

## Chapter 1

### The formation of L2 selves in a globalizing world

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#### 1. Introduction

Additional language (L2) learning in the current, globalizing era provides opportunities for people to develop and enact new identities that are no longer necessarily tied to traditionally defined ethnolinguistic, national, or cultural identities. Instead, and in line with theories of globalization that place *hybridity* as a central feature of new millennium globalization (Nederveen Pieterse 2009), the contributions in this volume strive to document how individuals learn and use additional languages in the contexts of cultural *mélange* and new identity zones afforded by globalizing flows of people, ideas, and technology. While the topic of L2 identity has been explored by researchers in applied linguistics for more than a decade now (e.g., Block 2007; Miller 2003; Norton [Peirce] 1995, 2000; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Toohey 1998), this volume specifically aims to explore how L2 identity construction relates to learners' engagements with contemporary trends in globalization and their experiences as increasingly transglobal, transcultural individuals.

While globalization has been with us for centuries, this book explores L2 users' identity construction within the context of the *new millennium*, a phase of globalization that "entails a radical unsettling of the boundaries of social life" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 83) and which is characterized by the intensifying movement of images and symbols across borders and the increasing importance of global terms of reference (Castells 2000; Held et al. 1999; Spring 2001). The exchange of material goods has characterized many scholarly discussions on globalization, but it is the prevalent exchange of symbolic cultural forms, including language, that is the hallmark of new millennium globalization.

The contributions in this volume show that changes in the world such as increased movements of people across borders, globally shared forms of popular culture, and the development of new literacy practices afforded by the Internet require new ways of theorizing identity formation vis-à-vis language

learning and use. Due to large-scale changes in the ways that people move within and between cultures and languages, the book challenges views of language learning as invoking a linear process by which individuals acquire additional languages and are socialized into corresponding communities where they undergo some form of cross-cultural adaptation. Consequently, the terms “target language” and “target culture” often do not relate clearly to the experiences of many transcultural, transnational people as they negotiate identities through learning new languages. Instead, and because of new millennium forms of globalization, new possibilities for self-making have emerged which produce hybrid, in-between, and transcultural identities. These identities are fashioned at the interstices of local and global flows of people, linguistic resources, and space, and they call attention to the need for research on language to examine the fluidity, rather than fixity, of language in the context of globalization.

Rather than linking identity tightly with clear-cut nationalities, ethnicities, or cultures, new millennium globalization requires us to take a deeper look at how identity is formed in relation to mobility and the transgression of modernist boundaries. Following Blommaert (2010: 102), we should be paying attention to the “sociolinguistics of mobile resources,” which emphasizes the ways that people acquire and use their sociolinguistic repertoires within new spaces and forms of cultural production afforded by globalization. As Nederveen Pieterse (2009: 144) argues,

[t]he moment we shift lenses from sedentary to *mobile* categories the whole environment and the horizon change: hunting, nomadic pastoralism, fishing, trade, transnational enterprise, and hyperspace all have deterritorialization built in. Why should identity be centered on sedentary rather than mobile categories if mobility defines the species as much as settlement does?

A focus on mobility and mobile resources, rather than stable categories and boundaries, thus requires a re-conceptualization of the social contexts in which language learning takes place and calls into question the monolithic use of fixed labels such as “native” and “nonnative speaker,” and “target language community.”

The chapters in this book illustrate how new kinds of identities have become available to L2 learners and users as a result of the alternative identity zones provided by increased flows of people, technology, and ideas across cultural, national, and linguistic borders. While the concept of alternative identity zones may conjure up a sense of liminality that is removed from

normative practices, it is actually the case that many “mainstream” contexts have become increasingly hybrid due to these flows. For example, universities in English-dominant nations are now being seen as “global university contact zones” (Singh and Doherty 2004) in which teachers must navigate various cultural orientations to western higher education, sometimes choosing to adapt their practices toward their international students rather than imposing a west-based model for learning. In the United States, school-aged children and adolescents are finding places for belonging on the Internet, where they mix their L1 and L2 when communicating with others who share their linguistic repertoires (cf. Lam 2004; McGinnis et al. 2007), and where they find common ground with others who share their interests in fan fiction, *anime* and other globally popular cultural forms (Black 2008; Lam 2000). And, in many contexts around the world, lyrical artists draw on the global resource of English, appropriating it to speak for their experiences in their local contexts while simultaneously claiming membership in a shared global hip hop nation (Alim et al. 2009; Pennycook 2007).

## 2. Intersecting scapes as new contexts for identity construction

New forms of hybrid and alternative identities are possible because of an increasingly interconnected set of *scapes*, described by Appadurai (1990, 1996) as: 1) *ethnoscapes* (flows of immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and tourists); 2) *technoscapes* (the rapid movement of technology across boundaries); 3) *finanscapes* (rapid flows of money via stock exchanges and other resources); 4) *mediascapes* (flows of images and information via consolidated media); and 5) *ideoscapes* (flows of ideas largely emanating from the west which typically espouse an enlightenment worldview). These scapes create new identity zones, but it is not the case that transcultural and new hybrid identities necessarily replace traditional ones. Instead, when these scapes intersect with local languages and well-established cultural practices, a greater range of identities is made available for people, including identities that operate at the tension between traditional and late modern cultural confluences. Appadurai (2000: 5) explains the disjuncture that can often result from intersecting scapes:

The various flows we see – of objects, persons, images, and discourses – are not coeval, convergent, isomorphic, or spatially consistent. They are in what I have

elsewhere called relations of disjuncture. By this I mean that the paths or vectors taken by these kinds of things have different speeds, axes, points of origin and termination, and varied relationships to institutional structures in different regions, nations, or societies. Further, these disjunctures themselves precipitate various kinds of problems and frictions in different local situations.

With regard to language learning and identity, one consequence of disjuncture is that L2 users may choose to resist particular identities associated with an additional language, as was the case for Nadia, a teen-aged Arabic-speaking Egyptian girl who lives in Cyprus and uses Cypriot Greek as her second language (Skapoulli 2004). Though Nadia's Cypriot friends encouraged her to wear "sexy" clothes, go to discotheques, and date boys, she chose not to participate in these practices, adhering instead to her Coptic parents' expectations to be a "moral" girl. Alternatively, language learners may identify with *transcultural flows* (Pennycook 2007) to fashion new identities, as was the case with Almon, a teen-aged boy from Hong Kong who immigrated to the United States (Lam 2000). Though he described his English abilities as poor with regard to his experiences in high school, Almon designed a new identity for himself outside of school by creating a much-admired J-pop website, which allowed him to connect with peers around the globe who shared his interests.

Of course, L2 users can respond to global cultural flows in a myriad of ways. This volume explores the range of selves L2 speakers express as a consequence of their engagement with social-discursive practices that take place in, and sometimes create, transcultural spaces. Divided into three parts, the volume draws attention to three aspects of globalization which have become increasingly salient in people's lives: 1) the blurring of ethno-national boundaries due to greater degrees of transnationalism, multiple belongings, and shuttling between communities (e.g., Canagarajah 2005; Warriner 2007); 2) the development of intercultural awareness, and *third spaces* that result from border crossing and language learning (e.g., Byram 1997, 2008; Kramsch 1993, 2006); and 3) the impact of globally distributed popular culture and increased participation in cyberworlds (e.g., Black 2008; Lam 2004; Thorne 2008). In looking at these three areas, it becomes clear that there is need to complexify the concept of *community* in L2 research. This construct has been central for investigating whether and to what degree learners affiliate with particular groups, and hence, with particular L2 identities. However, new millennium contexts expand how we conceptualize learners' communities, and in turn raise new questions about the formation of L2 identities.

### 3. From members of communities to global citizens of the new millennium

Rather than asserting that the world has become a “global village,” the chapters in this volume show that language learning has created, and been created by, the opportunity to forge *new kinds of communities* due to the intersecting scapes of globalizing social life. In Appadurai’s (1990, 1996) terms, changing ethnoscapas increasingly produce transnational communities, rather than nation-bound identifications; mediascapas and technoscapas provide people with new worlds that may only exist in cyberspace and in the imagination; and movement across the globe for travel, education and work alters people’s ideoscapas, challenging one-to-one correspondences between linguacultures and communities.

Still, much scholarship on language learning often references a *target community*, a term that refers to the idea of a mostly cohesive group of people who speak a (standard) language in relatively homogeneous ways, and whose cultural practices likely differ significantly from those who study the *target language* of that community (cf. Doerr and Kumagai 2010). Accordingly, categories and descriptors related to the construct of *community* are dichotomous in much applied linguistics literature. Learners who are labeled “non-native speakers” are described as desiring access to this (often mythic) community, and their linguistic and social competencies are compared with idealized members of the target community, who are described as “native speakers” (of standard language varieties).

The point to be made here is that the assumptions underlying these visions of language learners and the communities in which they use their additional languages do not relate well to the contexts of actual L2 use, particularly in the era of new millennium globalization. Next, I review three broad areas of research in applied linguistics that have recognized this mismatch and which provide several points of departure for this volume.

#### 3.1. Motivation, identity, and possible L2 selves

Within social-psychological approaches to language learning, a significant amount of attention has been paid to *integrative motivation*, a concept described by Gardner and Lambert (1972: 132) as “a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group.” Successful L2 learners who exhibit integrative motivation are “willing to identify with

members of another ethnolinguistic group and take on very subtle aspects of their behaviour” (1972: 135). This vision of the relationship between learners and success in L2 learning constructs target communities as clear-cut groups of people who are identifiable and potentially knowable to the learner. However, researchers studying motivation have recognized for many years now that much language learning takes place in contexts where learners do not have a clear picture of who they will use the language with, thus making it difficult to define the target community in concrete ways. This is especially true for individuals learning and using English as an additional language, particularly in multilingual contexts such as South Africa (Coetzee Van-Rooy 2006), and among other multilingual and L2 communities which use English as a lingua franca. As Sridhar and Sridhar (1992: 97) argue, the sociolinguistic realities of languages and community affiliations demand that “the whole aspect of integrative motivation should be re-examined in terms of a desire among learners to join an indigenous group of English language speakers or a vague international one rather than a group of foreign native speakers.”

In consideration of these points, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) relocates the concept of integrativeness (and community) to the realm of the *self* in his L2 Motivational Self System framework. Moving away from concrete and bounded notions of community toward which learners are assumed to develop aspirations of belonging, Dörnyei advocates looking at integrativeness with reference to the *possible selves* a learner might experience. In other words, instead of integrating with a specified community, learners can develop ways of more consciously identifying with their Ideal L2 Selves as a way to motivate their own learning. As Dörnyei explains, if the person we would like to become speaks an L2, then the Ideal L2 Self is a powerful motivator.

One possible characteristic of some learners’ Ideal L2 Selves which directly relates to the learning of English in globalizing contexts is what Yashima (2002, 2009) calls *international posture*. Yashima uses this term to describe how Japanese learners of English in Japan express their motivations to learn and use the language as a way to connect to the world outside of Japan. Importantly, learners whose Ideal L2 Selves embody an international posture do not necessarily desire to connect (only) with communities in English-dominant nations such as the United States or Australia. Instead, such learners are more likely to have an interest in foreign affairs relating to many nations, to desire intercultural contact with various groups, and to express a willingness or interest in living and working outside their home country. The concept of international posture thus moves away from strict linkages between language, community, and culture in language learning,

and it aligns well with the new global contact zones and multicultural spaces that individuals operate in.

### 3.2. *Communities of practice (CoP) research*

Within social approaches to language learning, models for language learning and use have also drawn on relatively concrete notions of community with regard to language learning. One of the most influential paradigms in this work comes from Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's (1991) work on *communities of practice* (CoP), which theorizes learning as a situated activity that must take into account newcomers' access to new communities as well as other factors that may constrain their participation as full members. Learning is a situated activity in which newcomers may be apprenticed to specific communities and become fuller participants in these communities through exposure to the new communities' norms. In this view, learning is an "evolving form of membership" in the target community (Lave and Wenger 1991: 53).

In research on L2 learners, the CoP model has most often been used in longitudinal studies that explore how learners' access to and membership in academic communities affords them opportunities for academic success (e.g., Duff 2002; Hellermann 2008; Morita 2004; Toohey 1998; Zuengler and Cole 2005). The bulk of this research focuses on how L2 newcomers acquire linguistic forms and interactional routines alongside specialized kinds of knowledge in order to participate more fully in academic practices. As these researchers show, however, learners' engagement with new CoPs is usually dependent on degrees of access and acceptance by the L1 speakers in these communities, and newcomers often struggle to find ways to legitimize their own forms of participation, often because of the failure of L1 speakers to create inclusive atmospheres for them to operate as legitimated participants. Immigrant language learners are often marginalized in school contexts by other students, who may ignore them entirely (Miller 2003) or who may single them out for exhibiting "fresh off the boat" characteristics (Talmy 2008). Teachers may unwittingly marginalize L2-speaking students as well by reifying their "foreign" status through class activities that require them to act as cultural experts and to report on aspects of their home languages and cultures (e.g., Duff 2002). Adult immigrants often experience social exclusion as well (Norton 2000; Vitanova 2010), and, in spite of living in the "target community," many immigrants often struggle to find opportunities to use their L2 in interactionally rich environments (Warriner 2007).

Researchers interested in the social contexts of language learners have increasingly drawn attention to the reality that many L2 speakers may not identify as “newcomers” who aspire to belong in new communities, but instead may affiliate more strongly with other transnationals who share similar experiences. Block’s (2006) study of immigrants in London demonstrates how some Latino immigrants maintain identity ties to diasporic populations of Spanish speakers, rather than identifying with the “target” language speakers of their new communities. This can be due to unappealing identity options that transnational migration can lead to, in conjunction with the availability of various communities to identify with. For example, Carlos, an immigrant from Colombia, found himself placed into a lower socio-economic class when he arrived in London, which led him to disaffiliate with the L1 English speakers who shared his newfound working class status. Carlos had been a university lecturer in philosophy in Colombia, but in London, he worked as a porter. He had little in common with his white working-class co-workers, and he found a much stronger sense of belonging among Spanish-speaking professionals who had also immigrated to London. Similarly, in the context of Toronto, Canada, Goldstein (1996) found analogous responses to opportunities to acculturate among Portuguese women working at a factory. Though the women were offered English classes prior to taking their jobs, they did not attend them since the classes conflicted with the gendered hierarchy in the Portuguese community in which women are expected to look after their families and contribute to the family income, rather than seek opportunities to improve their own lives. Moreover, the women developed a strong sense of community through working together at the factory, where they maintained their Portuguese identities not only through language, but also through gendered identities ascribed to them by their (patriarchal) Portuguese culture.

In addition to research that shows a preference to affiliate with “alternative” and transnational CoPs are studies which demonstrate how L2 speakers’ engagements with new languages and new cultures disrupt bounded perceptions of cultures, nations, and languages. Rather than moving in a linear fashion from the first culture toward the second as a result of socialization, many L2 users move *between* cultures and languages to find new ways for belonging. For example, Duff (2007) discusses a study of Korean undergraduate students in Canada, whose access to L1 English social networks was limited by their affiliations in Korean networks in British Columbia. These networks were often considered to be more significant to the undergraduates since they would influence their future careers in Korea. Furthermore, in spite of their

original intentions to form friendships with Anglo Canadians during their university experiences, the undergraduates became more socially networked with 1.5 generation Korean-Canadians who spoke both Korean and English. This generation appealed more to the Korean undergraduates because they could act as language and culture brokers and because they shared more social interests with the Korean students. Since the Korean-Americans were “both/neither Korean and/nor Canadian/American” (Duff 2007: 316), they provided a more comfortable, transcultural zone for the undergraduate Koreans while studying in Western Canada. Duff’s study illustrates very well how L2 learners’ experiences in border crossing often result in the formation of new, transcultural CoPs, rather than increased participation in existing practices tied to dominant forms of culture.

Similarly, Sánchez (2007) discusses her work with three transnational Latina youths that produced a bilingual children’s book which documented their experiences about moving back and forth between California and Mexico. Sánchez found that the young women’s narratives were interwoven into family practices such as collaborative retellings of visits to Mexico, and that the practice of returning to Mexico for important purposes such as visiting a saint’s shrine, attending a *quinceañera*, or visiting one’s grandparents were dominant themes in the families’ lives. While literacy practices involving bilingualism in Spanish and English and the writing of narratives about living a transnational life were not part of the young women’s educational experiences as sanctioned by their teachers, the project afforded the participants with a new, out-of-school space to express their transnational and translingual selves. Furthermore, the bilingual book offered a counter-text to the more prevalent discourses of assimilation and acculturation that typically promote forgetting about one’s past. Other research on immigrants reveals the importance of their ties to their country of emigration and to their new identities as transnationals, rather than identification as acculturating newcomers (cf. Kouritzin 2000; Menard-Warwick 2005).

### *3.3. Post-structuralist perspectives on L2 subjectivities*

Another important strand of identity research takes post-structuralist approaches to theorize how L2 users develop a sense of self through finding their voice in their L2. In contrast with CoP approaches that investigate how newcomers gain access to networks of “target language” users and practices, post-structuralist approaches focus on the processes by which L2 selves are

formed *discursively*. These L2 selves are often imposed on learners, due to dominant discourses, othering, or hegemonic processes, but learners can and do choose to resist these ascribed positionalities, developing subject positions based on their projected visions of who they are. In other words, the formation of subjectivities is an ongoing negotiation between the self and other, as mediated through discourses, resistance, and human agency. Rather than creating fixed identities for learners, including the identification of a specific “target community,” post-structuralist researchers typically view learners as negotiating their identities in “sites of struggle” (cf. Norton 1995). It is clear that researchers who embrace a post-structuralist stance treat L2 learning and use as a highly multidirectional and multidimensional process. What most of this research has yet to engage with, however, is the role of globalized identities in these sites of struggle.

Central to this line of research is the scholarship of Aneta Pavlenko (1998, 2001a, 2001b; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000; Pavlenko and Norton 2005), who has drawn on *positioning theory* (Davies and Harré 1990) to theorize L2 learning and use as “discursive assimilation,” “self-translation,” and the “re-positioning” of the self in a new language environment. Pavlenko explains that different languages and cultures provide different subject positions for individuals to take up, and because subjectivities are not entirely shared across cultures, learners often must undergo discursive assimilation in order to find ways “to ‘mean’ in the new environment” (2001a: 133). Focusing on the loss and reconstruction of new identities among immigrants in the United States, Pavlenko’s work illustrates how some L2 users, particularly women, find the L2 subject positions they experience to be more appealing than the gendered discourses that shaped their L1 identities. Similar research shows that women often experience struggle to find a sense of belonging in another culture and another language if their gendered subjectivities clash with their self-concepts. Karen Ogulnick (1998) expresses this clash in her autobiographic diary study, in which she documented her own struggles of her own struggles with her positioning as a western woman in Japan. Ogulnick writes about her experiences with her Japanese female friend (Pavlenko 2001a: 160):

Satoko and I seemed to find ourselves in a more marginalized social space. Whereas single men in Japan are referred to in a more positive light, as *becheraa* [bachelor], Japanese expressions for single women portray them as “old” and “unwanted”: old Christmas cake [*furui kurisumasu keiki*], “unsold merchandise” [*urenokori*], and “spinster” [*orudo misu*] (Ogulnick 1998: 90–91)

Conversely, Armour (2001) provides an example of affiliation with the subject positions offered through L2 learning and use that aligns with a specific target language and culture more than any new spaces afforded by global transcultural flows. In his study of Anglo-Australians studying in Japan, he found that some of the participants were able to re-constitute themselves as more Japanese than Australian because of their sense of belonging in their new setting. He describes Lola's experience with *identity slippage*, a term with post-structuralist origins that he uses to describe the phenomenon of shifting from one's enculturated identity to showing characteristics of an acculturated identity that has been activated by L2 learning and use:

They [her parents] noticed her shuffling walk from wearing scuffs in the home; the way she covered her mouth with her hand when she laughed, because Japanese women think it unladylike to laugh aloud; her clipped accent and lack of colloquialisms, which she avoided because they confused her Japanese hosts. Her parents were also surprised at the way she "slurped" her foods, but this is quite acceptable to the Japanese, accustomed to eating with chopsticks (2001: 10–11)

Other participants in Armour's study did not identity-slip. One of the male sojourners, Boris, resisted acculturating to a Japanese self by rejecting polite forms of language, and he cited Japanese people's low expectations of foreigners as the key reason for his behavior (Armour 2001: 14, italics in original):

I use plain forms all the time. *I couldn't care what type I use* and nor do they [his Japanese colleagues]. I think that's the biggest crock I ever learned in Japanese. All those *-masu* and *keigo* forms are really important to understand but *I don't think Japanese people ever expect a Westerner* that is *half good* at Japanese to be able to deal with all those nuances perfectly. I think if anything they just like the fact that you can speak Japanese [. . .]

Post-structuralist work such as Pavlenko's and Armour's illustrates that L2 learners are always subject to discourses that position them in certain ways. However, these discourses are often characterized rather dichotomously as emanating from either the L1 or the L2 context, rather than from any new, transcultural spaces or intercultural perspectives that may result from the processes of globalization. While it may be the case that many discourses do construct L1 and L2 contexts with reference to rigidly defined ethnolinguistic and national boundaries, it is also the case that some L2 learners are able to

transgress these compartmentalized associations among language, culture, and identity.

Clear examples of such transgression are found in Ibrahim's (1999, 2003, this volume) research on African immigrants in a secondary school in Ontario. Rather than acquiring mainstream Canadian English, male students strongly identified with Black stylized English, which they accessed through the global resource of hip hop and rap music. Ibrahim (1999) views their acquisition of "Black ESL" as a form of resistance to their positioning as outsiders in Canada, and he describes their choice as a "deliberate counterhegemonic undertaking" (1999: 365) which provided the boys with a voice in a world where they were often positioned as problematic immigrants who needed to assimilate, yet were simultaneously not welcomed into mainstream Canadian culture. Their use of a language associated with a global popular culture arguably afforded them a space to belong to that was not tied directly to Anglo-Canada nor to their immigrant identities, but to an alternative identity option.

It is clear that post-structuralist work on L2 identity has been a very productive approach for exploring the agency that learners exhibit in responding to their new contexts, and it is also an insightful framework for analyzing the powerful and often hegemonic discourses that constrain learners. Importantly, post-structuralism also offers researchers with the conceptual apparatus for theorizing how L2 learners transgress boundaries – linguistic, cultural, and national – through forging new identity zones within transcultural flows. The chapters in this book seek to further establish what new discourses and subjectivities are made possible in the hybrid and alternative spaces afforded by globalizing contexts.

#### **4. The consequences of global flows and shifting scapes for identity formation**

Language learning and use in the new millennium call for reconsidering how the links between language and identification are mediated by symbolic aspects of globalization. Rather than only conceptualizing L2 users as "new-comers" who acquire a language in order to communicate with L1 speakers for integrative and instrumental purposes, we need to consider that additional language learning and use may also provide individuals with resources for the re-fashioning of identities in response to global forces. From a post-structuralist perspective, then, language learners are presented with a wider range of subject positions, as Giddens (1991: 5) explains:

The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice filtered through abstract systems. In modern social life, the notion of lifestyle takes on a particular significance. The more tradition loses hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of the local and the global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options.

Among the various phenomena that could be discussed on the topics of globalization and L2 identities, three recurring themes have emerged which shape the content of this volume. Each of these themes refers to an increased degree of fluidity within and across *scapes* (Appadurai 1990, 1996) that yields a diverse set of opportunities for globalized identity formation.

#### 4.1. Forming identities within (trans)national ethnoscares

The global phenomenon of migration and the dislocation/relocation of refugees and asylum seekers has led to an increasing degree of *transnationalism*, a key characteristic of the late 20th and early 21st century's ever-changing ethnoscape. The increased flows of people in search of education and work opportunities, as well as the dislocation of people due to war, famine, and political strife, have had tremendous implications for language learning and identity development. While immigrants and other dislocated/relocated people are often under pressure to adapt to their host country's mainstream cultural and linguistic norms, their ties to other migrants from their home country, or to those who are still living in their home country, frequently lead them to identify equally, if not more, with others who share affiliations with their home cultures (cf. Block 2006: 16–17; Goldstein 1996). As Fouron and Glick Schiller (2001: 60) explain, transnationals “organize daily economic, familial, religious, and social relations within networks that extend across the borders of two nation-states.” The transnational identifications of such L2 users thus calls for research that engages with how such populations manage their dual and/or in-between status.

At the same time, this research draws attention to the challenges that L2 users face in their daily lives when confronted with perspectives that valorize nation-based identities and literacy practices that tend to promote homogeneous visions of language use. Often, transnationals are expected to use language and to desire cultural affiliations that conform to modernist – and

typically monolithic – conceptions of language, ethnicity, and national identity. For example, in the United States, immigrants in states such as Arizona are increasingly under pressure to speak only English in matters related to state business and in public education (Cashman 2006). However, in the globalizing contexts of late modernity, many transnationals develop what might be called “truncated multilingualism” (Blommaert 2010), a term that refers to multilinguals’ competence in certain registers that serve particular functions, rather than mastery on a par with monolingual L1 speakers of standard varieties. These individuals may be described as resistant language learners, unpatriotic, semilingual, or worse, as “not having a language” due to the mismatch between transnational, translanguaging realities and modernist ideologies.

The first part of this volume investigates how transnationals and dis/relocated speakers find ways to negotiate these tensions. Analyzing the narratives of Etienne, a Vietnamese-Cambodian refugee living in Canada, Matthew T. Prior shows how narrative positioning can be a powerful tool for inscribing empowered identities in the face of opposition, as it allows L2 users to create their own discursive constructions of belonging. Another response to these tensions may be to maintain stronger ties with contacts in their former locations and with transnational communities, as Dawn Allen illustrates in chapter 3 in her exploration of identities among newcomer adolescents in Montreal, Quebec. Transnational individuals may also find alternative ways to participate in contexts that impose modernist discourses on L2 learners. In chapter 4, Jane Zuengler examines how immigrant adolescents in the United States may choose to explicitly not participate in social activities and practices that they identify as overtly nationalist. She also explores adolescents’ out-of-school practices as a site for transgression of fixed ethnolinguistic and national identities at a community center where many immigrant children spend their free time. Finally, Julia Menard-Warwick focuses on the literacy practices among Spanish-speaking women living in California whose social interactions are primarily located within transnational Spanish-speaking networks. Her ethnographic study shows that the women continue to use Spanish for many of their meaningful literacy practices, while their engagements with English-medium texts remain relatively peripheral to their identity construction.

#### 4.2. *Identifying with third spaces among ideoscapes*

The second theme emerging from recent studies that engage with new millennium globalization is the importance of intercultural awareness and the

relevance of *third spaces* (Bhabha 1994; Kramsch 1993) that result from border crossing, study abroad, and intercultural communication (e.g., Byram 1997, 2008). Intercultural awareness is the ability to relativize one's own value systems, beliefs, and behaviors and to develop the ability to see one's own culture from the perspective of an outsider. It is an increasingly significant concept in the fields of intercultural communication and peace education, in addition to L2 learning and teaching, all of which are increasingly relevant areas of study for a globalizing world. Language learners who are successful at developing intercultural awareness frequently inhabit a third space, a vantage point from which they can decenter their identities from both their "home" culture and from their "target" culture. Being in a third space allows one to see that all cultures are social constructs shaped by historical events, rather than natural or taken-for-granted entities.

In studies on long-term sojourners, the ability to decenter oneself from any particular culture has led individuals to identify as *global citizens* rather than citizens of any single nation (Kramsch 2009; Piller 2002), and to feel more at home with others who also identify as intercultural. This identification relates well to how Roland Robertson and Habib Haque Khondker have described globalization, which "involves the compression of the entire world, on the one hand, and a rapid increase in consciousness of the whole world, on the other" (1998: 29). Of course, such individuals may encounter difficulty when interacting with others who do not share intercultural or globally conscious perspectives. As Kanno (2003) shows, Japanese students who studied abroad in Canada experienced a great deal of difficulty when they returned to Japan, for they were expected to fit into Japanese cultural norms, which often meant that their proficiency in English was not entirely welcomed. The returnee students in her study often sought one another out in Japan, thus creating a third space to feel at home in.

The second part of this book examines these issues by focusing on the development of a global citizenship perspective through study abroad experiences and expatriate living. Jane Jackson explores how an English language learner from Hong Kong on a study abroad program in England found it necessary to locate herself in a third space as a result of finding it difficult to feel comfortable with her home stay and with people she met through her social networks. In contrast, Celeste Kinginger shows how intercultural awareness can be actively avoided by documenting how Americans in France actively policed the boundaries of their ideoscapes by adhering to U.S. nationalist discourses even after having crossed national borders for the purpose of cultural exchange and language learning. Finally, Christina

Higgins provides a narrative analysis of global citizen expatriates in Tanzania whose global affiliations limit their ability to strongly identify with their local context.

#### 4.3. *Constructing identities in mediascapes*

Finally, engagements in certain forms of globalized popular culture and cyberworlds have created new kinds of communities for L2 learners and users in which participation is not constrained by nationality, region, or ethnolinguistic community. While a fair amount of recent sociolinguistic work has examined language and globalized popular culture, with perhaps the most attention paid to how *hip hop nation language* has become a global resource for local identification (cf. Alim et al. 2009; Pennycook 2007), little research thus far has examined how the ever-widening mediascape relates to the development of L2 identities and the implications for language learning. The mediascape is an increasingly central component of people's lives, and it affords language learners with opportunities to tap into liminal identities that may not be made available to them in traditional language learning contexts.

The third part of the volume begins by exploring how language learners engage with global youth culture and language via the mediascape of hip hop. In chapter 9, Angel Lin and Evelyn Man show how working-class youth in Hong Kong are drawn to hip hop as a way to more strongly identify as English language learners, an identity that is not usually available to them in their mainstream classrooms. In chapter 10, Awad Ibrahim discusses how Black immigrants in Canada align with the racial identities that are attributed to them in part through global hip hop culture and North American racial ideologies about the consumption of popular culture. chapter 11 turns to the role of *anime* and *manga* in the learning and teaching of Japanese. Yumiko Ohara shows how novice Japanese speakers use these resources to fashion new selves that are connected to a transglobal community of like-minded individuals. Finally, Steven Thorne and Rebecca Black extend some of their earlier research on L2 learning in digitally mediated environments (Internet-mediated communication and fan fiction) to focus on the conditions and affordances that L2 participants mobilize in new media contexts.

A common theme across the chapters in this final section is that learners are often engaging in liminal and hybrid varieties of language, in addition to forging new identity zones. Through their use of non-standardized and code-meshed language, the learners display their interest in taking on identities that

are connected to realms of social life that are far removed from those linked to the “standard” varieties that typically fill the pages of language textbooks.

## 5. Closing discussion

The chapters in this book analyze learners’ experiences across a variety of geographic settings, including Canada, France, Hong Kong, Japan, Tanzania, the United States, and the United Kingdom, and across a number of different additional languages (English, French, Swahili, and Japanese). While much research on globalization in applied linguistics focuses narrowly on English, this volume’s inclusion of languages other than English seeks to demonstrate that global forces are not limited to the world’s most widely spoken language, and that new millennium identities are not strictly tied to English. In fact, a focus on English alone would wrongly perpetuate the *homogenization thesis* (Holton 2000) of globalization theory in which all cultures are marching steadily toward cultural convergence based on US norms, including the acquisition of mainstream varieties of English. In contrast, the contributions in this volume seem to indicate that the new millennium is providing L2 users with resources for more identity options in a greater range of language varieties, modes, and contexts.