems to be reserved specifically for going abroad. This shows a lack in social capital that her classmates possess, as their community is not reinforcing the value and possibilities of learning a foreign language (BLOCK, 2014). They see the language all over the place in their community but there seems to be a disconnect between seeing it and understanding how to use the language for more opportunities in the future.

Bianca believes she needs English in order to communicate with other people. She values the social capital that she can obtain if she can speak another language. Both she and Juliana seem to seek out new information and knowledge quite proactively, independent of their surroundings, of demotivated or uninterested classmates or of hardships and violence in the community. Tiago also expresses an interest in learning the language for going abroad and using his social capital – the DJ for his rap group that speaks English – in order to help him obtain more English knowledge. Though Tiago does not seem to demonstrate the same proactive seeking of the language, he mentions his access to English social capital. Bianca, Juliana and Tiago seek to utilize the social capital that is efficacious for their future, the source being that of their family or a friend that is of some insight or motivation for them to learn English. This reflects both Coleman’s (1988) and Block’s (2015) emphasis on the influence of social capital in an individual’s pursuits.

In contrast, Gabriel, Leila and Vinicius do not seem to take advantage of the opportunity to learn English with the social capital available to them. Gabriel and Leila do not find social capital in their community that could help them learn English.

Nevertheless, Leila mentions exposure to the language, suggesting English to be both a cultural and social capital, in that it is beautiful to have the knowledge and useful in order to communicate with others. She explains,

Excerpt 43: [A língua inglesa] é legal, e é bonita também. Chama atenção. Uma pessoa conversando com outra em inglês e nós, que não sabemos falar, ficamos tentando falar igual e não conseguimos [...]. Eu, por exemplo, não sei falar.

[The English language] is nice and it's beautiful too. It catches your attention. One person can be talking to another in English and we don't know how to speak and we keep trying to talk like that and we're not able to [...] I, for example, don't know how to speak. (Leila, I)

Leila continuously distinguishes between those that can speak and those that cannot speak the language (including herself) as well as the beauty of the language and how it is interesting to her when she hears it, referring to the status of the language in a given community, as both Kalaja et al. (2013) and Pennycook (1997) discuss. What can be recognized here is how English can be seen as a cultural capital gained and practiced through social capital. Bourdieu (1986) and Silva (1995) explain how the relationship between the two forms of capital is crucial to sustain and grow an individual's overall capital, giving one more chances for social mobility.

The participants do not express much consideration of economic capital in relation to English, rather they see the need for English to travel abroad. Nevertheless, traveling abroad in itself involves all types of capital – cultural capital to know how to interact with the culture, social capital to communicate, and economic capital to afford the trip. Yet the access to the social capital in their surroundings seems to be limited, something that creates the distance they have from learning the language and the possibility to obtain economic capital through English. In this case, the participants possess forms of cultural capital through English media as well as fast food and name brands in English. However, their lack in social capital creates less opportunity to achieve social mobility, as they already lack in economic capital as well; social mobility is more achievable with a variety of forms of capital growing. In sum, as Bourdieu (1986) explains, the culmination of one capital helps another capital grow.

4.2.3.2. *Habitus* and Fields

As I explained in the discussion about Social Class at Research Site 1 (CA), the concepts of *habitus* and beliefs in this study appear to be related, and the fields in which the individual partakes seem to have an impact on the *habitus* (BLOCK, 2014). That

being said, this section attempts to make some possible connections between the two concepts of *habitus* and fields, as well as the impact they have on the participants' English learning.

The participants offer their view of their classmates, how they are learning and what the experience is like for others. These perspectives from the participants suggest Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of *habitus* and field. As discussed in Chapter II, these two concepts refer to dispositions of an individual that are structured from the past and structure the future (*habitus*) as well as the spaces that the individual partakes (fields). These spaces can overlap and the combination of fields influence the *habitus* of an individual. That being said, the participants comment on the field of their English language classroom, using phrases such as, "I have never learned anything from my classmates", "It is difficult to learn English with the other classmates," "They make fun of everyone and that makes it hard to practice speaking English", "It is hard for everyone at school" and "It is hard to learn English at a public school in Brazil". The participants' *habitus* is structured by unfavorable past experiences in the classroom field, those which structure their dispositions (*habitus*) in the classroom field today, in the future as well as outside of this field, into their field at home, in the city, on the internet, etc. The environment to learn English at school is not positive, and there is a sense of isolation as an English learner in the field at Research Site 2 (MG).

In Gabriel's case, the field in which he learns English is inhibiting to his learning because he is afraid of being teased by his colleagues. He also reinforces the idea that most of the students are not interested in learning English. When asked what it is like to learn English for his classmates, he explains the following:

Excerpt 44: Tem alguns que têm [experiência], alguns que não querem [...] aprender inglês [...]. Tem alguns que na sala só querem brincar e não estudar [...]. Eu fico com vergonha de falar em inglês. Eu falo tudo errado [...]. Eles zoam.

There are some who have [experience], some also who don't want anything to do with [...] learning English [...]. There are some who in the classroom just want to play and not study [...]. I'm embarrassed to speak English. I speak all wrong [...]. They tease you. (Gabriel, I)

Gabriel has a barrier to speak English created in his field of learning as he is embarrassed and afraid that his colleagues would tease him. This shows the intersection of *habitus* and fields where Gabriel's *habitus* is affected from the place in which he is learning (BOURDIEU, 1986). The students that do not want to learn interfere with the

students that do because the latter cannot try without being teased. He is not in a supportive environment that contributes to his learning. In fact, not one participant thinks that the language learning for their classmates is going well. They are all participating in the same learning field, one where nobody learns from or with their colleagues, feels inhibited by them and feels that their colleagues also struggle to learn. This field greatly contributes to the learner's *habitus* towards learning English and seeing him or herself as a future user of English, as discussed in Section 4.2.1. on beliefs. This field contrasts greatly with that of participants' field at Research Site 1 (CA) where most participants found value in learning with their colleagues and felt most comfortable speaking with them than other English native speakers, attributing this feeling to their understanding that they were still learning.

Four participants (Juliana, Bianca, Tiago and Leila) also describe the fields that they partake outside of the school and the impact that may have on their learning environment. For instance, Juliana describes the community around her and the activities that she tries to avoid by working as the following:

Excerpt 45: Eu trabalho ajudando um outro professor, que eu tive no ano passado. Eu o ajudo a cuidar da casa e é uma coisa que me distrai. Tem muitas pessoas assim, adolescentes, que ficam dentro de casa, entram nas drogas, fazem muitas coisas erradas. Eu não acho legal por que eu posso sair desse mundo. Eu não preciso ficar no meio das drogas. Existem outras coisas para me distrair.

I work by helping another teacher I had last year. I help him take care of the house. It's something that distracts me. There are a lot of people, like teenagers, who stay in the house, get into drugs, do a lot of wrong things. I do not think it's cool because I can get away from that world. I don't need to get involved with drugs. There's something to distract me. (Juliana, I)

Juliana expresses her efforts to avoid falling into the dangerous world of drugs and violence, an environment that surrounds her, that is presented as an option for her. This field that comes from a low socioeconomic neighborhood impacts her *habitus*, yet for her, her *habitus* takes on an expulsive reaction to what she does not want. She sees work as a way to distract her, to stay out of the house and keep her busy. She creates a dichotomy between the world that surrounds her and her intentions to leave Brazil. The missing link for her is to learn English in order to go abroad. Bianca, Tiago, Juliana and Leila also note that “the violence is so high⁷⁰” (Bianca, I). As a student from a

⁷⁰ Original in Portuguese: “A violência é alta demais”.

low-income socioeconomic neighborhood, Juliana is unwillingly inserted into a field of more violence than that of another neighborhood of higher class. These examples show how a field may influence an individual's *habitus* by mere proximity, which Bourdieu (1986) explains how the individual may be unaware of it.

Leila reinforces this idea as she talks about a lack of community of English communicators in which she could attempt to practice. When asked to further explain what she meant when she said that English “does not go well with her life⁷¹”, she states,

Excerpt 46: Se eu vou falar em inglês, e não há outra pessoa para falar em inglês comigo para entender o que eu [estou] falando [...]. Eles vão dizer, ‘ela está ficando doida porque ela está falando e nós não estamos entendendo nada’.

If I go to speak in English, but there's no one else that speaks English to know what I'm talking about [...]. They're going to say, ‘she's going crazy because she's talking and we don't understand anything she's saying’. (Leila, I)

This excerpt makes it clear the lack of social capital in the community in which she participates, as well as the *habitus* in her surrounding fields. Leila quite explicitly demonstrates the need for a community of learners as an entryway to achieving English as capital. She has a certain type of barrier to speak as well because she believes people will think that she is crazy speaking a language that they do not understand. She demonstrates how there seems to be a need for some point of contact with the language.

Tiago, who talks about Lenny, his friend from Portugal who speaks English or Vinicius, who talks about speaking English with the Chinese people at the snack shop demonstrate a reference point for them to try out speaking English. Yet in Leila's case, she does not pursue these points of contact, that is, sources of social capital (BLOCK, 2014). These examples show the importance of community in order to learn, to use and to engage with the language. The field in which an individual takes part contributes to their access to the language and their *habitus* towards the language. This, in turn, creates access to an English-learning profile, for it to “go well” with the individual, in Leila's words. As Norton (2001) discusses, the investment an individual makes to learn a language influences the opportunities of access, something that Leila does not recognize in her field. The English-learning profile she mentions is another marker of social class, one with which Leila does not identify herself, as the status of an English learner is reserved for a specific higher social class, according to her. Pennycook (1997)

⁷¹ Original in Portuguese: “Não combina com minha vida”.

relates the status of English to a form of power, which involves questions of inequality and agency. That is, those that are not empowered to learn English will not develop agency toward their language learning, due to inequalities in society formed around English capital. Leila excludes herself from learning English by her lack of agency, which can be contributed to the inequalities in her community. Thus, she makes no investment to learn English.

Every participant explains that the other students do not want to learn, that they are not interested, and yet each participant expresses interest in learning English. There is a discrepancy in their interest in the language and their *habitus* towards the language, which shows the impact of the field of learning. Everyone believes that nobody wants to learn, yet they all express some degree of interest in learning the language. The *habitus* towards English created in the field makes for learning the language a lonely and isolated business, a concept that Kalaja et al. (2013) also observed in the learners' beliefs. Vinicius distinguishes himself and his interest in the language because he studied at a private school in the past, and his past acquired knowledge (the cultural capital of English) allows him to participate and understand what is being taught in his current English classes. He differentiates the interest and motivation that students had in the private school as compared to his current school, another indication of the change in fields and the impact that may have on a learner's *habitus*.

This is further discussed in the following section about English, Inclusion and Exclusion, but what is important to note here is the contribution of the field to the participants' individual learning and their *habitus* towards learning the language, that is, how they engage with the language, how they see themselves as learners of the language and how they see themselves using the language in the future. It seems that the relationship of *habitus* and fields impacts the participants' English learning.

4.2.3.3. English, Inclusion and Exclusion

In relation to the capital that individuals may or may not accumulate a result of learning English, the concept of power is directly linked (PENNYCOOK, 1997). For those that know English, they may experience more inclusion in social, economic and cultural opportunities; the opposite may be true for those that do not know English. Tiago makes the situation of inequality in his country very clear, as well as his sentiments towards the country, stating,

Excerpt 47: Eu estou louco para eu sair daqui, sempre fui [...]. Política, desigualdade [...] porque a política é uma coisa que não favorece em praticamente nada, nada mesmo. E a questão da desigualdade, que é muito grande no Brasil, isso me afeta muito, todo mundo.

I'm crazy to get out of here. I have always been [...]. Politics, inequality [...] because politics is something that doesn't favor anything, practically nothing at all, and the issue of inequality is that it is very big in Brazil and it affects me a lot, everyone. (Tiago, I)

It is interesting to note that the three participants that strongly express a desire to leave their country (Tiago, Bianca and Juliana) also mention the violence, politics, and inequality that is widespread throughout Brazil, also discussed by Santos (2017). Tiago expresses a belief that anywhere other than Brazil would be better. He places politics and inequality next to each other in his statement, suggesting that they are related. His comment gives a glimpse at what is causing the inclusion and exclusion within Brazil. Though the role of English is not mentioned here, it is seen in the following examples.

The participants demonstrate the role of English in inclusion and exclusion on a local scale, national scale and global scale. They suggest the exclusion they experience in conversations around town that they cannot participate because they are in English (Leila); in their public education in comparison to private schools (Vinicius) and as a nation trying to insert their importance internationally (Bianca). As Pennycook (1997) pointed out, the act of using English has implications both on a local and global scale, explaining that the use of English in one location is not an isolated event. Rather, it impacts the world at large as the use of English has become powerful. Thus, its use in context exemplifies the role that English has as a global language, given the power and symbolic capital which with it associates (BOURDIEU, 1989). In the case of Research Site 2 (MG), the participants suggest that they are consuming English without being able to respond which, in a way, shows how English may uphold a type of hegemonic indoctrination. This may come off as hyperbolic or dramatic, but if one is not able to contribute, retaliate or verbally question what is being inserted into one's brain, their interaction is limited to input, rather than being able to actively participate in the conversation. That is, they are able to hear the global conversation of English, but are being tautly excluded from the conversation. This exclusion comes from the geography of where they are, their low socioeconomic class and the engendered beliefs in society given to this population, which in turn has an effect on their quality of

language education, as authors Barcelos (2007b), Block (2014), Santos (2017) and Vandrick (2014) argue.

Leila and Vinicius put exclusion barriers upon themselves, which could be a form of self-fulfilling prophecies that result from the beliefs within a society (PAJARES, 1992). Leila talks about the profile of an English speaker, something that she does not have. She struggles to explain why the language does not “go well” with her, stating,

Excerpt 48: Eu acho que a pessoa tem que ter um perfil [...]. Tem que ter perfil para aprender inglês. Porque tem pessoas que já sabem e querem aprender mais. Mas outras que não sabem e acham que não combina com a vida, em geral.

I think people have to have a profile [...]. They have a profile to learn English. Because there are people who already know and want to learn more. But others who don't know because they think it doesn't fit their life, in general. (Leila, I)

This statement is very strong and crucial in understanding the role of English in inclusion and exclusion. Leila has excluded herself from learning English because she does not know English. She says the people that have an English profile already know English and want to learn more. For those that do not know English already, they lack the English-speaking profile and it does not go well with their lives in general. She suggests that the profile involves previous knowledge of the language, so she does not have a chance to even be included in the world of English speakers. It seems like an exclusive circle to enter, and cyclical in that in order to learn, one must already know some English (VANDRICK, 2014). The exclusion that she puts on herself is not of her own doing, but of the beliefs that are passed amongst her community that directly influence her. English takes on a symbolic capital, that of a higher social class than Leila's. Bourdieu (2013) explains that this symbolic capital is created by the value given to behaviors, skills or goods by the surrounding community.

Vinicius excludes himself and his colleagues by reinforcing the belief that the public education system does not offer quality English education, stating “In Brazil, the public schools don't have much rigor to learn English. They teach the basics at school but there is a lot more English to learn”⁷² (Vinicius, I). Vinicius argues that the public schools do not prepare students for when they really will need to apply English skills on a test, that which would show a form of cultural capital acquired. That being said, Vinicius comments on the difficulties to learn English at a public school in Brazil

⁷² Original in Portuguese: “No Brasil [...] as escolas públicas não têm um rigor para aprender inglês [...]. Passam o básico na escola, mas tem muito mais inglês para aprender”

by directly comparing the instruction to that of a private school that he previously attended. He states the following:

Excerpt 49: No Brasil, eu acho que é meio difícil aprender inglês nos colégios públicos, porque eu já estudei num colégio particular, e lá eles realmente querem mesmo que você aprenda inglês [...]. É por causa do dinheiro, a escola pública precisa de mais dinheiro.

In Brazil, I think it's kind of hard to learn English, in public schools, because I've already studied in a private school, they really want you to learn English there [...]. It's because of money, the public school needs more money. (Vinicius, I)

Vinicius sees the reason for learning more at the private school is because the public school needs more money, thus circling back to socioeconomic factors and social class itself (BLOCK, 2014). He explicitly frames the cause of poor education to the lack of funding to public schools, thus the challenge to learn English in comparison to a private school. Vinicius explains how the private school students are held to higher standards and more is expected of them. He makes an important distinction between the public and private schools, in his experience. The private school has all of the same subjects as the public school, but the main difference is the English instruction. At the private school, they want the students to learn, suggesting the opposite at a public school – that at the public school there is less emphasis and motivation for the students to learn. The impact of one's learning field as well as economic capital is felt here in the exclusion that the participants experience at Research Site 2 (MG), ultimately affecting their English learning as well as their beliefs about learning English and their personal capacity to learn (BARCELOS, 2007b).

Bianca has recognized the influence that English has on the status of her country and the impact on her future. She sees how she and other Brazilians are being excluded and considered of lower status in the international field because they are not able to communicate in English, a pressing issue that Pennycook (1997) sees developing globally. She explains her motivation to learn English as the following:

Excerpt 50: Para levar o nome e para mostrar que o brasileiro é importante [...]. A gente tem que mostrar para as pessoas de fora que também somos importantes, que a gente também sabe alguma coisa. Então eu acho que a gente saber do que eles estão falando, nos faz importante, pois estamos ajudando também, e isso me motiva, pois podemos ajudar o Brasil a crescer. Eu acho que as pessoas deviam pensar assim. Que nós estamos na escola para aprender porque no futuro podemos ser uma pessoa importante e ajudar muitas outras pessoas.

To carry the name to show that Brazilians are important [...]. We have to show to people outside of Brazil that we are also important, that we also know something. So I think that if we know what they are talking about, we are also being important, we are also helping. It's motivating because we can help Brazil grow. I think people should think like that. That we are in school to learn. Because in the future you can be an important person. You can help a lot of people. (Bianca, I)

She recognizes her main motivation to learn English for her future and she also adds another reason – to be important. That is, for Brazilians to communicate their importance on a global scale, to insert themselves in the global conversation through English. Bianca's comment demonstrates her desire to show foreigners that Brazilians are just as capable and important as the other. She understands that in order to communicate her ideas and opinions, it is necessary to speak English, the universal language. In turn, she will be able to help Brazil grow, through social interaction on a global scale. Her dialogue is a motivating, spirited call to the Brazilian people that value the education they receive in school and emphasizes what each individual learns and brings to the rest of the world gives a reputation to Brazil.

Behind Bianca's personal goal is the crucial role of English so as to be included in the global conversation and insert the Brazilian voice into the dialogue as an important contribution (PENNYCOOK, 1997). In fact, Bianca's dialogue is significant in reference to the social class problem in Brazil. Bianca expresses what she sees in her surrounding community, perhaps marking a lifestyle that is structured by social inequalities of classes not only in Brazil but relevant in other communities around the world, as Block (2012) and Vandrick (2014) discuss. Bianca's dialogue does not represent all of Brazilians because English is valued in other fields and social classes within Brazil (MOITA LOPES, 2008). However, Bianca suggests that in her social class, individuals do not perceive this importance because the surrounding community does not give it much value, or symbolic capital (BOURDIEU, 2013).

All of the examples above show different ways in which English may contribute to excluding an individual, group or social class from opportunities, activities, and conversations (PENNYCOOK, 1997). The participants in this study already experience exclusion in many ways, being from a low-income socioeconomic neighborhood, going to a public school in a poor neighborhood that already has a poor reputation, and for the lack of support they receive in their education (SANTOS, 2017; VANDRICK, 2014). On top of that, their English classes do not encourage them nor provide them with an education that may empower them to take initiative to learn English. The

individuals that do not feel that need seem to accept their social class and conditions for what they are. Bianca, Juliana and Tiago demonstrate a fight to be included, while Leila, Gabriel and Vinicius demonstrate an acceptance of their exclusion as part of their reality. The varying factors of social class, including the capital acquired by the participants, the *habitus* of the individual and community, and the fields that contribute to their capital and *habitus* accumulate to create a dynamic interaction between notions of inclusion and exclusion (BLOCK, 2014). Overall, it is clear to see that the role that English holds is crucial in these power relations and the fight for social class mobility that these participants face, even as teenagers in their first year of high school.

This section has discussed the role that social class plays in language learning at Research Site 2 (MG), as well as how English, as a language but also as a form of capital, plays a role in reinforcing a social class. This chapter has discussed the beliefs, identities and social class of the participants at both research sites of this study, along with the possible relationship between these concepts. The next chapter revisits the research questions and attempt to respond to them, as a means of concluding this study.

CHAPTER V

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I revisit the research questions and answer them accordingly. In the second section, I discuss the implications of this study for the teaching and learning of languages in order to better understand the relationship between the concepts of beliefs, identities and social class as well as the impact of this relationship on the participants' English learning. In the third section, I consider some of the limitations of this study. Finally, in the last section, I make some suggestions for future research.

5.1. Answering the research questions

This study aimed at investigating the beliefs, identities and social class factors of two distinct groups of students from a vulnerable social class about the teaching and learning process of English language. This study also looked to see the relationship between the concepts of beliefs, identities and social class in both contexts, as well as to compare any similarities and differences between the two research sites. In order to achieve these objectives, three research questions were designed, which I answer in the next sections.

5.1.1. Question 1: What are the beliefs about English and learning English of the ELLs at a public school in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil and of the ELLs of a public school in the state of California, United States?

The participants at both research sites expressed beliefs about learning English and beliefs about the language itself, with some beliefs coinciding with one another while other beliefs suggesting the difference between the two research sites.

The beliefs about learning English at both research sites were similar in that they expressed the belief that to learn a language, one must speak it and be able to communicate in the language. Participants at both sites expressed how they learned through general exposure to the language, in and outside of the classroom. However, the major difference lied in how the participants at both research sites expressed their learning of the language. At Research Site 1 (CA), the participants learned through language use – both by watching movies, listening to music and reading books but also by speaking with friends and family and participating in class projects and presentations. As seen in comparing the visual narratives, four participants at Research

Site 1 (CA) show themselves interacting with other people while that did not appear at Research Site 2 (MG). The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) expressed their learning through media, on the city streets and in the classroom, but they showed a lack in practicing speaking English. There is a contradiction between their belief that one needs to speak the language to learn it, and their actions, where they do not speak the language much. They also expressed a strong emotion of fear to make mistakes, which could ultimately affect their actions, just as their beliefs do. The immediacy to speak the language was not present as it was at Research Site 1 (CA), where the participants faced the challenge of communicating in the English language daily. Both research sites express the struggle to learn the language, but in contrast to Research Site 1 (CA), the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) do not recognize much progress. This difference could contribute to how they behave in the classroom and approach their language learning.

That being said, both research sites comment on the English teaching methodology, whether in comparison to their home country (Research Site 1, CA) or in reflection on their current English classes at school (Research Site 2, MG). While participants at Research Site 1 (CA) put the education in the United States on a pedestal as much superior to their home country, participants at Research Site 2 (MG) lament that the language teaching methodology at school is not engaging or helpful to their learning. This may suggest an impact of globalization, as the populations are able to compare their education with other places on a global scale, giving the quality of education in “the North” a higher value, as Kleinman (2013) and Vandrick (2014) critique. Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) also suggests the relation between the desire to learn English and yet exclusion from the global conversation in English based on factors of identity and social class.

The beliefs about the English language come closely aligned in that the participants at both sites recognize the importance of the language on a global scale. This common belief at both research sites coming from two completely different contexts suggests a global dialogue about the importance of English that is circulating worldwide. They both suggest the importance of English for their future, and for social interaction. As expected perhaps, the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) express the crucial need of English for their future professions, whereas the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) more explicitly express the need of English to travel outside of Brazil. Three participants at Research Site 2 (MG) have the goal of using English in the future

in their professions, but the other three participants do not believe that will happen, for various reasons. They also see English as important to communicate with the world, and do not only mention the United States or other English-speaking countries but rather, they recognize the use of English for general communication, something that shows a decentralization of an association of English with just English-speaking countries. This purpose of travel is not present much in Research Site 1 (CA), as they seem focused more on succeeding in the country where they are at, making the most of their current opportunity. Table 15 displays the corresponding beliefs at each research site.

Beliefs	Research Site 1 (CA)	Research Site 2 (MG)
<i>About learning English</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You need to communicate in the language; 2. You learn through use; 3. It is important to learn more; 4. Public schools in the U.S. offer a lot of opportunities to learn. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. You need to communicate in the language; 2. You learn through opportunities to use English; 3. The opportunities the participants have had are not enough; 4. You do not learn English at public schools in Brazil.
<i>About the English language</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English is important for the future; 2. English is important to interact with others around the world. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English is important to travel abroad; 2. English is important to interact with others around the world.

Table 15: Comparison of beliefs between Research Site 1 (CA) and Research Site 2 (MG)

In sum, the most striking similarity between the two research sites is the belief that English is important and the most striking difference is the belief of their personal abilities. I believe this discrepancy says more about the opportunities available for the participants to learn than their actual personal capacity to learn. It also shows what beliefs are circling in the local and global society – showing the close ties between globalization and the English language (MACIEL, 2011) as well as the impact of a belief in local society as to whether an individual can learn in a given field and who is able to access the language, based on social factors and identities (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009). The beliefs that the participants hold reinforce a dichotomy of

inclusion and exclusion, with the integral factor being that of one's access to the English language.

5.1.2. Question 2: How are the identities as users of English constructed by the ELLs at both contexts?

The identities that the participants at both research sites hold are expressed throughout the data collection, sometimes in subtler ways and other times in more explicit ways. As shown in Table 16, at both research sites, there are diverse identities in relation to the English language, demonstrating the variety of identities that enter into a classroom, whether it is in a more homogenous environment where everyone comes from the same city (Research Site 2 - MG) or a more heterogeneous environment where everyone comes from different places around the world (Research Site 1 - CA).

	Research Site 1 (CA)	Research Site 2 (MG)
Identities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English Learner <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 Student 1.2 User 2. Future user of English as a professional 3. Members of the family 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. English Learner <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 Student 1.2 User 1.3 Non-user 2. Future user of English as a possibility (or not)

Table 16: Comparison of Identities at Research Site 1 (MG) and Research Site 2 (MG)

Both sites suggest that the participants identify as English learners to some degree, though at Research Site 1 (CA), the participants embody this identity more, as they are faced with the challenge of inserting themselves into an English-dominant society. These participants have closer contact with the language; they do not have another option. At least, that is how they portray their English learner identities, as a portal for their future opportunities. The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) have more of a choice or decision to make, as to whether they identify as an English learner or not, if they want to invest in the language or not (NORTON, 2001), along with the influence of their community as well (LEFFA, 2012). They do not have as much immediate pressure to use the language in their daily lives, so if they identify with the language, it is because they have a specific objective in mind. The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) also have specific objectives, but those at Research Site 2 (MG) may have more trouble sustaining their objective, given that they do not have a strong

community of learners to help them grow and sustain motivation to learn English, something that does not happen at the former.

We see a similar trend in both groups of participants when looking at their identities as future users of English. All of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) identify with using the English language in their future professions, where three of six participants at Research Site 2 (MG) seek out this possibility. These three participants (Tiago, Bianca & Juliana) hold an objective, where the other three may have interest but do not strongly identify with the English language currently (Gabriel, Leila, & Vinicius). This aspect seems to affect their identities as future users.

To conclude this comparison between the identities of the participants at both research sites, I believe it is important to consider the concept of *habitus* and fields by Bourdieu (1986). We can see the differences being constructed in the two distinct contexts and the factor of geography and space has much to do with it. The participants represent their English learning space in their visual narratives, inside or outside the classroom, from their perspectives. They show the effect that a space may cause on their developing identities, as trends can be observed at each research site. They also show the space that an individual can create for his or her own identity.

5.1.3. Question 3: What impact does social class have on the ELL students' language learning in both contexts?

The data collected in this study demonstrates the crucial role that social class plays in the participants' access to English as well as the opportunities that English provides for them. The main thread of connection between the two sites is the English language and its status (KALAJA et al. 2013; PENNYCOOK, 1997), as well as how in some form or other, it ends up excluding the participants from society. In fact, the participants' social class impacts their beliefs and identities as well. At Research Site 1 (CA), the capital available for the students is in plethora in their surrounding community. Their social capital in the new field of the high school in California makes the social and cultural capital of English accessible, yet the conversion to economic capital is not ensured. With factors of exclusion in the field, the participants may or may not be able to convert their capital into economic capital but they are all hopeful to make an effort. All of the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) see themselves as future English users in order to work as professionals. The connection between English and economic capital is seen as crucial for the participants. Nevertheless, the

participants have had diverse experiences of exclusion based on their race, language, nationality and immigration status, both on a macro and micro level. These factors all contribute and relate to their social class, as a culmination of factors that in turn make up the individual's *habitus* within the fields that they interact. Thus, social class can also be seen as an all-encompassing concept that includes one's beliefs, identities, and community of influences surrounding them. The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) demonstrate an evolution of their social class as they are enduring change in their fields and thus new structures in their *habitus* and new acquirement of cultural, social and economic capital. In the dynamic interactions of all of these factors, the participants suggest the cyclical pattern of their evolving social class and their efforts to penetrate the English-speaking world.

The participants at Research Site 2 (MG) suggest more distance from the capital accessible to them with the acquiring of English. In a sense, either the participants struggle to rise above the social class that they are inserted with individual agency and latching onto the meager social capital of English that they can find in their community, or they accept the social class that they are a part of, continuing to believe that English is not for them and only for those that have a specific English-speaking profile. In this way, the relationship between social class and English capital is subtler because it is not a reality for the social class of which they are a member. There is a divide amongst the participants between those that struggle for social mobility (Bianca, Tiago and Juliana) and those that are either content with where they are (Vinicius) or do not believe that they can access the English world (Gabriel and Leila). The exclusion that the participants face is demonstrated more on a macro-level at Research Site 2 (MG), as the participants suggest problems in the education system at public schools, violence in Brazil and the lack of recognition that Brazilians have towards the importance of English for their future. The latter discourse circles a lower social class, as middle and upper class families reinforce the importance of English. The violence in Brazil is more prevalent for the participants in their social circles coming from a low-income socioeconomic neighborhood, stuck between drug wars, gangs and poverty. The poor English education in the public school is also more prevalent to the school in which they attend, on the periphery of the city with a reputation for being of poor quality. The participants recognize the social inequality in Brazil, yet in fact, it is a reflection of the specific social class that they participate, formed by their *habitus* and fields, and the inequalities that they experience in their daily life.

Both sites express the impact of social class on the participants' beliefs and identities, as well as the social struggle that they face for social mobility. All of these factors affect one another to create a unique situation for each individual. How the individual deals with their unique situation also depends on their experiences, beliefs, identities and capital accumulated. The participants at Research Site 1 (CA) have more promise to access the community in that they are inserted into the English-speaking society, geographically. Differently, the participants at Research Site 2 (MG) have little connection to English speakers, either native or Brazilian, thus their promise to access is limited.

Such factors are reflected in this study at Research Site 1 (CA) where the immigrant students see the need to learn English and have high hopes of acquiring it as capital in order to access other social circles, yet the opportunities available for them through English capital are not certain. In the case of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG), there are few social contexts for students at the public school where they have the intention of using the English language because they have no reason to use it in their daily life, limited access to it and no concrete opportunity to learn it. Thus, even if English capital is acquired, it seems less relevant to them due to socioeconomic factors in which they face.

5.1.4. Question 4: What is the relationship between these students' beliefs, identities and social class?

The relationship between belief, identities and social class becomes apparent through the data collection. As has been referenced before in the literature (BARCELOS, 2015; PAJARES, 1992), beliefs that are strongly reinforced become part of one's identity. That goes the same for beliefs in a given community, as they get passed on from one person to the next. Social class is also influenced by beliefs in that one social class may be given a higher value than another due to a belief in society. In other words, the society gives symbolic capital to types of social class, items, actions and professions (BOURDIEU, 1989; PENNYCOOK, 1997). What becomes apparent is the importance of language in dialogue and how it can influence an individual, a classroom, a school, a city and a nation. In the case of Research Site 1 (CA), the national issues with immigration and the discourse on immigration creates varying beliefs in society towards the immigrants that arrive. For Research Site 2 (MG), the national belief that an individual does not learn English in a public school, let alone one that is

on the periphery of the city, influences how the students (and teacher) approach their teaching.

Below I illustrate the relationship between the three concepts at both research sites, in accordance with the data analysis and literature utilized in this study.

5.1.4.1. Relationship between beliefs, identities and social class at Research Site 1 (CA)

The relationship between beliefs, identities and social class are integral and cyclical. Throughout Chapter IV, we see excerpts that are relevant to all categories, thus repeated in the examples. In that sense, the relationship between the three concepts has been demonstrated as integral, as they overlap and interact with each other in complex ways. The relationship between the concepts is also cyclical, as the data has suggested how a belief in society can influence an individual's identity, which can therefore influence the access they have to certain capitals, and thus reinforce a belief in society about a certain social class. Figure 15 attempts to explain the cyclical and integral relationship of these concepts in the context of Research Site 1 (CA).

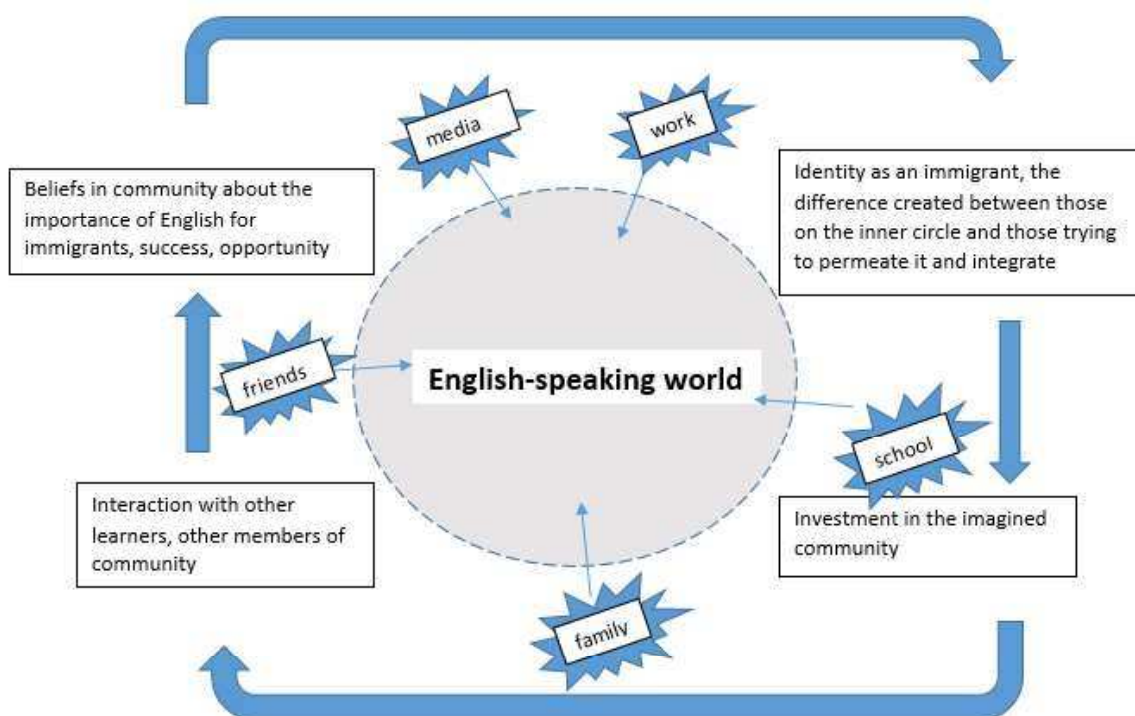


Figure 15: Relationship of Beliefs, Identities and Social Class at Research Site 1 (CA)

The diagram in Figure 15 displays the English-speaking world at the center, with perforations in the circle's border to represent the challenge, yet possibility to enter into the inner circle. In a cyclical movement in the outer circle, the recent immigrants are attempting to enter into the inner circle, yet without an external force,

they will continue in a cyclical manner, only coming close to entry. This external force is sparks of fire. Applying the concept of varying natural elements that Leffa (2012) used in discussing identities, the element of fire plays a symbolic role as the energy that keeps the cycle moving in the construction of identities, which would be the geographical, historical and dialogical influences that an individual experiences. Here, the sparks of fire are the influences in the surrounding community. Through the individual's efforts to permeate and become included in the English world, looking for ways to access it, along with the support of the individual's social capital, they may have a chance to leave the outer circle and enter into the inner circle of English-speakers, thus achieving a type of symbolic capital (BOURDIEU, 1989). In that sense, the individual converts social capital to symbolic capital.

5.1.4.2. Relationship between beliefs, identities and social class at Research Sites 2 (MG)

Though not completely different to Research Site 1 (CA), the relationship of beliefs, identities and social class at Research Site 2 (MG) renders a separate diagram to explain the concept. Figure 16 illustrates this relationship:

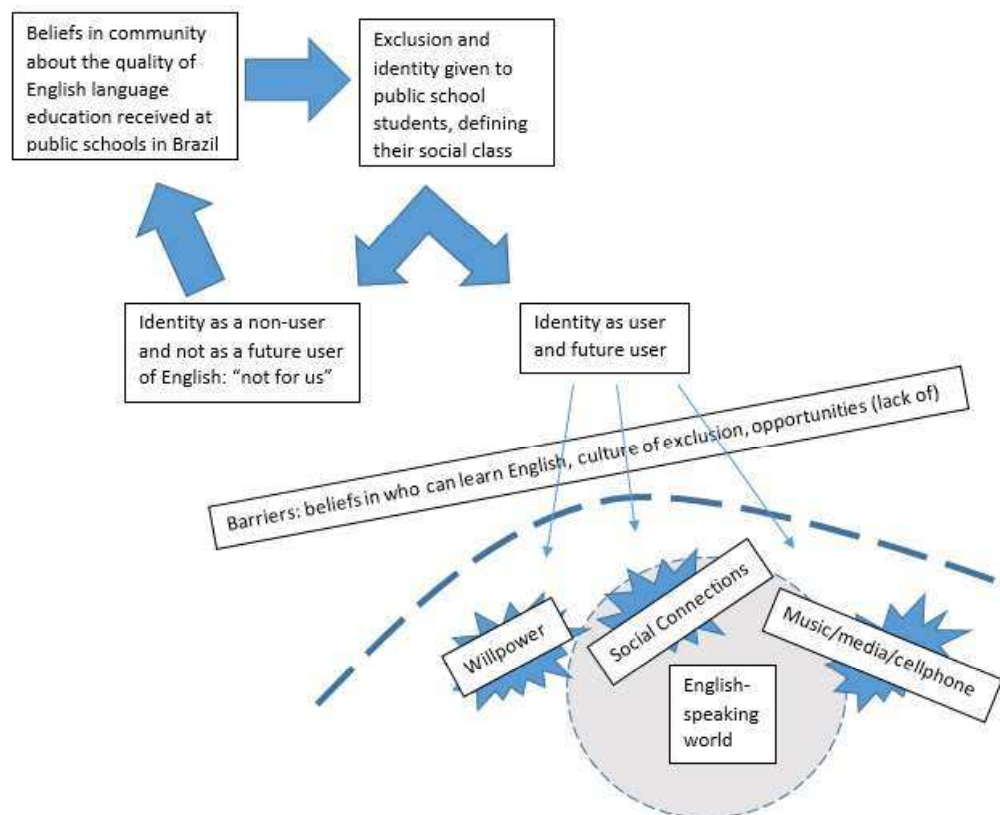


Figure 16: Relationship between Beliefs, Identities and Social Class at Research Site 2 (MG)

In the context of the participants at Research Site 2 (MG), an individual is already following a cyclical relationship where the beliefs in the community about learning English at a public school cause public school students to be excluded (as well as exclude themselves, in general) from receiving quality English education, thus causing them to not identify with the language neither as a user, nor as a future user. Those individuals that identify themselves as non-users of English will continue in this cycle that is surrounding them in their community, with the center being a community of non-users. However, if the students are able to identify themselves as English users and/or future users of English, they have a chance to escape the cycle and make efforts to enter into the English-speaking world. There still exist several barriers for the individual (i.e. beliefs in who can learn English, culture of exclusion, and meager opportunities) but with the spark of social capital whether it is through social media, an acquaintance or other sources, the individual can make attempts to enter into the English-speaking world. Beyond that, the individuals' own beliefs about their personal abilities also seem to play a role in their chances to enter into the English world, including their belief in the power of their personal agency and desire to learn. Though the barriers are greater for the individuals at Research Site 2 (MG), their individual belief in their abilities to learn English, along with an identity as an English user and access to capital allow the individuals to have a higher chance at accessing the English-speaking world.

5.2. Implications of this study

In this section, I discuss six implications of this study for language teaching and learning education.

First, as seen in the literature, the forms of capital interact with one another and one form of capital can influence another (BOURDIEU, 1986). The sum of these capitals contributes to an individual's social mobility. In the case of this study, English is seen as a symbolic capital, in that it can contribute to acquiring more social, cultural and economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1989). Not only that, it is a symbolic capital by means of the status that the language holds in both research sites' communities (PENNYCOOK, 1997). This leads me to the second implication.

Second, the influence of the community around the participants has a strong impact on their beliefs and identities as suggested in the literature (BARCELOS, 2015; PAJARES, 1992). The surrounding community consists of different fields of

interactions, which contribute to an individual's social class. It is made evident that the fields in which the participants interact affect their beliefs (*habitus*), identities as English users, and ultimately their language learning. The community's influence can have a positive or negative impact, depending on how the individual reacts and interacts with the field.

Third, the study reveals the importance of addressing the students' beliefs and identities, which will formulate how they approach their learning. Mastrella-de-Andrade (2009) argues that researchers, professors, administrators and those involved in the teaching and learning of languages must be aware of repercussions of the relationship between language and identity construction.

Fourth, the impact of globalization can be observed in this study, as students from two public high school in low-income, socially vulnerable neighborhoods across the globe relate similar beliefs about the importance of English. In a way, the data suggests how globalization has aligned certain beliefs of these participants from two distinct contexts, in relation to other relevant concepts such as identities and social class.

Fifth, in the comparison between the two schools, one can see the difference of public schools between different nations and opportunities made available for the students that attend these schools. This gives a suggestion about social class on a global scale, in the geographic implications of access to English, and the beliefs around where one can or cannot learn English. It is important for educators to consider the access to capital that their students have as well as the influence of beliefs, identities and social class have on the individual's learning.

Sixth, the study shows the strong impact of language in passing beliefs from one individual to another (BARCELOS, 2007a), in forming identities (MASTRELLA-DE-ANDRADE, 2009; TELLES, 2004) and in projecting one's social class through symbolic capital of language (BOURDIEU, 1989; PENNYCOOK, 1997).

5.3. Limitations of this study

The limitations of this study refer to the discrepancy between the language of study being used at the research sites; the plausibility of comparing two distinct contexts; and the amplitude of the research proposal. These factors are discussed in the paragraphs below.

The language used at Research Site 1 (CA) was English, whereas I conducted the study at Research Site 2 (MG) in Portuguese, given that these languages were the language of instruction for the students and the common language amongst the participants and researcher. However, this could have made it more challenging for the participants at Research Site 1 (CA) to express their opinions and ideas, given that they had been living in the United States for a maximum of two years. Their native language was either Spanish or Vietnamese, thus there may have been information that the participants wanted to express but felt challenged to do so in their L2.

Another limitation was the design of the research study, in that the comparison of six participants from two research sites with four different instruments rendered a broad and ample data collection. The attempt was to compare two sites with the common factor being that the participants experienced some form of exclusion due to the English language, but the amplitude of the study could have affected the depth of the analysis. That is, the attempt to compare two different contexts, rather than focusing on one research site exclusively, may have limited the impact of the study.

5.4. Suggestions for future research

The role of social class is often not considered in AL (BLOCK, 2014). However, the interest in and consideration of social class is becoming more relevant in language education. Thus, I make the following suggestions for future research:

1. Longitudinal research that investigates change in the beliefs and identities of ELLs and how factors of social class have either helped or hindered the participants' progress with English;
2. Research that looks more in-depth at the relationship between factors of social class amongst the students at both research sites and other identity factors such as race and ethnicity;
3. Research that investigates the teachers' beliefs about the students' social class and how that impacts their language instruction methodology;
4. Research that, rather than investigating two contexts from a vulnerable social class, compares the beliefs and identities of students in vulnerable and privileged social classes as well as the impact these concepts have on their English language learning;
5. Research that investigates the role of emotions in relation to the concepts of identities, beliefs and social class, as emotions often appeared in the data.

With this study, I hope to have contributed some insights to the discussion on the global perceptions of the teaching and learning of English, including the perceptions of those who have difficulty in accessing the language and because of this, may have a different experience. I believe further studies that consider the relationship between beliefs, identities and social class can help language educators and researchers to consider its impact in their areas.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE VIÇOSA- MINAS GERAIS - BRAZIL PARENTAL PERMISSION FORM FOR CHILD'S RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

Study Title: English Language Learners' Identities and Beliefs about the English Language – A Comparative Study between U.S. and Brazilian Students

Principal Researcher: Maggie Marie Palmer, Master's student in Applied Linguistics at the Universidade Federal de Viçosa – Brazil.

Why is the researcher doing this study?

Your child is being invited to participate in a research study about English Language learners' Identities and Beliefs about the English language.

The purpose of the study is to discover more about the students' identities as users of the English language, as well as their beliefs about the language learning process, with an end goal of helping teachers in both classrooms to better approach their students, as well as to give a voice to the participants.

What will my child be invited to do if my child participates in this study?

Your child will be invited to participate in responding to a questionnaire, writing a narrative and drawing a visual narrative. If necessary, your child may also be asked participate in an individual interview, where his or her participation will be voluntary. The personal or sensitive questions may include expressing how the student feels about the English language learning process, his/her history with learning the language, as well as he/she imagines themselves as future users of the language. Participation will take 6 weeks with visits from the researcher to the classes three times a week.

I would like to audio record your son or daughter if they are interviewed, so to insure that I remember precisely all the information gathered. I, the researcher, will keep all data collected and interview recordings in a locked folder on my computer desktop and they will only be used by me, Maggie Marie Palmer. I will only audio record your child if you and your child give me permission.

What are the possible risks or discomforts to my child?

Your child's participation in this study does not involve any physical or emotional risk to your child beyond that of everyday life. That being said, we have outlined the possible risks below, those which could occur every day in the language classroom.

Possible risks:

- Your child may feel emotional or upset when answering some of the questions in the interview. Your child can tell the interviewer at any time if he/she wants to take a break or stop the interview.
- Your child may be uncomfortable with some of the questions and topics we will ask about. If your child is uncomfortable, they are free to not answer or skip to the next question.

As with all research, there is a chance that confidentiality of the information I collect about your child could be breached – I will take steps to minimize this risk, as discussed in more detail below in this form.

What are the possible benefits for my child or others?

The possible benefits to your child from this study include learning more about the English language, learning more about their classmates and their experiences as well as taking time to reflect and imagine how they see themselves as users of the English language.

How will you protect the information you collect about my child, and how will that information be shared?

Results of this study may be used in publications and presentations. I will take measures to protect data confidentiality and personal privacy by changing all the names of the participants once all of the data is collected. The audio recordings will not be disclosed to any person other than the researcher, and all data

will be kept in locked files on the researcher's computer. Data will be shared with my research group at the Universidade Federal de Viçosa, to have a better understanding of the collected information and to get necessary feedback on the dissertation. They will be required to keep all shared data confidential within the research group.

If we think that your child intends to harm him/herself or others, we will notify the appropriate people/agencies with this information.

Financial Information

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Your child will not be paid for participating in this study.

What are my child's rights as a research participant?

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your child may withdraw from this study at any time -- you and your child will not be penalized in any way or lose any sort of benefits for deciding to stop participation. If you and your child decide not to be in this study, this will not affect the relationship you and your child have with your child's school in any way. Your child's grades will not be affected if you choose not to let your child be in this study.

If your child decides to withdraw from this study, the researchers will ask if the information already collected from your child can be used.

Who can I contact if I have questions or concerns about this research study?

If you or your child have any questions, you may contact the researchers at:

Maggie Marie Palmer
714-470-2432
maggiempalmer@gmail.com

If you have any questions about your child's rights as a participant in this research, you can contact the following office at the University of Chicago:

Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
University of Chicago
1155 E. 60th Street, Room 414
Chicago, IL 60637
Phone: (773) 834-7835
Email: sbs-irb@uchicago.edu

Parental Permission for Child's Participation in Research

I, _____, responsible for _____, contact _____, have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I give permission for my child to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this Parental Permission form after I sign it.

Optional Study Elements

Consent to Quote from Interview

I, the researcher, may wish to quote from the interview with your child either in presentations or articles resulting from this work. A pseudonym (fake name) will be used in order to protect your child's identity.

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

_____ (initial) I agree to allow the researcher to quote from the interview with your child either in the presentations or articles resulting from this work, using a fake name.

_____ (initial) I do not agree to allow the researcher to quote from the interview with your child either in the presentations or articles resulting from this work, using a fake name.

Consent to Audio-Record Interview

Initial one of the following to indicate your choice:

_____ (initial) I agree to allow the researcher to audio record my child in the focus group and classroom observations.

_____ (initial) I do not agree to allow the researcher to audio record my child in the focus group and classroom observations.

Parent/Legal Guardian's Name (printed) and Signature

Date

Name of Person Obtaining Parental Permission

Date

Parents, please be aware that under the Protection of Pupils Rights Act (20 U.S.C. Section 1232(c)(1)(A)), you have the right to review a copy of the questions asked of or materials that will be used with students. If you would like to do so, you should contact Maggie Marie Palmer (contact information above) to obtain a copy of the questions or materials.

APPENDIX B
INFORMED CONSENT FORM (SPANISH)

UNIVERSIDAD FEDERAL DE VIÇOSA - MINAS GERAIS – BRASIL
FORMULARIO DE PERMISO DE LOS PADRES PARA LA PARTICIPACIÓN
DEL NIÑO EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Título del estudio: Las identidades y creencias sobre el idioma inglés de los alumnos de inglés - Un estudio comparativo entre estudiantes en los EE.UU. y en Brasil
Investigador Principal: Margaret (Maggie) Marie Palmer, estudiante de Maestría en Lingüística Aplicada de la Universidad Federal de Viçosa - Brasil.

¿Por qué el investigador principal hace este estudio?

Se invita a su hijo a participar en un estudio de investigación sobre las identidades e creencias sobre el idioma inglés en de los alumnos de inglés.

El propósito del estudio es descubrir más acerca de cómo las identidades de los estudiantes, como usuarios de la lengua inglesa, se están formando, así como también sus creencias sobre el proceso de aprendizaje de idiomas. El objetivo final es ayudar a los profesores en los salones de clase a aproximarse mejor a las necesidades sus estudiantes, así como para dar una voz a los estudiantes.

¿Lo que mi hijo(a) será invitado a hacer si mi hijo(a) participa en este estudio?

Su hijo será invitado a participar al responder a un cuestionario, escribir un relato e dibujar una narrativa visual. Es posible que su hijo también puede participar en una entrevista individual y su participación sea voluntaria. Las preguntas personales o sensibles pueden incluir respuestas de cómo el estudiante se siente sobre el proceso de aprendizaje del idioma inglés, su historia con el aprendizaje de esa lengua, y del mismo modo como él/ella se imagina a sí mismo como futuro usuario de ese idioma. La participación debería tomar 6-7 semanas con visitas de la investigadora a las clases de la Academia de Bienvenida (Welcome Academy) de tres veces a la semana.

Me gustaría grabar el audio de su hijo(a) si él/ella participa en la entrevista, para asegurar el registro preciso de toda la información. Yo, la investigadora, mantendré estas grabaciones en una carpeta bloqueada en su computador y sólo será utilizada por mí, Margaret Marie Palmer. Únicamente grabaré el audio a su hijo(a) si usted y su hijo(a) me dan permiso.

¿Lo que será invitado a hacer si mi hijo(a) participa en este estudio?

Le será solicitado a usted ayudar a su hijo(a) a contestar el cuestionario, el cual indagará sobre información personal como el nivel de educación y el soporte económico de los padres. Esta información es útil para lograr el perfil completo de los datos demográficos en la Academia de Bienvenida (Welcome Academy) en [Research Site 1 (CA)]

¿Cuáles son los posibles riesgos o incomodidades a mi hijo(a)?

La participación de su hijo(a) en este estudio no implica ningún riesgo físico o emocional a su hijo(a), más allá de su rutina cotidiana. Dicho esto, abajo hemos esbozado los posibles riesgos, los cuales podrían ocurrir todos los días en la clase de idiomas.

Posibles riesgos:

- Su hijo(a) puede sentir malestar emocional al contestar algunas de las preguntas. Su hijo(a) puede decirle al entrevistador en cualquier momento si él/ella quiere tomar un descanso o terminar la entrevista.
- Su hijo(a) puede sentirse incómodo con algunas de las preguntas y temas indagados. Si su hijo(a) se siente incómodo, él/ella es libre de no responder o saltar a la siguiente pregunta.

Como en todas las investigaciones, existe una probabilidad que la confidencialidad de la información recolectada sobre su hijo(a) pueda ser quebrantada. Tomaré todas las medidas para minimizar este riesgo, como discutido con mayor detalle más adelante en este formulario.

¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios para mi hijo(a) o para otros? Los posibles beneficios para su hijo(a) derivados de este estudio incluyen aprender más sobre el idioma inglés, aprender más acerca de sus compañeros de clase y sus experiencias, así como tomar un momento para reflexionar e imaginar cómo ellos se ven a sí mismos como usuarios de la lengua Inglesa.

¿Cómo se protegerá la información que se recopile sobre mi hijo(a), y cómo será compartida esa información?

Los resultados de este estudio se pueden usar en publicaciones y presentaciones. Tomaré medidas para proteger la confidencialidad de los datos y la privacidad personal cambiando todos los nombres de los participantes, una vez que todos los datos sean recolectados. Las grabaciones de audio no serán desclasificadas por ninguna otra persona que no sea el investigador principal, y todos los datos se guardarán en los archivos bloqueados en el computador del investigador. Los datos serán compartidos con mi grupo de investigación de la Universidad Federal de Viçosa para tener una mejor comprensión de la información recogida y para obtener retroalimentación necesaria en la discusión. Todos ellos estarán obligados a mantener la confidencialidad de todos los datos compartidos dentro del grupo de investigación.

Si consideramos que su hijo tiene la intención de perjudicarse a él/ella mismo(a) o perjudicar otros, se notificará a las personas/entidades pertinentes usando esta información.

Información financiera

La participación en este estudio es completamente voluntaria. A su hijo(a) no se le pagará por participar en este estudio.

¿Cuáles son los derechos de mi hijo(a) como participante en esta investigación?

La participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Su hijo(a) puede retirarse de este estudio en cualquier momento - usted y su hijo(a) no serán penalizados en cualquier forma ni perderán cualquier tipo de beneficios debido a la decisión de abandonar su participación. Si usted y su hijo(a) deciden no participar en este estudio, esto no afectará a la relación que usted y su hijo(a) tienen con la escuela de su hijo(a), de ninguna manera. Las calificaciones de su hijo(a) no se verán afectadas si decide no permitir que su hijo(a) participe en este estudio.

Si su hijo(a) decide retirarse de este estudio, los investigadores le preguntarán a usted si la información ya recopilada de su hijo(a) puede ser utilizada.

¿A quién puedo contactar si tengo preguntas o dudas acerca de este estudio científico?

Si usted o su hijo(a) tiene alguna pregunta, pueden comunicarse con el investigador principal:

Margaret Marie Palmer
714-470-2432
maggiempalmer@gmail.com

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre los derechos de su hijo como participante en esta investigación, puede ponerse en contacto con la oficina principal en la Universidad de Chicago:

Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board
University of Chicago
1155 E. 60th Street, Room 414
Chicago, IL 60637
Teléfono: (773) 834-7835
Email: sbs-irb@uchicago.edu

Permiso de los padres para la participación del niño en la Investigación

Yo, _____, responsable de _____, contacto _____, he leído esta forma y se me ha explicado el estudio científico. Me han dado la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y mis preguntas han sido contestadas. Si tengo preguntas adicionales, me han dicho a quién contactar. Doy mi permiso para que mi hijo(a) participe en el estudio científico descrito anteriormente y recibiré una copia de este Formulario de Permiso de los Padres después de firmarlo.

Elementos Opcionales del Estudio

El consentimiento para citar la información de la entrevista

Tal vez, yo, la investigadora, desee citar información de la entrevista con su hijo(a), ya sea en las presentaciones o artículos derivados de este trabajo. Un seudónimo (nombre falso) se utilizará con el fin de proteger la identidad de su hijo(a).

Escriba la inicial de una de las siguientes condiciones para su selección:

_____ (Inicial) Estoy de acuerdo en permitir que el investigador cite información de la entrevista de mi hijo(a), ya sea en las presentaciones o artículos derivados de este trabajo, usando un nombre falso.

_____ (Inicial) No estoy de acuerdo en permitir que el investigador cite información de la entrevista de mi hijo(a), ya sea en las presentaciones o artículos derivados de este trabajo, usando un nombre falso.

El consentimiento para grabar el audio de la entrevista

Escriba la inicial de una de las siguientes condiciones para su selección:

_____ (Inicial) Estoy de acuerdo en permitir que el investigador grabe el audio de mi hijo(a) en las observaciones de los grupos focales y del aula de clase.

_____ (Inicial) No estoy de acuerdo en permitir que el investigador grabe el audio de mi hijo(a) en las observaciones de los grupos focales y del aula de clase.

Nombre del padre responsable/tutor legal (impreso) y Firma Fecha

Nombre de la persona que obtiene el permiso del padre responsable Fecha

Padres, por favor, sean conscientes que bajo Ley de Derechos de Protección de Alumnos (20 USC Sección 1232 (c) (1) (A)), usted tiene el derecho de revisar una copia de las preguntas o materiales que serán utilizados con los estudiantes. Si a usted le gustaría recibir dicha copia, póngase en contacto con Margaret Marie Palmer (información de contacto más arriba) para obtener una copia de las preguntas o materiales.

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (PORTUGUESE)

UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE VIÇOSA- MINAS GERAIS - BRASIL FORMULÁRIO DE AUTORIZAÇÃO DOS PAIS PARA A PARTICIPAÇÃO DO(A) FILHO(A) NA PESQUISA

Investigador Principal: Margaret (Maggie) Marie Palmer, estudante de mestrado em Linguística Aplicada na Universidade Federal de Viçosa - Brasil.

O(A) participante _____, sob sua responsabilidade, está sendo convidado(a) como voluntário(a) a participar de uma pesquisa que pretende investigar como os participantes se veem como aprendizes de língua inglesa na escola e o que eles acreditam sobre o processo de ensino e aprendizagem desta língua. Será feita uma comparação entre duas populações (uma nos Estados Unidos e outra no Brasil). O objetivo desta pesquisa é ajudar os professores em sala de aula a melhor abordar o ensino dos alunos, e também dar oportunidade aos alunos para se expressarem e refletirem sobre o processo de aprendizagem.

O que será pedido do meu filho se ele(a) participar do estudo?

Seu filho(a) está sendo convidado a participar desta pesquisa respondendo um questionário, fazendo uma narrativa visual (desenho) e escrevendo um texto sobre sua experiência com a língua inglesa. Se necessário ele poderá também participar de uma entrevista individual, para reflexão sobre a aprendizagem do inglês.

Gostaria de gravar áudios do seu filho caso ele(a) participe da entrevista, para me certificar de que me lembrarei com precisão de todas as informações coletadas. Irei manter essas gravações em uma pasta bloqueada em meu computador e elas só serão utilizadas por mim, a pesquisadora, Margaret Marie Palmer. Seu filho(a) será apenas gravado se você e seu filho(a) nos derem permissão.

Quais são os riscos para o meu filho(a)?

A participação do seu filho(a) não envolve riscos físicos, porém envolve riscos emocionais, como os descritos abaixo:

Riscos possíveis:

- O seu filho(a) pode se sentir emotivo ou chateado em responder algumas das perguntas realizadas na entrevista. Porém, seu filho poderá dizer ao entrevistador a qualquer momento caso deseje fazer uma pausa ou parar a entrevista.
- Seu filho(a) pode se sentir desconfortável com algumas das questões e temas que será convidado a comentar. Se o seu filho estiver desconfortável, ele terá liberdade de não responder ou pular para a próxima pergunta.

Tal como acontece com todas as pesquisas, há uma chance de que a confidencialidade das informações que coletamos sobre o seu filho possa ser violada. Porém, me comprometo a tomar medidas para minimizar este risco, como discutido em mais detalhes abaixo neste formulário.

Quais são os possíveis benefícios para o meu(minha) filho(a)?

Os possíveis benefícios deste estudo para o seu filho incluem aprender mais sobre a língua inglesa, aprender mais sobre seus colegas e suas experiências, bem como a reflexão sobre como eles se veem como usuários da língua inglesa.

Como você vai proteger as informações que coletará sobre o meu filho, e como a informação será compartilhada?

Resultados deste estudo podem ser usados em publicações e apresentações. Vou tomar medidas para proteger a confidencialidade dos dados e a privacidade pessoal, alterando os nomes de todos os participantes assim que todos os dados forem coletados. As gravações de áudio não serão divulgadas a nenhuma outra pessoa que não a própria pesquisadora, e todos os dados serão mantidos em arquivos bloqueados no computador da pesquisadora. Os dados e instrumentos utilizados na pesquisa ficarão arquivados com o pesquisador responsável por um período de 5 (cinco) anos após o término da pesquisa, e depois desse tempo serão destruídos. Os dados serão compartilhados com o meu grupo de pesquisa da Universidade Federal de Viçosa, para ter uma melhor compreensão da informação recolhida e para obter

feedback sobre a dissertação, se necessário. Os participantes do grupo de pesquisa serão obrigados a manter todos os dados compartilhados confidenciais.

Se acharmos que seu filho(a) pretende prejudicar ele(a) mesmo(a) ou outros, iremos notificar as pessoas/agências apropriadas com esta informação. Diante de eventuais danos, identificados e comprovados, decorrentes da pesquisa, o Sr.(a) tem assegurado o direito à indenização (adequado à resol. 466/2012).

Este termo de consentimento encontra-se impresso em duas vias originais, sendo que uma será arquivada pelo pesquisador responsável no seu arquivo pessoal ao qual só ele tem acesso, e a outra será fornecida ao Sr.(a).

Informação financeira

A participação neste estudo é completamente voluntária. Seu filho não vai ser pago para participar deste estudo.

Quais são os direitos do(a) meu/minha filho(a) como participante da pesquisa?

A participação neste estudo é voluntária. Seu filho pode abandonar o presente estudo a qualquer momento - você e seu filho não serão penalizados de alguma forma ou perderão qualquer tipo de benefício por tomar a decisão de parar de participar. Se você e seu filho decidirem não participar do estudo, isso não afetará o relacionamento que você e seu filho têm com a escola de qualquer forma. As notas de seu filho não vão ser afetadas se você optar por não deixar o seu filho participar deste estudo. Se o seu filho(a) decidir retirar-se deste estudo, os pesquisadores vão perguntar se as informações já recolhidas sobre o(a) seu(sua) filho(a) podem ser usadas.

Quem pode contatar se tiver dúvidas ou preocupações sobre este estudo?

Se você ou seu/sua filho(a) tiverem alguma dúvida, vocês podem contatar a pesquisadora:

Margaret Marie Palmer
(31) 98585-5205
maggiempalmer@gmail.com

Em caso de discordância ou irregularidades sob o aspecto ético desta pesquisa, você poderá consultar:
CEP/UFV – Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa com Seres Humanos

Universidade Federal de Viçosa
Edifício Arthur Bernardes, piso inferior Av. PH Rolfs, s/n – Campus Universitário
Cep: 36570-900 Viçosa/MG
Telefone: (31)3899-2492
Email: cep@ufv.br
www.cep.ufv.br

Autorização dos pais para a participação dos filhos em Pesquisa

Eu, _____, responsável de _____, contato _____,

fui informado(a) dos objetivos da pesquisa “Identidades e crenças dos aprendizes da língua inglesa - um estudo comparativo entre estudantes nos Estados Unidos e no Brasil” de maneira clara e detalhada e esclareci minhas dúvidas. Sei que a qualquer momento poderei solicitar novas informações e modificar minha decisão sobre a participação se assim o desejar.

Eu li este formulário e o procedimento da pesquisa foi explicado para mim. Foi dada a mim a oportunidade de fazer perguntas e obtive respostas a elas. Se eu tiver outras dúvidas, fui instruído sobre quem devo contatar. Eu dou permissão para o meu(minha) filho(a) participar do estudo descrito acima e receberei uma cópia deste formulário de autorização depois que eu assiná-lo.

Estudo elementos opcionais:

Consentimento para citar a Entrevista

Posso querer citar a entrevista com o seu filho em apresentações e artigos resultantes deste trabalho. Um pseudônimo (nome falso) será utilizado, a fim de proteger a identidade do seu filho.

Rubrique uma das seguintes opções para indicar sua escolha:

_____ (rubrica) Concordo em permitir à pesquisadora citar a entrevista com o meu filho na apresentação ou artigos resultantes deste trabalho, usando um nome falso.

_____ (rubrica) Não concordo em permitir que a pesquisadora cite a entrevista com o meu filho na apresentação ou artigos resultantes deste trabalho, usando um nome falso.

Consentimento para Áudio-Record Entrevista

Rubrique uma das seguintes opções para indicar sua escolha:

_____ (rubrica) Eu concordo em permitir que a pesquisadora grave áudio do meu filho caso participe numa entrevista.

_____ (rubrica) Eu não concordo em permitir que o pesquisador grave áudio do meu filho caso participe numa entrevista.

Nome do pai ou Guardião Legal (impresso) e Assinatura

Data

Nome da pessoa que obtenha permissão parental

Data

APPENDIX D
QUESTIONNAIRE (RESEARCH SITE 1 – CA)

Student Profile Questionnaire

Part A. About You

Name: _____ Grade: _____

1. In what year were you born? _____
2. Where are you from? _____

3. What is your country of citizenship?

4. What do you do outside of school?

5. How is your lifestyle here in the U.S. similar and/or different to your home country?

6. What language(s) do you know? Do you speak the language(s)?

7. What language(s) would you like to learn? Why?

Part B. About your Family

1. What is/are the primary language(s) spoken at home?

2. What is the highest educational attainment of your mother, father or guardian?

Indicate relationship below

- | | _____ | _____ |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Less than high/secondary school graduation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. High/secondary school graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Some college | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Bachelor's degree | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, MBS, MSW, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Professional degree (e.g., JD, LLB, D.Min, MD, DDS, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Doctoral degree | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Not sure | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. What is/are your guardians' professions?

4. What is the size of your family household? (How many people do you live with?)

Part C. English learning

1. When and where did you start to learn English?

2. How do you practice English outside of Mrs. Morales' classroom?

3. How would you describe your personal English learning experience so far?

4. How do you see yourself using your English skills in the future?

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE (RESEARCH SITE 2 – MG)

Questionário De Perfil Do Aluno

Prezado aluno, por favor, responda as perguntas abaixo dando sua opinião honesta e sincera sobre os tópicos. Não existe resposta certa ou errada. Estou interessado na sua opinião. Obrigado pela sua participação. Abaixo, por favor, escreva seu nome, e em seguida um pseudônimo, se preferir:

Parte A. Sobre Você

Nome: _____ Série: _____

1. Em qual ano você nasceu? _____
2. De onde você é? _____
3. O que você faz fora da escola? (Lazer, Trabalho, Obrigações, Atividades, Etc.)

4. O que você mais gosta de fazer? E o que menos gosta?

5. Qual(is) língua(s) você já estudou ou sabe? Você fala esta(s) língua(s)? Onde você a aprendeu?

6. Qual(is) língua(s) você gostaria de falar? Por quê?

Parte B. Sobre sua família

1. Qual é o nível de escolaridade de sua mãe e seu pai (ou responsável)?

	Mãe	Pai	Responsável
a. Ensino fundamental incompleto	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Ensino fundamental completo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Ensino médio incompleto	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Ensino médio completo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Graduação incompleta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Graduação completa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Curso técnico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Mestrado	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Doutorado	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Outro: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Qual é a profissão do seu pai (ou responsável)?

3. Qual é a profissão da sua mãe (ou responsável)?

4. Quantos irmãos você tem? _____

5. Com quem você mora? Com quantas pessoas você mora?

Parte C. Aprendizagem de Inglês

1. Quando e onde você começou a aprender inglês? (Por conta própria, na sala de aula, em casa, com um amigo, etc.)

2. Que contato você tem com a língua inglesa fora da sala de aula?

3. Como você pratica inglês fora da sala de aula?

4. Como você descreveria sua experiência pessoal de aprender inglês?

5. Você se vê usando inglês no futuro? Se sim, como? Se não, por que?

APPENDIX F

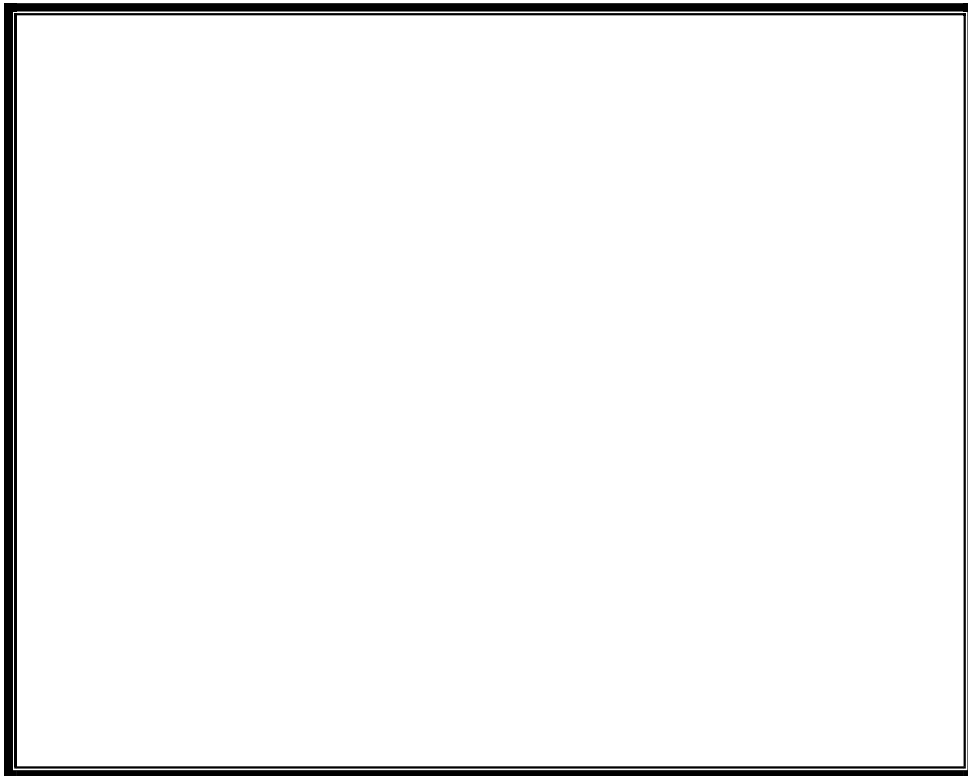
VISUAL NARRATIVE (RESEARCH SITE 1 – CA)

VISUAL METHODS IN LEARNING AND TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

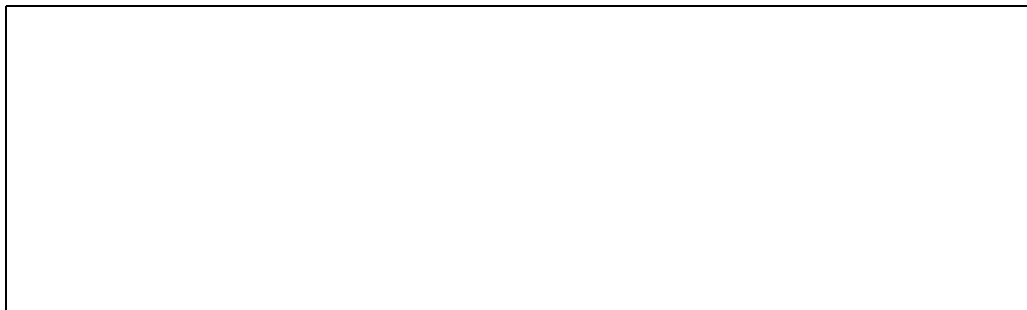
Adapted from Professor Paula Kalaja (2008).

Task 1: *Portrait of myself as a learner of English as a Second Language*

Draw a picture of yourself “This is what I look like as a learner of English as a second language”.



Below, write an interpretation of your drawing, giving some details about it.



APPENDIX G

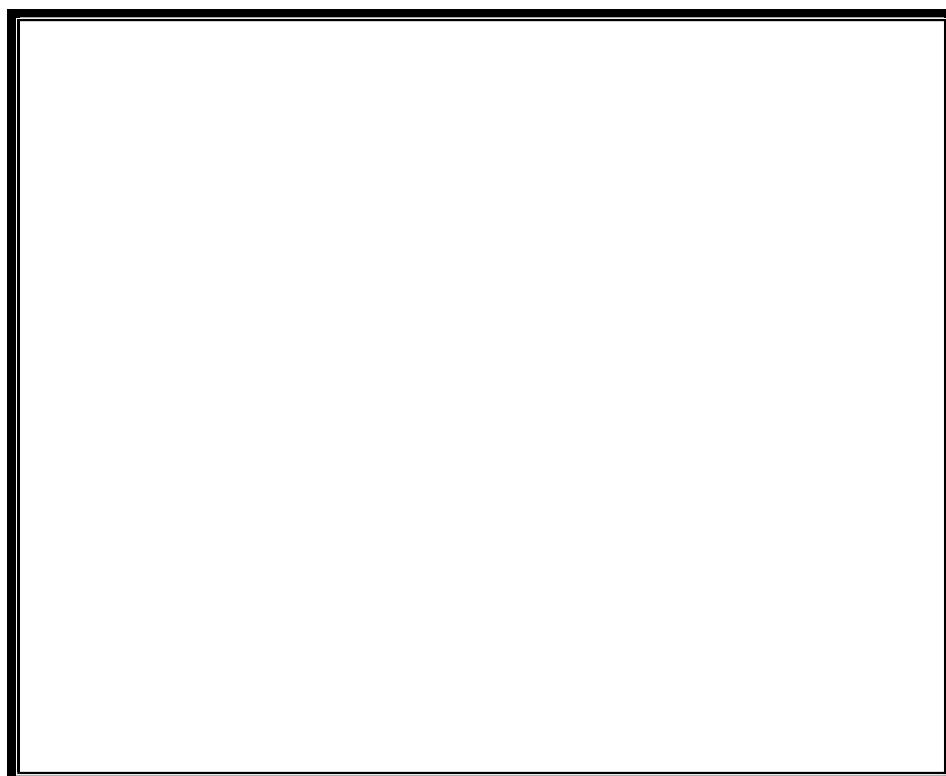
VISUAL NARRATIVE (RESEARCH SITE 2 – MG)

MÉTODOS VISUAIS EM APRENDER E ENSINAR LÍNGUAS ESTRANGEIRAS

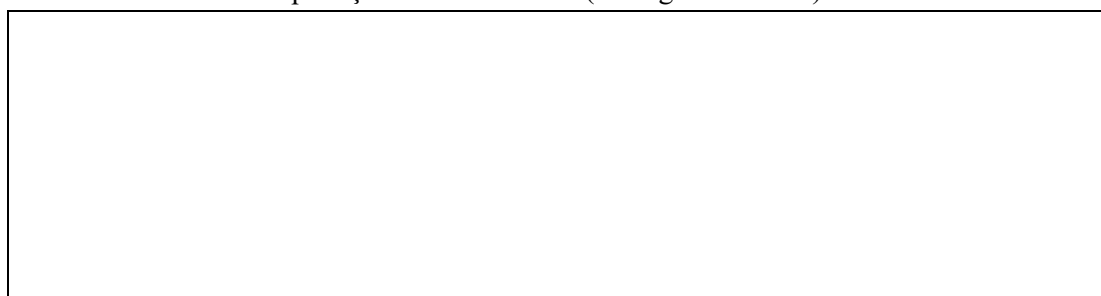
Adaptado da Professora Paula Kalaja (2008)

Tarefa 1: *Um autorretrato de “eu como aprendiz de inglês como língua estrangeira”*

Desenhe a si mesmo pensando no seguinte: “Assim sou eu como aprendiz de inglês como língua estrangeira”.



Escreva uma breve interpretação do seu desenho (em algumas linhas).



APPENDIX H

WRITTEN NARRATIVE (RESEARCH SITE 1 – CA)

English Learning History

Instructions: Write a narrative about your journey with the English language. Use the statements below as a guide. This is your time to share your English learning history!

Part 1: Introduction

My name is _____ and I am _____

Part 2: Past

I started to learn English in _____ (year) in _____ (place).

At that time, I was _____

Learning English was _____

One obstacle I faced was _____

I overcame it by _____

Part 3: Present

Now, _____

I learn English by _____

I feel challenged when _____

I feel encouraged when _____

It is different from my first language because _____

Part 4: Future

I would like to _____

In the future, I plan to _____

In 5 years, I see myself _____

Part 5: Conclusion/Summary

My English learning journey has been _____

APPENDIX I

WRITTEN NARRATIVE (RESEARCH SITE 2 – MG)

História de Aprendizagem de Inglês

Instruções: Qual tem sido a sua experiência de aprendizagem de inglês até agora? As perguntas embaixo são para serem usadas como guia para você a escrever uma narrativa sobre a sua jornada com a língua inglesa. Este é o seu momento de compartilhar sua história!

Parte 1: Introdução

Quem é você? Quais são os seus gostos? Como você se descreve?

Parte 2: Passado

Onde e quando você começou a aprender inglês?

Como foram as primeiras experiências com a língua inglesa?

Você encontrou ou teve alguns obstáculos durante essa aprendizagem? Qual foi?

Parte 3: Presente

Como é aprender inglês agora?

Existe uma situação que você sente desafiado de aprender inglês? Se sim, em qual situação?

Existe uma situação que você sente encorajado de aprender inglês? Se sim, em qual situação?

Como você acha inglês e o português diferentes?

Parte 4: Futuro

O que você gostaria de fazer no futuro?

Você pretende usar inglês no futuro? Como?

Em cinco anos, onde você se vê? Fazendo o que?

Parte 5: Conclusão/Resumo

Em resumo, como tem sido a sua jornada de aprendizado de inglês?

APPENDIX J

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES (RESEARCH SITE 1 – CA)

Semi-structured Interview

The following questions will be asked to a select number of students that represent the diversity in the classroom. The objective is to use all of these tools to get a complete profile of the students, in order to come closer in proximity to possible identities and beliefs suggested by the collected data.

The questions are as follows:

- 1) INTRODUCTION: Okay, Participant, thank you so much for agreeing to talk with me today. This interview is going to be very helpful to learn more about the experience at the Welcome Academy. It will also help me understand how it compares to learning English in Brazil. I want to make sure you know that I am recording the interview just for my use. Nobody else will hear or see it. I just want to make sure I get everything you say correctly and don't misinterpret anything. Also, if I ask a question that you are not comfortable with, just say "next" and I will move on. If there is anything you want to say but don't want me to record, you can also tell me. I hope you can share with me your honest opinion about these topics because really I want to hear from you. I want to hear what you have to say about learning English in California, in a new country. I want to learn more about what it is like and how you feel about it. So please feel free to answer as honestly as possible. Okay? Any questions before we begin?
- 2) To start off, I want to ask you some questions about your classes at the Welcome Academy:
 - a. What is a typical day for you at school?
 - b. What are some activities you do in your English class?
 - c. Which activities do you find helpful to improve your English?
 - d. What do you think about your classmates? What is the experience like learning with people from many different places? How are they learning English? How do the Hispanic and non-Hispanic students differ?
- 3) Beautiful, thanks so much for sharing. Now I want to hear a bit more about your personal English experience:
 - a. Can you tell me about your English learning experience thus far?
 - b. Did you have any exposure to English in your home country? Opportunity to learn? What was it like? How is it different than now?
 - c. Learning a new language is really challenging and difficult. Can you think of a time you felt really challenged?
 - d. What are some aspects of learning the English language you enjoy? And some that you don't enjoy? Why?
 - e. Sometimes when I am speaking Portuguese, especially at the beginning of learning the language, I feel differently than when I speak in English. Some people say they feel like a totally different person. Others have said that they don't feel any difference. Could you relate? Do you feel different speaking in your native tongue in comparison to English?
 - f. So you are learning English for some purpose. How would you like to use English in the future? How do you think it will be a useful skill for you, professionally and/or personally?

- g. How do you see English used in the world? What is your opinion about English?
 - h. In your opinion, what does it mean to learn a language? How do you learn a language?
 - i. Can you relate that to your own experience?
 - j. What expectations do you have for yourself to learn English? How do these expectations influence your learning? How do you think your environment may influence your English learning?
 - k. In general, when do you feel comfortable speaking English and when do you feel uncomfortable? (Norton, 2001)
- 4) Great. That is very interesting stuff. Now in the next section, I want to think about your experience overall in this new country. Everyone in the Welcome Academy is new to the country and you guys are facing many challenges and difficulties.
- a. What has your experience been like so far? This is a pretty open question for you to tell me about your life and important things that have happened to you.
 - b. When you arrived, did you feel welcomed here in California? Do you feel welcomed now? Who has been helpful to you?
 - c. What communities or groups would you like to belong to?
 - d. What kind of communities or groups have you belonged to in the past?
 - e. What is your daily life like here at [Research Site 1 (CA)]? What activities do you do outside of school? Hobbies? Do you work? Would you like to work? Why?
 - f. Now if I were in the country with you, what would a typical day be like? Could you describe for me what it is like in your home country? And what is it like here for you?
 - g. How would you compare your quality of life here to your home country? How does your social life compare between the two places? How do you feel about that?
- 5) That's great stuff, thank you. Now how about you, Participant.
- a. What are some goals and dreams you have for the future?
 - b. What is something you would like to do in life?
 - c. What are some things that you think you would be good at?
 - d. What types of jobs or careers interest you? And how would you go about reaching these dreams?
- 6) Awesome, this is all very helpful to my research. Thank you so much. Now I just want to look a bit at the activities I had you do earlier with me.
- a. In your written narrative, I thought it was interesting that you said...Can you explain to me more about that?
 - b. I really liked how you showed how you see yourself learning English in your visual narrative. Let's look at it here, can you describe it to me? What does it mean? What's your interpretation of it? Could you tell me more about what learning English is like for you?
 - c. In the questionnaire, I wasn't sure what you meant by.... Can you explain to me? I want to make sure I understand it correctly.
- 7) Before we end, do you have any other comments or thoughts you would like to share? Any questions? I have asked all of my questions and I just want to say congratulations for being so brave and taking on a second language – it is not an easy task!

APPENDIX K

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES (RESEARCH SITE 2 – MG)

Entrevista Semiestruturada

As seguintes perguntas serão feitas a um seletor número de alunos, a fim de que expliquem mais sobre suas narrativas (escrita e visual) e acrescentem mais alguma informação que achem necessária. O objetivo é usar todas essas ferramentas para obter um perfil completo dos alunos, a fim de chegar mais perto de possíveis identidades e crenças sugeridas pelos dados recolhidos.




- 1) **Introdução:** Bom dia participante, muito obrigada por concordar em encontrar comigo hoje. Esta entrevista vai ser muito útil para entender melhor como é visto a aprendizagem de inglês aqui no [Research Site 2 – MG] e no Brasil, e também para você contar sua história, para aprender mais sobre você como participante no meu estudo. Quero esclarecer que estou gravando esta entrevista somente para eu escutar depois. Eu só quero assegurar que eu pego tudo que você fala e que não mal interpreto ou mal lembro nada do que você falou. Ninguém mais vai ouvir ou ver a áudio, entendeu? Então fique à vontade para poder falar livremente e honestamente na entrevista. Quero ouvir sua opinião mesmo, não tem resposta certa ou errada. Quero ouvir de você o que você acha de aprender inglês na escola e no Brasil, quero ouvir sua história de aprendizagem, e sua história fora da aprendizagem também. Se eu fizer uma pergunta que você não sente confortável de responder, você pode pedir para passar para a próxima pergunta. Se você não entender alguma coisa que eu falar, por favor, só peça para eu repetir ou explicar melhor. Você tem alguma dúvida?
- 2) Então, a entrevista vai ter três partes: uma parte sobre sua aprendizagem de inglês; outra parte sobre sua experiência na escola, sobre sua vida e o que você espera para o futuro; e a última parte vou perguntar a você sobre as atividades que você já fez para mim, para esclarecer qualquer dúvida. Tudo ok para você?
- 3) **Parte 1:** Sua experiência na escola, sua vida, o que você espera para o futuro
 - a. Conta para mim um pouco sobre você, sua família, sua experiência na vida, as coisas e pessoas que são importantes para você e/ou as atividades que você participa.
 - b. É seu primeiro ano aqui no [Research Site 2 – MG], certo? Como está indo? Você está gostando das aulas? Teve alguma dificuldade até agora? Alguma coisa para acostumar?
 - c. Como é seu dia a dia? Você pode contar para mim sobre sua rotina diária ou semanal? Como é um dia típico para você?
 - d. O que você gosta do Brasil? O que você não gosta? E de Viçosa?
 - e. Depois de terminar o ensino médio aqui, o que você pretende fazer? O que você sonha para fazer nesta vida? Quais tipos de trabalhos ou carreiras tem interesse? Nestes planos, tem algum lugar para usar a língua inglesa?
- 4) **Parte 2:** Sua aprendizagem de inglês –
 - a. Tem alguma atividade que você faz na sala de aula que te ajuda aprender inglês? Qual(is)?
 - b. Tem alguma atividade fora da sala de aula que te ajuda aprender inglês? Qual(is)?
 - c. Quais são alguns aspectos de aprender inglês que você gosta? E de quais você não gosta?

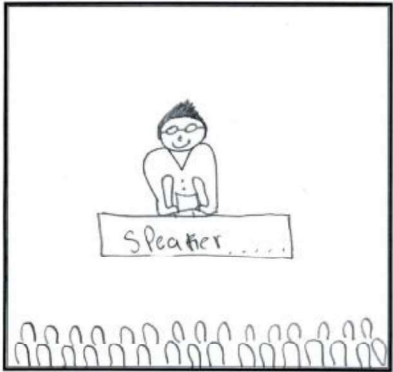
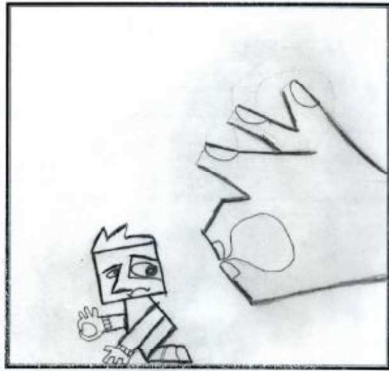

- d. Quais são alguns desafios que você enfrenta para aprender a língua inglesa? Teve momentos que você sentiu encorajado(a) para aprender?
 - e. Tem momentos que você sente mais confortável para falar? Menos confortável? Quais? Fale sobre eles, por favor.
 - f. Como é para aprender com seus colegas? Como você acha é a experiência de aprender inglês para eles?
 - g. Na sua opinião, o que significa aprender uma língua? Como você aprende uma língua?
 - h. Como você vê inglês usado no mundo? Qual é sua opinião sobre a língua inglesa?
- 5) **Parte 3:** As atividades anteriores
- a. No seu desenho, você fez assim e você escreveu assim...pode explicar para mim um pouco mais sobre o que você estava descrevendo aqui?
 - b. Outras perguntas para esclarecer qualquer dúvida na narrativa escrita e/ou questionário.
- 6) Outros comentários que você gostaria de compartilhar? Tem mais alguma coisa que você gostaria de falar/explicar?

Muito obrigada pelo seu tempo e sua cooperação!

APPENDIX L

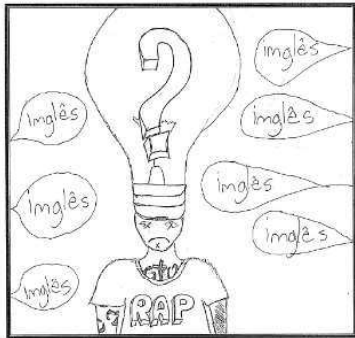
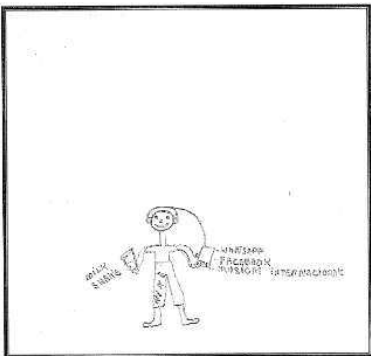
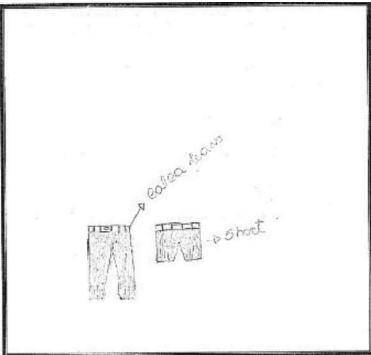
PARTICIPANTS' VISUAL NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS (RESEARCH SITE 1 – CA)

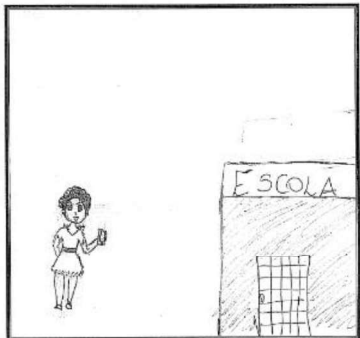


Participant	Drawing (VN)	Description (VN)	Description (I)
Daisy		<p>“When I speak much English in the future I want to teach the new people in this country English”</p>	<p>“[With] the small language that I know, I want to help other people”</p>
Nick		<p>“When I learn English I communicate with other people”</p>	<p>“Those people are learning English. They [do] not talk English really good but they talk English.”</p>
Gabriela		<p>“For me practicing talking with only English”</p>	<p>“It’s when people help me, I say thank you for help[ing] me, I appreciate it so much.”</p>

<p>Marcos</p>		<p>“I speak in conference I answer the activity positive in my office”</p>	<p>“So I am explaining this person go to Guatemala, and this person here I am speaking Spanish and English for every[one] to understand.”</p>
<p>Jordan</p>		<p>“I feel sad because I cannot speak English ☹”</p>	<p>“In my picture I feel a little bad not knowing how to speak English. I feel sad. My hands, it’s like, do not worry.”</p>
<p>Angeline</p>		<p>“Sometimes I think I feel tired (maybe) and something I don’t know so I need to get help from my teacher and friends”</p>	<p>“I always have many questions when I am learning a new language. I always have questions for my teacher and sometimes I don’t know what he is talking.”</p>

APPENDIX M

PARTICIPANTS' VISUAL NARRATIVES AND DESCRIPTIONS (RESEARCH SITE 2 – MG)

Participant	Drawing (VN)	Description (VN)	Description (I)
Tiago		“Me sinto desorientad o em relação a aprendizagem de inglês”	“Eu desenhei um cara com a dúvida. Você e [o professor], estão falando inglês. Eu não entendo nada, então o inglês é uma dúvida.”
Gabriel		“Assim eu me vejo como aprendiz de inglês”	“O milk-shake, um negócio em inglês, de vez em quando eu vou lá no Youtube, tem as músicas internacionais lá, Facebook Whatsapp.”
Juliana		“Eu aprendo o inglês em aplicativos, quando vou comprar roupas, etc.”	“Eu aprendo inglês no celular. Na hora que a gente vai comprar alguma coisa que está em inglês. Aí, eu pensei, vou desenhar uma roupa aqui e acabou.”

<p>Bianca</p>		<p>“Eu aprendo na internet e também na escola”</p>	<p>“A escola me ajuda muito a aprender inglês [...] eu tenho aulas de inglês, e você para me ajudar, ainda mais por ser estrangeira [...] e meu celular por que é uma forma mais fácil que na escola [...] porque a gente fica tipo 24 horas”</p>
<p>Leila</p>		<p>“Essa interpretação é de um professor ensinando a falar inglês e explicando de se falar”</p>	<p>“É porque eu lembrei do ano passado. A professora falava muito essas palavras: ‘hello’, ‘good morning’ e o jeito como as pessoas falam.”</p>
<p>Vinicius</p>		<p>“Um anúncio de um apartamento a ser alugado”</p>	<p>“Como passa na televisão. muita anuncia de apartamento, em inglês mesmo, na internet lá, ai tirei esse ideia.”</p>