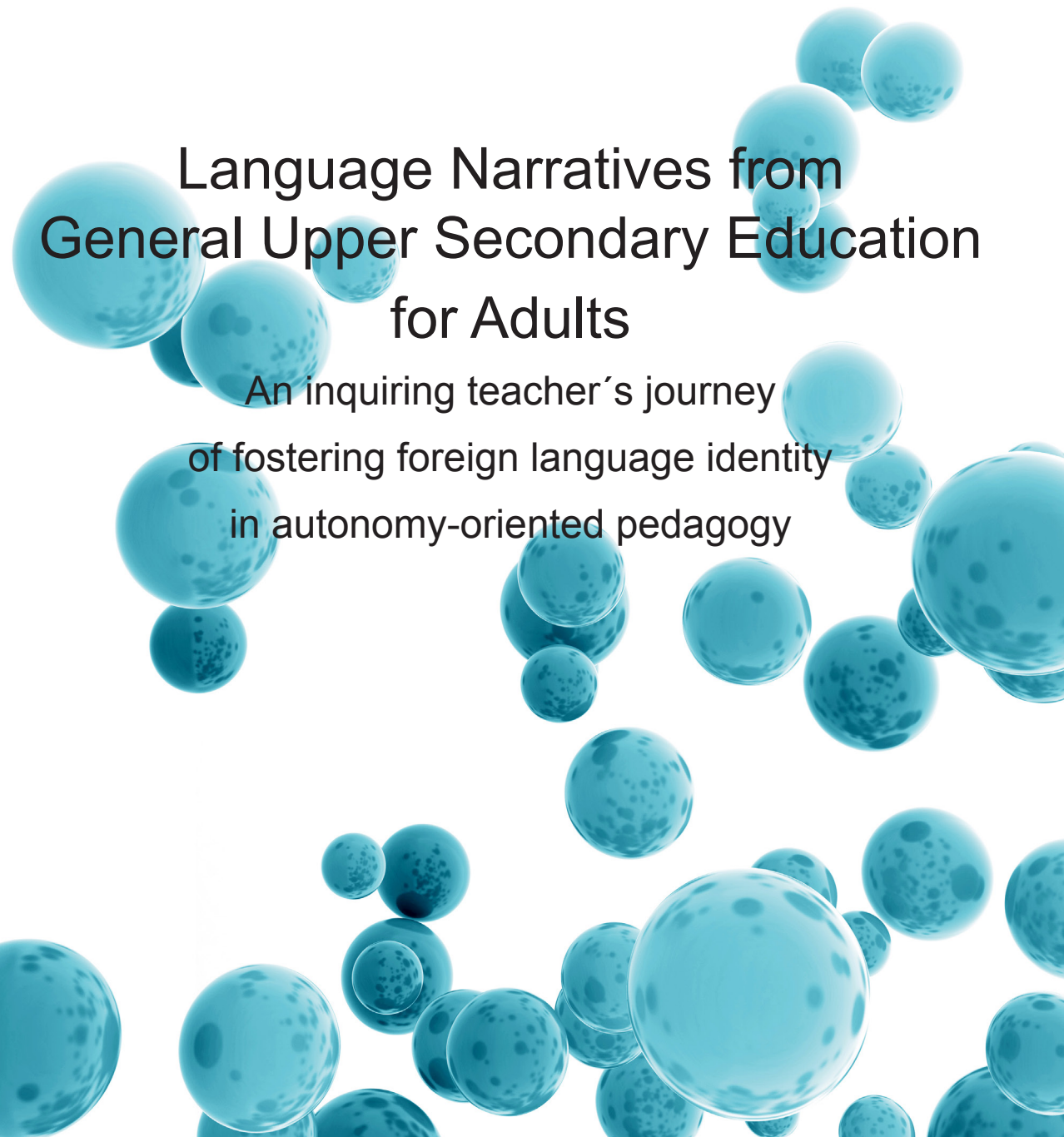


TERO KORHONEN

Language Narratives from General Upper Secondary Education for Adults

An inquiring teacher's journey
of fostering foreign language identity
in autonomy-oriented pedagogy





TERO KORHONEN

Language Narratives from
General Upper Secondary Education
for Adults

An inquiring teacher's journey
of fostering foreign language identity
in autonomy-oriented pedagogy



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented, with the permission of
the Board of the School of Education of the University of Tampere,
for public discussion in the lecture hall Linna K 103,
Kalevantie 5, Tampere,
on 10 September 2016, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

TERO KORHONEN

Language Narratives from
General Upper Secondary Education
for Adults

An inquiring teacher's journey
of fostering foreign language identity
in autonomy-oriented pedagogy

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2183
Tampere University Press
Tampere 2016

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
University of Tampere
School of Education
Finland

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service in accordance with the quality management system of the University of Tampere.

Copyright ©2016 Tampere University Press and the author

Cover design by
Mikko Reinikka

Distributor:
verkkokauppa@juvenesprint.fi
<https://verkkokauppa.juvenes.fi>

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2183
ISBN 978-952-03-0162-0 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 1682
ISBN 978-952-03-0163-7 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
<http://tampub.uta.fi>

Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy – Juvenes Print
Tampere 2016



Acknowledgements

This dissertation has been in the making for nearly eight years. Much has happened during this time. I have seen the other side of the globe, moved to a new home, lost people close to me, become a father. I have attended conferences both home and abroad, given presentations for different audiences, written papers to be published, not to mention the countless hours that I have spent reading academic literature, analysing my data and writing the thirteen chapters of this thesis. All this time, I have also had my daily work as a language teacher. As one of the best aspects of this research process, I have become acquainted with wonderful people, without whom conducting this research would not have been possible. I would like to acknowledge their contribution and thank them here.

First, I want to express my gratitude to Professor Emeritus Viljo Kohonen, who encouraged me to continue my university studies and who also became my first supervisor. You were the one who gave me the initial spark to embark on this journey. In your guidance, I also took my first steps as a researcher when having the opportunity to work in the ELP project. I will never forget the enthusiasm and dedication that you showed to your work.

Second, I want to thank Professor Emeritus Pauli Kaikkonen, who also acted as one of my supervisors during this research process. Your insightful and thorough feedback helped me organise and clarify my own thoughts whereas your care and support gave me strength to go on in my research path.

Third, I will thank my supervisors Docent Riitta Jaatinen and Professor Pekka Rähkä for allowing me my researcher autonomy and for letting me develop my researcher identity at my own pace. Thank you for your invaluable comments, suggestions and encouragement that helped me shape this dissertation especially in its final phases. A very special thanks goes to you, Riitta. Having seen me develop all the way from my pedagogical studies in the early 2000s to this point, you may well be *the* most important person who has contributed to my professional and academic career.

Fourth, I would like to express my warm gratitude to the pre-examiners of this dissertation, Professor Naoko Aoki from the University of Osaka and Docent Rauno Huttunen from the University of Turku. Your reviews helped me examine

my research and defend my commitments from different angles, and in so doing, they helped me finish off my research manuscript before the publishing process.

Fifth, I do not wish to forget the adult upper secondary institute where I have been working as a language teacher during these years. I want to thank my closest colleagues, especially you Päivi, who allowed me to strive for my teacher autonomy and thus enabled my development as a language teaching professional. Thank you for your support and on-going interest in what I was doing in my classroom. However, I owe my biggest gratitude to the 34 students who participated in this research: you made this possible. Thank you for inspiring me and making me want to do my best as your teacher. To you Anna, Leena, Noora, Susanna and Suvi, I wish you all the best wherever life will take you!

Sixth, I would like to thank the members of our research seminar in language education, who not only provided me with the necessary peer support but also with valuable new insights to consider. For me, this seminar represented a safe environment, in which I could subject my ideas to academic critique, practise defending my views and develop my scholarly thinking.

Finishing off this dissertation would not have been possible without polishing the language. Therefore, I owe a special thanks to Glyn Hughes, who accepted the hefty manuscript without hesitation and checked my English at a quick pace to make sure that it fulfilled the academic requirements.

Finally, I am thankful to my wife Eva-Maria for her encouragement and patience. Because of this research, I have not always been there for my family. Hopefully this will change now, as I no longer have to retire to our study to work on my dissertation and lock the door for our two and a half year-old daughter behind me. Now I can let her explore around Dad's room with the energy, enthusiasm and determination that she has always shown. Indeed, I hope I will have more time for my family in the future for I know nothing better than being with the ones that you love.

Conducting this research has been a long journey with fascinating challenges. Looking back at the path that I have travelled, I feel that it has been worth it. This has been a rewarding journey. I am proud of what I have achieved and have no regrets. The thirteen chapters that follow capture well what I have wanted to say about FL learning and teaching in the local adult upper secondary institute.

In our study, on Whit Sunday, May 15th 2016

Tero Korhonen

Abstract

In language education theory, autonomy and identity are connected to successful language learning. However, it has been widely contested to what degree developments in autonomy and identity can be induced in the formal institutional foreign language (FL) context. As complex constructs with their own integrity, autonomy and identity have rarely been studied together, despite assumptions about their interrelatedness.

This longitudinal narrative research derives from an inquiring English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher's (the author of this dissertation) desire to deepen his understanding of language learning and teaching in a general upper secondary school for adults (GUSSA). In particular, this research is concerned with investigating the FL students' growth towards autonomy through the lens of *FL identity* which has been adopted here to refer to any aspect of the person's identity that is connected to their knowledge or use of the target language (TL).

The research questions are as follows:

1. What is the language learning process like for a general adult upper secondary student?
 - a) To what extent are developments in FL identity manifest?
 - b) What is essential in the FL teaching framing the students' language learning?
2. What is autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the general adult upper secondary context?
3. How can autonomy and identity be fostered through FL education?

In addition to the EFL teacher, the research participants included 34 Finnish-speaking FL students who attended the teacher's EFL courses in the local GUSSA between spring 2009 and autumn 2012. Due to ethical, epistemological and practical reasons, exploratory practice was adopted as the data collection method to gather a body of narrative research data consisting of the students' language learning journals, their reflective essay tasks and self-assessments, audio-recorded material from the annual counselling sessions between the students and the teacher, and the teacher's teaching journal.

These data contained narrative elements and parts termed *language narratives* (LaNa). This notion was adopted to refer to culturally rooted and socially constituted, storied experiences of language learning, language use and participation in different TL-related life settings. In this study, these LaNas were examined as contextually anchored spaces for identity construction, in which the language learners gave meaning to their TL-related experiences, made sense of themselves in relation to the TL, and positioned and performed themselves as language learners, communicators, participants and persons over time.

As to investigating FL learning, five language learning GUSSA students were selected for analysis. Moreover, a sixth student profile consisting of a compilation of eleven EFL students was crafted to be added into the analysis to provide a more comprehensive picture of the GUSSA students in the English courses.

A three-part analysis was conducted on the data gathered from these students and their EFL teacher. In the holistic analysis of narrative form, the six students' language learning processes were depicted on the basis of their LaNas by graphing the overall development of their English-related subject positions over time. This analysis also involved the identification of key episodes and turning points occurring as part of the students' language learning processes. The holistic analysis of narrative content consisted of identifying the constituent thematic elements (powerful storylines) in the students' language learning processes and following their progression over time. On the basis of the key discoveries, the students' journeys were then transformed (emplotted) into storied, developmental accounts, emplotments, in the third part of the analysis. The emplotments depict the students' language learning processes in the form of multivoiced narratives.

To contextualise the FL students' language learning processes, a similar analysis was conducted on FL teaching in the local GUSSA. First, the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching was graphed over time, and the key episodes and turning points of the narrative structure were identified in the holistic analysis of narrative form. Second, the recurrent constituent themes, powerful storylines, embedded in this teaching were identified and the development of these storylines chronologically followed in the holistic analysis of narrative content. Finally, a multivoiced emplotment of this teaching was configured by synthesising the most essential events, actions and experiences into a storied developmental account.

The analysis of the LaNas revealed the uniqueness and diversity of each student's experiences. It also enabled a conceptualisation of FL learning through the constructs of *FL identity*, *agency* and *affordance*. The uniqueness and

diversity embedded in the processes of FL learning were also reflected in the meanings that the students attributed to their experiences of participating in GUSSA FL teaching. Analysing these meanings promoted a conception of this FL teaching in terms of *autonomy*, *authenticity* and *affordance*.

This research makes the following claims in answer to research questions 1a and 1b: Despite the uniqueness of the critical experiences triggering identity development, FL identity can be adopted as a framework to capture the language learning processes and outcomes in the FL context of the GUSSA. The identity work underlying the development of FL identity is essentially narrative and involves the potential to expand from one context to another, with the FL context representing an integral though by no means unique site for this process. Empowering reconstructions of FL identity are closely related to the development of personal autonomy. FL identity is manifested through agency in language learning and agency beyond language learning purposes, the development and integration of which will promote the perception of affordances for language learning, use and participation. FL teaching in the local GUSSA can be examined as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy that fosters social agents capable and willing to use their voice in the TL and exercise their agency flexibly in different sociolinguistic and -cultural contexts. This FL teaching is oriented to fostering the language learning individual's authentic growth and guiding his/her perceptions towards personally engaging affordances in a complex ecology of TL learning, TL use and participation that extends beyond the formal institutional FL context. In this FL teaching, narrativity plays a more or less central role.

Regarding research question 2, autonomy was conceptualised as the capacity to exercise flexible, authentic control over the different TL-related aspects of the ecology that one inhabits. The core of this autonomy lies in the capacity to control one's life through the TL. This core is situated across an open, complex ecology where interacting forces influence the person's capacity to assume this control. Autonomy in this sense involves dependencies (on people, communities, contexts and ideologies) that build an intricate network of belongings, affiliations and relationships providing the language learning person with a range of interrelational spaces for autonomy. Autonomy manifests itself as a dynamic construct that develops temporally, is anchored in place and time, and regulated flexibly. Moreover, the construct is intimately linked to the authenticity of the person engaged with the TL, both in and beyond the institutional FL context.

As to fostering autonomy and identity through FL education (research question 3), this study implies the need for pedagogies for autonomy to extend beyond

learner autonomy and embrace a broad conception of autonomy as a means to foster personal agency, authentic growth and human well-being. The reflective narrativity embedded in the teaching is needed to provide the students with opportunities for on-going self-interpretation, which involves the potential for meaningful identity work. Fostering autonomy and identity presupposes an ecological perspective that views FL learning as a complex enterprise spreading across contexts. As for implications for teacher education, the importance of understanding the full potential of autonomy and identity in FL education is pointed out. From the perspective of educational policy, FL teaching in the GUSSA should be re-organised so that the holistic and processual nature of language learning could be taken into account. Concerning the ethos of the Finnish GUSSA, the GUSSA students should be viewed as individuals learning languages in communities rather than by themselves in isolation from others.

Finally, this research suggests a theoretical model interrelating agency, autonomy and identity in FL education. On the basis of the findings, the three notions can be examined as distinct but closely related constructs in the processes of FL learning. Autonomy and identity develop in a complex, on-going and reciprocal process, in which one influences the other. As an expression of autonomy and identity, personal agency becomes the mediating force between the two constructs, situating them spatially and temporally across the TL-related spheres of life. On the other hand, autonomy and identity development are also fuelled by this agency, the expansion of which beyond language learning is an essential trigger for personal growth.

Key words

Agency, Autonomy, Foreign language identity, Formal institutional language learning, General adult upper secondary education, Language narrative, Narrative research, Narrativity, Pedagogy for autonomy

Tiivistelmä

Kielikasvatuksen teoriassa autonomia ja identiteetti yhdistetään menestyksekkääseen kielenoppimiseen. Laajalti on silti kiistelty siitä, missä määrin niiden kehittyminen on mahdollista formaalissa institutionaalisessa vieraan kielen oppimisessa. Koska autonomia ja identiteetti ovat kompleksisia ja itsenäisiä käsitteitä, niitä on harvoin tutkittu samassa viitekehyksessä – joskin oletuksia niiden keskinäisestä riippuvuudesta on tehty.

Tämän narratiivisen pitkittäistutkimuksen taustalla on englantia vieraana kielenä opettavan opettajan (väitöskirjan tekijä) halu syventää ymmärrystään kielen oppimisesta ja opettamisesta eräässä aikuislukiossa. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tarkastella vieraan kielen opiskelijoiden kasvua autonomiaan vieraan kielen identiteetin näkökulmasta. *Vieraan kielen identiteetillä* viitataan tässä tutkimuksessa laajasti niihin henkilön identiteetin puoliin, jotka kiinnittyvät oppimisen kohteena olevan kielen tietämykseen ja käyttöön.

Tutkimuskysymykset ovat seuraavat:

1. Millainen on aikuislukio-opiskelijan vieraan kielen oppimisprosessi?
 - a) Missä määrin on havaittavissa kehitystä vieraan kielen identiteetissä?
 - b) Mikä on oleellista opiskelijoiden kielenoppimista kehystävässä vieraan kielen opetuksessa?
2. Mitä autonomia aikuislukion vieraan kielen oppimisessa tarkoittaa?
3. Miten autonomian ja identiteetin kehittymistä voidaan tukea kielikasvatuksessa?

Englanninopettajan ohella tutkimukseen osallistui 34 suomenkielistä vieraan kielen opiskelijaa, jotka osallistuivat opettajan englanninkursseille aikuislukiossa kevään 2009 ja syksyn 2012 välisenä aikana. Eettisistä, epistemologisista ja käytännön syistä aineistonkeruumenetelmänä käytettiin tutkivaa käytäntöä. Sen avulla koottu narratiivinen aineisto koostuu opiskelijoiden oppimispäiväkirjoista, heidän reflektiivisistä esseetehtävistään ja itsearvioinneistaan, opiskelijoiden ja opettajan välisissä vuosittaisissa ohjauskeskusteluissa nauhoitetusta materiaalista ja opettajan opetuspäiväkirjamerkinnöistä.

Aineisto sisältää narratiivisia osia, joita kutsutaan *kielitarinoiksi*. Käsitteellä viitataan tässä tutkimuksessa kulttuurisesti juurtuneisiin ja sosiaalisesti konstruoituihin, kerronnallistettuihin kokemuksiin omasta kielenoppimisesta, kielenkäytöstä ja sosiaalisesta osallistumisesta kohdekieleen liittyvissä ympäristöissä. Tässä tutkimuksessa kielitarinoita tarkastellaan kontekstiinsa kiinnittyvinä identiteetin rakentamisen tiloina, joissa kielenoppijat luovat merkityksiä kohdekieleen liittyville kokemuksilleen, tekevät selkoa suhteestaan kohdekieleen sekä asemoivat ja toteuttavat itseään kielenoppijoina, kielen käyttäjinä ja osallistujina.

Vieraan kielen oppimista tutkittiin valitsemalla analyysiin viisi aikuislukion kielenopiskelijaa. Kattavamman kuvan saamiseksi aikuislukion englannin-kurssien opiskelijoista analyysiin lisättiin kuudes opiskelijaprofiili, joka laadittiin 11 englanninopiskelijan tuottaman aineiston perusteella.

Opiskelijoilta ja heidän englanninopettajaltaan koottua aineistoa analysoitiin kolmessa vaiheessa. Narratiivisen muodon holistisessa analyysissä opiskelijan kielenoppimisen prosessia kuvattiin havainnollistamalla graafisesti opiskelijan englannin kieleen liittyvien subjektipositioiden kehitystä ajan myötä. Tähän analyysiin sisältyi opiskelijan kielenoppimisprosessin keskeisten vaiheiden ja käännekohtien tunnistaminen. Narratiivisen sisällön holistinen analyysi koostui opiskelijan kielenoppimisprosessin keskeisten temaattisten elementtien (vahvojen juonien) tunnistamisesta ja seuraamisesta ajan myötä. Näiden analyysien keskeisten löydösten pohjalta kunkin opiskelijan matka muunnettiin (juonennettiin) kerronnalliseksi, kehittyväksi kuvaukseksi, juonennokseksi. Se kuvaa opiskelijan kielenoppimisprosessia moniäänisen kertomuksen muodossa.

Jotta vieraan kielen opiskelijoiden kielenoppimisprosesseja voitiin kontekstualisoida, vieraan kielen opetusta analysoitiin samanlaisen analyysin avulla. Ensin kollektiivisesti koettu vieraan kielen opetuksen mielekkyys kuvattiin aika-akselilla graafisesti, ja narratiivisen rakenteen keskeiset vaiheet ja käännekohdat tunnistettiin narratiivisen muodon holistisessa analyysissä. Seuraavaksi vieraan kielen opetukseen sisältyvät toistuvat ja keskeiset teemat, vahvat juonet, tunnistettiin ja niiden kehitystä seurattiin kronologisesti narratiivisen sisällön holistisessa analyysissä. Lopuksi vieraan kielen opetuksesta muodostettiin moniääninen juonennos yhdistämällä keskeisimmät tapahtumat, toiminnat ja kokemukset kerronnalliseksi kehittyväksi kuvaukseksi.

Kielitarinoiden analyysi paljasti kunkin opiskelijan kokemusten ainutlaatuisuuden ja monimuotoisuuden. Se mahdollisti vieraan kielen oppimisen käsitteellistämisen *vieraan kielen identiteetin, toimijuuden ja tarjouman*

käsitteiden avulla. Kielenoppimisen ainutlaatuisuus ja monimuotoisuus heijastuivat niihin merkityksiin, joita opiskelijat antoivat kokemuksilleen kielenopetukseen osallistumisesta. Näiden merkitysten analyysi mahdollisti kielenopetuksen hahmottamisen suhteessa *autonomian*, *autenttisuuden* ja *tarjouman* käsitteisiin.

Tutkimuksen perusteella voidaan vastata tutkimuskysymyksiin 1a ja 1b seuraavasti: Identiteetin kehittymisen laukaisevien kriittisten kokemusten ainutlaatuisuudesta huolimatta vieraan kielen identiteetti voidaan ymmärtää viitekehyyksi, joka kuvaa kielenoppimisen prosesseja ja lopputuloksia aikuislukion kontekstissa. Vieraan kielen identiteetin kehittymisen taustalla oleva identiteettityö on oleellisesti narratiivista ja sisältää mahdollisuuden laajentua kontekstista toiseen. Formaali, institutionaalinen kielenoppimisen konteksti edustaa keskeistä, muttei ainoaa identiteetin rakentumisen ympäristöä. Voimaannuttavat vieraan kielen identiteetin rekonstruktiot liittyvät läheisesti henkilön autonomian kehittymiseen. Vieraan kielen identiteetti näyttäytyy sekä kielenoppimiseen liittyvässä että kielenoppimistarkoituksen ulkopuolelle ulottuvassa toimijuudessa. Näiden toimijuuden muotojen kehittyminen ja integraatio edistävät kielenoppimiseen, kielenkäyttöön ja osallistumiseen liittyvien tarjoumien havaitsemista. Tutkimuksessa tarkastellun kielenopetuksen keskiössä on yhteisohjattuun autonomiaan perustuva pedagogiikka. Se sisältää ajatuksen kasvatuksesta sosiaaliseen toimijuuteen, jossa toimijoilla on kyky ja halu käyttää omaa ääntä kohdekielellä ja toimia joustavasti sociolingvivistisissä ja -kulttuurisissa ympäristöissä. Tämä opetustapa tukee kielenoppijan autenttista kasvua ja ohjaa häntä tunnistamaan itseä osallistavia tarjoumia kompleksisessa ekologiassa (ympäristö), johon sisältyy monenlaista kohdekielen oppimista, käyttämistä ja osallistumista, ja joka ulottuu formaalin institutionaalisen kielenoppimisen asettamien rajojen yli. Tällaisessa vieraan kielen opetuksessa narratiivisuudella on keskeinen rooli.

Tutkimuskysymykseen 2 liittyen autonomia käsitteellistettiin kyvyksi hallita joustavasti ja autenttisesti kohdekieleen liittyviä puolia omasta elinympäristöstä. Tämän autonomian keskiössä on kyvykkyys hallita omaa elämää kohdekielellä. Kyvykkyys sijoittuu avoimeen ja kompleksiseen ekologiaan, jossa toisiinsa vaikuttavat voimat vaikuttavat henkilön kykyyn omaksua tämä hallinta. Tässä merkityksessä autonomiaan sisältyy riippuvaisuuksia (ihmisistä, yhteisöistä, konteksteista ja ideologioista). Niistä rakentuu monimutkainen sidonnaisuuksien, yhteyksien ja suhteiden verkosto, joka tarjoaa kielenoppijalle toisiinsa kiinnittyviä tiloja autonomialle. Autonomia ilmenee dynaamisena, ajallisesti

kehittyvänä, aikaan ja paikkaan sidoksissa olevana ja joustavasti säädeltyinä konstruktiona. Lisäksi se liittyy läheisesti kohdekielen kanssa vieraan kielen konteksteissa koulussa ja sen ulkopuolella tekemisissä olevan ihmisen autenttisuuteen.

Mitä tulee autonomian ja identiteetin kehittymiseen (tutkimuskysymys 3) tutkimus osoittaa tarpeen sellaiseen autonomiapedagogiikkaan, jossa autonomia ulottuu oppijan autonomian ulkopuolelle ja sisältää laajan käsityksen autonomiasta yksilön toimijuuden, autenttisen kasvun ja inhimillisen hyvinvoinnin tukijana. Opetuksen reflektiivistä narratiivisuutta tarvitaan tarjoamaan tilaisuuksia jatkuvaan itsetulkintaan, joka sisältää mahdollisuuden mielekkääseen identiteettityöhön. Autonomian ja identiteetin kasvun edistäminen edellyttää ekologista ymmärrystä vieraan kielen oppimisesta, mikä sisältää ajatuksen kielenoppimisen kompleksisuudesta ja ulottumisesta useisiin konteksteihin. Opettajankoulutukseen liittyen tutkimus korostaa, että on tärkeää edistää autonomian ja identiteetin koko potentiaalin hahmottamista kielikasvatuksessa. Koulutuspoliittisesta näkökulmasta aikuislukion kielenopetusta tulisi organisoida uudelleen siten, että kielenoppimisen kokonaisvaltaisuus ja prosessimaisuus tulevat huomioiduiksi. Edelleen aikuislukion eetokseen liittyen aikuislukio-opiskelijat on nähtävä yksilöinä, jotka oppivat kieltä yhteisöissä pikemminkin kuin eristyksissä toisistaan.

Lopuksi tämä tutkimus esittää teoreettisen mallin, joka liittyy yhteen toimijuuden, autonomian ja identiteetin kielikasvatuksessa. Tutkimustulosten perusteella näitä käsitteitä voi tarkastella erillisinä mutta toisiinsa läheisesti liittyvinä konstruktioina vieraan kielen oppimisprosesseissa. Autonomia ja identiteetti kehittyvät kompleksisessa, jatkuvassa ja vastavuoroisessa prosessissa, vaikuttaen toinen toisiinsa. Autonomian ja identiteetin ilmauksena toimijuus muodostaa välittävän voiman näiden kahden konstruktion välille ja sijoittaa ne aikaan ja paikkaan kohdekieleen liittyvillä elämänaloilla. Toisaalta toimijuus vahvistaa autonomian ja identiteetin kehittymistä, ja sen laajeneminen kielenoppimisen ulkopuolelle on tärkeä yksilön kasvun alullepanija.

Avainsanat

toimijuus, autonomia, vieraan kielen identiteetti, formaali institutionaalinen kielenoppiminen, aikuislukiokoulutus, kielitarina, narratiivinen tutkimus, narratiivisuus, autonomiapedagogiikka

Contents

Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	5
Tiivistelmä.....	9
List of abbreviations.....	17
List of figures	18
List of tables	19
I OUTLINING THE JOURNEY – THEORISING THE TERRAIN TO BE EXPLORED	21
1 DESCRIBING THE BACKGROUND TO THIS STUDY	22
On becoming a narratively-oriented, inquiring foreign language teacher	23
Narrative inquiry and exploratory practice as means for teacher development	26
Puzzlement, research questions, structure of the report.....	32
2 TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES FOR ADULTS OF THE 21 ST CENTURY	37
The policy and philosophy of foreign language teaching.....	38
The Finnish general upper secondary school for adults	44
The local adult upper secondary context	48
3 AUTONOMY IN (RELATION TO) FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING	52
Key discourses, historical developments, criticism	53
Definitions, dimensions, criticism	61
Aspects and components of autonomy	67
On the construct of agency	75
Implications for foreign language teaching	78
Studying autonomy in this research.....	88

4	FOREIGN LANGUAGE IDENTITY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING.....	92
	A poststructuralist view	93
	Introducing foreign language identity	100
	Foreign language identity as a framework for foreign language learning	106
	On the interconnections between autonomy, identity and agency	109
	II PREPARING FOR THE JOURNEY – MOTIVATING AND DESCRIBING RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	114
5	LIFE, IDENTITY AND NARRATIVE	116
	On the meanings of narrative and narrativity.....	117
	The problematics between life, narrative and understanding.....	120
	Foreign language identity as narrative identity	130
	Language narratives as research material	133
6	CONDUCTING THE STUDY	138
	Previous research into (foreign) language learning and teaching	139
	Origins of the method: Narratively-oriented exploratory practice.....	147
	Research participants	151
	Generating the data	157
	Analysing language narratives	164
	III STORYING THE JOURNEY – SYNTHESISING THE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING.....	179
7	A STORIED PERSPECTIVE ON THE TEACHING.....	180
	Emplotting the foreign language teaching: Principles and findings.....	180
	On summarising the experiences of the foreign language teaching	200
8	A STORIED PERSPECTIVE ON THE STUDENTS.....	205
	Emplotting the foreign language learning: Principles and findings	205
	In search of clues for foreign language identity.....	241
	IV UNDERSTANDING THE JOURNEY – ANALYSING THE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING.....	245
9	TWO HOLISTIC READINGS OF THE STUDENTS	246
	A holistic reading of form: Analysis and findings	246
	A holistic reading of content: Analysis and findings	262

	Theorising the foreign language students' development	289
10	TWO HOLISTIC READINGS ON THE TEACHING	306
	A holistic reading of form: Analysis and findings.....	306
	A holistic reading of content: Analysis and findings.....	318
	Theorising the foreign language teaching.....	339
	V EVALUATING THE JOURNEY – DRAWING CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSING IMPLICATIONS.....	369
11	REVISITING AUTONOMY IN (RELATION TO) FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING	370
	Foreign language learning in the adult upper secondary context	371
	Autonomy in the adult upper secondary context	378
	Implications for foreign language education	393
12	INTERRELATING AUTONOMY, IDENTITY AND AGENCY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING	410
	Identifying the relatedness of the three constructs.....	410
	A theoretical model connecting the three constructs	416
13	ON VALIDATING THE RESEARCH PROCESS	420
	Rigor, trustworthiness, generalizability	422
	Ethical concerns.....	432
	The journey continues	444
	References	454
	Appendices	483
	Index.....	513

List of abbreviations

AL	Agency in language learning, Learner agency
AbL	Agency beyond language learning purposes
CEF(R)	Common European Framework of Reference
ca	circa, approximately
cf.	confer
CoP	Community of practice
EFL	English as a foreign language
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example
ELP	European Language Portfolio
EP	Exploratory practice
et al.	et alii, and others
etc.	et cetera, and so on
FL	Foreign language
GUSSA	General upper secondary school for adults
i.e.	id est, that is
LaNa	Language narrative
L1	First language, Native language
L2, SL	Second language
QoCRL	Quality of classroom life
SLA	Second language acquisition
TL	Target language
vs.	versus

List of figures

Figure 1. Potential second language outcomes of study abroad (adapted from Benson et al. 2013, 42)	108
Figure 2. A schematic picture of the research process	164
Figure 3. The three overlapping phases of analysis in relation to one other	173
Figure 4. The process of emplotting the FL teaching.....	181
Figure 5. The process of emplotting the protagonists’ TL-related lives	207
Figure 6. The holistic-form reading of the protagonists’ TL-related development.....	249
Figure 7. Leena’s FL-related positionings during her EFL studies	251
Figure 8. Susanna’s FL-related positionings during her EFL studies	253
Figure 9. Suvi’s FL-related positionings during her EFL studies	255
Figure 10. Anna’s FL-related positionings during her EFL studies	258
Figure 11. Noora’s FL-related positionings during her EFL studies.....	259
Figure 12. “Niko’s” FL-related positionings during his EFL studies.....	261
Figure 13. The holistic-content reading of the protagonists’ TL-related development.....	264
Figure 14. The two dimensions in promoting agency in relation to the TL: 1) strengthening and expanding AL and AbL in different contexts, 2) integrating AL and AbL in different contexts.....	301
Figure 15. The holistic-form analysis of the FL teaching	308
Figure 16. The progression of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of GUSSA FL teaching	310
Figure 17. The holistic-content analysis of GUSSA FL teaching	319
Figure 18. Interrelations among agency, autonomy and identity in the ecology of language learning.....	417

List of tables

Table 1. The number of participating EFL students according to gender, age and student type	151
Table 2. The types and amounts of data collected	157
Table 3. The pedagogical items in the emplotted narrative of FL teaching	201
Table 4. The types and amounts of data that were used to emplot each protagonist's FL learning	206

I OUTLINING THE JOURNEY – THEORISING THE TERRAIN TO BE EXPLORED

1 DESCRIBING THE BACKGROUND TO THIS STUDY

The crux of this research lies in examining foreign language (FL) students' growth towards autonomy in (relation to) language learning in general upper secondary education for adults. This examination will be done by means of narratives through the lens of identity, which has been adopted as a broad analytical framework that captures the range of potential language learning outcomes. Narrativity will be viewed as the overarching philosophy paramount to the discursive construction of life, understanding and personal identity. These points of departure locate this research at the intersection between applied linguistics (e.g., Benson & Cooker 2013; Kalaja, Menezes & Barcelos 2008a; Murray 2014b; Murray, Gao & Lamb 2011; Pavlenko 2007), language education (e.g., Hildén & Salo 2011; Jaatinen, Kohonen & Moilanen 2009; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008b; Kjisik, Voller, Aoki & Nakata 2009; O'Rourke & Carson 2010; Palfreyman & Smith 2003), narrative research (e.g., Barkhuizen 2013b; Barkhuizen, Benson & Chik 2014; Riessman 2008) and practitioner research (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006a; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Yoshida, Imai, Nakata, Tajino, Takeuchi & Tamai 2009).

Although this research is essentially about teaching foreign languages to mature/adult learners – with 'adult' the term preferred here – and thus also in close connection to the field of adult education (e.g., Brookfield 1993; Candy 1991; Knowles 1975; Popkewitz, Olsson & Peterson 2006; Siivonen 2010; Sivenius & Ikonen 2011; Tuschling & Engemann 2006), the most central framework of action for the investigation of autonomy will be *(foreign) language education* rather than *adult education*. In other words, this research is primarily about language learning and teaching and secondarily about the language learning and teaching of adult learners. The adult educational perspective will nevertheless be touched upon as far as the Finnish general upper secondary school for adults (GUSSA) is concerned as the formal institutional context of this language learning and teaching (see chapter 2, 44 and 48).

Like all academic endeavours, the study at hand also has a history. This chapter will outline the most essential background that has led me to this moment, to the beginning of this report. First, I will summarise my personal journey to this research and describe my pedagogical principles for teaching foreign languages in the local GUSSA. Then I will go on to specify my research orientation by pointing out my commitments to narrative inquiry and exploratory practice. After this, I will describe the formulation of the research questions, outline the time frame for this study and explicate the structure of this report. In so doing, I will also highlight the processual nature of this research.

On becoming a narratively-oriented, inquiring foreign language teacher

My interest in autonomy in (relation to) language learning derives from my experiences as a teacher of English as a foreign language (EFL) and Swedish as a second language in a Finnish educational institute providing general upper secondary education for adults. Around ten years ago as a recently graduated language teacher, I was constantly faced with the broad diversity of the GUSSA students attending my EFL lessons. Although I was fascinated by this diversity, the substantial differences in the students' backgrounds, personalities, life experiences, language skills and personal agendas for language learning represented a professional challenge as the different students gathered in the same language classroom for 80 minutes twice a week and expected to be taught English.

Not all challenges were due to the students, however. Along with my increasing experiences of teaching foreign languages in the GUSSA, I began to see how I was involved in a complex interplay between different forces that made their own, sometimes conflicting claims on the teaching and learning. These forces were manifested in the form of explicit and implicit demands, discourses, expectations, practices, traditions and values. With these coexisting forces and the diversity of the students as the two main triggers, I repeatedly noticed myself asking the same questions regarding my work: (How) can/should I meet the differing expectations in my teaching? How can I make the lessons useful, meaningful and purposeful? How can I make the different GUSSA students see eye to eye when they are studying together in the lessons? How should foreign

languages be taught in this particular educational institute? What is my language teaching philosophy?

On puzzling over these questions, I desired to obtain a comprehensive grasp of the processes involved in language learning and teaching in the local GUSSA. Not having any specific concerns or problems to tackle, I nonetheless hesitated, unsure whether there was still something about teaching and learning that I should have been aware of. I was also keen on exploring in more detail whether my teaching was, indeed, useful with regard to the students' language learning processes.

Although I did not have any standardized templates for my teaching at the time of this puzzlement, I had developed a loose pedagogical framework over the couple of years that I had been working in the local GUSSA to structure my EFL courses and lessons. As regards lesson design, this framework mostly followed a relatively basic outline for structuring a language lesson: 1) orientation and motivation, 2) internalisation of the content by rehearsal and elaboration, and 3) application of linguistic content meaningful in in- and out-of-school settings (cf. Hildén & Kantelinen 2012, 166–167). Following these guidelines when teaching EFL in the local GUSSA in the early years of my career was hardly surprising since I had been introduced to this type of preliminary blueprint during my pedagogical studies. Since this blueprint also involved plenty of potential for variation in practice, it had proved a useful outline for managing the instructional process in individual EFL lessons.

To complement this lesson design, I had developed certain pedagogical principles and practices that also extended beyond individual lessons to cover whole courses and even the entire school-based EFL curriculum. Making plans at the curricular level was possible for me since I was the only language teacher in the relatively small adult educational institute and therefore responsible for teaching every EFL course in the local general adult upper secondary curriculum, which consisted of eleven EFL courses altogether (see chapter 2, 48). In practice, many of my principles and practices had been prompted by my own insights into my teaching in the local GUSSA, as I had obtained strong experience-based impressions that certain pedagogical elements were needed.

Consequently, I had introduced pedagogical elements such as portfolio work, the writing of a language learning journal and the annual, face-to-face counselling sessions between the teacher and the student into the EFL teaching. Regarding

these aspects of the teaching, a number of issues can be clarified. First, course assessment was usually based on the student's portfolio work and his/her performance in the exam that was held at the end of each course. I treated these two course components long as complementary parts of course assessment. Second, portfolio work consisted of oral and written learning tasks, many of which I had designed by myself to provide the students with opportunities to show their personalities. While detailed instructions were given to some tasks such as the essays/written compositions, others such as the writing of responses to the course topics were accompanied by loose guidance. Third, the language learning processes included other forms of self-reflection in addition to the journal writing. Whereas those portfolio tasks that aimed at promoting the student's linguistic proficiency were completed by using the TL, it was possible to use either the TL or the student's L1 in those tasks that aimed at promoting the student's competence for self-reflection. This was not in the least due to some students' very modest TL proficiencies. Parts of the material used as data have therefore been produced in the students' L1, i.e., in Finnish (see chapter 6, 157).

On a more abstract level, my teaching principles at the beginning of this research process can be summarised by the ideas of encountering the language learning GUSSA students as unique persons and providing them with opportunities to assume responsibility for their language learning. It should be pointed out, however, that this FL teaching had not originally, consciously or explicitly been designed to foster autonomy or identity, which are the key areas of interest in this study, although it to some degree followed the philosophy of language education, which is certainly not unfamiliar with the two concepts (see chapter 2, 38; also Hildén 2011; Kohonen 2009a). Undoubtedly, my pedagogical solutions were also influenced by the fact that I had earlier worked as a research assistant for a Finnish project on the European Language Portfolio (see Kohonen 2005, 2009a; Kohonen & Korhonen 2007; Korhonen 2005a, 2005b). Therefore, I may have been more aware of the concepts of autonomy and identity at the beginning of my career than many other language teachers.

Perhaps it was this background that prompted me to seek answers to the puzzling issues in the literature on autonomy. The more I learnt to understand my work, the FL students and the local GUSSA through Finnish contributions to the field (e.g., Jaatinen et al. 2009; Kaikkonen & Kohonen 1998; Kohonen 2005; Karlsson 2008a; Kohonen, Jaatinen, Kaikkonen & Lehtovaara 2001; Kohonen &

Kaikkonen 2002; Mäkinen, Kaikkonen & Kohonen 2004), the more convinced I became that the answers were related to fostering the students' autonomy through FL teaching. However, the more convinced I became of autonomy as the central notion of my language educational philosophy, the more uncertain I grew about how the notion should be understood in the local FL context, and whether and how I could actually foster autonomy in the FL classroom. It was this confusing time period around the year 2008 which finally made me turn my puzzlement into research questions and which marked the beginning of my academic endeavours as an inquiring language teacher.

Becoming more acquainted with the vast international literature on learner autonomy in language learning (e.g., Benson 2001, 2007; Benson & Voller 1997a; Gremmo & Riley 1995; Holec 1981; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008b; Jiménez Raya, Lamb & Vieira 2007; Little 1991; Palfreyman & Smith 2003; Rebenius 2007) revealed the diversity of the coexisting interpretations of autonomy in (relation to) language learning, without actually providing any clear-cut answers to the puzzling issues. This reading process nonetheless convinced me of the importance of autonomy-oriented pedagogy in fostering human growth and educating FL students for life as members of 21st century societies. Moreover, it also triggered my interest in searching for broader frameworks to capture the diversity of autonomy approaches in formal institutional language learning and teaching contexts. Resulting from this quest, which will be described in more detail from the perspective of methodology in chapter 6, the present research will examine autonomy in (relation to) language learning narratively within the framework of (foreign language) identity (for a theoretical background, see chapter 3, 88 and chapter 4; also Benson, Barkhuizen, Bodycott & Brown 2012, 2013; Benson & Cooker 2013; Block 2007a; Bruner 1996b; Huang 2011; Huang & Benson 2013; Polkinghorne 1996; Ricœur 1991b).

Narrative inquiry and exploratory practice as means for teacher development

The narrative turn has not left the field of applied linguistics untouched. Indeed, narrative approaches to researching language learning and teaching have been anything but few and far between in the past years (among others Barkhuizen 2013b; Benson & Nunan 2004; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Kalaja et al. 2008a;

Nunan & Choi 2010; Pavlenko 2007). The research at hand continues this trend, adopting a storied approach to experiences of FL learning and teaching embedded in an adult upper secondary context. Philosophically, I will ground my narrative method in the views of Paul Ricœur, Jerome Bruner and scholars drawing on them (in particular, see Bruner 1991a, 1996b; Laitinen 2002, 2007; Polkinghorne 1995; Ricœur 1988, 1991a, 1992; Squire 2008; Verhesschen 2003).

Both Ricœur and Bruner have argued for the fundamental role of narrative in knowing and existing. According to these scholars, people reflect on their past experiences, construct their identities and orient themselves towards the future in an ongoing process of telling and retelling. The temporal ordering of experience into narrative is not only characteristic of humans but also makes us human. Narratives are viewed as a means of making sense of, knowing about and acting upon the world. In this hermeneutic process, stories of the past affect and are affected by stories of the present and future. This continuous reconstitution of experience does not take place in a vacuum. As Ricœur (1991a) has pointed out, narratives are jointly “told” between the author and the recipient, and they represent an imperfect, time-dependent “practical wisdom” caught in tradition; sense-making, knowing and acting stem from the social, cultural, historical and linguistic circumstances in which they are embedded.

Underlying this research were professional aspirations. One of my incentives for this thesis was to deepen my understanding of my own work, the main objective being to discover whether I was doing things in my teaching that actually contributed to the students’ language learning and development or whether I should have done something entirely different. In their discussion, Johnson and Golombek (2002a) have promoted a view, according to which narrative inquiry conducted by the teachers themselves as a systematic exploration of the self, students, institutional practices, curricula and related settings can become a powerful means for professional growth and teacher development. When describing, reflecting on and analysing their storied experience, teachers can also question and reinterpret their current ways of knowing. This way, narrative inquiry may enrich teachers’ experiences with new meanings, which in turn may enable them to become more mindful of their work.

Narrative research refers to a notoriously diverse field, however. Although some scholars distinguish between the terms narrative inquiry and narrative study (see Barkhuizen 2013a), such distinctions have been avoided in the study at hand.

For the sake of clarity, I have used the term ‘narrative research’ as an overarching concept to refer to any type of narrative approach to storied, qualitative research material, including the one adopted by this study. More specifically, I have adopted an experience-centred approach to narrative (Squire 2008), and examined personal narratives of FL learning and teaching as stories of experience rather than events. The experience-centred narrative can be seen as a text – even a fragmented and contradictory one – that brings stories of personal meaning into being by means of first person narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience (Patterson 2008). As the stories of experience in this study are languaged, autobiographical descriptions of their narrators’ TL-related experiences attributing meaning to their lifeworlds, they are referred to as language narratives (LaNa, see chapter 5, 133). These LaNas are expected to provide access to the GUSSA students’ language learning processes and reveal aspects of their development. LaNas as contextually anchored evidence of language learning are also seen to enable the examination of the FL contexts in which the language learning takes place. Thus, a systematic analysis of the LaNas will be able to provide answers to my puzzlement about FL learning, teaching and autonomy in the local GUSSA.

A document by the Commission of the European Communities (2007) views the teaching profession as a profession of lifelong learners engaged in continuing professional development. The document contributes to a paradigm of educational research that has been broadly influential since the 1990s. In this paradigm, teachers are encouraged to develop as inquiring, reflective practitioners engaged in studying their classrooms, reflecting on the existing practices and changing them on the basis of their discoveries (Allwright 2009; Kohonen 2009b). Over the decades of development, this paradigm has established an “epistemology of practice that characterizes teachers as legitimate knowers, as producers of legitimate knowledge, and as capable of constructing and sustaining their own professional development over time” (Johnson & Golombek 2002a, 3). A research-based approach like this has also been one of the guidelines of teacher education in Finland (Jaatinen 2014; Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012).

Bringing research closer to the classrooms, practitioner research disentangles itself from the illusion of objective, decontextualized research. According to Johnson and Golombek (2002a), teachers are “natives” to the settings in which they work and able to develop contextual understandings based on their

experiences of the learners, communities, institutions and the curricula involved. This process will enable professional development that will reshape the existing knowledge and produce knowledge embedded in sociocultural and -historical contexts. As a teacher student of the early 2000s, I became well conditioned to this inquiring practitioner attitude before beginning my teaching career in the GUSSA. Although I later developed a more critical attitude to this type of teacher research (see the following section and chapter 6, 147), my inquiry-based teacher education was ideal for increasing my interest in searching for answers to my questions as an inquiring FL teacher.

With regard to conducting this study in practice, it still had to be considered carefully which form of inquiry would suit the local GUSSA context so that it would not disturb the daily FL learning and teaching in the language classroom and beyond. An epistemology of practice which has been claimed to enable teachers to develop their understandings of classroom life has been outlined by Allwright (2003, 2005, 2006, 2009), Allwright and Hanks (2009), Gieve and Miller (2006b), Hanks (2009) and Miller (2009). The writers have suggested exploratory practice (EP) as a potential means for conducting contextualised practitioner research that is fully integrated into everyday teaching practices.

In their contribution, Allwright and Hanks (2009) define EP as an inclusive form of practitioner research enabling both learners and teachers to develop their understandings of their learning and teaching. They promote an ethically grounded view that practitioner-based research in classrooms should focus on getting the teaching done instead of getting the research done. Elaborating on this, Gieve and Miller (2006b) have pointed out that teachers and students are not only teachers and students doing their work. As members of many communities of practice, CoPs (Wenger 1998), they cannot express themselves as teachers and students only. With multiple and complex identities, they enter the classroom as persons who will live their lives in a learning setting where personal and institutional lives overlap, intersect and become intertwined (also Aoki, with Kobayashi 2009). Therefore, the quality of life in the classroom should be the most important concern in any pedagogic or academic endeavour. Rejecting the technicist approach to quality, primarily concerned with the outcome of the work done in the classroom, the term 'quality of classroom life' (QoCRL) is used by EP to refer to the quality of being and living in the classroom as subjectively experienced by the participants (Gieve & Miller 2006b).

Another cornerstone in the EP philosophy is the emphasis on understanding rather than problem-solving. Allwright (2005) reminds us that the word *understanding* is used in this framework to refer to something essentially more than skills or knowledge. Implying agency, understanding is closely associated with the notion of development. Practitioners should actively work towards what Allwright and Hanks (2009, 148) call “deep understandings” rather than high-level generalisations. This type of localised understanding would enable the practitioners to make sense of all the complexity that they live with and through on a daily basis. Although understanding logically precedes solutions, answers, improvements and changes, Allwright (2006) points out that the latter are often valued as the only focus of practitioner research whereas understanding is seen as a road towards them. EP differs from other types of practitioner research in that it lifts the burden of solving problems and making improvements while emphasising the value of understanding something in its own right (cf. Heikkinen & Huttunen’s (2007) discussion about the goals of scientific endeavours and action research as a form of science).

Finally, the philosophy of EP promotes an idea of involving everyone in the collective, teachers and learners alike, to develop their own understandings in a lifelong process. Instead of viewing them as targets of teaching, Allwright and Hanks (2009) examine language learners as key developing practitioners, putting them fully at centre-stage alongside their teachers. According to this outlook, language learners should be treated as unique individuals and social beings who learn and develop best in their own idiosyncratic ways in a mutually supportive environment. Moreover, this outlook recognises language learners as practitioners of language learning who are capable of taking learning seriously, making independent decisions regarding their learning and developing as language learners. Thus, EP as a framework for practitioner-based research also has far-reaching pedagogical implications. Together, these three cornerstones, i.e., the quality of classroom life, the hermeneutic orientation and the inclusion of learners as key developing practitioners establish the foundation for the following seven principles that according to Allwright and Hanks (2009, 149–155) form the backbone of the EP philosophy:

Principle 1: ‘Quality of life’ for language teachers and learners is the most appropriate central concern for practitioner research in our field.

Principle 2: Working primarily to *understand* the ‘quality of life’, as it is experienced by language learners and teachers, is more important than, and logically prior to, seeking in any way to improve it.

Principle 3: Everybody needs to be involved in the work for understanding.

Principle 4: The work needs to serve to bring people together.

Principle 5: The work needs to be conducted in a spirit of mutual development.

Principle 6: Working for understanding is necessarily a continuous enterprise.

Principle 7: Integrating the work for understanding fully into existing curricular practices is a way of minimising the burden and maximising sustainability.

EP has been adopted as the research philosophy for the present narrative inquiry for the following reasons. First, EP provides a model for teacher development that is not too demanding or time-consuming for the teachers. Despite my academic aspirations, I saw it as my primary duty to be a language teacher, a language educator and a counsellor rather than a researcher or an observer. In the classroom, I was also a research participant, engaged in teaching English just like the students were engaged in learning English. In other words, I was “in the same team” with the students who attended the EFL courses. This engagement would have been challenging if I had had to spend much time and energy on conducting the research alongside my daily teaching.

The second reason closely related to the first is that EP includes a concern for the quality of classroom life, prioritising “doing the teaching” over “doing the researching”. I was careful not to burden the busy adult upper secondary students with extra work or heavy research machinery, my goal being to integrate data collection into regular language learning and teaching practices so that the material that was generated naturally during the processes of language learning and teaching could be assembled and used as empirical data. This is why the data of this research derive from language journals, reflective learning tasks, counselling sessions, and so on (see chapter 6, 157); this material was already being generated in the existing language teaching and learning processes.

Third, EP focuses on deepening the practitioners’ understanding of their lives in a hermeneutic process rather than solving practical problems or bringing about a change of current practices. I did not detect any areas of practice either that

would have required urgent improvement; I merely desired to know how my FL teaching was received and experienced by the students.

Fourth, the pedagogical implications of EP promote a type of autonomy-oriented framework for language teaching. For example, EP assumes changes in power relations as it suggests that students need to be included as practitioners alongside their teachers. As I had set autonomy as the goal for my teaching, I felt attracted to EP which showed a promising pedagogic direction to consider. It should be pointed out, however, that EP was primarily adopted as a philosophical framework for generating empirical data for my narratively-oriented practitioner research. As pedagogy for autonomy, EP did not succeed that well in integrating the seven principles, as will be noted later (see chapter 10, 346). Instead, this research assisted me in developing a more elaborate understanding of EP as pedagogy for autonomy in this particular FL context.

Puzzlement, research questions, structure of the report

Exploratory practice generally considers puzzlement as the starting point for understanding (Hanks 2009; Johnson 2002; Miller 2009). Despite their similarities, Hanks (2009) points out that puzzle-driven practitioner research differs from problem-driven practitioner research. Whereas problems generally call for problem-solving approaches focusing on finding solutions and making improvements to tackle the problem without taking much time to understand why it existed in the first place, puzzles may offer more productive openings and room for manoeuvre. Problem-orientation in practitioner research also implies a somewhat negative view of the existing situation; something is not as well as it could be; something is lacking; something needs to be fixed or changed. The feelings of embarrassment, frustration and guilt that may accompany the identification of problems in one's teaching, for example, may not necessarily provide an ideal starting point for practitioner research. Puzzles, on the other hand, can be less threatening to those involved, as Johnson (2002, 61) has noted: "[A] puzzle is, by its very nature, less clear-cut and more open-ended, and puzzles are suited for discussion of successes as well as failures." After loosely identifying the puzzling area or topic of interest, the philosophy of EP suggests that the puzzle is formulated into a question. This question can then be reflected

upon with the aim of looking for ways to gain more insight into the puzzlement. As noted above, this insight should be attained by using the familiar classroom routines that will not hinder teaching or learning (Allwright 2003).

My primary motivation for adopting a puzzle-driven approach was that I did not have clear-cut problems to solve or practices to improve. Instead, as an FL teacher, I was driven by a professional desire to understand the complex matrix of teaching, studying and learning EFL in the adult upper secondary context since I desired to support the FL students' development during their learning processes. My initial puzzlement thus covered a relatively broad area of teaching and learning foreign languages in a particular formal institutional adult upper secondary environment. Within this matrix, I gradually formulated more specific questions such as 'How do the adult students develop during their FL studies?', 'How can I foster autonomy in my teaching?' and 'What does autonomy in language learning mean?'. These questions became my research questions "in-progress" which developed alongside my understanding during the process of inquiry. It was not until the end of this process that I was able to formulate my research task into research questions. With this in mind, the objective of this research has been to report on and investigate FL students' growth towards autonomy in FL teaching in general adult upper secondary education. The specific research questions are as follows:

1. What is the language learning process like for a general adult upper secondary school student?
 - a) To what extent are developments in FL identity manifest?
 - b) What is essential in the FL teaching framing the students' language learning?
2. What is autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the general adult upper secondary context?
3. How can autonomy and identity be fostered through FL education?

In the research objective and the research questions, the term 'autonomy' has been adopted instead of the more specific 'learner/student autonomy' to remain open to all the aspects of autonomy that may be involved in formal institutional FL learning. This choice of words is an attempt to avoid narrowing down the notion in advance to certain interpretations only (see chapter 3, 88).

Notwithstanding the omission of the prefix, it should be kept in mind that this research is, indeed, about autonomy in (relation to) language learning that has traditionally been captured by the concept of learner/student autonomy (among others Benson 2001; Holec 1981; Kohonen 2010; Little 1991; Rebenius 2007).

All in all, this research process has taken several years in the making and has been highly hermeneutic in nature. After the orientation phase captured by the first section above, a rough design for the study was drafted in 2008. The active period for data collection spanned 3½ years, between 2009 and 2012. During these years, I continued reading relevant research literature in search of theoretical, methodological and empirical points of anchorage. I made the first attempts to analyse the assembled material right after commencing the data collection, and continued this analysis without any longer breaks throughout the entire 3½-year period. As the research participants entered the study at different phases of the research process, the body of narrative research material not only increased but also transformed during the period of data collection. This made re-interpretations of the previous findings necessary. Putting the findings and interpretations in written form, I began drafting this research report in 2009, with the most intensive writing period taking place after the data collection between 2012 and 2015. The research text at hand represents the outcome of this hermeneutic process. In addition to reporting on the phases of this study, presenting the analyses and findings, and suggesting interpretations and conclusions, this report captures how my understanding of language learning and teaching in the FL context of the local GUSSA has developed during this process of inquiry. This outline of the research process will be described in more detail in chapter 6.

With this hermeneutic background in mind, I have adopted the metaphor of journey to capture the process of conducting this narrative practitioner research as a whole. In this research text, the researcher, the FL teacher and the language learning GUSSA students depict this journey from their own perspectives, as they have experienced it. The text has been divided into five parts as follows:

- I) **Outlining the journey – Theorising the terrain to be explored:** Chapters 1–4 will describe the background and context of this research, provide justification and motivation for it, define the research

task and research questions and examine autonomy and FL identity as the two key concepts of this study.

- II) **Preparing for the journey – Motivating and describing research methodology:** Chapter 5 and chapter 6 will focus on the methodology of this research. They will discuss narrativity as the third key concept, introduce LaNas as research data, ground the research methodologically and depict narratively-oriented exploratory practice as the chosen research method. They will examine the research process by introducing the research participants – the six protagonists in particular – and describing the data collection and research analysis as a whole.
- III) **Storying the journey – Synthesising the experiences of foreign language learning and teaching:** Chapter 7 and chapter 8 will report on the first part of the findings by synthesising the experiences of teaching and learning EFL in the local GUSSA into multivoiced narratives. Chapter 7 will apply this type of storied perspective to the teaching while chapter 8 will apply a similar perspective to the six protagonists' language learning processes.
- IV) **Understanding the journey – Analysing the experiences of foreign language learning and teaching:** Chapter 9 and chapter 10 will report on the second part of the findings by examining the processes of FL learning and teaching located in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA more analytically. Chapter 9 will conduct two holistic analyses on the protagonists' language learning processes and conceptualise their development in terms of FL identity, agency and affordance. Chapter 10 will conduct two holistic analyses on GUSSA FL teaching and conceptualise this teaching through the concepts of autonomy, authenticity and affordance.
- V) **Evaluating the journey – Drawing conclusions, discussing implications:** Chapter 11 and chapter 12 will conclude this research, summarising and discussing the main findings, reflecting on their

implications, drawing conclusions and revisiting the key concepts of this research in relation to (foreign) language education. Chapter 11 will focus on the three research questions whereas chapter 12 will propose a theoretical framework for understanding the connections between autonomy, identity and agency in FL learning. Finally, chapter 13 will address the validity and ethics of this research, also pointing out directions for further research.

2 TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES FOR ADULTS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Educational policy can be understood as the totality of frameworks, guidelines and statements that influence and determine the teaching and learning in educational institutes, with the outcome of educational policy usually being a curriculum. Curricula are not neutral documents, however; they are tightly embedded in the cultural and historical context, reflecting the prevailing economic, educational, political, societal, scientific and other, sometimes contradictory interests. Understood like this, curricula are an essential means to enable and manage educational change. Through permeating the curriculum, developments in society and its values establish a solid position in schools. (Hildén 2011; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Vitikka, Krokfors & Hurmerinta 2012.)

Of a range of educational changes, a substantial one has concerned FL teaching both domestically and internationally. The field has been in the process of a paradigm shift towards (foreign) language education. Drawing on experiential and sociocultural theories of learning, this teaching philosophy aims at all-round human growth fuelled by personal experience, social interaction and reflection (Hildén 2011; Hildén & Kantelinen 2012; Kaikkonen 2005; Kohonen 2009a). The most recent cycle of curriculum modification for upper secondary education in Finland is expected to bring about full scale integration of the notion of language education into language teaching curricula. This shift towards FL education has also reached the general upper secondary school for adults, abbreviated as GUSSA (Siivonen 2010; Sivenius & Ikonen 2011), which represents the educational institute where this study is located.

Chapter 2 will examine FL education and the Finnish GUSSA as the formal institutional FL context, in which policy guidelines and language teaching curricula are lived in the present research. First, the national core curriculum for general upper secondary education for adults and the philosophy of FL education will be defined as the most relevant political and pedagogical framework for teaching foreign languages in the local GUSSA. Then, the Finnish GUSSA as an

adult educational institute in general and the local adult upper secondary context in particular will be described in more detail.

The policy and philosophy of foreign language teaching

Educational policy in Finland is governed by legislation. With regard to general upper secondary education, the Council of State is responsible for the national objectives and for the allocation of the time to be used for instruction and student counselling. Following the Council of State's decisions, the Finnish National Board of Education draws up the national core curriculum describing the objectives and core contents of teaching for the school subjects, the mission, values and structure of education, the conception of learning, and the goals for developing the learning environment, school culture and working methods. The current national core curriculum for general upper secondary education dates back to the curricular design of 2004, and the following reform is due to take place in 2016. The development of the core curriculum is democratically structured and hierarchical. It is not regulated purely by administrators but a range of educational professionals, stakeholders and interest groups are also consulted in the process (Finnish National Board of Education n.d.a.; Vitikka, Krokfors & Hurmerinta 2012.)

The national core curriculum for general upper secondary education for adults is an adapted version of the national core curriculum for general upper secondary education for young people aged 16–19. It has a two-level structure: in addition to defining the general aims and contents of upper secondary education, it determines the specific goals and assessment criteria for each school subject separately. This national framework is then specified further in the municipal curricula, formed by the education provider, and the local site-based curricula which Finnish schools have been expected to design since the 1990s. Finally, the written curricula are lived in the classrooms as the teachers have the responsible task to guide their pupils and students towards the objectives on the basis of their own interpretations of the curriculum. (Niemi 2012; Sivenius & Ikonen 2011; Toom & Husu 2012; Vitikka et al. 2012.)

At the European level, Lamb (2008b) has identified a substantial shift in language teaching policies towards principles that directly or indirectly relate to

the development of autonomy. This shift is propelled by three imperatives influential in many societies of the 21st century: education for democratic citizenship, education for life and education for lifelong learning. As regards the first imperative, Lamb points out a number of autonomy-related concepts in policy documents that are relevant when educating people as members of democratic society. These include, among other things, cooperation, criticality, creativity, freedom, innovation, solidarity and social and cultural awareness. Education for life, on the other hand, involves themes like self-knowledge, self-direction and responsibility for one's development, which can all be envisaged in terms of autonomy. Finally, education for lifelong learning refers to the desire to encourage people to continue their learning and adapt to changing circumstances throughout their lives, thus realising the ideal of an autonomous, constantly developing individual.

These imperatives are widely reflected in recent language teaching policy. For example, the language education policy promoted by the Council of Europe lists plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship and social cohesion among its primary goals (Sheils 2010). Over the past decade, these goals have been pursued with the help of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and the European Language Portfolio (ELP) (e.g., Byram 2002; Council of Europe 2001; Kohonen 2009a; Kühn & Péres Cavana 2012; Little 2009; Schärer 2010, 2012; Sheils 2010). Both the CEFR and the ELP entail the idea of developing autonomy and identity through language learning, as they seek to foster language learners' preparedness for life and educate them for life as members of diverse, multicultural societies (see Hildén 2002; Kohonen 2010; Riley 2010).

Neither is the Finnish national core curriculum for the general upper secondary education for adults unfamiliar with the autonomy discourse (see Finnish National Board of Education 2004), and it provides the most relevant policy framework for this study. In this curriculum, the autonomy discourse is reflected more or less explicitly in the general objectives of promoting lifelong learning, active citizenship, learning to learn skills, personal life competences, multiculturalism and cultural identity (also Sivenius & Ikonen 2011). As to FL teaching, these broad objectives are further complemented by goals related to linguistic and strategic competences and cultural skills that are expected to serve the purpose of enriching the person's identity as an intercultural communicator

and a lifelong language learner. Together, the general and subject-specific goals embrace the idea of fostering efficient and proficient target language (TL) users capable of lifelong, self-controlled development (Hildén & Kantelinen 2012).

These shifts in curricular emphases regarding FL teaching echo the more fundamental developments in language learning theories over the past decades, as language learning is increasingly being examined through reconstructions and transformations of identity, and language learners increasingly viewed as self-determined, social participants who exercise their agency in the processes of language learning (Benson & Cooker 2013; Block 2007b; Kaikkonen 2012; Kalaja, Alanen, Palviainen & Dufva 2011; Kohonen 2009a; Little 2007; Smith 2003; van Lier 2007). Many of these changes derive from a broader view that has been called the “new” mainstream SLA theory (Swain & Deters 2007). According to this view, language learning cannot simply be contemplated in terms of impersonal, individual, cognitive and psychological processes; language learning involves the whole person engaging with the world instead of particular (e.g., cognitive) aspects of the person separated from other (e.g., affective and social) aspects (see Firth & Wagner 1997, 2007; Watson-Gegeo 2004). As Lantolf and Thorne (2006, 5) have put it, drawing on Vygotsky (1978) and other scholars following the sociocultural tradition,

learning a new language is about much more than acquiring new signifiers for already given signifieds [...] It is about acquiring new conceptual knowledge and/or modifying already existing knowledge as a way of re-mediating one's interaction with the world and with one's own psychological functioning.

This perspective underlines that language learning has an essentially social origin. Indeed, the acquisition metaphor that was earlier used to capture language learning has gradually been complemented by the participation metaphor that examines language learners holistically as social agents who actively use their abilities and resources in complex interaction with the sociocultural world to achieve the desired personal aims. This notion of language learning as increasing participation emphasises the meaning of agency and autonomy in language learning, which then turns into a developmental process of working on subjective experiences with personal meanings. (Hildén 2011; Kohonen 2009b; Sfar 1998.)

The increased emphasis on autonomy and identity implies that the goal of FL teaching cannot simply be seen in linguistic terms as the attainment of a given

level of proficiency in a particular language. In addition to knowledge and skills, language learning changes the person's disposition in the world, involving attitudinal, affective and motivational aspects among other things. The notion of (foreign) language education has been adopted over the past decades to capture the broader aims and goals involved in FL teaching (Byram 2008; Hildén 2011; Jiménez Raya 2008; Kaikkonen 2005; Kohonen 2009a; Smith 2003). Since the early 1990s, language education has become the framework, within which identity development and the type of personal growth outlined in the curricula have been pursued in FL classrooms (Hildén & Kantelinen 2012). The FL teaching under scrutiny here has also adopted FL education as its pedagogical and educational foundation. According to Kohonen (2009a, 17), the core of language education can be described in terms of the students' own goals and autonomy, personal engagement in language learning, initiative and responsibility, meaningful language learning touching upon the whole person and an emphasis on reflection, interaction and self-/peer-assessment. By means of a social and affective learning process these principles are integrated with cognitive goals.

In her discussion, Hildén (2011) identifies three intertwined and overlapping concepts embedded in language education that contribute to the language learning person's identity development. These include autonomy, authenticity and dialogue, all of which are complex constructs that will be discussed in more detail in the chapters to come. Dialogue is seen in this research in Bakhtinian terms (1981, 1984) as a fundamental form of human existence, through which the self connects to the world (also Marchenkova 2004; Vitanova 2004). In FL teaching, dialogue involves the pursuit of equal encounters between the language learning person and the TL-related world around. In the FL classroom, the aim is to foster the FL student's personal growth in a social-interactive process based on mutual respect and recognition of the other as a human being. Dialogue is also connected to authenticity, which refers to a multifaceted phenomenon ranging from the ownership of learning to the uniqueness of personal identity (Hildén 2011; Kaikkonen 2002, 2005; Kohonen 2009a; Norton 1997). More specifically, authenticity in language learning involves identity construction through personally meaningful language learning experiences, which FL students make sense of on the basis of their individual subject positions.

As for autonomy, language education has frequently examined the notion in terms of learner/student autonomy which refers to the pupil's developing skill and

will to control the different aspects of their studying and learning throughout their lives (Benson 2001; Holec 1981; Kohonen 2009a; Little 1991). According to Salo and Hildén (2011), student autonomy comprises four interdependent elements: the student's responsibility, opportunities for making choices, a sense of ownership of learning and the purposeful use of learning strategies. Together, these elements are expected to increase the student's control over learning management, learning content and cognitive processes (Benson 2001).

Despite its importance for language learning, the above interpretation of autonomy can be criticised for its tendency to ignore the broader social and political aspects of the notion associated with finding one's authentic voice, authoring one's world in the TL and becoming an empowered social agent in the different TL-related collectives of society, i.e., developing personal autonomy that involves greater control over one's TL-related life (Kohonen 2009a; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 1997; Rebenius 2007; Zembylas & Lamb 2008). Indeed, a number of attempts to foster learner autonomy in language learning contexts over the years have focused on developing linguistic skills, learner beliefs, metacognition, strategic competences, and so on (among others Kjisik et al. 2009; Murray et al. 2011; Mäkinen et al. 2004; Ribé 1999; Sinclair, McGrath & Lamb 2000).

Representing the core of developing TL proficiencies in a lifelong process, the promotion of linguistic and learning to learn skills nurtures the language learners' development towards the goals set by the curriculum (see National Board of Education 2004). Still, my view is that this relatively narrow take on learner/student autonomy in language learning may not always meet the broader aspirations that the recent shifts in educational policy towards autonomy and identity entail. Involving the development of active, plurilingual, intercultural, socially responsible and critically aware participants in different CoPs, these aspirations imply the promotion of personal autonomy and identity that are closely connected to the language learners' civic skills and competences to become fully functioning citizens in democratic and multicultural societies (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2009a; Rebenius 2007).

Although language education as a philosophy of FL teaching does allow plenty of room for these broader approaches and language teachers may have the pedagogical freedom to interpret the curricular goals by themselves, there is little doubt that this conception of autonomy that focuses on promoting the learners'

linguistic and learning to learn skills has been the most influential and widespread over the years, both domestically and internationally. According to Jiménez Raya (2008), it would nonetheless be crucial to adopt more holistic forms of autonomy in language education since 21st-century societies broadly value capacities and competences (e.g., ability to cooperation and dialogue, creativity, initiative, critical thinking and self-regulation) linked to such conceptions of the notion.

Gradually, these broader views have gained ground in the learner autonomy discourses in the fields of language learning and teaching (see Hunter & Cooke 2007; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007). Jiménez Raya, Lamb and Vieira (2007, 1), for example, have outlined a framework for pedagogy for autonomy based on the idea of autonomy as a “competence to develop as a self-determined, socially responsible and critically aware participant in (and beyond) educational environments, within a vision of education as (inter)personal empowerment and social transformation”. This definition is one of the attempts to incorporate individual, social, political, critical and empowering dimensions into the notion. It promotes a view of pedagogy for autonomy as a multidisciplinary philosophy rather than a teaching method.

Located within the curricular, pedagogical and philosophical framework captured above, this study has adopted a very similar, holistic approach to language learning and fostering personal autonomy through FL teaching in the adult upper secondary context (see chapter 3, 88). This approach will treat language learners as active TL users and social participants in the processes of FL learning. Language learning as a developmental process has been understood in narrative terms as part of the language learner’s autobiographical process, through which the language learning person actively makes sense of the world and negotiates him-/herself as a human being, a member of collectives and an individual citizen within the sociocultural matrix in which s/he exists. From this perspective, the language learners’ personal narratives become an arena for languaging the meanings of their TL-related experiences, a process which has a fundamental potential to influence and change the person’s actions and, indeed, identities (Kalaja, Menezes & Barcelos 2008b; Ricœur 1992; Ropo 2009a; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013.)

The holistic view of language learning also extends to the terminology adopted in the chapters of this report. Although the language learning person has sometimes been referred to here as the ‘language learner’ or the ‘FL student’ for

practical reasons, it has been noted that these social categories can hardly be dissociated from the rest of the individual identity. Indeed, these two categories only view language learning from a narrow, impersonal perspective, as Riley (2003, 96) has pointed out:

[Treating language learners merely as learners] would, in fact, be to fall into the trap which has bedevilled so much discussion and research on second language acquisition over the past thirty or more years, where the term 'the learner' has been used as an abstraction, a simplified representation or personification of *the learning process*, devoid of any truly individual and social dimension and, therefore, conceptually unsuitable for analytic reflection on problems of learner autonomy.

By paying attention to the terminology, an attempt has been made to avoid reducing the language learners to deficient language users – an issue discussed by Kohonen (2006). In this research, the FL students are seen as language learning persons who engage themselves in the TL-related world from their individual subject positions available to them at a particular point in time and space.

The Finnish general upper secondary school for adults

This research examines FL learning in the context of the Finnish general upper secondary school for adults (GUSSA), focusing equally on the GUSSA students learning the TL and on the FL teaching taking place in this educational institute. Following Block's (2007a, 4) approach, the word *context* is used to refer to "the physical location of language learning as well as the sociohistorical and sociocultural conditions that accompany that physical location" (also Ropo 2009b). Thus, the GUSSA as a language learning context not only involves the physical environment, group size, classroom equipment, teaching material, number of teachers, hours of instruction and so on, but also established practices and traditions, dominant discourses, institutional ethos, prevailing ideologies, teachers' and students' agendas, backgrounds and idiosyncrasies as well as other cultural, historical and social factors that directly or indirectly shape what goes on within those institutional confines. This totality, referred to as the local (formal institutional) FL context, can be understood as the culture of the school if culture is understood as a value system of a particular group or setting (Palfreyman 2003).

On one hand, the local GUSSA represents the culture of the Finnish GUSSA in general while on the other, it has characteristics typical of this school in particular. Nonetheless, the FL teaching situated in this context is examined as an essential mediator for the range of potential language learning outcomes in this study.

As an adult education institute, the Finnish general upper secondary school for adults provides publicly funded formal general upper secondary education for adults of all ages. The word *general* has been used here to draw a distinction between those secondary schools that provide general upper secondary education and those secondary schools that provide vocational qualifications in the Finnish educational system (see Niemi 2012). In the Finnish GUSSA, entrance is not limited to those over 18 years; all adults interested in general upper secondary studies can enroll in the courses, and even under-aged students can study in the GUSSA under special circumstances. Individual adult upper secondary schools have also specialized in providing general upper secondary education for particular target groups such as immigrants, prisoners, dropouts, etc. In the GUSSA, the students can either aim at the general upper secondary school certificate and/or the matriculation examination, which is the school leaving exam of the general upper secondary school in Finland, or take individual courses in individual subjects without wishing to obtain formal qualifications for further studies in higher educational institutes such as the polytechnics and universities. Along with increased co-operation with vocational institutes, it has also become popular recently to study for the so-called “double” or “triple” certificate, meaning that the student will take a vocational examination in addition to the general upper secondary school certificate and/or the matriculation examination. (Aikuislukiot 2007; Siivonen 2010; Siivonen & Brunila 2014.)

Those students with formal qualifications in mind are commonly referred to as “examination students” whereas those taking individual courses and subject syllabi are called “subject students”. As for the examination students, they take the matriculation examination, either having completed the compulsory upper secondary courses or based on their earlier vocational qualifications. The matriculation examination for the GUSSA students is the same as the matriculation examination for all other general upper secondary students, i.e., it is taken simultaneously in at least four subjects in all upper secondary schools. When it comes to the subject students, on the other hand, the GUSSA provides them with opportunities to study individual subject syllabi and/or improve grades

in subjects that they have completed earlier. For the examination students, studying in the GUSSA is free of charge. In the past few years, there have been around 12 000 examination students, of which roughly 60% female, accompanied by an increasing number of subject students studying in over 50 adult upper secondary schools in Finland. (Aikuislukiot 2007; Siivonen 2010; Siivonen & Brunila 2014; Sivenius & Ikonen 2011.)

Historically, the GUSSA dates back to the 1920s when the first upper secondary school for adults (Helsinki Finnish-speaking Private Lyceum Evening Classes) was established to provide evening-time study opportunities for those who had been forced to interrupt their education because of World War I. However, it was not until the 1940s that the number of adult upper secondary schools began to increase and not until the 1960s that the GUSSA established itself as an essential provider of adult education for those who had not completed their upper secondary studies in their youth. During its nearly 90-year-long history, the GUSSA has been at the forefront in creating flexible study programmes for students in need of individualized learning opportunities. A case in point has been the introduction of course-based studies and various forms of distance learning. Nowadays, the national core curriculum for the general upper secondary education for adults (Finnish National Board of Education 2004) consists of 44 compulsory courses. Compared to the equivalent curriculum for young people, the number and length of the courses as well as the amount of lessons per course have been reduced. This has been done with the intention of giving more consideration to the adults' special life situations and providing them with better opportunities to study. (Siivonen 2010; Sivenius & Ikonen 2011.)

Located in the field of adult education, the GUSSA is inclined to autonomy from many perspectives. To begin with, the whole idea of educating adults in modern society has been driven by a desire to enhance their autonomy. According to Benson (2001), modern adult education is commonly seen to derive from the 19th-century concerns with self-improvement and self-education closely related to the notion of self-direction. In his contribution to the Council of Europe's work in adult education, Holec (1981, 1) expressed the autonomy-oriented goal of adult education as follows: "Adult education should develop the individual's freedom by developing those abilities which will enable him to act more responsibly in running the affairs of the society in which he lives." In his discussion, Holec links autonomy with the idea of preparing learners for their roles in participatory

democracy. It is also well-known that some of the earliest influences on learner autonomy in language learning came from the field of adult self-directed learning in the 1960s and 1970s when a number of adult educators became interested in how formal adult education could enhance adult learners' self-direction (see Benson 2001).

Moreover, the Finnish GUSSA as an adult education institute has adopted the promotion of lifelong learning as its mission, thus following one of the dominant educational trends in the Western hemisphere (see Lamb 2008b). According to the hegemony of lifelong learning, people need to become autonomous, responsible, self-regulating "entrepreneurs" to gain full citizenship in post-industrial societies (Tuschling & Engemann 2006; Siivonen & Brunila 2014; for criticism, see Fejes 2005). As Popkewitz et al. (2006, 434) have pointed out, "today's cosmopolitan is an agential individual who is talked about as empowered, having a voice, and self-responsible in producing innovation in the process of change." Accordingly, people are expected to assume on-going learning as a lifelong priority. This hegemony has also totalized learning to all imaginable situations in and beyond educational institutes; in addition to lifelong learning, it is therefore also possible to talk about lifewide learning (Barnett 2010; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Tuschling & Engemann 2006). As pointed out above, the influence of this type of learning discourse is visible in the Finnish national core curriculum for general upper secondary education for adults (see Finnish National Board of Education 2004).

Finally, ideas closely related to autonomy do not seem unfamiliar to the everyday life of the GUSSA either. Examining the ethos of the GUSSA through official documents, historical developments and teacher interviews in their study, Sivenius and Ikonen (2011) discovered that many GUSSA teachers emphasised, for example, the promotion of dialogue, participation and commitment, the value of the adult students' uniqueness, the improvement of the adult students' life competences and the personalizing of the adult students' learning processes in their teaching. Many of these emphases can be associated with the idea of fostering the students' autonomy (see chapter 3). All in all, there is plenty of evidence that nurturing personal autonomy is broadly valued in the field of adult education. With this in mind, the GUSSA should, in theory at least, provide a relatively fertile ground for my professional endeavour to foster autonomy in my English teaching.

The local adult upper secondary context

Whereas the previous section depicted the Finnish GUSSA in general, this section will focus on the local peculiarities of the local adult upper secondary school under investigation in this research. Located in southern Finland and established in the early 2000s, the local GUSSA is a rather small and new upper secondary school for adults that is administratively part of a larger upper secondary school for young people aged 16–19. The head of this “daytime” upper secondary school is the head of the GUSSA, although the GUSSA also has an assistant head of its own. The GUSSA also shares the same spacious and well-equipped 21st-century school building with the “daytime” school.

During its years of operation, the local GUSSA has had around one hundred examination students each year. In September 2013, there were 96 examination students in the local GUSSA (54 female and 42 male), while the number of subject students was 23 (15 female and 8 male). These figures correspond roughly with the average proportion of male and female adult upper secondary students in Finland, around 60% of whom have been female during the past decade (Siivonen 2010). In addition to examination and subject students, the “double” and “triple” certificate students aged 16–19 are listed in the official documents among the adult upper secondary students, as they flexibly attend courses in the vocational school, the upper secondary school for young people and the upper secondary school for adults on a regular basis. Therefore, in September 2013, there were 92 “double” or “triple” certificate students (49 female and 43 male) listed as adult upper secondary students on top of the other examination and subject students. What is more, it has not been uncommon to see students from other schools taking a course or two in the local GUSSA for various reasons.

As pointed out in the previous section, under-aged students can be taken in as GUSSA students under special circumstances. In this particular upper secondary school for adults, 28 of the 96 examination students had started their adult upper secondary studies under the age of 18. The relatively high proportion (ca 30%) can be explained by the school’s close co-operation with the “daytime” upper secondary school for young people. This co-operation has meant that for example those upper secondary students in danger of dropping out of the “daytime” school can usually continue their studies with a more flexible and personalized study plan in the local GUSSA. With regard to the students’ age distribution during the

school's years of operation, around three quarters of the students have been young adults under the age of 30 while only a small minority of the students have been older than 50.

Despite most students in the local GUSSA being young adults, the EFL students are an extremely heterogeneous group of people. They range from experienced, self-educated and bohemian globe-trotters with excellent command of English to introvert, fearful, reserved and somewhat naïve teenagers who hold the teacher responsible for increasing their English vocabulary and improving their knowledge of the English grammar. They also range from determined, self-aware, self-disciplined and independent university researchers to demotivated, frustrated and rebellious dyslexics with a negative self-concept in terms of English learning and use. Then there are students with challenges in their personal lives, involving family issues, illnesses, intoxicant abuse, psychological disorders, etc. Instead of examination-oriented work, the meaning of GUSSA studies (the EFL courses included) for these students lies in providing them with a therapeutic free time activity and/or contributing to a meaningful change in their lives without far-reaching and potentially stressful (language) learning objectives.

Finally, there are also senior citizens who have enrolled in the EFL courses to keep themselves active and engaged after retirement. While some of them may have difficulties to become accustomed to FL teaching which does not consist only of studying grammar and translating texts from one language to another, others may be thrilled to see how the teaching has changed from the "good old days" when they were young. Although these descriptions of students taking the EFL courses in the local GUSSA should not be taken at face value (i.e., not every teenage student is introvert, fearful and reserved, and not every dyslexic is demotivated, frustrated and rebellious, etc.), these six extremes nonetheless capture the range of possible differences between the GUSSA students fairly well.

The academic year in the local GUSSA is divided into five, about 7-week teaching periods, the first of which usually begins at the end of August and the fifth of which finishes by the beginning of June. A number of compulsory and optional courses are provided for the students in each period. The number of EFL courses provided by the school-based curriculum is 11, which consists of the six compulsory national courses, the two optional national courses and three optional school-based courses. All courses include eleven 80-minute lessons together with a 40-minute preparatory lesson, after which there is usually an exam during the

exam week at the end of each teaching period. The lessons are held in the evenings from Monday till Thursday so that each course has an 80-minute lesson twice a week. In recent years, the number of the teaching personnel has been around 10, of whom only the FL teacher has full-time employment in the local GUSSA; the other teachers are working full-time in the “daytime” upper secondary school or in other schools. In addition to these subject teachers, the school has a study counsellor who is also functioning as the assistant head of school.

Alongside its “daytime” counterpart, the Finnish GUSSA has traditionally relied on highly-educated and professionally competent teachers working relatively freely in their classrooms (Niemi 2012; Toom & Husu 2012). The local GUSSA is no exception in this matter. The teachers prepare for the lessons individually either at home or in their offices in the school building. Except for the teacher meetings once in each period, the teachers do not often see each other. Whenever they have professional concerns, they may have informal conversations with their colleagues from the “daytime” upper secondary school or they may share their concerns with the assistant head of school, with whom they can also negotiate about and agree on further measures if necessary. The teachers have freedom to plan and organise their teaching within the limits set by the curricula and the length of the courses and lessons.

The teachers also determine the assessment of the students. For example, they decide whether the course mark is solely based on the final exam, which the teachers compose on their own, or whether other course work is required. As far as the EFL courses were concerned, I often required course work during the courses and attendance at some of the lessons in addition to the final exam, although there was room for negotiation. In principle, the GUSSA teachers can make their own decisions regarding the teaching material. When it came to the EFL courses, I used the same English study book series as the “daytime” upper secondary school for practical reasons, as there were many students from the “daytime” school studying in the evening courses. The teaching material published in Finland is nonetheless generally known to be of good quality. In sum, it can be pointed out that the relative freedom in teaching in the local GUSSA is often accompanied by the practice of working on one’s own.

Although English is not an official language in Finland, it is nonetheless widely used in the 21st-century Finnish society. It is commonly used in the media, popular culture, working life and informal discussions, and often considered a

global language with positive associations. Nowadays, English is studied at all levels of education. Most Finnish children choose English as their first foreign language in grade 3 at the age of nine, and even if they do not, they still have to study English at some point in the comprehensive school. These are but a few of the reasons why Finnish youngsters tend to know English fairly well when entering the upper secondary school. (Leppänen et al. 2008.)

According to my teaching experience, however, the local GUSSA students demonstrate more variation when it comes to English skills and attitudes to studying the language. While some students regularly need English at work and use it actively in their free time, others may be aware of its usefulness but have not used it for years. The more mature students may not have studied English at all in their youth as it was common to choose German or Swedish as one's first FL in the comprehensive school before the 1970s. Moreover, students with negative learning experiences (conflicts with teachers and/or course mates, overall dullness of the lessons at school, dyslexia or other learning challenges, etc.) may also have developed persistently negative attitudes to English.

This research takes place in an era that is characterised by an exponential growth in language learning opportunities afforded by the new information technologies (Luzón, Ruiz & Villanueva 2010). During its years of operation, the culture of the local GUSSA has emphasised the quality of face-to-face encounters rather than development of technology-enabled learning opportunities, which is why the new information technology has been used moderately in daily teaching in different subjects. There are several reasons for this, including some students' desire to get away from the computer screens even for a couple of hours a week, other students' lack of interest in learning to use the new technology and, possibly, some teachers' reluctance to change their teaching methods.

Whereas the data collected for this study show that information technology has been in use in the EFL teaching (see chapter 7 and chapter 10), the use of this technology will increase in the coming years, along with the introduction into Finnish general upper secondary education of digital course books, electronic learning environments, social media and the digital matriculation examination. Therefore, the EFL teaching in the local GUSSA is also on the verge of dramatic changes. However, this research is intent on examining autonomy in a traditional FL context even though the notion of autonomy is not unfamiliar to the new information technologies either, as Benson and Chik (2010) have pointed out.

3 AUTONOMY IN (RELATION TO) FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Autonomy as a concept and an idea has a history that spreads across centuries, even millennia. Over the past five decades or so, autonomy has become an important concept in the field of language education and gained status as a highly-regarded educational goal. This is not without reason: the notion opens up appealing educational perspectives to the postmodern world of today, which hungers for autonomous world citizens with flexible identities. Indeed, there appears to be something undisputable in autonomy. As Benson and Voller (1997b, 1) remind us, however, “concepts with which we can hardly disagree are often those that stand most in need of clarification”. The popularity of autonomy has made the notion susceptible to reconstruction, thus extending the scope of its utilisation, blurring its meaning, increasing its ambiguity, leaving it vulnerable to criticism and reducing its usefulness.

Indeed, trying to comprehend the meaning of autonomy in (relation to) language learning is a challenging task. Referring to scholars working within language learning and teaching, Everhard (2015b, 10) observes that autonomy has, for example, been described as “a philosophy for learning”, “a fundamental behavioural capacity”, “a human propensity” with “political, cultural, spiritual and philosophical” dimensions as well as “a way of being in the world; a position from which to engage with the world”. This confusing state of affairs, which highlights the complexity, elusiveness and multidimensionality of autonomy as a construct, is most likely one of the most central reasons why, in spite of countless publications and political and practical contributions especially since the turn of the new millennium, pedagogy for autonomy still plays a minor role in many language classrooms. Autonomy also rests on a fairly weak empirical knowledge base, despite the decade-long tradition of scholarly interest. This is at least partly due to the fact that autonomy in language learning was a rather specialised and self-contained field for years. Research was characterised by advocacy that was concerned about producing evidence for the effectiveness of different autonomy-

driven initiatives. Consequently, autonomy has not been viewed as a problematic concept until recently. (Benson 2007; Jiménez Raya 2008.)

Chapter 3 clarifies and problematizes autonomy as one of the key constructs of this study. The sheer quantity of published literature nevertheless calls for a selective approach. In what follows, no comprehensive summary of the field will be provided; the discussion is limited to aspects concerning this research instead. The following subsections will describe my stand in terms of autonomy. I will frame and criticise the concept theoretically by outlining its historical development and pointing out influential discourses both in and beyond the field of FL education. Then, I will examine the multifaceted nature of the concept, bring up its relation to the construct of agency, examine implications for FL teaching and summarise my conceptualisation of autonomy. Finally, I will relate this study to existing research tradition. In sum, chapter 3 discusses one of the key dimensions of the conceptual framework within which I operate as a researcher in the empirical parts of this study.

Key discourses, historical developments, criticism

Autonomy is not originally or primarily a language learning concept but shares an intricate relationship with historical developments in philosophy, psychology, political science and sociology, some of which stretch back several centuries. Etymologically, the word *autonomy* derives from the Greek stems *autos* (self) and *nomos* (law). Consequently, the word means “self-rule” or “self-governance”. With this origin in mind, Everhard (2015b) reminds us that autonomy can be understood as the antithesis of heteronomy, which means “ruled or regulated by others”. In ancient Greece, autonomy was used in a political context when referring to the independent city states that could legislate on their own. It was Plato who extended the notion to the independent and free-thinking person, thus formulating the idea of personal, individual autonomy. (Everhard 2015b; Kohonen 2009a; Zembylas & Lamb 2008.)

During the Enlightenment, Kant connected personal autonomy to the use of reason by proposing that each individual has a rational mind and the right to govern themselves and manage their own affairs within the limits set by law. The autonomous person was able to disengage him-/herself from external influences

to judge and act morally based a priori on reason. On one hand, autonomy referred to the individual's internal mastery of him-/ herself while on the other, it implied freedom from mastery exercised over him/her by others. In other words, the rationalist idea of autonomy was associated both with the formation of the citizen of a democratic society and the same individual's freedom from external control, i.e., regulation by others. In educational contexts, it was this Kantian view on autonomy that began to determine the goal of educational processes in the 1960s and 1970s, language learning included. (Kohonen 2009a; Pennycook 1997; Zembylas & Lamb 2008.)

It is well-known that the early history of autonomy in language education begins with the Council of Europe's Modern Languages Project, established in 1971, the initial aim of which was to provide adults with opportunities for lifelong learning. This work was inspired by numerous social contingencies and contemporary currents of thought that oriented towards autonomy. Although no list would likely be sufficiently exhaustive to explain why so many autonomy-related ideas became the subject of scrutiny, analysis and debate especially in the Western context at that time, a number of reasons have been pointed out (see Gremmo & Riley 1995). On summarising these reasons, claims can be made that the initial fascination for autonomy was a response to the emphasis on experience and freedom, which were compatible with the humanist democratic perspectives that turned to individualism, empowerment and self-realisation. These views were often adopted in connection with educational reform rooted in the influential writings of Dewey, Freire, Illich, Rogers and the like. Autonomy served as a way for educators to re-conceptualise their roles from humanistic perspectives during times when bureaucratic, technocratic and commercial pressures led to professional uncertainty, feelings of powerlessness and questioning of the teacher's authority. (Benson 2001, 2006; Gremmo & Riley 1995; Holec 2008.)

In addition to moral and political philosophy and educational reform, autonomy in language education has also been promoted by approaches deriving from psychology, language learning and adult education. These fields have been interested in ideas related to constructivism, learner-centredness, individualisation and a vision of language as a pragmatic and social tool for communication. One of the earliest influences came in the form of self-directed learning, as many adult educators became interested in how institutionalised adult education could support individuals engaged in informal self-instruction and thus

enhance their self-direction. Although self-direction theory has since been subject to criticism (e.g., Brookfield 1993), there is no denying the fact that the theory has contributed to autonomy in (relation to) language learning, especially in the form of self-access centres. (Benson 2001.)

Along with autonomy becoming a mainstream language education concept, interaction with other theoretical views such as learning strategies, self-regulation, motivation, sociocultural theory and teacher development has intensified. The turn towards classroom applications has led to reconceptualisations which emphasise the psychological attributes of autonomous learners and prioritise interdependence over independence. Over the years, the different approaches have begun to underline the importance of language learners as active, self-determined participants who engage in constructive, goal-directed activities to achieve their goals. The quality of autonomous learning is more often seen to rely on individual learning styles, use of appropriate learning strategies, capacity for reflective conceptualisation of experience, level of motivation and the presence of dialogue and skilled assistance of more capable peers. (Benson 2007; Benson & Voller 1997b; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a; Little 1991.)

The transition to the information era has meant that people are regularly connected with speakers of other languages, also having complex communicative needs in the globalised world. According to Jiménez Raya (2008), the postmodern condition demands a reorientation of our being and calls for capacities and competences related to autonomy and lifelong learning. Without these skills and qualities people risk becoming marginalized. There is a widespread, implicit requirement nowadays to take control over one's life and adapt self-direction as a lifelong priority. This emphasis can be noticed in educational policies worldwide (as for general adult upper secondary education in Finland, see chapter 2). According to Lamb (2008b), both general educational policy and language teaching policy have witnessed reforms related to developing autonomous learners, despite the obstacles (such as suspicious economic interests and uncritical transfer of policy from nation to nation) related to their implementation (also Benson 2007). The widely-held hegemony aside, autonomy has also been subject to criticism, two influential strands of which have derived from the communitarian and postmodern perspectives.

Communitarian critique

Along with the growing criticism against Kantian liberal individualism, communitarian theories have contributed to the construct of relational autonomy, providing an alternative to the rationalist, individual-cognitive view of autonomy with an emphasis on the individual's independence and freedom to act based on his/her rational choices (Benson 2007). According to Deci (1996), autonomy ought not to be confused with independence, which means doing things for yourself without relying on others; instead, an autonomous person acts freely in an independent or dependent manner with a sense of volition and choice. Since independence can be either chosen (autonomous) or imposed by people or circumstances (forced), it is not a sufficient condition for autonomy. On the contrary, Deci claims that dependency is a crucial part of our lives; we have to satisfy three basic human needs to achieve a sense of personal self-fulfilment: autonomy, competence and relatedness. The freedom implied by personal autonomy is confirmed by the person's competence and constrained by his/her dependence on others. It is this idea of relatedness that the communitarian critique is ultimately based on.

The communitarian approaches do not form a unified group of theories. Yet, they share a view whereby rationalist autonomy misleadingly assumes the existence of an individual unaffected by the social and the cultural aspects of life. According to the critique, individuals are fundamentally engaged in complex social networks (family, social class, gender, profession, etc.) embedded in culture, i.e., people are related to other individuals, groups, communities and institutions existing in a cultural setting. Consequently, people share the values, customs and norms of these groups and experience themselves as part of their ongoing traditions, narratives and histories. In this view, personal identity is seen to result from an active participation in the shaping of one's environment. This action takes place in an ongoing process in relation to the communities that one belongs to and is a member of. One's values and beliefs are constituted within the community's horizon of significance. Thus it has been suggested that autonomy relies on one's authentic growth and the genuine development of one's identity and values in relation to the communities and their members. (Kohonen 2009a; Zembylas & Lamb 2008.)

The communitarian views are often associated with Taylor's (1989, 1991) philosophy, in which he sees authenticity as a prerequisite for becoming a moral subject. According to Taylor, authenticity consists of two dimensions, with one relating to independence associated with creation, discovery, opposition and originality while the other is rooted in interdependence and refers to self-definition in dialogue with others. To an important degree, Taylor argues, participation in society and interaction with other people shape people and contribute to their growth as authentic members of communities. According to Bonnett and Cuypers (2003), the communitarian approach suggests that both the individually and the socially oriented dimensions are required for the development of autonomy and identity. Underlining the interdependence between person and society, Taylor's philosophy adds an important social-interactive perspective to autonomy. (Bonnett & Cuypers 2003; Taylor 1989, 1991.)

Promoting the authenticity of a person entails growth towards freedom, which Taylor (1991) sees as a basic condition of the human species. However, he does not utilise the concept in an absolute sense referring to extreme individualism but suggests a view where freedom is achieved as members of communities. Freedom in this sense is connected to the idea of being able to direct the course of one's life freely, striving for virtues and the common good. This view is closely related to the distinction between negative and positive freedom. According to Carter (2003, 1st paragraph), negative freedom refers to the "absence of obstacles, barriers or constraints" so that one is free from the internal and/or external constraints that have restricted one's life, whereas positive freedom entails the "possibility of acting [...] in such a way as to take control of one's life and realize one's fundamental purposes [...] as members of given collectives". Understood in the latter sense, the notion of freedom is not incompatible with one's commitments to ideals and principles. All in all, these communitarian ideas have opened new perspectives on promoting personal autonomy as a long term (language) educational goal.

Postmodern critique

Another influential strand of criticism against autonomy is labelled here as postmodern although it is at least as difficult to posit a single postmodern view on autonomy as it was to summarise the communitarian critique under one title.

Much of this discussion presents the ideas of individual scholars, such as Foucault and writers drawing on him, rather than introducing a unified postmodern take on autonomy. This said, however, several critical views have it on their agenda to question the notion of autonomy. The core of critique lies in the serious doubts about the existence of an *autos* (self) independent of a *nomos* (law) (Straub, Zielke & Werbik 2005). According to the critique, the choices made seemingly independently of our own volition are not ours since our existence as socially constituted beings makes us governable. The social constitution of the world includes invisible structures of power and manipulation which persuade, force, compel and seduce people to see the world from pre-chosen perspectives instead of their own angles. (Benson 2007; Marshall 1996; Zembylas & Lamb 2008.)

Foucault (1988) has argued that there are technologies of domination which act on the body and self, categorising individuals and telling the “truth” about them insofar as the subjects adopt these categorisations. As an example, Zembylas and Lamb (2008) take the autonomous language learner whom the mainstream discourses constitute as a subject who chooses to behave in certain ways. In practice, this social construction of the learner is reduced to techniques of governmentality which are employed in a utilitarian fashion so that the language learners become accountable, responsible for their learning “through quantifiable measures of evaluations and outcomes in a consumer-oriented process” (ibid., 30). As a result, the subjects govern themselves so that they fit within the prevailing system of thought. The promotion of autonomy in ways coinciding with the existing discourses leads the learners towards limited, “imposed” choices within power structures that they are unaware of or cannot change. Governmentality is masked as personal autonomy, which produces new modes of (self-)control.

Contemplating the problematics between autonomy and freedom in language learning, Trebbi (2008) has adopted an equally critical view on the notion of freedom. Although her approach is perhaps more communitarian than postmodern, she argues for an interpretation of personal autonomy with identifiably postmodern undertones. Examining freedom from a political and philosophical angle, she points out that human beings can never be free from constraints in an absolute sense due to the fact that we are social beings. She suggests that freedom needs to be examined in relation to the context that we live with. Drawing on Ricœur, Trebbi (ibid., 35) connects freedom to becoming

conscious of the constraints imposed by this context (cf. negative and positive freedom in the previous section):

[W]e are victims of our history and socio-cultural context which is translated into the mental heritage of every human being. The mental heritage embraces phenomena such as attitudes, beliefs, insights. The closest we can get to freedom is to be informed by the 'otherness' carrying another history and thus become aware of one's own heritage. [...] The question is not whether we are free or not, but rather whether we are victims of constraints or not. The only way out of the dilemma of freedom is consciousness raising about the external and internal conditions we are living with.

When interpreted like this, Trebbi argues, freedom need not be excluded from autonomy. Her findings imply a relationship between deliberate supportive constraints and the development of autonomy in educational contexts. Contemplating constraints both as necessity and opportunity, Trebbi concludes that freedom can be a prerequisite for autonomy in institutionalised education systems where the teacher's task becomes to promote this consciousness-raising process. Becoming aware of the surrounding conditions is linked to the concept of flexible control, which Aviram and Yonah (2004) have used as a conception of autonomy suitable for postmodern democratic education. According to them, individuals need to develop their critical capacities by being vigilant and suspicious of claims for freedom and self-control. That type of critical awareness would enable flexible self-control and decision-making according to circumstances, as people recognise the complexities of the postmodern condition and become capable of exercising different levels of control over their lives. In this respect, the postmodern critique leaves room for autonomy that can be achieved through critical reflection and action.

The postmodern view on autonomy can also be elaborated in relation to Habermas' notions of private and public autonomy. According to Lapinoja and Heikkinen (2006), Habermas incorporates the Kantian ideas of private and public use of reason with the concept of autonomy, arguing that education can develop the private autonomy of individuals. This takes place in a process which aims at liberating individuals from external control and committing them to values related to humanity. The idea of becoming a moral subject reaches beyond the private sphere, requiring the public use of reason. Instead of passively submitting to the environment, a moral subject participates actively in the public discussion as an

agent of change, exercising his/her public autonomy. This idea of developing one's agency to promote social transformation is closely connected to the critical and postmodern views of autonomy, and also has relevance in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA (see chapter 11).

Yet another useful notion for the postmodern approach to autonomy is provided by Foucault (see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Olsen 2005), who resorts to the metaphor of 'game' to describe the complex dynamic between freedom and constraints. In a game, the players must submit to restrictions by following the rules and responding to them respectively at some points. At other points, the players' behaviour and movement appear to be variable, fluid and free. On one hand, the players are bound by the rules, but on the other, they access countless possibilities and options within them. Provided that they are aware of the intricacies of the rules (cf. consciousness of the external and internal constraints of the sociocultural context above), the players can exercise their agency and follow the rules creatively to their advantage. According to Jiménez Raya (2008), to manifest effective agency in a school context is often a complex matter that calls for individual and collective agency. Metaphorically speaking, individual efforts do not guarantee success in a team game; what is required is collective commitment to common goals. Indeed, many postmodern views on autonomy in education emphasise both individual and collective empowerment and transformation by means of developing the individuals' moral agency and encouraging collective efforts towards a more equal, meaningful and satisfactory life.

All in all, it can be argued that the postmodern autonomy critique has revitalised autonomy as a political concept within the field of (language) education, by reminding about its emancipatory, empowering and transformatory dimensions and by embracing the idea of socialising human beings to democratic citizenship in a socio-political framework. This has been noted by Rebenius (2007). Together with other critical perspectives, the postmodern critique has introduced identifiable features of moral and democracy education to the educational discussion about autonomy.

Definitions, dimensions, criticism

Although the value of autonomy has been recognised in language teaching and learning (Smith 2003), the term has also sparked controversy due to its diverse background. It has been examined in innumerable ways both in theory and practice (e.g., Benson 2001; Benson & Voller 1997a; Candy 1991; Cotterall 1995; Dickinson 1987; Everhard & Murphy 2015; Holec 1981; Kjisik et al. 2009; Little 1991; Murray 2014b; Murray et al. 2011; O'Rourke & Carson 2010; Palfreyman & Smith 2003; Pemberton, Toogood & Barfield 2009; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Sinclair et al. 2000). An obvious problem also arises from the wealth of related notions (agency, independent learning, learner independence, learning to learn, learning strategies, metacognition, self-access, self-determination, self-direction, self-efficacy, self-instruction, self-management, self-regulation, etc.; for a selection of definitions, see Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a; also Kumaravadivelu 2003) that are sometimes used interchangeably with autonomy, sometimes considered sub-ordinate components of autonomy and sometimes with reference to distinct concepts with different meanings. This section begins with learner/student autonomy in language learning as it is one of the most widely used terms referring to the idea of fostering autonomy in language classrooms. The two subsections that follow will identify six interrelated dimensions of learner autonomy with references to a selection of prominent researchers and scholars deemed representative for each dimension.

The individual, the technical and the psychological dimensions

The mainstream view of autonomy in (relation to) language learning, if ever there was one, was long based on Holec's (1981, 3) classic definition of learner autonomy as the learner's "ability to take charge of one's own learning", which is still one of the most influential and frequently cited definitions of the concept. When elaborating on this definition, Holec describes autonomy as the language learner's capacity to direct, control and take responsibility for the course of his/her learning by making all the important decisions regarding its management and organisation (also Holec 2009). Autonomy thus covers everything between determining the objectives, defining the contents and progressions, selecting appropriate methods and techniques, monitoring the procedures and evaluating

the outcome. According to Holec, this can be done through self-direction in learning, which can be regarded as the “ongoing exercise by the learner of authentic control over the different decisions which relate to learning process” (Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a, 62). Underlying this definition, Holec (1981, 1) also had a broader political agenda insisting on the promotion of the “individual’s freedom by developing those abilities which will enable him to act more responsibly in running the affairs of the society in which he lives”.

Holec’s definition has been susceptible to criticism for failing to capture essential aspects of the construct of autonomy when describing the language learner’s decision-making abilities in fairly technical terms and leaving the cognitive capacities underlying self-management mostly unattended (see Benson 2001). In contrast, the importance of developing a psychological relation to the process and content of learning has been emphasised in an equally classic approach by Little (1991, 4), who has defined learner autonomy as “a capacity – for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making, and independent action”. In this definition, Little adopts a psychologically-oriented view of autonomy, describing the capacity to assume responsibility for one’s learning in terms of controlling the cognitive processes involved in self-direction. The underlying argument is that learners can exercise control over their learning only insofar as they understand what being autonomous means, what their role in the learning process is and how they can develop the skills required. To acquire this understanding, the language learners need to participate actively in planning, monitoring and assessing their own development.

Examining the notion in relation to sociocultural theory, for example, Little (1995, 1996, 2001, 2004, 2007) has pointed out the importance of interdependency in the development of learner autonomy as a psychological capacity. In Little (1996, 211), he argues that “the development of a capacity for reflection and analysis, central to the development of learner autonomy, depends on the development and internalization of a capacity to participate fully and critically in social interactions”. Notwithstanding this, both Little’s (1991) and Holec’s (1981) original definitions of learner autonomy orient themselves primarily towards the individual-cognitive dimension of autonomy, which was the predominant view of language learning until the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Firth & Wagner 1997; Swain & Deters 2007; Watson-Gegeo 2004). According to Kohonen (2001), the core of the individual-cognitive approach lies

in a conception of individuals interpreting their personal worlds through constructs that are abstracted from their past experience and susceptible to revision in the light of new experience. From this perspective, reality is seen as the individual's subjective interpretation of his/her own life history.

On examining Holec's and Little's individual-cognitive views of learner autonomy in relation to Benson's (1997) and Oxford's (2003) models, which distinguish four broad versions of autonomy (the technical, the psychological, the sociocultural and the political-critical), it can be noticed that Holec's and Little's definitions of learner autonomy are mostly located within the technical and psychological domains of the model. The technical perspective emphasises equipping learners with the skills, strategies and techniques required for learning independently and unsupervised without much teacher intervention (see Littlewood 1997; Murray 2009). This version of autonomy has often focused on the situational conditions under which autonomy may develop, provided that the learners have been supplied with the necessary tools through learner training. The psychological perspective, on the other hand, sees autonomy as a combination of characteristics of the individual – a cognitive construct of attitudes, abilities, learning strategies and styles which enable learners to assume responsibility for their learning (Oxford 2003). The autonomous learner is synonymous with a person with high motivation, advanced metacognition, self-efficacy and sense of agency combined with the necessary affective factors. Becoming autonomous refers to an internal transformation supported by situational autonomy.

All in all, despite their political foundation and recognition of the social aspects of language learning, both Holec's and Little's definitions tend to ignore the broader social, political and critical implications that the notion of autonomy entails. This is not to say that these approaches to learner autonomy in language learning are somehow deficient interpretations of the phenomenon, however. Contributions embracing the individual-cognitive aspects of autonomy have had a substantial impact on the development of the field, and they have continued to generate valuable research to date (e.g., Tassinari 2015).

The social, the political and the critical dimensions

In the past decades, the individually-oriented notions of autonomy have been paralleled by social and situated approaches, which have challenged the focus on

the individual (see Benson 2013a; Block 2003; Esch 2009; Murray 2014b; Toohey 2007). According to Benson (2011b), the shift towards the sociocultural has followed the more socially-oriented theories of learning, the conceptualisation of language teaching arrangements in terms of social context and community as well as criticism towards the separation of cognition from social context within SLA theory. The increased exploration of social and collaborative ways to foster autonomy in the FL classroom has highlighted the fact that autonomy implies interdependence rather than independence, and can also be conceptualised as a social construct (see Holliday 2003; Hunter & Cooke 2007; La Ganza 2008; Murphey 2001; Murray 2014a; Smith & Ushioda 2009; Ushioda 2006; van Lier 2007). Frequently, perspectives emphasising the social dimensions of autonomy connect the notion to increasing self-regulation which can be gained through social interaction with more capable individuals in a particular setting (Lantolf & Thorne 2006; Vygotsky 1978) and to more comprehensive participation in CoPs which can occur, for example, through cognitive apprenticeship (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). Both views are concerned with the social-interactive aspects of language learning, which is seen to be mediated by situated, meaningful and dynamic interaction in a cultural environment and associated with a sense of agency (Oxford 2003).

The influence of these social-interactive views can be detected in attempts to define autonomy in language learning. Benson's (2001, 2) widely-accepted definition of autonomy as "the capacity to take control over one's own learning" appears to lie on a similar individual-cognitive foundation to Little's (1991) definition of autonomy (see the previous section). Like Little, also Benson has nonetheless put the notion in a broader framework. In Huang & Benson (2013), the writers examine the term 'capacity' as a potential within individuals that involves ability, desire and freedom. Clearly, this view of autonomy as a capacity implies that the ability and desire to control one's language learning needs to be contemplated in a matrix broader than any individual-cognitive perspective alone can provide.

On a similar note, Everhard (2015b, 11) has recently conceptualised autonomy in her working definition as "a way of being or sense of self achieved through co-operatively making decisions about learning, through access to both internal and external resources". In this definition, the writer draws a connection between the social and the individual dimensions of autonomy in language learning by

proposing that the language learner's sense of autonomy has an essentially social-interactive foundation. Furthermore, this definition implies that viewing autonomy only with reference to the ability of the individual is not sufficient; autonomy is also a question accessing the necessary external resources. Knowing how to make decisions is not enough; one also needs to be allowed to make them in practice.

Underlying both Benson's (2001) and Everhard's (2015b) definitions lies also another important feature of the current autonomy discourse: the rediscovery of the long implicit political nature of learner autonomy (Esch 2009; Murray 2014a; Rebenius 2007; Vieira 2009a). Nearly two decades ago, Pennycook (1997) criticised the mainstream view of learner autonomy in language learning, arguing that the technologised and psychologised interpretations of the notion had narrowed down autonomy from a socio-political concept to a question of individual development and self-access. Treating autonomy as a concern for techniques, strategies and materials, he continued, allowed no place for a politically oriented version of education although the decontextualised, technologised and psychologised versions of autonomy were by no means neutral or apolitical either (also Schmenk 2005).

Promoting a conception of autonomy that referred to "authoring one's world without being subject to the will of others", Pennycook (1997, 35) was also concerned about culturally and politically engaged versions of language education which opened up cultural alternatives for the participants and encouraged them to develop their voices, with 'voice' here referring to "the means at our disposal – the discourses available to us – to make ourselves understood and listened to and to define ourselves as active participants in the world" (Giroux 1988, 199; also Bakhtin 1981; van Lier 2004, 2007; Vitanova 2004). This view that Benson (1997) and Oxford (2003) have referred to as the political-critical has gradually become more influential in language classrooms worldwide (see Murray 2014a; Sade 2014; Zaragoza 2014). In general, this type of orientation in language learning is concerned with accessing power structures, growing critical of the prevailing ideologies and empowering people as individual agents of change and socially responsible participants of different collectives.

In her dissertation, Rebenius (2007) has addressed this critical, political and philosophical discourse on learner autonomy. Whereas the emphasis used to lie on *learner*, she argues, it is now shifting towards *autonomy*. As the critical

discourse is concerned with freedom, values and emancipation, it contemplates FL teaching and learning as essentially more than developing learning and linguistic skills. With respect to this, Kumaravadivelu (2003) has made a useful distinction between a narrow and a broad view of learner autonomy. The narrow definition refers to academic autonomy and involves enabling people to learn how to learn the TL. This means equipping them with the “tools” required for learning on their own and training them to employ appropriate strategies for achieving their goals. Although no educational act is free from political meaning, the narrow view marginalizes the political nature of teaching, reducing it to a question of techniques, strategies and materials. The broad view of learner autonomy, on the other hand, embraces the idea of the liberatory potential of language learning by aiming at empowering learners to become critical thinkers and participants. Encouraging people to realise their potential, liberatory autonomy goes beyond the academic “by actively seeking to help learners recognize sociopolitical impediments placed in their paths to progress, and by providing them with the intellectual tools necessary to overcome them” (ibid., 141). While the narrow approach sees learning to learn as the most central goal of education, the broad view considers learning to learn as a means of reaching higher ends and purposes, the ultimate end being learning to liberate (also Benson & Voller 1997b).

The goal of empowering language learners has gained prominence through the work for developing language education at the European level over the recent decades (Esch 2009; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2010; Lamb 2008b; Schärer 2010; Sheils 2010). An example of the Council of Europe’s broad language educational aims is the *Common European Framework of Reference*, CEFR (Council of Europe 2001) that encourages language education for a multicultural Europe and respect for cultural diversity. In addition to developing language learners’ linguistic and learning competences, language teaching is seen to create opportunities for learners to find their voices and engage in active citizenship in the language classrooms rather than being tourists in them, as Lamb (2000) has put it.

As noted above (chapter 2, 38), Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have aimed at combining the individual-cognitive, social-interactive and socio-political dimensions in their definition of the construct. As the writers consider autonomy a basic human disposition related to people’s need to become self-determined individuals and active participants in social communities, they neither connect

autonomy to any particular school subject nor teaching principle nor differentiate between teacher and learner autonomy. Instead, they emphasise the interdependency of learner and teacher autonomy in school contexts and see pedagogy for autonomy as a cross-disciplinary philosophy and a collective project that values autonomy as a general educational goal. The writers regard autonomy as a developing competence which is exercised differently depending on time and place. They associate autonomy with attitudinal dispositions, knowledge and abilities linked to self-determination, social responsibility and critical awareness. Moreover, autonomy has individual, social, moral and political dimensions connected to the cultivation of inquiring, proactive and interactive individuals in a lifelong process. This process not only takes place in formal settings but extends beyond the educational institution and aims at transforming rather than reproducing the status quo. (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Jiménez Raya 2009; Vieira 2009a.)

Aspects and components of autonomy

A number of interpretations have been proposed regarding what constitutes autonomy in (relation to) language learning. This is hardly surprising since there is wide agreement that the notion is “a composite of abilities, attitudes and dispositions” (Benson 2009a, 18), or “a construct of constructs” (Tassinari 2015, 66). Benson (2007) has pointed out that the difficulties of defining the most important components of autonomy can also be attributed to two commonly-held assumptions about it. First, it is usually agreed that autonomy emerges in various degrees, and second, autonomous behaviour may take very different forms in practice (also Murray 2014b). Indeed, autonomy must be understood as a multifaceted concept manifesting itself in a number of ways. In an attempt to summarise some of its most relevant aspects and components for the present research, the construct will be examined here in terms of scope, competence, control, dynamic, authenticity and dependence. The constitution that is being suggested was drawn up on the basis of my own careful analysis of relevant autonomy literature. Other types of practical and theoretical compilations can certainly also be presented (among others Benson 2007; Breen & Mann 1997; Candy 1991; Cooker 2015; Cotterall 1995; Tassinari 2015).

Scope

As shown by the diversity of perspectives (this chapter, 61), the *scope* that the notion of autonomy is seen to cover frames a vast area in contexts of language learning. Whereas many advocates of autonomy have adopted a rather narrow view of the notion, focusing on autonomy in language *learning*, others have put more emphasis on autonomy in language *use* (Palfreyman 2003). On the other hand, autonomy in (relation to) language learning can be and has been understood in much broader terms, as becoming a fulfilled and effective citizen in democratic societies. Perhaps one of the broadest perspectives on the notion has been proposed by Breen and Mann (1997, 134) who have conceptualised autonomy in the language classroom as “a *way of being* in the world; a *position from which to engage* with the world” (authors’ italics). With this diversity in mind, Kumaravadivelu’s (2003) distinction between the narrow (academic) and broad (liberatory) views of autonomy can perhaps be understood as the opposite ends of a continuum capturing what autonomy in (relation to) language learning might actually entail.

This scope of autonomy has also been addressed by Littlewood (1996; also Littlewood 1997), who has suggested that formal institutional language teaching generally aims at assisting the students to make and carry out choices regarding their communication, learning and personal life. He sees these dimensions as domains of autonomy that can be broken down into specific areas as follows:

autonomy as a communicator depends on (a) the ability to use the language creatively; and (b) the ability to use appropriate strategies for communicating meanings in specific situations;

autonomy as a learner depends on (a) the ability to engage in independent work (e.g. self-directed learning); and (b) the ability to use appropriate learning strategies, both inside and outside the classroom;

autonomy as a person depends (in the foreign language learning context) on (a) the ability to express personal meanings; and (b) the ability to create personal learning contexts, e.g. through interacting outside the classroom. (Littlewood 1996, 431.)

Since the domains are connected to each other, Littlewood uses them to serve as a basis of a conceptual framework for fostering autonomy in the language classroom.

A similar framework has been elaborated by Macaro (2008), who proposes three dimensions of L2 autonomy: autonomy of language competence, autonomy of language learning competence and autonomy of choice. As regards the first dimension, he suggests that the core of this dimension means moving away from the language of others towards the language of the self. Second, autonomy of language learning competence refers to the person's ability to deploy appropriate cognitive and metacognitive strategies to promote task achievement or more general learning both independently and in a complementary fashion with the teaching. According to Macaro, this dimension involves having the awareness, knowledge and experience of strategy use combined with the required metacognition to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies deployed. Finally, Macaro proposes autonomy of choice, which refers to the language learners choosing how to define themselves (as L2 learners, L2 users, bilingual, etc.) with respect to the languages that they "own" and that interact with each other as they express themselves. Autonomy of choice is thus connected to emerging more authentic and autonomous as a person.

Competence

In the definition proposed by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), autonomy is considered a *competence* that is connected to the language learner's knowledge, ability, positive attitude and capacity to act responsibly with an orientation towards agency and self-control (see chapter 2, 38). More specifically, the researchers connect autonomy in (relation to) language learning to three intimately interrelated subcompetences: a) learning competence, b) competence to self-motivate and c) competence to think critically.

According to Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), the different components of *learning competence* can be captured by the notion of self-regulation (e.g., Zimmerman & Schunk 2001; Wenden 1998) which deals with the application of metacognitive knowledge and use of appropriate learning strategies. Learning competence involves 1) the learner's beliefs and metacognitive knowledge that regulate his/her use of 2) metacognitive, cognitive and socio-affective learning strategies together with the learner's 3) attitudinal competence, which refers to the ability to adopt a positive attitude towards learning. As for *competence to self-motivate*, it links autonomy to a diversity of theories about motivation (e.g., Murray et al.

2011; Ushioda 2003, 2006), including attribution theory, motivational beliefs, intrinsic motivation and motivational self-regulation. Finally, Jiménez Raya et al. (ibid., 43) turn to a person's *competence to think critically*, a component referring to the "intellectually disciplined process of actively and skilfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action" This disposition consists of a set of skills for processing and generating information and beliefs, and the habit, attitude or commitment of using those skills to guide one's behaviour. (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007, 33–47.)

Although these interrelated subcompetences can all be deemed essential for autonomy in (relation to) language learning, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) point out that not all of them are equally relevant for different language learners in different contexts and settings of language learning. Different pedagogical approaches also tend to put different emphases on these subcompetences, and it may well be impossible to embrace all of them in any intentional fashion in any single pedagogy for autonomy.

Control

Drawing on a number of scholars, Benson (2001, 50; also Huang & Benson 2013) has proposed that autonomy in language learning is essentially a question of three kinds of interrelated *control*: the management of day-to-day learning, the cognitive processes involved and the content of learning. With regard to *managing the learning*, Benson describes it in terms of behaviours that learners employ to plan, organise and evaluate their learning. Research on these behaviours has focused on examining the consumption of learning strategies and profilation of the autonomous learner based on these observations (see Candy 1991; Oxford 1990). *Controlling the cognitive processes*, on the other hand, relates to the psychological aspects of learning rather than to any directly observable behaviour. In many respects, Benson sees this as the most substantial aspect of control in autonomy. It consists of the language learner's capacity to direct attentional processes, engage in reflection about the learning process and build metacognitive knowledge related to it (see Candy 1991; Kohonen 2001; Little 2007; Wenden 1998).

Finally, *control over learning content* implies that language learning may not be genuinely self-directed if the students cannot control their learning content, activities and participation by themselves. Seen like this, autonomy takes on an ecological quality. As autonomy becomes a question of knowing what one wants to learn in order to express meanings that are one's own, and being allowed to do it, this aspect brings political undertones to the notion (see Pennycook 1997). This sense of autonomy does not abandon the idea of interdependence nor imply that autonomous learners would always have to resort to proactive autonomy (Littlewood 1999). Benson (2010a) points out that learners need not exercise control on all three levels to be count as autonomous. As autonomy is flexible, it is not reducible to any particular combination of controlling behaviour; instead, the notion is very dynamic in nature.

Dynamics

There are several reasons to consider autonomy in FL education a *dynamic* construct. To begin with, autonomy is not an absolute concept but is commonly regarded as a developmental process (Benson 2010a; Little 1991). According to Jiménez Raya and Lamb (2008a), many efforts to comprehend autonomy have focused on investigating instructional processes, in which language learners gradually assume a more central role in directing their learning. On the other hand, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have suggested that autonomy can be viewed as a continuum in which different degrees of self-management and self-regulation are exercised depending on the moment and aspect of learning. Indeed, autonomy is often seen as an impermanent condition that varies from domain to domain and from time to time, with the same person acting more autonomously in some situations than in others (Little 1991).

This fluctuation in a person's autonomous behaviour may not always derive from the fact that the person lacks the willingness or skills. Instead, the person may choose to act with seemingly less autonomy despite his/her capacity for autonomous behaviour. Littlewood (1999) has captured this phenomenon by distinguishing two levels of self-regulation: proactive autonomy refers to a person who actively assumes control over the different aspects of his/her language learning process whereas reactive autonomy involves the person's autonomous organisation of resources once the direction has been initiated and set by others,

for example by the teacher. This suggests that autonomy is a question of capacity rather than any type of observable behaviour (Benson 2010a). In practice, then, the capacity to direct one's own course of actions in the processes of language learning may vary between resorting to extreme teacher-centeredness at one end of the continuum and learning entirely independently on one's own without the teacher's influence at the other end. Also, it should be noted that what may look like autonomy may be nothing but a "mask of autonomous behaviour", as Breen and Mann (1997, 141) have put it. The investigation of autonomy in (relation to) language learning thus requires access to the authentic meanings that FL learners give to their language learning behaviour.

Authenticity

Deriving from the Greek word *authentees* denoting 'originator', 'actor' or 'author', *authenticity* conveys agency and refers to a genuine origin or property. From an educational philosophical perspective, Bonnett and Cuypers (2003) view the concept of authenticity as being true to a self that is constituted in terms of authentic concerns. These authentic concerns refer to "purposes, preferences and other characteristics that individuals 'cannot help having'" and which constitute and position the person uniquely in relation to the world (Benson 2013a, 83). Thus, authenticity implies being faithful to one's mode of human existence (Heikkinen, Huttunen, Syrjälä & Pesonen 2012). Kohonen (2009a, 2009b) sees authenticity closely related to autonomy in language education. Instead of being confined to learning materials, the term has been used with reference to the ownership of the learning process and the power relations in the classroom, thus echoing Bonnet and Cuypers' philosophical view. This type of authenticity is expected to extend over assessment practices that should support the students' self-direction.

More specifically, authenticity in language learning has been seen to entail the immediate experience of having originated or accomplished something meaningful by assuming participatory roles in one's learning, which is why the notion has been examined in terms of active participation and exercise of agency. On the other hand, authenticity has also assumed a genuine being-in-the-world in relation to others, which echoes Taylor's (1991) views about the notion. This genuineness implies openness and respect for each other and is based on

encountering the other as a person, as a subject rather than an object. Fostering autonomy in (relation to) language learning can thus be viewed in terms of engaging in authentic encounters that encourage the participants to find their own voices and develop their identities as FL learners, users and participants in those communities that they engage with in their daily lives. (Benson 2013a; Bonnet & Cuypers 2003; Kaikkonen 2001, 2002; Kohonen 2009a, 2009b.)

Dependence

Finally, autonomy needs to be conceptualised in relation to *dependence*. This is because of the claims made in the past decades that the individual-cognitive view is insufficient for understanding autonomy in (relation to) language learning (Esch 2009). The core of this line of argumentation lies in that autonomy is a socially (and politically) anchored phenomenon entailing various degrees of dependence (on communities, contexts, ideologies, institutions, other people, policies, etc.) and requiring a comprehensive approach that includes but does not limit itself within the individual. These claims have led to a redefinition of autonomy in terms of interdependence, or dependence, as I prefer to label this aspect of the construct to be able to capture both social and other forms of dependency.

According to Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), education for autonomy is linked to fostering a sense of belonging, an individual's perception of him-/herself as a member of social groups. To become autonomous in a community requires social responsibility based on communication, co-operation, negotiation, conflict management and perspective taking. As Kohonen (1992, 19) has pointed out,

personal decisions are necessarily made with respect to social and moral norms, traditions and expectations. Autonomy thus includes the notion of interdependence, that is being responsible for one's own conduct in the social context: being able to cooperate with others and solve conflicts in constructive ways.

Littlewood (2002) has also emphasised the social dimensions of autonomy. Elaborating on Ryan (1991), he has introduced the concept of autonomous interdependence to the field of learner autonomy to refer to a positive social intervention that will actively facilitate the development of autonomy.

Elaborating on dependence and control, Benson (2010a) suggests that there are three poles of attraction in regard to control over learning: student control, other control and no control. If these poles are seen as the points of a triangle, the distribution of control over learning at a particular moment in time can be represented by a cross somewhere within the triangle. Similar triangles can be drawn for as many dimensions of learning as one identifies to exist in a learning process, and the students' degree of autonomy can be represented by the configuration of the crosses within the triangles. This visualisation is suitable for emphasising that there are always degrees and dimensions of dependency involved in autonomy. Dependency may sometimes even be necessary for the development of greater self-control.

Adopting a wide perspective on dependency, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have discussed the conditions propelling (or alternatively constraining) autonomy and the forces driving (or alternatively slowing down) this development. They suggest that language education takes place in a setting that extends beyond the institution. This setting includes the socio-economic and cultural contexts shaping the demands on the educational system, the dominant structures and policy frameworks surrounding the educational system, and the professional ideologies, experiences and beliefs subjected to diverse historical forces. The writers identify a number of theoretical, professional, practical, political, economic and technological forces which shape the climate in which the teachers and students work. In a climate like this, La Ganza (2008) argues, the participants need to have the capacity to generate and maintain an interrelational space concerned with empowerment. Conceptualising learner autonomy as a relational construct relying on the relationship between the teacher and the student, the writer places dependence as an inherent aspect of autonomy. La Ganza's view also makes claims for teacher autonomy, which manifests yet another dimension of dependence relevant in educational contexts like the GUSSA.

As one of the pioneers of teacher autonomy, Little (1995, 2001) has made claims for the importance of teacher autonomy for autonomy in (relation to) language learning. The core of Little's arguments lies in that teachers should be able to exercise their professional skills in a process of critical reflection and self-management since it is unreasonable to expect teachers to be able to foster autonomy if they are unaware of what being autonomous means. Teacher autonomy can thus be understood both as a working condition (relative freedom

from external control, freedom enabling the teacher's professional discretion) and as the teacher's internal capacity (ability to exercise this discretion in matters of curriculum implementation within the prevailing constraints) (Lamb 2008a). Although teacher autonomy as such does not necessarily entail a concern for learner autonomy, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) recognise the interrelatedness of the notions by anchoring both learner and teacher autonomy in a socio-political framework that values autonomy as a collectively shared democratic ideal.

On the construct of agency

Agency has recently established itself as one of the key constructs in language education theories (Gao 2010; Huang & Benson 2013; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Lantolf 2013; Mercer 2011; van Lier 2008). The reason for discussing agency here is twofold. First, the term has begun to emerge over the past decade or so in connection with learner autonomy in language learning along with the more socially oriented contributions to the field (cf. Murray 2011a). As Benson and Cooker (2013) have pointed out, however, there is no general agreement on how the two terms with a quite different history should be used or differentiated in this field. Indeed, the interpretations regarding their relationship have ranged between considering them close synonyms (e.g., van Lier 2010), viewing agency as a sub-component of autonomy (e.g., Tassinari 2015) and treating agency and autonomy as distinct (but perhaps somehow related) concepts (e.g., Huang & Benson 2013). This existing ambiguity surrounding agency calls for taking a stand on the issue in a study like this that attempts to reach a contextually situated understanding of autonomy in (relation to) language learning. The second reason for addressing agency here is grounded empirically. As the findings of this research will indicate, the construct of agency is needed for a conceptual understanding of FL learning in the local GUSSA. Moreover, agency will also shed more light on the complex relations between autonomy and identity in language learning.

Like autonomy, agency as a hypothetical construct is inherently complex and difficult to conceptualise in a conclusive manner. Within sociology, agency has been opposed to social structures, which are seen to exist in a state of tension with the desires of individual agents (Giddens 1984; also Biesta & Tedder 2006). Indeed, there has been a tendency to associate (although not necessarily equate)

agency with choice, discretion and freedom to make a difference to the current state of affairs (Huang & Benson 2013). Treated like this, agency easily becomes a synonym for action. Agentic language learners are predominantly recognised as active participants in the construction of their learning (Allwright & Hanks 2009).

Being able to control one's language learning also requires certain psychological dispositions, which is why Huang and Benson (2013) observe that agency is frequently defined in terms of will, intentionality, ability and capacity. Investigating language learning in a self-instructional program, Bown (2009) has pointed out that effective self-regulation depends on the learners' internal sense of agency whereas van Lier (2008) has contemplated agency in close relation to initiative, volition, intrinsic motivation and autonomy. Moreover, Huang (2011) has viewed agency as the self-conscious, reflexive actions arising from deliberation and choice, thus echoing the ideas of several other theorists working within SLA and applied linguistics (see Gao 2010; Sealey & Carter 2004).

According to van Lier (2008), agency is a social event shaped by historical and cultural trajectories and exercised by individuals, groups and communities. This view is inherent in Ahearn's (2001, 112) oft-cited definition of the notion as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" and reflected by Hunter and Cooke's (2007, 75) discussion about agency as "the ability to act with initiative and effect in a socially constructed world". Despite their provisional nature, both definitions capture the multicomponential nature of the term; in addition to involving an individual's (physical, cognitive, affective, motivational) action potential, agency is situated and mediated by social, interactional, cultural, institutional and other contextual factors. The different facets of agency have been recognised by Mercer (2012), who contemplates the notion in terms of the FL learner's sense of agency and actual learning behaviour that are situated in a particular contextual frame. Examined like this, agency is not a property or a competence of the individual but a complex, dynamic relationship between the individual and their diverse contexts of action, which can facilitate and constrain their sense of agency and their agentic behaviour.

Inherent in this sociocultural view is the idea of people acting *by means of* rather than *in* an environment. Language learners are considered collaborating social agents who construct the terms and conditions of their learning in whatever communities they engage with (Kalaja et al. 2011; Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; van Lier 2007). They seize affordances – i.e., use the available mediating tools and

resources provided by the context – more or less actively and intentionally to reach goals they have set for themselves. The idea of affordance is adopted by van Lier (2004, 2007) to refer to a property of the environment that allows, affords, opportunities for participants to act and engage with the environment. Affordances are action potentials that emerge in interaction with the physical and social world. What becomes a real possibility depends on the participants' perceptions, behaviours and goals. Learning to perceive these affordances thus becomes a crucial prerequisite for any language learning.

Moreover, it is important to understand agency as a dialogic process. People not only direct their lives in a context but also influence the conditions shaping the contexts for their action “in a relationship of ongoing reciprocal causality in which the emphasis is on the complex dynamic interaction between the two elements” (Mercer 2011, 428). The same idea is discussed by a number of scholars. For example, Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001, 148) view agency as a “relationship that is constantly co-constructed and renegotiated with those around the individual and with the society at large” whereas Biesta and Tedder (2006) suggest that it could be justified to consider agency a process in which the capacity to act can be achieved through a dialogical engagement with others and the world. A similar take has been adopted by Emirbayer and Mische (1998, 970, 973) who conceptualise agency as

the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal-relational contexts of action – which [...] both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations. [...] Agency entails actual interactions with its contexts, in something like an ongoing conversation; in this sense, it is “filled with dialogic overtones,” as a sort of “link in the chain of speech communication” [...] we highlight the importance of intersubjectivity, social interaction, and communication as critical components of agentic processes: agency is always a dialogical process by and through which actors immersed in temporal passage engage with others within collectively organized contexts of action.

Emirbayer and Mische examine agency as a complex phenomenon involving contextual, dialogical, individual, social and temporal dimensions. These dimensions are included in the four approaches to agency discussed in this section, i.e., agency as the FL learner's agentic behavior, a personal disposition, a contextually situated relationship and a dialogical process. This research begins

with this understanding of agency when examining the manifestations of the notion in the formal institutional FL context.

If agency is examined like it has been above, it is difficult to locate differences between agency and autonomy. Indeed, research in sociocultural settings has often conceptualised the constructs in much the same way. For example, Toohey and Norton (2003) and Toohey (2007) have contemplated autonomy as socially oriented or situated agency whereas van Lier (2010, x) has considered agency and autonomy synonymous, noting that they “arise from different – though quite compatible – traditions of scholarship”. On the other hand, other researchers do identify distinctions between them. For example, Huang and Benson (2013, 16) have pointed out that although concepts like control and self-initiation theorise both agency and autonomy, “agency may carry a focus on self-conscious reflexive learning actions [...] while autonomy is concerned with a sense of being in control of the learning process”. This leads the researchers to conclude that although the development of autonomy relies on personal agency, agency itself may not be a sufficient condition for the development of autonomy.

Hunter and Cooke (2007) have also drawn a distinction between the two constructs. They criticise learner autonomy discourse for its focus on the independence of the individual as opposed to recognising the social matrix of language learning which involves complex dependencies and interdependencies. As a solution, the writers offer the notion of agency to broaden and deepen the concept of autonomy by incorporating dependence, interdependence and engagement in the social world. In many respects, Hunter and Cooke see agency as the sociocultural equivalent of autonomy, a more cultivated and extended version of the concept. Thus, agency seems to provide not only a theoretical concept for the examination of identity development embedded in a particular sociocultural and sociolinguistic context (see Benson 2007; Benson & Cooker 2013) but also prospects for understanding the complex dialectic between the constructs of agency, autonomy and identity in language learning.

Implications for foreign language teaching

Autonomy as a legitimate and desirable goal of language education has been motivated with claims such as a) it is natural for learners to take control of their

learning, b) learners lacking autonomy are capable of developing it and c) autonomous learning is more effective than non-autonomous learning (Benson 2001, 2). How to foster autonomy in practice, however, is a more complicated issue. According to Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), autonomy is not a teaching principle, a teaching technique among other teaching techniques; instead, it refers to a (cross-disciplinary) philosophy for learning and a collective educational interest in and struggle for a more just and humane world (also Everhard 2015b). Elaborating on this point of departure, the writers emphasise that there cannot be a unified approach to pedagogy for autonomy nor can autonomy be promoted without taking the local conditions into consideration.

Vieira (2007) urges that we should be talking about contextualised and situated *pedagogies* for autonomy instead of *a* pedagogy for autonomy since the localised solutions can greatly differ from each other. A quick literature review reveals that pedagogies for autonomy have, indeed, varied between enabling individuals to make their learning choices independently, improving their capacities, competences and skills to assume active roles in their learning, promoting the authentic development of their personal identities and empowering them collaboratively in a continuous struggle for democratic forms of life (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2001; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Karlsson & Kjisik 2009; Kohonen 2010; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Littlewood 1996; Murray 2009; Schärer 2010; van Lier 2007; Vieira 2009a). The following subsections will not discuss all the approaches and their implications but will only examine some of the most relevant for this study, an underlying incentive for which was to investigate whether an autonomy-oriented philosophy is a meaningful way to teach foreign languages in the local GUSSA, and what this orientation could look like pedagogically in the daily practices of the FL classroom.

Mainstream pedagogies for autonomy

Despite the diversity of teaching practices, Jiménez Raya and Lamb (2008a) have identified two main traditions within classroom interventions aiming to foster autonomy. One referring to *self-management* has focused on the external factors facilitating learners to assume responsibility for the different aspects of their learning. This manifestation has been concerned with organising the external and

situational conditions of the learning context so that they promote learner independence by allowing freedom and space for the participants to act and express themselves (among others Dickinson 1987; Holec 1981; Knowles 1975). In practice, this has often meant an orientation towards project work, cooperation, problem-based learning, etc. The other tradition refers to *self-regulation* and is concerned with the competences of the participants to regulate their learning behaviour purposefully and responsibly. Instead of external conditions, this tradition has paid attention to the language learners' abilities and willingness for autonomy by developing their internal capacities. In practice, this has meant developing the participants' learning to learn skills, strategy use and attitudes (among others Zimmerman & Schunk 2001). In sum, the former tradition has focused on the system enabling learner control and learner responsibility while the latter focuses on their aptitude and willingness to assume this control and responsibility.

In practice, the two traditions need to be seen as overlapping each other. The interdependence of skill, willingness and space is captured for example by Wall (2003, 308) as follows:

To realize autonomy, one needs several things. One needs at least (1) the capacity to form complex intentions and to sustain commitments, (2) the independence necessary to chart one's own course through life and to develop one's own understanding of what is valuable and worth doing, (3) the self-consciousness and vigor necessary to take control of one's affairs, and (4) access to an environment that provides one with a wide range of valuable options.

Indeed, there has been effort to combine the two traditions in recent research literature. For example, Aoki (2009b) argues for the need to take both the micro, meso and macro contexts into account to understand how learner autonomy may or may not help SL learners. The micro level focuses on the language learner while the meso level refers to the language users' relationships with the people they interact with in their lives, and the macro level to the structural, economic, social and political conditions that surround the language users. Gao and Zhang (2011), for their part, draw attention to the role of agency and metacognition in autonomy research. Investigating their Chinese undergraduates, they view metacognition, a cognitive construct, and agency, a sociocultural construct, as complementary to each other and argue for the necessity to explore the interrelatedness of these two concepts.

Another perspective suggested by Holec (2009) identifies two paradigms in the approaches to autonomy in language learning. The first is concerned with instructed learning guided by teachers in face-to-face classroom interaction or in various forms of distance teaching. This paradigm promotes co-participation in language learning, which increasingly includes the learners and allows them to take part in the guidance of their learning. The pedagogical implementations focus on *co-directed autonomy*, which shifts more responsibility to the learners but retains a number of decisions in the hands of the teacher or the provider of the programme. The second paradigm refers to non-instructed language learning which is placed entirely under the control of the learner. This paradigm focuses on developing the learners' ability to *self-direct their learning*. By integrating language learning and learning-to-learn environments, these implementations aim at producing autonomous learners capable of self-direction. Considering the latter to foster a more genuine form of autonomy, Holec points out that the former paradigm requires minimal structural and pedagogical changes while the latter entails a change of philosophy with an orientation towards learner and teacher training and a reorganisation of resources. According to Holec, state-one implementations have remained predominant in the institutional language learning landscape worldwide, as many education systems have to conform to approaches which look and feel less challenging an innovation while still promoting the development of learner responsibility.

For Little (2001, 2004, 2007, 2009a), learner autonomy does not derive from technical or political imperatives but exploits a universal human capacity and drive; autonomy is conferred on us by our biological constitutions and FL teaching should support this development by treating students as full participants in the processes of knowledge construction in a purposeful social environment. Drawing on cognitive and social-psychological evidence as well as constructivist theories of language learning, Little (2007) has argued for a pedagogy for autonomy based on three interrelated principles: *learner involvement*, *learner reflection* and *meaningful TL use*. The first principle suggests that learners need to become actively engaged in their learning by setting learning agendas, negotiating activities and materials, managing interaction, sharing responsibility and evaluating outcomes. Embedded in the first principle, the principle of reflection means moving towards a reflective dialogue (between teachers and learners, or within learner groups), the purpose of which is to develop the

individual's capacity for inner speech. Finally, the principle of TL use entails that the language to be learnt is used as the medium through which all or most classroom activities, including organisational, reflective and communicative, are conducted. Relying on extensive empirical evidence, Little claims that these principles have the potential to develop both communicative proficiency and learner autonomy, and thus promote the value of language learning and encourage the participants to identify themselves as successful language learners and users.

Alternative pedagogies for autonomy

While some of the previous examples of autonomy-oriented pedagogies involve innovative approaches to fostering autonomy in the formal institutional FL context, they mostly remain within what has gradually become the mainstream view, as they adopt individual, technical, psychological, and increasingly, social approaches to fostering autonomy (see this chapter, 61). Although educational interventions embracing the political and the critical have thus far remained few and far between (see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Kumaravadivelu 2003), there have been attempts to integrate ingredients from these dimensions into classroom practices. One such attempt is that of Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), who have proposed a framework for a pedagogy for autonomy that aims at incorporating the political and critical components more explicitly. Adopting their broad definition of autonomy as their starting point (see chapter 2, 38; also this chapter, 63), the writers suggest nine pedagogic principles which they view as interrelated conditions favouring autonomy. These principles involve the following:

- Encouraging responsibility, choice, and flexible control
- Providing opportunities for learning to learn and self-regulation
- Creating opportunities for cognitive autonomy support
- Creating opportunities for integration and explicitness
- Developing intrinsic motivation
- Accepting and providing for learner differentiation
- Encouraging action-orientedness
- Fostering conversational interaction

Whereas some of these principles are fairly transparent, others are more difficult to comprehend without an explanation. Many principles nonetheless have much in common with the frameworks referred to in the previous section, which is why they will not be explained further here. What is of interest, though, is how the political and the critical elements are taken into consideration in these principles.

First, the notion of flexible control entails the idea of learners developing their critical awareness of the existing power structures to exercise different levels of control at different moments of the learning process (also Aviram & Yonah 2004). Second, the principles involving cognitive autonomy support, integration and explicitness emphasise the students' ownership of their learning, the transparency of the learning rationales, aims and procedures as well as the advancement of a dialogic approach, all of which improve the learners' possibilities to become co-managers and agents of change in the processes of language and learner development. Third, the principle of intrinsic motivation recognises the importance of creating a motivating atmosphere involving challenge, control, responsibility, curiosity, fantasy, cooperation and recognition, among others. Fourth, the principles of action-orientedness and conversational interaction embrace a view of learners as agents rather than undergoers of experiences and a view of FL education as a potentially empowering and transforming practice. Fifth, the principles emphasise the interrelatedness of teacher and student autonomy by pointing out a need for teacher-led reflective inquiry through experimentation. Together, these principles propose a model for a pedagogy for autonomy in a political-critical framework. (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007, 58–68.)

In the field of language education, autonomy has been fostered in instructed, classroom-based learning environments. This conception of autonomy-oriented pedagogy is rapidly becoming old fashioned in today's postmodern information and communication societies, as the distinction between inside-classroom and out-of-classroom language learning has blurred with the advances in technology and increased opportunities for daily language use. This development has deconstructed many conventional FL classrooms and courses worldwide. As the classroom is becoming only one of the many settings for language learning, Benson (2009b) suggests that institutional learning spaces need to be reconstructed by the participants through an explicit integration of classroom language learning with out-of-classroom language learning ranging along a

continuum from self-instruction to naturalistic learning. Indeed, claims for broadening the context of learning beyond the traditional classroom have become forceful in recent years along with the growing number of studies interested in out-of-classroom language learning (see Benson & Reinders 2011; Pitkänen, Jokinen, Karjalainen, Karlsson, Lehtonen, Matilainen, Niedling & Siddall 2011). On the basis of this body of research, it can be speculated whether the lifewide dimensions of language teaching pedagogies (Barnett 2010; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011) also contain a potential to promote FL students' autonomy as learners, communicators and persons.

Finally, it should be pointed out that alternative pedagogical frameworks similar to those within autonomy theory have emerged in other fields closely concerned with language learning. In sociocultural theory, for example, such pedagogies for autonomy have recently been proposed by Hunter and Cooke (2007) and van Lier (2007), both of whom approach FL teaching through the idea of promoting the language learning person's agency. The course design suggested by Hunter and Cooke, for example, provides a rather broad framework incorporating sociocultural knowledge, initiative and adventuring, insight and inquiry, social interaction and reflective learning. As such, the framework appears to embrace individual-cognitive, social-interactive as well as political-critical dimensions of language learning.

On assessment in pedagogies for autonomy

Underlying many pedagogical attempts to foster learner autonomy in language learning is the intention to encourage the students and pupils to become more proactive in terms of their language learning. For example, the three pedagogical principles of learner involvement, learner reflection and meaningful TL use suggested by Little (2007) explicitly advocate an agentic orientation to language learning. The pedagogical design for the development of autonomy should touch the entire language learning process from beginning to end, i.e., learner agency and initiative should be promoted all the way from identifying the needs and formulating the aims to assessing the outcomes and setting sights on new learning targets. Also the assessment processes and strategies should be harnessed in the service of autonomy, or at least, they should not pose obstacles to its development. This is not always the case, as noted by Murphy (2015), who

identifies a frequent gap between rhetoric and reality. She claims that many institutionalised assessment practices tend to encourage learner dependency and passivity instead of promoting learner choice, decision-making and critical reflection, despite the widespread (political and societal) agreement on the value of autonomy as an educational goal and despite the efforts of educators, teachers and researchers to promote autonomy in language classrooms and beyond.

This misalignment undermines the attempts to foster autonomy in educational contexts, as the learners are likely to put emphasis on what is being demanded of them by the assessment process and the teachers tend to teach what will be assessed, or tested in the exam. This is commonly referred to in the literature as the “washback effect”. The limits imposed by the matriculation examination on Finnish general upper secondary education also tend to be brought up in public debates every now and then. Indeed, the current matriculation examination in foreign languages may limit the degree to which autonomy can be promoted in language classrooms although the national core curriculum tolerates flexible assessment practices and sets the development of the students’ self-assessment skills as one of the goals of general upper secondary education in Finland (see Finnish National Board of Education 2004).

Everhard (2015b) has recently attempted to make sense of the assessment-autonomy relationship which, she claims, is often neglected in the field of learner autonomy in language learning. In her working definition of assessment, she draws on the work of a number of researchers, suggesting a continuum with three interrelated types of assessment: summative, formative and sustainable. Whereas *summative* assessment captures “the process used to determine how much someone has learned or the degree to which they have progressed with their learning over time, and can be used for certification”, and *formative* assessment “enables both teachers and learners to make informed choices and decisions with regard to future teaching, learning and possible learning pathways, based on assessment feedback and feedforward”, *sustainable* assessment is examined as an “ongoing process of activities which generate feedback and develop capacities as self-regulating and autonomous learners” (Everhard *ibid.*, 16).

Moving along the continuum from the summative towards the sustainable, Everhard (2015b) points out that the focus of assessment gradually moves from assessing the outcomes of the learning process (with the help of tests and exams, for example) towards assessing the learning process itself in order to develop it

(with the aim of improving learning). She further identifies a shifting of emphasis that has taken place over the past few decades in education. This has moved away from the predominance of summative *assessment of learning*, which measures the students' performances, ranks them and awards the students with grades for the purpose of certification, towards more holistic forms of formative and sustainable assessment that tend to involve the learners themselves in the assessment processes. Moreover, these co-operative assessment strategies aim at providing the learners with a more comprehensive picture of their learning, which is why these practices are regarded as an integral part of the learning process itself (either assessment *for learning* or assessment *as learning*). Sustainable assessment in particular, developed by Boud and Falchikov (2006), is socially constructed, participative and contextually embedded. It builds on many types and degrees of (summative and formative) assessment that encompass both the learning content (outcomes) and the learning process itself and that are designed to be relevant to learners in the present as well as for their lifelong development (Cooker 2015).

In discussions about fostering autonomy in language education, the concept of *authentic* assessment, advocated in Finland by Kohonen (2001, 2012) in particular, has been in use for a relatively long time. Quoting O'Malley and Valdez Pierce, Kohonen (2002, 81) views authentic assessment in terms of "multiple forms of assessment that reflect student learning, achievement, motivation, and attitudes on (sic.) instructionally-relevant classroom activities". In comparison with the three assessment strategies above, authentic assessment has much in common with the formative and sustainable types of assessment. On summarising its main properties, Kohonen (2012, 35) notes that authentic assessment extends over the entire learning cycle; it is continuous, spanning a long period of time; it integrates the processes and outcomes of learning from a broad perspective; it takes place in relation to explicit goals with the help of many types of qualitative data gathered during the processes of learning; and it often consists of a combination of peer-assessment, self-assessment and assessment conducted by an expert or a professional. As a process-oriented type of co-operative assessment with personal relevance, authentic assessment intends to promote lifelong learning and, indeed, autonomous interdependence. Thus, it establishes a rather explicit link between assessment and autonomy in language educational contexts. In practice, authentic assessment has often been associated

with language learning tools such as the ELP in particular and portfolio work in general (see Kohonen 2012; Little 2012; Schärer 2012).

Different forms and degrees of self-assessment, which can loosely be viewed as the “independent judgement of the learner on their own competencies or achievements” (Tassinari 2015, 65), are often connected to pedagogies for autonomy. Referring to a number of autonomy researchers, Everhard (2015b) shows how dependence on external assessment has been associated with heteronomy while self-assessment is connected to co-directed, self-directed and independent modes of learning. Indeed, the value of self-assessment in the development of autonomy and lifelong learning has long been recognised (Holec 1981; Jiménez Raya 2006; Kohonen 1992, 2001; Little 2007). As the individual’s capacity to exercise control over and show development in language learning and beyond, autonomy presupposes ability and willingness to make both internal judgements about the degree of one’s success in one’s efforts, and decisions about further action on the basis of these judgements. As with assessment in general, Everhard (2015b) identifies levels of self-assessment ranging between superficial (technical) and deep (communicative and/or emancipatory) with the deep being associated with interdependence and autonomy rather than dependence and heteronomy. While it is well-known that developing self-assessment skills is demanding and takes time, practice and motivation, research has shown that a dialogue with advisors (Tassinari 2015) or peer-assessment (Everhard 2015a), for example, can be utilised as stepping-stones on a journey towards the deeper levels of self-assessment and, ultimately, autonomy.

I am inclined to see the communicative and emancipatory degrees of self-assessment as forms of critical (self)reflection. As noted by Everhard (2015b), reflection can with good reason be considered the glue in the assessment-autonomy relationship. Jiménez Raya (2006), among others, has argued that reflection marks the beginning of learner control. At best, reflection raises ideas to consciousness in ways that enable the person to see them from an outsider perspective and become his/her own critic. This makes planning and goal-setting on the basis of informed choices possible. Thus, the inclusion of self-assessment in language education in the form of critical (self)reflection, as conceptualised for example by Kohonen (2001) and Little (2007), can be considered a key aspect that defines the assessment processes in pedagogies for autonomy.

Studying autonomy in this research

Chapter 3 has framed the terrain of this research theoretically through the construct of autonomy. As the notion derives from diverse political, philosophical and theoretical origins, it is interpreted differently in different contexts. This contributes to the idea of autonomy in (relation to) language learning as a multifaceted construct, the meaning of which is far from self-explanatory and the conceptualisation of which may even be problematic. Benson (2001) is cautious of complex definitions attempting to embrace every potential aspect of the notion, since they risk becoming too complicated for practical use. More general definitions, on the other hand, may risk becoming vague and self-evident. Over the years, autonomy has also been confused or paralleled with concepts with their own integrity such as strategy use, learner beliefs, motivation and metacognition (see Cotterall 1995; Lamb 2010; Ushioda 2003; Wenden 1991, 1998). As Benson (2010a) has pointed out, investigating autonomy only through one or some of these notions may yield the assumption that no distinction exists between autonomy and them. This implies the need for straightforward definitions which capture the contextually relevant aspects of the notion, while still recognising the different versions, levels and components of the construct.

In this research, I see personal autonomy as a question of people's capacity or competence to struggle for the opportunity and freedom to be the author of their own lives within different sociocultural landscapes. It is both promoted and constrained by social and cultural conditions. I see autonomy in (relation to) language learning as a particular aspect of this personal autonomy, one connected to the TL-related spheres of life and involving language learning, communication and participation in those spheres. This view has been influenced by writers like Aoki (2012), Benson (2011b, 2013a), Kohonen (2009a), Kumaravadivelu (2003), Murray (2014a) and Pennycook (1997). It has also been influenced by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), whose conception of autonomy is one of the broadest in language education. This starting point for the investigation of autonomy in (relation to) language learning in the local GUSSA encompasses but also extends beyond the goal of fostering learner/student autonomy, which often refers to a certain kind of relationship between the learner and the learning process. This research is interested in fostering autonomy broadly in those TL-related environments that the students engage with, rather than fostering any particular

component of the construct in particular. Above (this chapter, 67), I examined this view with reference to scope, competence, control, dynamic, authenticity and dependence. The findings will shed light on if and how this conceptualisation needs to be specified.

In search for a contextually relevant conception of autonomy in the FL context of the local GUSSA, this research rests on the broad idea of fostering the TL-related aspects of the students' personal autonomy through FL education. Rather than confining itself to examining the development of certain components of autonomy, I wish to adopt a more open theoretical starting point that values any aspect of personal autonomy that language learning may promote, be it along the individual-cognitive (e.g., learning strategies), the social-interactive (e.g., social responsibility) or the political-critical (e.g., critical thinking) dimension. Not focusing on any single component, I will take a step backwards and respond to Smith's (2003) invitation to consider what autonomy actually refers to in a particular cultural context, what it is for, and if/how it can be enhanced. Also Holec (2009) has urged for considerations about autonomy in the diverse language learning environments that claim to be driven by autonomy by asking what the word *autonomy* refers to in the different *autonomy* approaches to language learning and teaching. In a desire to answer these questions, I will follow Smith's (2003, 255) advice to "keep an open mind and be aware of the strengths of different approaches but critical at the same time of attempts to reduce or co-opt learner autonomy to overly narrow interpretations of what 'ability to take charge' entails". I will preserve openness to different sources of insight.

Although Benson (2010a) has suggested that autonomy in language learning could be reduced to measurable behaviours and there have been attempts to do so (see Cooker 2015; Murase 2015; Tassinari 2015), my view is that it would still be challenging to operationalise autonomy in the broad sense adopted in this study so that its development could be measured convincingly. An indirect approach has been chosen instead to examine the GUSSA students' autonomy development during their EFL studies. Autonomy is not only considered a valuable language educational aim because of the democratic, humanist and liberal ideals generally associated with the concept but also due to the range of positive outcomes (such as capacity for lifelong learning, critical thinking, effectiveness of language learning, empowered sense of self, increasing independence and motivation, sense of responsibility, overall well-being, etc.) that growth to autonomy in the

processes of language learning is frequently connected to (e.g., Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2001; Benson & Voller 1997b; Gremmo & Riley 1995; Jiménez Raya 2008; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a; Rebenius 2007). Therefore, I will study autonomy in (relation to) language learning here by examining the individual FL students' development with regard to these potential outcomes, brought about by their EFL learning in the GUSSA.

As the totality of language learning benefits have increasingly been captured by the notion of identity (see chapter 4; also chapter 2, 38), I will examine the GUSSA students' FL learning processes in terms of identity. More specifically, it is the notion of FL identity that I have adopted to capture the students' development during their language learning processes. Elaborating on the concept of SL identity (see Benson et al. 2012, 2013), it will be suggested that a large part of the outcomes of formal institutional FL learning can be gathered under the heading of FL identity, which is used here to refer to those aspects of personal identity that incorporate and relate to the person's knowledge or use of the TL, i.e., the language learning person's identity in that particular language. Underlying this empirical attempt to study autonomy through the lens of identity is also the oft-made but ambiguous theoretical assumption that the two constructs are somehow intimately linked in the processes of language learning (see chapter 4, 109; also Benson 2013a; Huang & Benson 2013; Ushioda 2011; van Lier 2010). I will therefore assume that an investigation of FL learning within the framework of FL identity will be able to reveal something about the development of autonomy in (relation to) language learning.

All in all, this chapter has connected this research to the extensive autonomy-oriented, -related and -inspired literature within applied linguistics, language education and SLA (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Barfield & Brown 2007; Benson 2001, 2006; Benson & Cooker 2013; Benson & Voller 1997a; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008b; Kjisik et al. 2009; Kohonen 2005; Kohonen et al. 2001; Kühn & Péres Cavana 2012; Lamb & Reinders 2008; Little, Ridley & Ushioda 2003; Murray 2014b; Murray et al. 2011; O'Rourke & Carson 2010; Palfreyman & Smith 2003; Pemberton et al. 2009; Ribé 1999; Sinclair et al. 2000; Vieira 2009b; Yoshida et al. 2009). As research literature abounds with examples and case studies of attempts to foster autonomy both directly and indirectly, it is hardly possible or meaningful to provide a detailed description of the entire field.

To conclude this chapter, brief connections will therefore only be drawn between this study and three strands of influential autonomy-oriented research.

To begin with, the practitioner-based research of the 21st century often aims at promoting the participants' personal and professional growth, transformation and emancipation as members of different CoPs (Allwright 2003; Hanks 2009; Kohonen 2009a, 2009b, 2010). As pointed out above (chapter 1, 26), exploratory practice shares many ideas with autonomy. Although the approach does not focus on autonomy explicitly, parallels can be detected between fostering autonomy and promoting inclusion, participation and mutual development, which are all embedded in the basic principles of EP (Allwright 2005; Hanks 2009). This kind of practitioner-oriented classroom research that explicitly exploits EP in its methodology has become more and more alluring worldwide in recent years, as can be noted from the number of international studies published in the field (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Aoki 2009a; Gieve & Miller 2006a; Harjanne & Tella 2009; Johnson 2002; Miller 2009).

This study also links up with Finnish research into language learning and teaching and follows in the footsteps of Hildén and Salo (2011), Jaatinen (2007), Jaatinen et al. (2009), Karlsson (2008a, 2008b), Karlsson and Kjisik (2011), Kohonen (2010), Kohonen and Kaikkonen (2002), Kohonen et al. (2001), Koskensalo, Smeds, Kaikkonen & Kohonen (2007) and Mäkinen et al. (2004). Associations with autonomy can be identified within this tradition, as it rests on the basis of language education (chapter 2) and displays connections to European development work, including the CEFR (Council of Europe 2001; de Cillia 2007; Sheils 2010) and the ELP (Kohonen 2002, 2005, 2009a; Kohonen & Korhonen 2007; Kühn & Péres Cavana 2012; Little 2009; Riley 2010; Schärer 2010; Ushioda 2006).

Finally, when it comes to the European research tradition on autonomy in (relation to) language learning, similarities can be detected between this research and the research conducted by the EuroPAL research group (see Jiménez Raya 2009; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008b; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Vieira 2009b). This tradition has adopted a view that contemplates pedagogy for autonomy as a shared, transformative and empowering process which aims at making teaching and learning more humane and satisfactory. The idea of fostering FL students' personal autonomy in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA is based on similar aspirations.

4 FOREIGN LANGUAGE IDENTITY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Issues concerning identity saturate the spheres of many people's daily lives and have also become the focus of increasing scholarly interest (Block 2007a, 2007b; Morgan & Clarke 2011). Over the past two decades or so, this development has been fuelled by the postmodern age of globalisation, which has contributed to the preoccupation with individuals and their agency, and brought about a shift from essentialised to constructivist views characterised by fluidity and instability. Modern language education has also underlined the intimate relationship between language and identity, with a number of scholars proposing that language learning involves transformations of identity (among others, Block 2007a; Kaikkonen 2012; Kramsch 2009; Lin, Wang, Akamatsu & Riazi 2002; Menard-Warwick 2005; Norton 2013; Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000; Ricento 2005; Riley 2010; Smith 2003; Toohey & Norton 2003; van Lier 2007). One of the earliest studies to indicate the importance of identity in language learning, that of Norton Peirce (1995), was based on case studies of immigrant women in Canada. These and the studies that followed have demonstrated the meaning of identity in maintaining personal coherence, guiding interpretations and directing behaviour during the processes of language learning.

As a concept, identity is far from transparent and self-explanatory. No universally accepted or operationalised definition of the term exists within applied linguistics, language education or SLA. Instead, these fields have actively borrowed from sociology, psychology and philosophy. Attempting to make sense of the Western views on identity, Hall (1999) suggests three broad approaches to identity. First, *the subject of the Enlightenment* refers to the essentialist self equipped with reason, consciousness and a capacity to act. Although this tradition sees the self develop from birth, the views within this approach assume that its core remains unaltered. Second, *the sociological subject* is constructed intersubjectively in interaction between "significant others". One's understanding of oneself relies on the recognition received by others. A person is defined

differently in different social and cultural contexts, which become resources for the constructive process. Third, *the postmodern subject* abandons the term ‘subject’ altogether, claiming that identities are discursively constructed subject positions (subjectivities), with postmodern identity being fluid, polyphonic and produced in an ongoing interactive process of redefinition.

Introducing identity as the second key concept of the present research, this chapter will depict identity as something between the sociological and the postmodern. First, the adopted approach will be labelled and identified theoretically as a poststructuralist view of identity. After grounding this view by discussing identity with respect to the notions of discourse, positioning, community of practice and narrative, a conception of FL identity will be suggested as a construct to capture identity and language learning in the FL context. Finally, the connections between FL identity, autonomy and agency will be considered.

A poststructuralist view

This research has adopted what can be called a poststructuralist (with limitations, also postmodern and social constructionist) approach to identity (Block 2007a, 2007b; de Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006; Giddens 1991; Menard-Warwick 2005; Morgan & Clarke 2011; Norton 2013). Block (2007a, 13) has described poststructuralism as “moving beyond the universal and invariant laws of humanity to more nuanced, multileveled and ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us”. Although this approach is not unitary or consistent, it offers a less simplistic take on identity, representing a broad reaction against the essentialist and social structuralist views according to which the self is a product of biological and relatively fixed social and cultural conditions. Referring to Smart (1999, 38), Block (2007b, 91) summarises how the poststructuralist approach is concerned about

- (i) the crisis of representation and associated instability of meaning; (ii) the absence of secure foundations for knowledge; (iii) the analytic centrality of language, discourses and texts; (iv) the inappropriateness of the Enlightenment assumption of the rational autonomous subject and a counter, contrasting concentration on the ways in which individuals are constituted as subjects.

Denying the existence of the rational autonomous subject has consequences for the notion of identity. Weedon (1997, 32) uses the term ‘subjectivity’ to refer to “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation in the world”. While the social structuralist view contemplates identity as a fairly stable, embodied entity, Weedon sees subjectivity as a precarious, contradictory and unfinished project discursively reconstituted whenever the person thinks or speaks. Similar ideas have been proposed by Giddens (1991), who has argued that individuals are obliged to construct their personal identities in discursive and narrative processes while living in postmodern societies where the meaning of established identities has diminished substantially. In the following subsections, I will capture the poststructuralist conception of identity with four interrelated notions: discourse, positioning, community of practice and narrative.

Discourse and positioning

Comprehending the notion of *discourse* is important for understanding the adopted poststructuralist take on identity. When interpreting Weedon, who mostly follows Foucault, Block (2007a) elaborates on the notion by drawing on scholars like du Gay, Layder, Gee and Blommaert. Not only do they view discourse as a language for talking about a topic or a process of knowledge production; they also conceptualise it from a broader perspective. Gee (1996) views discourse as a way of being in the world, a form of living which integrates words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, gestures, glances, body positions, clothes, etc. For Blommaert (2005, 3), discourse “comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use”. With these views in mind, Block (2007a) examines discourses as resources of identity construction and discursive activity as an expression of one’s subject positions (also Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). This study has adopted a similar take on the meaning of discourse for personal identity, which is seen as constructed within discourses (see Hall 1999). More specifically, the discourses of interest here are those connected to FL learning, teaching, use, and participation that somehow involves the TL.

Another useful concept in examining identity is *positioning*, which can be understood as people’s location in discourse when they are engaged in meaning

construction both reflexively and interactively with others (Bamberg 1997, 2006; Davies & Harré 1990; Harré & van Langenhove 1999b; van Langenhove & Harré 1999; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). Moita-Lopes (2006) has identified two specific uses of the term. First, positioning refers to the sociohistorical situatedness of discursive practices and to the enunciation of the “I”. Seen like this, positioning is equated with the perspectives and angles that people adopt when acting in the world (cf. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain 1998). Second, positioning is used in a narrower sense to refer to a construct that accounts for the social effects of what people say to each other in the discursive practices that they are embedded in. The social subject does not exist outside and independently of discourse; engaging with each other in daily activities, individuals position themselves and others (and are positioned by others) through their discursive practices in various subject positions (Davies & Harré 1999; also van Langenhove & Harré 1999). This study views positioning both as a discursive practice that constitutes the subject in certain ways and as a provider of resources allowing the subject to negotiate new subject positions. Rather than studying the act of positioning in discursive practices as such, however, this study has adopted positioning as a broad theoretical construct that not only becomes useful in analysing social interaction but also in understanding how people adopt subject positions and situate themselves in relation to each other and the world over time.

There is a broadly established link between positioning and identity (Harré & van Langenhove 1999b; Davies & Harré 1999). In particular, Wortham (2000, 2001) has argued that autobiographical narratives position the narrator and that such narrative positioning is crucial to narrative self-construction (also Harré & van Langenhove 1999a; Pavlenko 2001a). When taking up a particular subject position, the narrator acts like someone in that positioning and “becomes more like that kind of person” (Wortham 2001, 9). The narrator’s words “echo the words of others in that positioning: he is in dialogue with the words of others who have been in that positioning, as well as with the words of interlocutors in the narrative practice itself” (Moita-Lopes 2006, 296–297). Wortham and Gadsden (2006) have elaborated on this argument, suggesting a theory of narrative positioning that consists of various ways in which autobiographical narration contributes to narrative self-construction. First, narrators position themselves as having experienced the narrated events. Second, narrators position the people in the narrative, their selves included. Third, narrators often evaluate the types of

characters represented in the narrative and finally, narrators also position themselves with respect to their interlocutors.

Drawing on Bamberg (1997, 2006), Barkhuizen (2010) has further suggested that three interrelated levels are involved in this type of narrative positioning, with level 1 referring to the narrator positioning characters and events in the narrative, level 2 to the narrator positioning him-/herself with respect to the audience of narration, and level 3 to the narrator taking an ideological position in relation to existing discourses. This research will show particular interest in positioning beyond the actual social moment of storytelling on level 1, which will be referred to as the storyworld-level in this research. Adopted from Herman (2009), the notion of storyworld will be used to refer to the totality of environments, conditions and circumstances which are represented in the narratives and which constitute the context for the storied events and experiences. The notion emphasises the fact that although narratives cannot mirror any uninterpreted world, they still do not refer to the world of fiction either (see chapter 5, 120).

The process of situating, Davies and Harré (1999) continue, is oriented towards what for the individual constitutes a coherent narrative for the particular activity, time and place. It is an interactive, contextually anchored process of constant redefinition between different interlocutor positions, the speech acts produced and the developing storyline – an attempt to see the multiple and possibly conflicting subject positions as a coherent entity (Moghaddam 1999; van Langenhove & Harré 1999). The project to resolve ambivalence is discussed by Giddens (1991, 47) as an ongoing narrative in search for “ontological security”. Positioning does not limit itself to the present, however. Speaking in the present, the individual may be engaged in positioning him-/herself in the past or projecting into the future. This is also the case when FL learners talk or write about their language learning, which can be seen as a discursive, autobiographical process of reflexive meaning construction (Harré & van Langenhove 1999a). Doing that, they not only situate themselves in relation to other people and contexts but also position themselves temporally in relation to their past and future selves as FL learners and users.

The idea of striving for coherent life narratives raises the question of identity work as a conscious project saturated by individual agency (Levine 2005). When examining the reconstruction of selves, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, 171) have noted that “it is ultimately through their own intentions and agency that people

decide to undergo or not to undergo the agonizing process of linguistic, cultural, and personal transformation”. Indeed, there seems to be a powerful subjective element involved in identity construction, be it conscious or unconscious, premeditated or spontaneous. Block (2007a) has drawn on Giddens and Mathews when arguing that there is always some space for individual choice and the reflexive constitution of self-identity even in extreme life conditions.

Referring to Mathews’s notion of the cultural supermarket as a metaphoric framework, within which identity may develop, Block (2007a) nevertheless points out that not every individual has equal access to the market and not any identity can be adopted there. Instead, “there are social structures within which individuals exist (be these state governments, peer groups or educational systems) which constrain the amount and scope of choice available to individuals” (Block 2007a, 22–23). Although these structures can represent and include enabling action/meaning potentials (van Lier 2004), this research does not deny the fact that they also involve intricate relations of power, as argued by Bourdieu (1991). In the field of applied linguistics, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) have pointed out that several factors deriving from predominant discourses and relations of power influence identity construction. These relations may, for example, manifest themselves through subject positions imposed on oneself by others. In addition to achieving, claiming and articulating identities, they can be ascribed, attributed and offered to us by someone else. Although being defined by others is not always negative, it makes identity a question of recognition, whether or not we are accepted and valued as fully functional members of the communities with which we desire to identify (see Miller 1999, 2003; Norton 2013).

Community of practice and narrative

To elaborate on the idea of community, the notion of *community of practice*, CoP (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) is suitable for framing identity work taking place in tension between individual agency and the affordances provided by the prevailing conditions (for criticism of the term, see Gee 2005). A CoP can be defined as an “aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour” (Block 2007a, 25). In a community like this, members are regularly involved in a joint enterprise, building up and accessing a shared repertoire of resources for negotiating meaning (Lamb 2013). In other words, the

members of a CoP have certain ways of talking, thinking and doing; they are built around a common core of beliefs, values and relations, and they have their established practices (Block 2007a). Not all CoPs have to be real, however, as proposed by Norton (2013) and associated scholars. For example Yashima (2013) has recently emphasised the power of imagination and imagined communities for L2 learners studying foreign languages in formal institutional FL contexts.

This study examines language learning as situated activity framed by social participation in CoPs, actual and imagined. According to Wenger (1998, 4), social participation refers to a “process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relationship to these communities” (author’s italics). In the FL context, the social communities are formed around language learning and use. Participation begins peripherally: newcomers are granted sufficient legitimacy to be treated as potential members of the community. For this to happen, Block (2007a, 25) points out, they need to have sufficient and appropriate (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) capital, a term by Bourdieu referring to the “resources and assets necessary to be a fully functioning participant” in a particular community. As people enter the community, the social structure and the dynamics of the community change, which is why communities and identities are in a state of constant reconstruction. Identities constitute and are constituted by the environment, which provides affordances to individuals who alter and recreate it (Lamb 2013). Ideally, this interaction is dialogic. In adopting this view, this research does not deny the influence of the social, cultural and other conditions on identity, despite committing itself to discursively constructed subjectivity. As Wenger (1998, 151) has noted, identities are not simply discursively constructed categories of self but lived experiences of participation in communities where the meanings of subject positions, narratives and categories are worked out in practice.

An aspect that deserves more attention concerns the *narrative* nature of identity. The poststructuralist approach often assumes a connection between narrative and self, claiming that selves are storied. My understanding of narrative and identity is based on what Ricœur (1991b, 1992) and scholars drawing on him argue about the relationship between the notions (see chapter 5). The core of this argumentation lies in that people interpret themselves and the world by telling and retelling stories within the limits set by the language and culture in which they exist (Bruner 1996a; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). The “narrating,

autobiographical self' (McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich 2006) positions him-/herself over and over again in relation to people and contexts over time and space. In this process, self-narratives do not simply represent a person's life but they produce the person's identities (Bruner 1991a).

Moreover, the view adopted implies that identity consists of situated, interpreted, temporal, storied experiences about the speaker, where s/he comes from and where s/he is going (Mishler 2006; Ropo 2009a; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013; see chapter 5). Identity is also a relational process when manifesting itself in narrative; subjectivity is intersubjective, arising and being sustained in interaction and discourse. This is because identity construction is considered both social and personal: people draw on cultural resources when telling their stories but they choose by themselves what to include in them and what to exclude from them. Although subjectivity is also more than a linguistic phenomenon (see Sclater 2003), this research will examine subjectivity as described here, as a discursive process inseparable from its narration and manifested both in and through narrative.

However, since narrative identity deserves to be put in a wider ontological and epistemological framework, these issues will be returned to in chapter 5, which will address the notion of narrative and the storied elements of knowing and being in more detail. Here, reference will only be made to Block's (2007a, 27) summary of the poststructuralist approach to identity that examines

identities as socially constructed, self-conscious, ongoing narratives that individuals perform, interpret and project in dress, bodily movements, actions and language. [...] Identities are about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future. Individuals are shaped by their sociohistories as life goes on. The entire process is conflictive as opposed to harmonious and individuals often feel ambivalent. There are unequal power relations to deal with, around the different capitals – economic, cultural and social – that both facilitate and constrain interactions with others in the different communities of practice with which individuals engage in their lifetimes.

In sum, the present study examines identity from a poststructuralist perspective as an ongoing, experiential, discursively constructed, storied interpretation of oneself in relation to the world, a narrative answer to the questions: Who am I? Where do I come from? Where do I belong? Where am I going? This temporal process is situated within the dynamic of the past, present

and future. This process is not entirely elusive or fluid; it has points of reference rooted in cultural, historical, social and other resources. The question to propose is: what kind of implications does this view impose on FL learning?

Introducing foreign language identity

Reflecting and elaborating on the poststructuralist take on identity (see the previous section), Norton (2013, 45) defines identity in the SL context as “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future”. Frequent claims have been made that meaningful language learning entails empowering and/or liberating transformations of personal identity, i.e., the creation, development, modification or construction of identities which enable personal autonomy, authenticity and agency in nearby communities as well as encounters with foreign cultures (Benson et al. 2013; Kaikkonen 2012; Lamb 2013; Norton 1997; Riley 2010; Ropo 2009a; van Lier 2007, 2008). For example, Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi (2002) have identified different stages in the process of language learning, as the TL evolves from a more or less irrelevant or external language for instrumental purposes to an intimate language for self-expansion and enrichment, for exploration and understanding.

These knowledge claims about the connections between language learning and reconstructions of identity are based on the idea that language learning is not only about acquiring new linguistic structures for communication. Language as a culture-related concept is a basic way of existing in the world, seeing the world and its people as part of this world, expressing membership in and affiliation to different collectives, assuming subject positions, participating in some ways of living and dissociating from other groups and lifestyles (Kaikkonen 2012; also Taylor 1989). In other words, whenever people use language, they re-organise a sense of who they are and how they relate to the world (Norton 1997, 2013). When expressing their understandings and commitments through language, people take a stand on their selves and personal identities; they engage in the process of identity construction.

Block (2007a, 40) calls the relationship between language and identity ethnolinguistic identity, or simply language identity, which he views as the

“assumed and/or attributed relationship between one’s sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language (e.g. English) a dialect (e.g. Geordie) or a sociolect (e.g. football-speak)”. According to him, language identity involves language expertise, affiliation and inheritance. Expertise is about how proficient the person is in the language in question and if s/he is accepted as a proficient language user by other TL users. Affiliation refers to one’s attitudes towards and affective connection to the language whereas inheritance is a matter of being born into a community that is associated with a particular language. As one can inherit a language but feel no affiliation towards it nor have any expertise in it, examinations of language identities need to adopt dynamic approaches that focus on the achieved, inhabited and imposed subject positions and the person’s semiotic behaviour (acts of identity) in the TL communities. (Block 2007a.)

Mercer (1990, 43) has claimed that “identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty”, whereas according to Bauman (1999, xxx), “no thoughts are given to identity when belonging comes naturally”. “The notion of identity struggle”, van Lier (2010, xiii) continues, “or of developing new or different identities, is most relevant in a situation in which a person experiences changed or changing environments, including educational, vocational, linguistic or intercultural environments.” As learning a second or a foreign language can be considered an intercultural experience involving changes in perceptions regarding one’s culture and the newly experienced culture, and changes in relationships with the people of the new culture, FL learning can be seen as a potential situation of change, crisis and conflict that entails transformations of existing identities if not the creation of new ones (cf. Kramsch 2009). Block (2007a, 20–22) describes the result in terms of ambivalent, hybrid, third place identities. As identities are ideally in harmony with their surroundings, it is natural for people to attempt to resolve the conflicts underlying this ambivalence – hence the metaphor of a struggle to forge new identities that are true to the self in the changing or changed environment (van Lier 2007).

Benson et al. (2012, 2013) have described the outcome of this identity work in terms of SL identity. They view SL identity as a complex construct, defining it as “any aspect of a person’s identity that is connected to their knowledge or use of a second language” (Benson et al. 2013, 28). Although they emphasise that this

definition is provisional and inadequate, it is also useful. It situates language identity within the broader framework of personal or social identity. It suggests that there is more to SL identity than affiliations and identifications with the TL and the TL community. The writers use the notion in a holistic sense, proposing that language learning recontextualises people's knowledge of themselves and their first languages so that a person who knows more languages has a different type of personal identity to a person who knows only one language. Benson et al. (ibid., 29, 33) point out that SL identity is more than a second 'language identity'; SL identity incorporates a "complex relationship to all the languages a person knows and the relationships among them", providing a "multifaceted conceptual lens that can help us see how selves are situated in the social, cultural and linguistic worlds they inhabit".

In this research, a similar approach to the GUSSA students' language identities has been adopted. Instead of SL identity, however, the term 'FL identity' has been used with reference to any aspect of a person's identity that is connected to their knowledge or use of the foreign language. Paralleling with Benson et al.'s (2013) definition of SL identity, FL identity is provisionally used in this research to refer to those aspects of personal identity that are related to the FL to be learnt, which in this case is English. FL identity is thus examined as the person's identity in the TL, which is not simply another language identity. Instead, as Ricento (2005) has put it, the outcome of language learning is a language identity that is not exclusively anchored in one culture/language or another. There is a more complex relationship between the person and his/her FL identity instead. Since the person may certainly know more than one foreign language, this view also implies the existence of multiple FL identities, which together combine into a more or less coherent and meaningful whole contributing to the ongoing, dynamic development of personal identity in diverse sociocultural and sociolinguistic contexts.

According to Benson et al. (2012, 2013), one of the challenges in conceptualising identity concerns its many facets. Referring to SL and FL literature, the writers identify six facets of identity which involve both inner psychological and social-interactional dimensions. These include 1) the self as attached to a particular body (embodied identity), 2) people's sense of who they are (reflexive identity), 2) the identities people project to others (projected identity), 3) the identities ascribed to people by others (recognised identity), 4)

the self's view of its possibilities (imagined identity) and 5) socially-validated identity categories (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, gender), within which identities are negotiated (identity categories and resources). As these identity domains are rarely in harmony with each other, this frame makes it easier to understand why the metaphors of 'work' and 'struggle' are related to identity development. The literature that Benson et al. refer to captures the conflicts and tensions between these facets of identity, also illustrating how identity construction in language learning is a dynamic project dependent on individual agency and the social and cultural contexts involved. This study is concerned with the FL students' reflexive, projected, recognised and imagined identities as a whole, as they become evident in the storied accounts that the participants give of their TL-related lives, since those domains allow access to the processes and outcomes of the FL learning and teaching of interest here.

In attempts to define this FL identity further, this research will rely on van Lier (2010, x), who considers the self a reference point and identity a "family of processes and activities that co-reference and co-create self and world in a number of ways, with the goal of achieving an ecological fit." Van Lier sees the self as referring to one and the same person ("I" and "me") across time and space. He examines the self through agency, claiming that self is connected to a person who is "compelled to, motivated to, allowed to, and coerced to act" on one hand, and "deciding to, wanting to, insisting to, agreeing to, and negotiating to act" on the other (ibid., x). It is the self that speaks, feels and interacts. This self is relational, "sprouting" identities in its relations with the world. While the self can be regarded as the personal history of a person, identity is the "project of this person [...] to place him or herself in the world, and to act in this world in some identifiable manner" (van Lier 2004, 125). Van Lier (2010) uses the term 'identity' like this to refer to a project and a projection of the self which are related to and dependent on the social environments in which the person lives. As identities can be negotiated, desired, contested, resisted, reconstructed and even destroyed, this project and projection is in a process of constant change. Viewed like this, FL identity can be understood as a person's developing concept of self in relation to the TL. This concept is then constituted by the different facets of identity listed above.

As a temporal-hermeneutic process mediated through the narratives that the FL students tell about their relation to the world (see chapter 5, 130; also Ricœur

1992), FL identity is not simply an invariant attribute in the “mind”. Dependency on social contexts implies that FL identities are discursively constructed in dynamic tension between individual agency and ever-changing sociocultural conditions. Despite this discursive construction, however, a person’s FL identity is not seen to rely so much on short-term interactional positionings as on longer-term developmental processes. FL identities are based on flexible, experiential self-interpretations of cultural, social and communal belongings, non-belongings, affiliations and acts of distancing, as individual FL learners identify themselves as members of some groups, exclude themselves from others, feel connection to some phenomena and disentangle themselves from others (also Taylor 1989). This emphasises the need to examine identity as situated in a context. The present research theorises FL identity like this, as a complex, dynamic and substantially narrative process involving dialectic relations between the FL student and the changing worlds and experiences that s/he inhabits and which act on him/her (cf. Ricento 2005). As Gubrium and Holstein (2008, 243) have put it: “Who and what we are [...] are not so much personal but relational stories; they are narratives that mirror the kinds of accounts we engage as we go about the business of living.”

Being dependent on the social context, (the development of) FL identity is also about degrees of audibility in the TL. It is about being heard, listened to, recognised, valued and accepted as a genuine language user and participant by the other members of the TL-related communities. This claim emphasises the need to take the social, reciprocal aspects of the identity processes seriously. For Bakhtin (1981, 1984), this dialectic embedded in the identity processes represents a fundamental form of human existence. According to him, the self connects to the world through dialogue, a term adopted by the scholar to refer to the social meaning-making process through which the self develops in on-going interaction with other people and the world (also Marchenkova 2004; Vitanova 2004):

Dialogue is not the threshold to action, it is the action itself. It is not a means for revealing, for bringing to the surface the already ready-made character of a person: no, in dialogue a person not only shows himself outwardly, but he becomes for the first time what he is (Bahtin 1984, 252).

For Bakhtin, language learning does not mean adopting linguistic forms and structures detached from the world. Instead, language is appropriated in dialogue with the world, forming the foundation of being in a particular context. People

construct, negotiate and shape themselves discursively by using language as their tool. For this, they need a voice, which in the Bakhtinian (1981) sense is a metaphoric expression referring to infusing one's words with one's feelings, thoughts and identity, i.e., investing oneself in one's socially, culturally and historically embedded words. As Vitanova (2004, 166) has put it: "To be a person is synonymous with having a voice, being heard, addressed, and responded to."

According to van Lier (2004, 2007), a voice in an FL has three conditions: awareness of the language and learning, autonomy and self-determination in using and learning the language and authenticity in the acts of speaking. The words, the self and its emerging identities need to be closely connected. The language learner must be allowed to make the sounds and meanings his/her own. This process is also about wanting and daring to commit to the new discourse and accept the transformations of the self that follow. With this in mind, voice can be viewed as an intersection between individual agency and personal identity. The development of voice can also help the language learner gain greater control of the construction of his/her FL identity. According to Vitanova (2004, 156), narratives play a substantial role in this process: "Narrative spaces [...] become the intertextual ground for contesting others' voices, re-accentuating their utterances with new meaning, and re-interpreting the self through another."

This research is interested in the development of any aspect of the person's identity that relates to their knowledge and use of the TL in a theoretical framework like the one suggested above. This framework captures a holistic conception of FL identity as an aspect of the language learner's personal or social identity. With its many facets, this identity is a complex, on-going project and a projection of the self, a contextually rooted self-concept constructed narratively in discourses through dialectic relations with the world. This FL identity is based on the person's storied self-interpretations in relation to the TL and the world connected to it. Following Benson et al. (2012), who cite Wenger (2000, 241–242), FL identity is "neither unitary nor fragmented" but "an intersection of many relationships" that constitute "the experience of being a person". With this in mind, Benson et al. continue, identity becomes a question of integrating and aligning the different facets of identity so that they are in harmony with the learner's personal and social identities relevant in the context in question. Voice can be viewed as the outcome of a successful integration and alignment process.

Foreign language identity as a framework for foreign language learning

In this research, I examine formal institutional FL learning in the framework of FL identity. Exploring migration, study abroad and the FL classroom as the three major contexts of language learning, Block (2007a, 109, 137) has questioned this starting point. He argues that migration is “one in which critical experiences, leading to the emergence of new subject positions, are likely to occur” while “the prospects for TL-mediated subject positions in the FL context are minimal to non-existent”. Viewing critical experiences as a precondition for identity development, Block (*ibid.*, 21) defines such experiences as

periods of time during which prolonged contact with an L2 and a new and different cultural setting causes irreversible destabilization of the individual’s sense of self. There is, in a sense, an element of before and after in critical experiences as the individual’s sociohistorical, cultural and linguistic environment, once well defined and delimited, becomes relatively ill defined and open-ended.

To provide evidence for his doubts about the prospects of identity construction in the FL context, Block refers to several studies worldwide. First, he claims that neither the students’ increased crosscultural knowledge nor raised awareness of language provide them with feelings of uncertainty or ambivalence, which he regards as characteristic of critical experiences. Second, he notes that the identity work that is going on in the formal institutional FL context mostly concerns the CoPs inside the FL classroom instead of directly involving the TL. Finally, he claims that there is too much L1-mediated interference in the FL classrooms for profound changes to occur in the language learners’ conceptual systems and their senses of themselves. Although Block (*ibid.*, 137) sees certain recent developments in the FL context as promising with regard to identity work, he emphasises that the identity work in this context is nonetheless very different to what goes on in more naturalistic conditions.

Similar arguments about language learning in classrooms have also been made by others. For example, Pavlenko (2005, 9) has viewed language learning in a classroom environment as a matter of “mapping of new linguistic items onto the pre-existing conceptual system”, which does not contribute to personal transformation. Discussing identity from the perspective of inner speech, Lantolf (2013, 25) has argued that “it takes much more than using the language for communicative and reflective tasks in a classroom setting to produce a functional

inner speech in a new language”. This leads him (*ibid.*, 26) to wonder “what the chances are for promoting a reorganization of an individual’s inner order through educational activity alone, or whether language education should even worry about this issue”. Indeed, it seems that applied linguistics and language education have not worried about the issue actively, judging by the fact that there has not been much research on identity in formal institutional FL contexts although identity research in the SL context has flourished (Gao, Li & Li 2002). This underinvestigated territory has also been noted by Terry Lamb (2011), who points out that little attention has been paid to issues about identity in (secondary) school contexts despite their importance.

For anyone working or researching within formal institutional FL education, these claims about the irrelevance of identity in the FL context should be a source of concern since language education theory has generally adopted identity as one of its key concepts (chapter 2, 38). However, this research will present findings that challenge some of these claims and doubts, enabling me to position myself closer to researchers like Gao et al. (2002), Kramsch (2009), Lamb (2013), van Lier (2007) and Yashima (2013) – who do consider identity development possible also in the formal institutional FL context. The empirical evidence will suggest that the range of personal outcomes in FL learning can, indeed, be examined in terms of FL identity. While Block (2007a) emphasises identity work mediated by the TL, I will argue here that there is valuable identity work going on in the FL classroom which is related to the TL but not necessarily mediated by it directly. To a substantial degree, this identity work still involves assuming more empowered subject positions in relation to the TL.

There is certainly variation in the extent of this identity work, depending on the learners and the institution, but this is how it also is in migration and study abroad contexts (see Benson et al. 2012, 2013). Not every FL learner will demonstrate the same amount or level of identity development in the same time. Not every FL learner has the same critical experiences, either. After all, an experience is not critical in and of itself; it is the person him-/herself who attributes meaning to the experience (Webster & Mertova 2007, 73). This does not mean that FL education cannot or should not be examined in terms of promoting FL identity development fuelled or triggered by “non-routine and often unpredictable events that require substantial modifications of self-identity to enable the person to adjust to the changed circumstances” (Benson et al. 2013,

32). For the less proficient, even the smallest shifts in their TL-related subject positions, memberships in and affiliations to TL-related communities may be of importance for their identity development. Thus, this research will also provide empirical evidence that FL learners can be touched by the TL at a much deeper level through FL education so that it will ultimately have a positive, liberating impact on the students. At best, this identity development may enable the person to become better positioned in relation to autonomy, authenticity and agency in different social and linguistic communities, be they familiar, foreign or multicultural.

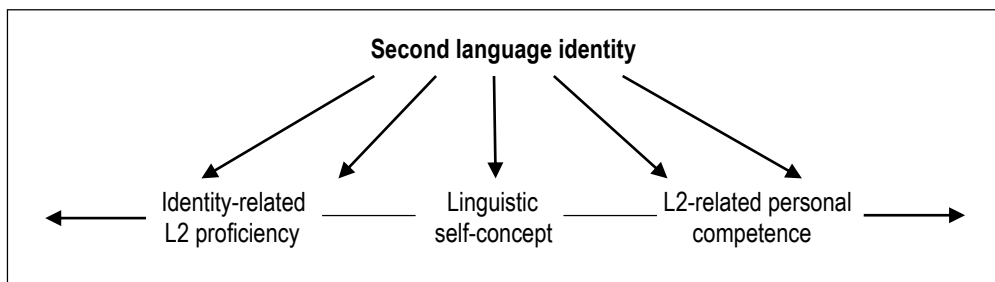


Figure 1. Potential second language outcomes of study abroad (adapted from Benson et al. 2013, 42)

My point of departure in the present study is that formal institutional FL learning has a great potential to become a holistic process with several possible outcomes. Investigating SL identities in study abroad contexts, Benson et al. (2013, 41–49) introduced students whose enhanced FL proficiency increased their competence to function as a person by improving their problem-solving skills and ability to speak appropriately in social situations in different intercultural environments (sociopragmatic and sociolinguistic competences). They also identified development in how the students perceived their abilities and roles as language learners and their progress in relation to the context in which they were learning (linguistic self-concept). Furthermore, they discovered that the students’ use of the L2 contributed to their self-confidence, maturity, degree of independence, academic qualifications, awareness and acceptance of cultural differences as well as a broader world view in general (personal independence, intercultural competence and academic competence). In these outcomes,

language learning, identity development and broader personal growth are intimately intertwined with each other.

These findings lead Benson et al. (2012, 2013) to the conclusion that a large part of the continuum of possible language learning outcomes for study abroad contexts is occupied by a complex intersection between linguistic and personal outcomes and processes which can be captured using the term ‘SL identity’. Furthermore, they propose a continuum of these outcomes, the central portion of which ranges from identity-related L2 proficiency to linguistic self-concept and different forms of L2-related personal life competence (see Figure 1). On the basis of empirical evidence, this research will propose that FL classrooms can be examined as important construction sites for FL identities, and that the model suggested by Benson et al., developed to capture language learning outcomes in study abroad contexts, can also be adopted to understand language learning in the FL classroom.

On the interconnections between autonomy, identity and agency

The previous section suggested that FL identity can be adopted as a broad framework to encompass several potential language learning outcomes in the FL context. With this in mind, serious attempts will be made here to study autonomy in (relation to) language learning through the lens of FL identity. Seeing such complex constructs as autonomy and identity in relation to one other has been considered challenging since the two notions are often scrutinised within very different theoretical frameworks. This does not diminish the need to examine the connections between the constructs as many scholars working in the field have still made either implicit or explicit claims about their interconnections (e.g., Benson 2007; Benson & Cooker 2013; Gao & Lamb 2011; Hildén 2011; Holec 2009; Huang & Benson 2013; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Lamb 2013; Lave & Wenger 1991; Menezes 2013; Morgan 1996; Palfreyman 2014; Smith 2003; Straub et al. 2005; Ushioda 2011; van Lier 2010; Wenger 1998; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). One only needs to consider that both autonomy and identity are commonly associated with “meaningful”, “successful” and “useful” language learning to find the germ of truth in this. However, this is where the agreement

often ends. The relationship between autonomy and identity is filled with confusions and contradictions, as the following few examples will illustrate.

Palfreyman (2014) touches upon the relationship between autonomy and identity when studying the ecology of learner autonomy. In his discussion, he (*ibid.*, 183) claims, for example, that “the autonomous learner will develop a more or less clear idea of the identity which underlies her/his learning or toward which she is striving”. What this statement appears to imply is that autonomy in language learning is somehow prior to identity, or that identity development presupposes autonomous language learning behaviour. Underlining the language learners’ opportunities to “speak as themselves” in FL classrooms, Ushioda (2011), on a somewhat similar note, implies that fostering student autonomy is necessary for identity development; “people’s motivations and identities develop and emerge as dynamically co-constructed processes” in contexts that foster autonomy in the form of “social participation in opportunities, negotiations and activities”, she (*ibid.*, 21–22) argues.

Van Lier (2004) agrees with Ushioda and Palfreyman when suggesting that autonomy is crucial for the development of one’s voice, which van Lier uses as a notion to incorporate both agency and identity. Support for these assumptions has also been provided by Little (1996, 210) who has stated earlier that “[r]elative to schooling in general, the autonomous learner is one whose learning gradually enlarges his or her sense of identity”. These few examples confirm what Benson and Cooker (2013) have noted: there appears to be connections between autonomy and identity when it comes to language learning, with identity development often being addressed through the construct of autonomy (and increasingly also through the construct of agency). However, these claims actually define the relationship between the two constructs much more specifically, as they make (implicit) claims that autonomy (development) is a paramount condition for identity development in the diverse contexts of SL and FL learning.

On the other hand, we have scholars like Morgan (1996, 239), who has argued that “personal autonomy is essentially a matter of coherence among all the aspects of one’s identity”. According to Morgan, the development of autonomy is what follows the self-reflective process, through which the person adds coherence among his/her diverse and shifting identities. If not explicitly arguing that identity is prior to autonomy, Morgan suggests that autonomy and identity develop

intimately hand in hand. On a similar note, Benson (2007) brings up Straub et al. (2005, 330), who propose that “self-determined intentions, decisions and action presuppose knowledge of who one is (has become) and who one wants to be”. Examining this knowledge as constructed through self-narratives, the writers argue that a postmodern theory of autonomous personality depends heavily on a theory of narrative identity. Similar claims have also been made by Yrjänäinen and Ropo (2013), who argue that a sufficiently empowered narrative identity is an essential precondition for one’s emerging sense of autonomy. Following these approaches, autonomy is grounded in identities which become individual through narration.

Thirdly, there are many views that acknowledge the relatedness between autonomy and identity without specifying the nature of this relationship. For example, in their influential theory of situated learning, Lave and Wenger (1991; also Wenger 1998) promote a view, according to which becoming a fully functioning member of a community entails the development of one’s personal identity. From an autonomy theoretical perspective, becoming a fully functioning member of the language learning community can be understood in terms of growing as a more self-determined and autonomous language learner in a social-interactive context of language learning. On a similar note, Smith (2003) defines the relationship between autonomy and identity rather vaguely, stating that whereas language learning involves transformations of identity, it is highly important for the language learners to gain control over the processes involved. More recently, Holec (2009) has briefly touched upon the relations between the two notions in his examination of the autonomy approach to language learning, pointing out that self-direction in language learning necessarily entails accepting and adapting to new social roles as the students are expected to develop as self-regulating social agents in their learning processes.

Finally, when contemplating both autonomy and identity as processes fuelled by agency, Benson (2007, 30) has proposed explicitly that “agency can perhaps be viewed as a point of origin for the development of autonomy, while identity might be viewed as one of its more important outcomes.” Although adding yet another complex concept with its own integrity (see chapter 3, 75) to the equation does not solve the problematic relationship between autonomy and identity, this view can be considered of particular interest. Murray (2011a, 251) has observed that the notion of agency has begun to emerge in empirical studies exploring the

links between constructs like autonomy and identity. Therefore, it may not be wise to ignore agency when examining links between autonomy and identity.

Not until recently have empirical studies attempted to make sense of these theoretical views (see Chik 2007; Chik & Breidbach 2011; Choi 2014; Huang 2011, 2013; Lamb, M. 2011; Lamb, T. 2011; Menezes 2011b; Murray 2011b; Murray & Kojima 2007; Ryan & Mercer 2011; Yamaguchi 2011). However, as to comprehensive understanding of autonomy and identity, many studies either cease to pursue explicit conceptualisations after identifying the connection between the notions in general, thus opting for the third theoretical stance above, or fail to reach coherence or consensus in attempts to investigate the issue. Indeed, confusions and contradictions also exist in the empirical contributions to this problematics. For example, Chik (2007, 57) has argued on the basis of her biographical case study on English learners in Hong Kong that “it is the formation of identity which navigates the development of learner autonomy”. A similar relation between the two constructs has been identified by Yamaguchi (2011). When investigating a student staff member’s experiences of using EFL in her work at a self-access learning centre through narrative positioning, the researcher suggests that gaining voice (agency and identity combined) in the community enabled the student to become a more autonomous learner.

On the other hand, Huang (2011, 2013), who was among the first to connect agency, autonomy and identity, explores autonomy development among FL students in an institutional context and presents empirical evidence that supports Benson’s (2007) proposal and thus makes claims for autonomy representing a point of origin for identity development. Highlighting that both autonomy and identity development are dependent on the exercise of agency, he suggests that the relationships between the constructs are dynamic and complex rather than linear and straightforward. In addition to Huang, Terry Lamb (2011) has also responded to Benson (2007) in a recent study. On the basis of his findings that appear to contradict Benson’s proposal, Lamb suggests that language learners’ identity as learners may lead to autonomy which will enable the learners to act as agents of their own learning. Emphasising the complexity of the relationships between the constructs, he still concludes that further research is needed that would shed light on issues about identity and autonomy in school contexts.

Although these comparisons do not provide an exhaustive approach to the links between autonomy and identity, they still point out an existing theoretical

confusion. Despite the recently increased interaction between the concepts (e.g., Benson & Cooker 2013; Huang & Benson 2013; Murray et al. 2011), the diversity of views foreshadows the need for explorations of the interconnections. Besides Terry Lamb (2011), Benson (2007) has also welcomed empirically-grounded explorations of the links between autonomy and constructs such as self-regulation, agency and identity, to strengthen the empirical knowledge base on autonomy in (relation to) language learning. This research aims at contributing to this knowledge base by investigating autonomy through FL identity in the context of the local GUSSA. Since the potential interrelatedness of autonomy and identity is to my knowledge still an underexplored territory, this research will simply aim at teasing out what is involved in FL identity development within the context of institutional adult education, how it may relate to autonomy and what role agency might play in this equation. As Benson's (2007) contention is one of the few to explicitly incorporate agency, autonomy and identity, I will adopt it as the underlying initial hypothesis.

In sum, chapter 4 has introduced and problematized FL identity as one of the key constructs of this study, also touching upon the oft-assumed links between autonomy, identity and agency. What remains to be done is to ground these theoretical speculations empirically. The design of the present research may well provide me with opportunities to do this. However, the storied character of FL identity still deserves a more detailed examination. Introducing narrativity as the third key construct of this research, chapter 5 will continue the discussion about FL identity by addressing the more general epistemological and ontological issues related to life, identity and narrative.

II PREPARING FOR THE JOURNEY – MOTIVATING AND DESCRIBING RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5 LIFE, IDENTITY AND NARRATIVE

Although the study of narratives has its roots in philosophy, literature and philology, Aristotle himself laying the foundations of modern narratology, the current fascination with narratives spans a wide range of disciplines (Riessman 2008). Contemporary narrative inquiry has gained influences from several directions and developed into a broad and polymorphous research orientation over the years (Clandinin & Rosiek 2006; Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou 2008). In their attempt to locate narrative research historically, Pinnegar and Daynes (2006) identify four themes in particular that contributed to the turn towards narrative inquiry in the late 20th and early 21st centuries: a change in relationship between the researcher and the researched, a move from the use of numbers toward the use of words as data, a change of focus towards the local and the specific, and a widening acceptance of alternative epistemologies and ways of knowing. Nowadays, narrative is also one of the most common terms in applied linguistics, (language) education and SLA (Barkhuizen 2013b; Pavlenko 2007). However, as narrative has developed into an ambiguous and overwhelming construct in the process, it has become paramount for researchers to explicate their narrative commitments in their narrative studies.

The research at hand is also immersed in narratives, with chapter 5 being an attempt to examine some of the issues about narrative and narrativity relevant for this research. More specifically, this chapter will concentrate on the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the concept rather than the practice of conducting narrative research itself – that being the focus in chapter 6. First, chapter 5 will locate this study ontologically and epistemologically by addressing some of the concerns related to life, narrative and understanding, and elaborating on the meaning of narrative in the construction of human lives and identities. Then, the construct of FL identity (see chapter 4) will be grounded narratively in more detail and finally, the concept of language narrative (LaNa) will be introduced.

On the meanings of narrative and narrativity

The idea of narrating is ancient and inherently human – people have told stories for ages. Indeed, the word *narrative* has been seen to derive from the Sanskrit *gna*, which is associated with the passing on of knowledge by the one who knows, with the Latin word *narration* referring to the nouns *narration* and *story*, and the word *narrare* to the verbs *tell* and *narrate* (Heikkinen 2002). To offer the term a simple academic definition that covers its applications within narrative studies is nonetheless hardly possible since narrative carries a number of meanings and is applied in numerous ways. According to Hyvärinen (2008a, 448), it is counterproductive to search for a general definition of narrative as it would be “hopeless and misleading to assume that narratives are formally similar, always complete and always neatly distinct from other kinds of discourse”. In what follows, a rough division will be made between views treating narratives as research material and views imposing broader meanings on the concept.

Narratives as research material

In everyday storytelling, the speaker connects individual events into a meaning-carrying sequence that may influence the understanding and action of the receivers of the evolving narrative. Historically, this meaning-making sequence has been associated with the Aristotelian narrative structure (consisting of a beginning, middle and an end), in which actions are organised into a whole by a plot that refers to the conceptual scheme by which the contextual meaning of individual events can be displayed (Polkinghorne 1995; Riessman 2008). Aristotle also understood narratives as moral tales that depicted a rupture from the expected, imitating the world rather than copying it exactly. Since these early days of narrative theory, many kinds of materials, including spoken, written and visual, have been studied narratively. Riessman (2008, 4) has noted the universality of the narrative form and mentions the following as some of the many sites where narratives have been located over the years: myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting, cinema, comics, news items, memoirs, diaries, conversations, biographies, autobiographies, archival documents, health records, organisational documents, scientific theories, politics, folk ballads, photographs and other art work. With this variety in mind,

it is understandable that boundaries around narratives as research material are elusive while the term itself may be reduced to little more than a metaphor.

The ambiguity of the term when talking about narratives as research material has also triggered the need to determine the core features of narratives in different disciplines (e.g., Georgakopoulou 2007; Herman 2009; Labov & Waletzky 1967; Squire 2008). While fields like sociolinguistics have adopted a relatively narrow view of narratives, treating them as discrete units of discourse, fields like anthropology use narratives broadly to refer to the entire life stories deriving from interviews, observations and other documents. As Riessman (2008) points out, many fields have also taken the middle ground between these ends of the continuum, viewing narratives as evolving series of stories that are framed in and through interaction. Since (language) educational research is a crossdisciplinary field, it has resorted to this range of approaches relatively easily. The interest of this study lies in individually constructed but socially and culturally anchored narrative fragments that make sense of their narrators' experiences, understandings and identities (see this chapter, 133; also Bruner 1991b; Ricœur 1992; Squire 2008).

As academic concepts, distinctions have been made between the terms 'narrative' and 'story' although it may be challenging to draw the line between the two terms in practice (see Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). For Polkinghorne (1995) and Denzin (1989), stories are fictional accounts of how something happened. They carry a connotation of possible falsehood or misinterpretation whereas the term 'narrative' refers to a culture's worldview or ideology and aims at legitimising its values and goals. Another difference between the terms has been pointed out by Riessman (2008), who suggests that 'story' can be reserved for a prototypic form referring to the overall sequence of events while 'narrative' is used for the actual narration with a medium and a mode of presentation. In other words, it can be assumed that there are different narratives of the same story and that a story is manifested through narratives (also Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). Since the interest of the present study lies in the research participants' personal narratives that are related to the "story" or "stories" of FL teaching and learning, the term 'narrative' will be opted for even though I have adopted the convention of making no distinction between the terms in practice and they are, indeed, used interchangeably throughout this study.

The use of narrative beyond research material

In contemporary narrative research, the notion of narrative has frequently captured more than the use of stories as raw material for investigative purposes. Indeed, the concept has also referred to a particular type of contextualised, discursive text-type, a form of interaction and communication, a cognitive structure conveying human experience, and it has even been equated with living and being itself (for a selection of theoretical views, see Bruner 1987; Clandinin & Connelly 1994; Gubrium & Holstein 2009; Georgakopoulou 2007; Hiles & Čermák 2008; Labov & Waletzky 1967; McAdams 1997; Polkinghorne 1988; Ricœur 1984, 1991a; Taylor 1989). These approaches can be regarded as complementary aspects of narrative as they are all connected by the notion of narrativity. Hyvärinen (2008a, 448) views narrativity as an “aspect of texts, experiences and action; an aspect that invites more or less direct narrative responses. Narrativity is a matter-of-degree, rendering texts and speech more or less narrative.” Narrativity can also be used to describe the narrative commitments of this study.

Considering the scope of narrative, Heikkinen (2002) has identified four uses of narrativity in contemporary narrative research. First, the term has been used to capture the nature of the research material and coupled with an implication that the data cannot be reduced to numbers or categories in any simple way; instead, its further handling is seen to presuppose various degrees of interpretation. In this use, narrative data are understood to embrace the participants’ voices that assign meaning to the things, events and experiences of their lives. Second, narrativity can refer to the mode of analysing the data. In his paper, Polkinghorne (1995) draws a classic distinction between the analysis of narratives and narrative analysis, the former referring to an examination of the data with the assistance of, for example, case types, metaphors or categories to identify particulars as instances of general notions or concepts, and the latter focusing on configuring new narratives on the basis of the original narrative data. This distinction between the two analysis modes is based on the differences between paradigmatic and narrative cognition (Bruner 1986), an epistemological issue to be addressed in the following section.

The third meaning of narrativity identified by Heikkinen (2002) relates to the use of the notion as a practical tool that somehow benefits the research subjects.

Instead of merely portraying an image of the world through narratives, narrative research may attempt to improve the lives of its participants. The logic behind this aspect in this research often lies in that identities are in the process of ongoing construction and reconstruction that takes place in the telling and retelling of our lives (Ricœur 1991b; Taylor 1989; also Laitinen 2002, 2007). Finally, Heikkinen associates narrativity with perspectives connected to constructivism and also postmodernism. These approaches generally reject the traditional objectivist view of reality, highlighting the idea that a number of realities are being constructed in individuals' minds through their social interactions with each other. According to the hermeneutic and interpretive research traditions, one cannot transcend one's historical embeddedness and one's positioning necessarily affects one's interpretations and understandings (Angen 2000; Polkinghorne 2007). From these perspectives, Heikkinen (2002) continues, narrativity can be seen as a manifestation of the suspicion aimed at the modern order of knowledge and also as an encouragement for the marginalized to break free from the mainstream narratives that may be seen to control and dominate their lives.

Heikkinen's discussion about narrativity has a number of epistemological undertones. When discussing narrativity with reference to research data, mode of analysis, use of narratives as a practical tool and constructivism, Heikkinen distinguishes a distinct field of qualitative research based on narrative epistemology. It is this epistemology that the present research is fundamentally based on, with the four aspects of narrativity all having relevance of some degree in these pages. For the French philosopher Paul Ricœur, however, narrativity was also an ontological question. In addition to epistemological issues, it is also important to contemplate the ontological meaning of narrativity for this research. This involves addressing the problematics between life, narrative and understanding.

The problematics between life, narrative and understanding

When comparing different scholars' views of narrativity, it becomes evident that they do not position themselves similarly in relation to narrative although they emphasise the crucial value of narratives in human lives. Drawing on Russian and Czech formalists and French structuralists as well as Aristotle, Augustine, Husserl

and Heidegger, Ricœur's (1984, 1985, 1988, 1991a, 1991b) theory of narrativity provides a conceptual technology to examine narratives as complex phenomena larger than the events they are seen to represent. It aims at understanding the human meanings of stories that stretch to full biographies and generalised narratives appearing across stories and sources. Addressing the problematic issue that life has something to do with narrative, Ricœur's theory examines the relation between historical and phenomenological (experienced) time, proposing that lives and narratives are temporally related. He also adopts the concepts of emplotment and mimesis to elaborate his view. Deriving from this Ricœurian theory of narrativity, the temporal relationship between narrative and life, the process of triple mimesis and the construct of narrative identity have been incorporated in the present research to build a philosophical framework that will motivate the narrative approach for investigating FL learning and teaching in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA.

Ricœur (1991a) takes Aristotle's concept of plot as his starting point when contemplating the relation between life and narrative. Instead of a static structure, Ricœur sees the plot as emplotment, an active, integrating and interpretive process inseparable from understanding. Emplotment refers to a synthesis between single events and incidents on the one hand, and the unified and complete story on the other. It organises the heterogeneous, discordant factors (discoveries, actors, circumstances, interactions, encounters, means, results, etc.) into a single concordant story. Emplotment combines two types of time, the historical "discrete succession that is open and theoretically indefinite" and the experienced "integration, culmination and closure owing to which the story receives a particular configuration" (ibid., 22). Emplotment refers to a process that synthesises experience in the form of narrative, composing a story that draws an interpreted configuration out of succession. However, the process of composition is not completed in the text but in the receiver. This enables the narrative reconfiguration of lives, bringing narrative a capacity to transfigure the experience of the receiver. Although emplotment implies a connection between life and narrative, it can be embedded in the process of threefold mimesis to explicate how narrative imitates life. (Ezzy 1998; Ricœur 1984, 1991a; Verhesschen 2003.)

Ricœur resorts to the concept of mimesis to demonstrate the mediation between life and narrative. Mimesis 1 roots narrative understanding in living

experience, locating three points of anchorage of emplotment in the world of action. First, Ricœur brings up people's familiarity with the "semantics of action" that allows people to distinguish action from mere physical occurrences. What this means is that people access a network of action-concepts and a practical understanding concerning them. Second, an action can be recounted since it is symbolically embodied, i.e., articulated in signs, rules and norms. These are public meanings, which make actions readable to others. The third point of anchorage is the prenarrative quality of human experience. According to Ricœur (1991a, 30), action has a temporal structure that calls for narration: "Without leaving the sphere of everyday experience, are we not inclined to see in a given chain of episodes in our life something like *stories that have not yet been told*, stories that offer points of anchorage for the narrative?" This claim allows Ricœur to speak about life as a "story in its nascent state, and so of life as an activity and a passion in search of a narrative" (ibid., 29). Thus, mimesis 1 refers to the prenarrative structural, symbolic and temporal features of the world of action. (Ezzy 1998; Huttunen & Kakkori 2002; Laitinen 2002; Ricœur 1984, 1991a; Verhesschen 2003.)

Mimesis 2 consists of the integrative and interpretive operation in which the configuring act of emplotment is embedded (Ricœur 1984, 1991a). In this phase, events are configured from their pre-narrative state into a cohesive and communicable form of narrative, as the preunderstanding of mimesis 1 is transformed into a poetic totality. On many occasions, Ricœur emphasises that mimesis as the imitation of action is not copying. Something new comes into the world instead, as the author transforms fragmented memories and life events into a meaningful whole with a concluding plot. Huttunen and Kakkori (2002, 87) refer to this process as the ontological enrichment of life, a reflective act, in which "the ego transforms her fragmented self-presentations into [a] kind of artwork, which becomes a potential stimulus of hermeneutic experience for the author itself" (article added). The events configured into narratives are also susceptible to reconfiguration in their retellings. This narrative imitation of action also implies that different narratives can be told of the same set of events. As Verhesschen (2003, 454) puts it, "[t]here is not one story and there is no overarching plot, no superplot".

The narrative process is completed by mimesis 3. The process of configuring and reconfiguring in mimesis 2 not only makes sense of experience but also

functions as a form of communication and provides alternative courses of future action. The core of mimesis 3 includes Ricœur's claim that the world of the narrative and the world of the receiver intersect in the act of reading (or hearing) so that a "horizon of possible experience, a world in which it would be possible to live", opens for the receiver (Ricœur 1991a, 26). This fusion of horizons makes it possible for the narrative to transfigure the experience of the receivers, either by revealing aspects of everyday experience they did not notice earlier or by inviting them to act in a different way. The three stages of mimesis are thus intertwined in the Ricœurian theory of narrativity, affecting people's actions as well as their understanding of themselves and the world, and creating the basis for the emergence of a narrative identity, as the narrative told and adopted becomes part of one's personal identity in the intersection between the historical and the fictional. (Huttunen & Kakkori 2002; Laitinen 2002; Ricœur 1991a; Verhesschen 2003.)

Ricœur's theory suggests that life and narrative are intimately intertwined but it does not equate life with a story. Ricœur does not see emplotment or narrativity as inferior or secondary to reality, however. On the contrary, he claims that giving meaning to and (re)interpreting experience over and over again in the temporal process of storying constitutes human existence, understanding and identity (Ezzy 1998). This dynamic process is embedded in the sociohistorical realm and mediated by cultural narratives as well as by linguistic and intersubjective resources. In other words, even though narratives are personal and individual, they include social and cultural aspects that are shared and communal rather than personal and individual. Personal narratives stem from a common basis that Heikkinen (2002) calls a stock or pool of cultural narratives. This pool includes the dominant and powerful narratives shared by most members of a community of people. It contains cultural scripts (Bruner 1990; Hyvärinen 2008c) that refer to culturally rooted knowledge about normal, appropriate and expected behaviour and the course of events. Cultural scripts include no surprising elements or deviation from culturally defined normality. Personal narratives are constructed and reconstructed in this ongoing, polyphonic interplay between autobiographical, communal, social and cultural processes (also Bakhtin 1986; Ropo 2009a). In mimesis 3, these narratives return to life and can transform action and form the basis of understanding new narratives. Thus, the poetic imitation of action has the power to change the prevailing narratives.

The Ricœurian theory implies that life always includes aspects of narrativity. Although the configured narratives as poetical imitations of action are relatively independent of life, they can return to the world of action in the reconfiguration of life and its preunderstanding. In other words, although life itself does not follow the structure of any single narrative, the two need not be separated by claiming that people first live their life and then tell stories about it. They are inextricably linked instead; narrativity constitutes human existence. Storying the lived experience allows people to make sense of events and build a continuum that provides their temporal existence with meaning and direction and gives them possibilities for meaningful and ethically sustainable orientation. This background lays the foundation for examining the development of FL identities through narratives in this research.

Paradigmatic and narrative understanding

Ricœur's theory implies a conception of narrative understanding, offering anchorage for Bruner's (1986, 1996b) idea of the two complementary though irreducible ways of ordering human experience and constructing reality. Bruner based his argumentation on what was long a widely-held idea within Western scientific tradition: There is a distinct type of rational discourse appropriate for producing knowledge for the scholarly disciplines whereas stories express a kind of emotional knowledge that uniquely describes human experience but is unfit to present clear scientific thought due to its poetic nature. Ricœur (1991a, 22–23) has touched upon this idea of narrative knowing in the following:

Whatever may be said about the relation between poetry and history, it is certain that tragedy, epic and comedy, to cite only those genres known to Aristotle, develop a sort of understanding that can be termed narrative understanding and which is much closer to the practical wisdom of moral judgment than to science, or, more generally, to the theoretical use of reason.

Bruner proposed that this narrative knowledge encompasses more than emotional expression – it is a legitimate form of reasoned knowing. More specifically, there are two types of rationality contributing to our knowledge of the world: the traditional logical-scientific mode of paradigmatic cognition and the storied mode of narrative cognition. Both modes generate useful, valid knowledge, and they

can be understood as parts of the human cognitive repertoire for reasoning about and making sense of the encounter with the self, others and the material realm. (Bruner 1986, 1996b.)

Following Bruner's line of argumentation, Polkinghorne (1995) elaborates on this discussion. He points out that the primary operation of paradigmatic cognition within the academic field is to classify a particular instance as belonging to a category or concept. It produces abstract, cognitive networks of concepts that contribute to decontextualised knowledge of experience and allows people to manage with the diversity of each experience. Narrative cognition, on the other hand, is specifically suited for understanding human action, seen as the outcome of the interaction between a person's past experiences, present agendas and aspirations for the future. As paradigmatic reasoning focuses on what is common among actions, Polkinghorne argues, it is unable to reach the characteristics of human action, which is unique and not fully replicable. It is narrative reasoning that captures "in a special fashion the richness and the nuances of meaning in human affairs" that "cannot be expressed in definitions, statements of fact, or abstract propositions" (Carter 1993, 6). Narrative knowledge is claimed to be mediated by emplotted stories. These narratives stem from a collection of the person's subjective experiences that provide a basis for understanding new action. This is where Bruner's psychologically-oriented argumentation intersects with Ricœur's (1991a, 30–31) philosophical approach, which also recognises the value of narrative as a form of reasoned (self)knowing:

[F]iction, in particular narrative fiction, is an irreducible dimension of self-understanding. If it is true that fiction is only completed in life and that life can be understood only through stories that we tell about it, then an examined life, in the sense of the word as we have borrowed it from Socrates, is a life recounted.

In the past decades, narrative has widely been recognised as a valid mode of scholarly thinking and as particularly valuable for representing human experience (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Swain, Kinnear & Steinmann 2011; Yoshida et al. 2009). Human beings are seen to play active roles in constructing their lives as they make sense of their experiences in their narratives and constitute their selves in the process. Instead of being contemplated in isolation, narratives are increasingly understood as social and relational. The idea that narratives are embedded in sociohistorical discourses and gain their

meaning from collective social histories has encouraged scholars to investigate narratives within the sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts in which they emerge. This development has contributed to the recognition of teachers as creators of valuable experiential and interpretive knowledge as well as to the recognition of this new scholarship or practitioner-led inquiry (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006a) as a fully legitimate form of academic research.

Narrative research has also gained a vigorous role in applied linguistics, language education and SLA. Storying the experiences of language teaching and learning has become a popular field of scholarly interest, as can be observed when browsing through recent examples of narrative research conducted in the field worldwide (among others Barkhuizen 2011; Barkhuizen 2013b; Bailey & Nunan 1996; Bell 2002; Benson & Nunan 2004; Blake & Blake 2012; Campbell 2008; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Kalaja et al. 2008a; Pavlenko 2007). This study is closely connected to this narratively-oriented epistemology of practice, contemplated here mostly in connection to Ricœur as he offers an appropriate framework for establishing the relations between narrative understanding, interpretation, experience and life.

Implications for the research at hand

In his theory, Ricœur argues that life (including experience and action) has a pre-narrative quality. What this implies for this study is that the research participants' *experiences of FL learning, use and participation have an underlying narrative structure that functions as the basis for the participants' autobiographical narratives in which they give meaning to their actions and experiences*. This way, narrative is inextricably rooted in their lives. This does not mean that people's lives would follow any clearly defined plot or plots, as pointed out by Verhesschen (2003). As Ricœur does not situate emplotment until in the stage of composing the narrative (mimesis 2), plot is not a necessary element of life's narrative structure. Ricœur (1984) also emphasises that the ideas of beginning, middle and end are not taken from life or experience; they do not feature action itself but rather belong to the realm of poetic ordering, which is an integral element in the process of mimesis. What mimesis offers is not a copy of reality but a poetical imitation, which is why the relations between one's life and one's

narratives that make sense of one's life are not always obvious. This can be seen in the data collected for this research. The participants have generated the data about their experiences and actions amidst their lives, without aiming at composing narratives. Even though this material possesses narrative features such as the author's implicit struggle for coherence, the experiential, storied fragments lack identifiable plots, beginnings and ends. Still, they imitate life well since middles are all we can speak about with cogency and clarity, according to Ricœur (1992, 160). Only when examining the multivoiced narratives retrospectively as a whole can an attempt be made to locate poetic elements. This is what the narrative analyses in chapter 7 and chapter 8 aim at accomplishing.

As the plot results from the configurational act in mimesis 2, it can be understood that different people compose different narratives relating to the same set of events. This also means that *different people's narratives on FL learning and teaching take different forms and emphasise different aspects of the same events in different contexts at different times*. The meaning given to an event may differ from narrative to narrative and from person to person, depending on how the author interprets it. The configured narratives are also subject to reconfiguration over time, in the light of new experiences. These issues are closely related to the question of interpretation as an irreducible element of life and experience. For Bruner (1987, 32), there is no pure experience devoid of interpretation: "Mind is never free of precommitment. There is no innocent eye, nor is there one that penetrates aboriginal reality." Like Ricœur, Bruner also regards experience as a temporally extended phenomenon, making interpretive revision a crucial element of experiencing, knowing and, indeed, living. According to Bruner (ibid., 13), "there is no such thing psychologically as 'life itself'. At the very least, it is a selective achievement of memory recall; beyond that, recounting one's life is an interpretive feat". He (ibid.) goes further, claiming that narratives structure perceptual experience, organise memory and "segment and purpose-build the very events of a life", which finally leads him to conclude that "a life led is inseparable from a life told" (Bruner ibid., 31; for criticism, see Hyvärinen 2008b; Meretoja 2009; Mink 1987; Strawson 2004; Tammi 2006; White 1981).

In spite of writing about action being symbolically mediated and every narrative inviting us to see the world differently, Ricœur has been criticised from a postmodern perspective for his seemingly implicit ontological realism that

emerges when he stresses that language talks about, refers to something. However, as Verhesschen (2003) explains, the idea of reference does not imply that there has to be a “real” or “pure” life prior to language; it is possible to refer to things outside language but the reference itself is internal to language. Without language, the meaning of the action for the actor vanishes (Blake, Smeyers, Smith & Standish 1998, 30). Laitinen (2007) has adopted a similar perspective, defending a view of minimal essentialism that enables references on one hand but allows the interpretive construction of human existence on the other. Indeed, Smith and Sparkes (2008) have pointed out that an intersubjective perspective like Ricœur’s can adopt non-foundational or interpretive standpoints that are based on both ontological relativism (i.e., there is no real world independent of our knowledge of it) and epistemological constructivism (i.e., we cannot stand outside of our social and historical standpoint to know if there actually is a world that is being mirrored correctly). In other words, the Ricœurian framework is not incompatible with the assumption that “gaining access to a real world, ‘real’ selves or ‘real’ experiences independent of our fallible knowledge of it is considered a chimera” (Smith & Sparkes 2008, 13). A “life led” can, indeed, be considered inseparable from a “life told”.

In addition to making claims about the contextual embeddedness of the meanings that the participants in this research have given to their experiences of FL learning and teaching in their narratives, *the interpretive perspective outlined above also has implications for how I position myself as a researcher*. Adopting an interpretive, hermeneutic approach to reality and truth (see Angen 2000; Denzin 1989; Ezzy 1998; Heikkinen, Huttunen, Kakkori & Tynjälä 2007b; Huttunen & Kakkori 2002), I assume that understanding grows from the lifeworld, the world of the lived experience. The core of this approach lies in that it is impossible to step outside of one’s involvement with the lifeworld and adopt neutral, all-knowing and value-free standpoints. Objective observations are illusions. Reality is constructed both intra- and intersubjectively through the understandings deriving from the social world. There is no point of view outside of language and independent of thinking which would allow us to assume to judge if a proposition corresponds with reality as it is (see Verhesschen 2003). This sociohistorical and linguistic embeddedness underlines the temporal and contextual nature of interpretations that are susceptible to reinterpretation and dialogic negotiation. As Angen (2000, 385) has summarised it,

[p]hilosophically, interpretivism does not concern itself with considerations of realism beyond how we experience it in our everyday lives. Rather than engage in debates about whether there is a brute foundation that we can know or whether all our experiences are merely subjective, interpretivism grounds itself in the phenomenological understanding that we carry out our lives in an inter-subjective realm that we experience sensually and know linguistically from moment to moment and day to day. We live as if the world exists apart from us, but we only know it and understand it through our attempts to meaningfully interpret it, and those attempts at interpretation are in turn influenced by our temporal and cultural location.

Thus, what can be claimed about the world is not ontologically prior but internal to discourse and intrinsically social (Blake et al. 1998, 30). According to Ricœur (1985), these possibilities and constraints of composition follow the plot types inherited from the culture that the person is anchored to (also Denzin 1989; Verhesschen 2003). Our private constructions “mesh with a community of life stories, or ‘deep structures’ about the nature of life itself in a particular culture” (Riessman 2008, 10).

All in all, adopting an interpretive perspective means that any proposition is a socially and culturally mediated construction. The data gathered not only enable the analysis of the meanings that the research participants have given to their experiences but also provide glimpses of the situations in which the data is generated. However, this analysis is conducted from my interpretive researcher position; in the analysis, I will construct and interpret the creatively authored, rhetorical and interpretive material once more. This discussion about interpretivism points to the third implication of Ricœur’s theory for this research: *This study is a storied composition situated in time, an emplotted narrative that imitates the lived experience poetically*. Still, according to Polkinghorne (1995, 16), this kind of research narrative “must fit the data while at the same time bringing an order and meaningfulness that is not apparent in the data themselves”. Thus, the research narrative at hand should not be considered fiction. As a researcher, I am responsible for the authenticity, honesty and truthfulness of this research. My argumentation must also be transparent so that it offers points of anchorage for scrutinising and criticising the interpretations. It must provide the readers with a sense of verisimilitude and include ingredients that convince peers that justice has, indeed, been done in the process of researching. Undoubtedly, this is also one of the most important goals and challenges of the present research.

Foreign language identity as narrative identity

One of the implications of Ricœur's theory of narrativity is that human lives can be understood as storied and personal identities as narratively constituted. Identities are being constructed in the individual's temporally developing, narrative processes, as the individual narrates him-/herself over and again as an autobiographical, social and cultural person in relation to the world (Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). The present research will examine FL identity (see chapter 4) as a narrative identity within this type of Ricœurian framework. However, as Ricœur's approach to identity encompasses an intricate philosophical idea (see Kaunismaa & Laitinen 1998; Laitinen 2002, 2007; Ropo 2009a), it will only be discussed here insofar as it is relevant for understanding the foundations of the present study.

In his theory, Ricœur (1992, 1991b) distinguishes between two meanings of identity. *Idem* refers to the generic sameness of the self, i.e., a numerical identity that consists of the uniqueness, resemblance, continuity and permanence of the person over time. *Idem* implies the possibility of identifying the self as self in spite of loss or mutability of the attributions of that self in time. Ricœur argues that personal identity does not refer to this type of sameness. While *idem* identifies what the self consists of, it is *ipse* that defines who the self is. *Iipse* refers to the notion of selfhood, which is closely associated with individuality and marks people out as who they are as persons. Ricœur (1991b) uses *ipse* to refer to the entity that Heidegger (1962) has called *Dasein* and that is characterised by its ability to reflect upon itself. *Iipse* includes the practical, biographical and qualitative aspects of personal identity, and the person's experienced sameness, i.e., the phenomenological singularity of the self (Laitinen 2007, Ropo 2009a).

What is of importance is Ricœur's claim that all the aspects of *ipse* originate from self-interpretations that are fundamentally narrative in nature. Ricœur motivates this analysis from the viewpoint of his general analysis of narrativity as emplotment and imitation of action, suggesting that the constitutive features of any narrative form the basis of seeing personal identity in narrative terms. As he (1991a, 32) considers life a constructive activity "by which we attempt to discover and not simply to impose from outside the *narrative identity which constitutes us*", he emphasises the primary function of narrative in the construction, negotiation and maintenance of self-identity. This kind of subjectivity "is neither

an incoherent series of events nor an immutable substantiality, impervious to evolution” (ibid., 32). It construes itself as a constantly updated distillation of the past and future rather than a succession of unexamined nows. (Ezzy 1998; Kaunismaa & Laitinen 1998; Laitinen 2007; Ricœur 1988, 1991b, 1992.)

Ricœur’s approach to selfhood does not mean that people are always in control, consciously constructing and presenting images of themselves in well-considered ways. On the contrary, he (1991b) suggests that the context is essential for the meaning of a subject. People interpret their identities by drawing on narratives available to them via culture embedded in their social and historical context (cf. the idea of dominant narratives and pool of cultural narratives in this chapter, 120). This underlines the significance of existing ideologies and power relations in regulating what is possible in terms of identity. On one hand, people are able to become their own narrators only within the framework of the narrative voices available to them. On the other hand, the dynamics embedded in the process of emplotment means that they do not passively assume every designation imposed on them either but form their identities actively over time, based on their situated interpretations of their experiences. This means that narrative identities are unfinished and in-process, with the narratives that they are based on being confused and chaotic due to life’s disordered nature (Ezzy 1998). Narrative identities are constructed like this, in discursive processes between the self and its sociocultural context (Ropo & Gustafsson 2006; Sclater 2003). In Verhesschen’s (2003, 460) words:

The narratives I tell about myself do not only indicate that I have changed over time, that things happened in the meantime, that I look in a different way at my own past, that maybe events have a different meaning for me. These different narratives also indicate that to a certain level my narrative identity is influenced by the context and the audience. The narrative I tell to a friend may differ from the one I tell a colleague. And this is not necessarily the result of a deliberate attempt to create a particular identity: it is an indication of the fact that my identity is also determined in an intersubjective context. The narratives I tell about myself do not entail an unchangeable essence that indicates who I really am.

Clearly, then, this is where the Ricœurian understanding of a narrative identity intersects and shares common ground with the poststructuralist view adopted in chapter 4 to capture the essence of FL identity. Both approaches entail a conception of FL students who are engaged in the discursive construction of their

FL identities within the possibilities and constraints provided by the contexts that they inhabit.

Although the Ricœurian subjectivity is constructed both socially and culturally in a continuing process of discursive self-interpretation, it is neither helplessly fragmented and forever fluctuating nor rigidly shaped and determined by forces beyond individual control. The postmodern features of narrative identity are balanced by the social and historical constraints and the limitations imposed on it by the emplotment itself, as people move back and forth fitting together the stream of events and existing plots. Seen like this, the configured narratives bring coherence and meaning to personal identity without determining it totally or permanently. Identity remains open for reinterpretation and reconfiguring. A conception of narrative identity and its temporal development also makes it possible to examine discordant and contradictory elements as part of the same person's life and actions (Ricœur 1984, 1991a). The person can manifest several identities since the contexts of human action are frequently so diverse that it is not possible to confine oneself to one identity in particular (Ropo 2009a).

An important implication of mimesis is also that it enables the reconfiguration of self-understanding, and thus the development of identity. As Ricœur (1992, 166) points out, "in narrativizing character, the narrative returns to it the movement abolished in acquired dispositions, in the sediment of identifications with". This insight opens up possibilities for contributing to the development of the GUSSA students' FL identities through pedagogical input. As the students write their language journals in the EFL courses, for example, they include episodic narrative elements in them, in which they reflect on and construct their conceptions of their TL-related selves and the meanings of their TL-related experiences. Even though identities can be embedded and examined in more extensive (auto)biographical and lifehistorical narratives, Kaunismaa and Laitinen (1998, 192) consider these "small" narratives valuable when it comes to shaping and investigating self-understanding since, they argue, it is these narratives that Ricœur refers to in mimesis 2. Their importance can be seen in that it makes sense of aspects of experience that were not yet seen, understood or even existent in mimesis 1.

In mimesis 3, on the other hand, the narrator has the possibility to embrace or reject what was emplotted in mimesis 2. The emplotments can thus renew the narrator's identity or leave it intact if s/he refuses to recognise them. This is how

the dynamics between development and permanence of the GUSSA students' FL identities will be understood. Language learning as a holistic process calls for identity reconstruction that the students reflect on in their journals, for example. Even though they may discover new aspects of themselves in these language narratives that are being utilised as research material in this study (chapter 6, 158), they may still fail to identify with the emplotted narratives. It is not insignificant what kind of narratives the FL student generates and identifies with since these narratives not only open up some pathways but also close others. All in all, narrative identity in this study results from a process in which the students interpret themselves in linguistically and culturally mediated narratives that become available to them in their individual sociolinguistic and sociohistorical contexts. Like this, narrative identity becomes an on-going, hermeneutic process of self-understanding.

Language narratives as research material

Narratives depict both human action (events) and experience at several levels. Since they imitate the world of the narrators instead of mirroring it, no “real thing” can be reached; the access to knowledge about the events and experiences is mediated from the beginning. Bearing this in mind, an experience-oriented approach has been adopted in the present research. This means an examination of personal narratives as experiential self-stories or personal experience stories (Denzin 1989) rather than stories of events. Following this view, the core of narrative does not lie in the “whats” and “wheres” but in the “whos” and “hows”, with narratives substantially capturing *who* the person is in relation to his/her experience, *how* the person interprets his/her relation to this experience and the events that it is based on, and *how* the person identifies him-/herself as a member of different groups and communities.

Squire (2008, 41) has identified three general assumptions held by an experience-centred approach to narrative: 1) Narratives are not only about events but also about who the narrators are. 2) Narratives distance themselves from the actual events; they convey many meanings and they are never the same if told twice. 3) There is interaction between the narrator and the receiver; to some extent, the narratives are co-constructed. Moreover, Squire has pointed out more

specific assumptions about the nature of experiential narratives. To begin with, experiential narratives differ from other kinds of representations in that they are sequential in time and meaningful for the narrator. They include all human-produced stories of personal experience, also those that are flexible about time, those that are defined by theme rather than structure, those that have a present- or future-orientation about others or oneself, and those addressing generalised states or even imaginary events. What is more, experiential narratives can be dialogically generated with the assistance of oral, written and/or visual media on several occasions. Experiential narratives are also seen as a means of sense-making. (Squire 2008.)

Squire (2008) continues that narratives of experience are both re- and co-constructed across time and place. They reconstitute experience, resulting in multiple and changeable storylines. Also Ricœur (1991a) has pointed out that narratives are jointly “told” between the narrator and the receivers, and that they represent an imperfect, time-dependent “practical wisdom” caught in tradition. The experience-centred approach also assumes that narratives relate to personal changes. Bruner (1990), for example, has argued that narratives often depict a violation of normality and attempt to restore it through agency. To be worth telling, a narrative usually points out a breach from the canon; it differentiates from the cultural-cognitive scripts known to us through our access to the dominant cultural narratives (see this chapter, 120). Finally, according to Ricœur (1991a), such narratives also obtain a transformative potential. All in all, it can be summarised that experiential narratives incorporate socially, culturally and linguistically mediated stories – even fragmented and contradictory ones – that include mono- and multivoiced sense-making and possible transformation by means of narrating the past, present, future or imaginary experience. The data collected for this study consist of experiential self-stories of this type.

As the narratives of interest in this research are contextually situated, languaged, autobiographical descriptions of their narrators’ TL-related experiences that attribute meaning to their lifeworlds, they are called language narratives (LaNa). These LaNas are viewed as meaningful, socially and culturally rooted and linguistically mediated stories of personal language experiences acquired in contact with the TL both in and beyond the formal institutional FL context. LaNas do not conform to the conventional conception of narratives as coherent, sequential and continuous accounts, as most LaNas in the data are

fragmentary, discontinuous, meandering, contradictory and incoherent glimpses generated in the middle of their narrators' lives. Still, they vividly depict their narrators' processes of meaning-making and identification at the moment of telling or writing. Although the material collected also includes elements (e.g., descriptions and opinions) that escape narrativity if extracted from the context, the data as a whole not only poetically imitate the past and the present but also project the future, representing and reconstructing their narrators' TL-related lives and forming a narrative "stream". It is through this that their authors negotiate meaning to their lifeworlds, perform themselves and reveal aspects about their FL identities in changing social and cultural contexts (cf. Barkhuizen 2011; Mishler 2006).

The conception of LaNas being embedded in the context in which they are produced is of importance. As Riessman (2008, 105) has pointed out, narratives are always contextualised: "Stories don't fall from the sky...; they are composed and received in contexts – interactional, historical, institutional, and discursive – to name a few." Clandinin and Connelly (2000) have suggested that a narrative context refers to a three-dimensional space consisting of the participants in the story (including their experiences and interactions), the time during which the story takes place (including connections to the past and the future) and the physical settings in which the story is located. According to the writers, any story can be positioned and understood within the matrix that these interrelated dimensions create. As for the LaNas in this research, the three-dimensional narrative space involves the GUSSA student learning and using the TL in various ways in different social and cultural settings at different times.

In his discussion about narratives, Barkhuizen (2011, 2013a) has further identified three interconnected levels of narrative context: 1) the context of the talk-in-interaction, 2) the context of the narrative telling and 3) the role of narratives in the doing of social lives in particular sociocultural and -historical contexts. In the present study, it is the third, beyond-the-text-level of context to which my interest lies closest, with one of the foci of this study being to understand the context of the storyworld through what the participants say in their LaNas rather than explore the actual, interactive conditions in which the narration takes place. I assume that LaNas imitate though do not mirror these broader contexts, allowing me an interpreted access to them in addition to the

experienced, personal meanings that the TL-related life events have had for the participants.

Although meanings and identities cannot be read directly from what people say or write, the data provide clues that enable the proposition of knowledge claims about FL learning and teaching. It is unimportant whether the events are accurately described. The “truths” that are sought are narrative and hermeneutic “truths” instead of historical ones (Polkinghorne 2007; also Heikkinen et al. 2007b; Huttunen & Kakkori 2002). On examining the research data, I have adopted a “middle-course” (Lieblich et al. 1998) approach, which means that I have considered the LaNas poetic responses to life events but not treated them as texts of fiction or mirrored reflections of the experienced meaning (cf. this chapter, 126). Instead, they are languaged reactions to those historical events (life reality) in the research participants’ lives that involve the TL. According to Pavlenko (2007), this type of data opens up access to the participants inner worlds, the experienced meanings (subject reality) that these events have had for the participants, and also makes a textual analysis of the larger social and cultural influences on the construction of the narratives and subject realities possible. Thus, claims can be made that the LaNas will also enable the investigation of the storyworld (context) in which the experienced meanings are situated.

The range of materials that can be collected and analysed for this type of research is wide, as both Squire (2008) and Pavlenko (2007) point out. They include oral, written and visual material such as interviews, diaries, journals, field notes, commentaries and visual recordings, among other things, as possible data. In this research, the LaNas generated were collected from the language learning GUSSA students’ language learning journals, self-reflective writing assignments and audio-recorded counselling sessions between the FL teacher and the FL student (see detailed descriptions of the research material and data collection in chapter 6, 157). My teaching journal was also included as research material since it offered valuable insights into the FL students’ lives and classroom practices from the teacher’s point of view. The assumption is that the participants not only define their relation to the TL and perform their TL-related selves in this research material. They also express their affiliations to various TL-related communities and the prevailing cultural narratives related to the teaching and studying of EFL, and they make sense of their FL learning and use from their own, personal

viewpoints that are simultaneously both unique and socially and culturally rooted (Barkhuizen 2011; Ropo 2009a).

In sum, the narrative data collected for this study are firstly viewed as a type of identity talk in which the research participants make sense of themselves. Talking of themselves as FL students, learners, users and participants in different groups, collectives, communities and societies, they configure themselves as persons in relation to the TL in their LaNas, which then reflect back on their TL-related actions. This process entails the possibility for personal development, change and transformation of the prevailing states, affairs and circumstances. In addition to identity talk, however, LaNas also enable the examination of the FL teaching as the context of FL learning since the LaNas are constructed and reconstructed within the pedagogical, institutional and cultural framework of the local GUSSA. As highly contextualised data, the LaNas are seen to represent the daily life of the FL classroom, reconstituting it from multiple perspectives. This quality of the data will be utilised in the analysis of the LaNas.

6 CONDUCTING THE STUDY

Along with the increased interest in narratives across academic fields, studies in language education and learner autonomy have broadly started relying on narrative modes of investigation. Since the early steps in the 1990s (e.g., Bailey & Nunan 1996; Carter 1993; Casey 1996; Gudmundsdottir 1997; Pavlenko 1998), narrative research into learning and teaching foreign languages has become abundant, focusing on stories about and by teachers on the one hand, and stories about and by learners on the other (for examples of academic papers, monographies, collections and research overviews, see Aoki, with Kobayashi 2009; Barkhuizen 2011; Barkhuizen 2013b; Barkhuizen et al. 2014; Benson et al. 2012; Benson & Nunan 2004; Clandinin & Connelly 2000; Elbaz-Luwisch 2005, 2006; Huhtala & Lehti-Eklund 2012; Jaatinen 2007; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Kalaja et al. 2008a; Nunan & Choi 2010; Pavlenko 2007; Yamaguchi 2011). According to Barkhuizen et al. (2014), the amount of narrative research in the field of language learning and teaching has now, in the 2010s, reached a point where it is possible to outline guidelines for a narrative research methodology that is specific to this field. Methodologically, the study at hand contributes to this growing body of narrative research into FL learning and teaching.

Another change connected to the turn towards the narrative concerns the role of teachers as inquiring teacher-researchers. Instead of privileging academics as creators of valid knowledge, research has shown an increasing appreciation of the practitioners themselves as conductors of productive research in the field (Allwright 2006; Kohonen 2009b). According to Johnson and Golombek (2002a), this practitioner research has struggled to establish an epistemology of practice that acknowledges teachers as legitimate producers of knowledge, agents of change and professionals capable of sustaining their professional development. This “insider” knowledge consists of complex, interpretive, socially negotiated, local understandings that the teachers possess as “natives” to the settings in which they work.

This type of situated practitioner orientation, following the renewed interest in action research, has become common in applied linguistics, language education and SLA (for examples, see Allwright & Hanks 2009; Aoki, with Hamakawa 2003; Gieve & Miller 2006a; Johnson & Golombek 2002b; Yoshida et al. 2009). In recent years, there have been intensifying calls for teachers to explore the contexts of their teaching, including issues related to students, school community and culture, educational policies and wider sociopolitical states of affairs with the aim of promoting context-sensitive pedagogies. According to Barkhuizen (2008, 2013a), narrative inquiry as a contextualised form of research has provided an alternative for those calls. Along with the increased emphasis on understanding rather than problem-solving and generalisation, practitioner research has gained forms that go beyond standard academic research practices employed by many inquiring teachers. Exploratory practice, EP, as an inclusive form of practitioner research offers an alternative research paradigm for the field (see chapter 1, 26; also Allwright & Hanks 2009). It is this type of practitioner research that this study will identify with.

Chapter 6 will outline the methodological framework of this practitioner-oriented narrative research. Drawing together threads from the previous chapters, it will focus on describing narratively-oriented exploratory practice as a method. The chapter will first anchor this study to the existing continuum of narrative practitioner research into autonomy and identity in FL learning and teaching by reviewing a selection of relevant research examples from the field. The chapter will then define the method, describe the research process, the participants and the process of data collection, after which the analysis will be scrutinised in detail. The purpose of this chapter is to provide methodological grounding for the study of autonomy and identity in the institutional FL context of the local GUSSA.

Previous research into (foreign) language learning and teaching

Narrative practitioner research into FL learning and teaching frames a scholarly field with plenty of variation in terms of research methods. When examining the examples from research literature in the following subsections, it ought to be kept in mind that the division made between narrative and practitioner-oriented research is artificial. A line between these approaches has been drawn for clarity's

sake and the categories are not mutually exclusive: narrative research often manifests a practitioner orientation while practitioner research may have narrative undertones. The review is by no means exhaustive either. The studies reviewed consist of a highly selective body of narratively-oriented practitioner research, as a number of studies have been left out and new contributions continue to emerge (e.g., Benson 2013b; Dam 2009; Early & Norton 2013; Hayes 2013; Flowerdew & Miller 2013; Kalaja, Dufva & Alanen 2013). What these case studies and research projects have in common, though, in addition to methodological orientation, is that they relate to issues about autonomy and/or identity, either explicitly or implicitly, and are situated in similar formal institutional FL contexts to the local GUSSA, although some researchers have addressed them as SL contexts in their research texts. Consequently, the literature reviewed here will connect the present study to this existing field of research.

Narrative research into autonomy and identity

Many learner autonomy studies follow a common pattern of not focusing on assessing the development of autonomy directly. Instead, autonomy is often narrowed down and studied in terms of its subcomponents such as learner beliefs, strategy use, metacognition and the like (Cotterall 1995, 2009; Gao 2011; Lamb, M. 2011; Lamb, T. 2011) or, as the research examples selected for these two sections will indicate, indirectly in relation to broad and ambiguous personal changes like language learning, professional growth and identity development. The study at hand will follow the indirect path of investigating autonomy in (relation to) FL learning within the framework of FL identity (see chapter 4).

To begin with influential approaches to autonomy in FL learning and teaching, the extensive work on the CEFR and especially on the ELP (e.g., Kohonen 2002, 2005, 2009a; Kohonen & Korhonen 2007; Kühn & Pérez Cavana 2012; Little 2009; O'Rourke & Carson 2010) has also generated examples of narrative research in language education. A brief example by Thomsen (2010) will suffice to represent these contributions. In her article, Thomsen used a young pupil's logbooks and extracts from his language portfolio to illustrate the powerful stories portfolios can tell about their owner's FL learning. In this case, portfolio work became an important tool for developing the language learner's autonomy. As language portfolios are also part of the language teaching practices of interest in

this study, Thomsen presents interesting findings with regard to the prospects of portfolio work in the local GUSSA.

When talking about research into learner autonomy in Finland, Karlsson's (2008a; also Karlsson 2008b; Karlsson & Kjisik 2009) contribution cannot be ignored. In her study, which takes the form of an experiential narrative of a teacher-researcher, Karlsson urges to comprehend the nature and meaning of EFL interaction as experienced by a group of university students and herself as their counsellor. Conducting a reflexive narrative analysis of the FL students' learning experiences and her emotional responses to them in her teacher/counsellor role (collected in the form of written narratives, email, interviews and recorded counselling sessions), Karlsson finds a pedagogically-motivated and ethically sustainable way of researching learning and teaching interaction in an autonomous language-learning context. While doing this, she reconceptualises learner and teacher autonomy in EFL and proposes research writing as a method for FL teacher's identity work. The value of Karlsson's study for this research lies in that it illustrates a teacher-researcher's professional growth through narratives.

Working as FL teachers in two Japanese universities, Sakui and Cowie (2008) collected their own notes and reflections, their students' evaluations and journal entries, and interviews as their data to conduct a narrative analysis of the students' resistance patterns in the EFL classroom. Presenting their emotional responses to them in the form of personal stories, the writers viewed language classrooms as complex places where many kinds of social, cultural and historical factors and issues meet and interact. They interpreted student resistance as a reflection of the clash between the teacher's and the students' different sense of autonomy and investment. For me, Sakui and Cowie's study brought up two important issues. First, both language learners and teachers need to be considered holistically, as they bring their baggage of social and cultural assets to the classroom. Second, language learning is surrounded and affected by all kinds of sociohistorical forces. These claims imply the need for a wider perspective on FL teaching, which is a topic that shall be addressed later on in this study.

The following example of autonomy-related narrative research into FL learning derives from Yamaguchi (2011), who investigated the narratives of a Japanese student staff member working in English at a university self-access learning centre. Yamaguchi aimed at examining how the student's working

experience affected her identity. In her analysis, she paid attention to the student's development of autonomy, which she viewed, like Toohey and Norton (2003), as agency in sociocultural settings. Drawing on the theory of narrative positioning by Wortham and Gadsden (2006), the writer discovered how the student gradually positioned herself as an active agent towards the English-speaking CoP. This leads the writer to the conclusion that working at the self-access centre enabled the student to gain access to and develop her own voice in the TL community. The researcher then suggests that gaining voice through agency in the TL community promotes the student's autonomy. This case study offers an interesting parallel to the present study both theoretically and methodologically as it combines agency, autonomy and identity and resorts to the method of narrative positioning as its mode of analysis.

As pointed out by Gao et al. (2002), empirical examinations of identity in the formal institutional FL context have long been underrepresented in research literature. One of the examples derives from Block (2008; also Block 2007a), who investigated the development of English-mediated identities narratively. In his paper, Block presented a case study focusing on learner identity in an EFL classroom in Spain by analysing interviews of an adult English learner. According to Block, the analysis suggested that prospects for TL-mediated identity work in adult EFL classrooms can be considered minimal and identity work will only take place if and when classroom activities provide the space for it. On the other hand, Huhtala and Lehti-Eklund (2012) have also investigated emerging language identities in an institutional FL context in their study when they thematically compare the narratives written in the TL by first and third semester Finnish university students of Swedish. In contrast to Block's (2007a, 2008) argument, Huhtala and Lehti-Eklund's findings demonstrate how the university context and the community of fellow students, teachers and TL users may actually promote language identity development. With the focus of this research in mind, the claims made by these two studies are of particular interest.

The third example of identity-oriented research comes from Murray (2008), who employed the theoretical perspective of CoPs by Lave and Wenger (1991; also Wenger 1998) to better understand Japanese EFL learners' experiences. In the study, Murray content analysed the role of various EFL communities in the language learner/user identity construction of three adult English learners based on their life story interviews turned into stories. The stories highlighted the

multifaceted roles that CoPs played in the language learning processes. According to Murray, this implied that language educators should find ways to allow FL students to actively engage in co-constructing their learning with the others in the community, facilitate the development of an overall sense of community and increase the FL students' possibilities to identify with different imagined communities of FL learners and users. In this case study, the idea of the language classroom as a language learning community is interesting and also worth looking into in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA.

Murray (2008) touches upon an issue traditionally labelled as informal, out-of-class or non-instructed language learning, or alternatively, language learning in settings that lie beyond the traditional classroom (see Benson & Reinders 2011; also Pitkänen et al. 2011). Out-of-class learning is worth considering in this study as it will become an important element of the FL students' language learning in the local GUSSA. In this sense, Murray's study relates to Nikula and Pitkänen-Huhta's (2008) study about the role of EFL in secondary-school students' everyday lives in Finland. These researchers examined visual and oral narratives, analysing photographs of occasions of using EFL and discussions based on them. Accessing the narratives of FL learning as a personal and experiential practice, they detected that the students made an explicit division between formal and informal learning but still intermingled the formal and informal learning discourses, creating mixed identities that fluctuated between school practices and those arising from their own ways of using English. As informal FL learning appears to have an empowering effect, the writers urged that FL teaching should find ways to acknowledge informal language learning and prevent value judgements that only view learning at school as important and serious.

Practitioner-oriented research into autonomy and identity

The first example of practitioner-oriented research derives from Chik and Breidbach (2011), who reported on a language learning histories (LLHs) exchange project between Hong Kong and German ESL university language teacher students. During the project, the students wrote and shared their multimodal LLHs through course wikis, with the possibility of posting responses to each other. Aiming at assisting students to grasp the individual nature of language learning, developing awareness of the numerous ways of language

acquisition and recognising differences in experiencing language learning at school, the practitioners hoped for their students to learn to appreciate a variety of factors contributing to learner autonomy and language learning identities. When exploring the students' lifelong development of language learning, the writers discovered how pop culture served as an overarching link in the cultivation of the students' identity, motivation and autonomy. From the perspective of this study, two comments of relevance can be made. First, language learning manifests itself as a complex process, the out-of-class dimensions of which are essential for the student's holistic development, and second, reflecting on one's own language learning may contribute to this development effectively.

Whereas Chik and Breidbach focused on supporting their students' language learning, Moreira and Ribeiro (2009) examined professional growth through reflective journal writing, presenting an approach to the development of teacher autonomy through what the writers call collaborative supervision journals. These journals written between two or more teachers were based on the idea that a dialogue would allow teachers to contemplate the complexities of practice, confront their perceptions with those of others and reconstruct their theories of practice. In their analysis, the writers identified development in the journal entries towards deeper layers of understanding language teaching. Collaborative journal writing appeared to provide a meaningful context for the production of educational knowledge. The reason for including this research in this review was that my intention was also to enhance my own teacher development in the present study, by writing a reflective teaching journal.

Adopting a social constructivist perspective on the basis of her own previous research into autonomy in language learning in higher education, O'Leary (2014) aimed to identify autonomy in action as an inquiring teacher-researcher in her case study. Having expanded the classic definition of autonomy in language learning by incorporating affective and social dimensions into the construct, she was now looking for evidence of the language learners' control over cognitive processes and emotional intelligence in their portfolios, which also included self- and peer-assessment. Based on her findings, she discussed the implications for curriculum design and made practical recommendations for fostering autonomy in language learning in formal institutional settings. These implications and recommendations highlighted the emotional and relational dimensions of the language learning process that have been neglected in current adult language

teaching and learning theories. With regard to this research, O'Leary's study was selected as an example for various reasons. First, O'Leary was intent on fostering autonomy in language learning in a formal adult educational setting as a practitioner-researcher. Second, she resorted to data fairly similar to what I gathered in this study, and third, she worked on a conceptual framework that expanded the classic definition of autonomy in language learning.

Two examples of practitioner research have been provided by Aoki (2009a), who first proposes a self-questioning process as a form of teacher development. While working as a teacher educator, the researcher started to reflect on her students' reactions and behaviours on various occasions, wishing to understand them better. She identified personal, experiential stories that had influenced her everyday actions as a professional, a critical insight that facilitated her identity development as a teacher educator. In its simplicity, Aoki's study is an excellent example of a small-scale practitioner research study that is not too labour intensive for the practitioners themselves. In the second study, Aoki (2010), together with her Osaka University students, reported on a project carried out by herself and her students as a joint enterprise. The purpose of the inquiry was to examine if the teaching practices were working as expected. Integrating group interviews into the course instead of requiring the students to write their normal end-of-term reflections, Aoki detected that the students had developed what she called collaborative student teacher autonomy. For me, this study provides an example of a successful way to engage the students to develop their understandings through practitioner research, which is a key principle in exploratory practice (chapter 1, 26; also Allwright & Hanks 2009).

Two more studies employing EP as their method will be pointed out here. Although they do not concentrate on autonomy or identity directly, they contribute to engaging the students' in their learning and encourage them to take responsibility for what is going on in the classroom. First, Johnson (2002) used EP in her oral ESL for adults course in a university context. She taught a mixed group of students with au pairs, business people and postdoctoral fellows from around the world who had their regular interactions with English speakers in common. Given the late hour of the class and the busy lives of the students, Johnson, wishing the students to stay fresh and less fatigued, was concerned about the sequencing of activities in the lessons. One lesson, instead of choosing a topic for the regular discussion task, she asked the groups to discuss and suggest the

sequencing they would prefer for the activities. In conclusion, Johnson claimed that this task not only gave answers to her puzzlement but also increased student “ownership” of the lessons, strengthening their commitment to learning.

The research by Slimani-Rolls (2009) reports on a group of teachers investigating the pedagogical issues of group work that was experienced as problematic in a business school in London. The teachers were puzzled by the erratic behaviour of language learners during group work activities, which did not always proceed according to plan. Not wanting to disturb the normal classroom routines, they asked the students to write down their perceptions about their teachers and classmates in a brainstorming session, which was then followed by a class discussion. This task assisted the teachers to grasp the complexity and individuality of the students’ ideas of working with classmates. It also revealed that the teacher’s agenda was sometimes in conflict with the students’ agendas. These two small-scale and practical studies by Johnson (2002) and Slimani-Rolls (2009) also reflect two aspects of the classroom reality of the local GUSSA particularly well: EFL studies as part of the GUSSA students’ busy lives, and the heterogeneity of the EFL students with their individual beliefs, desires and expectations that are not necessarily in harmony with each other or compatible with the language teacher’s agenda.

In their study, Mideros and Carter (2014) report on an action research project in a university programme in Spanish as a FL, in which the first writer worked as an inquiring teacher-researcher. Adopting a process approach that included collaboration between the FL students and web-based out-of-classroom interaction, the teacher-researcher aimed at developing the students’ listening proficiency in Spanish in a social-interactive framework emphasising negotiation, collaboration and interdependence. This study consisted of two phases, during which the researchers collected field notes, open-ended student questionnaires and semi-structured student interviews as research data. A thematic analysis of the data revealed how the students reconceptualised the listening classroom as an educational setting promoting socially oriented agency. Suggesting that peer social interaction of this type is likely to enhance the FL students’ confidence and autonomy, the writers (*ibid.*, 151) conclude that “a strong, interdependent environment affords several possibilities for FL learning, FL use and communication, and, ultimately, a strong sense of social autonomy amongst learners”. The value of this study for the present research is that it promotes a

social understanding of autonomy in language learning and integrates out-of-classroom learning into a formal university programme. It implies the importance of providing the students with meaningful language learning affordances.

Finally, Everhard (2015a) reports on a research project spread over several years concerning EFL learning in Greek tertiary education. Located within this project, the aim of Everhard's case study was to explore the links between self-assessment, peer-assessment and teacher assessment of oral English skills as teacher-researcher in a general EFL course. Collecting and analysing different types of data, she presents the case for peer-assessment as a way to develop the language learners' capacity for critical reflection and evaluation, and thus also improve their ability to self-assess their language skills. As self-assessment is generally regarded as a prerequisite for the development of learner autonomy in language learning, Everhard claims that peer-assessment could be utilised as an important stepping-stone towards achieving autonomy. The value of Everhard's study for the present research is that it shows how the assessment process can be harnessed as an integral part of a pedagogy for autonomy in FL teaching.

Origins of the method: Narratively-oriented exploratory practice

The previous examples of contemporary research literature illustrate that both autonomy and identity have been studied narratively by FL teachers. The writers have motivated their approaches from various angles. Practitioner orientation, for example, has been considered valuable both at a personal level, contributing to professional development, and beyond it, creating innovative teaching practices as well as influencing classroom organisation, curriculum development, study materials and even institutional cultures (Aoki 2009a; Chik & Breidbach 2011; Everhard 2015a; Johnson 2002; Mideros & Carter 2014; O'Leary 2014; Slimani-Rolls 2009). Indeed, practitioner research appears to have the potential to meet the demands of 21st century professionalism by developing new local understandings and transforming the prevailing circumstances, with teachers as "agents of change" (Kohonen 2009b).

By way of justifying the narrative approaches, Karlsson (2008b) chose a narrative lens for the investigation of experience because she agreed with Clandinin and Connelly (2000), who have argued that narrative inquiry arises

from experience and is therefore the closest one can come to this experience. Sakui and Cowie (2008, 99) defend their narrative orientation claiming that a narrative is an “appropriate way to describe the complexity of being a teacher in a specific societal and cultural context”. Narratives, they argue, yield coherence to a complex combination of experiences, reflections, thoughts and emotions, not only serving as a source of information but a method of interpretation and reinterpretation. Finally, Block (2008, 142) provides a poststructuralist reason for his narrative approach to identity, referring to the idea of identities not as phenomena fixed for life but as “ongoing lifelong narratives in which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance”. Block’s motivation echoes the view inhabited by many: narrative is what connects fragmented, multiple identities into a more coherent entity that provides a sense of self. My method for the investigation of FL learning and teaching in the local GUSSA – narratively-oriented exploratory practice – is based on similar arguments.

Originally, this research was prompted by my desire as a recently graduated language teacher to understand how the GUSSA students studied and learnt EFL in order for me to be able to support their learning processes in my teaching (see chapter 1). It was therefore evident from the beginning that I would adopt a practitioner orientation. I already knew something about practitioner research, as I had earlier had the opportunity to investigate the experiences of practitioner researchers when analysing the data for a European ELP implementation project and its subprojects (the ELP Mentor Project, see Kohonen 2005, 2009a; Kohonen & Korhonen 2007; Korhonen 2005a, 2005b). Now I was determined to understand how my own teaching was received by the FL students and what impact the students’ language learning had on their lives. I was convinced that this comprehension could be attained by examining the meanings given to personal experiences of FL learning, teaching and use over time and space. Qualitative research methodology was required to do this.

By this stage, I had become acquainted with narratives and was drawn towards them by writers like Bruner (1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1996b), Heikkinen, Huttunen and Syrjäälä (2007a), Hyvärinen (2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2009), Johnson and Golombek (2002a), Lieblich et al. (1998), Polkinghorne (1995, 1996, 2007), Taylor (1989), and later Ricœur (1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992). These scholars were mostly working beyond (foreign) language education and applied linguistics, within literary studies, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences. Heikkinen

et al. (2007a), together with Johnson and Golombek (2002a), were some of the first to assure me that practitioner research was compatible with a narrative orientation, whereas reading Polkinghorne (2007, 479), who often drew on Bruner, convinced me that “the storied descriptions people give about the meaning they attribute to life events is [...] the best evidence available to researchers about the realm of people’s experience”.

As I understood that I desired to access the learners’ inner worlds and study the context of teaching through their experiences, Lieblich et al. (1998, 7) were there to provide me with the means, replying: “One of the clearest channels for learning about the inner world is through verbal accounts and stories presented by individual narrators about their lives and their experienced reality.” Squire (2008) suggested the term ‘experience-centred’ narrative research to me whereas Herman (2009) made claims that narratives were socially and culturally rooted in experience which reconstructed what it was like to undergo the events within a storyworld-in-flux. As an inquiry-oriented teacher, I was fascinated by these ideas because they provided me with a contextually anchored method to investigate FL learning and teaching, showing me a path to follow. Without offering many practical instructions for conducting narrative research, it was the Ricœurian framework (chapter 5) that soon provided me with an ontological and epistemological home for my narrative, practitioner-based method.

As I discovered FL identity as a possible theoretical framework for my investigations, I gained confidence about the appropriateness of my narrative approach. Several scholars had convinced me that self-narratives play an important role in the construction of identities and that narratives are able to describe development and change within individuals (Bruner 1991a; Giddens 1991; Lieblich et al. 1998; Polkinghorne 1995). Research in L2 and FL learning had also acknowledged the significance of narratives in identity construction (e.g., Block 2007a; De Fina 2003; Norton 2013). In particular, I became fascinated by Benson et al. (2012, 2013; also Benson 2013b), who had conducted research on SL identity. As this body of research also implied the dynamic nature of identity, it became evident that traditional data collection methods might not capture and allow for this dynamism.

I agreed with Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000, 157), who claimed that “first-person accounts in the form of personal narratives provide a richer source of data than third-person distal observations” for research into identity. A narrative approach

would perhaps allow me to see the objects of analysis as subjects who speak for themselves and represent their lives as participants. Since the turn of the 21st century, first-person narratives, collective stories, longitudinal studies, in-depth interviews and ethnographic studies have, indeed, enriched research on identity in L2 and FL settings (see Aoki, with Hamakawa 2003; Barkhuizen 2011, 2013b; Bell 2002; Pavlenko 2007). Ricento (2005) reports on several studies that have used narratives in exploration of L2 identities, and considers narrative methodologies particularly suited for that type of inquiry. Together, these discoveries assured me that I could convincingly speak of a narrative identity, an identity as a narrative told by people themselves (chapter 5, 130), also in connection to FL learning (chapter 4) by drawing on scholars working in the field.

Although I was committed to practitioner research, I felt somewhat uncomfortable with action research, which according to my limited experience was what most teacher-researchers were doing when conducting their inquiries (cf. Aoki, with Hamakawa 2003). Having read scholars more familiar with the field (e.g., Allwright & Bailey 1991; Burns 1999; Carr & Kemmis 1986; Heikkinen, Rovio & Syrjälä 2007; Kemmis & McTaggart 2005; Nunan 1989), I had developed an idea of what action research was like and saw myself less oriented towards action, change and problem-solving than I thought was expected of an action researcher (see Heikkinen & Huttunen 2007). Furthermore, having received positive feedback from my teaching, I did not have urgent practical problems in mind nor did I see radical changes necessary in my classroom. As a fresh FL teacher, I desired to grasp what was going on to be able to support my students' FL learning. I was reluctant to bring any extra research machinery into my lessons that might have risked diverting my or the students' attention away from our regular classroom life, the purpose of which was to study English rather than conduct research.

One of my desires was nevertheless to integrate FL learning into the GUSSA students' lives so that it could be meaningful and enjoyable instead of stressful and demotivating. This was important since many students led busy lives, trying to combine work, family, friends, free time, housework, homework and the evening classes. I did not wish to burden the students further with teaching nor research. Yet my aim was to encourage them to assume responsibility for their learning. As a teacher, I desired them to develop their understanding about their learning because I saw understanding as an essential precondition for assuming

this responsibility. In conditions like these, it was exploratory practice (chapter 1, 26; Allwright 2003, 2005, 2009; Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006b; Hanks 2009; Miller 2009) that provided fertile ground for conducting research alongside FL teaching. This path eventually led me to my method, *narratively-oriented exploratory practice*, which is based on my conception of narratives as contextually anchored spaces for identity construction and ethically sustainable ways to conduct practitioner research in the local FL classroom. Although this method has its roots in narrative and practitioner research, it should be emphasised that the method is my own. For example, it does not follow every principle of exploratory practice (see chapter 1, 26), as the reader will detect.

Research participants

The research participants are a group of FL students who attended my EFL courses in the local GUSSA between early spring 2009 and late autumn 2012 and gave their informed consent to participate in this study (see Appendix 1; also chapter 13, 432). In addition to my (the EFL teacher’s) voice, the voices of 34 students – among whom 8 male and 26 female – contributed to this study (Table 1). Compared to the general proportion of male and female students in this GUSSA (chapter 2, 48), the bigger proportion of female students (ca 75%) can be explained by chance and by the popularity of studying EFL among female subject students. Among the 34 participants, 10 are subject students, all of whom female. The number of participants was also influenced by the fact that not all students taking the EFL courses were chosen for this study; I selected the participants.

Table 1. The number of participating EFL students according to gender, age and student type

Gender		Age		Student type		Total number
M	F	18–29	30–65	Examination	Subject	
8	26	26	8	24	10	34

The criteria that this selection of students was based on were loose. To be invited to participate, the student needed to have taken more than three EFL courses during the years of investigation (with the exception of three “daytime” upper secondary students who only took one or two EFL courses in the local

GUSSA but were still selected due to their valuable contribution to the data). Another requirement was that the student needed to have taken at least two EFL courses by attending the lessons instead of relying on different forms of distance learning. To be accepted as a participant, the student also had to have “normal prospects” for studying in the GUSSA. This meant that students who were known to have personal challenges in their lives, involving family issues, illnesses, intoxicant abuse and psychological disorders that clearly influenced their studying, were excluded from this study. Although their studies in the GUSSA, their EFL courses included, may have represented welcome and substantial changes for their lives, these issues go beyond the scope and goal of this research. In addition to omitting some students from this study on the basis of these criteria, a few FL students also refused to participate for personal or other reasons. In other words, the selected group of participants cannot be considered representative of the heterogeneous GUSSA students in general; some aspects of this diversity are missing due to the pragmatic criteria for the selection of the 34 participants.

All the participants spoke Finnish as their first language. As for their ages, four were over 30 and four were over 50 while the remaining 26 were between 18 and 30 years. This age distribution was typical of the local GUSSA where most students were relatively young (see chapter 2, 48). As far as the participants’ employment is concerned, those over 30 and 50 had full-time employment and studied EFL alongside their daily work. Many participants had white-collar jobs, and a few of the participants worked in academic professions, for example as teachers, researchers and officials. Many younger students had part-time employment, often working within different fields of customer service. About a dozen of the participants were full-time students. In addition to the three “daytime” students, some of the younger participants were also studying for a “double” or “triple” certificate (see chapter 2, 44).

The participating students entered the research between spring 2009 and autumn 2012, which means that they are at different stages of their EFL studies at the time of writing this report. Most of the participants have graduated and finished their examinations while a few are still studying. The rest have either changed school, taken a year off, or quit their studies for some reason. Generally speaking, the participants are a heterogeneous group of students with diverse life experience. Some of the participants consume EFL on a daily basis either at work or in their free time (social media, the internet, games, magazines, foreign friends,

pop culture, etc.) while others may only hear it on TV. Some of them have travelled or stayed longer periods abroad, encountering foreign cultures and languages, while others have rarely used English beyond the classroom. The younger participants are familiar with 21st-century Finnish school life and have studied EFL in the comprehensive school for years. The older participants went to school during the previous school system in the 1960s and 1970s when the pupils did not study English so much. A few participants have been diagnosed with a learning difficulty like dyslexia while many participants have undiagnosed challenges with their learning. Some of the participants also faced unexpected challenges in their private lives during the years of their EFL studies.

Pseudonyms have been used in this research whenever references are made to the 34 research participants. Among these participants, five FL students were chosen to be examined in more detail. Their pseudonyms are Leena, Susanna, Suvi, Anna and Noora. I selected these students so that they represent different types of GUSSA students in terms of their autonomy and identity development. These five journeys are “success” stories in that the students all managed to complete their EFL studies. However, a “success” story does not mean here that the outcome of their English studies is similar or even particularly successful; on the contrary, the data portray how they differ from each other in terms of language learning, identity development and experiences of the teaching. These students are the protagonists of this research, and they will be introduced in the following paragraphs.

Leena is a 60-year-old examination student who works as the head of an accountants firm. She studied advanced Swedish and German instead of English in the folk school and the secondary school in the 1960s and 1970s and only took a few English courses at commercial college. Nowadays she occasionally needs English at work, for example in email correspondence with customers. Leena’s grown-up daughters, who live abroad, have English-speaking “son-in-law candidates” and she feels uncomfortable not being able to communicate with them properly due to her deficient language skills. She feels that her daughters have to “keep an eye on her” to ensure that their mother will not get lost linguistically or otherwise whenever she is visiting her daughters. Leena is motivated to improve her TL skills. She is interested in reading books, watching films at the local film club and listening to the music of her youth. Aware that knowing English is beneficial in these hobbies, she still points out that her

primary reason for studying English is that she desires to communicate with the English-speaking people around her. Leena's relationship to studying English can be described with the word *practical*.

Susanna, 19, came to the GUSSA as an examination student, having first studied in the "daytime" upper secondary school for a year at age 16, spent six months as an au pair in France, "hung out" in London, and worked at customer service in Finland. When I meet Susanna for the first time in English 3, she says that she has only negative experiences of studying EFL at school. As an FL student, she describes herself as a "loser". During her first upper secondary year, she had felt pressured due to high expectations set by others, the quick study pace, burdening amounts of homework and her classmates' excellent English skills compared to hers. These feelings had caused anxiety, which had had a demotivating effect on her. During her year off, she had become more interested in English. At the beginning of her GUSSA studies, Susanna used English at work and when surfing the net or browsing through English magazines. Despite the "loser" identity that she claims to inhabit in the classroom, she also says that she has managed well in English in everyday situations, which has made her rather critical towards and sceptical about the usefulness and meaningfulness of institutional FL teaching. Susanna aims to finish her upper secondary and matriculation examinations in the local GUSSA, which is why she also has to take the remaining EFL courses. At the beginning of her GUSSA studies, her attitude to studying English can be summarized with the word *aversion*.

Suvi enrolled for the EFL courses as a subject student in her mid-twenties. She had taken the matriculation examination and finished with the upper secondary certificate as a young student in the early 2000s. Now working for the local centre for people with disabilities, she had started to wonder if that was what she actually wanted to do in her life. She came to the conclusion that she should at least try to revise her English skills, which had become a constant source of anxiety for her over the years. Suvi's negative experiences of learning and using English had developed into a concrete fear and avoidance of English and English speakers. At the beginning of her EFL studies, Suvi felt that her negative emotions restricted her life extensively. For example, she described an evening that she had recently spent with her spouse and his English-speaking friends, when she was hardly able to open her mouth and say anything in English. The experience had left her with strong feelings of being an outsider. To obtain a possibility to work

on her anxieties with English, Suvi enrolled at the local GUSSA to revise the EFL courses. In the beginning, her relationship to studying the TL can be described with the word *fear*.

Anna is an examination student in her mid-fifties, representing approximately the same generation as Leena and sharing similar school experiences with her. Unlike Leena, Anna did not become acquainted with English in her youth. Before enrolling at the GUSSA, Anna took a few basic-level English courses at the local adult education centre. She has neither travelled abroad nor used English in her work as a nurse. Still, Anna pointed out at the beginning of her studies that she would like to learn English to be able to read the professional literature of her field, which is often published in English. Anna's EFL learning is challenging since she has an undiagnosed learning difficulty that manifests itself as problems to remember words, disturbing amounts of spelling errors and interference from other languages. At the beginning of this study, Anna had been studying in the local GUSSA for about a year, and tried to study English courses with little success. She keeps trying, though, since it has been her dream for decades to take the upper secondary and the matriculation examinations. The word *toil* can best be used to describe Anna's attitude to commencing EFL studies in the GUSSA.

At the beginning of her GUSSA studies, *Noora* was a 24-year-old examination student who had decided to enrol at the adult upper secondary school to find a meaningful way to spend her free time. Up until then, Noora had been doing office work for a few years after graduating to a vocational occupation, and she felt that her current life situation did not provide her with sufficient intellectual challenges. Noora felt confident about her English skills from the beginning. Still, she did not lack motivation to study; on the contrary, she portrayed herself as a goal-oriented, determined and committed EFL student who wanted to make the most of whichever courses she took. Noora was also accustomed to using English in her free time by listening to music, surfing the net, consuming pop culture, etc. She also had occasional opportunities to use English with her close friend's foreign girlfriend as well as at work when she received phone calls from foreign customers. Noora's relationship to studying English in the adult upper secondary school can best be summarized with the word *fascination*.

In addition to these students, I desired to include an unsuccessful FL student as the sixth protagonist since some participants, indeed, dropped out or quit their English studies during the research process. Selecting this student turned out to

be challenging. Any type of failure was a combination of highly individual reasons, which made it difficult to pick out only one student. No single unsuccessful FL student produced material sufficiently for bringing out the participant's voice in a comprehensive manner. These students often had challenges with attending the counselling sessions and turning in their journals so that the teacher's observations were often the only source of data available. It might also have been unethical to label one student as the unsuccessful one as it would have risked the student's anonymity in the small GUSSA community where the data were gathered.

Therefore, I chose to examine 11 participants – 4 male and 7 female – all of whom did not quit their EFL studies but who still had challenges similar to those who did. By analysing their data as if they were produced by one person, I crafted the profile of “*Niko*” who became the “sixth protagonist” of this study. “Niko's” narrative is a composite story of a certain type of FL student in the local GUSSA. It has been constructed by using parts of the original narrative data produced by the 11 FL students. Mishler (1995) has described this method in terms of “constructing the told from multiple tellings” and it has earlier been used in narrative research (e.g., Hänninen 2002). In the analyses, I have treated “Niko” as a single person, and analysed his narrative like the other protagonists' narratives. Doing this, I will be able to show a pattern that some GUSSA students followed in their language learning processes. However, there is no denying that neither the crafted narrative nor the analyses of it feel as genuine and plausible as the other narratives and analyses. While reading the analyses of this particular narrative, this background should be kept in mind: “Niko's” profile is artificial as I have crafted it and it represents several FL students.

“Niko's” initial attitude to studying English in the local GUSSA can be described with the words *necessary evil*. I chose him to be a 20-year-old male because a bigger proportion of the data derived from the four male participants, most of whom were around 20 years. Conclusions about the connections between gender and success should not be drawn, however. There were also successful male and unsuccessful female FL students in the local GUSSA during the research period. In practice, the reasons for choosing one protagonist over another in two “equal” cases varied between some students simply being more productive than others in generating data and, in a few unfortunate cases from the beginning of the research process, me letting some students “slip through my fingers” due

to a failure to see the value of a particular FL student before it was “too late”. All in all, by including “Niko” among the protagonists, I wish to get rid of the illusion that even the challenging FL students were always successful in taking their examination in the GUSSA.

Generating the data

The investigation of phenomena as complicated as autonomy and identity may benefit from the richness and diversity of research material. Committed to the research philosophy of exploratory practice (chapter 1, 26; also Allwright & Hanks 2009), I integrated data collection into the existing practices of FL learning and teaching in the local GUSSA, collecting data that were created naturally in the processes of language learning and teaching. Starting in spring 2009, the LaNas were collected from four sources of narrative data produced by the FL students and myself as their teacher: 1) the FL students’ language learning journals, 2) the FL students’ (self)reflective writing tasks and self-assessments, 3) audio-recorded teacher-student counselling sessions and 4) the FL teacher’s teaching journal. These components were all part of my pedagogy in the local GUSSA (see chapter 1, 23). The teaching journal was included as data because it offered insights into the students’ lives and classroom practices from the teacher’s point of view. The data collection ended in autumn 2012 after many participants had finished their EFL studies and I had obtained an impression that I had enough data at my disposal to conduct a trustworthy analysis. Detailed information concerning the amounts of data is presented in Table 2. In the following subsection, each type of data has been described in more detail.

Table 2. The types and amounts of data collected

Type of data	language (learning) journal	(self)reflective tasks & self-assessments	counselling sessions	teaching journal
Amount of data	319 pages	128 pages	70 pages	352 pages

Description of data

1) The language (learning) journal was one of the main sources of data. It was utilised when emplotting the teaching and the protagonists' language learning as well as when conducting the two holistic analyses on the teaching and the protagonists (this chapter, 164). As their EFL teacher, I asked the students to write a learning journal about their English learning as part of their homework. The journal was a required course assignment in most EFL courses. However, as some students had persistent difficulties in writing the journal (e.g., dyslexia), they had the possibility to submit alternative work. This compensating work also applied to students who forgot to write their journal during the courses. When writing their entries, the students were allowed to choose whether to write in English or Finnish. While many students seized the possibility of writing in Finnish, there were also students who decided to write their journals entirely in English, mostly because they considered it good writing practice.

I did not give much guidance to the students about the content of the journal entries. In practice, I asked the students to write about their English learning and studying and provide feedback on the teaching and the lessons. At the end of the courses, the students evaluated their learning and set future learning goals. In practice, the content of the entries varied a lot. While some students meticulously documented what they had done to learn English, others focused on expressing how they felt after particular tasks and lessons. Although they wrote their journals for themselves, to deepen their involvement in their language learning, the entries were turned in to the FL teacher using the course website. In principle, the students had the chance to write as often and as many entries as they desired, as long as they turned in the minimum of three entries per course, one at the beginning, one in the middle and one at the end of the course. As most students had a busy schedule and an EFL course in the GUSSA only took about 6–7 weeks, few students handed in more than three entries. Moreover, the length of the entries varied. While the productive students wrote about one A4-page each time, the less productive produced a couple of lines per entry. However, the length of the entries was rarely linked to the quality of the entries or the student's choice of language or the student's TL proficiency; it was more dependent on what roles the student attributed to the journal, how much time s/he had for producing the entries, and how skilful the student was in expressing him-/herself in writing.

2) The students' (self)reflective writing tasks and self-assessments (either in Finnish or English) were utilised for the investigation of the protagonists (this chapter, 164). The reflective writing task refers to an essay assignment integrated into the final exam in many EFL courses. In this assignment, I asked the students to write brief, reflective essays on a topic that I had given to them as their teacher. For example, I asked the students to reflect on their language learning histories, their self-concept as FL learners and users, the meaningfulness of their study techniques and learning strategies, and the role of culture in the EFL lessons and courses. Although this task was part of the exam, the texts were written at home and handed in to the teacher. Although I marked the essays (about 5–10% of the exam points were based on the essay), the students were aware that the assessment was based on the depth of reflection instead of any pre-determined, desired content. For example, a student could assume passive subject positions as a language learner and user in the essay and still get a high score if the text showed that the student had discussed the topic in a sincere, profound and well-motivated manner. In principle, all students handed in these essays repeatedly in the EFL courses. Only those essays written by the protagonists have been used as data as the essays were best at depicting individual learning processes.

In some EFL courses, the students also assessed their English skills with the help of self-assessment tasks that were based on the six levels of language proficiency suggested by the Common European Framework of Reference, CEFR (Council of Europe 2001). In connection with these tasks, the students assessed their current language skills using the self-assessment grid and handed in a brief written document as one of their portfolio assignments, in which they summarised their key findings regarding their English proficiency and set long-term language learning goals. These self-assessments were utilised as research data when investigating the six protagonists' development. Although quotations from these self-assessments have rarely been included in this research report, they became invaluable research material during the analysis as they enabled comparisons between my impressions about an individual student's development and the student's own assessments of his/her language learning.

3) The counselling session material refers to the face-to-face counselling sessions between the EFL teacher and the student. Originally, I initiated these sessions, the length of which varied between 15 and 60 minutes, by myself as an EFL teacher as I was searching for pedagogically useful ways to support the

students' learning processes in a more holistic and individualised manner. During the years, these sessions became an essential part of the student's counselling in language learning. I aimed at meeting each student annually. In practice, the students had the chance to attend a counselling session two to three times since they normally finished their EFL studies in two or three years. The sessions were informal; they took place in Finnish and consisted of free talk about the student's life and language learning. The atmosphere was usually relaxed and peaceful. Both the student and I had the chance to bring our concerns about the student's language learning to the session. Many students were fairly motivated to attend the sessions in hope of obtaining new insights into their language learning. With the student's permission, some of the sessions were audio-recorded. I also made brief notes after some sessions. As with the reflective texts and self-assessments, however, the counselling sessions were only analysed as far as the protagonists were concerned (this chapter, 164).

4) My own teaching journal formed the second main source of data. Between spring 2009 and autumn 2012, I kept a reflective journal on a total of 45 EFL courses, in which I made notes about the lessons, the courses, the teaching, the students, myself as a professional, the school community and other issues that I felt somehow affected or related to my work in the FL classroom. The frequency of writing varied but often I made an entry two to three times a week after the lessons in the evening or the following morning. Like the student journals, the teaching journal not only included narration of events but also expressed the meanings which I had connected to my experiences encountered during these events. Like with the students' journals, I used relevant parts of the teaching journal as data in all phases of the analysis in this study (this chapter, 164).

Concerns about the data

According to Riessman (2008; also Pavlenko 2007; Polkinghorne 2007), narrative researchers often have a substantial role in constituting the narrative data that they analyse. They are frequently represented during the moments of data production; they listen to the narrator, ask further questions and shape the stories that the participants tell their audience. In the case of oral narratives, the researcher engages in interpretive practice when transcribing the data into written form. Transcriptions are incomplete and selective by definition and they only

provide a partial representation of the nuances of the speech event. The researcher's decisions about the display of the narratives in the report means drawing boundaries between narrative segments and shutting out others either consciously or unconsciously. As to language learning contexts, Pavlenko (2007) also discusses the choice of language, pointing out that the same story is likely to vary at least in detail, structure and emotion depending on whether it is told in the narrator's first language or not. This is especially so if the narrator's TL proficiency is low. Polkinghorne (2007) also stresses the need to spell out what the narrative text is intended to represent.

As far as analysing language choice in this research is concerned, Finnish was often preferred to English. The reflective essays and self-assessments were often written in Finnish although it was not forbidden to use English either; the counselling sessions were in Finnish and I kept my teaching journal in Finnish. Many students wrote their language (learning) journal in Finnish although there were also many who wrote in English. Among the protagonists, for example, Noora and Leena kept their journals in English and "Niko" also wrote some of his entries in English. In most cases, the language choice was made by myself instead of the student after careful consideration. The use of the students' L1 was justified for two reasons. First, as some of the students had low proficiency in the TL, forcing them to generate the research data in English only would most likely have narrowed down their possibilities to express themselves substantially. It would have taken unreasonable amounts of the students' time and energy, as most of them already had difficulties with incorporating GUSSA studies into their lives. It would also have been problematic to tie the students' hands in this dimension of their learning processes while attempting to promote their capacity to assume responsibility and make choices regarding their learning otherwise. Choosing L1 over L2 was a conscious and ethical choice. Second, it felt more natural in the counselling sessions to use Finnish since it was both my and the students' L1. In particular, it was easier to connect to some of the introverted student in these sessions when using the first language that both shared.

When it comes to the language (learning) journal entries, on the other hand, one can of course speculate whether the students' language choice reflects their positioning and relationship to the TL more generally. While this may be the true in some cases (see the analyses on Anna and Noora in chapter 8 and chapter 9), the language choice has also been rather arbitrary in others (see the analysis on

Susanna in chapter 8 and chapter 9). Moreover, how the student has interpreted the role of the journal as part of his/her language learning process as a whole has undoubtedly also influenced the language choice. If the student has discovered, for example, that the journal also provides opportunities to practise English writing skills, s/he has generally been more willing to write the entries in the TL.

About 70 pages of the total amount of 869 pages of data consisted of oral interview material. Before transcribing the interviews, I listened to them a couple of times, making notes about my impressions and relating them to other material produced by the same participant. I also resorted to the original audio-recordings instead of the written transcripts when conducting my analysis. I chose to do this to hear the tone of voice, listen to the pauses, repetitions, self-corrections, slips of the tongue and refresh my memory of the paralinguistic features and the atmosphere that I had briefly described in my notes. This was a more effective means of analysis than trying to capture everything in the transcripts. For the purposes of this study, only rough transcripts were made. These transcripts reported the content of the counselling sessions verbatim, including the pauses, repetitions and so on, but they did not include detailed notes about the length of the pauses, etc. Detailed notes were not deemed purposeful since the original recordings were available and the aim was to conduct a narrative analysis on the holistic features of the data. The transcriptions can therefore be considered a valid body of data.

It has already been emphasised (chapter 5, 126) that the LaNas serve as evidence for personal meaning instead of factual occurrence of events, i.e., they include narrative “truths” instead of historical ones (Polkinghorne 2007). In this research, the narrative texts are treated like this, as meaning-making systems and cognitive evidence of how the narrators experience and understand things (cf. Pavlenko 2007). They are contextually anchored spaces for identity construction which enable me to make knowledge claims about the FL teaching and learning and their influence on the students’ FL identities and autonomy (cf. Ricœur 1988, 1991b). However, although the LaNas are understood as their narrators’ responses to real-life events, they are neither treated as texts of fiction nor mirrored reflections of the experienced meaning. Instead, the research material represents a poetic imitation of the narrators’ lifeworlds (Ricœur 1991a). The participants’ languaged descriptions of the meaning that they have given to their

experiences do not mirror but only imitate the experienced meaning. According to Polkinghorne (2007), most validity threats to narrative data arise from this fact.

Polkinghorne (2007, 480–482) identifies four validity threats arising from the above-mentioned disjunction: 1) the limits of language to capture the complexity and depth of experienced meaning, 2) the limits of reflection to bring notice to the layers of meaning that are present outside of awareness, 3) the resistance of people because of social desirability to reveal fully the entire complexities of the felt meanings of which they are aware, and 4) the complexity caused by the fact that texts are often a co-creation of the interviewer and participant. Although these threats can hardly be eliminated, they can and must be taken into consideration. In the research at hand, I have addressed these threats as follows:

1. As the EFL teacher, I let the students choose whether or not they wanted to use their L1 in their journals, essays and self-assessments since they usually have access to more figurative expressions in their L1. Some protagonists were also rich and abundant in written self-expression.
2. The participants generated the data regularly and repeatedly in their EFL courses during more than two school years, which provided them with time to deepen their reflective gazes. In my teacher role, I also gave the students some advice regarding reflection.
3. As the students produced most of the data at home without strict guidance and encountered me as their EFL teacher in every English course that they took, thus likely increasing their confidence and trust in me, I was able to reduce to some degree my influence on the texts as well as the students' resistance to reveal their authentic selves in them.
4. When needed, I was easily able to return to the participants to gain clarification and further exploration, for example in the counselling sessions. Thus, it was possible to discuss the same topic on several occasions, which diminished the possible negative impacts of co-creation.

All in all, the data collection can be contemplated as part of the whole research process, as shown in Figure 2. The figure illustrates the interrelatedness and

overlapping of FL teaching, data production/collection and research analysis. In this figure, data generation can be seen as fully integrated into the teaching practices. The figure also emphasises the dynamic nature of the research analysis, which involved a continuous movement back and forth between the original data and the emerging interpretations (this chapter, 174). Neither was the data a fully formed body of narrative evidence during the analysis since new FL students entered the research at different stages of the three-and-a-half-year research period. Thus, the present research can best be understood as a contextually situated, hermeneutic process.

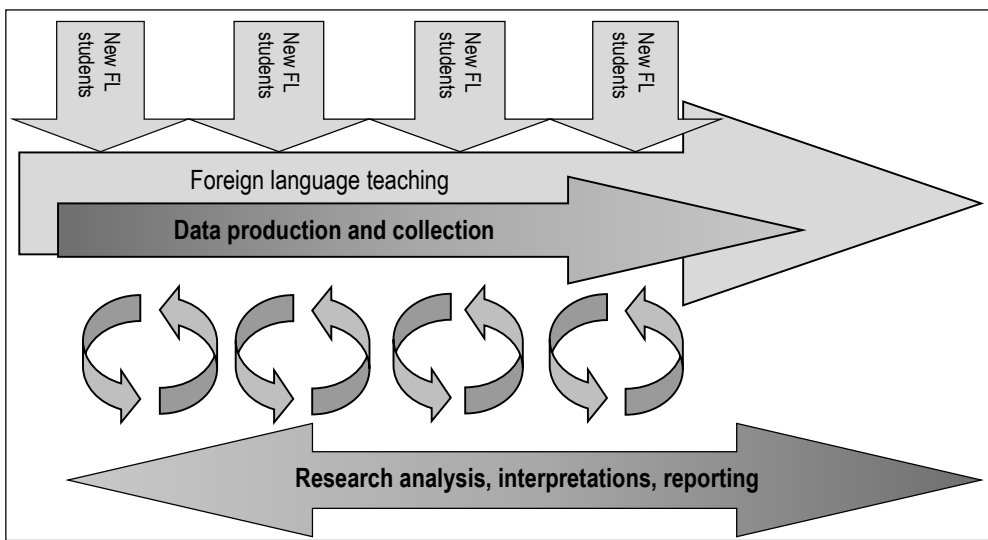


Figure 2. A schematic picture of the research process

Analysing language narratives

Narrative research is a theoretically and methodologically diverse and interdisciplinary field without automatic starting or finishing points (see Chase 2005). In the present study, narrative research is understood both as a particular type of qualitative research and a methodological approach in its own right. Unlike many qualitative approaches, narrative research offers few rules about suitable materials or modes of investigation. It is careful in not offering any single account of how to analyse the data. Instead, analysis in narrative research can

refer to a family of narrow and broad methods for interpreting many kinds of texts – oral, written and visual – that have a storied form of some kind in common (see Barkhuizen 2011, 2013b; Barkhuizen et al. 2014; Georgakopoulou 2007; Gubrium & Holstein 2009; Hiles & Čermák 2008; Hyvärinen 2008a; Labov & Waletzky [1967] 1997; Lieblich et al. 1998; Ochs & Capps 2001; Pavlenko 2007; Polkinghorne 1995; Riessman 2008; Squire et al. 2008; Webster & Mertova 2007). The “cases” which form the basis for the analysis, the overall purpose of which is to assemble a “fuller” picture of them, can also range from individuals to groups, communities, organisations and larger entities. This diversity makes conducting narrative research a demanding project.

In her discussion, Pavlenko (2007) has differentiated between three interconnected types of information that can be gathered from narrative data: information about 1) subject reality (how things or events were experienced), 2) life reality (how things are or were) and 3) text reality (how things and events are narrated). This division is commonly reflected in the analysis, the methods of which vary depending on the focus of the study. Narrative studies examining the subject reality of language learning, for example, have frequently resorted to various types of content/thematic analysis which code the narrative data according to themes, trends, patterns or conceptual categories (this chapter, 140). While recognising their ability to detect the narratives’ recurrent motifs, Pavlenko criticises content/thematic analyses for their frequent absence of theoretical framework and transparent methodology. As a result, it often remains obscure where the categories originate from and how they relate to one other. Another area of Pavlenko’s criticism concerns analysing content in separation from form and context. Focusing exclusively on the content, she argues, content/thematic analysis fails to notice important aspects excluded from the text. Moreover, those types of analyses usually pay little attention to how the narrators use language to interpret their experiences and position themselves as particular kinds of people.

Questioning the usefulness of ambiguous and seemingly atheoretical analyses of narrative data, Pavlenko (2007) suggests three complementary theoretical frameworks, within which analyses can be carried out: 1) cognitive approaches contemplating narratives as meaning-making systems (and as evidence of understanding), 2) textual approaches viewing them as interplay between voices and discourses (and as evidence of larger, contextual influences on human cognition and self-presentation) and 3) discursive approaches regarding

narratives as products of interaction (and as evidence of the co-constructed nature of storytelling). These theoretical approaches connected to combinations of analysing the content, form and contexts of narratives are claimed to enhance the quality of the analysis and generate insights beyond what analysing content alone will achieve (Barkhuizen 2010; Riessman 2008).

In this research, the foci of analysis lay in the GUSSA students' FL identity development and experiences of the FL teaching forming the social and cultural context for this development. LaNas, in which the participants gave meanings to their experiences of learning and using the TL over time and space, were collected as data (chapter 5, 133 and this chapter, 157). With regard to analysing the data, the following had to be taken into account: a) The analysis had to reach the individual participants' TL-related lives and their contexts. b) The analysis had to enable the investigation of the participants' experiential processes over time and space. c) The analysis had to tackle various types of experiential data with autobiographical elements. d) The analysis had to appreciate the diversity of voices in the data. As a researcher, I was interested in how the students experienced their FL learning and the FL context (subject reality) and how these experiences developed. I also assumed that the narrators telling about their lives positioned themselves both through the content and the form of their LaNas (cf. Hyvärinen 2008a). In other words, how the experiences were told contributed to understanding their meaning.

With this in mind, I adopted a cognitive and, with limitations, a textual approach to the data that enabled a combination of content and structural analysis. Schematically, the analysis consists of three interrelated and overlapping phases, the second and third phase of which constitute the primary parts of the analysis: 1) division of the narrative data into the *sjuzet* and *fabula*, 2) analysis of the holistic form and content of the data and 3) emplotment of the data into storied accounts. The subsection below will outline this analysis while the subsection that follows will consider some of the critical issues posed by it. More detailed descriptions of the analyses have been placed in parts III and IV.

Description of analysis

Stories are generally thought of as having two interrelated and interpenetrating parts, i.e., *what* is being told (the *fabula*) and *how* it is being told (the *sjuzet*)

(Bruner 1991b; Herman & Vervaeck 2001). The preliminary phase of the analysis in this study consisted of a division of the narrative data into these constituent parts, following the model proposed by Hiles and Čermák (2008). Drawing on Herman and Vervaeck (ibid.), the writers emphasise the need to analyse both the *what* and the *how* of narratives. Both need to be used when interpreting the meanings given to the storied events. According to the writers, the so-called *sjuzet-fabula* analysis is often conducted by first identifying the *sjuzet*, i.e., words, phrases and/or longer segments concerned with emphasis, reflection, asides, interruptions, remarks and expressions which the narrators use to position themselves with respect to the storied events. If the *sjuzet* is identified like this, the authors continue, the *fabula* can then be read by ignoring the *sjuzet*.

Although the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis is not as straightforward and unproblematic as it may appear, Hiles and Čermák (2008) recommend commencing a narrative analysis with that type of division to create meaningful points of departure for further analysis. Riessman (2008, 89) has also pointed out that a structural coding of the clauses may be a useful phase at the beginning of any narrative analysis. In this study, the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis assisted me in preparing the data for the primary analysis. Although the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis did not originally stand out as a separate phase, it turned out to be an illustrative way to clarify how I treated the data first, before analysing them holistically and synthesising the storied texts. Therefore, there was justification for distinguishing it as a distinct analytical phase. It should still be emphasised that only a very coarse division was made between the *sjuzet* and the *fabula*, the function of this analysis simply being to perceive the data in a comprehensive manner.

Lieblich et al. (1998) have proposed a model for classification of narrative modes of data analysis. Working in the field of psychology, their discussion primarily relates to lifestory research which is not where this study is anchored. From early on, however, the writers still define researchers interested in the “narrative study of lives” (ibid., 2) as their target audience. Although the LaNas depict bits and pieces of the participants’ lives, this research can be conceptualised as a contextually anchored narrative study of lives since the research material includes lifestory-like parts and interest lies in the participants’ TL-related lives during their GUSSA years. Not only do the participants write and talk about themselves in relation to English once or twice but on numerous and diverse occasions in the middle of their EFL studies. What also made the

model tempting was the wide spectrum of narrative material that the approach could be applied to, the authors' belief that their approach could not only access "the individual identity and its systems of meaning but also the teller's culture and social world" (ibid., 9), and the analytical tools that would enable the holistic investigation of experiential stories.

The model suggests four modes of analysing narratives: holistic-content, holistic-form, categorical-content and categorical-form. These modes derive from two dimensions. The first, holistic vs. categorical, refers to the unit of analysis. Working within the categorical perspective, the original narrative is dissected into parts that are further analysed into defined categories. The holistic perspective allows the narrative to be read as a whole and the different parts of the narrative to be interpreted in the context of the other parts. The second dimension of the model, content vs. form, refers to the distinction between analysing either the content (what, why, who, etc.) or the form (plot, structure, coherence, style, metaphors, etc.) of the narrative. (Lieblich et al. 1998.) This model was applied when studying FL teaching and learning in this research. As I was interested in how the experiences of FL learning and teaching developed, the holistic analyses of form (chapter 9, 246 and chapter 10, 306) and content (chapter 9, 262 and chapter 10, 318) were selected. These holistic modes of analysis enabled systematic explorations of the data without losing the contextual and temporal aspects of the LaNas.

The holistic-form perspective refers to the investigation of the narrative structure by considering issues related to the holistic level of the story. Although the main idea is to focus on the form of the story as an entity rather than the content, the holistic-form perspective does not mean that the *fabula* is ignored. To examine how the story creates its meaning, attention must be paid to the *fabula* and the *sjuzet*, as they both contribute to understanding the story as an entity. The holistic analysis of form does not refer to examining the language in the micro level of the narrative; that would refer to the *categorical* analysis of narrative form. In the *holistic* approach, the focus lies on the form in the macro level. The form of interest here comprised the overall development of the narrative structure. This was done with the help of the *sjuzet* and the *fabula*, by identifying meaningful time periods and moments which contributed to the turning points and the progression of the narrative. Webster and Mertova (2007) refer to these parts of the narrative structure as critical events. Instead of holistic-form analysis,

a more accurate title for this analysis might be a holistic description of the development of the narrative structure. I will nonetheless use the original title in this research due to its shortness.

In the holistic-content perspective, on the other hand, priority is given to the *fabula*, but it is evident that content can hardly be analysed either without paying attention to form. What makes the content-oriented approach holistic is that it involves exploring and establishing links and associations within the entire narrative, either by identifying its general themes or by exploring the meaning of certain segments for the entire story. In this research, the holistic-content analysis consisted of identifying the powerful storylines embedded in the narratives and following their development throughout the story. More detailed descriptions of the two holistic analyses have been placed in chapter 9 and chapter 10.

At a theoretical level, the two holistic analyses conducted here are loosely connected to the theory of narrative positioning (chapter 4, 94; also Bamberg 1997, 2006; Barkhuizen 2010; Wortham 2000, 2001; Wortham & Gadsden 2006). According to this theory, autobiographical narratives as contextually situated narration position the narrators in ways that are crucial to the narrators' self-construction. Positioning has been a fairly popular focus of interest in narrative research over the years (among others Barkhuizen 2010; Crawshaw, Callen & Tusting 2001; Moita-Lopes 2006; Pavlenko 2001a, 2001b; Yamaguchi 2011). The meaning of this theory for the present research was that it pointed out a link between positioning, identity and context. It enabled a comprehension of how identities are constructed in narrative practices and how the identities that one identifies with depend on the positions that one occupies and those that one has to occupy under sociohistorically given discourses. On the one hand, the language learning GUSSA students adopted and were subjected to contextually anchored subject positions, and changes in those discursive positionings over time implied developments in FL identity. On the other hand, the experienced meanings on which the discursive positionings were based would also allow access to the prevailing sociohistorical contexts. Therefore, to study the students' FL identities (chapter 8 and chapter 9) and the formal institutional FL context (chapter 7 and chapter 10), I analysed the subject positions adopted by the participants and the experienced meanings related to them by examining the content and form of the participants' language narratives.

The two holistic analyses do not represent a positioning analysis typical of the field of small-story research (Bamberg 2006), however. Although the LaNas as research material also involve what could be called small stories, this study will examine positioning in a broader continuum of storied experiences about FL learning and teaching. In this continuum, the small stories in the “here and now” become big stories of EFL teaching in the local GUSSA on the one hand, and of the participating FL students’ language learning careers during their GUSSA studies on the other. Instead of *identifying* and *labelling* the participants’ subject positions, interest will be directed at the positive and negative *developments* taking place over time in the participants’ positioning to TL learning, TL use, TL-related participation and the TL itself. These changes in subject positions will be investigated through different types of narrative data, only parts of which have been generated in the social interaction of interviews (this chapter, 157).

Whereas similar analytical frameworks to that of Lieblich et al. (1998) have emerged in a number of disciplines (see Barkhuizen 2011; Hiles & Čermák 2008; Pavlenko 2007; Riessman 2008), the researchers’ original model has also been adopted within various fields of research. The following examples represent studies that have adopted the holistic modes of the model in a relatively straightforward manner similar to the analysis in this study. First, Edwards and Gabbay (2007) have explored patients’ experiences of long-term sickness absence and return to work, using the four modes of reading when analysing the in-depth, biographical interviews collected. Their holistic-form approach, which aims at sketching out prototypical structures for the development of the patients’ subjective wellbeing, enables the researchers to identify three narrative patterns (uncomplicated, complicated and sustained absence) that the patients follow in their efforts to maintain a coherent identity in the midst of change. In the second study, Draucker and Martsolf (2010) combine a narrative approach consisting of a holistic-form and holistic-content analysis to a qualitative cross case analysis to develop a life course typology of individuals exposed to sexual violence. In the holistic modes, the researchers first identify the major themes of the interview narratives that depict the participants’ life courses. Then they graph the plot progression of each participant’s life course in relation to the participant’s sense of wellbeing, also locating substantial turning points and unique outcomes. This analysis enables the writers to identify subgroups among the research participants, an outcome that they suggest could be useful in the future.

From the fields of language and mathematics education, two research examples adopting modes of analysis similar to those in Lieblich et al.'s (1998) model will be pointed out. First, Leppänen and Kalaja (2002) examine how language learning experiences are reflected in the plots of Finnish EFL learners' linguistic autobiographies. Investigating the holistic and categorical form of the narratives with story grammar analysis, the authors demonstrate how the learners draw on fairy tales to construct stories of their language learning either as a heroic quest or as suffering and victimization. In the second example, Kaasila (2000; also Kaasila 2008) explores the meaning of school recollections in the formation of the conceptions and teaching practices of mathematics teachers. Using questionnaires, interviews and portfolios as data, he resorts to Polkinghorne's (1995) narrative analysis when first emplotting the mathematical biographies of six preservice teachers and interpreting their holistic content within a wider theoretical framework, also paying attention to the teachers' experiences of mathematics at different times. He then moves on to analyse the typology, coherence, sociolinguistic and rhetorical aspects, i.e., the holistic form, of the narratives. These steps allow him to classify the teachers into different types. The analysis in this study resembles Kaasila's analysis but there are also differences between them.

The final phase of analysis in this research consisted of emplotting the data into multivoiced, storied accounts depicting the FL teaching experienced on one hand, and the TL-related lives of the protagonists on the other. This emplotment developed the holistic analyses of form and content further, drawing on their findings. Emplotment as a method of analysis refers to a complex process that aims at distinguishing those parts of the data that are meaningful for the entire narrative structure. It is an interpretive process of research writing that does not mean inventing fictive stories (Barkhuizen et al. 2014). It is based on the idea of emplotment as an inseparable part of understanding: it relates to the three-level mimesis, and connects to the hermeneutic process of understanding that transforms events into emplotted narratives (chapter 5, 120; also Laitinen 2002; Ricœur 1984). It means making sense of the prenarrative structures of the world and delivering this understanding to others in a poetic form.

The idea of emplotment is inherent in what Polkinghorne (1995) calls narrative analysis. Narrative analysis differs from analysing narratives in that the outcome of the analysis is a story, for example a historical account or a storied episode of

a person's life. When emplotting the data, the researcher configures data elements into a story which unites the key events and provides their outcomes with meaning. The researcher teases out plots displaying linkages between data elements with the aim of making the researched occurrence plausible and understandable. This is done by organising the elements into a storied, developmental account. These accounts include descriptions of the cultural context and attend to the embodied nature of the protagonist. They are mindful of other people affecting the protagonist's actions and goals, and they pay attention to the protagonist's inner struggles, emotions and values. Furthermore, they consider the historical continuity of the characters and focus on a specific temporal context in which the plot takes place. In this sense, emplotting refers to an analysis strategy whereby the researcher systematically filters and reorganises a body of experiential, qualitative data into storied accounts with a particular focus in mind (Barkhuizen et al. 2014).

If emplotting is understood like this, as an analytical act of configuring non-fictional stories based on qualitative (and possibly narrative) research material, it is a relatively common although sometimes implicit mode of data analysis in contemporary research in language education, applied linguistics and SLA. For example, the above-mentioned studies (this chapter, 140) by Block (2008), Chik and Benson (2008), Karlsson (2008a), Murray (2008) and Sakui and Cowie (2008), to name a few, include emplotting in their analyses. Also Benson et al. (2012, 2013) use emplotting in their analysis when investigating the developing SL identities of study abroad students. Using predeparture interviews, on-site diaries and re-entry interviews as data, they first construct narratives of the participating students and then conduct a paradigmatic content analysis on these narratives. In particular, Benson's (2013b) case study deriving from the same project is methodologically interesting. Following Polkinghorne's (1995) idea of narrative analysis, he draws out narrative elements from multiple sources of data to translate a study abroad student's narrative into a more condensed and coherent form. He also withholds from presenting further interpretations of the newly constructed narrative, viewing the narrative as the finding and thus challenging the readers to interpret the narrative. Although Benson labels his method narrative writing, his analysis is methodologically close to what the term 'emplotting' refers to in this research.

The storied accounts emplotted in this research (chapter 7 and chapter 8) consist of a mixture of different narrator voices, i.e., they are multivoiced narratives. A similar narrative analysis has been adopted by Niemi (2009; also Niemi, Heikkinen & Kannas 2010) in her narrative action research aimed at developing environmentally oriented health education pedagogy, increasing pupils' participation, supporting pupils' ability to find their voices and strengthening the sense of community between school and home as a teacher-researcher in a Finnish primary school. Collecting essay answers, learning diaries, narrative learning expressions and other experiential data from the pupils, their parents and herself, Niemi documented the experiences of lived pedagogy in narratives consisting of three different voices: the teacher's, the pupils' and their parents' voice. Niemi's analytical approach can be viewed as a type of emplotment which combines narrative data from different participants into new multivoiced narratives. Due to this multivoiced nature, Niemi's analysis is relevant for the methodology of this research.

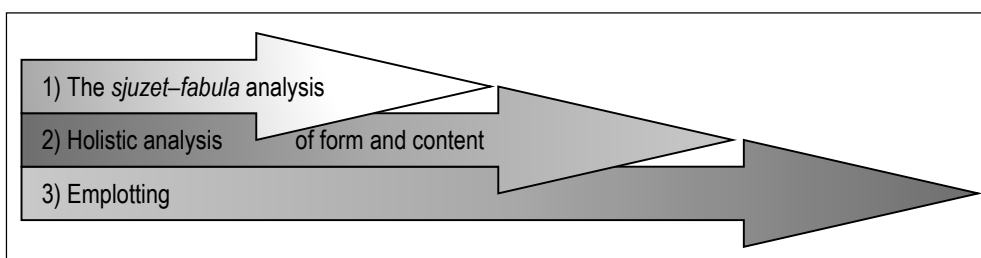


Figure 3. The three overlapping phases of analysis in relation to one other

In this research, emplotting represents the final phase of the research analysis, which means that the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis, the holistic-form analysis and the holistic-content analysis precede the actual emplotment process. This division is artificial. In practice, the analysis consisted of a single, intricate, hermeneutic process which was only divided into phases here for the sake of clarity. In practice, the emplotment process paralleled and overlapped with the three analytical approaches so that both parts of the analysis were influenced by each other. This is illustrated in Figure 3. Phases 1 and 2 can be seen as embedded in the process of emplotment. The emplotted texts in chapter 7 and chapter 8 represent the storied form of the key findings generated by the holistic-form and

the holistic-content analyses, whereas chapter 9 and chapter 10 will explain retrospectively how these interpretations that took the form of storied texts were reached. The reason for placing the storied syntheses (chapter 7 and chapter 8) before the holistic analyses (chapter 9 and chapter 10) in this report was that I considered it important to depict the teaching and student development holistically and compactly in approachable narrative units before presenting more detailed interpreted findings. This is what the storied texts do; they present the findings as an entity whereas the other modes of analysis, despite their holistic emphasis, divide the findings into bits and pieces, or slices, to be precise. This way it is also easier to deepen the interpretation in the analyses.

Concerns about the analysis

During the research process, attention was paid to a few concerns regarding the analysis. First, I shared a concern with the scholars working within the hermeneutic school: no reading is free of interpretation. Squire (2008) admits that analysing the human meanings in narratives is a controversial project and not least because the analysis implies a hermeneutic process that relies on interpretation. As pointed out, the interpretive frame for the analysis was grounded on the theory of narrative positioning (Wortham & Gadsden 2006), which enabled the examination of the subject realities of the data to understand identity construction as a contextually anchored process. More specifically, a cognitively (and textually) oriented approach was adopted when analysing the data (Pavlenko 2007). Still, what this analysis provided at best was not more than a “well-crafted, subjective interpretation of the data” seeking to uncover the meaning of the storied experiences (Barkhuizen et al. 2014, 89). In other words, there was no transcending of historical and situated positions and circumstances; as a narrative researcher, my interpretive claims were informed by my “prejudiced” embeddedness that prevented me from understanding the narratives purely as their authors intended (see chapter 5, 126; also Denzin 1989; Schwandt 2000).

Conducting analysis in these conditions requires the researcher’s sensitivity and awareness of the process of analysis and willingness to share the “hermeneutic circles” with the reader (see Heikkinen & Huttunen 2007). Lieblich et al. (1998, 10) call for the researcher’s “self-awareness and self-discipline in the on-going examination of text against interpretation, and vice versa”.

(2008) emphasises that narrative researchers need to actively check the evolving ideas against the data and consider submitting their analysis to external assessment, for example to the participants. Although discussing analyses with the participants is a debated issue, feedback from the respondents may contribute to the validity of the interpretations and level the power differences between the researcher and the participants.

As the advice above has been followed in this study, claims are made that the interpretations emerging on the basis of the findings are not arbitrary. The analysis builds on a dialogue between the voices of the narrators, the theoretical concepts and the reflexive monitoring of the process of reading, interpreting and understanding. I have clarified my position and contextualised my understanding throughout the analysis. The diversity of voices in the data are echoed in the analysis, contributing to a more comprehensive interpretation. Having shared some of the experiences in my teacher role with the students, and being able to investigate them from a spatial and temporal distance, has put me in a privileged rather than biased position and enabled me to motivate my claims. Still, no single “correct” interpretation is expected to emerge; the possibility of multiple narrative “truths” has to be accepted, despite my efforts to move back and forth between the data and the interpretation.

Readers are involved in interpreting narratives. According to Squire (2008, 51), narrative researchers should leave room for the reader’s interpretation: “The worlds of readers and texts, speakers and listeners must be brought together, co-inhabited, in order for understanding to occur.” What enables this shared comprehension is the intrinsically dualistic nature of narratives: they are productions of individualised subjectivities but not arbitrary constructions. They use the medium of language and are produced by social subjects, which make them accessible to others who view them from their individual standpoints. In this study, I wish to share my comprehension with the readers without imposing it on them or suggesting that it is an exhaustive investigation of the data at hand.

The second concern regarding the analysis was that the model proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998) is based on a rather simplistic and straightforward idea of data analysis with distinct analytical steps. In this study, conducting the analysis was more intricate and complex than the model suggested. It is an illusion to claim that I first collected a static set of narrative data, then analysed it separately and finally reached conclusions. Conducting this narrative inquiry meant moving

backwards and forwards continuously between the data and the interpretations on the one hand, and between data collection and different phases of analysis on the other. It is hardly possible to differentiate between the phases distinctly. It is also difficult to draw distinct lines between the different types of analyses. Form cannot easily be separated from content, and it was practically impossible to keep the modes of analysis apart without overlapping (see the previous section). My first priority was not to separate the modes, but to determine a purposeful way to build a synthesis between the different perspectives to shed light on the data from different angles and provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject. Finally, the model proposed a fairly rigid set of principles of analysis. As Lieblich et al. (1998) nonetheless point out, analyses very different from each other can belong to the same cell. With regard to this study, the proposed principles of analysis have not been taken as prescriptive rules but rather as flexible guidelines that do not restrict analytical space when conducting the analysis in practice.

The third concern related to the model's inherently dichotomous orientation to analysing form and content. As Hyvärinen (2008a, 2008c; also Barkhuizen 2011; Georgakopoulou 2010; Pavlenko 2007) has pointed out, contemporary narrative analysis tends to move beyond these dichotomies toward more ecological perspectives on storytelling in context and narratives as talk-in-interaction. In other words, there has been an increasing interest in the narrators themselves, their actions and the external conditions of storytelling. The purpose of this study was not to analyse the moments of storytelling as I was interested in the contextually anchored identity development, and how this development revealed itself in and through storied experiences over time. As I assumed these identities to be reflected in the narrative data collected, it was purposeful and reasonable to choose analytical tools that focused on scrutinising various aspects of these data, such as narrative content and form.

This analytical approach does not imply that the data reveal the identities directly (see chapter 5, 126, 133). The research material is performative; it was generated for FL learning and teaching purposes in a social-interactive, pedagogic, institutional and cultural context, the impact of which on the data was discussed above (this chapter, 160). Although the analysis will focus on content and form, context has not been forgotten; the second half of the analysis will investigate the teaching, as far as it is revealed through the content and form. In other words, the context of interest is the context of the storyworld, instead of the

social context of the storytelling. By analysing the content and form, I want to discover what kinds of stories are produced in the context of FL teaching in the local GUSSA. The analysis thus opens out towards the complexities of the storyworld that the LaNas portray.

Finally, the titles given to some parts of the analysis may be misleading, as has already been pointed out above (this chapter, 166). First, although I am examining the subject positions adopted by the participants when analysing their language learning careers in the local GUSSA, I am not conducting a traditional positioning analysis. Positioning is nonetheless regarded as the appropriate theoretical construct to capture the positive and negative developments in the participants' TL-related subject positions. Second, the holistic analysis of narrative form, which refers to the first part of the primary analysis (see this chapter, 166), does not focus on the linguistic aspects of the narratives at the micro level of the data. The term 'narrative form' is used in a holistic rather than categorial sense to refer to the overall progression of the narrative. The holistic analysis of narrative form also involves a clear focus on the content of the narratives. Acknowledging this potential source of confusion, I have still preferred to preserve the original title to trying to coin a more transparent one.

In general, the analysis model suggested by Lieblich et al. (1998) offers a useful approach to outlining many types of analysis, as long as the narrative researcher sees it as a framework and determines local solutions to the practical problems that may emerge when applying the approach to a particular type of data in a particular type of context. Bearing these concerns in mind, this research will now move on to describe the actual analyses in part III and part IV. Part III will focus on emplotting the research material and part IV will conduct the two holistic analyses of narrative form and content.

III STORYING THE JOURNEY – SYNTHESISING THE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

7 A STORIED PERSPECTIVE ON THE TEACHING

To explore the context of the GUSSA students' FL learning, the FL teaching that is broadly seen to incorporate the actual teaching events, the underlying pedagogy and the studying that was prompted by the teaching and took place in the lessons and beyond will be depicted as a whole. I will do this by emplotting relevant parts of the data into a storied, developmental account capturing this teaching in the local GUSSA during the years of investigation. The term 'emplotment' derives from Ricœur (1991a; also chapter 5, 120) and has been used here to refer to a particular type of narrative analysis that synthesises different types of narrative data with the aim of crafting new narratives (Polkinghorne 1995).

In doing this, chapter 7 will address research question 1b (What is essential in the FL teaching framing the students' language learning?) by depicting the meanings given to experiences of FL teaching in the local GUSSA in the form of a multivoiced, storied account. First, how the emplotted text was crafted will be described and then the findings will be presented in a four-chapter-long narrative, the aim of which is to frame the conditions and contexts for the GUSSA students' FL learning. Finally, chapter 7 will conclude with a discussion about the meaning of the findings with respect to research question 1b.

Emplotting the foreign language teaching: Principles and findings

In the research at hand, the process of emplotment involved an active construction of a narrative of FL teaching from disparate sources of data. The logic of this analysis lay in the assumption that narratives as cognitive tools make sense of contextually anchored experience, and that portraying these experiences enables the temporal examination of the context in which they are embedded (Barkhuizen 2008; Pavlenko 2007; Polkinghorne 2007). The word *context* here refers to the sociocultural and sociohistorical macro context beyond the textual level of the LaNas (chapter 5, 133; also Barkhuizen 2011; 2013a). The primary part of

emplotting consisted of an analytical entity involving the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis, the holistic-form analysis and the holistic-content analysis of the teaching (chapter 6, 166). These analyses will be described later (chapter 10, 306, 318).

Emplotting was nonetheless more than the sum of the above-mentioned modes of analysis. Polkinghorne (1995, 16) points out that the idea of emplotment is to relate events, actions and experiences to each other by “configuring them as contributors to the advancement of a plot”. This means synthesising rather than dividing the data into parts. As a result, a retrospective explanation will arise, linking the events, actors and experiences together to account for how an outcome like a successful/unsuccessful language learning process has come about. To emplot the FL teaching in the local GUSSA, I examined the teaching and language journals (chapter 6, 157) as data since they were rich in providing perspectives on the daily teaching events in progress, as well as the studying and pedagogical aspects related to it. The only exceptions were two extracts in the emplotted text, one at the end of Chapter two (see this chapter, 193) and the other at the beginning of Chapter three (see this chapter, 195), which were quoted from the counselling session material. These two extracts were added to the emerging emplotment since they expressed meanings given to the teaching that were absent from the journal data. These data enabled the identification of the key parts of the teaching as well as their organisation into narrative units.

1st reading:	Combining different types of data into a narrative “stream”	→
2nd reading:	Identifying thematic plots and following their progression	→
3rd reading:	Preserving the dynamics and the diversity of voices	→
4th reading:	Organising the extracts into a narrative, smoothing	→
5th reading:	Adding a summary of each paragraph next to the narrative	→
6th reading:	Translating the Finnish parts of the narrative into English	

Figure 4. The process of emplotting the FL teaching

When conducting the emplotment, my reading strategies changed. The process of emplotting can be described as in Figure 4. The analysis is also illustrated in Appendix 2. First, I read through the data line by line, coding those parts that were related to the FL teaching. A broad approach was adopted as to what counted as “related”. Not only were those parts coded which described the actual teaching

events but also those indirectly resulting from or influenced by the teaching. For example, the students' reports on their FL studying at home as well as changes in the institutional level were marked as part of the narrative if they were deemed to influence the FL context. What all the coded parts had in common was that they provided glimpses into the teaching events, the study processes and the underlying pedagogy from different perspectives. Henceforth, the totality of these coded parts will simply be referred to as the FL teaching. These parts were then extracted from the rest of the data, combined with each other into a narrative "stream" and read again in their temporal order.

The second and third steps of the emplotting refer to the three-part reading that combined a division of the coded data into the *sjuzet* and the *fabula* with an examination of the holistic form and content of the data (chapter 10, 306, 318). In the second step, the data was read and the thematic foci sought and underlined. I made notes about my impressions with the intention to identify the overarching thematic plots that would organise the events, actions and actors into a narrative arc. According to Polkinghorne (1995), this type of reading is similar to following a hermeneutic circle. This step was time-consuming and consisted of several re-readings of the data. During the readings, I paid attention to frequent references, thick descriptions and emotional, contradictory evaluations and commentaries. These clues enabled me to identify storylines and locate their key episodes, turning points and time periods, to which the data elements could be related.

While working on the emplotment, I preserved the richness of the participants' subjective perceptions by including and depicting the diversity of voices in the final storied account. After identifying the dynamics of the key storylines, I listened to the participants' voices related to these storylines in the third reading, with the intention to grasp the nuances of the identified plots. This step consisted of careful reading and re-reading to ensure that the emerging emplotment made sense in relation to the diverse voices. This part of the analysis also served as an evaluating phase in which the evolving plot was tested against the original data.

In the fourth reading, the key episodes, turning points, events and time periods were linked into a storied account combining the selected extracts into multivoiced narrative units. This meant shortening the evolving text by including the most illustrative extracts only and omitting unnecessary repetitions. Polkinghorne (1995) calls this step narrative smoothing. It means that elements which do not contradict the plot but are not pertinent to its development either do

not become part of the narrative. Although the extracts were, in principle, quoted verbatim from the original data, some of the extracts were “cleaned up” to some degree in this step so that the most disturbing dysfluencies and break-offs only were erased. This could be done to make parts of the “messy” language somewhat more readable because the detailed holistic analyses had already been conducted on the original data before this step. Similar decisions have also been made by other narrative researchers (e.g., Williams 1984).

While the processes of emplotting are usually reported in the form of storied texts which are regularly and repeatedly interrupted by the researcher (e.g., Chik & Benson 2008), I adopted an alternative approach. According to Polkinghorne (1995), the outcome of a narrative analysis is often a new narrative. On presenting the findings of my narrative analysis, I first let the participants tell their experiential narratives of the FL teaching without interruption. Doing that, I desired the storied account to stand for itself as one of the outcomes of the analysis (cf. Benson 2013b). Another reason for this procedure was that I wished to guarantee the participant voices before interpreting them analytically. This approach does not imply that the narrative configuration is lacking in my influence; on the contrary, it results from my active reading of the data. However, this configuration is not arbitrary or fictional; it does not impose any emplotted order on the data. The final emplotment fits the data while also bringing meaningfulness to the storied account that is not apparent in the original data.

Due to my desire to craft a multivoiced but readable narrative of FL teaching, I omitted information about when the data extracts used in the final emplotment were produced and from which student and data source they derived. It was irrelevant to identify in detail who said/wrote what and when in this part of the analysis, the purpose of which was to depict the FL teaching in a storied form. The narrative structure of the storied text would have been broken and what little coherence exists there lost, had I kept the references to the authors of the extracts. For a rough time frame and references to many participants whose voices are heard in the final emplotted text, I encourage the reader to examine the two holistic analyses (chapter 10, 306, 318) that preceded the emplotment process.

The outcome of the first four readings was an experiential, Finnish/English narrative of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA (the following four subsections). It imitated the context of FL teaching at the three interconnected levels identified by Barkhuizen (2008), i.e., it was a mixture of the participants’ stories constructed

in their immediate (FL) contexts (e.g., the social interactions in the lessons), the institutional (FL) context (e.g., the available resources and school culture) and the broader socio-political context (e.g., educational policies and socioeconomic circumstances). Based on its holistic structure and the storylines discovered (see chapter 10), the emplotted narrative was then divided into three Chapters in which my teacher voice (marked in italics) and the students' voices tell the audience their stories of the FL teaching, intertwined and overlapping with each other. After the three Chapters, a brief Epilogue was added. The Epilogue foreshadowed the coming of events through the FL teacher's voice only. Although I initially intended to label the Chapters of the emplotted text, I chose not to do so in the end since it might have directed the reader's interpretation without actually bringing anything new to the analysis. The four Chapters mark rather distinct time periods during the years of FL teaching, and they are separated from each other by turning points in the overall narrative structure (see chapter 10, 306).

The final storied text is based on a synthesis of the data generated by the FL students and myself as their FL teacher, and it retains our initial wordings, except for the most disturbing dysfluencies and break-offs, as pointed out above. In the fifth step of the analysis, I summarised the main ideas of each paragraph next to the emplotted narrative. A fairly similar step has been adopted by Perttula (1998), who has motivated this method theoretically. In this research, the purpose of this step was to provide the reader with an interpretation of the most important content elements embedded in the emplotted narrative. However, the summaries are not detailed or comprehensive. As they only focus on what happens in the paragraph to which they refer, I encourage the reader to read the summaries side by side with the emplotted narrative to obtain a nuanced picture of the teaching.

The data used were produced either in English or Finnish in the practices of FL teaching (chapter 6, 157). All interpretations were made on the basis of the original data. While the English parts, marked in bold in the storied narrative, have preserved their original form in the emplotment – grammatical mistakes, for example, have not been corrected – the Finnish parts were translated into English in the sixth reading. Translation is not an insignificant phase of conducting analysis either when it comes to ethics and interpretation, as pointed out by Nikander (2010) and Pavlenko (2007). These issues related to translation will be discussed when evaluating the research process in chapter 13. Finally, it should be pointed out that all the names in the storied text below are pseudonyms.

Chapter one

"There are 12 very different students doing the course, and three of them are away. At the beginning when I collect in the essays set for homework, I only get four back. Three students say they'll hand in their papers later, and two of them say they didn't know they had to turn anything in. Before tackling the text set as homework, we have a look at studying vocabulary. I distribute a handout with hints for effective vocabulary learning and try to stress that they should study in a multisensory way. As we deal with the text, the students take turns to read the text aloud to the rest of class and together we translate into Finnish those sections they have trouble understanding. Most of the class is quiet but nevertheless I find a couple of active students who often have something to ask. I myself also bring up some of the points that I think are linguistically difficult. The students work on the last half of the text in pairs – it's easier to ask your partner about something you haven't understood. The two oldest students, Anna and Ritva, translate the whole page into Finnish even though they were only supposed to do the sections they hadn't understood when reading at home. The vocational high school students Mikael and Joel read the text aloud in a couple of minutes. They tell me they don't need anything explaining about the language or the contents, but the reality is that they haven't prepared the text at home. Luckily I'm able to arrange an extra task for them. Aino ends up with Kaisa as a partner, which is not a practical solution because Aino has difficulties learning foreign languages and Kaisa is socially inept and quiet. So for most of the lesson I concentrate on helping them with their pair work."

"When the pairs finally get down to work, I notice that one of the absentees has sent me a message asking whether the course can be completed through independent study because he can't get to the classes anymore because of his basketball hobby. I don't think distance studying is a good idea because this student's English skills are pretty weak. On the other hand, s/he's got to finish the course so that s/he can take the national matriculation exam next spring. So much of the lesson has now gone that it's time to check the homework together. I would've had a mind map and some discussion questions on the contents of the text, but I'll have to leave oral discussion until next time to make way for the indefinite pronouns. We read the examples aloud and I use the examples to explain the rules. At the end of the previous lesson one of the students told me that it was easier to understand the teacher's explanation than the rule given in the book. For homework I tell them, among other things, to write up their new learning journal entry. Not all of them have understood the idea of the journal. Some of them also wonder why all this course work has to be collected for their language portfolio."

"It was a pleasant lesson, only a few of us were here, and I had a nice partner. The chapter was interesting, all in all, an easy-going lesson, a relaxed atmosphere." "The most rewarding thing was to have Janne as a partner. At first I was nervous because Janne's English is better than mine. But it was nevertheless good to have a partner who's

The teacher begins the lesson by collecting a written homework assignment and going through some study tips.

The class reads aloud and translates parts of a text, and then goes through the rest in pairs. Only a few hand in their written assignments on time or participate in front of the whole class.

The students study the text very differently in pairs. The teacher assists those with most difficulties.

A student contacts the teacher, asking for permission to study the rest of the course independently.

Homework is checked together. The teacher skips oral practice due to shortness of time. At the end of the lesson, the indefinite pronouns are studied together; the students read aloud example sentences and the teacher explains the rules.

In addition to other homework, a new language journal entry is also given as homework.

Some students' experiences of studying in pairs were positive.

a skilled speaker because I got a lot out of the topic and I even spoke a bit of English myself. It's nice doing the exercises in small groups, it's more relaxed then, and you don't have to worry about making mistakes." **"I dislike studying in small groups because I've noticed my learning is the most effective when I can do it myself and alone."** **"I feel more as outsider as almost all the others are young students aiming to do A-levels. I am studying here to improve my English only."** Why am I always unlucky enough to have to work with a partner who A. has not done the homework and therefore can't take part in the homework check in pairs or in the group, B. speaks so quietly that I can't understand/hear what s/he is saying, C. is even shyer than me about talking, whatever the language, and therefore doesn't speak without me having to coax out the answers." "I'd like to have more listening comprehension and writing exercises and fewer projects/group assignments/ discussions (it's not that polishing your discussion and teamwork skills isn't important, only that I don't think they're going to develop at a fantastic speed in an environment where everybody is Finnish)."

"In this course we're going to deal with the stages in planning and structuring written assignments. I give the students the portfolio assignment of planning the content of their own essay, to be completed by next week." "There are a lot of writing exercises. A day is just too short a time. Why does so much have to be squeezed into these periods? Wouldn't it be better to have less, and learn it properly?" *"I'm not at all satisfied with what I do as a teacher. There's too little time! What's really stressing is that the teaching for each period only lasts 5 1/2 weeks. That really is a tiny amount from the viewpoint of learning, if the students start from such a weak basis. For the sake of the examination students, though, it's important to study the key contents. Even now we're not going to get through the whole book and we're still in a hurry. No doubt it's also my fault. I think in too goal-directed a way and I don't see the human being behind the learner. The counselling sessions have in fact helped by giving me a chance to get to know the students. Those discussion sessions play a big role in motivating students."* *"There is a closer counselling relationship when you can teach the same students from one course to another. The language journal, counselling sessions and other ways of personalizing study help in getting to know a student. It would be difficult to teach in a class of students I don't know."*

"The teacher could encourage the students to speak more English. We could, for example, discuss some current topics in bigger groups." *"This time there are big differences in the group's language level. Some of them don't have the prerequisite skills for completing the course, let alone going on to do the matriculation exam, even though they thought they would at the start of the course. I haven't got the resources to begin teaching from scratch even though in principle the courses are open to everyone."* *"During the course I've clearly noticed that the students have conflicting expectations about the teaching: one of them just wants to learn grammar and translate texts; another wants to study independently on his own, and a third wants oral practice with a partner. In addition, I should consider every student*

Others would have preferred to study by themselves due to various reasons.

The students are asked to plan and organize their own essay as a portfolio assignment.

A student complains about the amount of writing assignments.

The teacher struggles with the shortness of the teaching periods and worries about his own professional skills.

The teacher has noticed the importance of the counselling sessions.

A student points out that the teacher could encourage the students to use more English in the lessons.

There are big differences in the students' languages skills and expectations regarding the teaching.

as an individual with a life outside school. Right now it feels as if I can't give the weak ones enough support and the strong ones enough latitude."

"At the end of the course the students assess their learning and plan any follow-up measures. I take their self-assessment into account when I give my course grades. It's important that the student feels s/he can affect course assessment. After all, we're dealing with adults and they can generally talk about their life situations and learning. In addition to the more traditional language testing tasks, I've supplemented the test with some reflective tasks and some content tasks to do with the subject areas dealt with in the course. The students' concepts of studying, though, seem to change annoyingly slowly, if at all! A lot of them find it difficult to give any kind of feedback on the teaching. The teacher is an authority that you never question."

"Studying a language is inevitably nothing more than learning 'the code', at least in the short term, and the course exam tests whether 'the code' has been learned. Studying the basics takes all the time, perhaps at the advanced, in-depth stage we could also think about something else." "I don't feel that the learning journal is very important in studying English. I could as well use that time for reading the language myself." "I'm no expert and I can't say really anything about teaching." "I'm not looking for support/attention from (other) students; the most natural thing is to get critical comments/advice from the teacher." "The teacher has a central role in managing the group and its learning. Without the teacher the group would be a bunch of people who have got lost and don't know how they got where they are and which way they should go."

"In the first lesson we oriented ourselves to studying. It makes things clearer to go through the course contents so that they have some idea of what's to come. You also need some ice-breaking and discussion tasks to help create the right atmosphere." "In the class we talked about the matters arising out of the reflective essays. The teacher had collected some questions and written them down. The things we had to think about were emotional factors and assessing our own motivation, courage, attitude, determination, etc. I liked this, these ideas made me think!"

"Occasionally looking up a word seems just like guess work, so it's good that the teacher mentioned monolingual dictionaries (I wouldn't have come up with that option myself)." "I've often been indifferent to learning tips handed out during lessons. But having read them and tried them out, I've noticed that they work (...) Mind you, it's difficult to make a change, at least at this age. Yet a change is what I need for studying words because the old tricks don't work."

"We dramatized the text in the book by holding an imaginary meeting of local citizens. Everybody had a role: Member of Parliament, youth worker, police officer, local residents. I played the part of the council spokesperson." "This drama task was something new. It was quiet at the beginning with everybody nervous, but once we'd got the discussion going, it was interesting and fun. Everybody left with a good feeling!" "We were set the task of preparing a presentation for a job interview, involving a CV and accompanying letter. Students worked

The teacher is dissatisfied with his own performance.

The students assess their learning at the end of the course and the teacher takes their assessment into account in the course assessment. There are new task types in the final exam.

The students' beliefs change slowly.

A student only wants to focus on learning the "code". Another student does not see any point in writing the journal.

The teacher has an essential role in the students' learning processes.

The first lesson of the course focuses on tuning in and getting to know each other.

The lesson includes oral reflection.

There is also a brief discussion about dictionaries in the lesson.

A student considers the study tips received in the lesson useful.

There is a drama assignment in the lesson with particular roles for every student. A student considers the task both exciting and fun.

in groups of three. Two of them were applicants and the third the interviewer. Sofia took on the interviewer's role with her usual youthful enthusiasm and Anna and me were the interviewees. We made a good start on Tuesday and continued on Thursday." *"It's time for the presentations. The stage is set in the middle of the classroom. There's a tense atmosphere. The others have the task of listening to the interviews and then afterwards choosing the successful applicant for the job and justifying their choice."* "It was nice working in groups. Afterwards I felt I knew my classmates better and there wasn't any nervousness. I would have liked to have group work right at the start (of the course), then I would have got to know people."

"During the group work I return the written essays and give the student one-to-one feedback." "Individual feedback was a nice change from routine; for a lot of people it's easier to ask the teacher about things in more detail. I still have a lot of red markings, no point explaining. I should stop and check." "It was good to talk with the teacher. I understood that I have to do as much as possible to improve my English. I also got some advice on how to learn vocabulary. It would be hard work if I had to struggle on alone. I got some useful tips for studying from the teacher." **"During this course I have been supported more than ever before by the teacher. The experience is absolutely positive, I hope the same style will go on. The support had a powerful influence on my learning and I really got something out of the course. My studying methods and motivation improved. I did my homework and revised things I had learnt at school, which is unusual."** "Especially the cultural input provided by this course has made it possible for me to have a meaningful 'I've not heard that before' learning experience. New subjects are always refreshing, and we didn't exclude more serious topics, either." "I've been especially motivated by the interesting topics and the way we study, which is freer than in the compulsory courses. Globalization, different customs and discussions are exactly what interest me and why I want to study English."

"An emailing list is a way of communicating with the students. I can pass on information and give them guidance without wasting class time. In today's class for the EN07 course, I let the students choose whether they wanted a vocabulary test, a discussion or some word explanation. After a class discussion in English on the various options and a vote, we ended up with word explanation." "The 'My Course Assignments' handout is a good reminder. The deadline dates force you to act, but nevertheless it's up to you when you do the assignments because there are two or three due dates." "I'm working on a portfolio assignment I planned myself. I watched an episode of 'The Bold and the Beautiful' without the subtitling. I had to really concentrate on the programme and I felt tired afterwards." "Designing my own listening task opened up a new world when I plucked up courage to listen to some BBC programmes. There's all sorts of things hidden behind those (course webpage) links!"

"Writing these brief responses [to] texts is a good way to improve writing skills and intercultural understanding because you have to think [about] the text contents and your own opinion."

The students are asked to prepare a job interview accompanied with job applications and CVs in small groups.

After presenting the interviews, a student points out that it was a positive experience.

The teacher gives face-to-face feedback on the written essays. The students consider this feedback useful.

According to a student, she has been supported by the teacher more than earlier, which has had a motivating effect on her.

Some students are motivated by new learning experiences and meaningful topics.

The teacher uses an emailing list to communicate with the students. The students can also choose by themselves how they want to practise vocabulary.

The students can plan the hand-in schedule of their portfolio assignments.

Some of the portfolio assignments require the students to use English authentically in out-of-school settings.

A student considers the response tasks important.

"I was given the task of giving Eero feedback on his talk. There aren't many things more difficult than giving constructive and honest feedback to somebody you don't know personally."

"We lowered the threshold for speaking aloud in the course. When everybody has to do it, it doesn't make you so frightened. We do a lot of pair and group work and we go through the chapters and check the exercises with the whole class contributing. I find that makes good sense." "The conversation exercises make me nervous. In my mind I imagine a nightmare dialogue that lasts for the entire lesson. I thought about staying at home because I was sure there was no way of avoiding a fiasco. The minutes spent on discussion passed painlessly. I even expected more from my partner, who understood the task differently and occasionally started talking away in Finnish." "I like pronunciation exercises. They're important; I read aloud myself when I'm at home. This week Sofia told me she thought my pronunciation had improved.:" "Teamwork with a regular partner works and produces results. He is talented and full of action, I get caught up in the details and question everything. It's more fun thinking about things together. The best thing about the group is the diversity of individuals and the many different viewpoints. The group is a peer support group, which promotes learning and motivates. Sharing opinions and experiences is important. If there wasn't anybody to turn to, I wouldn't have the energy to get things clear."

The students are also asked to give feedback to each other.

A student considers the low threshold to speak English in the lessons important. She also finds oral pair and group work meaningful.

Another student was anxious about the discussion task beforehand but it turned out to be a nice experience after all.

A third student likes pronunciation exercises.

A fourth student emphasises the importance of other students for her language learning.

Chapter two

"Phew! The academic year is not even halfway through and this year's language groups have been, if that's possible, even more heterogeneous than earlier: under age students doing a double or triple examination, pensioners, drop-outs from the daytime upper secondary school, those with learning difficulties, world travellers, even a post-graduate student and a Ph.D! And they all have their own reasons for learning and revising English! How, then, am I going to find something to hold the teaching together? For example, the ones who drop out of the daytime upper secondary school often seem to have poor motivation. They assume they don't have to do anything in our courses. From time to time we get students who are having problems with their general life management skills. Then the student generally has difficulties also accepting responsibility for his/her own learning." Yes indeed, for some students this GUSSA is a real place for growing. When they come here some of them aren't prepared to work to move their studies on, but try to get through with the least possible work. Of course, life itself creates challenges, but it may well be that when they come here the students have unrealistic expectations and ideas about upper secondary school studying. These aren't your adult education centre courses: they prepare you for the matriculation examination. When the school and the students have different expectations, you can't avoid collisions."

Adult FL students in the EFL courses are an extremely heterogeneous group, which poses many challenges for pedagogy and teaching. Some of the students have low motivation, unrealistic expectations about themselves and studying and challenges in their personal lives.

“(Teaching) methods today and in the past are as far apart as west and east. You can’t help comparing the old and the new. I feel the mutineer inside me. I long for the old times when you translated texts. Why do we have to concentrate on the people around us in the lesson? I came here to study English, not to socialize. There’s a lot of new stuff in the teaching and I find it difficult to internalize. What do we need this for?”

“When the teacher tells us to think about the usefulness/significance for ourselves of the week’s topics and exercises, it’s still as much of a mystery to me. What is there to think about: in school you do what the teacher tells you to do. That’s the way it was done before and nobody questioned the teacher’s authority.” *“Juuso criticised the way we study languages. He said he expected that during the course we would, for example, listen to music, watch films and discuss them in English. In the courses I’ve had to cut down a lot on the fun stuff, but surely studying can’t just be a succession of entertainments, even though it would be worth making more use of such things with this generation of tablet owners. On the other hand, it has been a big thing for many of the older adult students to realize that language learning isn’t just translating texts and rote learning.”*

“The amount of homework is ridiculous when you have to do the homework for the other courses as well. The long mathematics course especially demands energy and dedication.” “I’ve had it up to here with this reflecting on my studying. I’m not sure whether self-assessment is any use to me myself. I am very sceptical about assessments. Assessment puts a stamp on that person, it makes the student believe ‘this is what I’m like, this is what I can do’. It may have an adverse effect (a bit like with predictions and horoscopes).” *“I ran into Linda in the corridor. She told me she had been trying to write her presentation in the library, but that the news article she had chosen seemed too difficult. She burst into tears and said she had really let herself down. The assignments for a lot of courses have accumulated at the end of the period and she didn’t have the strength to do everything. I tried to comfort her. As far as I’m concerned, returning the course assignments and giving her presentation will be fine later. Linda could have come to talk to me earlier. Even though her English is not very strong, she sometimes takes studying too seriously.”* “I have cut back my social interaction, cultural activities and sports hobbies to a minimum. I’ve been totally surprised by how much time studying takes and how much more time I should still devote to it. But on the other hand, I wouldn’t get any studying done if I didn’t go to the classes and get homework. Nevertheless, the teacher has taken on the role of adult teacher well – there really is a very different atmosphere in the class than there was at school.”

“My course mate told me that s/he puts the words on slips of paper, with an explanation in Finnish on one side. I thought s/he must be really keen if s/he has the energy to cut out paper. I tried it out with the vocabulary in the second text and, surprise, surprise, it was fun studying and the words stuck in my thick skull. I did the same with the third text and even got my daughter to play Memory using the words!”

A student is critical towards the current teaching methods.

Another student considers reflections about the meaning of the topics irrelevant since the students should do as they are told without questioning the teacher’s authority.

A student complains about the teaching.

The fact that studying foreign languages is not only about translating and learning by heart represents a significant change from the past for many adult students.

A student considers the amount of homework overwhelming.

Another student criticises the role of reflection and self-assessment.

The teacher comforts a student who is disappointed at herself.

A student is surprised by the amount of time required for language learning. She has had to minimize other hobbies but understands the importance of attending lessons and doing homework. She is also pleased with the teacher’s role and the atmosphere in the lessons.

A student received a learning tip from another student and found it useful.

"I'm going to include some English songs, listening to them and singing them. It's a bit embarrassing that someone with music as a hobby like me has played down the role of music in language learning. This was a eureka experience for me on the course!" **"Me, Heli and Pirjo are actually friends on Facebook now. We kind of agreed that we should only use English when we write to each others."** **"I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me."**

"Noora has handed in a brilliant language portfolio. She's gone to a lot of trouble with the portfolio, done extra portfolio tasks, with the new words, for example, added comments on the activities she's returned and reflected on the feedback she has received. The portfolio is a visible illustration of Noora's studies over the past year. How can she really be so dedicated?" "Studying (English) doesn't feel like something you simply have to do with no reason, it's more like a research project. This week I accessed the BBC website and listened to the news." "Even though a big chunk of my energy/studying time is swallowed up by reflections and journals, I find them useful observation instruments which help me better understand what I'm trying to do here, and how and why." "The teacher's emails have been encouraging, they've given me a nice boost. What's especially significant in the friendliness and balance of the messages is that they remind me that the teacher is a human being. Even though the teacher is the great knower in the group, it doesn't mean that you have to watch out for on-the-fly quips (and objects) if the teacher starts to get annoyed in the middle of the lesson."

"What I've particularly liked is that the teacher gives his/her instructions mostly in English. It's a good way of practicing when you think about what you have to do. Mind you, sometimes I get the feeling that s/he is speaking faster and we are moving forward ever more quickly. So far, though, I've managed and learned some new vocabulary. It's good that there's some challenge in studying so you don't become apathetic and feel you're getting by too easily." **"It would be great if the studying happened almost entirely in English. I would like to improve my oral language skills and one way to do that is to speak only English during the lessons. I hope the teacher encourages students to do that because I don't want to feel stupid being the only one speaking English. Or perhaps others will follow my example if I have the courage to be the first one...?"**

"Today we weren't allowed to speak Finnish in class and that confused me because I was afraid of messing up. Everything felt uncertain." "Finnish-free lessons are probably not a bad idea. Nevertheless, I had to use some Finnish as well because Anna, who sits next to me, struggles with her vocabulary even more than I do, and my attempts to get through to her failed. I thought it best to explain in Finnish because otherwise we wouldn't have been able to communicate at all." "We do a lot of pair work and group work in the class and because I'm a weak language user I don't see any sense in

One of the students intends to study English by singing and listening to English songs.

A couple of students have become friends on Facebook and plan to use English when communicating with each other.

A student reports on sending all her text messages to her friends in English.

A student has been dedicated to working on her language portfolio.

According to one student, studying English feels like a research project.

A student regards the reflective tasks as useful learning tools.

A student appreciates the teacher's email messages due to their kindness and humaneness because they contribute to a feeling of safety.

A student gives positive feedback about the teacher's English instructions since they offer a challenge to studying.

Another student hopes that all teaching in the English lessons will take place in English. She desires the teacher to encourage the students to speak English in the lessons.

According to a student, everything feels uncertain when Finnish is not allowed in the lesson.

A student has to use Finnish since her partner does not understand anything if she uses English only.

A student considers himself a weak language learner and therefore dislikes pair and group tasks.

these situations. I've not spoken an awful lot before (in class). I like it when I can do the tasks in peace and concentrate."

"Course 6 students have given oral presentations to the rest of the group on an English-language newspaper/magazine that interests them. A lot more English discussion arose out of both Riika's and Petri's presentations." "In the oral skills course I've made it a habit to now and then chat in English with the students about this and that. Occasionally I get the students to speak quite a lot. Today Petri and Lida were keen to talk in English about their trip along the Via Baltica, especially the story about the strange-tasting fish sticks in my mind." "I really like this Course 4 because it offers so many discussion topics for expressing your opinion and presenting arguments. Today there was a heated discussion in English between Juuso and Petri on the immigration question. It was nice to notice that these course topics really do interest the students!"

"My aim (in this course) was to check whether going through earlier (grammar and spelling) errors helps me avoid constantly making the same errors again and again. It was useful to pick out the mistakes even though it meant some extra effort. Without this research I wouldn't have had the energy to dig into my old texts and learn from them. Even if I can't correct all the problematic points at one blow, I think it's occasionally worth reminding yourself of the places you slip up." "In this course I've kept a question notebook so that I'll remember the things that I'm still not clear about. I'm satisfied with myself because with the teacher I've managed to clear those things up. There are a few things I have to 'work out' on, and I've marked those with an exclamation mark. I think it's a sign that you understand something when you're able to ask. I'm going to carry on keeping the notebook in some form or other."

"The group work wasn't a success again, the absences were the problem. In our school you can't count on the student turning up at the next class, let alone carrying any responsibility for promoting cooperation. These students go their own way, projects that extend from lesson to lesson don't suit them." "Certain students never find out about their homework, leave the assignments undone. Sometimes a student is away several times in a row and then turns up in class without saying a word. It's depressing when, despite all your efforts, you can't activate students. I can see that it isn't always the teacher's fault, but nevertheless!" "In addition to the students it's the tight course programme that leads to the feeling of hurry in the lessons. The textbooks, too, can tie teaching down, but you've got to get the benefit out of them, given that they've been obtained for the course so that the students aren't wasting their money. On the other hand, though, they do provide some good opportunities for learning – at least students have some kind of study material at their disposal even if they have to miss the class."

"Lauri doesn't think there's any use in keeping a language journal. A learning journal requires the student to commit to a long-term learning process. Lauri hasn't completed the courses in sequence but attended them irregularly here and there. As far as students like this are concerned, there is no process-oriented studying whatsoever."

He is not accustomed to speaking in the English lessons.

In an EFL course, the students prepare newspaper or magazine presentations in pairs. The teacher uses English spontaneously with the students.

Two students tell the group about their trip.

The teacher enjoys an EFL course since it offers possibilities for argumentation and expressing one's opinion. There is a heated debate between two students about a topic in the lesson.

During an EFL course, a student has studied her earlier grammar and spelling mistakes and discovered that such contemplating is useful.

A student has written down her questions in case there has been something that she has not understood and gone through her questions with the teacher. The student aims to continue the practice.

The teacher notices that group and project work is unsuitable for the adult upper secondary students since they are unable to share responsibility for the work to be done.

Some students leave their homework undone. They are absent many times only to reappear in the lesson without saying a word. The teacher feels frustrated not to be able to activate the students.

The teacher identifies other obstacles for meaningful FL teaching.

The language learning journal entails the idea of language learning as a process. Some of the adult upper secondary students do not study foreign languages in a process-oriented fashion.

"My interest in studying is almost at rock bottom. The only 'carrot' there is in studying is passing my matriculation examination. I suppose I'll have to stop saying 'yes, I'll start tomorrow' or 'yeah, there's still time', because I'm going to be in a hurry soon. As far as I'm concerned, my busy schedule has hampered my evening upper secondary school, and so I can't really boast about how active I am in class. It's just that I study best in class because there I can concentrate better and the things we go through stick in my mind better." **"I'm the type of student that just goes to the English classes, does his work (or at least tries) and goes home without thinking what went on at the class. I know, this is probably stupid... I could ask more questions from myself and analyze my current situation."** **"I don't think these lessons have been useful to me at all. I have perhaps caught a couple new words to my vocabulary here and there, but that's pretty much all. I think we read too much stuff out loud and I personally don't like it too much."** **"My learning process has not advanced, and I don't think I need to change my studying methods since they're fine the way they are now."**

"The teaching style has been very different from my (earlier) school and it'll take some time to get used to this new style. There's a lot of work and I've got to try and cope with it on top of the other school and my job." *"Some of the daytime students taking GUSSA courses would like teacher-directed activity. For example, Silja, Tuuli and Tea find it hard to work on texts with each other in a small group. They wait for me to tell them what to do. A lot of the adult students have a lot more initiative or then they're just more used to the way things are done, having already completed a lot of courses. When there are few lessons, there's less time to do things in school and so more is left for the student to do, i.e., homework. The day students are used to doing a lot during the lessons and so completing GUSSA courses is very confusing for many of them. On the other hand, though, sometimes I feel that I exercise too much control over what the students do: I draw up timetables for the courses, I pester the students to make sure their assignments are completed, etc. Most of them are adults and over 18, of course they should know how to organize the way they use their time. This is just not going to work, the whole thing's just like carrying a dead weight! Given that they're all leading busy lives, there aren't many adult students who have a proper chance of assuming real responsibility for their own learning; that's why many of them want somebody outside to impose a clear structure on their studies which will support them."*

"It's great that we have a full course program. I have a very tight schedule at the moment and it's crucial to me to plan my week ahead." "It was good there were some compulsory course assignments affecting course assessment because some people may have trouble pulling themselves together and getting those things done if they're not compulsory or if they don't have a deadline. And then if your grade seriously depended just on the course test, then there'd be serious pressure and stress to make sure everything goes just right. But if you know that you'll get some points from the things you did during the course, then the test isn't like a matter of life and

A student has little motivation to study English; he says that he can concentrate on studying only in the lessons.

Another student merely attends the lessons without reflecting on anything.

A student claims to have learnt very little in the lessons. She dislikes reading aloud in the lessons and does not desire to change her study methods.

According to a student, it takes time to become accustomed to the different teaching style compared to his/her previous school.

The teacher has noticed that the younger FL students visiting from the day school often expect more control by the teacher. They also have difficulties to study by themselves in smaller groups.

There is also more homework in the GUSSA due to the fewer lessons compared to the day school.

The teacher also feels that he controls the students too much; he claims that few adult students can truly assume full responsibility for his/her learning.

Some FL students bring up the positive aspects of pre-determined course programmes, compulsory course assignments and the teacher's email messages controlling the students' studying.

death." **"At first I have to say, I really appreciate those e-mail messages which were sent by our teacher. It is nice to see that there is some kind of control and someone seems to be waiting we hand in our assignments on time."**

"The same student often has problems in many subjects, so in the staff meeting it's useful to listen to colleagues' ideas about the student you yourself are worried about. (...) In the discussions it came up that in the GUSSA there's a need for a pedagogy different from that in the regular daytime upper secondary school. Some seem to interpret this to mean that we should compromise on our requirements so that the students can complete their courses and tests, for example, students with stage fright wouldn't have to give presentations, etc. In my opinion we should think about how we can support the student without compromising on requirements. I personally would like to keep the bar raised; we should support students in developing their own prerequisite skills and not just pat them on the head and show them the easy way out. Of course, they could give their oral presentations with just the teacher listening – even somebody with stage fright agrees to that more often than not! Yes, as teaching professionals we should have the means to develop functioning support measures to help adult students. The teacher should have the courage to face students as they are."

The GUSSA teachers had a meeting during which they talked about the challenging adult upper secondary students and the appropriate pedagogy for the GUSSA.

The EFL teacher does not desire to lower the assessment criteria but think of alternative ways to support the students.

Chapter three

"Our new career counselor is a real bundle of energy. This month, among other things, we've redesigned the school's website. Every member of our working community writes a short presentation text about themselves and the texts are then added to the webpages together with a photograph. The idea is that the students would get to know us a little better. We also have plans to add profiles of former and current students to the website. Who knows, we may perhaps even attract more students!" "Today the GUSSA teachers and students had a get-together over some Christmas glögi. For some students it can be a very important factor in supporting their learning that we develop this team spirit. At least some students have created a really positive drive amongst themselves with them encouraging and helping each other. It seems that even genuine friendships have sprung up. It's great that they look out for their fellow students as well."

"Our oral English skills course is really different from our day schools English courses. I have liked it, because the teacher is good and supportive. Secondly our group is small and that is good, because then we all have opportunity to show our skills in English. In the class there is relaxed feeling, what also encourage to be active." **"We sometimes speak English with Pirjo and Noora before lessons. In addition, we had a nice Alias evening in English with Noora, Pirjo and Jenni during the autumn break."**
"Noora has given me some personal help with pronunciation and making sense of the difficult parts of the text. Now I've been trying to

The new study counsellor has encouraged the teaching personnel to personalise the school's website.

There was a get-together between the teachers and the students.

Friendships have begun to emerge between the GUSSA students.

A student from the day school announces that s/he really enjoys the oral English course in the adult upper secondary school.

Some of the FL students speak English with each other before the lessons. They have also played the word explanation game *Alias* together in English.

work especially on my listening and pronunciation.” “Me and my course mates, we’ve compared our answers to the exercises and even done homework together in our free time; in my own opinion it’s really been enjoyable. I think I learn best when there’s somebody you can compare your answers with and justify your own answers.”

“You often hear it said that an adult student needs individual guidance. Some adult students expect that actual completion of the course should also be individual and above all independent: you don’t have to worry about the other students and you don’t have to attend classes. I’m sure everybody encounters situations where independent studying is justified. Acting in a group doesn’t suit everybody, but I think that you lose something essential if the adult student is always just an individual and never feels that s/he belongs to any group.”

“I was surprised that there was so much self-assessment, but it’s not necessarily a bad thing when you have to think about what you’re doing yourself. And you can practise as well if you do it in English. When I started to get a taste for writing I could look at things from a different angle, I got a wider-ranging view of things. I’m not into journal-keeping but I’m into writing, I can express my thoughts better when I can write them down and I don’t have to say them. (Self-assessment) made me think about the course topic, what I know and how I feel at that moment about language learning. Sometimes it drove me mad doing it, but now and then I felt like it was easy to come up with some good ideas, like having really looked into slang.” “What I’d have liked more of, talking about language being culture, well more of that. So, though we talked about different countries, we should get more to grips with what kind of cultures they are. What are the people like, their everyday lives, what values does the country have. When I was at commercial college we gave presentations on some countries, the group took one country; of course, we presented the facts but then the customs and traditions, food, sport; ok, maybe about somewhat superficial cultural things, but nevertheless.”

“I’ve been thinking for some time already that it would be good to activate the students and get them to do some peer teaching with other course participants. On this grammar course some of the students could teach grammatical matters to each other. I know that not all of the students have the necessary skills to start teaching, but perhaps this way I could individualize teaching according to needs and proficiency.” “The lessons have been rewarding. I’ve got answers to many of the questions that have been bothering me, so the lessons both inspire and support my English studies. Independent studying is necessary because in the end there isn’t that much time in the lessons to learn a lot. Nevertheless, the meetings with the group are an important driving force. The classes offer an opportunity for more far-ranging and diverse studying than being alone at home, interaction is important.” **“Not many classes encourage the students to engage themselves so actively [as these]. I’m not sure if I’m just imagining it or not, but it seems that this course has had more pair and group work than previous ones. At least, it seems more prominent if not more frequent.”**

A student has taught another student English pronunciation.

Other FL students have done their homework together in their free time.

The teacher has noticed the importance of community and togetherness for the adult student’s learning process.

A student is surprised about the amount of all kind of self-assessment in the EFL courses but is also able to make sense of its role and purpose.

The student also suggests bringing more culture into the teaching.

The teacher plans to introduce peer teaching to the students in the grammar course.

A student points out that studying independently is necessary but attending the lessons and meeting the other students is also essential.

According to a student, the EFL lessons encourage the students to participate actively.

"I invited the health education teacher to the English class to tell the students about her 'summer job' in schools in Tanzania. Marja really got into it and talked in English for well over an hour! She dealt with practical language problems, the dreadful local conditions as well as cultural differences. Many of the students listened with interest to Marja's experiences and asked a lot of questions. Marja's presentation added depth to the work and career topic in this third course and offered opportunities for thinking about cultural encounters, and hopefully it encouraged the students to use whatever language skills they have." *"The daytime upper secondary school has an exchange teacher from Spain who has acted as an assistant teacher in various lessons in other subjects. Today, at my request, she visited the GUSSA English class. We co-taught the lesson. Our exchange teacher had also prepared some oral tasks for the students. I think the students found the lesson a good experience."* **"[The exchange teacher's] visit was a nice surprise. His accent was challenging but understandable. During his visit I understood how quiet we Finns are!"** **"My intercultural skills have developed more than during 'ordinary' courses. Conversation styles between different cultures are so obvious that it can't be unnoticed."**

"In the English course I tried studying in tutor groups of three. One of the students in each small group is the tutor who is partly responsible for the group's studying during the lesson. In the Swedish course I noticed that the tutor group worked moderately well. Nevertheless, I have to think myself about suitable tutors and the composition of the group so that the groups don't become too challenging." *"Working in groups has been nice because I know the members of the group so you have the courage to be yourself. It's been an effective way of studying; enough reading, vocabulary revision and translation into Finnish. Grammar is a challenge for me, especially if it's something new and we go through it quickly in the lesson. To help me understand something difficult I'd like a slightly slower teaching pace and a clearer focus on the important things, or for example a compressed version in the form of a handout, even though it is in the book."* *"I think that the chapters have been dealt with well in the lessons. Even though we've been through the vocabulary in groups, there could still be, for example, a vocabulary test on every chapter. The writing tasks have been good because they provide really good practice for writing."*

"Juuso is just so talented but he still hasn't learned to take responsibility for his own studying, he always turns up for the lesson unprepared and even pair work comes to nothing. Sure, he knows the texts and his general knowledge is huge. Today, while the others are studying the text, I give Juuso the task of writing an essay that he hasn't completed. He puts a lot of effort into the task and the resulting essay is very good. This time the lesson was really useful for him. I shall definitely have to try this practice another time."

"I've started running special remedial teaching Tuesdays. If they want, students in all the language courses can come to the class for remedial teaching or do their homework before their lessons. Many students have said that they can't concentrate on studying at home.

The EFL teacher asks the health education teacher to tell the EFL students about her cultural experiences in English.

The EFL teacher also asks an exchange teacher to co-teach an English lesson to the adult FL students.

Some of the FL students point out cultural differences that they have noticed during the EFL course.

The teacher introduces the idea of studying in particular tutor groups with fairly positive experiences.

The students also report on their positive experiences as well as their critical views.

The teacher individualises his teaching by allowing one talented but somewhat unmotivated student to write an essay while the others study a course book text.

The teacher gives special type of remedial instruction on Tuesdays since there is a need for it.

Some of them haven't completed assignments because of absences, and some found the course contents difficult. The remedial teaching has been a success and a lot of them have been there. I suppose I should continue this activity." "Some of the students have had huge difficulties with their motivation on the course and especially with vocabulary learning. Now I've decided I'll allow the use of dictionaries in the next course exam. The exam is in fact the sort where the students themselves have to produce a fair amount, meaning that there are no ready-made answers to be found in the dictionary. The students' data retrieval and dictionary skills may also improve at the same time."

"I have to applaud yesterday's lesson. I especially liked the section on crime vocabulary. It had a stimulating effect on me. Nevertheless, all in all, in terms of effectiveness, the greatest honour must go to the argumentative writing assignment. While that assignment was being given, I learned a lot of useful things about structuring a text." **"It was fun to write about a book that impressed me and about my favorite songs. Most of all I'm proud of my review. I did a lot of background research and I planned and shaped the text carefully. I think it's the best piece of text I've ever written in English."** "I've been given an enormous amount of self-confidence and some brilliant, irreplaceable teaching. I've put together a new study routine even though I thought nothing would stick in my head and I wouldn't learn anything. But I've never learned this well and this efficiently! The course was a success in every way: the right balance of normal, regular homework tasks and a few more extensive projects with enough challenge." "Now I have a better understanding of how people felt during apartheid and why they decided to fight for a cause at that time. Nevertheless, it's not easy to identify with them because luckily we've never had to go through anything similar."

"Jaakko, Riku and Irja gave some nice feedback on the course. They said it 'opened up their mind and new worlds' and 'even made an old person think about things'. One of the things we did on the course was a small project and the boys wrote a newspaper article in English where the idea was to take a critical look at the Finnish welfare society. Jaakko had recorded the whole of the six-minute article on to tape in the form of a radio broadcast, and this was the starting point for their class presentation. Yes, the boys had really given a lot of time and effort to the job."

"At the beginning I thought that evenings sitting in an upper secondary school would be boring, but in fact I've had a good time. Even though I've fallen a bit behind with the assignments, I made a big effort with writing the essay. We speak more English here and when we're studying more account is taken of the group's needs and skills, something which helps you to learn better. The people in the GUSSA have vastly varying English skills so that the threshold for speaking or for asking 'silly' questions is lower, you don't have to be afraid of making a fool of yourself. I felt that the course gave me the confidence to speak because I've thought I'm bad at English because I don't know the grammar and I make spelling mistakes. But when we're working in pairs, I've noticed that I understand a lot of what is said and I can orally

The teacher allows one class to use dictionaries in the final exam with multiple purposes in mind.

A student feels excited about studying English vocabulary and doing the writing assignments.

Another student feels motivated by the writing assignments.

A student has succeeded in developing her self-confidence and study skills in an EFL course.

A student points out that he now understands the background of apartheid but is hardly able to identify with the people who suffered from it.

A couple of students give very positive feedback about an EFL course to the teacher.

A student is very positively surprised about studying foreign languages in the adult upper secondary school for a diversity of reasons, one of the most important being possibilities for positive language learning experiences.

produce text. For example, in one lesson I hadn't done my homework but even so I was able to go through it during the pair work because I knew the stuff anyway! It was nice because it was one of those positive feelings of success that you need when studying."

"I've always thought language, and learning language, are quite noble pursuits. In essence, it is the practice of expanding your own world, opening it up for exploration. (...) A shared language, a wide-spread one such as English, makes the world bigger and smaller at the same time... To try and learn a language is to try and understand humankind better. (...) I must say that my progress with English has accelerated considerably after I entered this school. Prior to studying at this level of education, I often felt unchallenged and bored in class, whereas now I'm constantly learning new things, and actively working towards bettering myself, instead of letting it happen gradually in use. I think a lot of things have contributed to this. The atmosphere, the active participation of both teacher and students, and the more interesting subject matter... It all feels, quite frankly, exhilarating. I feel engaged, and involved. This, I believe, is the source of all learning."

A student values the learning of languages. While his English studies in the previous school have been boring, the EFL teaching in the GUSSA has had a much more motivating influence on his language learning.

One of the most important reasons for his increased motivation is the possibility to become involved more actively.

Epilogue

"The heterogeneous groups and the heightened need of adult students for personal guidance often require intense collaboration amongst teachers, students and the school's study counsellors. Since, as a teacher of English and Swedish, I meet the exam students more often than the other teachers, I took on the recently created post of group supervisor for the adult line. It's good that in addition to a study counsellor we have a designated teacher who, together with the study counsellor and the other teachers, is officially responsible for looking after matters related to supporting and supervising students. For example, my counselling sessions with the students now have a more clearly defined role." "We have one particular challenging student in our school and so we are working together to modify the general course assessment criteria for special cases like this. We had a consultation with the special teacher as well. What seemed to emerge as suitable assessment criteria were commitment to studying, handing in set assignments, participation in teaching and special ability in some sub-area of the subject contents (in this case it was listening comprehension, which was stronger relative to the other skills). In the light of these assessment criteria even the challenging students have some hope of one day receiving their upper secondary school certificate."

"We plan to organize an orientation course for students commencing their upper secondary school studies, and this will involve all the adult line teachers. In the course we would concentrate on refining their study skills, among other things. The teachers in every subject block would have their own area of responsibility in

The EFL teacher becomes the home-room teacher of the GUSSA students. This increases the co-operation between the study counsellor and the EFL teacher and establishes the role of the counselling sessions.

The general assessment criteria are developed in co-operation with the special education teacher, as there are particularly challenging students in the GUSSA from time to time.

The teachers are planning an orientation course that would focus on developing the GUSSA students' learning and study skills.

implementing the course. The idea of an orienting course is welcome. A lot of the students starting have weak study skills, so the course would certainly provide wide-ranging support for learning.” “Yesterday I was talking with my colleagues about some of our students who have tried to complete courses at a big local adult upper secondary school. In the end nothing came of it because the responsibility for studying was left entirely with the student and nobody else made sure that the student was progressing in the course. When you get to know these students better, you also realize that some of them need some strong communal support and in my opinion this little group of ours can offer such support better than a big adult upper secondary school.”

“E-learning, electronic matriculation exams, social media – there’s a few tough nuts to crack. The mainstream discussion doesn’t seem to take account of the adult upper secondary school viewpoint: even though we have some young students of the digital generation, a large section of our adult students don’t have the necessary ICT knowledge and skills, nor the resources or wish to develop them, even though mastery of such skills could be seen as a civic skill. They don’t all even have email or an internet connection, let alone being able to use Twitter or Facebook!”

“It’s a totally different matter starting to use computers in GUSSA teaching compared with using them in an ordinary upper secondary school with young people. It’s a high threshold to cross. On the other hand, some adult students would undoubtedly benefit from more extensive use of computers for teaching purposes. Still, it won’t all be plain sailing here because there’s such a vast range in the skills of adults. I think it’s unfair to a certain extent that GUSSA students with their inadequate skills are obliged to do the same student matriculation examinations on computers alongside digital natives. And what about the students with learning difficulties, and we have a lot of them? They should also be taken into consideration. The other day I read a report about an experiment where a student with reading difficulties found an electronic test to be extremely complex in terms of perception.”

“The learning journal system in its present form doesn’t work the way I would like it to work. Now and then I’m on the point of despair and I wonder whether there’s any point in this whole reflection thing. For some students the learning journal is an uphill struggle and the rest have trouble remembering to keep the journal at all. Reflecting through writing is often difficult. We should consider adding oral reflection. Even putting together the language portfolio doesn’t always succeed when the papers with the portfolio assignments get lost and some of the students only complete one or two courses here and there. Would an electronic portfolio be the solution to the problem? Perhaps it would also make better quality self-assessment possible.” “In the second English course I used my own streamlined version of the electronic learning journal and language portfolio. My first experiences were promising, although I have to think a bit more about the form and role of the learning journal, and the whole thing still needs some developing. For example, the students could write a blog on their own language studies instead of the learning journal.”

One of the benefits of a small school is that the community can provide better care and concern for its students.

The teacher worries about the increasing information and communication technology in the teaching of adults, claiming that the mainstream discussion has not paid attention to the adult education perspective.

Based on the teacher’s experience, many adults are not prepared or willing to develop their ICT skills. Although some will benefit from the more extensive use of computers, there are still many challenges to be solved.

The teacher is discontent with the language learning journal in its current form and also identifies problems in the language portfolio.

He considers a language learning blog combined with a digital portfolio as a possible solution.

“Over recent weeks we’ve raised the idea of arranging teaching periods without exam weeks in our school. In my opinion this is something worth considering because then more teaching hours would be released for teaching purposes, the stressful time at the end of the period would be removed and course assessment could be based on the learning and progress that has taken place during the course. The importance of course work would be even more emphasised. As far as my own courses are concerned, it wouldn’t in fact even be necessary to make big changes because in language courses we make use of the portfolio anyway. In the case of some students, though, I have my misgivings about an assessment process like this because even now some of them don’t manage to complete their assignments during the course.”

Teaching periods without final exams is considered a viable direction in the development of course assessment. The assessment of the students would then be explicitly based on assessing learning as a process.

On summarising the experiences of the foreign language teaching

This part of the research analysis addressed research question 1b by depicting the FL teaching in the local GUSSA in the form of a multivoiced, storied emplotment. This crafted narrative involves references to the different elements of the FL teaching and comprises a temporally organised compilation of the diversity and development of the experienced meanings that the FL students and I as their teacher have given to our lives in the FL classroom and the most immediate TL-related contexts connected to it. The emplotted narrative represents a storied access to the context of the GUSSA students’ EFL learning and the EFL teacher’s understanding of what goes on in the language classroom. The interpretations next to the storied account complete the process of emplotting by summarising the most prominent content elements of this FL teaching during years of research.

What is the value of the emplotted text for research question 1b? First of all, the narrative depicts what the teaching consists of. The different Chapters of the emplotment involve references to numerous pedagogical items central to the FL teaching. Many of these items are listed in Table 3 below. The titles of the columns refer to the Chapters of the storied emplotment in which they were first referred to. This listing does not mean that the items appeared in the exact order as the listing indicates nor that the same item was not referred to elsewhere, in the other Chapters of the storied text. Many of these items will be revisited in chapter 10 with regard to the two holistic analyses on the FL teaching.

Table 3. The pedagogical items in the emplotted narrative of FL teaching

Chapter one and Chapter two	Chapter three and Epilogue
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homework • Writing tasks • Learning to learn • Study methods • Vocabulary • Course book texts • Translation from one language to another • Teacher control • Pair work • Oral TL use in the lessons • Grammar • Pronunciation • Project work • Counselling sessions • Self-assessment • Focus on the course topics • Independent studying • Self-reflection • Final exams • Language learning journal • Role play • Communication and guidance via emailing list • Student control and freedom of choice • Face-to-face feedback from the teacher • Portfolio work • Peer assessment • Oral presentations • Language learning tasks integrated into the student's daily life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TL use in out-of-school contexts • Negotiations with the student about his/her learning tasks • Peer teaching and tutoring • Cultural aspects • Personalised instruction • Remedial instruction • Possibilities for doing one's homework at school under the teacher's guidance • The teacher's co-operation with his colleagues • Personalised assessment • Digital language portfolios • Digital language learning journals • Process assessment without final exams

Second, this narrative analysis enables a narrative understanding of the experienced meanings situated in the FL classroom and related TL contexts over a period of time, as it follows the coexisting voices side by side. This holistic understanding would have been challenging to accomplish with more conventional analytical approaches. This analysis also depicts how the different experiences intermingle in the teaching. It does not provide an answer to the research question that could be summarised in one sentence, however. Instead,

the answer is hermeneutic and narrative in nature, and it can be obtained only by reading through the entire emplotment; in other words, the narrative *is* the answer. As Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 84–85) have put it, “the plot of a narrative account corresponds to the relationships of causality that are central to paradigmatic accounts. The plot of the narrative explains whatever it is that the researcher seeks to explain within a particular context of experience.” When reading this narrative answer, however, the following broad interpretive observations can be kept in mind:

1) From the student perspective, the FL teaching was frequently portrayed as a multidimensional, demanding, intriguing and even puzzling process that involved potential for personal development but required balancing between the possibilities and constraints of one’s overall positioning in life. This condition did not let the FL students off easily. Not only were they expected to develop their capacities and competences to control and assume responsibility for their language learning but also to do the same for their TL-related lives in general in the sociolinguistic and sociocultural landscapes that they inhabited (for connections to autonomy theory, see Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Littlewood 1996; Oxford 2003; Pennycook 1997; Rebenius 2007; Zembylas & Lamb 2008). In particular, this presupposed the development of the FL students’ personal agency and voice in those fields and areas of life that involved TL learning, use and participation (see Hunter & Cooke 2007; Toohey & Norton 2003).

2) From my teacher perspective, the narrative portrayed FL teaching as searching for balance – between meeting the individual students’ needs and managing with the prevailing circumstances without abandoning one’s ideals. This implied the need to provide the students with personalised but viable means, potentials and support that would promote the development of their agency and voice. In the emplotted narrative, this was pursued through my desire to engage in dialogue with the students in my teacher role, a desire to connect to and value the students and their experiences with the aim of finding suitable means to teach the students in a co-directed but personalised process within the limits provided (for connections to theory, see Allwright & Hanks 2009; Kaikkonen 2001, 2002; Kohonen 2009a, 2009b).

Pedagogically, the FL teaching manifested itself as balancing between more traditional forms of teaching with course books, grammar practice, pair work and

exams on one side of the coin, and the language portfolio, learning journal, counselling sessions and encounters with the TL beyond the language classroom on the other side of the coin. Indeed, as prioritising one over the other was not without challenges, the FL teaching turned out to be a more or less successful and balanced combination of (and a compromise between) the two components. As some parts of this FL teaching prompted more and others less critical thinking, decision-making, initiative and responsibility by the FL students themselves, the language learning processes embedded in and enabled by this type of FL pedagogy also became more or less co-directed by the students and myself as their teacher (for appropriate theoretical connections, see Everhard 2015b; Holec 2009; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Little 2007; van Lier 2007).

3) It is also useful to examine the FL teaching from an ecological perspective as a social process that does not take place in a vacuum (for connections to theory, see Menezes 2013; Palfreyman 2014; Sade 2014; van Lier 2004, 2007, 2008). What went on in the processes of FL teaching was influenced by the participants and the prevailing social-interactive, socio-political and socio-economic conditions (in particular Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2009a). These discussions will be continued later (chapter 9, 289 and chapter 10, 339) when theorising the FL learning and teaching.

There were two challenges when emplotting the narrative of FL teaching. First, the amount and diversity of the data made the first few steps laborious and time-consuming. As the reading of the different voices took place side by side, the experiences manifesting themselves through these voices had to be kept in mind so that the overall impressions of the FL teaching could be discovered. Making notes about the ideas during the reading became crucial; it enabled me to grasp the vast data as a whole. Patience also became a virtue along with the process. The most demanding steps of the emplotting were located at the beginning; once I had completed the first readings in a disciplined manner, the following readings became easier and the outline of the emplotted narrative started to take shape.

The second challenge with the analysis was to preserve the diversity of experiences in the storied account, despite the reduction of the original data. This was done by concentrating on the most powerful storylines in the data (chapter 10, 318) and listening to the diversity and dynamics of voices related to these themes in particular, without attempts to capture everything. This undoubtedly pruned the final storied account, cutting out some of the nuances and voices which

I judged less important. The interpretations have still been conscious and well-considered choices which gain their motivation from the original data. Although some of the quotations in the narrative are short extracts from the original material, I chose them because they highlight key aspects of the powerful storylines.

All in all, the emplotted narrative provides a poetic imitation of the complexities of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA. Capturing glimpses of the many and diverse experiences of FL learning, the narrative account also raises questions about individual FL students' language learning processes and their outcomes. This is a question that I shall turn to in the following chapters.

8 A STORIED PERSPECTIVE ON THE STUDENTS

Chapter 8 will shift the analytical gaze to the language learning GUSSA students, addressing research question 1a in particular (To what extent are developments in FL identity manifest?). To capture the FL students' development as a whole during their EFL studies in the local GUSSA, the students' language learning processes and outcomes will be captured in the form of multivoiced narratives. This chapter will examine the protagonists' TL-related lives holistically like this by synthesising the meanings that they have given to their language learning experiences over time and space. Their language learning processes will be emplotted into storied accounts in a fashion similar to emplotting the FL teaching. First, the process of emplotting will be described, after which the findings will be presented, and their meaning for the present research briefly discussed.

Emplotting the foreign language learning: Principles and findings

As already pointed out in the previous chapters, emplotting as a mode of narrative analysis involves synthesising the data into a developmental account based on the thematic plots inherent in the data (also Polkinghorne 1995). Emplotting the protagonists' TL-related lives consisted of a systematic organisation of the most substantial parts of the data into storied texts. These texts portray the student's FL learning through the subject positions adopted by and imposed on him/her, as seen and experienced by the student and myself as his/her EFL teacher (for a theoretical background, see chapter 6, 164). This analysis will be explained here only insofar as it differs from what has already been said (chapter 7, 180).

To conduct the analysis, each protagonist's language journals, reflective tasks and self-assessments, counselling sessions and the relevant sections of the teaching journal entries were used as data (chapter 6, 158). This data included a variety of experiential and reflective texts anchored in time and space. Detailed information about the amounts of data can be found in Table 4. As can be noted,

the amounts vary from student to student. The main reason for the differences is that the students took a different number of EFL courses during their GUSSA studies. Some students were also more productive in writing their language learning journals than others. Moreover, Susanna transferred to the GUSSA from the “day-time” school at the beginning of her second school year (chapter 6, 151), and she only participated in one audio-recorded counselling session during her EFL studies. As for Suvi, Anna and Noora, only one of their counselling sessions was recorded. The teaching journal entries nevertheless partially cover the non-recorded counselling sessions. Finally, it has to be kept in mind that the data depicting “Niko” have been collected from eleven GUSSA students (chapter 6, 151). This explains the high amounts of language journal and self-assessment data although individual students did not produce so much data.

Table 4. The types and amounts of data that were used to emplot each protagonist’s FL learning

Protagonist	Language journal	Reflective tasks & self-assessments	Counselling sessions	Teaching journal
Leena	20 pages	15 pages	21 pages	✓
Susanna	13 pages	15 pages	13 pages	✓
Suvi	46 pages	19 pages	13 pages	✓
Anna	13 pages	10 pages	11 pages	✓
Noora	19 pages	18 pages	12 pages	✓
“Niko”	48 pages	51 pages	—	✓

The emplotment process has been described in Figure 5. The purpose of emplotting was to depict each FL student’s learning process and their evolving relations to the TL in a narrative form. The analysis consisted of six readings, each with a different strategy. In the first step, the relevant parts from different sources were combined into a narrative “stream” depicting the student’s journey. I used the language journals as a starting point, temporally embedding the reflective texts, the counselling session texts and the relevant teaching journal entries in their places among the language journal entries.

The second step consisted of a line-by-line reading of the narrative text depicting the student. This and the following (third) step will be referred to as an analytical entity involving the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis, the holistic analysis of form and the holistic analysis of content (chapter 9, 246, 262). The purpose of this entity was to identify the overarching thematic plots and follow their temporal

progression. This was the most arduous phase of the emplotment process and consisted of omitting irrelevant parts, coding the sections considered meaningful for the overall structure and making notes about the emerging impressions. Plenty of re-reading was needed to identify the foci that related to the key storylines.

1st reading:	Combining different types of data into a narrative “stream”	→
2nd reading:	Identifying thematic plots and following their progression	→
3rd reading:	Preserving the dynamics and the diversity of voices	→
4th reading:	Organising the extracts into a narrative, smoothing	→
5th reading:	Adding a summary of each paragraph next to the narrative	→
6th reading:	Translating the Finnish parts of the narrative into English	

Figure 5. The process of emplotting the protagonists’ TL-related lives

As part of this analytical entity, the third reading followed the storylines temporally, aiming at locating meaningful events, experiences, time periods and changes of course. In this reading, I reminded myself of the overall structure of the evolving narrative so that I would not draw hasty conclusions. I listened to the different voices, for example by reading the student’s and my own journal entries side by side. Although the analysis aimed at a multivoiced emplotment, the student’s voice gained centre stage in the final storied accounts while my teacher voice played minor and complementary roles in them.

The fourth step consisted of narrative smoothing (Polkinghorne 1995), i.e., each text was shortened and reduced into a Finnish/English narrative depicting the protagonist. This reading included “cleaning up” of the language to construct a relatively unambiguous plot line. This was possible since it did no harm to the earlier analytical approaches. As when emplotting the FL teaching (see chapter 7, 180), detailed information about the origin of the extracts in the final emplotted texts was omitted in the fourth reading. However, rough temporal frames for these texts have been provided by the two holistic analyses (see chapter 9, 246, 262).

After this, I read the storied texts and added interpretations in the right-hand column, which summarised important meanings of the paragraphs in a few sentences. This step constituted the fifth reading and resembled the fifth reading of emplotting the teaching (chapter 7, 180; also Perttula 1998). Since parts of these narratives were in Finnish, they were translated into English in the sixth

reading. In most parts, the extracts originally in English and marked in bold, have preserved their original form. Appendix 3 will illustrate this analysis whereas the final emplotments have been placed in the following subsections. Again, italics have been used to differentiate between teacher and student voices.

A note considering the ethics of the emplotting is in order here. Unlike the storied text on the FL teaching, analysing the students involved larger amounts of data glossing the personal lives of individuals. When researching with a small community of potential respondents, it is harder to guarantee anonymity despite the fact that all the names that are mentioned in the student narratives below are pseudonyms. Although some of the protagonists pointed out that they would not mind if they could be recognised, it was my responsibility as a researcher to preserve confidentiality since the participants had given me their informed consent where I promised to do so to the best of my ability.

To obviate the problem of anonymity, I sometimes had to omit more specific data from the storied texts at the expense of some of their richness. To validate the analysis ethically, Leena, Susanna, Suvi, Anna and Noora were asked for feedback from the emplotted texts (before translation into English). This offered them an opportunity to comment and demand changes. This took place 3–18 months after they had finished their studies so there was no longer any teacher-student relationship between me and the student. This is one of the reasons why there are no grounds to doubt the sincerity and truthfulness of the feedback. The student's comment is attached after each storied text. As can be noted, none of them required changes to the text, and most of them admitted that the texts sounded like "their" stories. This way, the tension between my and the participants' different powers over the data was resolved to some degree.

Leena

"My first experiences of English go back to the early 1960s. When English pop music arrived in Finland, I felt I had made the wrong choice [to study German]. Luckily my brother had started in the grammar school and was doing English. I learned enough from his books and from talking to him to be able to understand the words of songs and what was written in English-language music magazines." "It was this English that brought me into the upper secondary school. I had looked around wondering where I could best improve my English skills. Then I realized that there's an evening upper secondary school [here] and since I'd got so far into it, I began to wonder, why not see if I could do

In her youth, Leena obtained her first experiences of English through English pop music in the 1960s and she also learnt some English by browsing through her brother's English books.

She came to the GUSSA first and foremost to improve her English skills but did not have high expectations about her performance.

the rest of it as well. So I started off looking how I'd get on. I hadn't set myself the goal of getting it done in three years. What I was clearly aiming at was to learn English, but I didn't have any expectations about getting through the courses with good or bad grades, or whether I'd get through the first or third time."

"I know I could be more active [in the lessons]. It's happen that I know right answer but I don't mind raise my hand and say it. I just wait someone else to answer! Sometimes I've seen that my teacher noticed I've known and that's a bit humorous too." "I haven't done so good in this course. I've been so busy in work that the time just ran out. It was painful to sit in class homeworks undone. Sad to say but I don't feel I've succeeded. I learned much about the school systems in England and America but I didn't learn so much grammar or words. The course is gone but my language skills are in the same point they were 7 weeks ago. I'm not pleased with my role either. I've been a bad example for those youngs, homeworks undone, just sitting there! I'd like to show them that studying is fun!" "Autumn's gone badly in all my subjects. It's as if I've run out of steam! I haven't got the energy to even think about how to write up my [journal] in English. Sometimes there are too many assignments for people at work, but they're an absolute necessity for learning."

"Tuomas and Leena have developed into a good pair: they support and help each other. It's a joy to watch them collaborating. Collaboration works when you know your partner and both of you are motivated to learn." **"I don't make big noise of myself [in the lessons] and I'm happy with that. When we are working in pairs, I try to be encouraging to my young friends."**

"I have been working in pairs with Laura. She speaks English really beautifully. It's lovely to listen to her reading. She also teaches me!" "[My grammatical skills are] better, but I've still got a lot of work to do! I'm still not clear about the continuous forms. With grammar, you've just got to keep cramming and practising. I understand speech satisfactorily, but my vocabulary isn't very extensive, so I can't manage a wide-ranging conversation." **"It's easier when I can be in lessons. Homework won't take so much time when I remember subjects I heard in class. Also there was less errors in my homework this time."**

"I'm going to develop my reading comprehension. I just finished C.J. Samson's book *Dissolution* and I'm beginning *Dark Fire* from same author. Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, which I got as Christmas present from my daughter's boyfriend, I've also begun. When I read an English book I notice more often how sentences are written and what exactly is the meaning. [I don't] just read on but also think carefully what it means." "I revise what I've read, I listen to the text on a CD, I do the assignments, I underline the important phrases/sentences, I read books and magazines in English (I'm using those in an attempt to 'open up' the English language), I watch films without Finnish subtitles, admittedly I sometimes miss a few scenes when the meaning of the text isn't so clear, I can't get the main point."

Leena is not very active in the lessons in spite of knowing answers to the teacher's questions.

Leena feels sad about the fact that she has not learnt the things that she would have wanted to learn because she has not had time to study due to her work.

She claims to have been a bad example to the younger students although she would like to show them that studying is fun.

She has little energy to study but feels that homework is crucial for her learning.

Leena co-operates effectively with another student in the lessons.

She behaves modestly in the lessons but encourages her younger classmates.

Leena feels that she gains by working with the more skilful students.

She evaluates her learning. She struggles with grammar and concludes that she needs more cramming.

She considers it easier to learn when attending the lessons.

Leena focuses on practising her reading skills. She has read a book in English and decides to read some more. She has started to pay more attention to the language when reading the books.

She studies English in varied ways.

“I loved to do the presentation [on Lennon]. It’s amazing how much information you can find from Internet. When we were making the presentation, I sat one Saturday and just read the texts [about him] for hours. Lennon was the hero of my youth and memories just popped up.” “This course has been really interesting, so much culture! Last text about Gaudi opened my eyes and my mind. Of course I knew about him and his works though I’ve never seen them, but I didn’t know anything about Gaudi’s life.” *“Leena’s group work went without a hitch. Leena’s the carrying force who gets the others to join in. She’s not a leader figure, but more of an organizer who encourages the others to study.”* **“I have had a great opportunity to us[e] English at work. One customer living in Canada has got a tax-demand. He [wants me to] clear it up so he shall not pay the taxes. I’m trying to explain that it’s not in my power. I know the tax is right and he have to pay it but he don’t believe me. Sometimes it’s really hard to make a foreigner understand our tax legislation!”**

“My weakness as a language student are laziness to study grammar and my short memory about it. Even though I know how important grammar is, I haven’t ever been good in it. It’s the same problem in all languages, even in Finnish. I’m hopeless case!” *“At this particular moment I feel that there aren’t any strong points [in my language skills] but I try to speak English during the lesson. I write fluently but I make a lot of mistakes. My message gets across when the other person is understanding.”* *“I’ve a bad conscience all the time because I’ve not had time to do my homework properly. Last week’s vocabulary test was a good example; I was totally lost even though we’d just looked at it. This year there’s been a lot of new stuff for me. I need time to learn something, just brute cramming. Luckily I’ve got through the tests.”* *“It’s grammar that causes me the greatest problems of all. It’s just that I have to practise and gradually learn these things. The problem isn’t that I’ve got some special difficulty. It’s just the brute act of doing it.”*

“It’s been fun doing presentations and that Janis Joplin thing, for example, I think’s it enjoyable to write about things like that. And the ones we’ve done in groups, those have been nice to do. Of course I’m comparing with what learning languages was like when I was really at school, then this is such a different world. Somehow the language is closer to normal life thanks to all this sort of thing. It’s about those things that interest you yourself and that you’ve been through sometime and are close to you.”

“To start with, I was thinking about it [portfolio work], that what’s the point of collecting for it. But yesterday evening when I was looking at it and thought about what I’d collected for it, then this is a really good idea. You can really see what the problems are that you should give more time and effort to. And you can clearly see how you’ve developed. So this hasn’t been a waste. Yes, I wholeheartedly support this kind of thing. And writing up the journal, I’ve tried to write in English and with the express idea of not thinking about verb endings or which preposition I should use here, I’ve just tried to write about my own stuff. Having to produce the text, that’s where you learn. It feels painful at

Leena enjoys preparing a presentation on John Lennon and reading about Gaudi.

Leena organizes her group’s studying when working in small groups. She has had to put her English skills to the test at work.

Leena considers herself lazy and hopeless when trying to study grammar and words.

She has a hard time identifying any strengths in her English skills.

She has a bad conscience for not having the time to study sufficiently and keeps pushing herself to cram more.

Leena sees the learning assignments and group work meaningful, as the language becomes closer like that. She compares studying English now with studying English in her own youth.

Leena considers the language portfolio useful since it allows you see your problems and development.

Leena has tried to write her language learning journal in English to “turn” her brain to English.

times but once you start writing, all of a sudden you've got three or four pages of text. I switch my brain over to English and my thinking and writing go into English with no translating. For me, this is the most important thing. And it's nice to see that this is what I wrote in September and in April I'm thinking like this. It's exactly this that always makes diaries so interesting."

"My [English] has got a sort of effortlessness. I can start speaking off the cuff just like that as naturally as in Swedish. I've got some nice feedback from our daughters' boyfriends. When I ring them up and one of them answers the phone, I've been told they say to the girls that it's nice to talk with your mum, that she can hold a real conversation and not just separate sentences. Since last autumn I've been getting comments like this. It feels incredibly nice because this was why I started [GUSSA studies] in the first place. I realized that these English-speaking heroes might join the clan permanently so I'll have to learn to chat with them." "I've noticed that when I read English literature, I pay a lot of attention to the text, previously I've just read so that I understand what's going on. Now I look and see that oh yes, you can say it like that. There are sayings and expressions like that, whole sentences, I've started paying attention to them."

"[I was in a] concert. A group of Irish musicians was performing on Tuesday. They played traditional Irish music. It is fine when I can understand what they are saying, all the stories which are told between the songs and about the songs." **"We made useful exercises in pairs. I learn a lot when I'm talking with someone like Susanna who is good in English."** **"The day for matriculation exam will come soon! Verbs, prepositions, syntax, there is my piece [of] work."** **"I'm reading *Oliver Twist* in English [to] broaden my vocabulary. I enjoy the text very much. Like always, this book is better when you read the original version. It's like getting more of it! On Friday evening I was putting my daughter's things in order and found one of Christie's novels, *A Caribbean Mystery*. That is really easy to read and [it's] written in good English. My daughters have many of Agatha's novels in English. I must ask where the books are. It could be good practise for the matriculation exam."**

"We are reading a text about Fair Trade. It was nice to write in my response about Brighton where the idea of using Fair Trade products is big issue all over the town. We have a real potential to change things. We just have to think what we are doing and make always the right choice." *"Leena really seems to be getting everything she can out of her English studies and, what's more, enjoying doing the assignments and attending classes."*

"I'm glad that it's like this, that studying a language can be fun. Even though a lot of things at school are the same as before, studying languages has changed and now the goal is for you to learn to speak the language and use it and not for translating back and forth from one language to another, and you're afraid to open your mouth in case you make a mistake with grammar. We're encouraged to use the language, to make use of the limited vocabulary we have, and to try all the time to speak or write these sorts of free texts. Perhaps that's the most

Leena has noticed development in her skills to use English spontaneously. She has received positive comments about her English skills from her daughters' boyfriends and feels happy about the comments.

She has paid more attention to the language and tried to learn about it when reading books.

Leena comprehends Irish musicians' talk in a concert.

She enjoys studying with students who know English better than her.

She continues to prepare for the matriculation examination in English and widen her vocabulary by reading English literature.

Leena likes to study a text on Fair Trade since the topic is close to her heart.

Leena appears to make the most of studying English.

She considers EFL teaching nice as it encourages the students to use the TL without worrying about making mistakes.

important thing, that this fortunately has changed.” “If you think about it from the point of view of learning, then it’s been pretty much the ideal amount, what we’ve had of it [homework] and different kinds of assignments. Yes, this is what it’s like, there’s almost no free time left over. But if you start doing this, then I don’t understand that you’d leave things undone or say that you’ve got another life as well. If you can’t find the time, then there’s no point at all in starting this. Yes, you’ve got to give it priority in those situations where there are alternatives.”

“This [process approach] suits me, having assignments and some of them you deal with in class and some you have to hand in, this is discipline in itself and makes learning more effective. You learn things by practising. I also think it’s important that you get feedback. If I had no idea over those five, six weeks what I’d achieved or where I make mistakes and then notice in the test that I’ve left out all the articles, then it would feel terrible. Now when I do exercises and notice I’ve got a tendency to leave the articles out, then sure I would start paying attention to them.” “This [language portfolio] was clearly a system that supports learning. When I thought that this work is going to be filed away, somehow I tried to make a better job of it. It’s not like me writing it quickly and giving it to the teacher, but really getting down to it. When I put this into my portfolio and I can look at it again after two years, then you definitely take it seriously.”

“When I started English three years ago, I knew enough English to be able to cope with everyday situations and ordinary conversations. I’ve learned an enormous amount during the courses. I don’t learn well if I have to cram, but luckily by means of the text the words stick in my head. I write out the chapters [on paper] and that’s the way I learn. Reading aloud and listening to recordings also help. Grammar is an eternal stumbling block. After eight English courses I still have trouble with it.” “Nowadays I’m a bolder language user. I try to get my message across even if I don’t remember the right words or structures. As part of my work I have to speak and write English. I notice I don’t get so nervous in speaking situations.” “Nowadays I can always open my mouth and not stop to think what I’m supposed to say. I find a way to reply or ask or say something.” “When you’re watching a film, it’s fun to notice that you can understand without the subtitles and you catch the nuances!” “My knowledge of cultures has increased. Even though in my own opinion I’ve been tolerant and interested in different cultures, I believe that my respect [for them] has grown. As you get more information and better skills, your viewpoint on things widens. You can examine a culture more critically. You get a desire to look at things that aren’t immediately visible. Even though Western cultures are similar, there are differences in their customs and the things they value. English is spoken in very different cultures and everything in India is not the same as in Ireland, let alone Finland.”

“I went to the library one day and I had this book I was looking for and I couldn’t find it in Finnish, so I automatically went to look if there was a copy in English. In a way I didn’t have to think about which language I was reading in. Of course there are words I don’t understand, but I can get a grasp of the book’s contents in English as well. I’ve read English books earlier, too, but I clearly noticed the

She has had little spare time but chooses to prioritise studying.

Leena prefers to study in a process-oriented manner since it makes learning effective. She also values the feedback received on the assignments.

The language portfolio motivates Leena to work on the assignments more carefully.

Leena identifies substantial development in her language skills. She knows how to learn best but still struggles with grammar.

Leena has gained courage as an English user and she does not feel nervous about talking anymore.

She comprehends English films without Finnish subtitles and discovers nuances in English.

She has also developed a deeper understanding of different cultures.

Leena goes to a library to borrow a book without thinking about whether the book is in Finnish or English. She claims to understand more than earlier when reading English books.

difference in how much more I could get out of them. What I've gained is a kind of confidence in using the language." "Two of our three daughters are over there in England. Last time I went to visit them, they didn't watch over me so precisely, checking how mum would manage to get from the airport, whether they should fetch me, and should they come down to the station, and can she get a taxi to take her where she wants to go. They too can see already that I can manage in English. They don't have to constantly keep an eye on me anymore."

"What I remember best of all are the people in the different [teaching] groups. It was fun being clearly older than the rest of them and yet the groups worked really well. It wasn't like people thinking, well at least I don't want to do any pair work with her, it just won't work. The classroom atmosphere and the people were nice. A fantastically good feeling in the classes. That is probably what will stick in my mind the longest." "Yes, there were those [difficult] phases, too, but they were more to do with the situation [with a family member] than with studying. Without that as a burden, this wouldn't have been bad. I would've managed better with these courses at the end. There would've been more time and I'd have given more thought to my studies, but things like this happen in life." "I've got my retirement to look forward to [hopefully] and I'll have time to travel. It's a lot easier knowing that I can manage. Some of my family are English, Irish and Australian so there's no end of opportunities to talk. After the GUSSA I'll keep up my language by watching films and reading books and there'll be a lot of opportunities to have conversations. This perpetual learning will certainly go on in one way or another."

Leena's comment

"It was really nice to read 'Leena's' profile. Because time has passed since the discussions, the thoughts I wrote down on paper made interesting reading. At the graduation parties everybody asked, as is the way, about the graduated student's future plans and seemed to accept my plan for a gap year. My youngest, however, did remind me that 'you have to be working and not lounging around on the sofa!' My children tell me they were given the same instruction [when they graduated from upper secondary school] and now it applies to me, too! I don't think there is anything to remove from the text; all sorts of things happen in life, perhaps from the viewpoint of research, the information about the other things in my life will enhance the human side of the contents. I easily recognise myself and my thoughts in the text. This is the sort of student I am/was and my profile matches the reality well. Thank you for the lessons! I never had time to get fed up or think what a boring lesson this is, even though I was tired from time to time."

Susanna

"Why I've hated English is because I've had freaky English teachers. The teaching style of my comprehensive school English teacher was based on humiliation. S/he constantly made fun of us. That had a big part in making me an America hater like I am." "[In the regular upper secondary school] I was a real loser, people had such good language skills. My course mates were so annoyingly good, I felt we were

She points out that she does not have to be looked after by her daughters whenever she visits them in England.

Leena has good memories of the students and the atmosphere in the EFL courses.

She admits having had challenging time periods during her studies in the GUSSA because of her worries in her private life.

When retiring soon, she hopes to have time to travel. She aims to go on reading English books, watching films and perhaps even studying the language somehow.

Susanna has hated English because of her English teachers.

She views herself very negatively as a language learner at school.

moving forward too quickly. Expectations were too high, everybody should already have been good on the basis of completing comprehensive school.”

“The time I spent [as an au-pair] was in many ways a turning point in my life. That’s when my love for languages started and I realized the value of studying and educating oneself. Mind you, I didn’t get on with the mother of the family; she complained that I spoke English slowly and my pronunciation was jerky. The other family member, though, encouraged me and quietly and secretly taught me the language. The time [as an au-pair] was a positive and educating experience!”

“Learning English is enormously useful when you’re travelling and especially if I’m going to work abroad. You need English a lot in Finland, too. You’d need it if you were a policeman, and bus or taxi driver as well. At the moment I need English in my work in customer service, when I travel and watch films. You notice you’re learning straightaway because you run into the language on a daily basis, for example, on the net.” “I hope I’ll be able to use my English more naturally and more fluently. It would be nice to learn to understand Americans and their culture so that I can get rid of my prejudices. I’d like to get to know the life of people from different cultures. Understanding cultures is important from the viewpoint of communication and fluent interaction.”

“My problems in speaking English become apparent in the lessons; I have a poor command of vocabulary and the various phrases. Nevertheless, I’ve managed well when I’ve been abroad despite my inadequate language skills: giving people directions and asking the way, visiting the doctor and attending to things in various offices – these haven’t caused problems. Of course, in those situations you notice your own defects when you have to come up with roundabout expressions.” “I’m not the best conversational partner. I avoid situations where I have to speak [English] particularly if there are a lot of people around me listening. I don’t always say that I’ve not understood, and I don’t actively try to keep up the conversation. I straightaway get bored listening to somebody else’s explanation and the picture I give of myself is of a rude hick. All in all, my interactive skills are lacking.” “I know I should show my skills [in the lessons], take part in discussions, etc., but I’m quite satisfied with my current role because my goals are not so high.” **“I dislike studying in small groups because I’ve noticed my learning is the most effective when I can do it myself and alone. I’d like the teacher to supervise that I really do my homework and revise things at home. Little tests just raise my studying motivation.”**

“The contents and the level of teaching have been brilliant in every way. I’d like to have more listening comprehension and writing exercises and fewer projects/group assignments/discussions (it’s not that polishing your discussion and teamwork skills isn’t important, only that I don’t think they’re going to develop at a fantastic speed in an environment where everybody is Finnish).” **“I’d like to be given more feedback by the teacher. Like, what parts of my knowledge of English I should improve or what are the mistakes I usually do.”** “There are techniques available for learning languages which would

As an au pair Susanna realised the value of learning languages, studying and cultivating oneself.

Susanna considers knowing English important in many ways both home and abroad.

She hopes to become more fluent in English, learn to work on her prejudices and know other cultures during her EFL courses in the adult upper secondary school.

Susanna assesses her oral English skills as deficient but claims to have managed well in most everyday situations abroad.

She describes herself a lousy interlocutor.

She does not participate in the lessons much due to her low goals.

She dislikes pair and group work and prefers to work by herself. She would like the teacher to control her learning.

Susanna considers the teaching excellent but would like to reduce the amount of projects and oral practice.

make cramming more meaningful. I myself, though, prefer the traditional method: the night before the exam, sweat dripping, I wade through the chapters that are going to be in the test, the rest of the time I hardly touch the books at all. There are only a few times when I actually study. Luckily I get better by watching films, listening to music, surfing the net, advising tourists in town, not to mention my trips and foreign friends. I'd bet that at least a third of my skill is this sort of stealthily collected know-how."

"Usually the themes of courses have been boring but this time the themes were truly interesting and topical in my own life too. During this English course I have been supported more than ever before by the teacher. The experience is absolutely positive, and I hope the same style will go on. I think the support had a powerful influence on my learning for I really got something out of the course. My studying methods and motivation improved. I did my homework and revised things I had learnt at school, which is unusual. My role was to be nice and do what I have to do. I guess I did my duty and was an average student." "I sense that I'm below the level of skill I should have on the basis of how many years I've been studying. Fortunately you don't notice this in the GUSSA. It's easier because there are older people here and they're worse at English because they only have primary school English. I like studying in a smaller group. The threshold for taking part in teaching is lower and the atmosphere more easy-going."

"Susanna's study motivation fluctuates from course to course and lesson to lesson. This course doesn't interest her as much as the previous one. She's quiet, withdrawn and shy. I wonder whether one thing affecting it might be that there are students who know more so she doesn't have to make the effort herself?" **"I hope we'd do more pronunciation practices in class, not just reading texts aloud. For example, we could go through the mistakes that are typical for Finns. I'd also be keen on different dialects of English language. It's a shame we haven't dealt with them during any English course so far."** "[Group work] is a real waste of time. We spend a lot of lessons on doing it. If I could spend the same time on reading the book on my own, I bet I'd learn more. It's so forced, people don't really make an effort, group work just doesn't work with Finns." "It's more like what they do in daycare, handicraft, it's got no purpose. I think independent study is the best way. If you haven't learned social skills as a child then it's a waste of time trying to learn them in an upper secondary school English class. It's just a bit of an inauthentic environment." "In my opinion one of the biggest plusses [of adult upper secondary school] is that this is individual, not communal. You can work in peace here. You don't have to create contacts with other students or know what other people's favourite colour is."

"I don't play an active role in the class. In pair work though I do my best because I know from experience how exhausting it is to be paired up with someone who doesn't say a word." "I like attending classes, the topics we deal with and the grammar things are interesting. My strength is in writing wide-ranging and reflective texts. That was useful in doing the portfolio work and myself I think I managed that well. I

Usually, she crams for the exam the night before instead of studying in advance.

She prefers to learn English informally in her free time.

Susanna considers the course topics more interesting than earlier. She feels that she has been encouraged by the teacher, which has increased her motivation to study.

She points out that it is easier to study in the GUSSA where she has less pressure. She likes to study in a classroom with fewer students since it is easier to participate in a relaxed atmosphere.

The EFL teacher has noticed that Susanna's motivation fluctuates.

Susanna would like to practise more pronunciation and learn more about different English dialects.

She considers group work useless since it takes time but is without purpose.

She likes the adult upper secondary school because of its orientation towards the individual.

Susanna tries to do her best when working with a pair but is not very active otherwise in the lessons.

She likes to attend the lessons because of the topics, portfolio assignments, grammar and atmosphere.

liked that a lot, especially writing the film review. What's more, there's a relaxed atmosphere in the lessons." **"As a language student I'm motivated. I've set some long-term goals. When I do something, I do it properly. My studying is still quite irregular. Keeping on schedule and being organized aren't my strong points. As a language user I really like to speak English abroad, I'm creative and conjure up words or make gestures when needed. I'm a shrinking violet and nervous of speaking English publicly in Finland."** "I'm very sceptical of all kinds of learning strategies, such as mind maps and underlinings. They feel like a joke and a waste of time and I don't believe that my learning would radically improve even if I began to make maps of semantic relations. If the strategies presented are examples of what I should be aiming for, then I don't think I have any hope of learning English because I'm not into that sort of stuff."

"I'm feeling a bit flat. I haven't had the energy to devote myself to studying because I feel there are other things to think about. I get frustrated in the lessons with wasting time on trivialities. I would like more grammar and less chatter." "Everything depends on how I'm feeling. If it's nice weather outside, I don't read. If I don't feel in the mood, I don't read. Even if all the conditions were ideal for reading, I don't read, but invent some excuse like cleaning the gutters or wiping the door handles so that I wouldn't have to read." I've lost my motivation and I can't get anything done. I haven't been capable of improving my weak sides – I'm troubled by the same problems. I haven't achieved the goals I set myself, which is a result of my own laziness. I made a real slapdash job of the course and I didn't get as much out of it as I'd hoped. Independent study is clearly not my thing, but I need continuous encouragement and a kick up the backside from the teacher to keep my motivation high. Through the learning journal I'm well aware of my problems and failings. Next I should find the energy to do something about them. I can't notice any development in my attitude, I'm still the same weathervane. It seems that my development isn't going anywhere, from whatever viewpoint you look at it."

"I feel that speaking English is my weakest area. When I speak it's often monotonous, there are lots of pauses and whatchamacallits and I'm sure I annoy a lot of people with my deficient skill. I should practise pronunciation and generally make my speech more fluent." "Speaking is just harder. Could be that it also depends on your attitude, here [in the lesson] you can't take it as a real situation. But I've been hanging out in London when I didn't feel like coming to school, and I had no problems." "When I was at work there was a strange rush of foreigners during a single shift; during the evening a total of more than ten customers who used English. Most of them were regulars and I chatted away with them for longer, which meant I got some good small talk practice."

"Even though school plays a significant – even if not irreplaceable – part in studying languages, the benefit you get from it remains minimal unless the student wishes to commit herself to studying. I managed to get through the English lessons at comprehensive school and in the first year of upper secondary school without learning

She is motivated and has set herself language learning goals but studies irregularly.

She feels confident when using English abroad but nervous when doing it in Finland.

She also considers using mind maps and other learning strategies silly, doubting their usefulness.

Susanna has not had the energy to focus on studying. She is frustrated about oral practice and wants more grammar. She has lost her motivation and feels that she has not been able to reach her goals due to her laziness.

She points out that she needs the teacher to encourage her and control her studying.

Writing the language learning journal has helped her recognise her problems in studying.

Susanna considers her oral language skills as her weakest area but is not motivated to practise it due to its inauthenticity in the classroom context.

She compares speaking practice at school with her use of English in London and with her customers.

According to Susanna, the school's role in language learning is important but not irreplaceable.

practically anything apart from scribbling in my books because I had seriously made up my mind to hate England, the English language and my English teachers as well." "Thank God my attitude to studying languages has lightened up in the GUSSA. I've begun to reach out for that level of ability that I should have on the basis of my years studying. Earlier my goal was to get through the course; nowadays I'm more motivated and I set concrete goals. I'm ashamed to admit it, but studying English has actually become really nice. Now and then I can get absorbed in reading a dictionary for a long time, and I just can't put the book down. Now, if I could also get myself to read the course books at other times besides in a mad rush before tests, I could be satisfied. My biggest insight has been that the more language you learn, the better you understand how little you know. Even though I've made enormous progress, there's still no reason to celebrate. I would say though that I've already achieved a level where I would manage as an exchange student or au-pair. What made it possible to learn was understanding the importance of my own desire and effort in studying a language."

"Just now studying English seems to be meaningful. The matriculation exams are coming up (well, in six months' time) and they do really motivate and I've found time for cramming in a different way. I've improved in doing my homework – earlier I used to do it irregularly – and in doing revision at home." "Nowadays I try to do my homework, that's quite something. Before I didn't do it at all. I don't actually study. I've not believed in doing homework. You can learn pretty well if you listen at school. I still do actual reading only before tests. I don't spend my time reading for fun." **"In the beginning I didn't like the idea of composing a language portfolio. I imagined that it would've been time-consuming and totally useless. Afterward I'd say that yes, it really was demanding but also very rewarding and sometimes even fun. Browsing through my portfolio I can see the progress I've made during these courses. I must confess that I'm satisfied with what I see. I think my vocabulary increased and writing skills improved the most during my studies. My spoken English is still poor and I avoid speaking in public like I did before. Next I'm going to concentrate on improving them."** "I pay attention to the way I act and develop. By nature I'm the sort that would evaluate herself even if I didn't have to. Those [self-assessment] tasks were really good; even if I didn't have to do them, I would have enjoyed doing them. They showed me how good you can be. [I've] still got a way to go."

"Transferring [to the adult upper secondary school] has affected my grades, it's lifted them all. Here there's a smaller group, it's easier to learn, the teaching is more individual. It's nice when you're not just somebody whose name nobody remembers. In the adult upper secondary it feels like the teachers care more, remember what the student is like, know what her situation is." "At the moment I'm enjoying a honeymoon period with my English; I can't get enough of being amazed at its beauty and logic." "Earlier I never did a thing in school to learn English, I was really bad. Here I began to want to learn. It was when you said [in the third course], after I'd written that essay, that I

Susanna recognises a change in her attitude to studying languages.

She is more motivated to learn and set goals for herself from time to time but struggles with studying at home.

She believes that she has shown remarkable development and she would manage well as an au pair or an exchange student. She now understands her own role in her learning process better.

Susanna is motivated to study English.

She does her homework fairly regularly but still crams for the exams the night before.

She does not only consider working on the portfolio demanding and time-consuming but also rewarding and fun. She is able to see her progress with the help of her portfolio but is still struggling with spoken English.

She sets herself new language learning goals.

She likes to assess and evaluate herself.

According to Susanna, the adult upper secondary school has many benefits as a learning environment, one of the most important being that the teachers encounter the students in a more personal level.

She is fascinated by English.

She has started to desire to learn English after the teacher's encouraging comment.

could produce something better. I'd never thought I could produce something better. After that I've started to think more about the structure [of the text]. I don't just write down whatever comes into my head. I've given more thought to what I put in the paragraph, what are the points I want to make in my writing."

"The matriculation exam is so close that I'd be quite happy if the English lessons revised even just a bit of vocabulary and grammar. After an Englishless summer, there's not a shred of my language skills left. I'm setting learning the new vocabulary as the goal for this course, the rest isn't important. I think cramming vocabulary is a more effective way of learning than mind maps or crosswords. At this stage it doesn't matter anymore whether studying is fun. The main thing is to learn as much as possible quickly." "I've really been so excited! It feels like I just can't get enough of English, it's such a fine language. I did my homework with exceptional care and I tried to be active and involved in the lesson to practise my language. It was a bit annoying that so many students are taking part in the course. Less is more." "The listening test for the matriculation exam was on Tuesday and afterwards I felt good about it. It went surprisingly well considering the break in my studying. Luckily I took part in the practice listening last week." "*Susanna stayed on after the lesson and asked for some last minute tips and encouragement for the matriculation ordeal tomorrow.*" "*The matriculation test went excellently. Susanna received the grade of E. Even so, she's a bit disappointed because she was only a couple of points short of the top grade. When she came to fetch the results, she promised to resit English in the spring.*"

"I've got good memories of studying English. The way I related to studying languages changed totally and I began to like it. What I learned about myself was that I'm fussy about where and when I study." "If there's something wrong (the teaching, the atmosphere in the class, a boring textbook, a bad day), I have trouble with motivating myself. Studying in the GUSSA is meaningful in that the teaching and the environment are more or less the kind I hoped for." "My language skills and my attitudes to studying have changed radically. I've finally realized what teachers and parents have been going on about since primary school – we don't learn for school but for life. I need the things I've learned here. I realized that English is linked to many of my dreams (travelling, living and working abroad), and I came to the conclusion that studying English then wouldn't do me any harm. Gradually I began to like English, even though admitting that wouldn't help my street credibility." "I hope I'm capable of taking a more relaxed attitude to studying in the future. Getting one poor grade for an essay or a test wouldn't affect my life, apart from just pissing me off for a moment. I would like to make a hobby of studying English: more English language women's magazines and radio channels, fewer textbooks and less rote learning. What bothers me most about my language skill is my spoken skills, I'm a lousy conversationalist. That's why in the future I'd like to see some development in this area."

"Studying languages has affected my picture of the world and of my own place in it. It's increased healthy criticism of my own culture and helped me understand that the world isn't as black-and-white as

Susanna is focused on revising for the matriculation examination in English as quickly and effectively as possible.

She is excited about English and its beauty. She does her homework carefully and frets about the big class size, which reduces her enthusiasm to participate.

Susanna is disappointed about the second best grade in the matriculation examination in English and considers resitting the exam.

Susanna's attitude to studying languages altered entirely in the GUSSA.

Susanna likes the teaching and the environment of the GUSSA.

She has realised that English is connected to her dreams, which has motivated her to study.

She would like to have English as a hobby and focus on improving her oral English skills.

Susanna feels that studying languages has widened her perspectives and increased her healthy, critical attitude towards life in general.

you might imagine at first glance. There are innumerable ways of living and acting on this planet, and it's not necessary or even possible to put them in order of merit." "The active people presented in my English books have made me aware of my own laziness with regard to environmental matters. In the not so distant future I'll probably end up doing voluntary work in Africa or South America. Apart from feeling good about it and getting a pat on the back, I would certainly get a new kind of perspective on life."

She wonders whether she will end up doing voluntary work in Africa or South America in the future.

Susanna's comment

"Dear oh dear. It was sickening to read page after page of text dissecting and analyzing myself and my own behaviour. But your observations were pretty near the mark and I don't think I've got anything to complain about. You don't have to leave anything out. The extracts did sound (unfortunately) like myself. The profile was done carefully and the observations were accurate, I recognised myself instantly from your evaluations. Now, afterwards, more than anything I'm ashamed to read through my revelations. I feel like I was still an immature student a couple of years ago, and I think I may have a more mature attitude to studying now. I feel sorry for the teachers. I mean, they'd deserve students who are more motivated and who join in more eagerly. A big thank-you to you for being a teacher dedicated to your work and your students. The first non-freakish English teacher I've run into! :)"

Suvi

"As time has passed there's been a snowball effect in my relationship to the English language, the little problems have grown into big ones. At first I was nervous, after a couple of bad experiences I was more nervous, then I avoided the cause of my fear and without my noticing I let the problem grow. The snowball got bigger and bigger until it opened up to reveal a nightmarish snowman who follows me everywhere and does everything to put restrictions on my life." "When I was in primary school, I was quite good [at English] even though there had been a few frightening experiences. In the secondary school I felt I didn't learn anything. By the time I began upper secondary, the enemy had already hatched, it was born on a holiday trip [abroad]. The upper secondary English classes were frightening when the teacher demanded answers. I tried to make myself invisible so as to avoid humiliation. Reading aloud was one of my biggest terrifying experiences. Every single word I squeezed out sounded like some incomprehensible gibberish. The teacher had a lot to correct and my class mates had fun. All kinds of conversations were difficult because all the words vanished from my memory because I was so nervous. This is why I still avoid everybody who looks foreign when I'm on the street." "Communicating [in English] has become a huge psychological threshold for me. I decided to study English [in the GUSSA] in order to get rid of my feeling of anxiety brought about by communication-related situations. My aim was to get over my trauma so that I could feel I was coping with life. My language skills can't be non-existent because after all I've studied the language. Because of lack of practice, though, and because you forget things, most of my studies have been wasted."

Suvi describes how her problematic relationship to English has developed over the years. She sees English as an enemy that does its best to restrict her life.

She has negative experiences of English both at and beyond school.

She desires to revise English to eliminate her anxiety.

"Pair work has been going fairly well. My partner seems nice and we help each other if needed. Doing oral exercises makes me nervous. I find it hard to sit still." "Perhaps I've been spending too much time on studying English. I've done the assignments, some even twice, and getting different answers each time. I listened to the CD a couple of times while lounging on the sofa. For me, doing homework, especially English, has never been straightforward."

"I have the perfectionist defect in me, I can feel myself getting annoyed if I can't translate a sentence so that it's spot-on. After the lesson I felt really miserable and incapable. I chatted with my spouse who tried to encourage me. Yes, I'm an unusually troublesome case, aren't I?" "One person was talking about the importance of goals. I've never had actual goals myself, and I don't feel keen to compete with anybody. I don't think I have a need to show or prove anything to anybody. It's more that there are vague dreams of all sorts of possibilities floating in my mind."

"I'm an oversensitive, emotional, self-critical coward, a died-in-the-wool negative thinker, I get stressed and think too much, I fulfil myself better in theory than in practice. I'd rather stay in my hole than expose myself to dangers. I know that I act irrationally as far as learning is concerned, but even though I'd like to change myself, it doesn't happen in an instant. Difficulties and setbacks have made me build a protective brick wall around myself using frost-proof mortar. It'll need a lot of tenacity if I want to dismantle it." "I was nervous about giving a speech. Afterwards I've tried to guess what I said, did I say everything I'd planned. I don't feel that I got much out of the speech because it tormented me for a month and all I got from the final push was trembling hands and black holes. Strange. But that was an experience, too. (The assessments I got for it were pleasantly encouraging.)" "All kinds of improvisation make me choke, turn my brain to the off position. I envy my fellow students' courage in answering questions without having a ready-made answer written down. When I can't do it, I feel like giving up. Going to Monday's lesson proved to be too much and I stayed on the sofa. Studying is voluntary, but staying away seemed strange. I was disappointed that I couldn't manage it."

"Although a big part of my studying time/energy is taken up with reflection and journals, I find them useful means of observation which help me understand what I'm trying to do, how and why." "My attitude has relaxed and I don't get as nervous as at the beginning. When there are difficult tasks, I try to think what makes them tricky, they say it's good to know who your enemies and opponents are."

"I regard studying English as a hobby and a challenge to my development. I haven't set any specific goals, but my dream is to keep up my motivation. I'm trying to balance studying with other areas of life so that I won't burn myself out. I consider my strengths to be interest and curiosity." "Teamwork with a regular partner works and produces results. He is talented and full of action, I get caught up in the details and question everything. It's more fun thinking about things together. The best thing about the group is the diversity of individuals and the many different viewpoints. The group is a peer support group, which promotes learning and motivates. On my own I wouldn't study. Sharing

Suvi feels good about pair work but is nervous about talking in English. She has done her homework.

After an EFL lesson, she feels miserable and incapable and receives comfort from her spouse.

She has dreams instead of learning goals regarding her EFL studies.

As an English user Suvi views herself as a coward.

She frets for a month about delivering a speech in English. She receives encouraging feedback from her classmates regarding the speech.

She is envious of other students' courage to improvise. She skips a lesson and feels disappointed at herself.

Suvi considers the reflection assignments and the language learning journal very useful.

She has been able to relax by working on her uncomfortable feelings.

She defines EFL studies as a hobby and a challenge and aims to focus on staying motivated.

She considers the other students in the group essential for her studying, in addition to the teacher.

opinions and experiences is important. If there wasn't anybody to turn to, I wouldn't be able to get things clear. The teacher too has a central role in managing the group and its learning. Without the teacher the group would be a bunch of people who have got lost and don't know how they got where they are and which way they should go."

"*Suvi has been stuck on this course, she was more active earlier, now she's sunk into a world of self-reflection and doesn't dare to give everything of herself in the lessons.*" "I was getting on with the mind map exercise with my partner until the teacher said that we would have to talk about it publicly. It had such an effect on me that my attempts to speak with my partner came out as pathetic stammering. My reaction annoys and exasperates me." "I'd like to develop into a more self-assured and spontaneous person. It would be nice if I didn't get so nervous that it affects my ability to act. My vocabulary and sentence syntax could do with some improvement. The first step towards the goal is already that I no longer exclude English from my life. Next I could try little by little to make more use of the language and try to study in a varied and regular way." "One day I was reading some vampire rubbish in English and I could understand the basic plot, but I had to look up a lot of words. My spouse and I, we may say a few sentences to each other in English at home." "I understand I'm the person in charge of my own life and studying. I learn if I try, within the limits of these genes and this environment. The teacher acts nevertheless as an irreplaceable incentive by giving tasks and being a person who interests. The teacher and the other students make interaction and the sharing of insights possible, that makes studying meaningful and human."

"*Suvi and Antti work together intensively for the whole lesson even though I don't specially instruct the students to work in pairs. They've been a pair on so many courses already they take studying together for granted.*" "*Suvi and Tea check their homework in English. With the whole class listening, Suvi has the courage to take part in the checking in English and, what's more, spontaneously, it must be the first time that's happened. Really great!*" "Talking to my partner this week I said a lot of incorrect words, but I was happy that I got those words out. I'd have been more annoyed if I'd been so uptight that I couldn't have said anything." "I've got surprisingly enthusiastic about studying even though I had big misgivings. I'd have never thought studying English could be nice for me as well, what with all the bottled-up negative feelings I've had for the language. The best thing is that I can think of myself continuously developing. So, some kind of spark of hope has been kindled." "Before I began studying English I shut my eyes and ears to the English language and I avoided foreign cultures. The constant feeling of running away was psychologically stressing and trying for my self-esteem. In the role of student I've begun to follow what's going on around me in a different way. I don't need to be the champion and I can learn at my own pace. As a student I have permission to try and fail, to face the challenges that arise. From the point of view of mental development, this has been a huge, interesting and liberating thing. Now that I've accepted the student in myself, I've noticed that that student can get active in many situations."

Suvi does not demonstrate much progress in learning English but is deeply immersed in self-reflection.

She works with a pair but turns anxious when asked to talk to the class.

She would like to gain self-confidence and learn vocabulary. She decides to include English in her life more forcefully.

Suvi has begun reading a book in English and utilise English with her spouse once in a while.

She feels responsible for her learning but considers the teacher and the students invaluable in the process.

Suvi is accustomed to studying with another student in the lessons.

Suvi checks homework with a pair in English and participates actively in the lesson.

She makes mistakes when talking in English but is happy about talking in the first place.

She feels excited about studying English.

She has started observing her English-speaking environment instead of avoiding the language.

She feels like having taken a big psychological step forwards.

"In addition to doing my homework I've been listening to music in English. I visited the BBC news website looking for a topic for my portfolio assignment." "I was thinking about my chances of reading a book [in English] (at the same time as I was copying a random part of the Twilight book [for my portfolio assignment]). It would be useful to read a book, as long as I could find a volume that's easy to read and interesting." "The homework and the lessons give me concentrated doses of basic information, and digesting and absorbing those is good for learning, but they demand intensive effort and mechanical work. You can also learn in a more relaxed and easy way by listening to music, flicking through a magazine, watching films and getting into conversations in English [with my spouse]. It's a counterbalance to the hard work and a useful way of revising if you find what you're studying elsewhere than in the textbook." "I thought I could wade through the old written assignments, look for mistakes I typically make and then make a compilation of them as my portfolio assignment. Then, towards the end of the course, I could see whether I've learned anything from those mistakes."

"In the job interview presentations I don't notice that Suvi is nervous, she performs her role so brilliantly. If underneath she's feeling the jitters, then at least she's hiding it well." "To my surprise it's been positive to occasionally work with other people rather than my usual partner. In every interactive relationship there are different roles, by changing your working partner you can learn new things and at the same time see your own 'reflection' from another viewpoint." "I've had it up to here with this reflecting on my learning. I'm not sure whether self-assessment is any use to me myself. I am sceptical about assessments. Assessment puts a stamp on that person, it makes the student believe 'this is what I'm like, this is what I can do'. It may have an adverse effect (a bit like with predictions and horoscopes)." "On Thursday morning I managed to sleep my usual two and half hours after the night shift and then I went for a meeting for a couple of hours, so in the evening my ability level was somewhere between idiot and imbecile. It makes me sick to miss the teaching, it would've been nice if everything didn't depend on me cramming on my own."

"I'm satisfied that I've stuck it out this far already, there are a lot of courses behind me and I know English better than ever. And I'm sick and tired of thinking about this fear of speaking English I have. Forget it, if and when I mess up, then I mess up, I'm hardly going to cause anything momentous." "I've been cutting out some cardboard slips where I've collected the vocabulary from the texts in courses one and two. The good thing about those slips is that when you're learning them you can gradually put the ones you know aside and 'grind away' at the hard ones." "I've been using English at home, it's become a part of our basic daily life and when we natter to each other. Now and then I haven't got the slightest interest in going to a lesson and then galloping off from there to work. Nevertheless, I've been pleased when I've been at the lesson. I've kept my motivation for studying just because of those lessons."

"In these English courses Suvi has grown into a student who can also give the other members of her small group a better orientation to

Suvi has been studying English in many ways.

She sees homework, lessons and free time English use as complementary to each other.

She decides to browse through her previous writing assignments and look for mistakes typical of her.

Suvi performs her role well in a drama task.

She enjoys studying with other students than her usual pair.

She criticises the amount of self-assessment.

She has a busy night at work and difficulties following teaching due to tiredness.

Suvi knows more English than ever before. She stops fretting about her fear of English and is prepared to accept the fact that she makes mistakes.

She studies words and utilises English regularly at home, feeling motivated to study due to the lessons.

studying. Today she's particularly lively; she has a lot to say and is asking the teacher some good questions." "The lessons have been rewarding and gone by quickly. I've got answers to many of the questions that have been bothering me, so the lessons both inspire and support my English studies. Independent studying is necessary because in the end, in school there isn't that much time to learn a lot. Nevertheless, the meetings with the group are an important driving force. The classes offer an opportunity for more far-ranging and diverse studying than at home, interaction is important." "I was worried about meeting the word quota for the film review. When I chose the topic, it inspired me to write so much that I could've come up with masses to say." "As far as the course topics are concerned, I can express myself orally and in writing. I'm stronger in writing, there you don't have to react so quickly. Nowadays when I'm writing I don't have to go to so much trouble as when I started and I can already construct sentences with less effort, and my vocabulary has expanded. Spelling is another thing that flows more naturally. My spouse put it nicely when he said that what is in my texts now is more like what I want to say, and earlier it was what I knew how to write."

"It annoys me when I go on about my bad old experiences. I've blown them up into bigger nightmare scenarios than they are. In future I shall try to replace my negative thinking with something more positive." "Studying English isn't a deadly serious thing for me anymore, even though it is significant. For me, the presentation was an experiment in that I hadn't prepared for it as well as I could have (a bit like taking a small risk) and in the end it was an important experience. I feel really relieved to understand that you don't have to know something perfectly in order to be good enough." "When I started studying English, I didn't dare go to the kiosk run by Finnish-speaking Chinese (now I do, I've even phoned them). My next developmental challenge is to speak English with a foreigner again." "In the holidays we went on a cruise to Stockholm. The last time I visited there was before I began my English studies [once again]. Now I felt a lot more self-confident, I was brave enough to change money in the museum and order food, among other things, and it didn't feel like a big effort at all. You could call this a positive experience, and it has its importance."

"In my opinion, language skills are intellectual capital, some kind of means of survival that you can use to express yourself and understand the messages of others. Studying English means more to me than I could ever have imagined." "The English language is a key which opens many doors in the world around us; without it I'd be in the dark about lots of things and pieces of information. Studying has been a real challenge for me, it has forced me to face myself and the numerous knots I have inside me." "Developing as a user of English has boosted my confidence in myself, it has reduced my feeling of being an outsider in situations where I used to be at a loss when I understood hardly anything and was too shy to find out." "Apart from a language skill, I've learned a lot of things about myself, I've learned to move outside my comfort zone and begun to value myself more as the person I am. The courses have had the delightful effect of giving me some general education, a lot of things about cultures that I didn't

Suvi contributes positively to her classmates' studying by setting an example. Suvi considers interaction in the lessons crucial for learning.

She is worried about being able to write a lengthy review but turns out to be extremely productive. She views her language skills positively.

Her spouse has said to her that she can now write what she wants to instead of what she can.

Suvi does not desire to go on about her past negative experiences, she desires to move on.

She has developed a more relaxed attitude to English.

She is relieved to know that there is no need to be perfect to be able to express oneself.

She has been in contact with people from different cultures and made use of her language skills.

English means a lot to Suvi.

Suvi views language skills as mental capital allowing self-expression and the understanding of others. She admits that studying English has had a paramount importance for her.

She has increased her self-confidence and decreased her feeling of being an outsider in EFL contexts.

She has learnt about herself and claims that EFL studies have been sophisticating. She now has a wider range of possibilities in her life.

understand earlier have stuck in my mind and the thought-provoking thematic contents have given meaning to my studying. Studying has contributed to giving me a greater range of opportunities for seeking experiences and knowledge. Apart from entertaining myself and satisfying my hunger for knowledge, I can make my contribution by making more responsible choices.” “My next goal in studying English is to revise and keep up my skills by reading, among other things. I intend to slip into conversations using my target language and if possible set off on an adventure somewhere. There shouldn’t be anything to stop me, I picked up a brand-new passport from the police station yesterday.”

She aims to maintain her skills by reading, talking and travelling.

Suvi’s comment

“Reading the profile was both fun and a bit upsetting. The first leg of the journey in the text gives the strong impression of a struggle with a mixture of anxiety, fear and tiredness. And yet that’s exactly how it felt. I’m not completely sure whether all that pain and difficulty was just a result of English. My self-esteem was really shattered and the fears were genuine. I’m sure part of the reason as well was the night-shift work and constant sleep deficit. It was pretty hard to concentrate and remember (and of course to learn as well).”

“The development curve I went through can be seen in the profile. At some point studying wasn’t as frightening as at the outset and it began to be fun. Studying English changed from an ‘obligation’ to a hobby and gradually it reconstructed that part of my identity which earlier lay in ruins. My enthusiasm grew and there were glimmers of hope. You’ve given a good condensed version of my story, and nothing I should add comes to mind, except the thing about night-shift work. The text mentioned the couple of hours of sleep after a night shift, but somewhere you could point out that my daily/sleep rhythm was chronically distorted. That way the reader can have a better understanding of the way I felt and the person in the profile wouldn’t seem so mentally unstable. :)”

Anna

“I would have liked to go to upper secondary school when I was young but I was lazy about reading and doing schoolwork. I basically learned by listening and experiencing things. Downhill skiing was a lot more fun than doing maths calculations.” “My mum didn’t encourage me to study either and my dad bent to mum’s will. My mum thought I should educate myself quickly for an occupation. It was bewildering how the demands grew after my adolescence. I was the afterthought baby and spent my childhood in the bosom of my family more or less without demands. I started GUSSA once in the 1980s, but my children were too small to be alone on their own in the evening. Both of us parents were working shifts. My employer would have put me on day work because of studying but not my husband’s. My present work group where I’m the supervisor mainly consists of young nurses. The wish to understand and see the world with them from the same point of view ‘shoved’ me into upper secondary school.”

As a young girl, Anna desired to go to upper secondary school but claimed to have been too lazy to study. Anna’s mother was also opposed to Anna going to upper secondary school.

I knew when I started upper secondary school that English is the hardest subject because I have such a rickety base. There wasn’t any English in secondary school because we did German. I managed to study [English] for a year and a half at the adult education centre [before coming to the upper secondary school]. That gave me such a boost that I could cope.” “Learning the English language is important

Anna started her upper secondary studies in a GUSSA decades ago but quit because her young children could not be left alone in the evenings. She decided to restart her studies to understand the world from her young co-workers’ perspectives. Anna acknowledges that the EFL courses will be difficult for her due to her background.

for me, but what causes me a lot of pain are the gaps in my vocabulary, pronouncing correctly, writing too is all Greek to me. I've got a lot of gaps to fill and time is limited because it takes a lot longer to get something into your head than when you're young. For me studying a language requires single-minded exertion." "Outside classes, in practical life I don't really use English. In the long term it's enough for me to learn to read nursing science journals in the original language, because nowadays almost everything is published in English."

"This course came at a bad time, but I have to try and push my studies forward so that I can complete them sometime. For me this is a repeat of course one, but I wanted to start it because the book has changed and it's already a year since my previous attempt. Dividing up the time is important now. It's also been rewarding to make progress in upper secondary school courses a little bit at a time." "I'm adopting a very humble approach to this course. I can't devote a lot of time or energy to it and as far as a grade is concerned it's not even worth setting a target. Luckily you can hear a lot of English, for example on TV, and that in itself helps with learning." *"Anna's situation is weak. The requirements for these A-type English courses are so high that Anna just doesn't have adequate language skills to complete the courses."*

"It would be nice if I could write in my language learning journal that I've learned something new, but at the moment it would be hard to mention anything by name. Over the past week my head's been full of too many things and I'm sure that's where I get this feeling from. I've been physically present in the lessons, but my input has been feeble. I got the tasks done, but there too I just scraped through. I can't instantly get rid of this feeling of frustration, but I'm sure it'll pass, too." "It's been fun listening to the students' talks. I could make sense of them as well, but not completely. Of the homework, I managed best with the fill-in sentences. I mess up the translation tasks starting with the spelling and I forget the sentence structures. Making sense of the text is interesting, even if a lot of work. Textbook authors nowadays give some thought to things because, in addition to language, the texts teach you real things, too. One of the things I find difficult to learn is the simple and continuous form. Why can't you just say it in one way!" *"Considering my expectations, the talk that Anna gave in the first English course was surprisingly good. She's able to appear before people as if it's a routine, even though she does have difficulties with the language. She speaks calmly the way she usually does. I think it's nice that the audience is on Anna's side and claps spontaneously after the presentation. I myself am also pleased for Anna, and I was also a bit excited beforehand."*

"The tips given in the lessons, for example for learning vocabulary, are practical. I just have to start using them. It's surprisingly hard to give up old habits. It's interesting making sense of the texts in the book. You can sometimes experience the joy of succeeding. I began studying in the spirit of not comparing my achievements with what others can do, and that's another lesson that's hard to remember." "Monday's discussion with the teacher didn't open up any new angles on studying a language. In my case this is slow dogged progress

She considers language learning important but worries about her current skills and slow learning.

She utilises English very scarcely beyond school but desires to learn to read English texts in her own field.

Anna resits an EFL course that she attempted to pass earlier.

She does not set herself any goals as she is unable to invest in her English studies.

She has problems fulfilling the course requirements.

Anna attends classes with meagre results and feels frustrated.

Anna struggles with her homework assignment and finishes them with poor results. She finds the topics of the texts well designed as they cover real-life issues.

She delivers her speech calmly but with difficulties and is supported by the audience.

Anna plans to develop her study techniques. She has a hard time not to compare her performance with those of others.

She attends a counseling session with the teacher.

towards the last course. It remains to be seen when it'll be over. I much appreciate the way the teacher does his work, and the teaching methods nowadays. For me, this has been quite a make-over and move from the old. Sometimes it really annoys me that I'm so old already, but where would I have got the life experience I have now!"

"Language teaching is full of nuances and there are nice little tasty fillers in the lessons, for example a quiz, and this gives new perspectives on things. The world of irregular verbs is like a wall and has to be learned as a mechanical list. For a moment you think you know something, and when you have to jot down the word on paper or say it, it's just vanished." "I need pronunciation practice exercises, but they're last on my list of priorities. If sometime I manage to read, even with a dictionary, and write understandable sentences, then I'll have achieved my goal." *"Cooperation between Anna and Juuso on studying the text is not really working, each of them is just reading the text quietly to themselves. It seems that they're on such different wavelengths that there's no chemistry there at all. This time the intergenerational gap is too big to cross. For the future I'll have to think about a different way of dividing the groups."* "We worked hard in Wednesday's lesson. Some of us worked intensively in groups or pairs, myself I thought it made more sense to translate the chapter on my own, the lesson ended too soon because I didn't have time to check what I had done with the group."

"It's difficult to identify any results of studying. I believe, though, that if I stick at it I'll master the basics sometime." "I was studying the new words. I never really finish the job because for me there's so much new material. If I manage the exercises in the book, then I skim on the reading and I have to listen to the text 4-6 times to learn to pronounce and recognise in what I'm hearing those words which I've learned in their written form." "Yes, I myself am motivated by succeeding at tasks. When you've had time to devote yourself to something and succeeded in carrying out the task at more or less the required level, you feel good and carry on and try to improve." "I've created a future for myself as a language learner. I've found a support person and enrolled for the summer upper secondary school to revise things that others already know. They'll keep up my motivation because on my own I can't really concentrate on studying. I also notice I'm listening with interest to English songs, especially from the 60s and 70s."

"I went to the summer course to revise, always in the middle of the working day. Yes, of course, it was, like, tough because I then had to extend my working day till five, but it was such a language bath that, yes, it was worth it. I didn't learn separate things there, but, like, my feel for the language [improved]." "There should be more time for studying than now and doing two upper secondary school subjects in parallel is too much with this language because I've got to go to work and cope with family life, which is getting more and more demanding." "My husband has been ill so I've had a whole lot more housework to do... life isn't the same as it was before. And, yes, worrying wears you out and you don't have the same strength." "The group task would have been an interesting block of work to do entirely together. This

Anna enjoys the versatility of the teaching methods but struggles with the irregular verbs.

She prioritises reading and writing in English over pronunciation.

She chooses to translate a text by herself due to an unsuccessful attempt to work with a pair.

Anna has difficulties identifying any development. She feels pressured by the amount of work and lack of time.

She considers the little moments of success encouraging.

She finds a person to assist her in her EFL studies and enrolls for a summer course to revise English. She considers it difficult to concentrate on studying by herself but listens to English songs from her youth.

The summer course aided Anna to obtain a better feel for the language.

She feels depressed by the fact that her husband has become seriously ill.

was the way it turned out again [with Anna having to miss classes]. If I was quicker at producing text, I'd have less trouble with the assignments. Sometimes I feel I'm just a burden for the group." "I can't make the effort for the exam this time because I've got other interests at the same time. Life is about choices – they say."

"I've often been indifferent to learning tips handed out during lessons. But nevertheless, having read them and tried them out, I've noticed that they work. For example, when studying vocabulary it helps to group the words. Mind you, it's difficult to make a change, at least at this age. Yet a change is precisely what I need for studying words because the old tricks don't work. It's impossible to learn anything through rote learning." *"There's time today to deal with the text for the whole lesson. While the other small groups are studying the text at their own pace, talking about it, doing and checking the exercises together, I'm helping Anna and Tuija for the whole lesson. We carefully translate the text together and pick out key words and expressions. Even though the whole lesson goes on this, I feel that this is more benefit than dealing with the text orally in English because Anna and Tuija wouldn't have been able to take part in that sort of thing anyway. Now both of them are actively involved even though they do need a lot of help."* "Wednesday's lesson felt a little more secure because the person sitting next to me was not so knowledgeable. This really is a multi-level group, quite a challenge for the teacher."

"The contents of my language portfolio are modest and there's no point in looking for development in my case. Yet I know I've learned things, but what? It's difficult to make an analysis. I've put in the effort, I've done the assignments almost on time. I got left behind after the initial course. Sometimes I've understood the idea of the assignment wrongly. I'd have something to say but sometimes it really makes me angry that I haven't got enough language to express myself. In the language portfolio assignments, I've managed best with reading comprehension. Without exception the listening exercises have gone badly. One of the listening exercises went well because I went through it at home several times beforehand and I already knew something about van Goch's life. In the listening exercises I don't always have time to write things down quickly, even if I've understood them, and then they're forgotten already."

"Spontaneous production is still very hard for me. If I do come up with something to say, I don't remember the words. Lack of practice, but why is it so difficult to get to grips with those things that absolutely should be done, such as practising little things in English?" "Because I never did the basics of the language, it's difficult to study anything new since I haven't got a base I can connect all the more demanding things to. Even a building will wobble if there aren't proper foundations. To make up for this I've enrolled for the basic English course at the adult education centre. So as to learn the fundamentals, expand my vocabulary and experience some feelings of success. I'm off to try again because my husband doesn't want me to waste my studies because of these setbacks." "The teaching at the adult education centre has been really good, at the same time it's like therapy. There I can understand everything because we're doing the basics so slowly.

Anna views herself as a burden for the other students when working in small groups.

She does not have the energy to take the course exam.

Anna tries a new method to study words. She discovers that changing the old habits is difficult but necessary.

She works successfully with a pair when supported by teacher. She feels safe in the lesson when studying with another, less proficient student.

Anna is unable to identify development in her English proficiency based on her language portfolio although she has a feeling that she has learnt something.

She feels angry and frustrated not being able to express herself in English. She struggles with listening tasks in particular. She says that the task type does not usually scaffold remembering and there is little time to answer.

Anna grapples with her motivation, feeling there is not much to be done without basic knowledge of the language.

She is encouraged to go on with her studies by her husband.

She attends a basic-level English course at a worker's institute, finding it therapeutic due to positive experiences.

It's so easy to be there. I think it's important if there are lots of gaps in your basic knowledge then, at least for me, learning takes place by connecting things to each other, and if there is nothing to connect to, then you don't learn it."

"I've not really found out why it is that learning English is so difficult for me. Could I have a reading and writing disorder? It must be possible to check with some test. Prolonging my studies clearly affects my motivation and every so often I feel like calling it a day. I used to think I would manage the upper secondary school, but not the matriculation exams, and at the start I never even thought of sitting them. But I was talked into taking them and now it's the other way round, getting the upper secondary school certificate isn't a dead certainty." *"It would be extremely important for Anna to take part in remedial teaching, even though I'm afraid even that may not be enough. Hopefully she will manage. Fortunately she got a B in her long Swedish, so that's a huge weight off her shoulders now that she doesn't have to do the English exam."*

"Anna clearly has some kind of learning or reading and writing difficulty in these foreign languages, even if no tests have been carried out. It's just that Anna has attended these English courses so irregularly and mostly after the matriculation exams so that I've only just come to realize it myself. It's a pity." "It's all I can do to keep up with the lesson. It's already a joy for me if I've understood most of what the teacher says, sometimes I have to check with my neighbour. Getting homework done would be another joy, not to mention getting through the exam."

"Because the assignments on these fifth and sixth courses are becoming more challenging, it's hard work to get to grips with them at home and I've become a real master at coming up with extra activities when I should be concentrating on the assignments. Sometimes I long for that enthusiasm I felt when studying Swedish, even though it was almost as much work as English. I've tried to get the tasks done by breaking up the blocks into smaller pieces. It's not such a bad trick. I'd need a lot of revision but I haven't had time for it and maybe there's also something wrong with my organization. Checking the exercises and identifying my own mistakes might just be that revision."

"Now that the matriculation exams are over and I got the final result I expected, I was hit by a strange collapse. Perhaps the reason is because of my husband's illness I'm not able to find as much continuous peace and quiet to study as earlier. I'm not going to give up trying so I've enrolled again for the upper secondary summer revision course. The revision will mostly be grammar and vocabulary. Two weeks of afternoons with a mob of kids will do grandma good. Hopefully the teacher is as nice as the one last year." *"Anna and I have a discussion about how she's going to continue her English studies. She's thought of quitting the course now and finishing it off in autumn, giving her the peace and quiet to revise the new material. As far as I'm concerned, this is fine, after all she's attended almost all the classes and now she has time in the summer to do the required course work. On Thursday she'll still attend the class to present her project work with Tuija and Saara. Despite her difficulties I have to admire Anna's*

Anna wonders whether she has a learning difficulty in languages.

She considers quitting her EFL studies but passes advanced Swedish in the matriculation examination.

Anna is likely to have an undiagnosed learning difficulty.

She has problems to keep up with the pace and comprehend the English instructions in the lessons.

She misses the enthusiasm that she had when studying Swedish.

She divides the content in smaller parts and considers it somewhat useful.

Anna does not have much energy to study due to her husband's illness but decides to enrol for a summer course again and makes plans to read something in English.

She attends a counselling session and decides to quit studying for the spring but continue her English studies again in the autumn.

dogged commitment to her studies.” “I’ve occasionally wondered whether all this studying is necessary, but along life’s path I’ve run into a lot of things and the experience or lessons I’ve picked up have helped me handle them. So I should finish off the upper secondary English courses, even in extra time. What’s to say I won’t even visit the country one day, to see what it’s like?” “In autumn the show must go on if I want to get my school leaving certificate. Now that the bulk of the upper secondary is behind me and the pressure should be easing, for me the stress is increasing. It was a lot more relaxed when I started studying. Terrible.”

“It’s good that Anna has been studying with Saara and Petri on this course; they’re both strong in English and know how to take her slowness into consideration and give help if necessary.” “During the course we’ve worked a lot in groups and in pairs. The group work is nice and the members of the group, even though their English is better than mine, have given me a chance to try and make my own contribution. I’ve also been given support and help if I didn’t know something. When there were some unclear words, then somebody else might know them. And if we don’t know, then we look them up together.” *“Anna managed her part nicely in the project work oral presentation. True, she fumbles for words, but nevertheless I’m glad that she’s trying and that the others patiently give her time. Anna’s probably familiar with job interview situations in Finnish because of her job, so that’s another way of making her see its relevance.”* “I’m not very good at working on my own, I need some kind of group, it gives me energy.” “The other members of my study group have more to do with languages on a daily basis than I do. They say that it [the district where I work] is the most monolingual Finnish district in Finland. So the best way for me to run into English is to go out and look for it myself, by reading, etc. Last week I came across an English language form at work and I noticed I could understand the main points.”

“I’ve tried out my English skills outside lessons by trying to get involved in ‘safe’ English language situations. I’ve been at an English lecture and understood between a third and a fifth of it. I assessed my understanding at the end of the lecture by means of pair work in Finnish. My neighbour hadn’t understood everything either, even though s/he had better English than me. The lecturer was born in Italy. I was familiar with the topic, which was related to work supervision matters and Bion’s theories. When I was visiting Stockholm, I went to the Vasa museum and joined a guided tour in English. In my own opinion I understood a lot of things, and my understanding was helped by a Finnish-language film I watched before the tour. Earlier these [language use situations] would have been out of the question! It was a challenge to listen to the lecture, but also rewarding when, chatting with the person next to me, I noticed I had understood something.”

“Just before Christmas Anna is coming to do her last English test. In principle, Anna completed her studies last spring already, but she hasn’t got her upper secondary leaving certificate because she got too many grade 4’s in her English courses. Now, though, somehow she has managed to complete the course and thus she’s also brought her upper secondary school stint to an end! In the course of a couple of

She takes her matriculation examination, determined to finish her EFL courses some day.

Anna studies with other FL students who assist her in the lesson. She enjoys studying in small groups since the other students give her time and space to participate.

Anna presents her part of a project task orally in English to the others.

She needs other students around her to obtain energy to study. She does not need much English at work.

Anna attends an English lecture related to her work, comprehending parts of the lecture.

She also visits Stockholm and takes a guided tour in English after watching an introductory film in Finnish. She feels positively about being able to utilise English in ways that were earlier impossible for her.

Anna passes her final EFL course and thus finishes her upper secondary examination.

years, some unfortunate things have happened in her life, her husband getting ill and other health worries. Luckily, however, everything has turned out fine now. I hope this gives her hope and extra energy to get through these difficult times.” “If I were to assess the development in my language skills [during upper secondary school], then I would say that, given my very modest skill level, it’s reading comprehension I’m best at. I still have to work at my speaking, listening comprehension and writing.” “As my future goal I want to develop my reading comprehension so that with the help of dictionaries, etc., I’ll be able to read professional articles and research studies. My goal for speaking is to master the language I need for travelling. I think I can achieve that through the courses at the adult education centre.”

She evaluates her English skills as low but shows some motivation to continue studying.

Anna’s comment

“At the moment, on average, I’m doing all right. The three toughest things in my life when I was doing upper secondary school [have now changed for the better]. I’m still involved in working life. The pain of letting go is beginning to ease. In my free time I’ve concentrated a lot on things I didn’t have time for in upper secondary school. Patching up and mending old things and handicrafts. The factual information in the text is correct. When I read the profile I can still go back to that pain I felt so often while studying English. There was much work and so much to learn, and time was limited. The text seemed familiar, like my own story. They say that time gilds your memories, but I still haven’t seen any of the shine! As far as I’m concerned, there’s nothing to add or remove. My assessment [of the importance of upper secondary school studies for myself] was spot-on, though. I didn’t feel like a fossil anymore! They say that in life you should do the things you want so that they don’t linger on to bother you at those moments you’re no longer capable of doing them. The matriculation photo on the chest of drawers can still bring a smile to my lips.”

Noora

“After I’d finished commercial college and was at work, I began to feel there was too much time. I wanted some intermediate goals, something new, some general education and something meaningful of my own to do, and I thought I’d either go and do some voluntary work or study something. And the idea of doing upper secondary school was interesting.” “I feel that I’m a motivated English student. I’m interested in finding out the special features and usages of the language. I have clear goals and I endeavor to carry over what I’ve learned to a practical level. I monitor my learning and evaluate my results. I try to make as much use of my English as possible. I’m not afraid of situations where I have to speak English.” **“English is an international language. You hear it all the time. You need that skill because the world is getting smaller all the time. Even in the company where I work [...] we have customers who can’t speak Finnish. This week I spoke with one of them [in English]. And a friend of mine has a German girlfriend. Whenever she is visiting here, I can speak English with her.”**

Noora wanted more intellectual challenges and chose the GUSSA instead of voluntary work.

She considers herself a motivated and skilful EFL student.

She sees English as an international language and also utilises the language herself beyond school settings.

“Noora has extremely good English skills. She’s involved with English in a multiplicity of ways in her work and in her free time. She uses the net, listens to music, watches films, and she has friends and mates she speaks English with. She doesn’t like group work because

Noora has a good command of English and her TL use is diverse. When studying, she is a perfectionist.

she thinks she's a perfectionist and when she's doing group work, she can't be sure how well the others are doing, so she wants to take on the entire task herself to make sure the job's done well." **"It's good that I got Heli as my partner during the lessons because she is also a hardworking student and she really wants to learn the language. With a lazy partner I would be frustrated. Me, Heli and Pirjo are actually friends on Facebook now. We kind of agreed that we should only use English when we write to each others."** "I had to give my speech and that was nerve racking. That probably showed up. I've been trying to quit smoking but at that day I relapsed momentarily (don't take it on your conscience, my strike hasn't been much of a success). But I'm proud I gave the speech and didn't call sick or anything. It was also a very personal speech because [of] the situation, in which it was meant to, is not imaginary but true. I was afraid I might cry!" "I think it is right that during the lessons we concentrate on talking and leave writing at home. Not many have a chance to talk with somebody in English at home. And I think it's great that we have a full course program. I have a very tight schedule at the moment and it's crucial to me to plan my week ahead."

"My writing skills are in the required level of this course but my reading skills are beyond. This sounds cocky but there was nothing in the texts I didn't understand during the first reading. Of course there were new words but they didn't prevent me from understanding the point." "I've been searching for some phrases which don't have the explicit translation. What do you call them – idioms? I mean phrases like 'thick as thieves', 'cute as a cucumber', 'a raincheck' and 'fortnight' etc. A conversation becomes much friskier with those little things. I was glad to find out that we had some of those in our book. I have also discovered the 'How come?' –boxes in the book very interesting (jumping on the bandwagon etc.) Two days ago I was surfing the Net and I found a funny phrase: 'real eyes realize real lies'. It made my day!" "I wonder if I have picked up some bad manners when listening to music lyrics. 'Cause there ain't proper language in em, ya see? I don't wanna stumble with stupid lil' mistakes like confusin' hear/here or your/you're... Those songs are causin' me nuttin but troubles. Yer head is now probably gonna hurt so Imma stop..."

"I'm attending four courses in this period and the amount of information is overwhelming. I'm swallowing new things daily but I only have little time to digest all of that. I have a hiccup in my brains. They say when you're exhausted it's as dangerous as if you were drunk. This week has stretched me to the very last point. It's utterly mad at work." "Another thing...They say that a person should only compete against oneself. But I'm the worst person to compete with! I am an utter perfectionist. I'm consistently trying to do my best. There's no reason for me to anything if I can't do it full speed. If I don't reach my aims - I whip myself. How could I learn to be more merciful towards myself?"

She becomes friends with some of her classmates in Facebook and decides to communicate in English with them.

She delivers her speech, feeling positively about the emphasis on oral practice in the lessons.

She considers the course programme useful in planning her studying in advance.

Noora assesses her reading skills in English as very good.

She studies idiomatic expressions by herself.

She wonders if listening to pop lyrics is harmful since they include grammatically inaccurate English.

Noora worries about being able to combine a busy period at school with a busy period at work.

She suffers from her perfectionist nature while trying to be merciful to herself.

“During the previous course I had difficulties with my schedule but now I have arranged enough time for my studies. I’m even taking a week off from work at the end of the course.”
“As an English student I’ve been diligent. I have studied the chapters beforehand. It gives me time to do something extra or ask something that’s on my mind. I’m still trying to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word ‘diligent’. How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks!”
“I’m trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I’m bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don’t get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.” *“Noora has handed in a brilliant language portfolio. She’s gone to a lot of trouble with the portfolio, done extra portfolio tasks, with the new words, for example, added comments on the activities she’s returned and reflected on the feedback she has received. The portfolio is a visible illustration of Noora’s studies over the past year. How can she really be so dedicated?”*

“When I started upper secondary school I didn’t know what to expect of studying a language. During this academic year I’ve noticed that it is systematic and laborious. You have to make a lot of use of the foreign language, you should spend time studying, you need to set goals for yourself and assess yourself. As far as speaking a foreign language, I’m hardly ever going to achieve the same level as with my mother tongue. Yes, you have to set your own realistic goals. Nevertheless, you can study a language in many different ways. When you’ve got a grip on the language, then what becomes important is your own activity. You can learn from almost anywhere. Everybody has to find their own way of increasing their vocabulary and finding things to do where they can learn and make use of the language.”
“I’m also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years in [the upper secondary] school I won’t be ‘totally complete’. I’m doing my best and I have all the reasons to be pleased with the results.”

“When I started in upper secondary school I only wanted to study because I liked it. But now I have a higher purpose. I have sometimes dreamt of being a teacher and the longer I’ve studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.”
“It would be great if the studying happened almost entirely in English. I would like to improve my oral language skills and one way to do that is to speak only English during the lessons. I hope the teacher encourages students to do that because I don’t want to feel stupid being the only one speaking English. Or perhaps others will follow my example if I have the courage to be the first one...?”
“Noora’s sitting next to Pirjo again and in fact they’re just speaking English all the time, which really is quite an achievement! It’s good for Pirjo, too, to have Noora as a partner because Noora knows things and if necessary can explain them again. Noora actually has quite a

Noora organises herself more time to study. She develops her techniques to memorise words and discovers new ways to study grammar.

She utilises English when sending text messages to her friends.

Noora demonstrates a great deal of effort when working on her portfolio and reflecting on her learning.

Noora describes her developing conceptions about language learning, also pointing out the importance of being active and creative.

She begins to view FL learning as a lifelong process.

Noora has revived her dream of becoming a teacher some day.

She would like to study entirely in English in the lessons but hesitates about setting an example to others.

She utilises English with her classmate and assists her in her learning the entire lesson.

teacherly attitude when doing pair work, and I think it's nice that she's adopted such a role when she knows how to do it."

"I know which are the best [learning] strategies for me. I'm very analytical. I tend to do one thing from start to finish before I begin with a new task. I prefer pair work to big groups. I like studying alone and that's when I'm at my most efficient. But working together with other people is necessary to develop my oral language skills. Luckily I have nice classmates to study with."
"The themes of this course are interesting but yet difficult. When you discuss religion and/or politics you really have to be discreet so you won't hurt anybody's beliefs. But I'm glad we are all at the age when we have built our own worldviews so there can be a real conversation."

"I should report more language portfolio assignments because I use English quite a lot. A few days ago I watched Ewan McGregor interviews on YouTube for almost two hours. I could have reported that and get some extra points but I just didn't think 'oh this is something I do for my English grade' because I would have done it anyway."
"My again-so-wonderful co-worker bought me a paperback book from New York. The book is no less than Wuthering Heights! I'm not sure how I am going to manage with the language like this: 'But Mr. Heathcliff forms a singular contrast to his abode and style of living. He is a dark-skinned gypsy in aspect, in dress and manners a gentleman: that is, as much a gentleman as many a country squire; rather slovenly, perhaps, yet not looking amiss with his negligence, because he has an erect and handsome figure; and rather morose.' Holy crap - but I will definitely try! However... it might take more than a Christmas holiday to wade through it."

"At the moment, what intercultural understanding means to me is an understanding of why other people act in a different way than people in my own culture. Understanding culture is a broad and difficult issue. The texts we've dealt with in the lessons have deepened and refined the notions that I've formed over the years. I've picked up my conceptions of foreign cultures by watching TV or films, following the news, reading articles and by travelling abroad. The deeper that understanding becomes, the more we abandon stereotypes and accept other alternatives alongside them. Unfortunately, language teaching has only minor significance in developing this kind of understanding. Teaching hasn't altered my ways of thinking or my picture of the world. It does have an effect in the background, filling in the gaps, but it may be hard to notice its impact."

"The pressure is on. The second year is said to be the most difficult year. The initial enthusiasm is over and the finish line is still long way to go. I looked through the grammar we're about to study and everything seems to go so detailed!"
"Why is it that I have to learn every little detail? Why can't I be happy with 'good enough'? For the last six months I have pushed myself to the limit with work and school. Two days ago my body reached a conclusion that it had had enough stress and lack of sleep. I got a headache so bad that I ended up in a hospital. From now on I

Noora is aware of the learning techniques and strategies suitable for her.

Noora is fascinated by the course themes and is looking forward to discussing the topics in English.

Noora watches English interviews on YouTube in her free time.

She receives an English classic from her co-worker and decides to read it, despite difficult language.

Noora reflects on culture. She has her own established views of different cultures that her FL studies have only refined but not altered.

Noora struggles with her decreasing enthusiasm, detailed issues to be studied and her perfectionist attitude.

She ends up in hospital due to a headache. She decides to do only what is required for the courses, trying to avoid stress.

only do as much as I feel comfortable. My plan is to do what is required but I probably won't do extra. I just have to be happy with what I can learn and if I can't memorize everything, well...what the heck. I'm still quite good."

"I'm happy with how much I have produced text during this course. It was fun to write about a book that impressed me and about my favorite songs. Most of all I'm proud of my review. I did a lot of background research and I planned and shaped the text carefully. I think it's the best piece of text I've ever written in English." *"I've got a moment to talk with Noora when she comes to pick up her test. She's intending to apply to study to become a teacher next spring. You can certainly see from her that the job would suit her."* "When I saw the course themes, I felt anticipation. Subjects like environmental issues, sustainable development, ecological problems as well as science and ethics are interesting and more adult-like than the topics we've dealt before. I'm eager to learn a lot of new words and expressions. I hope that after these courses I'm more able to express myself when it comes to my values and my world view."

"The startup of this course – the very first lesson – was exciting. I had to strike up conversations with other participants. It was an awakening. I realized I have to have the courage to speak aloud. I mean, I was prepared but still... Small talk is hard for me – even in Finnish. It was a good reminder from the teacher that we don't have to pretend like there's a group of native speakers talking but it's important that we are as ourselves." *"During the autumn holiday, Anna, Pirjo, Noora and Johanna had arranged a 'girls' evening' to play Alias in English. Their motivation is spot-on. A fantastic idea for practising English!"* "[The exchange teacher's] visit was a nice surprise. His accent was challenging but understandable. During his visit I truly understood how quiet Finns are!" "My intercultural skills have developed more than during 'ordinary' courses. Conversation styles between different cultures are so obvious that it can't be unnoticed."

"I've started to pay attention to translating a language, it's not just that you look for the corresponding words and transfer them. So nowadays all those sort of things grate on my ear a lot more, like for example in the news there's this Finnglish, or then they've translated some sayings a bit clumsily. So it often occurs to me that that sentence in English could also be translated a Finnish way, not just into Finnish, so I've developed this sharp ear. Or it's hit me that hey, what you just said in English, it's the Finnish saying, but I haven't known you could say it in English like that."

"The level of my language studying has gone up by leaps and bounds. When I'm studying English I'm trying to achieve the same things as in my mother tongue. Nowadays I pay more attention to style and tone, I'm looking for diversity, I collect and learn expressions used by native speakers. I'm like a magnet. I keep some paper and a pencil in my pocket all the time to write down my observations. I want to be able to take a stand and justify my opinions. [...] Nevertheless, I'm not ready and I've learned that I'll never be ready. This has taken a certain

Noora is motivated to work on the writing assignments and proud of the outcome.

She is planning to apply for teacher studies in a university the following spring.

She is looking forward to talking about the adult-like topics of the course, with hopes to learn to express her views better.

Noora finds small talk in English difficult but pushes herself to practise.

She remembers the teacher's advice to be yourself also when utilising English.

She plays a word explanation game in English with her course mates in her free time to practise oral English.

She considers the exchange teacher's visit useful because it taught her about cultural differences in spoken interaction.

Noora has developed an "ear" for how things are translated from English to Finnish in the media. She has improved her language learning skills and become more active as a FL learner.

Noora feels relaxed and motivated, having understood that language learning is a lifelong process.

weight off my shoulders and there again, on the other hand, it keeps up my interest again, on the other hand, it keeps up my interest because there's always something new to study." "I liked working [with the language portfolio], [it] benefitted learning. Especially when a longer time had passed, you could see development. Generally speaking, you could see the level of your thinking, but then there were some individual grammar mistakes I noticed that I've got rid of. I felt that the things I put down there, they're terribly personal, they tell so much about me that you already get a picture of my profile, what I'm like." "[In the group and pair work] I wanted my input to be that everybody did their best. All in all, they were really nice when you find a good partner and when there's two or three [in the group], that it's small enough to be able to communicate and agree about things. It worked. But there again I've got my own [individual studying] technique I want to hold on to and my [individual] ways of studying, and I get good results with them."

"It's not just that I've learned grammatical rules, but that the language is something you can work with, a kind of tool you can play and experiment with. [...] I've learned to make [the language] suit my style, so it sounds like me. And my courage is at a point where I dare to begin a conversation on genetically-manipulated food or something like that." "When I'm studying a language, I think about things and express myself. Perhaps I can't express these things as perfectly as in my mother tongue, but I feel that I've grown as a person now that I've thought about my relationship to society and culture, for example."

"For me, knowing a language is a strength and a resource which expands my possible field of operation in the world, both socially and geographically. I feel that knowing English is a sort of civic skill that is good to acquire, just like swimming and driving a car. To me it gives freedom when I can boldly travel and meet people, but also that I can chose a book to read which hasn't yet been translated into Finnish. In my opinion, English is beautiful because it's softer than Finnish." "When I started upper secondary school I was prepared to learn new things; in other words, to be receptive, inwardly, to new knowledge. Now my way of thinking is more that I can use the language and function in English; in other words, I can produce, outwardly, as knowledge the fruits of my language skills. Earlier I regarded language skill as knowledge I have in my head so that if necessary I can answer in a test situation. Now I regard language skill more as one of my characteristics, like for example the colour of my hair, which is present the whole time."

Noora's comment

"I've got a place to study at the university! Major subject English, minor subjects Swedish and teacher's pedagogical studies, this is what I wanted most of all! Wonderful! I've spent the summer working, I'm trying to save some money for my studying. I can't wait for my studies to start! It's nice that the material has been of use. I didn't notice any factual errors. I still recognised them as my own texts even though it's been some time since I wrote them. Yes, they describe my thoughts at that time and the way I developed. They were good, inspired and occasionally sombre thoughts, but I remember these things with a smile on my face. You can use everything I said/wrote. I can't think of anything to add. It was really interesting to be part of this research, I mean for example the interview. I've never taken part in anything like this before."

She considers portfolio a useful tool revealing development and the portfolio assignments personally interesting.

She considers group work meaningful if there are committed people to work with. She knows that she learns best by studying herself, using the strategies that she has detected as useful.

According to Noora, language is a tool to work with. She has succeeded in making the language sound like her language. She has gained more courage to strike up conversations.

She claims to have grown as a person when reflecting on her relationship to society and culture in the EFL courses.

Noora considers language skills a resource enabling freedom to achieve different purposes in different environments.

She has developed from a language learner to a language producer, language being part of who she is as a person.

”Niko”

“As an English student I consider me being an average student. Pronouncing has always been hard for me, mostly because I've learned the words how you spell them not how to pronounce them. Pronouncing wasn't a big deal for me until I start travelling. I felt a bit embarrassed when speaking people and they didn't understand what I was saying even though I spoke right but I pronounced words as they were spelled. As I've grown pronouncing has become an important thing for me. Writing has been always a lot easier for me and in that I'm in my opinion slightly better than the average Finnish man.” “For some reason I've never enjoyed learning languages with the result that reading hasn't been easy and so my learning hasn't been excellent. I've found a way of learning, by listening to the media around me, where you can hear a lot of English. I also have a mate I talk English to almost daily on Facebook.”

“I totally skipped the classes in the first week then.” “I have only been in 1 [lesson out of five] so I can't really say how [I've developed] at the course so far. As we continue, I'd say I'm going to be an outsider because of the other courses that I'm participating in as well. Sadly I don't have time to do homeworks in time, etc.” “In myself I don't notice any effect of the courses, if I don't count the time we had last time whose speech I learned a few things from. The lessons go by quickly. This crazy rush has already started gnawing at my study motivation. Luckily there's still time to make a big effort for the final course, and hopefully the test will go well.” “I've been a bit surprised by this huge amount of homework because everybody, or at least the majority, is working and there may be children + hobbies, etc. At least for me, there's not necessarily an awful lot of time for doing homework.” “The teaching style has been very different from my [earlier] school and it's taking some time to get used to this new style. There's a lot of assignments and I have to cope with them alongside the other school and work.” “[Niko] tells me today that he's dropping the course because he's got so many other things to study and in a couple of weeks he says there's also some kind of holiday trip, which would mean he'd have too many absences.”

“Originally I wanted to study all the upper secondary school English courses over one winter, get them out of the way as quickly as possible, so I could concentrate on my long maths studies.” “[Niko] has found himself three language courses for this period. Today as well he should be spending the whole evening in my lessons. After course six he informed me that he would have to miss the rest of the evening's lessons. From what he says, the evening is 'too jammed'. So now he already has three absences from that course even though the period only began one and a half weeks ago.” “So far, this has been frustrating for me, to try to learn English grammar. I just don't get it or it seems too hard for me. Sometimes I just want to throw my book in to the trashbin. Although the lessons have been easy. I have little trouble to understand what I read in English or hear.” “It's a pity anyway that we didn't deal very much with the text in the lesson. I think

“Niko” considers himself an average English student and user, with difficulties in pronunciation.

He points out that he has never liked studying languages. He likes to learn English by listening to it and using it on Facebook.

“Niko” is often absent from the lessons and does not have time to do homework due to other courses.

He claims to have learnt nothing during the course. He wonders about the haste and amount of homework, which have decreased his motivation.

He points out that the teaching is very different compared to his earlier school and it takes time to get used to it. He quits the course since he has something else to study and he also leaves for a holiday trip in a few weeks.

“Niko” has plans to study all EFL courses during the winter so he can concentrate on advanced maths. He has three EFL courses in the same period but has to skip lessons.

He struggles with grammar and wants to study the texts in detail in the lessons since he does not have time to study them at home.

it would have been better to read the chapters and translate them into Finnish in the lesson because now that's something we have to do in our own spare time, and of course I didn't have time for them on top of everything else." "I've realized the best way of learning is for the teacher to teach almost everything because I find independent studying difficult." "I can't give myself a grade for the language portfolio or for the course. I'm really bad at evaluating myself, thanks to my non-existent self-esteem and social limitations. I'd rather rely on the mark given by the teacher."

"Some of the students on the course are really apathetic. E.g. [Niko] isn't really interested in doing anything during the lessons, and especially not with a partner." "In the lessons we do a lot of pair and group work and, being a weak user of the language, I don't think these situations make much sense. I haven't had to speak an awful lot [in the lessons] before. I like it if I can do the tasks in peace and concentrate." "The older students seem to be able to benefit more from these opportunities for group work whereas the younger ones like [Niko] don't seem to be able to take the reins, but rather wait for the teacher to tell them what they should do next. Perhaps that's where the feeling comes from that we don't deal with the text sufficiently when in their opinion the only way to deal with it properly is that, under the teacher's direction, they translate it into Finnish and look at the language."

"Again [Niko] promises to hand in his course work on Thursday. It's not clear to me which Thursday in which week or month he's talking about because there's no news of the work anyway despite his promises." "I'm a lazy student as far as homework is concerned, and I hardly ever read text books in my free time. Nevertheless, I'll probably continue studying the same way." "I think that the course is useful for speaking, but I don't think I'm going to get through the test. In a way it's my own fault because I should do more work. But it's difficult to study, train and work at the same time." "Yes, it's a tight squeeze going to school and at the same time working and doing whatever else. Nevertheless, you'd expect that you could sit down and talk with the student and plan together, instead of the student not doing anything and still expecting to get an acceptable mark for the course. [Niko]'s basic premise seems to be that the teacher should arrange teaching on his terms without him having to change anything in what he does." "I'd give myself a 7 as a mark for the course because I really hope for it."

"I don't expect much from this course. My study counsellor just put it into my timetable. Probably gonna learn a couple of new words... I think that's about it." "[Niko] nevertheless comes to the third lesson of the course, but of course he hasn't got a book and he hasn't read the course instructions off the net, either. In the counseling session we have to discuss whether [Niko's] life situation, attitude and motivation make fulltime and wholehearted studying possible at this moment. I think [Niko] has a lot of potential but this constant underachievement is slowly getting on my nerves." "I've never really learned English at school, and therefore it is safe to say these past lessons have not been too useful to me. However, grammar exercises as homework have been somewhat useful

He also wants the teacher to teach everything and then assess his performance.

"Niko" is uninterested in working with a pair in the lesson due to his poor language skills.

He prefers to do exercises by himself and expects the teacher to direct his studying.

"Niko" does not know how to study a text in a small group.

"Niko" promises to hand in his course work but the teacher doubts "Niko's" promises.

"Niko" admits being lazy with homework but states that he will continue in the same way.

He finds it difficult to combine training and working and studying in two schools.

He does not negotiate with the teacher about his EFL studies but expects the teacher to let him pass the course.

"Niko" has few expectations concerning the course as he only came there on his study counsellor's request.

He turns up at to the third lesson without the course book and not knowing what should have been done.

He underperforms constantly and does not see the lessons as useful, except for grammar.

since it's been a while since I've studied English at school and so I've started to forget some stuff, and other languages mess me up a bit..." [When I'm writing] I make a lot of mistakes and sometimes it may be difficult to make out what I mean. I often write the way I would in Finnish and so it becomes a challenge to translate the text into English. "[Niko] is sitting at the back of the class, without a book, and spends almost the whole class fiddling with his mobile under the desk. Nevertheless, though, he occasionally consents to sit next to someone when they have to discuss or read!" "It seems there's no way I can get the assignments done on time and I've picked up a few absences on this course. It seems that, as far as this course is concerned, I'll have to quit my studies here."

"I still dislike working in pairs and groups, especially because of the topics. I understand the course theme is like that, but I personally would not like to talk about my OWN religious views to people who don't need to know about them. I think I've learned this course's words pretty well, though most of the words have been already familiar to me... I am still bad at pronouncing as well, and I think changing my studying methods would require me to change my personality." "Why do we have to concentrate on the people around us in the lesson? I came here to study English, not to socialize." "It takes some time to get inside the group for students [like Niko] who do a few courses here and there in the wrong order, and, on top of that, when they come to the course in the middle of everything and are present so seldom, there's no way they have time to get to know the rest of the group so that there's smooth cooperation."

"I think we could have devoted more attention to grammar things and sometimes I felt we spent too much time on group work, time we could have used, for example, on grammar or doing exercises. There's a lot of grammatical things I've got to learn. In the lessons we didn't go through the grammar well enough so I didn't understand all the things." "To end the course [Niko] again gave me a full broadside of criticism, saying that the responsibility for studying grammar had been left too much to them. We do study those things in the lesson and the exercises are checked, too. I think there are good reasons nevertheless for homework, as the name implies, to be done at home. What perhaps affects [Niko's] image is that he's been away for three grammar lessons!" "During the course I felt that the whole time we had to make self-assessments and think about learning, and that got on my nerves. Writing the language journal also seemed like a waste of time because I didn't have anything constructive to say for it." "A minus [on the course] was that we had just a few pop quizzes, they motivate you to really work at the vocabulary and that way learn it."

"I want to do the English 4 course independently so what are the assignments I have to do if I want to take part in the test? Shall I fetch them myself or can you send them by email?" "[Niko] got in touch and informed me he wanted to do course 4 independently. He must be joking! He just doesn't have what it takes to shoulder so much responsibility. Besides, he himself quit the same course last year because of motivational problems and now he shifts responsibility for organizing his studies on to me. Yes, I can be flexible, but first the

He has trouble with writing in English.

He does not have the course book and plays with his mobile the entire lesson.

He quits the course due to absences and the amount of assignments to be done.

"Niko" does not like to study in groups since it would require him to reveal his personal views on the course topics to others. He does not wish to change his studying methods because that would require changing his personality.

He wonders about the need to work with other students when the main purpose is to learn the language.

The teacher has noticed that "Niko" has difficulties becoming a member of the language learning community.

"Niko" is unhappy about the fact that the lessons focus more on group work than grammar.

He has been absent from three grammar lessons.

He is annoyed by self-assessments and considers the language learning journal useless.

He is disappointed by the fact that the course did not include pop quizzes since they motivate him.

"Niko" demands instructions from the teacher regarding an EFL course that he desires to study independently.

He expects the teacher to organise the teaching according to his desires.

student himself must show he is willing and able to commit himself to learning.”

“English is not my strongest area, at least not speaking it. I would have liked to complete the course independently, then I wouldn’t have had to speak my miserably ungrammatical English in front of the class, but I’ll have to go with what I’ve got. Pronunciation though is just REALLY difficult and this is the reason it’s so embarrassing to speak because I’m sure some of them can’t make anything out of my babbling.” *“This really is verging on the tragicomic. [Niko] still hasn’t bothered to get himself a book even though the course is halfway through. Then he has the nerve to say that of course he hasn’t been able to do any studying because he hasn’t got a book. You can’t beat that for study motivation!”*

“During the course I haven’t been at my best as a student of English. In my opinion this is the hardest course, just because of the topics. In addition, what makes studying more challenging is that I’ve got long days [at school] in the daytime upper secondary, and homework there, too, and unfortunately they take priority over the evening courses. I know I could make a bigger effort for the course, if only there were more time.” “Some of the words I’ve learned have already got mixed up because during the day at the same time I’m doing the EN05 course.” “Why I haven’t developed so much on this course is because of two things. One of them is lack of time. The other is that when I came to this course I’d last attended the EN04 course, and that was almost eighteen months ago. So my English skills aren’t in the best possible shape. Nevertheless, I attended course EN05 at the same time as this course. I noticed I felt more motivated there and I also managed better there than on this course. It may be that there’s no motivation in evening classes because in the evening I’ve not got the energy anymore to do school stuff when I’ve been doing it before that for the whole day. If I’d attended this course in the daytime upper secondary school, I’m sure I would’ve done better. But there’s nothing I can do about it anymore. I have to hope I get through the test.” *“[Niko] has been suspended from the course because he was caught after plagiarizing a film review. He’ll come in later and apologize for what has happened, but nevertheless the rules are clear: [Niko] will have to resit the course.”*

“I can talk in English about almost all of the topics that interest me, as long as the vocabulary in them is simple. In my spare time I might speak English with my mates just like that, and in certain situations where I can’t even speak Finnish. Even so, the topics in this course are really demanding. I seldom talk about things like this.” “In the lessons I’ve tried to use English in pair work and group work, but almost every time it’s turned out that I get nervous about speaking and I doubt my own skills.” *“At the last minute [Niko] cancels his session to discuss his independent course completion because he says his dog has been operated on and he can’t leave it alone. He suggests we combine two one-hour sessions into a one-hour meeting.”* **“My portfolio work is i guess lazy compared to others, but i did what i could in the given time i had. I haven’t never understand the idea of language journal since it has never give anything back for me.**

It turns out that “Niko” would have wanted to study the course independently so that he would not have had to speak English in the classroom.

He does not have the course book and has not studied anything although the course is halfway through.

According to “Niko”, the course topics have been difficult and he also has more important courses to study.

He has mixed the vocabulary of two EFL courses that he is taking at the same time.

He has not performed well due to lack of time and the previous six months without English studies.

He is not motivated since he does not have the energy to study in the evenings.

He is caught for plagiarizing his film review and forced to resit the course.

“Niko” claims to be able to talk in English about any interesting subject with simple enough vocabulary. He finds the topics of the EFL course demanding, including difficult vocabulary.

“Niko” is nervous of using English in the lessons.

He cancels one of the face-to-face sessions that is included in studying a course independently, suggesting a combination of two one-hour sessions into one one-hour session.

Sadly I haven't saved any of my course work from this course or course 6 so couldn't do the self-assessment either. "Self-assessing the language portfolio is problematic because [Niko] hasn't kept the portfolio work from previous courses. In fact, he hasn't even done all of the portfolio work!"

"I'm frustrated and annoyed because I'm having to retake this course. I've already got through it once, but my course grade was still 'fail', which I think was unfair because I attended the lessons as well. This time I want to pass the course because otherwise I won't graduate in the spring." "My interest in studying is almost at rock bottom. The only 'carrot' there is in studying is passing my matriculation examination. I suppose I'll have to stop saying 'yes, I'll start tomorrow' or 'yeah, there's still time', because I'm going to be in a hurry soon. As far as I'm concerned, my busy schedule has hampered my evening upper secondary school, and so I can't really boast about how active I am in class." "Today I'm going to arrange a children's sports competition. I guess that'll fill my quota of absences but there's really nothing I can do about it." "After our counselling session [Niko] has been trying to do his English studies online, but I've heard he's having a hard job completing the courses because to be able to complete those more demanding English courses takes time, responsibility and a basic command of the language, and [Niko] has difficulties in all of these areas." "I don't think I have improved my English that much since I did have positive feeling in the start of the course but then everything in my personal life changed so I haven't been that motivated to study or anything but I still try the best I can in this condition of mind."

"I don't think these lessons have been useful to me at all. I have perhaps caught a couple new words to my vocabulary here and there, but that's pretty much all. I think we read too much stuff out loud and I personally don't like it too much." "I don't believe my English-related free-time activities have been significant in any way. My learning process has not advanced, and I don't think I need to change my studying methods since they're fine the way they are now." "I've got a temperature of 38 degrees and I can't attend class today. My earlier absences were because I just couldn't miss my training sessions. If there are too many of these absences now then give me some extra assignments, for example, so that I can take part in the test. This is a difficult situation attending these evening classes." "Yes indeed, for some students this GUSSA is a real place for growing. When they come here some of them aren't prepared to work to move their studies on but try to get through with the least possible work. Of course, life itself creates challenges, but it may well be that when they come here the students have unrealistic expectations and ideas about upper secondary school studying. [...] When the school and the students have different expectations, you can't avoid collisions." "I'm now officially dropping both my English and Swedish studies for some time."

He has not understood the idea of writing a language learning journal. He has not preserved his previous portfolio work, thus being unable to assess his learning process.

"Niko" is frustrated and annoyed by the fact that he has to resit the course since he already passed it but still got "failed".

He aims to pass the course to be able to graduate but is unmotivated to study.

He cannot attend lessons due to other duties.

He tries to take online courses in upper secondary English but faces challenges.

He claims not to have performed well in the EFL course due to his personal life.

"Niko" feels that he has hardly learnt anything in the lessons.

He sees no reason to change his study methods.

He has many absences and asks for extra assignments so that he could still attend the course exam.

He has unrealistic expectations about studying EFL.

He quits his EFL studies for now.

In search of clues for foreign language identity

The purpose of chapter 8 was to depict the protagonists' (experiences of) FL learning and studying holistically by synthesising different sources of (student and teacher-produced) data involving the protagonists into separate and multivoiced narrative accounts. The emplotted narratives paint storied pictures of each protagonist's language learning process, summarising clues about their positionings in discourses, relations to the TL and, ultimately, possible developments in their FL identity. Next to these emplotments, interpreted summaries regarding what the text revealed about each protagonist were added by listing what the protagonist actually did to learn and study the TL, how s/he experienced what s/he did and what happened to him/her during his/her EFL studies in the local GUSSA.

In these accounts, the italic style was used to indicate my teacher voice and the regular style to indicate the student's voice. Those parts of the student's voice produced in English were marked by using the bold style. On reading the narratives, it can be noticed that Suvi's and Anna's narratives do not contain any parts in bold. Both narratives rely on the students' language journal entries as their primary source of data, and both kept their journals in Finnish almost exclusively. The few entries that they produced in English did not make their way into the final versions of the emplotments. As already pointed out above (chapter 6, 160), however, hasty conclusions about the student's language choice should be avoided. In these data, it rarely reflected the student's relationship to the TL more generally.

During the emplotment process, each student's personal response to the emplotted narrative was also added to the end of the texts. In these responses, the protagonists were given a space to comment on the text and bring new meanings to it that had escaped my original interpretation. For example, Suvi took this opportunity to point out that some of her challenges with studying English were also related to her overall life situation, which included night shifts and little sleep. With these measures, the language learning GUSSA student's subject positions in relation to the TL over time and the possible changes in his/her overall relationship to the TL were captured in a storied form.

While emplotting the storied accounts, I met two challenges. First, careful planning was needed concerning the data extracts to be included in the narrative

so that the evolving narrative would follow the progression of the student's language learning as a whole without omitting any important elements or putting misleading emphases on the less important ones. Second, caution had to be demonstrated when compressing the data into storied emplotments so that the diversity of the original experiences would not become simplified too much. In other words, what appears to be a simple procedure of putting one data extract after another in temporal order to construct a narrative hides hours of reading and re-reading, and organising and re-organising the selected extracts to form a single narrative account. Although these syntheses are compromises, the emplotments as poetic imitations of reality paint lifelike images of language learning processes that the students can identify with, judging by their comments.

The same challenges were met when emplotting "Niko's" narrative, with the exception that I omitted more details from the original data because they would not have been compatible with the other details deriving from the other participants chosen to represent "Niko". Parts of "Niko's" narrative have also been produced in English although "Niko" was reluctant to engage himself in self-reflection, let alone do it in English. Most of the participants, indeed, had indifferent and negative attitudes to reflection and self-assessment. Among them, there were two students in particular who openly admitted it. The few journal entries that these two turned in were nonetheless in English, and the other student also had a good command of English. This can be observed from her contribution to "Niko's" narrative. As both students were deemed valuable for understanding "Niko's" narrative, their contributions were included although they may have had a negative impact on the plausibility of the text.

Moreover, the data extracts in "Niko's" narrative are loosely organised temporally. The beginning and the end are in their "right" places in the narrative but how the middle is organised is based on my interpretation of the course of events. For this reason, "Niko's" profile may supply the reader with an impression of a less coherent narrative, the temporal dimension of which is not very strong. These challenges capture some of the weaknesses of crafting composites out of several participants like this (for criticism of this method, see Josselson 2006), and they should be kept in mind when evaluating the usefulness of "Niko's" narrative. However, I have also been able to compensate these weaknesses to some degree by resorting to my first-hand experiential knowledge of FL students

like “Niko”, describing the process of emplotting in detail and reflecting on its plausibility.

The value of the storied approach adopted in this chapter lies in that the emplotted texts draw a comprehensive picture of each student’s experiences, offering a narrative understanding of their development in terms of FL identity, and with respect to autonomy (see chapter 9, 289 and chapter 11, 378). Instead of direct answers to the research questions, the emplotments include clues about the meanings experienced and subject positions adopted. As expected, they offer a poetic and holistic answer which has to be subjected to interpretation. What the storied texts capture well is the diversity of the GUSSA students in the EFL courses. Most of them have their own agendas for studying, which are based on both the meanings that they have assigned to their previous experiences of English and the goals, aspirations and desires that they have for their future. It is in this turbulence of the past and future that they position themselves as TL learners, users, communicators, participants and members of collectives, and construct their identities and selves in an ongoing narrative process framed by the practices of FL teaching. The narratives compressed into the form of short, storied accounts will open up windows to a narrative understanding of the FL students’ experienced realities with regard to autonomy and identity. In the chapters to come, these realities will be subjected to analytical and less poetic forms of analysis.

IV UNDERSTANDING THE JOURNEY – ANALYSING
THE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE
LEARNING AND TEACHING

9 TWO HOLISTIC READINGS OF THE STUDENTS

To some degree, all qualitative research is concerned with content. Narrative research is hardly an exception. As Riessman (2008) has pointed out, however, narrative analysts often desire to “keep the story intact” for interpretive purposes when investigating the content of narratives. They may theorise from the case rather than from categories across cases, thus desiring to preserve the sequences and details rather than thematically coding the narrative into segments. On the other hand, narrative content rarely offers itself directly to the reader, with some scholars even claiming that understanding the content without analysing context and form is as near as impossible (Hyvärinen 2008c; Pavlenko 2007).

This research has taken these claims seriously. Chapter 9 will continue from chapter 8 and concentrate on the six protagonists and research question 1a by exploring to what extent developments in FL identity are manifest in the protagonists’ language learning processes. This will be done by analysing the holistic form and content of each protagonist’s development. In doing this, chapter 9 will describe the analytical entity that the 2nd and 3rd readings of the employment processes were based on in chapter 8. The empirical findings are preceded by descriptions of the principles and processes of analysis. Finally, the chapter will end with a concluding discussion that conceptualises the findings theoretically through the constructs of FL identity, agency and affordance. The overall purpose of chapter 9 is to reach an understanding about the protagonists’ TL-related lives during their EFL studies in the local GUSSA.

A holistic reading of form: Analysis and findings

Lieblich et al. (1998) suggest that the formal aspects of the narrative structure express the narrator’s identities, perceptions, beliefs and values as much as the content itself. Focusing on the holistic aspects of the form is one way to appreciate the ‘how’ of the narrative. In this research, I found a holistic reading of the

narrative form useful for studying the protagonists' developing TL-related positionings over time. According to Lieblich et al. (ibid.), a holistic reading of form typically considers the typology, progression and/or cohesiveness of the narrative. In practice this means that narratives can be analysed in relation to different types of narrative (e.g., romance, comedy, tragedy, etc.), plot development (e.g., stable, progressive, regressive) or compared to well-constructed "good" stories. As to understanding the overall development of the FL students' relationship to the TL, focusing on the progression of each protagonist's stories about their FL learning turned out to be the most productive starting point.

According to Lieblich et al. (1998), the analysis of narrative progression begins with the identification of thematic foci that are seen as meaningful for the overall structure. In other words, the content of the narrative is centrally involved in the analysis of narrative form. As Lieblich et al. point out, however, interest lies in the content only insofar as it provides raw material for understanding the form and direction taken by this content. The thematic elements of the content are not removed from their narrative context but examined as structural elements of the narrative. The analytic efforts focus on grasping the course of development rather than the content world in which the process takes place. The analysis is then extended to identify the dynamics of the structure. This can be inferred from particular forms of speech, including the narrators' reflections on and evaluations of specific events and actions, their responses to changes in their life courses, their references to objectives and goals, and their consumption of particular words, for example. These forms of speech provide the reader with clues about important episodes, transitions and turning points. Generally speaking, a holistic-form approach like this can enable either the sketching out of prototypical narrative structures or the highlighting of the uniqueness of others. (Lieblich et al. 1998; also Barkhuizen et al. 2014.)

To depict each protagonist's TL-related positionings over time, I set two objectives for the holistic analysis of narrative form. The first objective was to identify and graph the dynamics of each protagonist's plot structure as far as their FL learning in the local GUSSA was concerned. This strategy was based on Gergen and Gergen (1988), who identify three prototypical narrative forms based on movement toward the attainment of a valued goal. A *progressive* narrative refers to steady progress, a *stable* narrative to unchanged progress and a

regressive narrative to movement away from the goal. These three formats can be combined into more complex plot structures accommodating transition points and shifts of thematic focus. For this study, the plot progression reflecting each protagonist's relationship to the TL-related aspects of life was graphed so that an ascending line was used for the progressive, a horizontal line for the stable and a descending line for the regressive plot structure. Moreover, the place of the plot line was used to indicate whether the narrative reflects positive or negative experiences. The generally positive experiences were placed in the top half and the generally negative in the lower half of the graph. The third point about the graphs was that a rough time-line was added on the horizontal axis since the perceived/experienced duration of time did not always correspond with the actual duration of events. Constructed like this, the graphs' purpose was to sketch the temporal development of each protagonist's TL-related positionings, as they were discursively constructed through the narrative data.

In addition to graphing the overall plot structure, the second objective of the holistic-form analysis was to identify the key episodes and turning points in each protagonist's narrative. I considered this important because those moments are often seen to represent the critical points when new meanings are given to experiences, when identities are renegotiated, voices reconstructed and understandings reformulated (Hyvärinen 2009). As to language learning, these critical points can be seen to represent the seeds of critical experiences that have been deemed crucial triggers for identity development (chapter 4, 106; also Block 2007a). In their critical events approach to narrative, Webster and Mertova (2007) have viewed critical events as instances that reveal a change of understanding or worldview by the storyteller which then impacts on the storyteller's performance either positively or negatively. In this research, I understood critical TL-related experiences in a similar fashion, as the significant moments and points that leave marks on the language learning person's life by altering the fundamental meaning structures of their TL-related lives and so result in meaningful transformation in character or selfview (cf. Denzin 1989). As to locating these critical experiences in the protagonists' narratives, a strategy similar to that of Draucker and Martsolf's (2010) was adopted. Following this strategy, moments, points or parts of the narrative were coded as key episodes or turning points if they "(a) were exceptional events that occurred at a specific point in time, (b) were experienced as memorable and intense, (c) were either positive or negative, and (d) resulted in

a drastic change in life pattern” (Draucker & Martsolf 2010, 1162). Analysing the plot structure like this allowed me to propose informed claims about the important key moments during each protagonist’s language learning process.

The four steps in the holistic-form analysis have been depicted in Figure 6. The same data were used in this analysis as when emplotting the storied texts in chapter 8, i.e., the protagonists’ journals, their reflective texts and self-assessments, counselling session material and the relevant parts of the teaching journal (chapter 6, 157). Before the first reading, I had combined these data into a narrative “stream” (chapter 8, 205). Although it was hardly possible to differentiate between the content of the story and its rhetoric, literary and textual features, dividing the data roughly into the *sjuzet* and *fabula* (Appendix 4) turned out to be an important initial phase for the analysis as it allowed me to distinguish between what happened to the student and how the different elements of the texts related to the events. There was no need to make an absolute distinction between the *sjuzet* and the *fabula*, as the purpose of this phase was to support my analysis en route towards a holistic reading of the progression. When conducting the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis, I underlined those segments of the data that involved the narrator’s reflections, emotional responses or similar expressions of attitude related to the narrator’s learning process. Instead of focusing on individual words, I located the longer narrative segments in which these emphatic and evaluative expressions were embedded.

1st reading:	Dividing the data into the <i>sjuzet</i> and <i>fabula</i>	→
2nd reading:	Outlining the progression of the emerging themes	→
3rd reading:	Locating key events, episodes, turning points, etc.	→
4th reading:	Graphing the dynamics of the plot progression	

Figure 6. The holistic-form reading of the protagonists’ TL-related development

After this step, the analysis continued with a reading of the story elements in relation to the protagonist’s relationship to the TL-related aspects in his/her life. I paid attention to each protagonist’s experiences of TL-related events (such as encounters with TL speakers and TL use in the lessons), the protagonist’s relation to the characters involved in those events (such as seeing the teacher as an

authority figure and the student as someone who follows the teacher's orders), the protagonist's learning goals and challenges (such as improving oral fluency, developing grammar skills, widening knowledge of vocabulary), his/her obstacles to language learning and use (such as fear of using the TL, deficient motivation, shortage of time) and their resolutions (such as a reorganisation of daily routines, oral practice at home, blaming the teacher for giving too much homework, quitting the course).

This type of reading assisted me to identify thematic content, the temporal development of which was followed in the third step of the analysis by paying attention to the student's reflections on and evaluations of that content over time, the degree of emotion displayed by the student and the discrepancies between descriptions of the same stage at different times, for example. Overlapping with the second step, the third reading focused on the sequencing, transformation, progression and resolution of the emerging themes. This way, I identified the essential time periods, key episodes and turning points in the data and investigated their meaning for the overall development of the protagonist's story. Finally, the fourth reading consisted of compressing the emerging findings into the form of a single graph illustrating the dynamics of the plot progression. As the holistic-form analysis included an active reading of the evolving interpretations against the original data, the analysis included lots of reading, pausing, reflecting and re-reading. An example of the holistic-form analysis can be found in Appendix 5 while the findings of the analysis will be presented in the following six subsections.

Leena: Learning by doing

The overall progression of Leena's TL-related positionings during her language learning process in the local GUSSA can be depicted as in Figure 7. The progression follows a simple ascending line which is followed by a stable period located higher than the starting point during the last third of Leena's EFL studies. Generally speaking, Leena's attitude to English and English learning was positive from the beginning; she associated the TL with the pop music that she was interested in and had begun her GUSSA studies to improve her English skills. Based on her previous experiences, Leena still had a feeling that her participation in social interaction in English was restricted due to her deficient TL skills.

After the initial phase of getting used to English studies, Leena reported on positive learning experiences. For example, she described moments when she had studied together with more skilled FL students in the lessons, feeling that she benefitted from practising pronunciation with them, asking for their explanations of texts and grammar and doing the oral learning tasks with them. Being able to approach the topics from personal angles (e.g., the presentation on John Lennon, the writing assignment on Janis Joplin and the text on Gaudi) was meaningful and memorable in a positive sense. Leena was also motivated by those moments when she discovered that she had learnt something new. In the school context, these experiences involved the language portfolio, which Leena considered an excellent language learning tool. Even though Leena faced difficult periods during the first two years of her EFL studies (including trouble with learning grammar and remembering vocabulary, lack of time to do homework properly and unsuccessful language learning efforts), her overall attitude remained positive. She considered the difficulties as temporal setbacks only, which could be managed by working harder and studying more intensively. This attitude stemmed from Leena's strong belief in learning by doing, i.e., success could be achieved if only one was prepared and motivated to practise sufficiently.

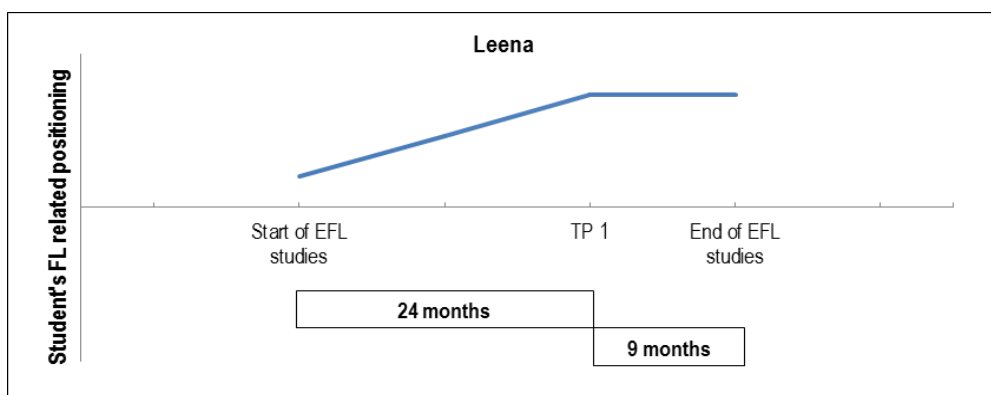


Figure 7. Leena's FL-related positionings during her EFL studies

The positive progression of Leena's TL-related positionings was reinforced by the fact that she gradually gained positive experiences of TL use beyond the formal institutional FL context. For example, she reported on her successful experiences of reading English novels, following the dialogue of English films

and having conversations with her daughters' English-speaking boyfriends. These encouraging events, combined with Leena's committed language learning efforts at school, contributed to the steady progression of her English learning process, which reached a minor turning point (TP 1 in Figure 7) at the beginning of Leena's final year in the local GUSSA when she was faced with challenges caused by the illness of a family member. As a result, Leena was unable to fully concentrate on studying. The consequences were not as dramatic as they could have been, however, since the pillars, on which Leena's language learning process lay, were already numerous and strong. Although the last third of Leena's story is depicted by a stable horizontal line, her language learning process is successful when comparing the location of the plotline at the beginning and end of her EFL studies. During her time in the local GUSSA, Leena grew into a more self-confident, skilful and empowered English user. This positive development resulted in a substantial change in Leena's English-related subject positions.

Susanna: In search of missing motivation

The overall changes in Susanna's positioning with regard to the English-related aspects of her life are depicted in Figure 8. At the beginning, her relation to English was ambiguous and contradictory. Her negative experiences of EFL teachers and English learning at school had had a negative impact on her outlook on English and its speakers. At the beginning of her GUSSA studies, Susanna defined herself as a loser when it came to language learning and described her relation to English with the word *hate*. During her stay as an au pair in a French family where the communication took place in English, Susanna had become interested in foreign languages, English included. As she had learnt to see the practical value and benefits of knowing English, her attitude to the TL had started changing. This development continued and was reinforced in the local GUSSA. This can be observed by the fact that Susanna finally chose a totally opposite but equally emotional expression when referring to this change as "falling in love" with English. As Susanna's EFL studies nevertheless meant a return to a school-like environment, the starting point of her English studies was linked to negative associations.

The beginning of Susanna's EFL studies marked a stable period during which Susanna showed a neutral attitude to studying. She viewed herself as an average

EFL student with deficient knowledge of English vocabulary and a strong dislike of project work and oral practice. Instead of studying during the courses, she preferred cramming the night before the exam. She liked to be involved in English in her free time but had no desire to set her goals high in the classroom. Soon, she noticed that studying English in the local GUSSA differed from her earlier experiences. It was the FL teacher's encouraging presence that contributed to a turning point (TP 1 in Figure 8) in Susanna's studies. Susanna remembered later that the controversial moment occurred when the teacher had pointed out to her in a feedback session that she had potential to write better essays than the ones she had written thus far. An important insight which was located around this turning point was that Susanna had started to associate English with many of her dreams, including travelling, living and working abroad.

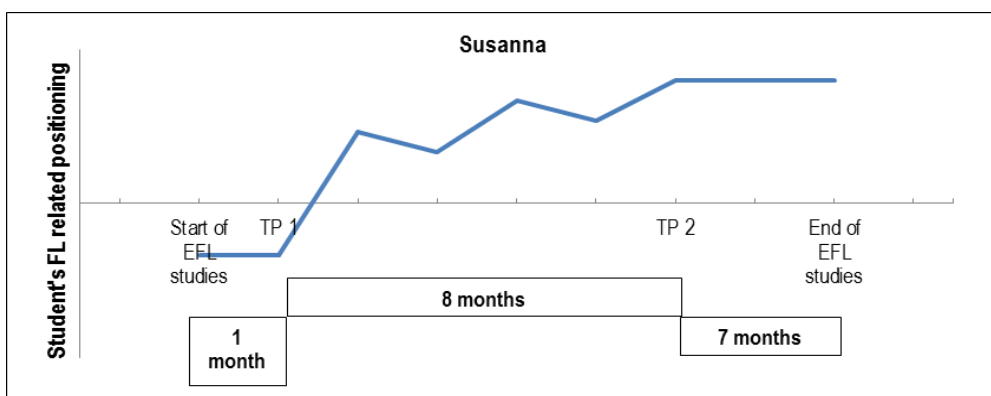


Figure 8. Susanna's FL-related positionings during her EFL studies

After the turning point, Susanna paid more attention to her texts, achieving excellent results. In the following months, she demonstrated rapid development when it came to finding her voice in writing. This change, combined with course topics that she found interesting, learning tasks that she considered meaningful and a language learning environment that she considered relaxed, grew cumulatively into a general positive change, and Susanna assumed more responsibility for her language learning at school. She began to do her homework, set her learning goals higher and contribute when studying in groups.

Although this time period marked a transformation in Susanna's TL-related positioning, it was still characterised by periods of instability when Susanna had

to struggle to maintain her motivation. The reasons for the struggle were diverse: too many students in the classroom, uninteresting course themes, too beautiful weather, too much focus on oral practice, inability to notice development in language skills, too much freedom combined with too little teacher control, disbelief in the usefulness of cramming and finally, a general feeling of laziness. This period was resolved by the approaching matriculation examination in English. As Susanna realised its closeness, she became more determined to study. This moment marks the second although not so dramatic turning point (TP 2 in Figure 8) in her learning process. Setting her sights on the exam helped Susanna control her fluctuating motivation better.

The second turning point did not mean that Susanna had started cramming or training her oral English skills. On the contrary, since there was no oral national exam in English at the time, she started paying even less attention to the oral tasks and expressed her wish to concentrate on vocabulary and grammar only. What was surprising was that she claimed not to have used or revised any English during the summer break before the matriculation examination but was extremely motivated to revise as much as possible only a few weeks before the exam at the beginning of autumn. Still, Susanna performed extremely well in the English exam. Her “falling” for English, initiated during her au pair experience, had turned into “love” and now led her into a “honeymoon” with the language at the finish of her EFL studies. During this journey, Susanna’s positioning vis-à-vis the English-related aspects of her life manifested a dramatic positive development, which can be observed from Figure 8. The story of a demotivated “loser” had turned into a story of a motivated English learner. This development also contributed to Susanna’s personal growth and widening views of the world at a more general level.

Suvi: Heading for empowerment

Suvi’s positioning in relation to the TL during her EFL studies can be illustrated by a slowly ascending line with a few unstable periods in that progress (see Figure 9). The beginning is associated with negative positionings, but as Suvi’s learning process advances, a more positive relationship to English slowly begins to emerge. At the beginning of her studies, Suvi described English as her haunting enemy. Her previous experiences of English had made her associate the language

with emotions of anxiety, fear and humiliation. She felt both discouraged and intimidated by English and English speakers. As any communicative English use meant a huge emotional burden for Suvi, she had preferred to avoid English. Indeed, she described having shut English out of her life in many ways. This had started to restrict her life substantially over the years; she felt that she lacked a voice and a capacity to act in English altogether. As she enrolled at the GUSSA, she portrayed powerful feelings of outsidership and incapability in terms of English-related aspects of living. Her previous experiences had had a huge disempowering effect on her and she felt that her problematic relationship to English had narrowed down her possibilities to engage actively in the different spheres of life. On a more positive note, having studied English for many years, Suvi still felt that she had to know the language to some extent, although she admitted having forgotten much because of her practically non-existent English use.

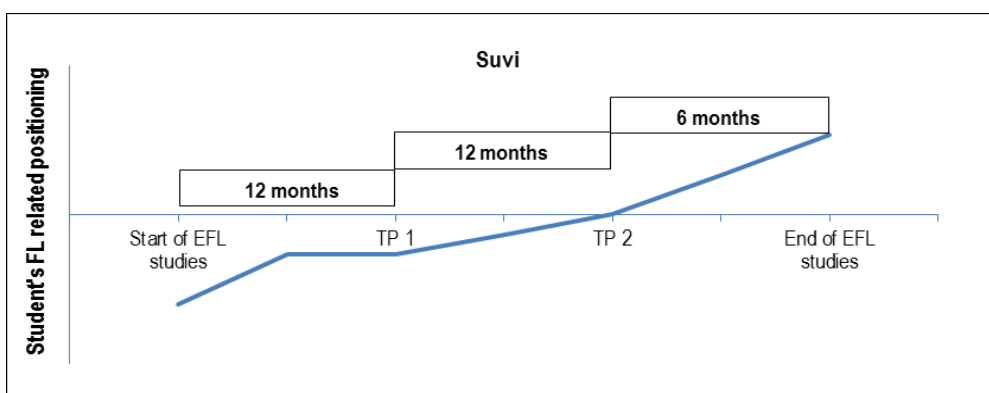


Figure 9. Suvi's FL-related positionings during her EFL studies

The beginning of Suvi's EFL studies is characterised by periods of instability. On one hand, she quickly became committed to doing her homework and working in pairs while on the other hand, she felt nervous about participating in the lessons and skipped lessons, not having the energy to come to school. Some of Suvi's key episodes occurred in those lessons when she worked with a pair and was able to relax and concentrate on learning. She described how the pair with whom she studied and the teacher's understanding attitude played meaningful roles in this respect. Another important event took place when she had the courage to deliver a speech in front of other students. Even though she reported that she hardly

remembered anything about the event afterwards, it marked an important experience since she had looked her “enemy” in the eye and received encouraging feedback from others. These experiences of TL use in a safe language learning environment, combined with the possibility to reflect on the language learning process, brought positive undertones to the progression of Suvi’s FL learning.

For a long time, it was easier for Suvi to participate and use English inside rather than outside the classroom and assume active, responsible roles as a FL learner without even shunning the more daunting learning tasks. Suvi’s positive learning experiences accumulated into a turning point (TP 1 in Figure 9) at the beginning of her second school year when she admitted that she had given herself permission to be a language learner again. Around this insight, Suvi began to perceive opportunities to learn and utilise English beyond school settings. She succeeded in combining the settings into a single language learning context, in which the different environments had mutually supportive roles. As a result, Suvi’s FL learning became diverse and flexible. Attending the lessons became a place for maintaining motivation and learning English while English films, magazines, books, music and the net became important channels for practising the developing skills. Experiences of studying in English with different students in the learning community became important, increasing Suvi’s courage to use the TL beyond school.

The second turning point (TP 2 in Figure 9) in Suvi’s English learning took place during her last six months in the GUSSA as she realized she was able to leave the past behind her and focus on living in the present instead. Instead of carrying on about her past, she decided to concentrate on positive thoughts. This turning point was followed by three important events: 1) Her spouse pointed out that Suvi was now able to express in writing what she actually wanted to say instead of what she was able to say; 2) Suvi encountered the Chinese that she was earlier afraid of, and 3) she travelled abroad and gained positive experiences of English use. These events indicated how Suvi’s TL-related participation, first confined to the safe classroom and domestic environments, slowly expanded to various multicultural spheres of her life. Suvi’s positive development in the institutional context contributed in empowering ways to her behaviour and actions in others. Based on these findings, claims can be made that Suvi’s narrative positionings regarding the English-related aspects of her life followed a slowly ascending pattern. Stepping outside of her comfort zone, she faced her

“enemy” by repeatedly putting herself into challenging learning situations. Although she faced occasional drawbacks and painful language learning moments and went through periods of hesitation and self-doubt, the risks were worth taking. Not only did Suvi learn to cope with English, she also assumed greater control of her life in general. Metaphorically speaking, Suvi had grown into a hero who overcame her enemy in her quest.

Anna: Struggling through upper secondary English

The overall progression of Anna’s English-related positionings during her EFL studies is depicted by Figure 10. The starting point of Anna’s studies was far from encouraging. She barely knew English, as she had studied German instead of English at school in her youth, and she had hardly been in contact with the language later either. This background, combined with difficulties in learning and a challenging life situation, inevitably positioned Anna negatively in relation to English, in spite of her motivation to study and the fact that she considered learning English important and useful. At the beginning of her studies, she admitted that English would cause her trouble. Bearing this in mind, the beginning of Anna’s studies went as expected: she had to resit some of the English courses and she even took a six months’ break before attending the courses again. In general, no development was identified in Anna’s English learning, which is why this period of Anna’s studies is depicted by a stable line.

After restarting her English studies, Anna’s learning process portrayed signs of slightly positive progress. Despite the frustration and many unsuccessful learning attempts, Anna managed to complete some of her portfolio assignments decently. She often enjoyed the lessons, pointing out that FL teaching was wide-ranging and meaningful. She had discovered new language learning techniques to improve her study methods. A turning point (TP 1 in Figure 10) for the better was her decision to enrol for a summer course to revise English in another school. By that time, she had found a remedial teacher/a support person who occasionally helped her study English in her free time. Although Anna considered the summer course useful, its positive influence on Anna’s learning process was soon dissolved by the fact that her husband was diagnosed with a serious illness. This event became one of the key turning points (TP 2 in Figure 10) in Anna’s EFL

studies and was followed by a particularly difficult time period of several months when Anna neither had time nor energy to focus on language learning.

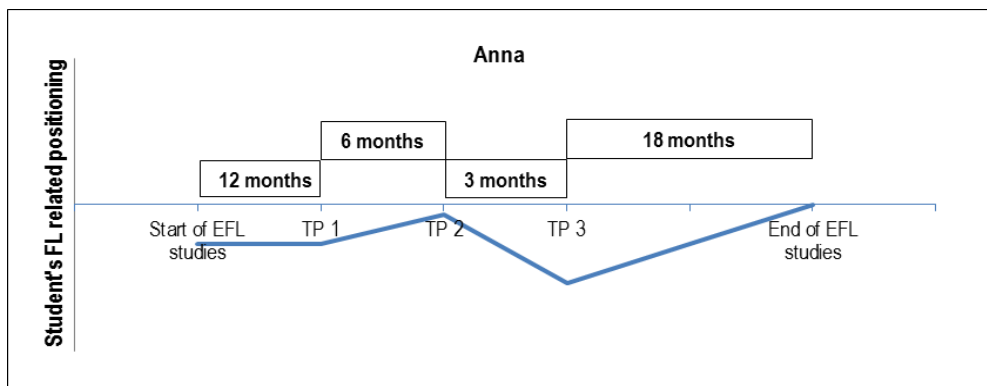


Figure 10. Anna's FL-related positionings during her EFL studies

It was not until later that Anna's hope for survival reignited when she was encouraged by her husband to go on with her studies and she gained positive experiences of a basic-level English course which she had enrolled for at the local adult education centre. These two episodes also marked the third turning point (TP 3 in Figure 10) in the progression of Anna's positioning in relation to English. After these events Anna's arduous journey through the remaining EFL courses commenced, which is depicted by a slowly ascending line in the graph. An important milestone during this period was that Anna passed advanced level in the matriculation examination in Swedish and therefore did not have to take the exam in English. She gained positive experiences of studying in small groups in the EFL lessons and practising her English comprehension in a lecture and a museum. Finally, she passed the English courses required for the upper secondary school certificate. Although Anna was hardly able to achieve positive subject positions during her EFL studies, she was eventually able to position herself fairly neutrally, when it came to the English-related aspects of her life. With this in mind, Anna's journey can be contemplated in a positive light as a "success" story since she, indeed, was able to overcome the odds and reach her goal – i.e., struggling through the EFL syllabus and passing most of the EFL courses in the local GUSSA – which she had set as her objective at the beginning of her studies.

Noora: Self-directing English learning

The overall progression of Noora's positioning in relation to English during her FL learning in the GUSSA can be graphed as in Figure 11. At the beginning of her studies, Noora's relationship to English was positive and stable. She considered herself good at English and her earlier experiences of the TL both in and beyond institutional settings had reinforced this conception. Noora saw English as an international language, which constituted a well-motivated practical reason to study the language well. She hardly pointed out any negative experiences of studying English at school either. All in all, it can be argued that she liked English and experienced a positive sense of anticipation about studying it.

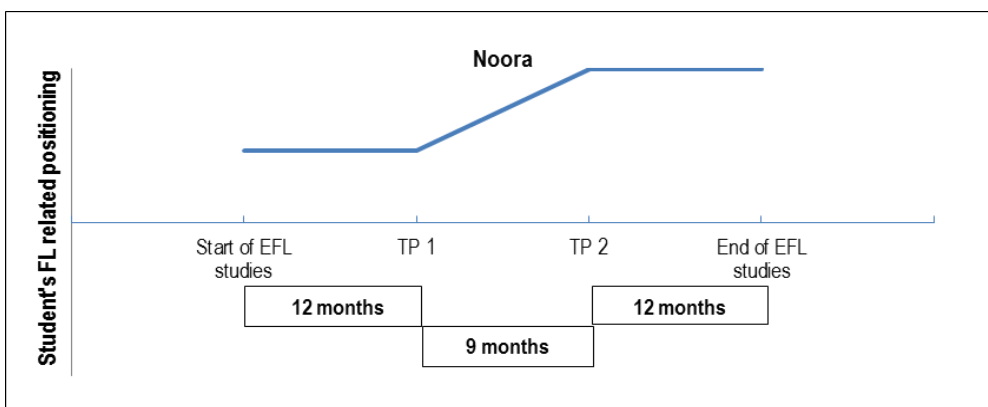


Figure 11. Noora's FL-related positionings during her EFL studies

The first key episodes in Noora's FL learning in the local GUSSA occurred when she became acquainted with other hard-working students in the lessons and when she discovered that the learning tasks, course assignments and portfolio work were personally meaningful. These experiences produced positive energy, which – in addition to her inventive ways of studying – protected Noora against exhaustion due to the perfectionism that sometimes threatened her FL learning. Two important changes taking place around the turn of her second school year marked the first turning point (TP 1 in Figure 11) in the progression of Noora's TL-related positionings. During her first school year, Noora grew to understand that language learning was a lifelong process. By the start of the new school year,

she had also revitalised her dream of getting into a university to become a language teacher. These insights had a positive impact on Noora and assisted her to reach higher levels in her learning process.

The following key episodes in Noora's FL learning related to her oral skills, which she had long considered a challenging part of her English skills. During her 2nd and 3rd years, she began to pay attention to using English orally in the lessons; she hoped for the teaching to occur entirely in English and for the teacher to encourage the students to utilise their spoken language skills in the lessons. Noora began to look forward to speaking tasks in which she could train her oral self-expression, considering them important learning opportunities. She organised a "girls' night" where she got together with other female GUSSA students to play the word explanation game *Alias* in English. English 8 (an EFL course focusing on oral language skills) in particular turned out to be an important time period for Noora. During this course, she gained much self-confidence for participating in oral encounters in the TL.

In the middle of these positive episodes of oral TL use lies the second turning point of Noora's FL learning (TP 2 in Figure 11), which levels out and stabilises the ascending plot progression. The turning point is located at the finish of Noora's second school year, which is commonly considered the hardest year of the upper secondary studies. Having a huge amount of stress at work and school, Noora ended up in hospital for a day. After that experience, she learnt to put her health first instead of perfectionism. This did not prevent her from performing well and enjoying her EFL studies but it also enabled her to prioritise and relax. In sum, Noora's TL-related positionings in her life reached an even more positive level towards the finish of her studies, despite the high starting point. Her active participation as a self-directed and committed English learner was a major contributor to this achievement.

"Niko": Looking for the easy way out

Based on the holistic-form analysis of "Niko's" story, the overall progression of his TL-related positionings during his time in the local GUSSA is graphed in Figure 12. The beginning of the line is slightly on the positive side. Despite his problematic relation to pronunciation, "Niko's" attitude to English was fairly neutral; he reported on using the language occasionally when travelling and

following the media. He considered his language skills average compared to other FL students. However, he frequently pointed out his dislike for studying languages. These negative associations intensified at the beginning of his EFL studies, resulting in a rapidly descending graph line. “Niko” ceased reporting on his moments of English use beyond school, focusing more and more on the negative aspects related to studying English at school instead. One of the negative moments occurring after “Niko” started his studies was when he realised that he was unable to study as many English courses simultaneously and take all English courses as quickly and as independently as he had planned. Two other negative moments that persistently kept on surfacing during the first months were “Niko’s” complaints about the homework, which he claimed he did not have time to do, and the emphasis on oral practice and pair/group work in the lessons instead of teacher-controlled translation and grammar practice.

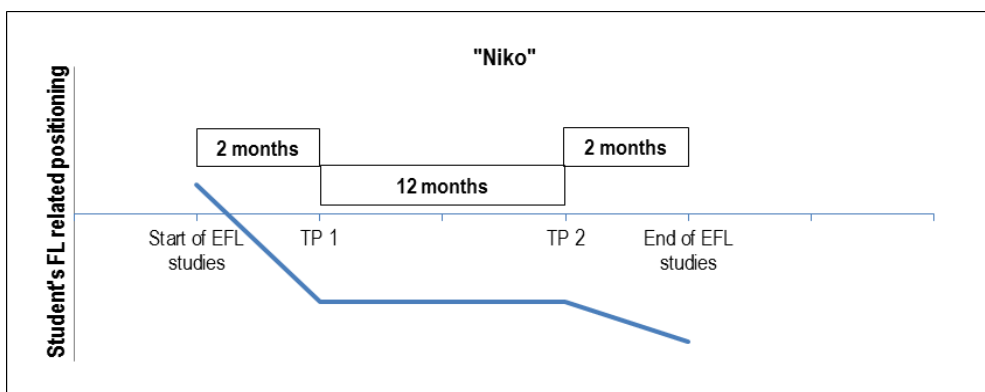


Figure 12. “Niko’s” FL-related positionings during his EFL studies

During these first couple of months, “Niko” became extremely demotivated to study English. This development culminated in a turning point (TP 1 in Figure 12), which marked the beginning of a longer time period during which “Niko” continuously grappled with the same problems and adopted equally negative subject positions in relation to studying English. He felt powerless to change anything in the prevailing conditions during this time. On the other hand, “Niko” was also reluctant to negotiate about and assume even the minimum level of responsibility for his studies. Although “Niko” often quit the EFL course before its end, his strategy for studying the course remained the same if/when he tried to

resit the course later. He was sometimes offered opportunities to study the courses independently but the attempts were unsuccessful. After several counselling meetings between “Niko”, his study counsellor and the FL teacher, “Niko” tried to take EFL courses online in an internet-based upper secondary school but was unable to finish the courses due to lack of time, motivation and English skills.

“Niko’s” narrative took another turn for the worse when he was caught plagiarizing a text at the finish of an English course (TP 2 in Figure 12) and had to resit the entire course. He started to complain about the subjects in the courses being so difficult that he could not talk about them, not knowing their vocabulary, although he claimed that he was able to talk about “almost any subject of interest to him” in out-of-school settings. Around that time, he also became more and more professionally oriented to his sports-related hobby, which consequently took most of his time. Moreover, changes in his personal life contributed to the increasing amounts of absences and lack of interest in continuing his EFL studies. Finally, “Niko” made a decision to take an undetermined break from his upper secondary studies. His narrative ends with negative TL-related subject positions.

A holistic reading of content: Analysis and findings

My second strategy to “keep the story intact” was to resort to a holistic reading of the narrative content, as outlined by Lieblich et al. (1998). The writers give two versions of this approach, one identifying a broad perspective on the themes of the narrative and the other exploring how specific segments shed light on the entire narrative. The approach adopted here is a variation of the former approach.

The motivation for adopting a holistic-content approach was the assumption that the experiential, narrative data, generated by the FL students, clustered around recurrent content, which the students used to signal their preoccupations and construct themselves as having particular outlooks and habitual ways of dealing with their TL-related lifeworlds (see McAdams 1997; Pavlenko 2007). Although this account of narrative self-construction has been criticised for its incompleteness, autobiographical stories (such as LaNas) can be seen to position the self discursively in different ways (Wortham 2000, 2001). This type of cognitive approach, which assumes that the thematic foci of autobiographical narration constitute a projection of the student’s TL-related subject position, was

adopted here. Examining these foci as they develop over time and combining this examination with the findings from the previous subsections would thus enable the formulation of claims about the FL students' development.

Phoenix (2008) has used the term 'key narrative' when referring to thematic foci which are repeatedly raised to explain and justify actions and decisions and which can be reconstructed and reinvented as new experiences rework the person's relation to his/her lifeworld. To investigate the FL students' portrayals of themselves in relation to the TL, this research will focus on analysing the six protagonists' key narratives without overlooking the very brief references and possibly absent narratives that may also reveal important aspects of the person's positioning with respect to his/her lifeworld (see Lieblich et al. 1998; Pavlenko 2007). However, the thematic foci are regarded here as intertwined and developing thematic plots within narratives, rather than narratives in themselves. These thematic plots include important content elements in terms of the student's learning process and contribute to the student's personal narrative of TL learning, use and participation. Rather than key narratives, I will therefore investigate the powerful storylines of each protagonist's narrative. The actual analysis consists of identifying the constituent thematic elements in the data, following their possible changes temporally throughout the data and interpreting this development within the frame of FL identity. According to Phoenix (2008, 67), the value of this type of holistic analysis of key content lies in that it

de-emphasizes the structural search for narrative-as-event and overcomes the difficulties that accompany the fact that not all research participants produce narratives of events [...] and that narratives of events do more than just describe events. Instead, the focus is on accounts that construct emotions, worldviews, characters or events in ways that illuminate why particular accounts are produced in particular ways – i.e. on sense-making processes.

Lieblich et al. (1998, 62–63) divide the holistic-content reading of a narrative into steps: 1) Read the data without any special focus until a pattern (such as a nuclear theme for the entire story) emerges; 2) Write down your first impressions and make notes about contradictions, exceptions, unusual and disharmonic features; 3) Choose the themes that you wish to follow as it evolves from beginning to end; 4) Mark the various themes and read them separately and repeatedly; 5) Keep track of the result, paying attention to the themes appearing for the first and last time, transitions between the themes, contexts for the themes

and contradictory themes, for example. The narrative analysis of holistic content in this research was a variation of this model. In brief, the analysis was based on the idea of reading the narrative holistically, identifying themes or foci of content, following them from beginning to end and submitting them to descriptive treatment. This approach allowed the data to be read systematically as temporally-structured, cognitive evidence of the protagonists' TL-related subject positions. I analysed each student's LaNas like this in terms of what they revealed about the student's relationship to the TL at different times and places both in and beyond the formal institutional adult upper secondary context.

The analysis included four readings of the data (see Figure 13), which consisted of the protagonists' learning journal, reflective writing tasks, counselling session material and the relevant parts of the teaching journal (chapter 6, 157). The choice of data meant that student development could and would be examined from a multivoiced viewpoint allowing access both to the student and teacher perspectives. As the first reading, referring to the division of the narrative texts into the *sjuzet* and *fabula*, overlapped with the holistic-form analysis (this chapter, 246), it will not be explained here. In the second reading, which was linked with the second reading of the holistic-form analysis, I read the data depicting each protagonist's FL learning to identify the most powerful content elements. This step was a mixture of reading and re-reading both the *fabula* and the *sjuzet*, with the aim of searching for different types of cues, paying attention to recurrent (or recurrently absent) issues and emotional utterances, for example.

1st reading:	Dividing the data into the <i>sjuzet</i> and <i>fabula</i>	→
2nd reading:	Identifying and naming the powerful thematic storylines	→
3rd reading:	Isolating the storylines from other data	→
4th reading:	Following the development of the storylines	

Figure 13. The holistic-content reading of the protagonists' TL-related development

While examining the data like this, I made notes about my observations and impressions, placing the focus on positioning and FL identity. As a result, this phase enabled me to name several powerful thematic foci in each protagonist's data. The third step continued from here, as I isolated those parts of the texts that

related to the thematic foci. This was a necessary step since it made it easier to follow the development of the themes chronologically. After completing this reading, I read the extracts in their temporal order and zoomed in by paying attention to possible transformations, overlaps, changes and transitions. A brief example of the different steps of the holistic-content analysis has been placed in Appendix 6.

On the basis of these four readings and the holistic-form analysis in the previous section, I interpreted the meaning of the findings in terms of the TL-related positionings adopted, the underlying questions being: How do the protagonists position themselves and how are they positioned discursively through these key storylines? These interpretations have been presented in the following six subsections. Finally, it should be pointed out that the analysis was conducted using the original data, some parts of which were in English and others in Finnish. The Finnish extracts of data quoted in the subsections below have been translated into English but the original extracts can be found in Appendix 9.

Leena: "Lennon was the hero of my youth and memories just popped up."

For Leena, FL learning resulted from a profound commitment to studying which referred to an ongoing combination of hard work and uncompromised attitude. In the data, Leena viewed studying English as both fun and enjoyable. She was motivated by her need to communicate better with the English-speaking people of her life. Improving her TL skills would therefore increase her possibilities to engage in meaningful social interaction. In this section, Leena's story will be interpreted through the following overarching, powerful storylines: 1) personally engaging language learning process, 2) long-term commitment to studying and learning the TL and 3) diversity of encounters with the TL.

Comparing the FL teaching in the local GUSSA with the FL teaching of her youth, Leena remembered to point out how different worlds they represented and how privileged she was, being able to witness a change towards the positive. In her story, Leena saw a turn towards personally meaningful FL learning as the core of this change. Whereas the FL studying of her past focused on translating texts from one language to another and being afraid of making grammatical mistakes in the process, Leena pointed out that studying English nowadays was oriented to improving one's communicative skills, which was exactly what Leena had hoped

for. What was also important for her motivation was that the learning tasks and portfolio assignments enabled personal approaches to the topics. The possibilities to discuss and cover the topics in personally meaningful ways made FL learning inspiring for Leena. She was motivated by portfolio work since it made her learning process more meaningful and transparent by emphasising the importance of the tasks and making her progress visible.

(1) I loved to do the presentation [on John Lennon]. It's amazing how much information you can find from Internet. When we were making the presentation, I sat one Saturday and just read the texts [about him] for hours. Lennon was the hero of my youth and memories just popped up. (Leena, language journal, English 4, January 2010)

(2) To start with, I was thinking about it [portfolio work], that what's the point of collecting for it. But yesterday evening when I was looking at it and thought about what I'd collected for it, then this is a really good idea. You can really see what the problems are that you should give more time and effort to. And you can clearly see how you've developed. (Leena, counselling session, April 2010)

Although Leena was used to working hard to achieve her goals before commencing her studies in the GUSSA, the personal approach to the course topics made her commitment to the language learning easier. From the beginning, she was willing to make an effort and assume responsibility for her learning. When having trouble with grammar and vocabulary, for example, Leena simply commented that she had to cease being lazy and study harder. As an older student, she felt a need to set an example for the young people who sometimes complained about the amount of homework and struggled with their motivation. Indeed, Leena often became a mother figure in the courses – especially when studying in smaller groups – by actively encouraging the other group members to participate. Although a combination of school, work and family appeared to be as challenging for Leena as for the other students, she still considered homework essential for learning. Instead of complaining about having too much to do, however, she emphasised the ability to prioritise the right things at the right time.

(3) It's grammar that causes me the greatest problems of all. It's just that I have to practise and gradually learn these things. The problem isn't that I've got some special difficulty. It's just the brute act of doing it. (Leena, language journal, English 4, January 2010)

(4) If you think about it from the point of view of learning, then it's been pretty much the ideal amount, what we've had of it [homework] and different kinds of assignments. Yes, this is what it's like, there's almost no free time left over. But if you start doing this, then I don't understand that you'd leave things undone or say that you've got another life as well. If you can't find the time, then there's no point at all in starting this. Yes, you've got to give it priority in those situations where there are alternatives. (Leena, counselling session, March 2011)

Throughout her time in the GUSSA, Leena's story was characterised by the storyline of diverse contacts with English. Not only was she engaged with the language at school but she also watched English films and read English books, reading being one of her pastimes. Leena's regular contacts with her daughters and their English-speaking boyfriends provided her with opportunities for oral communication. There is no denying the fact that this TL use combined with her dedication to English studies had an impact on the positive outcomes of her language learning process. Together, the three storylines contributed to an increasing number of reports on her successful and positive experiences of TL use. In addition to linguistic competence, however, Leena also listed her increased self-confidence and her developed awareness of different cultures among the important outcomes of her language learning.

(5) As you get more information and better skills, your viewpoint on things widens. You can examine a culture more critically. You get a desire to look at things that aren't immediately visible. Even though Western cultures are similar, there are differences in their customs and the things they value. English is spoken in very different cultures and everything in India is not the same as in Ireland, let alone Finland. (Leena, counselling session, March 2011)

(6) Two of our three daughters are over there in England. Last time I went to visit them, they didn't watch over me so precisely, checking how mum would manage to get from the airport, whether they should fetch me, and should they come down to the station, and can she get a taxi to take her where she wants to go. They too can see already that I can manage in English when I'm there. They don't have to constantly keep an eye on me anymore. (Leena, counselling session, March 2011)

Based on the holistic analyses of form (this chapter, 250) and content (this section), the following conclusions can be drawn about Leena's TL-related subject positions: 1) At the beginning of her EFL studies, Leena viewed herself as a slow, lazy and ineffective language learner. After getting used to studying English in the local GUSSA, Leena became an active participant in the language

learning community of the FL classroom. She regularly kept pushing herself to study in a number of different ways by reading, listening, watching, writing, talking, revising, underlining, etc. Although she repeatedly listed “laziness to study grammar” as one of her weaknesses as a FL learner, *lazy* was hardly the word to describe the subject positions that she adopted during her EFL studies. In addition to assuming responsibility for her learning, Leena’s meaning for the classroom community was essential; she could be seen to encourage the other students, who she referred to as her “young friends”, and she was skilful in organising and dividing the group’s work when studying in pairs or smaller groups. On one hand, Leena positions herself as a role model who wanted to set an example to the others. In her own words, “I’d like to show them that studying is fun!” On the other hand, Leena did not position herself as superior to others – on the contrary, she saw herself as the one who gained from studying with her friends. For Leena, studying English in the language learning community represented a unique possibility to improve the capacity for meaningful social interaction in English in a motivating and encouraging environment.

2) Leena viewed English as a means of everyday communication. Her relationship to the TL was positive throughout her LaNas, as she associated the language with important, emotionally charged aspects and memories of her personal life. Despite these elements, Leena viewed herself as a deficient English user at the beginning of her studies, feeling unable to understand the nuances of the language and reach deeper levels of interaction, for example. Thus, Leena also positioned herself peripherally among TL users. Gradually, she adopted more empowered subject positions. This progress was reinforced by her positive learning experiences in the EFL courses. Along with her developing TL proficiency, she started feeling that she was more in control of the language when reading books and watching films, for example, being able to grasp previously unfamiliar expressions, identify hidden meanings and thus deepen the reading/watching experience. Leena also gained a stronger sense of agency when travelling abroad and engaging in conversations with English-speaking people. She attributed the widening of her perspectives to different cultures to FL learning in particular. All in all, Leena’s FL learning contributed to her increasing participation and identification as an intercultural English user.

Susanna: “It’s nice when you’re not just somebody whose name nobody remembers.”

Susanna’s relationship to studying English at school can be described with the word *contradictory*. While sometimes depicting it as useless and purposeless “pottering about kindergarten-style”, she sometimes also considered it an extremely compelling, fascinating and vital preparation for a meaningful life. A similar ambiguity existed in Susanna’s attitude to the TL itself. For example, Susanna described her use of English in a Finnish environment as clumsy and embarrassing while also reporting on having enjoyed running her daily errands smoothly in English while in London. In her story, Susanna works on these ambiguities and contradictions, gradually realising the personal significance and value of knowing English. In the holistic-content analysis of the data, three thematic storylines through which Susanna’s story can be understood were identified: 1) authenticity of the teacher–student encounters, 2) authenticity of language learning and 3) the meaning of the language learning environment.

At the beginning of her GUSSA studies, Susanna pointed out how the teaching in the “day school” for younger upper secondary students had felt impersonal and how the teachers rarely had time to engage in face-to-face conversations with the students. During her EFL studies in the local GUSSA, she wondered how the FL teacher had time and energy to be so interested in the students’ lives and involved in their language learning processes. The individual guidance received from him for example in the counselling session provided Susanna with a strong feeling of being recognised as an equal person. Instead of considering the teacher an authority figure who always knew best, Susanna started to view him as someone who cared about her well-being and with whom she had the right to engage in dialogue about her language learning. A case in point: Susanna often asked me for spontaneous feedback regarding her development in English and offered feedback about my teaching and the lessons in return. These authentic encounters became a key factor in the positive development of Susanna’s EFL learning, as it contributed to changes in her motivation and attitude to studying.

(7) During this English course I have been supported more than ever before by the teacher. The experience is absolutely positive, and I hope the same style will go on. I think the support had a powerful influence on my learning for I really got something out of the course. My studying methods and motivation improved. I did my homework and revised things I had learnt at school, which is unusual. (Susanna, language journal, English 3, October 2009)

(8) It's nice when you're not just somebody whose name nobody remembers. In the adult upper secondary it feels like the teachers care more, remember what the student is like, know what her situation is. (Susanna, counselling session, April 2010)

(9) Earlier I never did a thing in school to learn English, I was really bad. Here I began to want to learn. It was when you said [in the third course], after I'd written that essay, that I could produce something better. I'd never thought I could produce something better. After that I've started to think more about the structure [of the text]. I don't just write down whatever comes into my head. I've given more thought to what I put in the paragraph, what are the points I want to make in my writing. (Susanna, counselling session, April 2010)

Another aspect of authenticity in Susanna's story relates to the language learning itself. Having been involved in English in many ways in out-of-school contexts (e.g., as an au pair, when staying in London, when meeting foreign customers at work, when surfing the net, etc.) and acquired negative experiences of English learning at school, Susanna considered school an extremely inauthentic and demotivating learning environment at the beginning of her GUSSA studies. Evidence of the same attitude can be pointed out throughout her EFL studies in the local GUSSA. She was especially critical towards practising oral language skills, spending time on group work and studying learning skills.

(10) [Group work] is a real waste of time. We spend a lot of lessons on doing it. If I could spend the same time on reading the book on my own, I bet I'd learn more. It's so forced, people don't really make an effort, group work just doesn't work with Finns. It's more like what they do in daycare, handicraft, it's got no purpose. I think independent study is the best way. If you haven't learned social skills as a child then it's a waste of time trying to learn them in an upper secondary school English class. It's just a bit of an inauthentic environment. (Susanna, counselling session, April 2010)

(11) Speaking is just harder. Could be that it also depends on your attitude, here [in the lesson] you can't take it as a real situation. But I've been hanging out in London when I didn't feel like coming to school, and I had no problems. (Susanna, counselling session, April 2010)

Susanna nevertheless manifested development when it came to her attitudes to and conceptions about language learning. To some degree, she learnt to see English studies as useful, intriguing and even fun. This progress was partially due to the fact that, unlike earlier, she saw the teaching as meaningful for herself. In

her portfolio assignments, she followed her progress and concentrated on issues that she experienced as interesting and relating to her life. She enjoyed the writing assignments where she could present and discuss her own views about real-life issues. In many respects, this change of attitude resulted from her insight that English in the lessons was no different from English beyond them. She may also have been more amenable to that type of authenticity at the time, considering that she had just spent months as an au pair and also stayed in London for a while. All in all, the authenticity of the learning process had a positive influence on Susanna's language learning motivation and enthusiasm. She even adapted to working in small groups, even though she did not like it much.

(12) Usually the themes of courses have been boring but this time the themes were truly interesting and topical in my own life too. (Susanna, language journal, English 3, October 2009)

(13) In the beginning I didn't like the idea of composing a language portfolio. I imagined that it would've been time-consuming and totally useless. Afterward I'd say that yes, it really was demanding but also very rewarding and sometimes even fun. Browsing through my portfolio I can see the progress I've made during these courses. I must confess that I'm satisfied with what I see. (Susanna, language journal, English 5, May 2010)

(14) My language skills and my attitudes to studying have changed radically. I've finally realized what teachers and parents have been going on about since primary school – we don't learn for school but for life. I need the things I've learned here. I realized that English is linked to many of my dreams (travelling, living and working abroad), and I came to the conclusion that studying English then wouldn't do me any harm. Gradually I began to like English, even though admitting that wouldn't help my street credibility. (Susanna, language journal, English 7, September 2010)

The third aspect playing an important role in Susanna's development was the change in her learning environment. Susanna had experienced a great amount of peer pressure and externally imposed expectations in the "day school", which appears to have been one of the reasons for her underperforming. In the evening lessons, she felt relaxed. The smaller class sizes and a laid-back atmosphere made participation easier. It was easier for her to study because the other FL students were not so skilful; as her language skills did not feel weaker compared to the others, she could focus on studying instead of worrying about her deficiencies. Susanna regarded the emphasis on the individual as liberating, individuality for

her implying that she did not have to create profound social contacts with the other students if she did not wish to do so. In many respects, the local GUSSA provided a more mature and learning-oriented environment for Susanna's FL studies. These changes in Susanna's learning environment are important for understanding her increased commitment to studying in a formal institutional FL context and the positive outcomes of her language learning efforts.

(15) I sense that I'm below the level of skill I should have on the basis of how many years I've been studying. Fortunately you don't notice this in the GUSSA. It's easier because there are older people here and they're worse at English because they only have primary school English. I like studying in a smaller group. The threshold for taking part in teaching is lower and the atmosphere more easy-going. (Susanna, language journal, English 4, December 2009)

(16) In my opinion one of the biggest plusses [of adult upper secondary school] is that this is individual, not communal. You can work in peace here. You don't have to create contacts with other students or know what other people's favourite colour is. (Susanna, counselling session, April 2010)

To summarise the findings regarding the development of Susanna's TL-related positionings (this chapter, 252 and this section), the following can be noted: 1) When beginning her EFL studies, Susanna positioned herself as a rebel who did not study or learn languages at school. This was due to three reasons. First, she considered school-like language learning inauthentic and purposeless; second, she felt that she had rarely received recognition as a language learner; and third, as an ambitious and competitive person, she had felt threatened by other students whose language skills exceeded hers. Consequently, Susanna was not oriented to doing her homework or studying the course books voluntarily, depicting herself as a loser in English at school. School represented a place for meaningless slave work where people were treated as impersonal conveyor belt workers who competed against each other for the "employee of the year" title. As an English user, Susanna was hardly a loser, however. Her interest in English was channelled through other media than course books and lessons. As she was involved in using the TL beyond the institutional context, she pointed out that English could be learnt by watching films, surfing the net, travelling abroad, chatting with foreign friends, and so on, i.e., by using the TL in what she saw as real-life situations. These experiences had become influential in Susanna's life after her stay abroad,

strengthening her identification with and belonging to a global community of English users and creating a fertile starting point for EFL studies.

2) Along with the positive experiences of learning English in the GUSSA, Susanna started to view FL studies as useful and meaningful. She gained confidence in her ability to develop as a language learner and discovered the purpose of studying English at school. Although she hardly became a fully functioning member of the language learner community, she became more committed to studying and learnt to assume responsibility for learning. EFL teaching in the GUSSA represented a sharp contrast to Susanna's earlier experiences of inauthentic and impersonal pedagogies. Even though Susanna preferred reading English magazines to committing to a persevering study of course books, her journal entries included examples of periods when she reported on being absorbed by studying a dictionary, practising grammar and working on her portfolio. Based on her judgment, this differed from her earlier behaviour. While positioning herself away from the subject positions related to underperforming, Susanna repositioned herself as a language learner in the FL context.

3) Susanna also became better positioned in relation to the TL during her studies. It was her written self-expression in which the most concrete progress can be noticed. Moreover, Susanna pointed out at the end of her GUSSA studies that she had gained a stronger feeling that her current English proficiency would provide her with a better starting point as an exchange student or au pair. In the counselling session only weeks before graduation, Susanna depicted her relationship to English metaphorically as a honeymoon, which vividly captured the change of attitude that had taken place during her EFL studies, as English had turned from a hated external object into an intimate life companion.

Suvi: "The English language is a key which opens many doors in the world around us."

According to Suvi, "having issues" with English the way she did built a serious obstacle to her full participation in life, as she felt that English played a substantial role in many areas of contemporary life and existence. Suvi portrayed her EFL studies as a therapeutic, self-reflective journey that slowly led her to the liberating feeling of being able to function as an empowered English user. In Suvi's LaNas, this journey was built on three thematic storylines in particular: 1) self-reflection

as a way to unravel the “issues” with English, 2) the contribution of the language learning community and 3) Suvi’s discovery of the language learner within.

As for the first storyline, Suvi’s capacity and tendency for reflective introspection turned out to become a powerful asset in solving her problematic relationship to English. From the beginning, she saw the language learning journal and other narrative and reflective learning tasks as important opportunities to learn to understand herself better and work on her anxiety and fear of English. As the following extract illustrates, Suvi saw reflection as an integral part of FL learning:

(17) Although a big part of my studying time/energy is taken up with reflection and journals, I find them useful means of observation which help me understand what I’m trying to do, how and why. (Suvi, language journal, English 1, January 2010)

Suvi also seized this learning opportunity with enthusiasm, as can be observed from the length and depth of her journal entries. Together with the two other powerful storylines, Suvi’s narrative self-reflection contributed to her development as an English user, slowly breaking the invisible barriers that she had put up to hide and protect herself from the language. As evidence of her increasing feeling of empowerment towards the finish of her studies, Suvi demonstrated a change of attitude in terms of her continuous processing of the past negative experiences with English.

(18) And I’m sick and tired of thinking about this fear of speaking English I have. Forget it, if and when I mess up, then I mess up, I’m hardly going to cause anything momentous. (Suvi, language journal, English 5, April 2011)

(19) It annoys me when I go on about my bad old experiences. I’ve blown them up into bigger nightmare scenarios than they are. In future I shall try to replace my negative thinking with something more positive. Studying English isn’t a deadly serious thing for me anymore, even though it is significant. (Suvi, language journal, English 7, August 2011)

Even though Suvi was a rather introverted person, she regarded the language learning community as essential for her learning. Throughout her studies, she was rather dependent on this community, having courage to demonstrate independence beyond the community only towards the end of her EFL studies. However, the positive influence of this safe community for Suvi’s progress

cannot be underestimated. The most significant others of this community consisted of her spouse (with whom Suvi regularly started talking English at home), myself as her EFL teacher and a couple of course mates that she studied with in the lessons. In particular, the rather extrovert male student that she incidentally got to know on her first EFL course became an important figure, who enabled Suvi to relax in the lessons.

(20) Teamwork with a regular partner works and produces results. He is talented and full of action, I get caught up in the details and question everything. It's more fun thinking about things together. The best thing about the group is the diversity of individuals and the many different viewpoints. The group is a peer support group, which promotes learning and motivates. On my own I wouldn't study. Sharing opinions and experiences is important. If there wasn't anybody to turn to, I wouldn't be able to get things clear. The teacher too has a central role in managing the group and its learning. Without the teacher the group would be a bunch of people who have got lost and don't know how they got where they are and which way they should go. (Suvi, language journal, English 0, September 2009)

One of the changes contributing to Suvi's development was her insight that she did not have to know English perfectly to be able to use it; she could also position herself as a language learner beyond the language learning community. In the data, Suvi gradually became more involved in utilising English, first by participating at school, then by using English with her spouse and by herself (when surfing the net, listening to pop music, etc.) and finally by interacting with people from different cultures. This development had a powerful, liberating impact on Suvi both psychologically and physically, as she gained more self-confidence, learnt to know herself better, ceased viewing herself as an outsider, obtained the feeling of knowing plenty of English and accessed a range of opportunities in life.

(21) Before I began studying English I shut my eyes and ears to the English language and I avoided foreign cultures. The constant feeling of running away was psychologically stressing and trying for my self-esteem. In the role of student I've begun to follow what's going on around me in a different way. I don't need to be the champion and I can learn at my own pace. As a student I have permission to try and fail, to face the challenges that arise. From the point of view of mental development, this has been a huge, interesting and liberating thing. Now that I've accepted the student in myself, I've noticed that that student can get active in many situations. (Suvi, language journal, English 2, May 2010)

(22) In the holidays we went on a cruise to Stockholm. [...] Now I felt a lot more self-confident, I was brave enough to change money in the museum and order food, among other things, and it didn't feel like a big effort at all. You could call this a positive experience, and it has its importance. (Suvi, language journal, English 8, November 2011)

(23) Studying English means more to me than I could ever have imagined. The English language is a key which opens many doors in the world around us; without it I'd be in the dark about lots of things and pieces of information. (Suvi, self-assessment, English 8, November 2011)

What do the two holistic analyses reveal about Suvi's English-related subject positions? 1) At the beginning, Suvi categorically positioned herself outside the community of English users. Her earlier experiences of rejection had made her exclude herself from the imagined English-speaking community. As the classroom community represented a safe and encouraging learning environment, Suvi nevertheless quickly adopted active and participatory subject positions, recognising herself as the agent of her learning. Gradually, carefully and slowly, Suvi began to position herself as an FL learner also beyond the institutional confines, for example when practising her oral English skills with her spouse and reading magazines for language learning purposes. Although this process was not easy or steady and involved plenty of challenges, Suvi attributed this development to her EFL studies in the GUSSA.

2) In relation to the TL, Suvi demonstrated tentative signs of increasing empowerment. During the last six months of her studies, she pointed out that she knew more English than ever before. This feeling was reinforced for example by her spouse's comment regarding her writing skills as well as her successful English use in Stockholm compared to her previous attempts. Although these few moments did not provide evidence of multifaceted and intensive English use, they represented encouraging initial steps in TL use and indicated the slow and steady development of Suvi's own voice in the TL.

3) Suvi drew a distinction between English learners and English users – the latter she associated with people who knew the language well and used it for meaningful communication and behaviour in multicultural encounters without intentional learning purposes. During her EFL studies, Suvi slowly started identifying with positionings associated with using rather than learning English, along with gaining courage and self-confidence to engage in TL use. As a result

of her emerging sense of agency, she assumed active, English-related subject positions in her life. They were initially confined to safe and domestic environments but later expanded towards various multicultural contexts.

4) Finally, Suvi claimed to have emerged as a cultivated and sophisticated person due to her English studies. She felt that the courses had covered interesting and thought-provoking subjects and increased her possibilities to participate actively in her daily life. Thus, it appears that Suvi's EFL studies prevented her marginalisation, contributed to her social empowerment and increased her possibilities to assume greater control of life. What enabled this transformation according to Suvi was that her English studies taught her how to be a language learner also beyond the formal institutional FL context.

Anna: "Even a building will wobble if there aren't proper foundations."

As shown by the holistic-form analysis (this chapter, 257), Anna's EFL studies in the local GUSSA were characterised by toiling and struggling in the midst of life's challenges. In her LaNas, Anna often associates English use with feelings of distress, agony and frustration, caused by her inability to communicate in the TL. Although she eventually survived upper secondary English, she still failed to notice any positive aspects in her language learning process. Anna's story can be understood through the following thematic storylines: 1) the challenges of life combined with a persistent and unyielding attitude, 2) lack of diversity in English use and 3) a scarcity of stories about key learning experiences.

As for the first storyline, Anna was continuously faced by new challenges. At the beginning, she knew little English compared to most of her peers. In the classroom, she turned out to be a slow learner, which was likely due to an undiagnosed learning difficulty. As a result, Anna could not always keep up with the pace and she had difficulties working in small groups if the other students did not assist her regularly. Neither was I as her EFL teacher always able to provide her sufficiently with support. Anna's English learning was also challenged by her life beyond the institutional context. She was seldom involved with English at work or in her leisure time, despite her desire to learn to comprehend English research articles in her field, the nursing sciences. Furthermore, Anna's years in the GUSSA were filled with a great deal of sorrow caused by serious illnesses

within the family; these illnesses demanded much of Anna's energy and attention, also hindering her systematic English studies.

(24) My husband has been ill so I've had a whole lot more housework to do... life isn't the same as it was before. And, yes, worrying wears you out and you don't have the same strength. (Anna, counselling session, August 2010)

(25) The group task would have been an interesting block of work to do entirely together. This was the way it turned out again [with Anna having to miss classes]. If I was quicker at producing text, I'd have less trouble with the assignments. Sometimes I feel I'm just a burden for the group. (Anna, language journal, English 3, September 2010)

(26) Because I never did the basics of the language, it's difficult to study anything new since I haven't got a base I can connect all the more demanding things to. Even a building will wobble if there aren't proper foundations. (Anna, language journal, English 4, January 2011)

As Anna took the English courses at a somewhat slower pace and in a different order compared to her peers, she rarely had the time to become acquainted with the other students in the classroom. These reasons made it harder for her to receive peer support when required, and she sometimes felt isolated and alone with her struggle. Shortage of time caused by duties at home and work posed a continuous threat to Anna's language studies. Despite these challenges, Anna was remarkably persistent and committed to continuing her studies, which was one of the reasons why she managed to get her upper secondary certificate. One of her motivators was that she considered the teaching useful and the learning contents interesting. These, combined with the minor positive experiences, encouraged her to promote her learning process for example by taking additional summer courses in English to revise things.

(27) Yes, I myself am motivated by succeeding at tasks. When you've had time to devote yourself to something and succeeded in carrying out the task at more or less the required level, you feel good and carry on and try to improve. (Anna, language journal, English 2, May 2010)

(28) I've often been indifferent to learning tips handed out during lessons. But nevertheless, having read them and tried them out, I've noticed that they work. For example, when studying vocabulary it helps to group the words. Mind you, it's difficult to make a change, at least at this age. Yet a change is precisely what I need for studying words because the old tricks don't work. It's impossible to learn

anything through rote learning. (Anna, language journal, English 4, December 2010)

As to the second storyline, Anna's language learning process lacked out-of-classroom, informal English use almost entirely. Anna did increase her English use during her learning process, however, but it was rather one-dimensional, as it only took place by studying the language in formal institutional FL contexts. Although Anna revised English in summer courses and took lessons at the local workers' institute, she only reported on using her language skills in a recreational context on three occasions.

Finally, Anna's story is distinguished from many others in that it lacks references to transforming key language learning experiences. From time to time, Anna reported on minor successes like getting an exercise correct, grasping the content of a text, comprehending parts of the lecture that she attended and discovering new language learning techniques. However, there were no key insights in Anna's story nor did she recognise any major developments; she also had difficulties to eliminate her old studying habits despite knowing the new techniques. Anna's most important experiences related to English turned out to be the basic-level course that she took at the local adult education centre and the guided tour at the museum which, she emphasised, she would never have participated in before her EFL studies. Most of the time, Anna nevertheless regarded it as very difficult to point out progress.

(29) The contents of my language portfolio are modest and there's no point in looking for development in my case. Yet I know I've learned things, but what? It's difficult to make an analysis. I've put in the effort, I've done the assignments almost on time. I got left behind after the initial course. Sometimes I've understood the idea of the assignment wrongly. I'd have something to say but sometimes it really makes me angry that I haven't got enough language to express myself. (Anna, language journal, English 4, January 2011)

(30) The teaching at the adult education centre has been really good, at the same time it's like therapy. There I can understand everything because we're doing the basics so slowly. It's so easy to be there. (Anna, language journal, English 5, April 2011)

To interpret the findings in terms of Anna's TL-related positionings, the following can be pointed out: 1) Anna saw herself as a weak EFL learner due to her old age and deficient English skills. She expected English studies to become

a struggle requiring patience, hard work and a humble attitude. Despite her hardships and fatigue, Anna demonstrated commitment and persistence, assuming responsibility for her learning throughout her studies. As she tended to view herself as a burden to others when working in small groups, positioning herself as inferior to others, she often studied by herself, outside the learner community even when physically sitting in the classroom. Neither was the community successful in providing Anna with support that would facilitate her identification with the others. For example, some of the learning tasks were inaccessible to Anna and some of the students unwilling or unable to cooperate with her. Although she eventually found peers to study and identify with (in the FL classroom and other TL-related communities) as well as ways to improve and widen her learning process (including learning techniques and language courses), her positioning hardly demonstrated signs of improvement. She survived the EFL courses but was still grappling with the same problems.

2) Anna's development as a person using English for communicative purposes was equally minimal. At the end of her GUSSA studies, she became somewhat better positioned in relation to her reading skills in English but she rarely reported on occasions where she would have had to put her skills to the test beyond the school context. She had not become more involved in English informally. Despite minimal progress, Anna did not have much control of English nor was she able to express herself properly in the TL or recognise the language as her own. Although interaction had increased between Anna and the English speaking community in general, she continued to position herself at a distance from English. As evidence of this distancing, she predicted that she would need different types of mediational means (dictionaries, language courses and helpful people) whenever using English in the future. All in all, Anna had become modestly acquainted with English by the end of her EFL studies, and not many possibilities to assume participatory subject positions as an English user had emerged. Despite the positive undertones of studying English in the local GUSSA, the meaning of language learning therefore remained minimal and empowered TL use an unattained dream for Anna.

Noora: "Language is [...] a kind of tool you can play and experiment with."

Generally speaking, Noora's FL learning can be seen as a well-organised, systematic and goal-oriented process from beginning to end. Comparing it to being able to swim or drive a car, Noora listed knowing English among the basic human skills that all people should learn in the modern world. For Noora, being able to utilise English also meant accessing a broader variety of means to express oneself. In the data, three powerful, thematic storylines characterised Noora's journey through her EFL courses: 1) her sense of self-direction, 2) the width, depth and length of studying English and 3) her strengthening voice in the TL. From the beginning, Noora portrayed herself as a motivated and ambitious FL student who wanted to make the most of her studying. In the following extract from the beginning of her English studies, she emphasised that she was, indeed, extremely committed to learning:

(31) I feel being a motivated English student. I'm interested in finding out about the characteristics and practices of the language. I've got clear goals and I intend to bring the things that I've learnt to practice. I'm monitoring my learning and evaluating the outcome. I tend to use English as much as possible. I'm not afraid of situations where I have to talk in English. (Noora, reflective task, English 1, January 2011)

Noora manifested the same kind of self-direction throughout her EFL studies, not only continuously searching for but also actively creating English learning opportunities around her. She had a great deal of self-confidence in her ability to steer her learning in the right direction; she was self-conscious of what she had to do to learn. This sense of self-direction made Noora somewhat independent of the teaching, the FL teacher and the other students so that they framed but did not determine the outcome of her learning; it was Noora herself who was in charge of that. She also claimed the right to know how the teaching might benefit her learning in practice. For example, she asked the teacher to explain the purpose of the reflective writing tasks as part of the exam in detail at the beginning of her studies. If required, she was prepared to change the prevailing conditions to maximise the positive outcome.

(32) I know which are the best [learning] strategies for me. I'm very analytical. I tend to do one thing from start to finish before I begin with a new task. I prefer pair work to big groups. I like studying alone and that's when

I'm at my most efficient. But working together with other people is necessary to develop my oral language skills. (Noora, reflective task, English 3, October 2011)

(33) In some cases it may be better to talk about the topic in groups, you get new ideas, new perspectives. [...] But then again I have my own technique [of studying by myself] that I want to use and my own [individual] ways to study and I can reach good results with those. And it may sound awful to say so but if I have group work and let someone else do part of it s/he may not do it as well as I would. But s/he will do it as well as s/he can. So maybe that's why, if we have group work, I'm the leader who says what each member should do. (Noora, counselling session, May 2012)

The second thematic storyline was related to the dimensions of Noora's language learning. At the beginning, she was already intensively involved in using English: she needed English regularly when at work, when listening to pop music, when surfing the net and when speaking with her foreign acquaintances, for example. During her EFL studies, this involvement gained more learning-oriented features; Noora intentionally started to seek language learning opportunities in a range of different settings. However, it was not only breadth but also depth that characterised her language learning. She liked to reflect on her writing tasks by writing comments to herself in the margins; she enjoyed being able to assess her development through her portfolio; she was dedicated to writing her journal and she considered the discussions and debates about the course topics interesting. At the end of her studies, she felt that studying English had substantially contributed to her growth as a person although she also criticised that the teaching could have gone even deeper, especially when it came to culture.

(34) I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words. (Noora, language journal, English 2, May 2011)

(35) When studying a language you often consider issues and express yourself. Maybe you can't express yourself as perfect as in your native language but I feel that I've grown as a person as I've reflected on my relationship to society and culture, for example. (Noora, language journal, English 7, September 2012)

One of Noora's most meaningful experiences in the EFL courses was her insight that FL learning was a lifelong project – a process of continuous development. This insight enabled Noora to balance the tension between her perfectionist nature and her occasional feeling of imperfect English proficiency. It contributed to the third storyline, Noora's own voice in English. Towards the finish of her studies, Noora realised that it was important to be oneself in the TL, which made her focus more on what she desired to say and how she desired to say it. She started to view language as a practical tool that people could utilise flexibly for their purposes. This change assisted her in reaching a higher lever in learning, as she transformed from a learner of English into a producer of the TL.

(36) I'm not ready, however, and I've learnt that I never will be. This has dropped a weight off my shoulders and it also keeps me interested because there'll always be something new to learn. (Noora, language journal, English 2, May 2011)

(37) It's not only that I've learnt grammar rules but also that language is like something that you can work on, it's like a tool to play and experiment with [...] I've learnt to make [the language] sound like me, that you can hear my voice in it. And I've gained more courage; now I've got the courage to talk about genetically manipulated food and stuff like that. (Noora, language journal, English 7, October 2012)

On the basis of the holistic analysis of narrative form (this chapter, 259) and the holistic analysis of narrative content in this section, the following summary represents the subject positions that Noora occupied in relation to the TL during her EFL studies in the local GUSSA: 1) Throughout the narrative, Noora positioned herself as an active, self-conscious, creative and goal-oriented English learner responsible for her own language learning. As an English learner, she situated herself in the core of the community from the very beginning. As her learning process advanced, she learnt to harness almost any occasion of TL use into a potential language learning opportunity.

2) Noora regarded the institutional context, the pedagogy of the lessons, the teacher and the other students as practical and social tools that she could utilise to promote her own learning. Moreover, she positioned herself as superior to the other FL students of the language learning community who, she felt, were not always as committed to studying as fully as she was. She was not arrogant or indifferent to her peers, however; on the contrary, she wanted to identify herself

as a FL student like any other and was often willing to assist those struggling with their learning by sharing her knowledge with them.

3) Towards the finish of her EFL studies, Noora felt that she had become a more empowered person in relation to English in that she was more able and had more courage to communicate even about demanding subjects of interest to her. She was more in control of English than earlier; she had discovered or was about to discover her own style to express herself both orally and in writing. Finally, she recognised growth as a person that she felt was due to the discussions and reflections that she participated in as an EFL learner in the local GUSSA. In other words, even though Noora identified herself as a member of the global community of English users throughout her EFL studies, she felt that her language learning process had gradually shifted her positioning towards the centre of the community. She attributed the greatest impact on this development to her own agentic language learning behaviour, which was nonetheless enabled and reinforced by the meaningful formal institutional FL context.

“Niko”: “I hardly ever read text books in my free time. Nevertheless, I’ll probably continue studying the same way.”

The overall impression of “Niko’s” narrative can be summarised by the following two sentences: a) “Niko” expected the teacher to be fully responsible for his English learning. b) “Niko” considered English at its best when he could consume it without the presence of others and preferably without making any sound. Evidence to support these impressions can be discovered when reading “Niko’s” story through the following overarching storylines: 1) lack of responsibility for FL learning as a long-term process, 2) expectations and beliefs associated with FL learning, teaching and skills, 3) meanings attributed to external circumstances and 4) a scarcity of stories about key learning experiences.

The first storyline involves two important elements: *responsibility* for a *process*. As for the responsibility, “Niko” had continual problems to motivate himself. He often claimed to have difficulties getting used to the teaching. Instead of trying to control his language learning, he often pointed out that he would rather have had the teacher make him learn. If the study counsellor or the FL teacher did not regularly remind him about attending courses, he usually did not appear in the lessons until towards the middle of the course. Neither did he

understand why he had to attend lessons, study with someone, turn in learning tasks and read aloud in English despite his “lousy pronunciation”. If “Niko” was not absent, he was often uninterested, playing with his mobile phone at the back of the classroom. Once he did not purchase a book for the course at all but expected the teacher to lend him a copy in the lessons. He also used the absence of a book as an excuse for not having done any homework or portfolio tasks. If he was unable to attend an EFL course due to his abundant leisure time activities, he expected the teacher to arrange other possibilities for him to take the course, once no later than a week before the three-month summer break. “Niko” admitted having problems with his studies but was hardly prepared to do anything about it, expecting the teacher to improve the conditions instead.

(38) I’m a lazy student as far as homework is concerned, and I hardly ever read text books in my free time. Nevertheless, I’ll probably continue studying the same way. [...] I’d give myself a 7 as a mark for the course because I really hope for it. (“Niko”, language journal, English 1, January 2010)

(39) Why do we have to concentrate on the people around us in the lesson? I came here to study English, not to socialize. (“Niko”, language journal, English 4, February 2010)

(40) **My learning process has not advanced, and I don't think I need to change my studying methods since they're fine the way they are now.** (“Niko”, language journal, English 5, April 2011)

“Niko’s” English learning was complicated by the fact that it did not resemble a process but consisted of many separate, disorganized and discontinuous attempts to take the EFL courses quickly with as little effort as possible. For example, “Niko” immediately enrolled for three courses at different levels in the same period when commencing his studies in the middle of the school year, one of them an advanced-level course, even though he had last studied English more than a year ago, had not taken the first courses focusing on basic language skills and had plenty of difficulties with basic vocabulary and grammar. Neither was his studying process-like, as he was absent or did not do anything at the beginning of the course and then tried to cram everything into a week or two. This was most likely one of the reasons why “Niko” failed to understand the purpose of the language learning journal; it was impossible to identify development if only one entry emerged in the journal during the course. Since “Niko” usually had only one solution to his cumulating problems – to quit the course and give it another

try later – he rarely achieved any milestones in his learning process. Neither was the language learning community particularly helpful in “Niko’s” commitment to studying because he did not attend the lessons so often that he would have had time to integrate into the community and the community was often different in different courses since “Niko” did not take the courses in the expected order.

As for the second storyline, “Niko’s” problems in the EFL courses originated from his unrealistic conceptions about FL learning and teaching in the GUSSA. For example, he assumed that he could study all the compulsory English courses independently in a few months and the teacher would have the resources to arrange this for him. He thought that he would only have to pass the final exams without doing anything else during the courses. He expected the lessons to consist of following the teacher’s instructions, translating texts and doing vocabulary and grammar exercises quietly and alone. He had a mechanistic view of language learning, which could be seen in his consumption of learning strategies, which centred on translation from one language to another. It was confusing for “Niko” if the vocabulary of one EFL course was mixed with the vocabulary of another. He was also amazed by the difficulty of the TL as he had assumed that his English skills were at least average. This belief had contributed to “Niko’s” attitude that he would hardly have to make an effort to pass the courses.

(41) It’s a pity anyway that we didn’t deal very much with the text in the lesson. I think it would have been better to read the chapters and translate them into Finnish in the lesson because now that’s something we have to do in our own spare time, and of course I didn’t have time for them on top of everything else. (“Niko”, language journal, English 4, January 2010)

(42) I’m frustrated and annoyed because I’m having to retake this course. I’ve already got through it once, but my course grade was still ‘fail’, which I think was unfair because I attended the lessons as well. (“Niko”, language journal, English 5, April 2011)

(43) [Out-of-school] I can talk in English about almost all of the topics that interest me, as long as the vocabulary in them is simple. In my spare time I might speak English with my mates just like that, and in certain situations where I can’t even speak Finnish. Even so, the topics in this course are really demanding. I seldom talk about things like this. (“Niko”, language journal, English 6, September 2011)

“Niko” attributed significance to various external factors as major obstacles to successful FL learning. The meanings “Niko” attributed to these circumstances

represent the third powerful storyline. For example, “Niko” commonly complained about his chronic shortage of time, which he saw was due to difficulties combining regular training, working and studying in two schools with the amount of homework given in the EFL courses. Another obstacle was the teaching which “Niko” felt concentrated too much on oral practice, pair work and reading aloud, and too scantily on translation and grammar. He was frustrated about having to write the journal, the purpose of which he did not understand. Consequently, he rarely wrote many entries. He would have wanted more pop quizzes and teacher control. Other reasons for the unsuccessful language learning included tiredness in the lessons, changes in personal life and a preference for studying advanced mathematics. “Niko” often recognised these challenges but claimed that it was not in his power to do anything to improve the situation.

(44) I’ve been a bit surprised by this huge amount of homework because everybody, or at least the majority, is working and there may be children + hobbies, etc. At least for me, there’s not necessarily an awful lot of time for doing homework. (“Niko”, language journal, English 3, September 2009)

(45) My earlier absences were because I just couldn’t miss my training sessions. If there are too many of these absences now then give me some extra assignments, for example, so that I can take part in the test. This is a difficult situation attending these evening classes. (“Niko”, language journal, English 6, March 2011)

(46) I think we could have devoted more attention to grammar things and sometimes I felt we spent too much time on group work, time we could have used, for example, on grammar or doing exercises. There’s a lot of grammatical things I’ve got to learn. In the lessons we didn’t go through the grammar well enough so I didn’t understand all the things. (“Niko”, language journal, English 5, May 2011)

Considering these three storylines, it is hardly surprising that “Niko’s” language learning was characterised by the absence of key learning experiences. In his story, “Niko” briefly referred to instances of English use beyond the institutional context, only to point out in the following sentence that he did not believe that his English-related activities had been “significant in any way”. As for language learning at school, he was equally unable to recognise any development. In fact, “Niko’s” story of FL learning often concentrates on reporting on anything but language learning experiences.

What the two holistic analyses (this section and this chapter, 260) revealed about “Niko’s” TL-related positionings during his time as a FL student can be

summarized as follows: 1) “Niko” generally positioned himself negatively in relation to institutional FL learning. The negative positionings were reinforced during the EFL courses as “Niko” refused to adopt the subject positions associated with studying foreign languages at school. Neither was he willing or able to view himself as a member of the classroom language learner community. On the contrary, he distanced himself from the other FL learners by questioning the meaningfulness of studying with other students in the lessons. Instead of allowing himself to engage in dialogue with the teacher about his language learning, “Niko” positioned himself as superior to the EFL teacher by implicitly defining himself as a demanding customer who had the right to determine what, how and when to study. In a customer position, he did not see himself as responsible for language learning – he expected it to be done for him instead.

2) When it came to out-of-classroom English consumption, “Niko” rarely reported on using English in his free time. He had not yet “come out in public” with his English, mostly because of his embarrassment about talking English among other than close friends due to his struggle with pronunciation. Indeed, the few reported occasions of English use beyond the FL classroom referred to silent English consumption (reading, listening and writing) only. Otherwise “Niko” failed to identify with the English-speaking community, positioning himself continuously as a marginalized user of the TL.

3) A reason for the stability of “Niko’s” marginalized subject position was that he did not see similarities and connections between the English of the lessons and the English beyond it. The English of the lessons remained a difficult *school subject* for him. This was mostly because of challenging vocabulary and grammar that “Niko” viewed as the core of language learning. As he felt that the lessons did not cover vocabulary and grammar sufficiently, he did not recognise development in his FL proficiency. An example of the assumed distinction between English at and beyond school was “Niko’s” criticism of the need to practise pronunciation in the classroom even though he elsewhere emphasised pronunciation as one of the most important aspects of language skills. In the formal institutional FL context, “Niko” did not see himself as a person aiming to improve his self-expression in English; he positioned himself as a person aiming to manage a school subject instead. Consequently, instead of bringing the kind of extra value that Suvi referred to in her story, FL teaching and learning became an obstacle, a necessary evil, which decreased “Niko’s” well-being by causing both

stress and shortage of time. In this process, English remained both a foreign language and an unattained school subject for “Niko”.

Theorising the foreign language students’ development

In chapter 9, I have analysed the six protagonists’ language learning processes holistically by examining the form and content of the narrative data produced by the protagonists during their EFL studies in the local GUSSA. My intention has been to investigate how the protagonists position themselves in relation to the TL-related aspects of their lives over the course of their language learning processes. In the holistic analysis of form, the overall development of these positionings was depicted by pointing out important, TL-related experiences in each protagonist’s EFL studies. The holistic analysis of content studied the subject positions by focusing on the overarching thematic storylines embedded in the narrative data. In this analysis, the meanings given by the protagonists to their powerful, FL-related experiences were examined. Together, the two analyses revealed the uniqueness of the individual meaning-making processes, which is reflected in the diversity of TL-related positionings occupied by the protagonists in the data. In the light of the findings, the FL students’ development can now be conceptualised through the notions of FL identity, agency and affordance, all of which are complex constructs with their own integrity (see Benson et al. 2012, 2013; Block 2007a; Menezes 2011a; Mercer 2011, 2012; van Lier 2004, 2007, 2008). This section will conclude the analysis with a discussion about the relevance of these three concepts in understanding FL learning in the local GUSSA.

Foreign language identity

The motivation for investigating the FL students’ subject positions in their LaNas was the assumption that narrative positioning was crucial to identity construction. This assumption was based on claims suggesting that occupying particular subject positions in autobiographical narration implies that the narrator acts and becomes like that kind of person (chapter 4; also Davies & Harré 1999; Wortham 2000, 2001). On the basis of the two holistic analyses, language learning in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA can now be scrutinised in terms of

FL identity development, with the concept defined here as any aspect of a person's identity that is connected to their knowledge and use of the TL to be learnt (cf. chapter 4, 100; also Benson et al. 2012, 2013).

The protagonists' narratives capture reconstructions of FL identities which are triggered by formal institutional FL teaching, or initiated within, or extended to involve the language learner community in the local GUSSA. For example, the development of Noora's positionings during her learning process indicated how she found her voice in the TL when she accepted herself as a lifelong language learner and realised that it was important to be oneself in the TL instead of imitating others. As a result, she reported on how she discovered her style of expressing herself in English. She pointed out how her control of the language increased, which enabled her to engage in discussions about a wider repertoire of subjects in English. This control supplied her with more self-confidence to act as a TL user and participant. The personally meaningful topics widened her views and developed her as a person when it came to sustainable development, for example. This evidence indicates developments in Noora's FL identity. In many respects, she grew as an active participant in the global community of English users during the years that she spent studying English in the local GUSSA.

The data still include plenty of individual variation. There are remarkable differences between the FL students' identity development, which may be due to the diversity of people studying EFL in the GUSSA (see chapter 2). Whereas Noora was an example from the positive, "Niko" represented an example from the negative end of the continuum. The subject positions occupied by him did not manifest positive developments of FL identity. "Niko" refused to position himself in ways that would require changes to his current preoccupations and made demands for the teacher to adopt subject positions that would allow "Niko" to have little influence and control over his own language learning. Neither was "Niko" able to notice development in his language skills. He failed to see similarities between formal and informal English use. The meanings that "Niko" gave to his experiences of the FL teaching led him to very different positionings than the meanings which Noora gave to her experiences of the same teaching. If anything, "Niko" positioned himself more peripherally as a FL learner and user towards the end of his GUSSA studies. The data thus provide evidence of the stability and evidence of a negative development of "Niko's" FL identity. Nonetheless, the framework proposed by Benson et al. (2013, 19–24) is helpful

in understanding the different outcomes of the students' language learning processes. Whereas Noora's narrative provided evidence of a successful alignment of reflexive, projected, recognised and imagined FL identities, "Niko's" story failed to show development in this respect.

As Block (2007a) discussed formal institutional FL contexts, he proposed two reasons in particular why the prospects for identity work in those contexts were minimal to non-existent (see chapter 4, 106). First, he claimed that such FL contexts were rarely able to provide the students with critical experiences that would take them to feelings of ambivalence (and trigger identity development). According to Block, this was mostly because the identity work going on in the formal institutional FL context was more about the CoPs inside the classroom than about TL communities beyond it. Second, Block claimed that there was L1-mediated interference in the FL classrooms, which disturbed profound changes in the language learner's conceptual system and his/her sense of self in the TL. A question that arises is how the findings of this research can be interpreted in the light of this criticism.

When developing his argument, Block (2007a) assumes that the critical experiences underlying reconstructions of FL identity necessarily have to be mediated by the TL, in spite of the fact that earlier (*ibid.*, 21) he simply talks about "prolonged contact with an L2" as a precondition for those experiences. In this research, Leena's narrative is an example of this type of TL-mediated identity work. Leena's positive experiences of personally meaningful FL learning in the local GUSSA became the seeds which began to grow along with her experiences of more and more successful TL use and communication beyond the school context. The meaning of institutional FL learning for Leena was determined by her empowering, TL-mediated, critical experiences in out-of-school settings.

However, many participants in this study, Noora, Susanna and Suvi among them, also reported on what had clearly turned out to become critical experiences for them in the formal institutional FL context. These critical experiences contributed to or triggered FL identity development but were not always mediated by the TL directly. These critical experiences involved the TL in one way or another, but some were loosely related to it while others were even mediated by the person's L1. For example in Susanna's case, the identity work initiated by her TL-mediated au pair experiences was further elaborated by her experiences of the authenticity of learning EFL in the local GUSSA, which transformed her view of

herself as a FL learner. Although her identity work in the EFL courses included TL-mediated aspects such as developing a textual identity in English by writing authentic texts in English, it was equally based on TL-related and even L1-mediated experiences of being encouraged and encountered by the EFL teacher. Moreover, Suvi's critical experiences triggering her identity development turned out to be the possibility to narrate her past negative TL-related experiences in her L1 as well as her insight that she was also allowed to be a language learner beyond the FL classroom, i.e., she was allowed to make mistakes and she did not have to know the language perfectly to be allowed to use it in out-of-classroom settings. The result was Suvi's developing relationship to the TL.

Finally, the critical experiences underlying and enabling the development of Noora's FL identity involved her insights concerning the lifelong nature of language learning and the importance of finding one's own voice in the TL. Together, these two moments changed her relationship to English and to herself as an English learner, user and participant in different TL-related collectives. These findings suggest that the LaNas contain evidence of critical experiences which a) trigger the development of FL identity, b) are not TL-mediated and c) emerge in the institutional FL context. This identity work becomes visible when comparing the four protagonists' narratives to Anna's and "Niko's" narratives, which lack these experiences (see this chapter, 277, 284). Not surprisingly, then, neither Anna nor "Niko" showed any developments of FL identity either.

In conclusion, experiences triggering FL identity development can be seen to emerge in the GUSSA students' language learning processes. These findings appear to falsify the claims suggesting that the formal institutional FL context is unable to produce critical experiences that function as the basis of transformations in language identity (see Block 2007a). However, the findings showed that these critical experiences were not always mediated by the TL directly. While some of them were intimately related to the TL (e.g., Susanna), others were mediated by the person's L1 (e.g., Suvi). With this in mind, it might be justified to consider broadening the conception of critical experiences in the formal institutional FL context in a similar vein to Benson et al. (2013) to encompass any personally meaningful, TL-related experiences that change one's sense of self in relation to the TL, be they mediated by that language or not. What appears to be more important than mediation by the TL is the authenticity of these experiences. If the TL-related event or action arouses experiences of authenticity and a personal

meaning can be attached to it, it has the potential to become a critical event, key incident or turning point in the person's language learning career. For example, Suvi's autobiographical self-reflection in the L1 was crucial for the development of her FL identity. It is therefore questionable whether and how interference by the L1 might pose a threat to critical experiences in the formal institutional FL context.

The data also include ample evidence that reconstructions of FL identity do not confine themselves to one context only indefinitely. Identity development originating from participation in the language learner community had the potential to expand to other FL domains and settings. In Suvi's case, her self-reflection concerning her participation in the courses contributed to the more empowered subject positions that she adopted in out-of-school contexts towards the finish of her EFL studies. Although her identity work was initially confined to the FL classroom, it eventually had significance more generally. Also Leena's identity work in the language learner community expanded to cover those TL-related communities that she was engaged with beyond the school and language learning contexts. Frequently, the influence of the critical experiences gained within the institutional confines was also reinforced and maintained by diverse TL use in out-of-classroom contexts, as in Noora's case, which further contributed to the emergence of new critical experiences in these contexts, as in Leena's case. Alternatively, as in Susanna's case, the formal institutional FL context became gradually integrated into the student's FL identity process as an important site for identity construction alongside the other TL-related contexts already existing in the student's life. In these cases, the formal institutional FL context became important in that it somehow diversified or re-directed the student's FL identity development.

In sum, the findings indicate that FL identity work has the potential to flexibly expand from one context to another, despite being triggered in a specific temporal-relational context and firmly anchored in that context at first. This means that the FL students' identity work in the formal institutional FL context may have importance in other TL-related contexts of the student's life. Drawing on the notion of imagined community, Norton (2001) has made similar claims by demonstrating how language learners envision their imagined communities beyond the school context while learning the TL in the classroom. In other words, although the FL identity work in the classroom may be about demonstrating

personal growth and developing affiliations to collectives inside this language learner community, as Block (2007a) claims, it may still represent an important aspect of the identity process that spreads across other TL communities, which will fuel and shape this process further. Even though the FL identity development inside the language classroom walls is different in nature, being more systematic among other things (Huang & Benson 2013), the findings of this study indicate that it is an essential reinforcing component of the FL identity process as a whole. With this in mind, it seems unnecessary to draw distinct boundaries between TL use in and beyond the formal institutional FL context; they can be viewed as aspects of the same process instead (cf. Benson 2009b).

According to Yashima (2013, 58), “L2 learning can aid learners in crafting new identities, if imagination functions to connect what they have acquired in classrooms to the communities they can participate in using the L2”. As to the local GUSSA, it seems that especially the narrative and reflective elements of the FL teaching (the language journals, reflective essays, counselling sessions, language portfolios) provided the students with the means and tools to create and draw these connections, which then triggered and/or contributed to identity development. From the Ricœurian perspective (chapter 5, 130), these findings can be seen to highlight the importance of narrativity in the identity processes. It was narrativity combined with authenticity that became a crucial trigger for Suvi’s identity work. The authenticity of her being and doing in the GUSSA established links between the TL-related contexts in and beyond school. This authenticity generated feelings of ambivalence and affected Suvi’s sociohistorical, cultural and linguistic positionings that she was able to work on through narrative, self-reflective writing. Authenticity also seems to play a crucial role in the few examples of FL teaching that Block (2007a, 138–143) considers more promising in terms of identity construction in FL contexts. As authenticity also has a central role in FL learning and teaching in the local GUSSA, the notion will be examined in more detail in connection with theorising the FL teaching in chapter 10.

In their research on study abroad, Benson et al. (2012, 2013; also Chik & Benson 2008) suggested that a large part of the outcomes of SL study abroad programmes occupy a complex area of interrelated linguistic and personal development which can be understood through the construct of SL identity (see chapter 4, 100). The researchers identified three dimensions in SL identity development. *Identity-related proficiency development* referred to the indirect

impact of the enhanced L2 proficiency on SL identity, for example through improved ability to solve problems, make friends and speak appropriately in situations involving the L2 (socio-pragmatic competence), whereas *changes in linguistic self-concept* included areas like the person's L2-related self-esteem, self-confidence, motivation and beliefs. Finally, *L2-mediated personal development* referred to a group of personal and social competences seemingly unrelated to the L2 (e.g., maturity, independence, broader world views, tolerance and appreciation of different cultures, enhanced social skills) but which, in fact, had been mediated through it.

Benson et al.'s (2012, 2013) findings on the impact of study abroad provide an interesting parallel with the findings on FL identity in this research, as traces of very similar influences can be discovered in the GUSSA students' language learning processes. For example, Leena described how her improving English skills gradually enabled her to engage in meaningful social interaction with her daughters' boyfriends when talking to them, which for its part increased her self-confidence to use the TL. Leena also touched on her developing views of different cultures in her LaNas although the meaning of this development for her language learning process remained rather obscure in the end. Susanna, on the other hand, demonstrated most progress in terms of her textual identity in English, within the dimension of identity-related language proficiency, and her sense of herself as an EFL learner, within the dimension of linguistic self-concept. Moreover, she listed her developed world view, awareness of her own culture and tolerance of other cultures as outcomes of her EFL studies.

As for Suvi, although her FL learning was located along all three dimensions of FL identity, the emphasis was on the second and third dimensions, as she worked on her personal disposition throughout her studies and grew into a more empowered individual as a result. Finally, Noora's language learning can be situated evenly across the three dimensions. She claimed to have discovered her style of expressing herself in English during her EFL studies, becoming more prepared and confident to utilise her language skills in different situations. She demonstrated development as a self-directed language learner who learnt to perceive and create affordances for language learning in a diversity of everyday settings. Like Susanna, Suvi and Leena, Noora also identified an obscure area of personal development mediated by the TL, as she pointed out having grown as a

person as a result of the discussions, conversations and reflections that she participated in and contributed to in the EFL courses.

How do Anna's and "Niko's" learning processes relate to the three dimensions of FL identity? As pointed out, their narratives hardly included critical experiences which could trigger developments of FL identity. Whereas "Niko's" positioning in relation to the TL was far away from an empowered subject position at the end of his studies, Anna's development was more encouraging. Indeed, she made progress in terms of her FL identity during her EFL studies, although minimally; she had gained enough confidence to take the guided tour in English in Stockholm, for example, and her English skills proved useful at work on a couple of occasions. Who knows, perhaps these events will turn out to become important experiences for Anna in the future. At least they demonstrated her that she could develop as an FL learner. In spite of these positive undertones in her sense of herself, it would nonetheless be misleading to claim that Anna's story reveals true developments of FL identity. For profound transformations to occur, more time and deeper involvement in the TL would have been required.

At a conceptual level, the findings indicate that it is possible to examine language learning in the formal institutional FL context (such as the GUSSA) in a similar fashion to language learning in study abroad or migrant contexts – in terms of FL identity. At least to some degree, then, the present study appears to increase suspicions if not entirely falsify the claims according to which profound developments of language identity are not possible in the formal institutional FL context (e.g., Block 2007a; Lantolf 2013; Pavlenko 2005). Moreover, formal institutional FL learning also seems to have the potential to involve and contribute to dimensions of identity development similar to those which Benson et al. (2012, 2013) have discovered exist in study abroad contexts, notwithstanding that this issue still deserves more detailed analyses than what has been proposed here.

Agency

In addition to FL identity, the protagonists' language learning processes can be conceptualised through the construct of agency (see chapter 3, 75). A general impression, powerfully mediated through the protagonists' LaNas, is that the outcomes of their language learning processes (including the development of their FL identity and personal autonomy) rely heavily on their capacities, abilities,

desires and possibilities to “act with initiative and effect in a socially constructed world” (Hunter & Cooke 2007, 72), i.e., the outcomes of FL learning depend on the students’ skill, will and space to exercise their agency in the diverse processes involved in learning the TL. The centrality of the notion can be noticed, for example, when comparing Noora’s and “Niko’s”, or Leena’s and Anna’s stories, which can be seen to represent the opposite ends in a continuum with regard to agency. Noora was a self-directed FL student whereas “Niko” failed to assume responsibility for his learning; Leena actively seized a diversity of affordances whereas Anna restricted her language learning to the formal institutional FL context. In particular, the findings provide evidence for conceptualising agency in relation to language learning broadly in terms of the person’s actual agentic behaviour, personal disposition, contextually situated relationship to and dialogic process with the socially constructed world (chapter 3, 75; also Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; Mercer 2012; van Lier 2008).

Evidence to support this conceptualisation can be found in Leena’s LaNas, for example. When contemplating her FL learning, it can be noticed that her active learning behaviour is spread across domains, settings and environments such as the FL classroom, her work, the context of English books and films, and the context of English-speaking significant others. Together, these contexts build an ecology, a network of TL-related contexts that promote her language learning. Her narrative illustrates how the development of agency is initiated in the language classroom and reinforced by her experiences of TL use in other contexts, as she becomes involved with English-speaking people, English books and films. Inspired by these experiences, she seizes the diverse learning opportunities. The outcome is a virtuous circle, the affordances of which develop Leena’s sense of agency and agentic behaviour.

Suvi’s LaNas can be examined as another example of a successful learning process that can be conceptualised through agency. At the beginning of her EFL studies, Suvi hardly had a sense of agency or a capacity to act in the TL. In the FL classroom, she felt that the teaching provided her with meaningful and motivating opportunities to influence her language learning in a safe environment. Gradually, she began to perceive and seize opportunities for TL use beyond school settings and actively combine these settings into a language learning context, in which the different environments had mutually supportive roles. These

actions promoted Suvi's sense of agency. However, language learning was far from easy; haunted by reflections, memories and emotions from her past experiences, Suvi struggled with her learning from lesson to lesson, from task to task. These findings highlight the dynamic, situational and affective aspects of agency, which fluctuated both temporally and spatially. As a result of her positive learning experiences, Suvi eventually assumed active, TL-related subject positions in her life, as her development in the formal institutional FL context contributed to her agentic behaviour in others. All in all, the data indicate a slow but steady development of Suvi's agency in relation to the TL.

Agency can also be seen as the underlying key concept that can shed light on "Niko's" FL learning. At the beginning of his studies, "Niko's" sense of agency in the TL and his actual TL-mediated actions were restricted to a narrow field. In the GUSSA, "Niko" refused to engage in agentic learning behaviour, as he did not see the FL classroom as an affordance that could promote his FL learning in contexts beyond. The FL context appeared to be inflexible in responding to "Niko's" individualistic language learning needs, thus posing obstacles for his agency. Moreover, as "Niko" was reluctant to engage in any dialogue regarding his measures to promote learning, and his learning process was discontinuous and fragmentary, the development of his agency in relation to the TL remained between minimal and non-existent. While many GUSSA students, indeed, negotiated the conditions for their agency during their FL studies, "Niko" was not among them. Thus, agency is a valuable concept to deepen the understanding of "Niko's" and the other GUSSA students' language learning processes.

Hunter and Cooke (2007) have pointed out that agency in the institutional FL context is influenced by the relevant communities and languages, pedagogical frameworks, existing belief systems as well as the historical and emergent rules and divisions of labour that structure the ongoing agency. In the light of the findings of this research, the language learning GUSSA students' agency develops over time in complex interplay between their own agentic orientations and the affordances provided by the TL-related contexts of their lives that are situated in and beyond the language classroom (cf. Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Mercer 2011). These contexts both promote and restrict their possibilities for meaningful language learning behaviour, and the students learn to perceive and contribute to these affordances by themselves (cf. van Lier 2007). This process is enacted by socially and culturally mediated means, i.e., other people and semiotic

and material tools (cf. Lantolf & Thorne 2006). At best, the students may succeed in achieving a balanced relationship between their temporal-relational contexts of action, which may support and motivate their language learning. Framed by complex socio-political, social-interactive and individual-cognitive forces, an individual language learners' agency is thus substantially shaped by the historical, social, cultural and discursive positions which s/he inhabits.

In sum, the findings of this study contribute to a view of agency as a socially and contextually negotiated, dynamic and developmental process involving psychological (affective, motivational, self-regulatory) dimensions and manifesting itself in the FL student's behaviour in relation to the TL. The findings resonate with those of Mercer (2011), who has treated agency in ecological terms as a dynamic, complex system, viewing the notion as a latent potential to engage in self-directed behaviour, the outcome of which depends on the person's own abilities, sense of agency and the actual and perceived affordances. An ecological approach like this views learners as "holistic beings nested within the bigger systems of their personal histories and the entirety of their lives and multiple contexts" (ibid., 435). Adopting this type of whole-person approach seems to be important in adult education institutes like the GUSSA where the students have differing backgrounds, skills, desires, goals, learning opportunities and belief systems. Contributing to diverse and varied affordances may become crucial for successful pedagogy (see the following section). These pedagogical issues will also be revisited in chapter 10.

According to van Lier (2008; also Ahearn 2001), agency in language learning is not a question of being active instead of passive. On the contrary, he points out that agency can manifest itself in many ways and degrees, and suggests that it is useful to pay attention to the different degrees, forms and types of agency when examining FL learning as the development of L2-related agency. In her LaNas, Suvi adopted an agentic disposition to her language learning, which improved her English skills and triggered her identity work. At first, this disposition was situated within the formal institutional FL context. However, it gradually expanded to Suvi's domestic environments and finally to other multicultural spheres of her life. This disposition can be seen to refer to what Hunter and Cooke (2007) have named learner agency. In their discussion, the notion refers to the active, reflective promotion of one's language learning which is accompanied by TL use to increase awareness about it, construct meaning in it and make

connections between the language, text and society. In other words, learner agency or *agency in language learning* (AL), as I will call it here, refers to the language learner's intentional, authentic and conscious efforts to learn the TL. By no means does this process have to be confined to the formal institutional FL context, however (see Benson & Reinders 2011; Pitkänen et al. 2011). In Suvi's LaNas, her AL was initiated in the FL classroom only to expand to include different (informal) settings. As will be pointed out below, it appears to be as important to encourage the expansion of the scope of AL beyond the institutional confines as it is to foster AL within these confines in the language classroom.

In addition to AL, however, another type of TL-related agency can also be identified in Suvi's FL learning. In her LaNas, she often pointed out that it was easier for her to exercise agency in the language learning community than beyond it. She drew a distinction between language "learners" and "users" – the latter she associated with people who knew the language well and used it for meaningful communication and behaviour in different settings and environments without intentional or conscious language learning purposes. I will provisionally refer to this type of agency here as *agency beyond language learning purposes* (AbL). Whereas AL entails the person's premeditated TL use in and beyond the formal institutional FL context to learn the TL, AbL need not embrace such a tendency but refers to the person's meaningful interaction with the world, using the TL. While AbL is also likely to include aspects, elements and components of language learning, this type of learning-oriented development is relatively incidental and open-ended. Suvi did not show much development in her AbL until the end of her studies when she started to report on how she had gradually sought her way to authentic encounters with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and indicated her preparedness for AbL symbolically by pointing out the possibility of travelling after renewing her passport.

What appeared to be the key to Suvi's positive development was that she gradually learnt to perceive more and more connections and overlaps between the two types or forms of agency instead of keeping them apart. She learnt to become an active language learner whenever and wherever she used the TL instead of comparing herself to an ideal native speaker of English and positioning herself as a deficient English user as a result. The deepening integration between AL and AbL contributed to Suvi's empowerment as an agentic TL-speaking person. Although Suvi has been adopted as a student exemplifying this knowledge claim,

similar observations can be made regarding the other protagonists. Whereas Leena’s and Noora’s agency development followed a fairly identical pattern to that of Suvi’s, with the exception that their LaNas indicated more evidence of AbL from the beginning of their GUSSA studies, Susanna was more oriented towards AbL than AL at the beginning her EFL studies, Anna mostly struggled with her AL, neglecting her AbL, and what little agency “Niko” manifested in the TL was only situated in certain settings in the field of AbL.

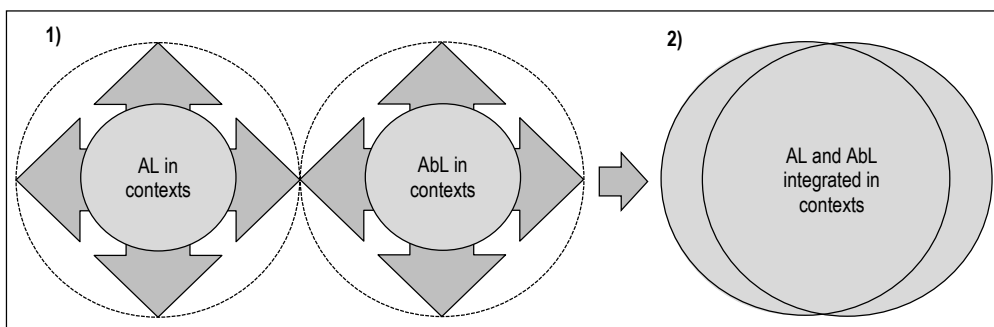


Figure 14. The two dimensions in promoting agency in relation to the TL: 1) strengthening and expanding AL and AbL in different contexts, 2) integrating AL and AbL in different contexts

In conclusion, I will suggest that two dimensions are crucial for successful FL learning and the development of personal agency in relation to the TL: 1) the strengthening of the student’s AL and AbL in different settings and environments, and 2) the integration of AL and AbL in different settings and environments. First, it is important to promote agency in language learning in different contexts both in and beyond the FL classroom; without this emphasis, the student’s language learning process risks becoming fragmentary, other-directed and uncontrolled. Second, it is important to encourage the student’s agency in relation to the TL beyond language learning purposes as far as possible during FL studies since the student’s recreational involvement with the TL will enrich the GUSSA student’s encounters with the TL, increase the student’s personal and emotional attachment to the TL and intensify the student’s identity development. Third, it is important to promote and create overlaps between AL and AbL to integrate the two types into the student’s personal agency in relation to the TL. This integration is important since it will bring personal meaning and motivation to language

learning and contribute to the development of the student's voice in the TL (see Leena's, Suvi's and Noora's narratives in particular). Diagrammatically, this crux of FL learning is illustrated in Figure 14. How these changes can be achieved in practice through pedagogy remains to be discussed in chapter 10 and chapter 11.

The construct of agency is a useful notion for the conceptualisation of the GUSSA students' language learning processes. Despite the common core (including the person's will and skill to interact with initiative and effect in a socioculturally constructed world; cf. Hunter & Cooke 2007), personal agency in relation to the TL manifests itself differently depending on the individual and his/her temporal-relational contexts of action. It is possible to talk about situated actualisations of agency (see van Lier 2008). The findings of this study contribute to an understanding of FL learning through two types of agency in particular: agency in language learning (AL) and agency beyond language learning purposes (AbL). Acknowledging the existence of different actualisations of agency will emphasise the dynamic nature of the notion. Moreover, agency becomes a central notion for understanding the relationship and interconnectedness between the constructs of identity and autonomy (see chapter 12).

Affordance

Affordance can be adopted as the third key concept in understanding the GUSSA students' language learning processes (also chapter 3, 75 and chapter 10, 361). As perceiving, creating and seizing affordances is one of the most visible, overarching themes connecting the protagonists' LaNas and shedding light on the range of different outcomes of the individual language learning processes, the construct deserves to be treated as one of the constituent elements of FL learning in the local GUSSA. To conclude the holistic reading of the six protagonists' LaNas, affordance will briefly be discussed in relation to the protagonists' FL learning and a few closely related concepts.

One of the strongest impressions a reader of the LaNas will obtain is that each student's language learning is actually situated across a diversity of contexts, including the FL classroom, which are framed by individual-cognitive, social-interactive and socio-political forces (see the discussion in the previous section). These forces provide alternatives, opportunities, constraints and obstacles for language learning that the learners act upon in a highly individual manner during

their learning processes. As for Suvi, for example, the FL classroom provided opportunities for social interaction in a safe community while Susanna considered the possibility for detachment from the other students the most meaningful aspect of the same context, and “Niko” associated the FL classroom with constraints which made his life more difficult. Moreover, while Noora learnt to perceive and create language learning opportunities all around her, Anna’s language learning efforts were mostly confined to the different settings of formal language learning. The notion of affordance can be adopted to conceptualise these differences.

Deriving from the field of ecology, which studies the interrelatedness of organisms and other elements in an ecosystem, the concept of affordance can be defined as “what [the environment] *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either good or ill” (Gibson 1986, 127; also Gibson & Pick 2000). Van Lier (2004) elaborates on this perspective, referring to four other sources. First, Neisser (1987, 21) has contemplated affordances as “relations of possibility between animals and their environments”. Second, Varela, Thompson and Rosch (1991, 203) have argued that “affordances consist in the opportunities for interaction that things in the environment possess relative to sensomotor capacities of the animal”. Third, Shotter and Newson (1982, 34) have pointed out that the linguistic world is “full of demands and requirements, opportunities and limitations, rejections and invitations, enablements and constraints – in short, affordances”, and finally, Forrester (1999, 88) has provided a definition for affordance in the context of language use, as “immediately recognizable projections, predictions and perceived consequences of making this (and not that) utterance in any given time”.

In sum, each environment provides different possibilities for meaning-making and action (such as language learning) that yield opportunities for engagement and participation. These meaning/action potentials are then detected, picked up and acted upon by the organism (such as the language learner) that is embedded in the environment. As noted by Yrjänäinen and Ropo (2013), this detection, picking up and acting upon is based on the learner’s individual abilities and preferences. Thus, affordance is neither a property of the environment nor a property of the individual but “something which emerges from interaction between both”, as Menezes (2011a, 61) has pointed out.

According to van Lier (2004, 2007), affordances are closely related to the idea of perception and action. In an ecological perspective, perception is not a mental

capacity but is multisensory and results from one's interaction with the environment with meaning/action potential. Language learners are seen as more or less active participants who establish relationships within and with the environment, as they perceive others and themselves. They learn the TL by perceiving what the environment offers them, interpreting the revealing meaning/action potentials and acting upon them on the basis of their individual abilities, aptitudes, effectiveness and fitness. According to van Lier (2004, 96), affordances are "those relationships that provide a 'match' between something in the environment (whether it's a chair or an utterance) and the learner". Affordances trigger perception and the following action, through which further affordances may emerge. Simplified, when an EFL student comes across an English newspaper (affordance), for example, s/he may realize that s/he can learn words by reading the newspaper (perception). After studying the newspaper for learning purposes (action), the student's new vocabulary (affordance) may enable him/her to talk about the topic with his/her English-speaking friend.

What van Lier's argumentation implies is that the range of affordances available for an individual language learner is restricted by the language learner's perceptions. As different language learners have different perceptions of the world and the world thus affords them different possibilities for action, the outcomes of individual language learning processes may vary substantially. From this perspective, FL teaching is about providing students with fruitful affordances and guiding their perceptions towards these affordances from their current, individual subject positions. As van Lier (2007, 53) has put it,

[t]he curriculum does not start out by specifying and sequencing the material that is to be 'covered', but it starts with the activities, needs and emergent purposes of the learner. On the basis of activities and emergent needs, the teacher makes resources available in the environment, and guides the learner's perception and action towards arrays of affordances that can further his or her goals.

Continuing the discussion, van Lier (2008, 177) interprets language learning from an ecological perspective as "the process of finding one's way in the linguistic world, which is part of the semiotic world [...] and taking an increasingly active role in developing one's own constitutive role in it." This takes place in an environment framed by a diversity of natural, cultural, social and linguistic affordances, which have been adopted by many scholars as subcategories to expand Gibson's original notion (van Lier 2004).

In their LaNas, the language learning GUSSA students occupied countless subject positions in out-of-classroom contexts which posed restrictions, constraints and obstacles for their language learning processes. For example, the continuous lack of time, caused by daily duties at home, work and school represented challenges for the language learning of many GUSSA students who usually had to add family and recreational activities into the equation. In brief, many FL students interpreted their action potential as limited and affordances for language learning few and far between. Combine these with the institutional framework of the local GUSSA and the FL students' highly individual expectations, beliefs and desires about language learning, both of which provided their own possibilities and restrictions, and you may begin to grasp the complexity of the environment in which the students' language learning took place. Under these conditions, it was important for the student to learn to perceive as many potential language learning opportunities as possible in as many settings as possible, as Noora did. The students also needed to perceive the constraining factors (such as avoidance of TL use) to be able to work for the transformation or abolishment of these factors, as Suvi did. Indeed, the students' actions to promote their language learning also contributed to their perception of new meaning/action potentials and fruitful affordances for FL learning. In a formal institutional FL context such as the GUSSA, however, a key question is what kind of affordances the FL classroom and pedagogy can provide the students with. This is one of the questions to be discussed in the following chapters.

10 TWO HOLISTIC READINGS ON THE TEACHING

It has been claimed that autobiographical narratives as a contextually anchored mode of expressing experienced meaning also grant access to the storyworlds that they depict (see Herman 2009; Polkinghorne 2007; Riessman 2008). In addition to capturing identity work in progress, the LaNas in this research were therefore expected to reveal something about the FL teaching in the local GUSSA, with the word *teaching* here referring to the teaching event, the pedagogy and the studying prompted by or related to the instructive process. It was assumed that analysing the form and content of these LaNas would not only reveal the narrators' personal constructions of their language learning but also enable an examination of the prevailing conditions, within which the narrators' experiences were situated.

Chapter 10 will continue the analysis that began in chapter 7, addressing research question 1b: What is essential in the FL teaching framing the students' language learning? It will finish the synthesised narrative of the FL teaching by conducting a holistic-form and a holistic-content reading (Lieblich et al. 1998) of those parts of the LaNas that focus on the FL teaching in the local GUSSA. First, the principles of analysis will be explained, after which the two holistic analyses with findings will be presented. Finally, the FL teaching in the local GUSSA will be theorised through the constructs of autonomy, authenticity and affordance, the purpose of this chapter being to provide an interpretive understanding of the most substantial aspects, components and ingredients of the FL teaching.

A holistic reading of form: Analysis and findings

This research was interested in the meanings that the participants attributed to their experiences of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA over time. To analyse the development of these meanings, the holistic-form approach as outlined by Lieblich et al. (1998) provided me with an analytical framework. Since the principles of a holistic-form reading have been described earlier (chapter 6, 166),

this section will focus on the peculiarities of the analysis which focused on examining how the narrative of the FL teaching developed during the research process. This was done by identifying the dynamics of the collectively evolving experiences of the FL teaching, the purpose being to graph these evolving experiences of FL teaching in a single line (Gergen & Gergen 1988).

When graphing this development, I used the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching, which was echoed in the diverse voices of the narrative, as the assumed valued goal. I adopted collectively experienced meaningfulness here to refer to something similar to what Gieve and Miller (2006b) referred to when emphasising the quality of classroom life (QoCRL), as experienced by its participants, as the most important matter of any teaching (see chapter 1, 26; also Allwright 2005). In this analysis, low collectively experienced meaningfulness was indicated by a line located in the lower half and high collectively experienced meaningfulness by a line located in the upper half of the figure. In addition to graphing the progression, I identified key episodes and turning points in the overall narrative structure in a similar fashion to analysing the protagonists (chapter 9, 246). On doing this, I resorted to Denzin's (1989), Draucker and Martsolf's (2010) and Webster and Mertova's (2007) suggestions for locating the critical moments in a narrative. These strategies enabled me to depict the teaching holistically as experienced by the EFL students and myself as their FL teacher.

This holistic-form reading of the FL teaching differs from many other holistic-form analyses in that the object of analysis is the activity of FL teaching instead of an individual. Instead of individual life courses, I was interested in charting what the environments and circumstances the FL students operated in were like, and how they responded to changing conditions. Moreover, the narrative of FL teaching was produced by several participants; the same story was told by a number of narrators through a number of voices simultaneously, with each narrator focusing on slightly different aspects of the FL teaching, based on what the narrators themselves considered important and meaningful. Thus, to begin with, there actually was no single narrative on the FL teaching despite the illusion raised by the storied account in chapter 7. Instead, there were as many stories about the FL teaching as there were people in the classroom, and the stories were different from each other. Despite these peculiarities concerning the object of analysis, the holistic-form approach was deemed suitable for two reasons in

particular. First, the different experiential narratives of the FL teaching, indeed, existed among the diversity of participant voices (chapter 7) and second, the FL teaching as the object of analysis still conveyed a process, the development of which was identifiable. Thus, it was possible to conduct a holistic-form analysis on those parts of the data depicting the FL teaching.

1st reading:	Dividing the data into the <i>sjuzet</i> and <i>fabula</i>	→
2nd reading:	Outlining the progression of the emerging themes	→
3rd reading:	Locating key events, episodes, turning points, etc.	→
4th reading:	Graphing the dynamics of the plot progression	

Figure 15. The holistic-form analysis of the FL teaching

The analysis relied on the teaching and language journal data (chapter 6, 157). It consisted of four steps (Figure 15), all of which have been illustrated in Appendix 7. Compared to the holistic-form analyses on the six protagonists (chapter 9), it is noticeable that the steps are very similar. As part of the emplotment process (chapter 7, 180), those lines of the data depicting the FL teaching had already been extracted and temporally organised. Thus, I had a chronologically arranged, narrative “stream” of data on FL teaching at my disposal at the beginning of the first reading. This reading consisted of making a generous distinction between the *sjuzet* and the *fabula* by underlining those parts of the data that related to the *sjuzet* (Appendix 4). The purpose of this step was to get an impression of what was going on in the data and how the participants responded to the various events taking place in the FL classroom and the other settings closely connected to the actual instructive process. This step was similar to the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis conducted on the protagonists (chapter 9, 246, 262).

The second reading aimed at outlining the form and direction of the key themes emerging from the data. As when analysing the protagonists, the thematic elements of the data were examined as an articulation of the narrative structure. The second reading therefore focused on examining the events and characters referred to, the challenges involved in teaching, emphatic participant responses, frequent occurrences of certain thematic content, unexpected instances and successful moments that related to the teaching process. Although this step was

time-consuming due to the amount and length of the journal entries, it gave me a good idea of the overall progression of the FL teaching.

The second reading was followed and complemented by the third, which focused on the dynamics of the narrative progression. I concentrated on locating and identifying important events and time periods, key episodes, transformations, transitions, turning points and resolutions. This reading relied on listening to the different voices reporting and reflecting on the FL teaching. For example, sensitivity was shown to individual forms of speech, degree of emotion and discrepancies between descriptions of the same stage, and the attention paid to the meaning of these elements for the narrative as a whole. The richness of the data made the analysis laborious because the evolving interpretation had to be read actively and repeatedly against the different (and possibly differing) voices.

The analysis nevertheless also provided me with a unique opportunity to access the diversity of the experiences. There were as many perspectives on the FL teaching as there were people in the classroom. This should be borne in mind, when examining the graph composed in the fourth reading. The graph illustrating the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching is naturally a compromise, a simplification of the data. Still, it enables the pointing out of key moments of the FL teaching during the years of investigation as well as argumentation regarding the research questions.

The findings that emerged in the holistic-form analysis of the narrative of FL teaching are summarised in Figure 16. The figure graphs the overall progression of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching during the three and a half years of investigation between spring term 2009 and autumn term 2012 so that generally positive experiences are graphed in the upper half and generally negative experiences in the lower half of the figure. The boxes above the graph refer to the Chapters of the emplotted narrative (chapter 7) while the boxes below the graph indicate the approximate length of each time period. The lengths are estimates and should not be taken at face value. Moreover, the graph depicts school years, one school year consisting of ten months; the two summer months (June and July) have been left out of the graph due to summer breaks. TP 1 and TP 2 refer to the two key turning points, which divide the narrative into Chapters whereas tp A, tp B, tp C and tp D refer to other turning points located within Chapters. In the following subsections, these findings will be presented and motivated in more detail with references to the relevant parts of the data.

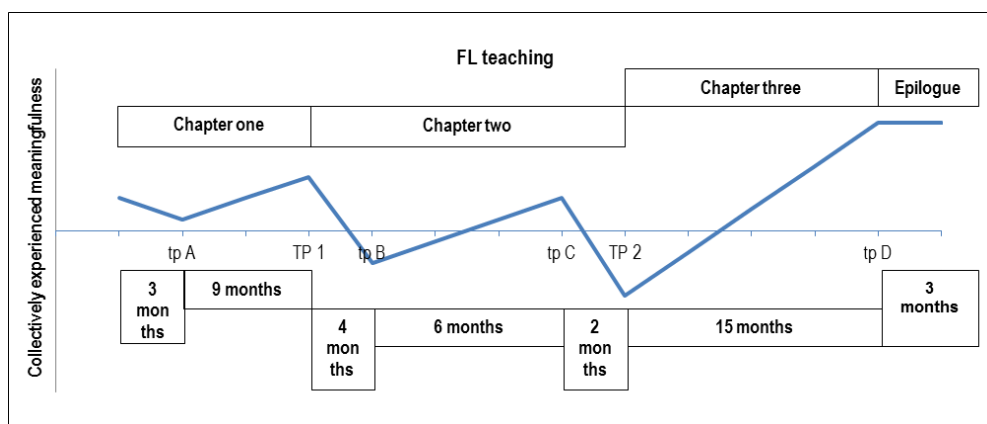


Figure 16. The progression of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of GUSSA FL teaching

Reading Chapter one

Chapter one consists of a twelve-month period divided into two parts: a gently descending graph line followed by an equally gently ascending graph line which reaches its culmination somewhat higher than the starting point by the end of the Chapter. In addition to teacher-led parts such as grammar teaching, the lessons consisted of oral practice, studying in pairs/small groups and, to some degree, group/project work. The students worked on their portfolios, with each course requiring them to turn in portfolio assignments. Pair/group work was generally regarded as motivating even though some students kept pointing out that they would like to study by themselves due to the problems that they faced when working with someone or simply because they preferred to study independently. In addition, practising oral language skills was frequently considered exciting and something that required a lot of courage.

In my teacher role, I increased my awareness of the experienced FL teaching and its critical points during the first months. Based on feedback received through the language journal entries and the counselling sessions, I not only learnt to know the students better but also identified a number of constraints and obstacles (e.g., lack of time, shortness of the teaching periods, amount of homework, differing student expectations, substantial differences in the different students' FL proficiency, unsuccessful pair work) which had diminished the experienced meaningfulness of the teaching. This increasing awareness of the critical points

of the teaching then triggered my desire to improve the conditions and develop pedagogy. This moment marks the first turning point (tp A) in the graph.

As a response to the state of affairs, I encouraged the students to engage in their language learning processes comprehensively for example by taking their self-assessments into account in the course assessment. Integrating reflective essay assignments (chapter 6, 158) and content-based assignments into the course exams as well as brief occasional reflection sessions into the lessons, I wished to involve the students holistically. While the counselling sessions and the teaching of learning to learn skills had already been included in the lessons from the beginning, I now began to give individual, face-to-face feedback on the portfolio assignments more frequently.

Moreover, I introduced an e-mailing list for the EFL courses as a means of communication, and increased the students' control over studying by allowing them to decide which tasks they would work on in the lessons and when they would turn in their portfolio assignments during the course. The students were sometimes asked to give feedback to their peers. In addition to the increased freedom of studying, many students were excited about the real-life topics which brought the courses closer to their personal interests and aroused possibilities for discussion. I also wanted to involve the students as active TL learners in out-of-school settings with the special portfolio tasks requiring authentic English use in informal FL contexts combined with a brief report to the teacher.

The changes listed above had a generally positive impact on the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching. This has been depicted by the ascending line in Figure 16. What enabled this development was that I accessed the language learning GUSSA students' experiences through the counselling sessions, journal entries and other interactive elements included in the teaching. I had the courage to take the feedback seriously as a language teaching professional and engage in dialogue with the students without feeling threatened by their criticism or questioning the authenticity of their experiences. Focusing on what the constituent elements of the FL teaching were and what was going on in the FL classroom, Chapter one depicts the first phase in my evolving understanding of my language teaching in the local GUSSA.

Reading Chapter two

The first key turning point (TP 1) links Chapter one to Chapter two, which captures a dynamic twelve-month period that begins with an abruptly descending graph line associated with increasingly negative experiences related to the FL teaching. A minor turning point (tp B) is followed by a longer period of a gently ascending graph line and slightly more positive meanings given to the experienced teaching. This graph line does not reach as high as at the end of Chapter one until another turning point (tp C) interrupts this development and marks the beginning of another difficult period which leads the graph line to its lowest point in the narrative at the second key turning point (TP 2). When examining Chapter two as a whole, this twelve-month period appears to be the most essential part of the narrative in that it builds a foundation for the more positive development. From my teacher perspective, Chapter two focuses on one question in particular: what can the FL teaching and autonomy be in this particular FL context? Thus, it represents the second phase in understanding the FL teaching in the local GUSSA.

In the early phases of Chapter two, I became aware of the limits of my pedagogy as an FL teacher. Among the most important incidents, events and experiences contributing to this were the following: 1) I struggled with the heterogeneous groups of FL students who had differing and conflicting agendas in the EFL courses. 2) Some of the younger FL students in particular were poorly motivated to study English. Sometimes, they also had challenges in assuming responsibility for their lives and upper secondary studies. 3) Some students had unrealistic beliefs and expectations about EFL studies in the local GUSSA and themselves as FL learners. 4) Some older students were critical about the teaching; they would have wanted to translate the course book texts alone and follow the teacher's commands without reflecting on their language learning processes or questioning the teacher's authority. On the other hand, some of the younger students criticised me for being too school-like and not including enough entertaining elements. 5) Despite the improvements in Chapter one, many FL students were still struggling with the amount of homework for which they did not have enough time. Studying English also required sacrifices in one's private life. 6) According to some students, the amount of self-reflection felt overwhelming compared with its usefulness for the learning process. Together,

this evidence indicated that a key turning point (TP 1) was located between Chapter one and Chapter two as these episodes dramatically changed the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching.

Despite the negative atmosphere at the beginning of Chapter two, the more positive experiences that appeared towards the middle of the period marked a minor turning point (tp B) in the overall development. These elements increasing the meaningfulness of the FL teaching in my eyes were related to individual FL students. During this period, some students assumed substantially active subject positions in relation to their language learning. When working on their special portfolio assignments, the students became involved in utilising the TL in informal, out-of-school settings. They came up with inventive ways to learn the TL, also resorting to each other to create more opportunities for TL use. Moreover, I received positive feedback on the reflective tasks and my ability to encounter the students. These months were also characterised by the emphasis on TL use in the classroom, as I encouraged the students to use English as their language for daily classroom interaction.

Due to huge differences in oral TL proficiencies, my request to use English in the lessons caused insurmountable challenges for the less proficient, who desired less oral practice and more written exercises that they could work on quietly by themselves. These experiences preceded more profound problems which soon surfaced in the FL classroom and contributed to a turning point (tp C) in the overall plot structure. This turning point was triggered by an unsuccessful project work assignment, during which the students' failed to assume responsibility for the common goals, were unmotivated, absent and unable to communicate with each other, and left their work unfinished.

These negative experiences were fuelled by the following events taking place roughly at the same time: 1) As a teacher, I was annoyed by students who repeatedly left their homework undone and assumed that they were allowed to participate in the final exam and obtain a course mark despite numerous absences. 2) There was too much to be done during the EFL courses for profound language learning to take place. This was partly due to the course books, which provided meaningful opportunities for language learning on the one hand but restricted the opportunities for varied teaching on the other. 3) Many students took the EFL courses irregularly without following the suggested course order. To a considerable degree this limited their experiences of FL learning as a long-term

process. These FL students often failed to see the meaning of the journal or other self-reflective tasks since it was unlikely for much development to occur during the few weeks that they kept their journals before another long break took place in EFL studies. 4) Some students were unmotivated to control their EFL studies by themselves and criticised the teaching for its uselessness. Some explained that this was due to the different teaching style than they were used to. I noticed that some of the younger students from the day-time upper secondary school were helpless, not knowing what to do, whenever they were given more freedom to make decisions about their studying. 5) I frequently needed to control the students' learning processes by creating different types of pedagogic and institutional structures (e.g., email messages, pre-determined course schedules) that organised the studying process for the busy GUSSA students who rarely had the time or energy to do all the planning and studying by themselves. As I generally considered these conditions counterproductive to the idea of autonomy, the negative experiences led my teaching into a pedagogical crisis of sorts, during which I questioned the meaningfulness of autonomy as the assumed valued goal of FL teaching in the local GUSSA. This dramatic time period took a few months altogether, and it is depicted by the abruptly descending graph line in Figure 16.

Finally, the last paragraph of Chapter two reveals the GUSSA teachers' somewhat different and conflicting conceptions and experiences regarding suitable pedagogy for the local GUSSA. While the absence of a consensus may not provide the best environment for the students' learning processes in general, this teacher meeting was indicative of the beginning of a new time period involving more community-oriented approaches at the institutional level, which would also influence the FL teaching. Therefore, the meeting marks the second key turning point (TP 2) in the narrative of FL teaching.

Reading Chapter three

The collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching is graphed with a single, gently ascending line throughout Chapter three (Figure 16). This part of the narrative depicts a relatively long, 15-month period of positive experiences of the FL teaching after the dynamic episodes of Chapter two, which culminated in the second key turning point. By the end of Chapter three, the graph line reaches its highest point. In principle, this is where the narrative ends, with the remaining

Epilogue being told from the teacher's point of view. Generally speaking, Chapter three represents the third phase in my understanding of my FL teaching. With a focus on how the students' language learning and well-being can be enhanced together, Chapter three elaborates on an idea of a co-directed and collaborative FL pedagogy reaching beyond the classroom walls.

As pointed out, the second key turning point marked the beginning of a more community-oriented era. This impression was reinforced at the beginning of Chapter three, when my journal entries reported on the teaching personnel being engaged in personalising the school's website, on informal get-togethers between the teachers and students where they could get to know each other and on the emerging friendships between the students. As to the friendships, some students had occasional get-togethers focusing on spending time, doing homework and practising spoken English by playing games in the TL. Around the same time, I received positive feedback on the encouraging atmosphere which diminished anxiety and contributed to active participation in the lessons.

While some of the students criticised the emphasis on the social, interactive and interdependent aspects of language learning in the lessons, the amount of positive experiences reinforced my impression that the students' sense of community and togetherness had a more beneficial than harmful influence on the language learning processes. Encouraged by these experiences, I introduced peer teaching as an alternative way to study grammar in the lessons. Later, I developed peer teaching into peer tutoring. The role of the tutor was more flexible and could be assumed by different students. A tutor did not have to be the most proficient student of the small group; s/he could also act as the motivator of other students, for example, or s/he could make sure that the group completed the tasks that they were asked to complete. Many FL students' experiences of the tutoring were positive. The students pointed out that studying more independently as a small group often increased the group members' participation since it was easier to be oneself in a smaller group.

In addition to engaging the students and allowing them to assume responsibility for their learning, I considered peer teaching and tutoring a viable means to personalise the teaching and provide different learning challenges for different students; the more proficient were given more demanding roles while the less proficient had the possibility to go through the difficult points with the other students in smaller groups instead of having to rely on the teacher's teaching

only. In the middle of these community-oriented aspirations, the teaching was characterised by more personalised pedagogic solutions. An example of my aspirations to develop my teaching according to the students' needs was the weekly remedial instruction which was introduced to offer the FL students an opportunity to do their homework in a peaceful environment supported by the teacher's aid and guidance.

In response to a student's comment about the minor role of culture in the lessons, I encouraged the health education teacher to come to an English lesson and tell the students about her experiences of Tanzanian schools in English. Moreover, I asked a Spanish exchange teacher from the "day-time" upper secondary school to visit one EFL course. Both events turned out to become important episodes which increased the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching. They can be seen as evidence of my developing ability to provide the students with diverse affordances. Yet another crucial moment seems to have been my decision to allow the students to utilise a dictionary in a course exam. In addition to showing the teacher's sensitivity to react to the group's needs more spontaneously, the decision was indicative of the development of more flexible assessment criteria for the FL courses.

Alongside this positive progression, many FL students attributed the meaningfulness of the teaching to the personally motivating learning tasks, challenging and thought-provoking "real-life" topics, possibilities to improve one's study skills, orientation towards oral practice and interaction, the encouraging atmosphere, and opportunities to "feel engaged, and involved", as one student put it. As many students pointed out, this type of FL teaching succeeded in providing them with valuable, positive experiences of studying, participating, using and, indeed, also learning the TL. In sum, Chapter three was characterised by a positive flow. During this period of time, the idea of FL teaching was redefined and the meaning of autonomy in relation to FL learning anchored contextually to the local GUSSA.

Reading the Epilogue

The Epilogue attached to the narrative of FL teaching (chapter 7, 198) provides glimpses from my teacher perspective into the experienced events following Chapter three. The Epilogue was added to the emplotment after a consideration

of the narrative structure. The purpose of the Epilogue was not so much to provide a more approachable ending but to outline the future development of some of the important storylines of the FL teaching which remained open in Chapter three. In Figure 16, the Epilogue is linked with Chapter three by turning point D (tp D) at the beginning of the period, after which the progression of the narrative is depicted by a stable, horizontal line. During the Epilogue, the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching remains high but is also faced by new challenges.

One crucial change taking place in the Epilogue was the increased focus on student counselling. Earlier, the study counsellor and the student were responsible for planning the student's studies while my counselling sessions with the student were unofficial. After I became the "homeroom" teacher for the local GUSSA students, the counselling sessions were integrated into the overall counselling process, which intensified the collaboration between the study counsellor and myself as the FL teacher and improved the communication between the teachers. A case in point: aware of her situation, the GUSSA teachers were in better position to provide collective support for a student with challenges in her personal life. Otherwise, the teachers might have interpreted her absences as low motivation and dropped her out of their courses. This way, the counselling expanded beyond the confines of school subjects towards more holistic care for the person. Among the personnel, the possibility of providing more personal support was viewed as one of the benefits of a small school community.

The increased co-operation resulted in measures supporting the students' prerequisites for studying. At the time of writing this research report, a special course focusing on study skills in general is being planned. The course would bring the teachers together since it would be a joint enterprise with each teacher having their own area of responsibility in the course. Another meaningful moment in the Epilogue was the decision to develop the assessment criteria at the school level so that they would enable flexibility and personalised assessment. This developmental work also had significance for the FL teaching since the FL students were usually one of the most heterogeneous groups of students in the local GUSSA. There have also been plans to abandon at least some of the exam weeks with their final exams in favour of a more authentic and sustainable forms of assessment.

In the middle of this positive progression, the Epilogue raises concerns relating to the discussion, even hype, around integrating ICT- and web-based elements into GUSSA studies. Another concern involves the meaningfulness of the language journals and portfolios. In the Epilogue, I am tackling these concerns by experimenting with a digital/electronic portfolio, and planning to integrate reflection into the electronic portfolios. All in all, these steps towards a collaborative CoP are likely to contribute to a more sustainable foundation for the FL teaching. The developments indicated by Chapter three and the Epilogue will open up encouraging prospects for the future of FL teaching in the local GUSSA.

A holistic reading of content: Analysis and findings

In addition to analysing the holistic form of the narrative of FL teaching in the local GUSSA, more attention needed to be paid to the content of this narrative, in other words what was actually said about this teaching. As pointed out above, the motivation for analysing the FL teaching through the content of the LaNas was the assumption that recurrent content in the participants' personal stories also provided windows into the contexts in which these LaNas were rooted. To retain the integrity of the narrative of FL teaching as a whole, I conducted a holistic reading of key content, as outlined by Lieblich et al. (1998), on those parts of the LaNas that focused on the FL teaching in the local GUSSA.

To capture the key content, I identified the recurrent themes of the narrative "stream" of FL teaching (see chapter 7, 180) and traced the development of these themes. As with the student analyses, this strategy was labelled as a holistic-content analysis of the powerful storylines, which in this case were related to the FL teaching. The assumption was that these storylines reflected the meanings given to the experiences of the FL teaching over time. In contrast to conducting the holistic-content analysis on the protagonists, my interest lay beyond individuals in this analysis. Sociohistorically and socioculturally rooted, the LaNas were viewed as a mixture of diverse voices and discourses, as "evidence of larger social and cultural influences on human cognition and self-presentation" (Pavlenko 2007, 171). Reading the content like this gave me access to the global and local contextual influences – the framework of FL teaching with its diverse forces – on narrative construction.

The holistic-content reading of the FL teaching, which relied on the teaching and language journal material as data (see chapter 6, 157), was a variation of the model proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998, 62–63). The analysis comprised four overlapping readings of the data (see Figure 17) that are briefly illustrated in Appendix 8. Before the first reading, I had separated the relevant parts of the research material from the rest of the narrative data as part of the emplotment process (see chapter 7, 180).

1st reading:	Dividing the data into <i>sjuzet</i> and <i>fabula</i>	→
2nd reading:	Identifying and naming the powerful thematic storylines	→
3rd reading:	Isolating the storylines from other data	→
4th reading:	Following the development of the storylines	

Figure 17. The holistic-content analysis of GUSSA FL teaching

The holistic-form analysis in the previous section and the holistic-content analysis in this section shared the same first reading, i.e., a division of the data into the *sjuzet* and the *fabula* by underlining the *sjuzet* (see Appendix 4). In this first reading, it soon became clear that the LaNas about the FL teaching consisted of brief, narrative glimpses, flashes and memories of moments and learning tasks that the narrators considered worth bringing up at the moment of writing/speaking, and which were frequently accompanied by the narrator’s reflective response. Much of the data on the FL teaching concentrated on the *sjuzet* like this while the *fabula* was often summarised in one or two sentences only.

After this first analytical step, the second reading concentrated on searching for the most prominent content elements of the data. This phase included several re-readings of the data with an open mind. Even though my experiences of being in the FL classroom in my teacher role influenced my interpretations, claims can be made that it put me in a fairly privileged position as a researcher. Accessing this first-hand experiential knowledge in my analysis helped me pay attention to certain thematic elements in the data (e.g., the different constraints of teaching) which might otherwise have surfaced much later or even risked escaping the analysis. In the end, I identified, coded and separated five powerful storylines from the narrative “stream” in the third reading. This was a rather mechanical

phase although any one extract could easily have references to several themes and could be placed under more than one storyline. Finally, each isolated storyline was read as a whole in the fourth reading, accompanied by observations about their development. As a researcher, I was interested in whether the meanings given to the FL teaching changed over time, whether the themes overlapped with each other, and when exactly the themes appeared in the narrative. Following these steps, I was able to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the FL teaching. The following subsections will report on the findings by depicting the powerful storylines and interpreting their meaning for the research questions. As with the holistic-content analysis above, those data extracts that were in Finnish have been translated into English, and the original extracts can be found in Appendix 10.

Engaging, involving, participating

The first powerful storyline in the narrative of FL teaching refers to engaging, involving and participating the FL students at a personal level with regard to their language learning and the subject matter of the courses. This storyline was also about providing the students with personalised study opportunities. In the title of this storyline, the processual forms of the words (the *ing*-endings) have been used to highlight the process-oriented nature. Moreover, the verb ‘participate’ is being used causatively here, i.e., making them participate. The purpose of this pedagogical activity was to encourage the students to assume agentic subject positions and control over the TL-related aspects of their lives, and thus enable them to construct their personal identities in and through the TL. In addition to encompassing the processes of language learning, these efforts to increase the students’ involvement expanded to include their lives in general. It became important to engage the students in relation to the different phenomena studied in the courses through the TL, to the degree possible in the institutional confines.

At the beginning of Chapter one, the students’ participation in language learning was pursued through pair and homework and oral practice. Involving the students also took more subtle forms. For example, I aimed at engaging the students through the language journals and counselling sessions. Provided that the students were able and willing to perceive their meaning potential, both of them offered the students a channel to work on their TL-related attitudes and

beliefs regarding their FL learning and influence the teaching by giving feedback on the existing practices. The counselling sessions contributed to the gradual development of a more personalised FL pedagogy intent on taking the language learner's personal needs into better consideration in the daily teaching practices.

(1) *In this course we're going to deal with the stages in planning and structuring written assignments. I give the students the portfolio assignment of planning the content of their own essay, to be completed by next week.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 2, April 2009)

(2) Teamwork with a regular partner works and produces results. He is talented and full of action, I get caught up in the details and question everything. It's more fun thinking about things together. (Suvi, language journal, English 0, September 2009)

Later in Chapter one, the students gave their personal responses to the course topics in writing. Different elements of the language learning process, such as learning strategies and motivation, were discussed in the lessons in the hope of improving the students' capacities and abilities to become engaged. Regular pair work was accompanied by small-scale project work in groups. As their FL teacher, I asked the students to plan their own turn-in schedules for the portfolio assignments. In addition to giving occasional feedback on each other's performances in the lessons, the students received individual, face-to-face feedback from me. Moreover, the students were expected to use English in out-of-school settings. This was linked to the special portfolio assignments that required TL use beyond the formal institutional FL context. In brief, the FL students were encouraged to become actively involved in leading their TL-related lives by themselves both in and beyond the language classroom.

(3) Individual feedback was a nice change from routine; for a lot of people it's easier to ask the teacher about things in more detail. I still have a lot of red markings, no point explaining. I should stop and check. (Sanna, language journal, English 3, September 2009)

(4) **We are reading a text about Fair Trade. It was nice to write in my response about Brighton where the idea of using Fair Trade products is big issue all over the town. We have a real potential to change things. We just have to think what we are doing and make always the right choice.** (Leena, language journal, English 8, November 2009)

(5) The ‘My Course Assignments’ handout is a good reminder. The deadline dates force you to act, but nevertheless it’s up to you when you do the assignments because there are two or three due dates. (Tuija, language journal, English 12, November 2009)

Chapter two continued this storyline with examples of individual FL students’ participation. Although this part of the narrative provided evidence of the difficulties related to involving the students due to their challenging situations (see this chapter, 333), the narrative also included references to individual students committed to learning new vocabulary, studying English through songs, analysing their own grammatical mistakes and practising the TL in their free time with friends, for example. In particular, the language portfolio turned out to be a motivating language learning tool for some students. For others, the possibility to hear and produce plenty of English in the lessons was an engaging experience, one reason being that the lessons were not boring if they included challenges and personally activating topics. Indeed, discussions, debates, group work, presentations and writing tasks were often used as the means to encourage the students to use the TL collectively and share their views with others.

(6) My course mate told me that s/he puts the words on slips of paper, with an explanation in Finnish on one side. I thought s/he must be really keen if s/he has the energy to cut out paper. I tried it out with the vocabulary in the second text and, surprise, surprise, it was fun studying and the words stuck in my thick skull. I did the same with the third text and even got my daughter to play Memory using the words! (Sanna, language journal, English 5, April 2010)

(7) **[This] course has been very of current interest. When the influence of globalisation is as strong as it is today we should know more about what’s happening in the world. Rich countries should help the poor to find welfare. It can’t be done only the way that rich countries give the money. People in the developing countries should get education so they could find themselves the way to welfare.** (Janne, language journal, English 8, October 2010)

(8) **Me, Heli and Pirjo are actually friends on Facebook now. We kind of agreed that we should only use English when we write to each others.** (Noora, language journal, English 1, December 2010)

In Chapter three, student participation was promoted by the relatively small group sizes and the laid-back atmosphere in the lessons. From time to time, Chapter three included reports on the students encouraging each other to learn

English; the other course members were frequently experienced as motivators whose presence in one's own language learning contributed to a more multidimensional language learning process. I also introduced peer teaching and tutoring, guests in the lessons and more personalized FL pedagogy as ways to engage the students.

(9) Today, while the others are studying the text, I give Juuso the task of writing an essay that he hasn't completed. He puts a lot of effort into the task and the resulting essay is very good. This time the lesson was really useful for him. I shall definitely have to try this practice another time. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 7, October 2011)

(10) In the English course I tried studying in tutor groups of three. One of the students in each small group is the tutor who is partly responsible for the group's studying during the lesson. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 4, January 2012)

(11) We speak more English here and when we're studying more account is taken of the group's needs and skills, something which helps you to learn better. The people in the GUSSA have vastly varying English skills so that the threshold for speaking or for asking 'silly' questions is lower, you don't have to be afraid of making a fool of yourself. I felt that the course gave me the confidence to speak because I've thought I'm bad at English because I don't know the grammar and I make spelling mistakes. But when we're working in pairs, I've noticed that I understand a lot of what is said and I can orally produce text. For example, in one lesson I hadn't done my homework but even so I was able to go through it during the pair work because I knew the stuff anyway! It was nice because it was one of those positive feelings of success that you need when studying. (Sofia, language journal, English 6, August 2012)

The storyline of engaging, involving and participating continues in the Epilogue, in which the FL students' possibilities to study were enhanced and guaranteed by the diverse, intensive and personalised student counselling, developmental work on the assessment criteria and an orientation course for those GUSSA students in need of support for their learning and study skills. In the FL classroom, participation was promoted by experiments on a digital portfolio. Diversifying the criteria for course assessment turned out to become an important step towards flexible student involvement. All in all, this storyline is a prominent feature of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA, characterising the entire narrative (see chapter 7). Involving the FL students at the level of their personal identity through learning tasks that required them to express their views and take a stand

for or against issues, the storyline also brought educational goals into the FL teaching which reached well beyond linguistic excellence.

Meaningful, multidimensional English use

The second powerful storyline involves the amount, scope and context of TL use. At the beginning of Chapter one, the TL was used at least for the following purposes: reading texts aloud, practising pronunciation, doing oral exercises and producing portfolio tasks such as essays, speeches and presentations. The students had the possibility to turn in their reflective writing assignments such as journals in English. Later, English was used spontaneously as the language for communication in drama assignments and projects. I linked the topics and TL use with the help of writing assignments, in which the students wrote a personal response to a topic. Moreover, the out-of-school portfolio assignments encouraged the students to use their TL skills for a diversity of purposes in a number of contexts. This way, this storyline aimed at involving the students in authentic TL use, the idea of which was to do something purposeful with the TL without viewing the activity merely as a language learning task.

(12) I'm working on a portfolio assignment I planned myself. I watched an episode of 'The Bold and the Beautiful' without the subtitling. I had to really concentrate on the programme and I felt tired afterwards. (Kirsi, language journal, English 3, October 2009)

(13) This drama task was something new. It was quiet at the beginning with everybody nervous, but once we'd got the discussion going, it was interesting and fun. Everybody left with a good feeling! (Laura, language journal, English 4, December 2009)

In addition to providing examples of TL use, Chapter two in particular focused on increasing the amount of oral English use in the lessons. I experimented with some special lessons during which all communication and interaction took place in English. These experiments were not without challenges, however, as the students had different TL proficiencies and learning needs. The authenticity of oral and written TL use was emphasised in Chapter two; there were reports on spontaneous small talk in English between the teacher and the students during

lesson time, and the topics of the learning tasks often required the students to express and motivate their views and opinions in English.

(14) This week my favourite part in the lessons was the improvisation task. Spontaneous conversation is fun and I'd like that kind of practice more. Perhaps then I'd learn to be less nervous in conversations. (Tea, language journal, English 2, May 2010)

(15) Finnish-free lessons are probably not a bad idea. Nevertheless, I had to use some Finnish as well because Anna, who sits next to me, struggles with her vocabulary even more than I do, and my attempts to get through to her failed. I thought it best to explain in Finnish because otherwise we wouldn't have been able to communicate at all. (Ritva, language journal, English 4, December 2010)

In Chapter three, the storyline of meaningful and multidimensional English use surfaced in the students' reports on how they had used English with each other, either spontaneously in their leisure time or with an intentional language learning purpose. In the formal institutional FL context, some students pointed out the meaningfulness of the portfolio assignments in general and the writing assignments in particular, one of the reasons for these experiences being the possibility to practise English purposefully. One student expressed her enthusiasm about the fact that English was used in classroom interaction much more frequently in the local GUSSA than in the day-time school for younger pupils where she was normally studying, claiming that this TL use had a positive impact on her learning.

(16) We sometimes speak English with Pirjo and Noora before lessons. In addition, we had a nice Alias evening in English with Noora, Pirjo and Jenni. (Riikka, language journal, English 3, September 2011)

(17) It was fun to write about a book that impressed me and about my favorite songs. Most of all I'm proud of my review. I did a lot of background research and I planned and shaped the text carefully. I think it's the best piece of text I've ever written in English. (Noora, language journal, English 5, May 2012)

(18) We speak more English here and when we're studying more account is taken of the group's needs and skills, something which helps you to learn better. (Sofia, language journal, English 6, August 2012)

There were also less explicit references to the storyline of meaningful and multidimensional English use in the Epilogue. For example, it was implied that

English would be utilised in a new environment with the electronic language portfolio. All in all, this storyline is intimately connected to TL use with a purpose, meaning and relevance. In particular, the storyline places emphasis on authentic linguistic interaction and self-expression rather than decontextualized and impersonal drilling.

Fostering awareness, deepening understanding

The narrative of FL teaching can also be read through the storyline of fostering awareness, deepening understanding. Again, the processual *ing*-endings are used to emphasise the active, long-term promotion of these goals. This storyline had two meanings in the data. First, it referred to my desire as a language teaching professional to develop the FL students' reflective gaze on their learning processes so that they could become aware of what they were doing when learning a language, how they were learning the language, why they were doing the things that they were doing to learn the language, and what kind of learning outcomes they were able to achieve with their efforts. I assumed that an understanding of one's language learning would develop the student's healthy, critical attitude to the current state of affairs and provide him/her with the capacities and competences necessary for the assumption of responsibility for planning, directing and regulating his/her learning processes. Second, this storyline referred to the promotion of the FL students' consciousness of the wider spheres of their TL-related lives, the general goal being a comprehensive and elaborate understanding of culture and society within a sociohistoric perspective. As with the first reference, the reason for aiming at this type of development through the teaching was the assumption that deepening the students' awareness would contribute to their critical understanding and enable them to assume empowered subject positions in their lives.

In Chapter one, the students were given opportunities for self-reflection and self-assessment by means of journal writing, counselling sessions, reflective essays and self-assessments. The meaning of reflection was also discussed in the lessons. I gave feedback on the reflective essays; the students gave feedback on each other's performances when delivering speeches as a portfolio assignment. While some students were critical towards self-reflection, seeing it as extra work and failing to see its relevance for their learning processes, others had more

positive experiences, pointing out that it was thought-provoking and provided opportunities to utilise the TL more spontaneously.

(19) In the class we talked about the matters arising out of the reflective essays. The teacher had collected some questions and written them down. The things we had to think about were emotional factors and assessing our own motivation, courage, attitude, determination, etc. I liked this, these ideas made me think! (Sanna, language journal, English 2, April 2009)

(20) I've been especially motivated by the interesting topics and the way we study, which is freer than in the compulsory courses. Globalization, different customs and discussions are exactly what interest me and why I want to study English. (Tuomas, language journal, English 8, November 2009)

Chapter two brought up the diversity of the experienced meanings related to this storyline. One student wondered why they had to keep pondering about the meaning of the teaching for themselves since her earlier experiences had taught her to do as she was told, without questioning the teacher. Worried about the deterministic effect of self-assessment, another student pointed out that there was too much reflection in the courses. A third student confessed that he was not a reflective person and simply preferred to do things without giving them much thought. On the other hand, other FL students pointed out the usefulness of studying mindfully, claiming that it had had a positive impact on their learning. These students seemed to make the most of their opportunities to exchange and defend their opinions in classroom discussions. Towards the end of Chapter two, I also noticed challenges that frequently diminished the usefulness of the self-reflective tasks as language learning tools.

(21) I've had it up to here with this reflecting on my studying. I'm not sure whether self-assessment is any use to me myself. I am very sceptical about assessments. Assessment puts a stamp on that person, it makes the student believe 'this is what I'm like, this is what I can do'. It may have an adverse effect (a bit like with predictions and horoscopes). (Suvi, language journal, English 2, April 2010)

(22) *Lauri doesn't think there's any use in keeping a language journal. A learning journal requires the student to commit to a long-term learning process. Lauri hasn't completed the courses in sequence but attended them irregularly here and there. As far as students like this are concerned, there is no process-oriented studying whatsoever.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2011)

In Chapter three, the challenges within this storyline were given less attention. The focus lay on the second meaning of the storyline, i.e., deepening the students' understanding of life from the perspective of the TL. This was done, for example, by bringing into the lessons guests who shared their personal experiences with the students. In Chapter three, the FL students often reported on their positive experiences regarding the contents of the lessons, either in their journal entries or by giving face-to-face feedback.

(23) I invited the health education teacher to the English class to tell the students about her 'summer job' in schools in Tanzania. Marja really got into it and talked in English for well over an hour! She dealt with practical language problems, the dreadful local conditions as well as cultural differences. Many of the students listened with interest to Marja's experiences and asked a lot of questions. Marja's presentation added depth to the work and career topic in this third course and offered opportunities for thinking about cultural encounters, and hopefully it encouraged the students to use whatever language skills they have. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 3, October 2011)

(24) Jaakko, Riku and Irja gave some nice feedback on the course. They said it 'opened up their mind and new worlds' and 'even made an old person think about things'. One of the things we did on the course was a small project and the boys wrote a newspaper article in English where the idea was to take a critical look at the Finnish welfare society. Jaakko had recorded the whole of the six-minute article on to tape in the form of a radio broadcast, and this was the starting point for their class presentation. Yes, the boys had really given a lot of time and effort to the job. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 4, February 2012)

(25) I've always thought language, and learning language, are quite noble pursuits. In essence, it is the practice of expanding your own world, opening it up for exploration. [...] A shared language, a wide-spread one such as English, makes the world bigger and smaller at the same time... To try and learn a language is to try and understand humankind better. [...] I must say that my progress with English has accelerated considerably after I entered this school. (Jaakko, teaching journal, English 4, December 2012)

After Chapter three, this storyline made a brief reappearance in the Epilogue when my teaching journal expressed my dissatisfaction with the current role of the language learning journal writing and wondered whether it would make more sense to ask the students to write a language learning blog instead. In sum, although this storyline – as well as the previous two storylines – ultimately referred to an ambitious task, and not least because of the students' diverse

backgrounds and chances for studying the TL, it cannot be ignored as one of the defining features of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA.

Co-direction, community, togetherness

The first three storylines were based on my more or less conscious efforts to localize the FL pedagogy so that it could be adapted to the FL classroom in the local GUSSA. The fourth storyline differs from those previously discussed in that it is less intentional and results from my aspirations to involve the FL students, encourage their TL use and foster their awareness. It defines the framework, in which the first three storylines of the teaching are combined into a meaningful whole that also has the potential to take the individual students' needs into consideration in this particular FL context. This storyline can best be captured with the words co-direction, community and togetherness. The narrative of FL teaching depicts how the teaching develops from teacher direction through student direction towards co-direction, with the strengthening sense of togetherness not only emerging among the FL students but also in the local GUSSA community more generally.

At the beginning of Chapter one, I was individually responsible for my language teaching and the FL students were individually responsible for their language learning. Although the students frequently studied in pairs in the lessons, the pair work was viewed rather mechanically as an alternative way to do the required tasks, with the FL teacher still deciding what and when to study in pairs, and each student still responsible for his/her learning individually, despite the other students working in the same group.

(26) As we deal with the text, the students take turns to read the text aloud to the rest of class and together we translate into Finnish those sections they have trouble understanding. Most of the class is quiet but nevertheless I find a couple of active students who often have something to ask. I myself also bring up some of the points that I think are linguistically difficult. The students work on the last half of the text in pairs – it's easier to ask your partner about something you haven't understood. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 1, January 2009)

(27) We worked hard in Wednesday's lesson. Some of us worked intensively in groups or pairs, myself I thought it made more sense to translate the chapter on my own, the lesson ended too soon because I didn't have time to check what I had done with the group. (Anna, language journal, English 3, September 2009)

As I learnt to know my students better and received feedback through the language journals and counselling sessions, the teaching became more interactive and dialogic. Negotiations regarding the learning processes were given more space. The students were given more control over the assessment of their learning. As a teacher, I paid attention to group dynamics, providing the teaching with ice-breakers, tuning-in tasks and warm-up exercises, during which the students had time to become acquainted with each other, using English lightly and spontaneously. The students were sometimes given opportunities to give feedback to one another. Project work and drama were integrated into the lessons, with a desire to encourage the students to assume responsibility for each other's learning. During the short projects, the groups decided homework by themselves. The experiences of these projects were mostly positive; in particular, the students considered the learning environment encouraging.

(28) It's totally amazing that the atmosphere in the lessons is so different! It's encouraging and if you happen to make a mistake, you can keep your head high and try again next time. The fact that others are eager to learn and there's a good feeling in the lessons motivates to learn and makes it considerably nicer. (Miia, language journal, English 2, May 2009)

(29) We were set the task of preparing a presentation for a job interview, involving a CV and accompanying letter. Students worked in groups of three. Two of them were applicants and the third the interviewer. Sofia took on the interviewer's role with her usual youthful enthusiasm and Anna and me were the interviewees. We made a good start on Tuesday and continued on Thursday. (Ritva, language journal, English 3, September 2009)

In Chapter two, there were often such different students in the EFL courses that they had plenty of difficulties seeing eye to eye when working together on a joint assignment. Some students protested against pair and group work, pointing out that they did not understand why they were asked to study with somebody instead of doing course book tasks and exercises alone. The groups had problems dividing their work equally, some students trying to get out of doing anything while the others were burdened with work. Sometimes the group was faced with enormous difficulties when some of the group members had unexpected absences. Although these issues were discussed in class repeatedly, developing a sense of social responsibility was often near impossible for some students.

(30) *As the students work a lot in pairs, I try to emphasise to them that they should do it together and that they're responsible for dealing with the text as a team. There's no point in acting as if you're working together but still one of them does it much faster while the other is struggling with the task.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2010)

(31) On Tuesday I got a new pair and when studying with him I have the feeling that we don't even speak the same language while using Finnish. Our co-operation was pretty challenging, we had difficulties especially when discussing the text. (Suvi, language journal, English 3, September 2010)

On examining the FL teaching through this storyline, it should be kept in mind that not all students were motivated to study English. For example, some of the students taking the courses were drop-outs from other upper secondary schools and had strong antipathy towards foreign languages. Others were extremely introverted or had other challenges in their lives. When it came to motivating students like these to study English, highly personalised pedagogy and independent studying combined with teacher control and negotiation were often required instead of making them responsible for group work, in which the unmotivated, introverted students were usually reluctant to participate in any way. Even some of the motivated students had problems to assume responsibility for their language learning in the middle of their busy lives. Consequently, many of them needed a combination of teacher and student control; otherwise they would not have been able to finish any courses in the GUSSA.

(32) I still dislike working in pairs and groups, especially because of the topics. I understand the course theme is like that, but I personally would not like to talk about my OWN religious views to people who don't need to know about them. ("Niko", language journal, English 4, February 2011)

(33) *Is it possible to be socially responsible in a GUSSA, when it sometimes feels that the students can't even assume responsibility for themselves? The student's life situation (tiredness, pressures, learning difficulties, stress) clearly affect pair work and can prevent its success. Some of the students also feel that they need the teacher to control their actions. Working as a member of a group is surprisingly unfamiliar to them.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2011)

Towards the end of the narrative, the co-direction of the learning processes expanded to include the idea of caring for each other's well-being in a community of individuals who felt connected by a sense of togetherness. Although the idea

of an adult upper secondary community was still in its infancy, signs of this type of development were identifiable among the teachers, among the students and in the interaction between these communities. Both Chapter three and the Epilogue were characterised by more teachers working together, more students studying together and more teachers and students interacting with each other. This development took place in the FL classroom and the institutional levels beyond. In the FL context, some students reported on helping each other in their studies. This was promoted by the peer teaching and tutoring, which turned out to be an effective way to increase commitment to study together. At the whole-school level, a sense of community was promoted by the co-operation between the personnel and the informal get-togethers between the teachers and the students.

(34) Noora has given me some personal help with pronunciation and making sense of the difficult parts of the text. Now I've been trying to work especially on my listening and pronunciation. (Pirjo, language journal, English 3, October 2011)

(35) *Yesterday I was talking with my colleagues about some of our students who have tried to complete courses at a big local adult upper secondary school. In the end nothing came of it because the responsibility for studying was left entirely with the student and nobody else made sure that the student was progressing in the course. When you get to know these students better, you also realize that some of them need some strong communal support and in my opinion this little group of ours can offer such support better than a big adult upper secondary school.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 12, November 2012)

Whereas collaboration and togetherness as concepts suggest deeper engagement in a joint enterprise than merely working together and dividing tasks within the group, this storyline can be read as the beginning of an orientation towards the community. The key to successful and functional FL teaching in this formal institutional FL context seemed to be joint, collective efforts to develop a caring and flexible environment that did not force the language learning adult upper secondary students to conform to any ready-made moulds. On the contrary, they encouraged the FL students to define and construct their own selves within a framework that supported their overall development as members of communities, thus simultaneously preventing their marginalization in society.

Constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials

Finally, the narrative of FL teaching can be read as a story of my personal, developing understanding of the possibilities and limits of the teaching and learning potential provided by the cultural, economic, historical, institutional, pedagogic, political and social conditions. The fifth powerful storyline refers to the range of constraints, obstacles, opportunities and potentials emerging for the teaching of foreign languages in this FL context. This storyline depicts the contextual framework, within which the four other storylines are situated. Although the restricting and promoting elements are linked and intertwined with each other, they can roughly be divided into three groups: student-based, teacher-based and context-based factors. This division can be kept in mind when examining the findings below.

In Chapter one, the diversity of the students limited the meaningfulness of their collaboration and participation. Some students had learning difficulties and needed continuous attention from the teacher; some were introverted and shunned social contacts; others had difficulties with finding the time, energy and motivation to do homework. There were also substantial differences in the students' TL proficiencies as well as unrealistic expectations and beliefs about studying languages in the upper secondary level, with many expecting to be taught grammar and vocabulary only. Such beliefs did not only concern the more mature students but also younger students sometimes found it strange to discuss a topic with the other students in English. Some considered it a waste of time while others claimed that it only added to the amount of homework because they had to study the words and grammar at home.

Even those students who had realistic expectations and previous experience of using the TL were often surprised by the diversity and depth of the FL teaching. I sometimes had a hard time explaining convincingly to the students why they should keep on writing their language journals. I can be criticised for organising too much for the students to do in the lessons and at home. Sometimes I noticed focusing on getting the teaching done instead of encountering the students as they were. These findings can also be linked to the contextual factors such as the absence of resources to begin teaching from the basics and the high number of topics to be covered in the relatively short courses.

(36) *I can't always be the caring human being for the students, especially if I feel that we're in a hurry and there's much to teach. I notice thinking that I have to use the lesson entirely for learning. Nevertheless it would be important to give time to learn. [...] I think in too goal-directed a way and I don't see the human being behind the learner.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 1, January 2009)

(37) *It's hard for me to motivate the students to discuss the course topics, as I am not a good speaker myself. I get bad conscience or rather I feel disappointed at myself for not being able to be the kind of teacher that I'd like to be. I still can't start to pretend anything, this is what I'm like.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2009)

(38) *During the course I've clearly noticed that the students have conflicting expectations about the teaching: one of them just wants to learn grammar and translate texts; another wants to study independently on his own, and a third wants oral practice with a partner. In addition, I should consider every student as an individual with a life outside school. Right now it feels as if I can't give the weak ones enough support and the strong ones enough latitude.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 5, April 2009)

As for the promoters of the FL teaching in Chapter one, at least the following can be listed: 1) Small group sizes combined with a relaxed atmosphere in the lessons contributed positively to the students' motivation, participation and learning. 2) The possibility to teach the same students from one course to another combined with journal writing and counselling sessions that increased my knowledge of the students personalized the teacher-student relationship. 3) The students valued the teacher's encouraging presence in the lessons. 4) The classroom discussions about language learning and the teaching sessions focusing on learning to learn skills provided the students with better means to study. 5) Diverse and varied group work improved co-operation between the students. 6) The students' commitment to their learning was strengthened by the increased face-to-face feedback between the teacher and the student and the students' increased possibilities to influence the content of their studying.

(39) *There is a closer counselling relationship when you can teach the same students from one course to another. The language journal, counselling sessions and other ways of personalizing study help in getting to know a student. It would be difficult to teach in a class of students I don't know.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 2, April 2009)

(40) There was some talk about dictionaries in the lesson. Occasionally looking up a word seems just like guess work, so it's good that the teacher mentioned

monolingual dictionaries (I wouldn't have come up with that option myself). (Suvi, language journal, English 0, August 2009)

(41) Designing my own listening task opened up a new world when I plucked up courage to listen to some BBC programmes. There's all sorts of things hidden behind those [course webpage] links! (Iida, language journal English 4, December 2009)

In Chapter two, I regularly struggled with the heterogeneous groups in my teacher role as the students had very differing TL proficiencies and personal agendas in studying foreign languages. Some students were uncomfortable with and puzzled by the student-centred pedagogy while others expected more freedom and variety in the lessons, the students' previous language learning experiences often playing a key role in their reactions. To some degree, many students needed external pedagogic and institutional control to be able to study in the middle of their busy lives. Some kept complaining about the amount of course work while others admitted that homework was essential for their language learning. The role of self-reflection also remained ambiguous for some students.

(42) (Teaching) methods today and in the past are as far apart as west and east. You can't help comparing the old and the new. I feel the mutineer inside me. I long for the old times when you translated texts. ("Niko", language journal, English 4, February 2010)

Other constraints causing tensions in the teaching included the use of course books and insufficient lesson time. Even though I sometimes expressed my desire to teach without a course book and plan the teaching together with the students, such practices turned out to be too time-consuming to be done in ways that would enable the coverage of the course syllabus with the heterogeneous students during the seven-week period. Moreover, the students usually considered studying with a course book comfortable since absences from the lessons were frequent and it was less arduous to use the prepared learning material when studying by oneself in the middle of other duties and commitments.

Another obstacle to meaningful FL teaching and learning were the soaring amounts of student absences which occasionally prevented other than teacher-centred pedagogy. For some, the absences were due to low motivation. It was challenging to provide a student with meaningful learning experiences if his/her learning process was fluctuated and fragmentary. These students were not

uncommon in the EFL courses and included, among others, new students appearing in the courses in the middle of the school year, students returning to complete their degree and only missing some courses, students studying in another upper secondary school and only taking a couple of courses in the local GUSSA as well as students unwilling or otherwise unable to commit to a long-term learning process due to their life situation. Not seeing their language learning as a continuum, these “visitors” of FL teaching and learning had difficulties to commit to long-term studying. The journal and the portfolio usually had little significance for these students; they were unable to identify any progress during the short periods that they spent studying. Finally, the absence of a broad consensus among the teaching personnel as to the proper means to support the students in their studies also posed challenges for the FL teaching.

(43) *Certain students never find out about their homework, leave the assignments undone. Sometimes a student is away several times in a row and then turns up in class without saying a word. It's depressing when, despite all your efforts, you can't activate students. I can see that it isn't always the teacher's fault, but nevertheless!* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2011)

(44) *[I]n the staff meeting it's useful to listen to colleagues' ideas about the student you yourself are worried about. [...] In the discussions it came up that in the GUSSA there's a need for a pedagogy different from that in the regular daytime upper secondary school. Some seem to interpret this to mean that we should compromise on our requirements so that the students can complete their courses and tests, for example, students with stage fright wouldn't have to give presentations, etc. In my opinion we should think about how we can support the student without compromising on requirements.* (Teacher, teaching journal, English 2, April 2011)

The differing views in extract 44 were indicative of more profound differences in the teachers' conceptions of the adult upper secondary school and its students. These conceptions can be examined as evidence of a persistent discourse existing in the upper secondary community that undervalued the GUSSA as an educational institute and the GUSSA students as upper secondary students.

(45) *I overheard an interesting exchange of words between two teachers. One of them was examining the grades that the upper secondary students had received from their English matriculation exams. Having browsed through the results, she finally said relieved to the other that it's good that some of the problematic students had been transferred to the adult upper secondary school so that they didn't lower the daytime upper secondary school's grade point average. To this,*

the other teacher replied that it, indeed, had been useless to teach those students in the courses. This piece of conversation left me wondering what kind of idea these two teachers had of the GUSSA and the students studying there. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 8, November 2010)

As to the factors promoting the FL teaching in Chapter two, the language portfolio and the special portfolio assignments requiring TL use in out-of-school settings can be brought up. The findings indicated that both inspired some of the students to become exceptionally motivated and active in their language learning. While some struggled with self-reflection, others considered it a useful language learning tool. Many students were motivated by the ways that I as their FL teacher encountered them at a personal level, regularly trying to encourage them in their language learning efforts. What was more, TL use in its different forms in the lessons was also seen to contribute to meaningful language learning.

(46) The teacher's emails have been encouraging, they've given me a nice boost. What's especially significant in the friendliness and balance of the messages is that they remind me that the teacher is a human being. Even though the teacher is the great knower in the group, it doesn't mean that you have to watch out for on-the-fly quips (and objects) if the teacher starts to get annoyed in the middle of the lesson. (Suvi, language journal, English 12, October 2010)

(47) In this course I've kept a question notebook so that I'll remember the things that I'm still not clear about. I'm satisfied with myself because with the teacher I've managed to clear those things up. There are a few things I have to 'work out' on, and I've marked those with an exclamation mark. I think it's a sign that you understand something when you're able to ask. I'm going to carry on keeping the notebook in some form or other. (Kirsi, language journal, English 6, February 2011)

Whereas the first Chapters paid plenty of attention to the constraints and obstacles in the FL teaching, the last two Chapters introduced more positive views of the FL context. While challenges to do with the language learning journal and the GUSSA students' ICT skills can be brought up as some of the most visible negative aspects influencing the FL teaching, several facilitating and promoting elements providing opportunities for meaningful FL teaching and learning can be identified in Chapter three and the Epilogue. One of these facilitators was the intensifying co-operation between the teachers since it made sharing ideas and

dividing resources easier. Other changes with a positive impact on the FL teaching included the development work regarding student assessment.

(48) Over recent weeks we've raised the idea of arranging teaching periods without exam weeks in our school. In my opinion this is something worth considering because then more teaching hours would be released for teaching purposes, the stressful time at the end of the period would be removed and course assessment could be based on the learning and progress that has taken place during the course. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 10, December 2012)

In the language classroom, the peer tutoring, the possibility of doing one's homework at school, the authenticity of the course topics and the personalised pedagogy arising from the students' needs were experienced as some of the elements in the FL context with a generally positive influence on the students' language learning. Moreover, the students listed other students' support, the possibility of being oneself in an encouraging language learning environment as well as the sense of being able to be involved actively in one's own language learning among the defining features that contributed to a meaningful language learning process in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA.

(49) Not many classes encourage the students to engage themselves so actively [as these]. I'm not sure if I'm just imagining it or not, but it seems that this course has had more pair and group work than previous ones. At least, it seems more prominent if not more frequent. (Jaakko, language journal, English 12, November 2011)

(50) Juuso is just so talented but he still hasn't learned to take responsibility for his own studying, he always turns up for the lesson unprepared and even pair work comes to nothing. Sure, he knows the texts and his general knowledge is huge. Today, while the others are studying the text, I give Juuso the task of writing an essay that he hasn't completed. He puts a lot of effort into the task and the resulting essay is very good. This time the lesson was really useful for him. I shall definitely have to try this practice another time. (Teacher, teaching journal, English 6, March 2012)

All in all, the FL teaching in the formal institutional FL context of interest in this study can be understood through this storyline to take place in a complex interplay between a range of facilitating and constraining forces. The local GUSSA represents a multidimensional framework for teaching and learning foreign languages. To guarantee the meaningfulness and effectiveness of

individual language learning processes in this context, it is important to search for pedagogically motivated ways to tackle this complexity by paying attention to and setting sights on locally appropriate action/meaning potentials.

Theorising the foreign language teaching

Chapter 10 conducted two holistic analyses on GUSSA FL teaching. In the holistic analysis of form, the essential time periods, events, moments and turning points for the overall progression of the narrative of FL teaching were presented by depicting the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching in a temporally developing graph. Although the analysis revealed the uniqueness of the meanings attributed to these experiences, it enabled an identification of similarities between them and a simplification of the narrative of FL teaching into a graph reflecting the overall development of the experienced meanings. In the analysis, three distinct time periods were detected: the first focused on what was going on in the FL classroom, the second raised the question of what FL pedagogy and autonomy can and cannot be in this particular context, and the third contemplated how the GUSSA students' language learning and well-being can be enhanced in a co-directed process.

The holistic analysis of content exposed five powerful, overlapping storylines among the diversity of experiences. Together, they pointed to the most essential content in the narrative of FL teaching. The findings of these analyses can be understood through the notions of autonomy, authenticity and affordance (for the most central theoretical background, see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2013a; Holec 2009; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kaikkonen 2012; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Kohonen 2009b, 2012; Little 2007; Pennycook 1997; van Lier 2004, 2008). In the FL context of interest here, these notions are also in close relation to the concept of narrativity (chapter 5; also Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). What follows next is an examination of the FL teaching in terms of these concepts, an attempt to look at the cultural character of the narrative of FL teaching in the local GUSSA.

Autonomy

My professional aspirations as a language educator were closely connected with promoting the GUSSA students' autonomy in (relation to) language learning long before I had any plans to embark on a scholarly endeavour, which then became the means towards a more explicit and systematic understanding of whether and how autonomy can be fostered pedagogically in this particular FL context in practice. To examine the degree to which the FL teaching in the local GUSSA can be understood through the construct of autonomy, the empirical findings on the teaching presented in chapter 7 and this chapter will be examined in relation to some of the influential discourses about pedagogy for autonomy.

A pedagogy for co-directed autonomy

Jiménez Raya and Lamb (2008a) have distinguished between pedagogies for autonomy oriented towards self-management and self-regulation (chapter 3, 79). The findings in chapter 7 and this chapter showed that the FL teaching involved elements of both orientations. The EFL teacher showed concern for the students' freedom to control their language learning processes, especially in the first Chapters of the narrative of FL teaching. He was worried how his actions, the ready-made study material, the pre-determined course schedules and the great amount of topics would influence on the students' possibilities to manage their language learning. After a few unsuccessful attempts to hand over more control to the students, for example through project work, the challenges were resolved by sharing control between the teacher and the student, introducing group work on a smaller scale, studying in tutor groups and, finally, decreasing the obstacles to a personalised study and assessment process. Throughout the narrative, these aspirations were accompanied by attempts to increase the students' will and skill to regulate their own language learning behaviour. The self-reflective tasks, the counselling sessions and the classroom discussions about study skills served this purpose. It was crucial to focus on both self-management and self-regulation since the GUSSA students often had diverse backgrounds and it was unreasonable to assume that they would inherently be capable of self-direction.

According to Little (2001, 2007), any successful autonomy approach to FL teaching must be governed by three interacting principles: learner involvement,

learner reflection and target language use (see chapter 3, 79). The findings showed how these principles were relevant for the FL teaching in the local GUSSA. The teaching was characterised by constant aspirations to increase the students' influence on the planning, organising, managing and evaluating of their own learning. The students determined some of their portfolio assignments by themselves and they were allowed to influence which learning tasks to do in the lessons. They were asked to make decisions regarding the turn-in schedule of the course work and to assess their language learning outcomes. Despite the differences in the degree to which they actually became involved, the teaching manifested distinct intentions to promote comprehensive student participation. Different forms of reflection were also included in the language learning processes with varying success. The students kept their language journals, did their reflective learning tasks, participated in counselling sessions and sometimes gave feedback to their peers. These activities required the competence to contemplate the learning process. Finally, the analyses provided evidence of increasing TL use as the medium for classroom interaction. In addition to the actual learning tasks, English was used for communication in the lessons, within the limits set by the students' TL proficiencies.

However, the FL teaching also manifested peculiarities less evident in the three principles. First, whereas Little (2007) emphasises the language learner's multifaceted involvement in their language *learning*, the FL teaching in the GUSSA adopted a wider perspective on activating the students. As pointed out by the storyline of engaging, involving and participating, the teaching tended to engage the students in ways that went beyond increasing responsibility for learning. Instead, the teaching broadly challenged the students to construct their FL identities *in relation to the world*. This was done by providing the students with possibilities to relate to the course topics at a personal level through discussions and writing assignments. While this orientation may be implicitly included in the principle of learner involvement, the FL teaching studied here embraced an explicit approach to having the FL students participate extensively.

Second, the FL teaching adopted a broader perspective on the notion of reflection. The reflection that was striven for not only focused on *assessing aspects of the language learning process* but also engaged the students in *defining themselves* through learning tasks that required them to elaborate on their personal views on the phenomena of the social and cultural world. This meant that

reflection, for example in self-assessment of the language learning process, was accompanied by explorations of the self that were frequently narrative in nature. In practice, the reflective practices of this type included less interpersonal and more intrapersonal activity. Judging by the findings, the distinction made here from Little's (2007) principle of learner reflection may have been one of the reasons for the challenges involved in developing the students' capacities for inner speech about language learning. Although the learning-oriented reflection became manifest through the counselling sessions to some degree, many GUSSA students appeared to be fairly incapable of reaching deeper levels of reflection, when it came to their language learning processes. Considering the general emphasis on the social and co-directed aspects of fostering autonomy in the FL teaching in the local GUSSA and the fact that peer-assessment is often considered an important stepping-stone to self-assessment, which likewise forms a strong platform in promoting autonomy (Everhard 2015a), the scarcity of interpersonal reflection embedded in the FL teaching is a deficiency that may have raised barriers to some GUSSA students' development.

Third, the TL was not used in every classroom activity although Little (2007) recommends that this be common practice. Despite arguments for its importance, my experiments with the Finnish-free lessons showed that the diversity of the individual GUSSA students' TL proficiencies and backgrounds needed to be taken into account. For example, there was evidence that it was near useless to teach grammar in English if there were students in the group who had substantial challenges to understand grammatical concepts even in their L1. Although TL use for all classroom activities may be the underlying goal, there were many students in the groups who benefitted from the use of L1 at the right moment. Using L1 became an aspect of responsible pedagogy in that it did not shut anyone outside the teaching linguistically. Due to the differences between the students, letting the students decide for themselves if and when they desired to use the TL in the classroom community was responsible pedagogy that recognised the students' right to control their learning processes. Similar arguments have been made by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007, 64), according to whom any pedagogy for autonomy requires the teacher to identify those instances where the learners' L1 may become an empowering instead of constraining instrument of autonomy. Still, this does not imply that TL use should not be aimed at. The analysis also indicated that the EFL teacher took this aim seriously.

In the theoretical discussion above (see chapter 3, 79), references were made to Holec (2009), according to whom there were two paradigms in the approaches to autonomy in language learning: the co-directed, instructed learning aimed at increasing the students' inclusion in their learning processes and the non-instructed learning intent on producing autonomous learners by providing conditions that integrate language learning and learning-to-learn environments. Holec stated that the former paradigm represented a weak form of self-direction, the main outcome of which was to increase the learners' responsibility and involvement with minimal changes to pedagogy whereas the latter opened up more promising perspectives, requiring both learner-training, teacher-training and provision of resources.

When examining the FL teaching in relation to these paradigms, it is clear that the pedagogy for autonomy adopted in the local GUSSA cannot be associated with the second approach. As Holec (2009) points out, type two implementations presuppose substantial changes that go well beyond the scope of what individual teachers can do; the self-directed approach is a whole-school project that needs to be acknowledged, implemented and managed at many levels. In the local GUSSA, this would have required a careful reconsideration of the structure of the school year, innovative ideas to promote the busy GUSSA students' learning as well as a widely-shared commitment to fostering autonomy, among other things. Although the intensified sense of community involved a potential for such changes, this storyline was still in its infancy during the years depicted by this research. The data portrayed a fairly traditional Finnish adult education institute as the context of FL teaching and learning.

Murphy (2015) has recently pointed out that adult learners in particular often find the reflection that underlies the exercise of choice and decision-making in autonomous language learning both challenging and time-consuming. She suggests that this might be due to their previous learning experiences, which may have led them to believe that it is the teacher who should be responsible for such activity. She further claims that the unease deriving from these learner expectations may discourage the teachers to let go of these responsibilities in the classrooms. While the influence of past experiences, indeed, made themselves manifest in some GUSSA students' expectations about FL learning and teaching, there were also other, sometimes very practical, reasons that made the exercise of

choice and decision-making implied by Holec's (2009) self-directed approach less attractive and less desirable in this FL context.

Bearing the challenging lives of many GUSSA students in mind, most of them would not have been able to finish their FL courses on time if the studying pace had heavily depended on the students, as it does in the self-directed approach. This would have delayed many students' graduation since the matriculation examination can only be taken twice a year. Many students had such deficient linguistic and study skills when commencing their FL studies that it was too challenging for them to assume such responsibility from the beginning, in spite of learner training. After all, the GUSSA students differ from, say, university students in that the latter have been selected through entrance exams and the like, whereas the GUSSA courses are open for anyone. What many students needed at the beginning, according to my own teaching experience, was a particular type of control which was gradually diminished so that the learner could grow into a more equal co-manager of his/her learning. Co-directed, instructed learning made it easier for the weaker to catch up with the advanced so it did not take months for the student to reach the minimum level required for studying EFL.

As for the learner expectations, many students expected to be carefully instructed when they started their studies, any type of co-direction usually representing a substantial leap towards more autonomous language learning. Sometimes, it was discouraging to burden the students with every decision concerning their learning. Some of the students were psychologically motivated and ready for an active role but simply did not have the time or energy to do everything. In the second type approach, the threshold to begin studying would become high for these students. Moreover, although Holec (2009) points out that self-directed autonomy can be carried out collectively, type two implementations in this educational institute where the students' lives were very different to one another would have meant that most students would have had to study without the social support of peers. That was not a desirable state of affairs. As shown by the storyline of co-direction, community and togetherness, a sense of being part of something had the potential to influence the learning processes positively.

What the findings also indicated was that the co-directed and self-directed approaches did not have to be mutually exclusive alternatives. Holec (2009) also provides examples of approaches that mix co-direction and self-direction. As to the local GUSSA, co-direction did not imply that all students were controlled

equally; there was plenty of room for personalising the FL teaching flexibly according to the student's needs. Powerful forms of self-direction developed within the co-directed approach, as the cases of Suvi and Noora have shown. Co-direction also entailed the possibility to increase the students' learning abilities and control over their learning, for example through self-assessments, reflective learning tasks, counselling sessions, language journals and portfolio work. At best, co-direction supported the students in their learning efforts through a sense of togetherness. The different forms of pedagogical and institutional control involved in co-direction provided the students with a sense of security, as they knew that they were looked after and taken care of instead of being left alone with burdensome responsibilities. This co-directed perspective on the FL teaching was also important considering that the local GUSSA had gradually adopted an important role in preventing different types of social marginalization in the local community. Co-directed autonomy was a way of guaranteeing the quality of classroom life (Gieve & Miller 2006b) in this FL context. Thus, arguments can be made in favour of co-direction as the appropriate form of pedagogy for autonomy in the local GUSSA. The co-directed approach was an important, and in some cases, it seems, the only possible step for the GUSSA students towards autonomy in language learning as well as personal autonomy in life in general.

In sum, an examination of the FL teaching in relation to the different influential autonomy approaches to language learning revealed similarities between them. This empirically grounded examination confirms that it is, indeed, possible to examine the FL teaching in the local GUSSA as a particular type of pedagogy for autonomy. Involving self-management and self-regulation, this FL teaching combined the pedagogical principles of learner involvement, learner reflection and purposeful TL use in a broad sense (cf. Little 2007). Without abandoning the aim of self-direction, this FL teaching was based on the idea of fostering autonomy through co-direction, which appeared to be a suitable pedagogical approach in the local GUSSA, all things considered (cf. Holec 2009).

Moreover, this pedagogy for co-directed autonomy was enabled to a substantial degree by the narrativity of the FL teaching. The different narrative elements included in the teaching practices deepened the FL students' self-regulation, increased their personal involvement and provided a practical tool for self-reflection. Since those students who did not show commitment to the narrative components of the teaching rarely demonstrated profound developments

regarding autonomy or identity, it can be speculated whether narrativity should, in fact, be examined as a central pedagogical component of the co-directed approach to autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the local GUSSA. From the Ricœurian perspective (see chapter 5; also Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013), it would make sense to include narrativity at different levels of FL teaching that aims at touching the language learning people's selves and identities.

Beyond a pedagogy for learner autonomy

The FL teaching in the local GUSSA differs from the established views of learner autonomy in two respects. First, the teaching explicitly embraced an approach to language learning taking place in countless ways and settings, with those situated inside and in relation to the language classrooms and language courses making up but a fraction of them. While this conception is implicitly assumed by pedagogies for autonomy, it has rarely been made explicit in practice. The FL teaching under scrutiny viewed language learning in and beyond classroom settings as part of the same process. The teaching aimed at encouraging the FL students to become involved in meaningful and purposeful encounters with the TL whenever and wherever opportunities arose. The special portfolio assignments, for example, functioned as a way of acknowledging the FL students' informal, out-of-school language learning officially also at the institutional level, as an equal part of the student's language learning efforts.

This type of interest in language learning as a lifewide process has increased recently (Benson 2009b; Benson & Reinders 2011; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Luzón et al. 2010; Pitkänen et al. 2011). Karlsson and Kjisik (2011) have depicted language learning as a lifelong process involving both lifewide and lifedeeep elements, the term 'lifewide' referring to the different learning spaces or settings, in which learning can take place simultaneously and 'lifedeeep' to those aspects of the learning process that address the whole person. Based on these three dimensions, the writers propose a framework for scrutinising autonomous language learning. This framework can be used to depict the FL teaching in the local GUSSA, its pedagogy being fundamentally based on a language learning process that spreads out to a variety of potential learning spaces and settings and touches upon aspects of FL identity.

Second, the findings also indicate that the FL teaching succeeded in adopting a broader approach to autonomy in (relation to) language learning than the traditional views of learner autonomy presuppose (see Esch 2009; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 1997). As pointed out above, the domains of learner involvement, learner reflection and TL use extend beyond their traditional boundaries towards capturing a holistic framework of pedagogy for autonomy. The core of this framework was captured by the construct of FL identity, which was viewed as the underlying goal of the FL teaching of interest here. The notion was used here to refer to the TL-related aspects of the learner's personal and social identity which cover a continuum of learning outcomes ranging from identity-related language proficiency to linguistic self-concept and a diverse group of personal competences (Benson et al. 2012, 2013). Growing autonomous in the framework of FL identity is about becoming the "author of one's world" in relation to the TL (Pennycook 1997, 45). With this in mind, the purpose of FL teaching can be defined as the development of empowered, social agents capable and willing to use their voice and exercise their agency authentically and flexibly in the TL in the prevailing sociocultural conditions, and contribute to the transformation of these conditions whenever required. Although the FL teaching studied here represents an imperfect reflection of such aspirations, the findings still provide evidence that the teaching can perhaps best be understood within this type of broader pedagogical framework. One only needs to investigate the narratives of students like Noora and Suvi to find the truth in this.

Littlewood (1996, 1997, 1999) has formulated a framework for developing autonomy in language learning. Dividing the construct in three areas, i.e., autonomy as a communicator, learner and person, he proposes a pedagogy for autonomy embedded in a holistic framework. Incorporating motivation, confidence, knowledge and skills as its main components, Littlewood suggests that these components can be promoted in all three areas of autonomy by a pedagogy that sets as its main objectives communication strategies, learning strategies, independent work, creation of personal learning contexts, expression of personal meanings and linguistic creativity. The FL teaching in the local GUSSA resembles this pedagogy, involving TL use for self-expression, independent work on the language portfolio, discussions about learning and study skills and studying in pairs/small groups, among other things.

Although Littlewood's model provides an elaborate framework for understanding autonomy, viewing the autonomous FL student as an empowered language learner and user, it does not recognise the transformatory potential that the autonomous social agent possesses. The nine pedagogical principles proposed by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007, 58–68; also chapter 3, 82) have been developed on the basis of a broad view of autonomy which examines (FL) education as a moral and political phenomenon, the goal of which is to transform rather than reproduce the status quo. For Jiménez Raya et al., autonomy in language learning consists of various sub-competences that can be grouped under three headings: learning competence, competence to self-motivate and competence to think critically. From this basis, the writers construct their view of a pedagogy of autonomy that embraces the idea of language learners as social agents and critically aware participants in the processes of education. Although the FL teaching studied in this research hardly resulted in such empowering consequences, it did have a positive impact on many GUSSA students' lives, for example, by diminishing the likelihood of their marginalization in society and increasing their well-being, with an emphasis on the TL-related aspects of their living. Based on these findings, it seems that the principles proposed by Jiménez Raya et al. (*ibid.*) represent a potential framework for understanding the FL teaching at a conceptual level.

EP as a paradigm for inclusive practitioner research has pedagogical implications, including the promotion of collegiality, involvement of everybody – teachers and learners alike – in developing their understandings and the treatment of learners as key developing practitioners capable of learning in their idiosyncratic ways (see chapter 1, 26; also Allwright 2003, 2005, 2006, 2009; Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006a; Hanks 2009; Miller 2009). The principles of EP can be examined as an outline for an autonomy-oriented pedagogy which sets the QoCRL (Gieve & Miller 2006b) as experienced by its participants as its central concern. In practice, the FL teaching following these principles can look very different in different contexts since EP presupposes a consideration of the local circumstances. As the examples of EP-oriented research have demonstrated (among others Allwright & Hanks 2009; Aoki 2009a; Gieve & Miller 2006; Hanks 2009; Johnson 2002; Miller 2009), the potentially useful activities can range, for example, from diaries to project work, games to interviews, field trips to role play, and much more.

Involving changes in power relations and creating time and space for the discourse of puzzlement (see Miller 2009), EP as a pedagogy for autonomy addresses issues beyond the traditional learner autonomy discourse. On the basis of the findings, there are similarities between EP pedagogy and the FL pedagogy under scrutiny, an emphasis on the quality of classroom life being one of them. Indeed, the underlying goal of the FL teaching was to discover a meaningful, purposeful and ethically sustainable FL pedagogy that cared for the students' well-being. Still, EP as such was ill-suited to depict the pedagogy in the FL classroom, despite its suitability as a research method. This was not least because of the relatively short teaching periods and the course topics determined by the curriculum, which restricted the balancing of power relations and limited the time and space for puzzlement. In the data, these conditions posed obstacles to student-centredness, which is often assumed in EP classrooms.

EP is also based on the assumption that the key developing practitioners – the people attending the lessons – have time, energy and motivation to develop their understandings about the issues puzzling them, or at least time, energy and motivation to talk, write or otherwise reflect about why they do not have the time, energy or motivation for that. In the local GUSSA, many students were unable to assume full control over their language learning due to their busy or otherwise challenging lives beyond the classroom and the institutional context. This prevented them from becoming key developing practitioners in the full meaning of the notion. Consequently, they needed to settle for subject positions involving less control over their learning, even though they might have been aware that it meant letting the teacher make some of the essential learning decisions for them and lowering expectations regarding their learning outcomes. This was nonetheless necessary if the experienced quality of classroom life and diverse and varied language learning did not mean the same. At best, the outcome was the type of co-direction depicted in the previous section. It was this type of shared control between the teacher and the student that became the means to restore the quality of classroom life in this FL context.

Finally, a pedagogical profile that can also be used to theorise the FL teaching has been proposed by Hunter and Cooke (2007), who examine autonomy in language learning as a multidimensional (social, individual, psychological and political) construct that empowers language learners to exercise their agency in a socially constructed world of interdependencies. To foster this development, they

outline a course design consisting of sociocultural knowledge, initiative and adventuring, insight and inquiry, social interaction and reflective learning (also chapter 3, 82). These course components involve objectives like the promotion of agency as a conscious policy, the building of social awareness and explicit teaching about society. They include the promotion of learning to learn beyond the course and the classroom, the creation of a learning environment that allows ambiguity and error, the development of self-knowledge as well as the promotion of an inquiring, questioning and challenging attitude. Furthermore, the writers' course design incorporates engagement with the TL and its speakers, development of awareness of language learning, development of the learners' perception concerning affordances and the encouragement of reflection on language learning and use. (Hunter & Cooke 2007.)

Empirical evidence of these objectives in action is abundant in the narrative of FL teaching. However, the crux of Hunter and Cooke's (2007) course design lies in that it does not depict a pedagogy for autonomy but a framework for developing agency in language learning. Although this choice of theoretical concept may seem irrelevant for those considering the two almost synonymous constructs, it is not irrelevant for this study. The researchers themselves also draw a distinction between autonomy and agency, considering agency a more appropriate term for capturing the goal of FL education and incorporating dependence, interdependence and engagement in a social world. This problematic between the two notions will be addressed in detail in chapter 12 below.

In sum, the findings confirm that the FL teaching under investigation differs from many autonomy approaches to language learning. It extends beyond the institutional confines, incorporating lifelong, lifewide and lifedep dimensions to the language learning process. It has adopted a broader approach to the idea of autonomy than suggested by the learner autonomy discourse. This pedagogy for autonomy can best be understood through the writings of Allwright and Hanks (2009), Hunter and Cooke (2007), Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), Littlewood (1996) and Pennycook (1997), who have emphasised the general, empowering and transformatory potential that learning a foreign language may contain. Again, the narrativity embedded in the teaching can be examined as a pedagogical tool suitable for the local FL context, one that essentially broadens the dimensions of autonomy in (relation to) language learning.

Assessment in the co-directed approach to autonomy

The importance of adopting and developing appropriate assessment practices, processes and strategies for nurturing the language learning person's autonomy in the formal institutional FL context was pointed out in chapter 3. In the narrative of FL teaching, issues about assessment did not surface frequently nor did they manifest themselves in an explicit and forceful fashion. When reading between the lines, several implicit references to assessment practices can still be found both in the storied accounts of the protagonists (chapter 8) and the emplotted narrative of the FL teaching (chapter 7). These references provided me with opportunities to point the readers' attention to certain findings and suggest a few considered conclusions about the assessment strategies in the FL teaching, which has now been conceptualised as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy.

For the most part of the narrative of FL teaching, the assessment policy employed consisted of a combination of summative and formative assessment (see Everhard 2015b). Course assessment was usually based on two main components, the final exam and the portfolio, both of which were weighted equally in the course mark that I was obliged to give to each student after the course was completed. The portfolio included the reflective language journals, the regular oral and written portfolio assignments, the special assignments involving out-of-class TL use combined with self-assessment, and finally, the self-assessment sheets intended for identifying the student's strengths and challenges in the different areas of their linguistic skills and evaluating their TL proficiency with the help of descriptors and checklists similar to the ones in the ELP (see Kohonen 2009a; Little 2009).

Moreover, most final exams included an essay task that prompted the students to reflect on course-related issues. The students were also encouraged to set personal goals, reflect on their progress and self-assess their learning processes and outcomes in their language journal entries (for more detailed descriptions of some of these tasks, see chapter 6, 158). The students were told that their assessments would be taken into account in the course mark. I gave the students feedback on their portfolio tasks during the courses, often in writing, sometimes orally in one- or two-minute face-to-face feedback moments in the middle of the lessons. Having marked the exams, I arranged a voluntary feedback session after the exam week so that the students had the opportunity to receive a personal

commentary about their exam and course assessment in general. This type of course assessment policy was then complemented by the annual teacher-student counselling sessions with possibilities to reflect on the past, puzzle about the present and set sights on the future.

The data showed that this main structure of the assessment process was followed consistently over the time span of this research. It gained flexibility towards the end of the narrative of FL teaching, with the findings pointing to two noticeable changes. First, the final exams were omitted in some courses. This was done to reduce the anxiety that many GUSSA students had about the exams and provide them with more time to concentrate on their language learning as a process. Second, the assessment practices, and sometimes the criteria on which the assessment was based, were personalized. This was done within the limits of the curriculum to increase each student's possibilities to negotiate about the content of their studies and guarantee better chances for some of the most challenging students with highly individual needs to complete their courses. Although there was not much evidence of this in the data, this personalization meant in practice that not all FL students were asked to turn in the same portfolio tasks or turn in the same amount of portfolio tasks. In some cases, a portfolio task was replaced by another while in others, the assignment was slightly modified. In addition, sometimes the learning tasks were not weighted equally between the students; it may have been that the written assignments were emphasised more in some cases while the quality of self-reflection counted more in others. These decisions about personalizing assessment were always based on particular reasons/concerns and made case by case by myself as the student's EFL teacher after I had negotiated with the student and the study counsellor.

The FL teaching in the local GUSSA was explicitly intended to promote the FL students' involvement in and increase their responsibility for their language learning, along with the broader aims of developing their TL-related agency. This was shown by the storyline of engaging, involving and participating, and by the storyline of fostering awareness, deepening understanding, which were both identified as powerful storylines in the holistic reading of content above. With these observations and findings in mind, a tentative general conclusion can be drawn that the assessment of FL learning contained empowering and transformative qualities and properties in common with the types of authentic and sustainable assessment processes associated with the promotion of autonomous

interdependence, critical awareness, learner choice, lifelong learning, personal agency and self-direction (see Boud & Falchikov 2006; Everhard 2015b; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2012; Little 2007; Littlewood 2002).

The assessment process adopted was not without challenges, however. Evidence of this can be found above in the storyline of constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials. On elaborating on the assessment-autonomy relationship, Cotterall and Malcolm (2015, 173) have pointed out that

the promotion of self-assessment for autonomy as a goal in language learning may be viewed with scepticism by learners who recognize that in the short-term what matters is how their teacher evaluates their performance on a course they wish to pass so they can achieve their educational and professional aims.

The data manifested this type of sceptical attitude towards assessment practices that included self-assessment and other types of self-reflection in addition to the assessment done by the EFL teacher. Although the different components of assessment were designed to be mutually supportive and closely integrated with one another, the relatively short courses combined with teaching periods without English did not encourage all students to view their language learning as a process. This was even more so if the student was not generally motivated to study English, or if s/he only took a couple of EFL courses occasionally without following the suggested course order, as was often the case in this particular educational institute. Not surprisingly, these students often failed to see progress in their fragmented learning processes, considered self-assessment and reflection a waste of time, sometimes refused to engage themselves in such activities and expressed a desire to focus on “real” language learning instead.

Furthermore, although the FL students were aware that the course marks were based on their self-assessments and the teacher’s assessments, it may still have appeared that it was the teacher who ultimately was the “keeper of all the important marks” and the “assigner of grades”, as Cotterall and Malcolm (2015, 173) have put it. In the local GUSSA, this conception may have derived from the facts that a) there were no counselling sessions between the teacher and the student where decisions about course marks would have been made, b) no other subject in the school, to my knowledge, had adopted self-assessment as a regular course assessment practice, and c) the students’ previous language learning careers rarely resonated with the authentic and sustainable assessment process, with some of the students, for example, having only had experiences of

authoritarian teaching in their youth. Indeed, earlier experience may have a powerful influence on students' attitudes and expectations, as Murphy (2015) has pointed out. Undoubtedly, the learner resistance shown in the data was at least partially due to the fact that some students were completely unfamiliar with other than teacher assessment.

As Cotterall and Malcolm (2015, 171) note, authentic, innovative and sustainable assessment strategies require “transformative, personal change”, “willingness to participate”, “an inclination to adopt an unfamiliar role” and “the investment of time for no immediate reward”. With these demanding prerequisites in mind, it becomes clear that the teacher must be able to facilitate this process by encouraging, scaffolding and providing guidance. From this perspective, the assessment process, which in principle involved all the necessary ingredients of a successful and sustainable assessment strategy, could have been integrated more intensively as part of the students' language learning processes. More time should have been found to practise self-assessment and reflection, and more self-assessment and reflection should have been done in the lessons, at least in the early phases of the student's English studies. After all, it is well-known that hardly anyone knows from birth how to engage in critical reflection but it can be taught and learnt (among others Everhard 2015b; Little 2007).

It was also somewhat surprising that the storyline of co-direction, community and togetherness did not actually have many references to assessment, despite the otherwise socially-oriented FL pedagogy. In addition to occasional peer feedback from the oral portfolio tasks, other types of peer assessment might have been good ways to practise assessment and reflective skills (cf. Everhard 2015a). Still, there was hardly any evidence of shared reflection or collaborative assessment between the students in the data. In my teaching journal entries, I sometimes made brief references to lessons when the students briefly gave feedback to each other, having first worked in pairs for the whole lesson. Although some of the GUSSA students truly seemed to lead active and busy lives, not having much time to study the basics let alone keep track of their progress by writing a learning journal, perhaps I also did not provide the students with enough support, which would have promoted their reflective skills and made self-assessment less arduous and time-consuming. This would have been important, though, as the data gave an impression that those students who were able to make the most of this authentic and sustainable assessment process were also the ones who showed the most

substantial degrees of personal growth in terms of autonomy and identity during their language learning in the local GUSSA.

In sum, the GUSSA FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy that extends beyond the traditional confines of learner autonomy has succeeded in adopting a number of properties in common with authentic and sustainable assessment processes that are typical of many autonomy approaches to language learning (see Everhard 2015b; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2012; Little 2007). However, the challenges related to this assessment policy indicate that it could have been harnessed better as an integral tool for the promotion of autonomy. At the very least, this would have required developing the FL students' critical reflection and assessment skills through collaborative practice.

Authenticity

For Leena, an important aspect of FL teaching was that she could bring her own life experience to the classroom and utilise it in her learning tasks. She enjoyed being able to use English in the classroom in ways that were also useful for her in out-of-classroom settings. Whereas Susanna gained motivation to study English when she was recognised as a person by the teacher, Suvi's language learning became successful partly because the teaching provided her with opportunities to work on her negative emotions, anxieties and fears related to learning and using the TL. Noora, on the other hand, was encouraged by the fact that she found her own voice in English; she felt that the teaching taught her to express herself using her own words instead of someone else's. One of the reasons why Anna's and "Niko's" language learning processes were not successful was that they were unable to connect the FL teaching to their own learning processes in personally meaningful ways.

The analyses in chapter 7 and this chapter confirm what these individual student cases suggest: the FL teaching relied on involving the students holistically in their language learning processes in ways that touched their personalities extensively and diversely. They were expected to increase their control over their language learning, respond to the topics of the courses by expressing themselves in the TL, develop their understanding of themselves and society at large, and engage in social encounters with the other members of the TL-related communities in their lives (see the analyses in this chapter). In general, the

purpose of the FL teaching was to provide personalized guidance and support so that the FL students would be in a better position to identify the constraints, overcome the obstacles, seize the opportunities and perceive the potentials that they would come across during their language learning careers. What these findings from chapters 7–10 have in common is a focus on authenticity. A broad orientation towards authenticity can be examined as one of the most central pedagogical principles permeating the different layers of the FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy in the local GUSSA.

The findings indicate that authenticity was manifest at many levels of the FL teaching. First, authenticity characterised the learning tasks, portfolio assignments and language use included in the FL teaching (cf. also the ideas about authentic assessment above). The rationale behind the language portfolio, the reflective writing assignments and the portfolio tasks in which the students used English in real-life situations was that they encouraged personal responses to the learning content and involved the students in their learning as persons. The students were also able to influence the content of their learning, make use of their previous experiences and approach the topics from angles that they considered meaningful, all of which personalised their language learning processes. Most of the being and doing in the EFL courses included purposeful TL use and learning tasks. English was used flexibly alongside the students' first language for classroom interaction. This interaction with non-native English speakers in English in the classroom involved authentic experiences, as many encounters between English-speaking people worldwide also take place between people who come from different backgrounds with different agendas and who do not have English as their L1. What was more, language learning in the FL classroom was tied to the outside world by the portfolio assignments, as they included the writing of job applications, delivery of situational speeches, participation in conversations and debates in addition to other tasks that the person would likely come across beyond the formal institutional FL context.

Whereas the authenticity described above mostly related to the genuineness of language learning material, the learning situation and the use of the TL, the analyses also provided evidence of another sense of authenticity. In this sense, authenticity was concerned with the social encounters and power relations involved in the processes of FL teaching and learning. For example, the counselling sessions, face-to-face feedback, personalised course plans and

individualized course assessments developed the FL teaching in the direction of a dialogue between the teacher and the student, taking the student's needs into account and showing concern for each student's well-being, as far it was possible within the institutional confines. The rationale for these actions was to enable the students to be themselves, value their experiences and involve them as social agents in the processes of FL learning. Caring for the students as persons and recognising them as complex individuals instead of narrowing them down to an abstract and homogeneous group of FL learners aimed at promoting the students' authentic personal growth. Authenticity in this sense was also liberating for myself as a FL teacher since I did not have to adopt the mask of the impersonal teacher but could encounter the students as a caring human being.

Authenticity in language learning and teaching can be approached from different perspectives (see Allwright & Hanks 2009; Benson 2013a; Kaikkonen 2002; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Kohonen 2009a; Ushioda 2011; Yashima 2013). Here, the intention is not to provide a coherent nor comprehensive description of these approaches but put the authenticity manifested in the FL teaching into a relevant theoretical perspective. To begin with, Benson (2013a) has discussed authenticity in relation to autonomy in language learning from a philosophical perspective. Drawing on Bonnett and Cuypers' (2003) existentialist take on authenticity in education, he incorporates authenticity as an integral aspect of personal autonomy. He suggests that the starting point for autonomy is the historically conditioned self that becomes aware of and assumes responsibility for the self that is constituted by authentic concerns that uniquely position the person in the world. On a wider note, Bonnett and Cuypers' approach elaborates on the communitarian idea of relational autonomy based on a conception of self-governing but socially constituted agents who define themselves in relation to others in a world of interdependencies (see chapter 3, 56; also Mackenzie & Stoljar 2000). Personal autonomy in such conditions refers to a process whereby the socially constituted self grows towards greater authenticity, with autonomy development associated with the development of one's personal identity and values within the collectives and social networks that one lives in (Aviram & Yonah 2004; Taylor 1991; Zembylas & Lamb 2008).

In the LaNas, the language learning GUSSA students' growth towards authenticity was promoted by the narrative and reflective elements included in the FL teaching. As the students became engaged in narrating themselves in

relation to the TL-related aspects of their lives over and over again, reflecting on their TL-related conceptions and experiences in their journals, portfolios, essays, counselling sessions and other components that were integrated into the daily teaching practices, opportunities also emerged for insights regarding one's authentic concerns. On the basis of the findings of this research, narrativity can thus be viewed in close connection to authenticity in the sense that has been advocated by Benson above. With the interest in fostering autonomy and identity in and through FL teaching in mind, this philosophical perspective on authenticity is highly relevant for understanding FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy in the local GUSSA.

Another perspective to be deployed in theorising the authenticity of the FL teaching has been provided by the experiential framework (Jaatinen 2007, 2009; Kaikkonen 2000, 2002, 2012; Kohonen et al. 2001) that views the language learner as a whole person with emotional, social, physical, cognitive and spiritual aspects of personality. Emphasising the immediate personal experience as the basis for learning, the experiential framework makes claims for authenticity as the source of these experiences. The notion is viewed as a multidimensional concept, not only referring to the genuineness of the study material but also characterising the students' learning processes, relations to other people and being in the world in general (Jaatinen 2009; Kaikkonen 2000; Kohonen 2009a).

As for the language learning process, Kohonen (2009a) sees authenticity with reference to the ownership of learning as a question of who is ultimately responsible for making the personally important decisions at the different stages of the process. In this sense, authenticity in language learning entails a conception of language learners who feel they have originated and accomplished something meaningful by adopting participatory subject positions. In other words, they experience being the subjects of their learning (Kaikkonen 2000). These views can be related to those of Norton's (1997), who has underlined the language learners' opportunities to claim ownership of the language that they are learning. She argues that if learners cannot consider themselves legitimate speakers of the TL, they can hardly engage in the processes of identity construction either. Then, making a language one's own is closely linked to the development of one's voice, through which authentic self-expression and agency in the TL becomes possible (see chapter 4, 100; also Bakhtin 1981; Pennycook 1997; van Lier 2007; Vitanova 2004).

On a wider note, Lehtovaara (1994) has pointed out that authenticity in the classroom is a matter of encountering the learners as holistic human beings, which implies a pedagogy that encourages the participants in the processes of teaching and learning to be themselves in relation to others and the world. This view promotes a conception of FL teaching as a pedagogical dialogue between the teacher and the students, who are seen as partners in the diverse processes of learning. It accepts and respects the student's individuality, unique identity and otherness while still aiming at shared meanings and understandings. From this perspective, for example, the students cannot be forced to use the TL all the time in the classroom although TL use is a desirable goal that can be promoted by the teaching. Authenticity in language learning presupposes that the students need to have the possibility to choose whether and when they want to use the TL in public. Fundamentally, authenticity in this sense reconstructs and transforms the established relations of power, requiring the teachers to re-position themselves in relation to their students. Kaikkonen (2012) has theorised this totality of implications regarding authenticity in FL teaching as a shift from the pedagogy of information to the pedagogy of encounter, claiming that encounters in general, be they intercultural or other, allow authentic experiences to take place. The term 'encounter' can be adopted here to capture what authenticity as an attribute of the pedagogy for co-directed autonomy in the FL teaching is all about.

With the above in mind, exploratory practice as a teaching philosophy (see Allwright 2003; Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006b; Hanks 2009) provides interesting prospects for advocating authenticity in the FL classroom. Challenging the existing power structures, EP treats language learners as key developing practitioners engaged in a joint enterprise of developing their personal understandings alongside their teachers (also chapter 1, 26). According to the adult upper secondary teachers interviewed in Sivenius and Ikonen's (2010) study on the ethos of the Finnish GUSSA, this type of disposition based on respect for the student's unique persona is no less than necessary since, the writers argue, more flexible and equal pedagogies are needed in the GUSSA. Authenticity as being true to one's self is also a political question that cannot be resolved in the classrooms conclusively. It presupposes a recognition of the dynamics between the promoting and constraining factors of the institutional practices and a struggle for educational ideals as a collaborative enterprise. The data of this study include evidence of this type of development in the FL context of the local GUSSA.

Authenticity in the FL teaching of interest here was promoted by multidimensional teaching practices which aimed at involving the students holistically in their learning processes. As pointed out above (this chapter, 346), Karlsson and Kjisik (2011) have examined this type of multidimensionality within the three-dimensional matrix of lifelong, lifewide and lifedeeep learning. Whereas the term ‘lifelong’ depicts language learning as an unfinished, ongoing project (see Lamb 2008b), the other two have rarely been examined in the field of FL learning. Drawing on other scholars, Karlsson and Kjisik have used the term ‘lifewide’ to spread language learning across spaces in and beyond the institutional, to which the term ‘lifedeeep’ adds the learners’ beliefs, values, ideologies and orientations to life. This framework can be used to capture the aspects of authenticity that this research indicates are manifest in the FL teaching. This framework also broadens FL learning beyond the traditional boundaries of the FL classrooms and the attainment of a linguistic and communicative proficiency in a particular language.

Karlsson and Kjisik’s (2011) three-dimensional matrix is relevant both for the experiential language learning approach and learner autonomy theory. On one hand, the conception of language learning as a lifedeeep process that touches the self in profound ways can be associated with the experiential framework that emphasises encounters with the language learner as a whole person. On the other hand, Benson (2009b) has drawn attention to language learning beyond the FL classroom within autonomy theory. Considering the FL classroom only one of the countless settings of language learning, and reminding us that “high levels of foreign language proficiency are seldom achieved in the classroom alone”, Benson (*ibid.*, 217) contemplates aspects of language learning that can be placed within the lifewide dimension of the matrix (also Benson & Reinders 2011; Pitkänen et al. 2011).

These ideas about (language) learning as an inseparable part of life advocate the notion that meaningful learning experiences can be acquired in a range of domains and settings that need not be limited to formal, institutional education. This study thus raises the question of the need to more systematically broaden the range of GUSSA students’ authentic language learning experiences to diverse out-of-class contexts (as for totalisation of learning, see Fejes 2005; Popkewitz et al. 2006; Siivonen & Brunila 2014; Tuschling & Engemann 2006). As wide-ranging and diverse experiences with the TL are important for identity

development, it might be worth considering if informal, non-formal and non-instructed language learning could be acknowledged and harnessed as part of the GUSSA students' learning processes. The special portfolio assignments, for example, increased the students' engagement, providing them with a larger variety of authentic opportunities to use the TL in purposeful and personally meaningful ways and contexts, also affording them a number of possibilities to work on their FL identities.

In sum, authenticity in the FL teaching is not only related to the language learning tasks, learning situations and TL use, which aim at involving the students holistically in personally meaningful ways. It also characterises the human encounters that aim at recognising and valuing the students as they are, as unique persons, and providing them with personalised and purposeful support for their language learning and TL-related lives. This is done through a pedagogical dialogue that is based on the idea of language learners as partners in the processes of teaching, studying and learning. Viewed like this, authenticity can be theorised from philosophical, experiential and socio-political perspectives within the autonomy approach to language learning as an essential and multidimensional attribute of the FL context in the local GUSSA. Encouraging the students to find their own ways to become active language learners and users in and through a framework of individual choice, pedagogical care and personalized support, authenticity is connected to valuing the subjectivity of the students, developing their voices and fostering their personal identities through the language that they are learning. Although the GUSSA as an examination-oriented educational institute sets its limits on the promotion of authenticity in this sense, this research has shown that it is not impossible to include such authenticity in FL teaching. On the basis of the findings, authenticity is an invaluable element of fostering FL identity development through the pedagogy for co-directed autonomy.

Affordance

The notion of affordance was adopted as a key construct alongside FL identity and agency to conceptualise the GUSSA students' language learning processes (see chapter 9, 302). The essential point about affordances was to what degree the FL students were capable of perceiving the action/meaning potentials around them, willing to seize the existing potentials and successful in contributing to the

creation of new ones. It was concluded that, given the challenging lives of many GUSSA students, it was crucial for the FL teaching to direct the students' attention towards action potentials in as many TL-related fields, domains, settings and environments as possible. The question to be posed here is how the notion of affordance relates to the findings on the FL teaching in the local GUSSA and contributes to understanding this teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity.

Like the GUSSA students' language learning, the FL teaching also needs to be examined as a process that does not take place in a vacuum. Rather, it is a complex, open system where many overlapping and interrelated issues influence the actual teaching event and its outcomes (van Lier 2004; also Palfreyman 2014; Sade 2014). This can be noticed when reading the storyline of constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials (this chapter, 333). In their discussion, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have examined FL education framed by conditions and forces that drive or constrain the development of pedagogy for autonomy. They propose a list of these conditions and forces which includes ideological, political, sociocultural, economic and educational values, traditions, frameworks and guidelines in language teaching, family and community expectations, institutional culture and demands, teacher education discourses and practices, the teachers' past experiences as learners, their language teaching experiences, personal theories, sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds and professional values, the learners' past (language) learning experiences, their personal theories, sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds and commitment to education and lifelong learning (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007, 20–22).

The actual context of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA also extended well beyond the walls of the language classroom and the FL teacher's interpretation of the seemingly apolitical curricular goals in the here and now. The FL teaching was the sum of or a compromise between diverse cultural, economic, political, personal, practical, professional and other agendas and ideologies that have a past while influencing the present and orienting themselves towards the future. These agendas and ideologies provided me, as a teacher in the local GUSSA, with meaning/action potentials, potential affordances, which framed the FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity.

According to Vieira (2007, 23), “[e]ngaging in pedagogy for autonomy is about acknowledging and understanding the complexity of educational contexts

and learning to cope with contradictions and uncertainty in empowering ways”. Vieira’s claim suggests that fostering autonomy in FL teaching presupposes the development of a critical awareness of the action/meaning potentials provided by each FL context. Connecting the promotion of autonomy and the perception of affordances like this, Vieira emphasises the importance of searching for empowering ways to teach foreign languages within the limits of the context. With this in mind, the narrative of FL teaching (chapter 7) can be read from the FL teacher’s perspective as a journey of discovering the affordances, understanding the limits of the action/meaning potentials provided and working to push these limits beyond the institutional confines. Judging by the development of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the teaching (this chapter, 306), these attempts appear to have been successful to some degree.

The storyline of constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials (this chapter, 333) indicated that several challenges limiting the action/meaning potentials were manifest in the data. These challenges can be examined within the framework proposed by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007, 20–22) as threats to the FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy oriented towards authenticity. The major constraining forces and conditions are located along three dimensions: the GUSSA students’ challenging dispositions with regard to studying and learning languages, the challenges of teaching heterogeneous groups of students as well as aspects of the dominant institutional culture and ideology. The first dimension included issues like the students’ inability to assume responsibility for FL learning in the middle of their challenging lives, the students’ low motivation to study foreign languages, the students’ unpreparedness for the multifaceted language learning processes and the students’ haphazard and fragmentary language learning careers in the GUSSA. The second dimension was apparent in my occasional inability to teach the TL holistically without adding too many elements for the students to handle, my unpreparedness to face the unexpected in the FL classroom as a teacher as well as my inexperience in taking the diversity into account, personalising the teaching and adding flexibility and social aspects to the assessment process according to the students’ needs. At least these challenges can be pointed out in the narrative of FL teaching.

The institutional constraints to the FL teaching involved a diverse group of contextual challenges. To begin with, these constraints referred to the external limits of the FL teaching, involving issues like the division of the school year into

relatively short teaching periods, the low number of lessons per course, the influence of the matriculation examination on the teaching and the lack of resources to include basic-level English teaching among the adult upper secondary courses. Moreover, the institutional constraints involved implicit conceptions and expectations about the GUSSA which also made the FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy challenging. For example, a common thought embedded in many discourses in the school community, which consisted of the daytime upper secondary school and the adult upper secondary school, was that many GUSSA students were second-class citizens who were given a second chance to take the matriculation examination. These discourses depicted the local GUSSA as a place where challenging upper secondary students could be transferred if they were at risk of dropping out of the daytime upper secondary school. The GUSSA was commonly seen as a place for amateur students whose learning efforts did not have to be taken so seriously. This may have been one of the reasons why the GUSSA students were generally expected to perform less well than their younger peers in the daytime school. They were not always expected to attend lessons, engage in social interaction in the lessons, participate in project work or turn in learning tasks during the courses.

Evidence of the existence of such discourses can be found in the data. These discourses associated the GUSSA more closely with adult education centres that did not provide students with formal qualifications rather than with examination-oriented schools like the daytime upper secondary school for young pupils. These associations had an impact on the expectations about the teaching, which was assumed to be less governed by rules and guidelines and more oriented towards providing the students' with meaningful recreational activities. The FL teaching was also assumed to focus solely on developing linguistic and communicative proficiency instead of fostering personal growth and empowerment.

Especially in the early years of this study, the institutional ethos of the local GUSSA could be captured in the idea of a GUSSA student who was not expected to care much about the other students when striving for his/her personal goals in the courses. On studying constructions of educability in GUSSA students' narrative life histories, Siivonen (2010) has pointed out how this type of emphasis on the individual also exists more generally in the Finnish GUSSA. In addition to this widely-spread conception of the GUSSA students learning by themselves, the traditional idea of GUSSA teachers working on their own behind closed

classroom doors without seeing other colleagues or sharing ideas in their professional communities was also a constraint that delayed the full-scale implementation of the institutional potential for the promotion of autonomy. Not until towards the end of the research period did the FL teaching show signs of development with regard to these institutional ideologies.

The third set of institutional constraints that can be detected through the analyses refers to the externally imposed pressure on the teaching taking place in the GUSSA. The increasing and diversifying demands to guarantee the quality and effectiveness of schooling, for example by integrating up-to-date information technology and different forms of distance learning into the teaching practices may, despite its possibilities, also have limited the teaching of foreign languages as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity. For example, while some elements of the technology broadened the students' learning processes beyond the institutional confines, some of the same elements still embraced a relatively narrow view of FL education as the development of linguistic and communicative proficiency. For those students less familiar with using computers, the new technology also raised barriers that diverted their attention away from language learning to coping with the devices. Thus, the totality of these teacher-, learner- and institution-based obstacles narrowed down the range of action/meaning potentials available for the FL teaching in the local adult upper secondary context.

On a more positive note, the storyline of constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials revealed a number of action/meaning potentials that contributed positively to the development of autonomy in and through the FL teaching. Two of the most essential action/meaning potentials were the facts that the class sizes were small and the students only had one FL teacher during their adult upper secondary studies. This enabled the development of equal and close pedagogical relationships between the teacher and the students, based on encountering each other as persons, respecting each other's otherness, counselling the students individually in dialogue and caring for their well-being. An affordance was also the fact that I was fairly inexperienced as a teacher when commencing my professional career in the local GUSSA. Not having many fixed beliefs and ideas about the "right" ways to teach foreign languages, it may have been easier for me to discover my ways of teaching in the local adult upper secondary context. In particular, the language portfolio with its different portfolio

tasks became a valuable experiential language learning and assessment tool, an affordance that often enabled the GUSSA students' multidimensional, personal involvement and development. Moreover, the language portfolio added important lifewide and lifedep dimensions to the students' language learning processes. Together with the personalised counselling, the different portfolio tasks assisted me in directing the students' attention to the abundance of surrounding language learning opportunities. In this respect, my possibility to engage in puzzlement and conduct experiments in the FL classroom by planning and organising the teaching relatively freely by myself also became one of the key institutional affordances.

The GUSSA community itself also became an action/meaning potential for the FL teaching. Many students had experiences of different cultures, languages and people that could be utilised in the FL classroom. The classes were often divided into study groups, in which the more skilful could assist those struggling with their learning and the less proficient could participate without feeling anxious or nervous about making mistakes in front of the whole group. This, combined with the dialogue between the teacher and the students, had a positive impact on the lessons, the atmosphere of which was generally experienced as relaxed and encouraging. In other words, providing the GUSSA students with action/meaning potentials for FL learning did not only refer to increasing opportunities for authentic language learning and use but also to organising opportunities for them to develop their positive emotional attachment both to the TL itself and to the related TL communities and collectives.

As some students brought a heavy emotional burden to the language classroom that were related to disempowering TL-related subject positions, it was important for the FL teaching to provide them with learning opportunities in a relaxed and encouraging environment. Moreover, the FL teaching had to be rich in different types of learning opportunities since not every action/meaning potential was suitable for every student. Which action/meaning potentials finally actualised as affordances was a matter of highly individual and personal process. As indicated by the developing sense of community and togetherness (this chapter, 329), however, studying in smaller groups in particular often created learning spaces with useful affordances, which then had a positive effect on the students' language learning (as to examples of more neutral cases, see the analyses on Susanna and Noora). Indeed, whereas becoming a proactive social agent in the TL entailed emotional preparedness to encounter otherness in addition to

mastering the linguistics and expressing oneself purposefully and effectively, the language learner community became an important provider or trigger for such emotional preparedness. Towards the end of the research period, a similar type of community-orientedness also gained ground in the GUSSA community as a whole, as indicated by the increased co-operation between the teaching personnel.

An examination of the findings through the notion of affordance suggests that at the core of FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity there lies the need to generate and contribute to action/meaning potentials that will become actualised affordances of language learning and use for the FL student. A similar idea has been proposed by Palfreyman (2014), who has adopted an ecological approach to pedagogy for learner autonomy. According to him, these action/meaning potentials need to be purposeful, meaningful and empowering at a personal level, and they need to involve and challenge the whole person in different sociocultural and sociolinguistic communities and collectives so that they can feel they are the agents of their lives. The FL teaching in the local GUSSA also needs to guide the students' perceptions towards such action/meaning potentials, commencing from each person's individual subject position, so that they can seize the affordances that suit them and possibly discover more on their own. Yrjänäinen and Ropo (2013) have suggested that this type of activity can be seen as a crucial part of the teacher's didactic mission in the classroom.

Indeed, drawing on van Lier (2008, 177), if language learning refers to the process of “finding one's way in the linguistic world [...] and taking an increasingly active role in developing one's own constitutive role in it”, language teaching is the process of promoting, enhancing and contributing to this development with affordances. This emphasises the teacher's need to become aware of the predominant forces influencing the processes of teaching, studying and learning. In the narrative of FL teaching, my increasing awareness of the limits of FL teaching in the local GUSSA enabled me to perceive new potentials for the teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy oriented towards authenticity. My developing awareness assisted me to identify the affordances at my disposal in the complex ecology of the FL classroom and opened up possibilities to try and change the existing state of affairs with the goal of creating more fruitful action/meaning potentials for the FL teaching, studying and learning in mind. However, it is apparent that the teacher also needs to work in collaboration with the other

members of the community, both students and the teaching personnel, in order to have the opportunity to fully influence those conditions and agendas extending beyond the confines of the FL classroom.

Finally, the narrativity included in the FL teaching can be contemplated in relation to the notion of affordance. As one of the central pedagogical means, the narrative elements embedded in the teaching assisted many FL students in perceiving and generating personally meaningful and engaging language learning affordances. Acting upon the narrative elements of the FL teaching, which in themselves can be examined as language learning affordances, some of the students found themselves in a better position to identify different action/meaning potentials that took their own, unique subject positions into account. Narrativity thus functioned as a way of personalising the individual processes of language learning pedagogically in this FL context.

In academic literature, the importance of narrativity in formal institutional learning has recently been brought up by Yrjänäinen and Ropo (2013), who consider narrative processes paramount for the development of the meaning-making processes that underlie the perception of affordances. From this perspective, the FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity, enriched with personally engaging action/meaning potentials, can also be understood as a narratively-oriented enterprise. This enterprise touches upon the FL learner's identity by refining his/her narratives of him-/herself as an autobiographical, social and cultural participant.

Chapter 8 and chapter 9 provided empirical evidence that the FL learning enabled many GUSSA students to adopt empowered subject positions in relation to the TL, thus increasing their control over the TL-related aspects of their lives. These language learning processes and outcomes were theorised with the concepts of FL identity, agency and affordance. Chapter 7 and this chapter focused on studying the FL teaching in the local GUSSA as the FL context for these processes and outcomes, theorising this FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity and affordance. On the basis of these findings, research questions 2 and 3 can now be addressed in the following chapter.

V EVALUATING THE JOURNEY – DRAWING CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSING IMPLICATIONS

11 REVISITING AUTONOMY IN (RELATION TO) FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Underlying this scholarly endeavour was an inquiring FL teacher's professional desire to develop a more profound understanding of what was involved in the processes of FL learning and teaching in the local GUSSA. More specifically, the objective of this research was to examine the FL students' growth towards autonomy within this formal institutional FL context. This examination was based on the idea of promoting the TL-related aspects of the students' personal autonomy in general rather than any single component of it in particular. The development of this autonomy in (relation to) language learning was investigated within the framework of FL identity since autonomy and identity are often seen as interrelated. As narratives are contextually situated spaces for identity work, a body of narrative research material, in which the participants made sense of their TL-related experiences, was collected and analysed to seek answers to the following research questions, the first of which was divided into two parts: 1. What is the language learning process like for a general adult upper secondary school student? (1a To what extent are developments in FL identity manifest? 1b What is essential in the FL teaching framing the students' language learning?) 2. What is autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the general adult upper secondary context? 3. How can autonomy and identity be fostered through FL education?

In chapter 7, the most central parts of the research material were emplotted into a four-chapter-long, multivoiced narrative that synthesised the experiences of FL teaching in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA. This storied account provided a holistic, narrative answer to research question 1b. A more analytical approach was adopted in chapter 10, in which two narrative analyses were conducted on the FL teaching. In the holistic analysis of narrative form, the progression of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching was graphed and the key/critical moments, events and time periods of this teaching were identified. In the holistic analysis of narrative content, the most essential content elements of this FL teaching were identified in the form of

powerful thematic storylines, the developments of which were also investigated in the analysis.

Chapter 8 and chapter 9 focused on research question 1a, examining the FL students' development during their FL learning processes in the local GUSSA. In chapter 8, five students' language learning processes were depicted holistically in the form of multivoiced, emplotted narratives which made sense of the students' experiences, lives and themselves in relation to the TL. The sixth emplotted narrative, which was included among the student profiles to provide a more truthful picture of the diversity of the FL students, was based on the examination of narrative data generated by 11 research participants who can generally be examined as unsuccessful FL students. These six student profiles were analysed in detail in chapter 9. In the holistic analysis of narrative form, the progression of each student's TL-related positionings was graphed on the basis of the evidence provided by the narrative data. Moreover, the turning points and key moments on the path of the students' language learning processes were located. Finally, the holistic analysis of narrative content focused on the most powerful thematic storylines of these student profiles. In this part of the analysis, the identification of the storylines was followed by an examination of their development during the students' language learning processes.

Chapter 11 continues from this, revisiting the construct of autonomy in (relation to) language learning by means of summing up the main conclusions regarding the three research questions. The first subsection will summarise the conclusions concerning research question 1, the second subsection will present and discuss my conclusions concerning the notion of autonomy in FL teaching in the adult upper secondary context (research question 2), and the third subsection will discuss the implications of this research for FL education from different (pedagogical) perspectives (research question 3).

Foreign language learning in the adult upper secondary context

This research relied on the contested hypothesis that language learning impinges on the language learner's identity. In particular, there have been doubts about the prospects for identity work in formal institutional FL contexts, i.e., whether FL learning in the FL classroom involves reconstructions and transformations of the

FL learner's identity (see Block 2007a; Lantolf 2013; Pavlenko 2005). The findings presented in chapter 8 and chapter 9 indicated that, in spite of substantial differences between individual FL students, empowering developments of FL identity were possible in the processes of FL learning in the FL context of the local GUSSA, with the notion of FL identity referring to any aspect of a person's identity connected to their knowledge or use of the TL (see Benson et al. 2013). As for the critical experiences generally viewed as necessary triggers for identity work (e.g., Bauman 1999; Block 2007a; Layder 2004; Mercer 1990), FL learning in this adult educational institute involved examples of critical experiences that had a powerful impact on the person's FL identity but which were not mediated by the TL directly. Although many experiences were intimately associated with the TL, some were even mediated by the L1. These findings called for the need to broaden the conception of critical experience in the FL context to encompass many types of personally meaningful TL-related experiences.

The identity work nurturing developments of FL identity was closely related to the narrativity of the language learning. FL identity was understood as a narrative identity that was developed, reconstructed and transformed in the dynamic, temporal and ongoing interpretation of TL-related self-narratives with an essentially social and cultural foundation (Ricoeur 1991b, 1992). In this process, the language learning adult upper secondary students interpreted their language experiences in relation to their pasts, telling and re-telling them in the light of the present, and projecting them towards the future (for connections to theory, see Laitinen 2002, 2007; Polkinghorne 1996; Verhesschen 2003). It was this socially and culturally rooted, hermeneutic process that constituted the language learning person's FL identity.

Although the developments of FL identity were often initiated in the language learner community and focused on the CoPs inside the classroom (e.g., self-identifications with some language learners in the group while distancing oneself from others), the findings showed that this identity work-in-progress had the potential to expand to other FL settings and environments, with which the person engaged, and which were more explicitly related to CoPs where the TL was used on a daily basis without intentional language learning purposes (also Korhonen 2014). On the other hand, not all identity work was initiated in the language learner community. In some cases, the person's involvement in the TL communities beyond the institutional domain had triggered developments of FL

identity. In such cases, FL learning in the local GUSSA had the opportunity to reinforce, shape, expand, redirect and even transform this process; it had the potential to become integrated into the student's FL identity process as an equally important site for identity construction alongside the other TL-related contexts of one's life.

These findings showed that identity work did not confine itself to those FL contexts where it was triggered; it was not context-specific in that sense. Instead, it was a continuous, expansive process taking place simultaneously in different FL settings and environments (for a similar view, see Lamb 2013). Identity work in the CoPs inside the language classroom therefore had the potential to become a valuable part of the development of FL identity. Although this identity work had a somewhat different character when taking place inside the language learner community compared to when taking place in domains, settings and environments beyond the institutional confines, it had the potential to become essential for the language learning person's FL identity process as a whole (also Yashima 2013). With this in mind, it was proposed that Block's (2007a) claims about SL identity development being generally minimal to non-existent in institutional FL contexts should be regarded with caution.

In their recent research, Benson et al. (2012, 2013) suggested that the notion of SL identity can be used to depict the range of possible outcomes of study abroad, proposing that these outcomes could be examined in a continuum between identity-related L2 proficiency, linguistic self-concept and L2-related personal competence (see chapter 4, 106). The narrative analyses in chapter 8 and chapter 9 revealed similar dimensions of FL identity development among the outcomes of FL learning in the local GUSSA. In the data, these dimensions ranged between the language learner's capacity to function as a person in desired ways using the TL (identity-related L2-proficiency), their senses of themselves as FL learners, users and communicators (linguistic self-concept) and the TL-mediated aspects of their life skills and competences (L2-related personal competence). As with the FL identity processes in general, individual differences were discovered in how much the language learning GUSSA students showed development in the different areas of the continuum and which areas this identity work was mainly situated in. Nonetheless, it was claimed that this model for study abroad outcomes might also be able to capture the potential language learning outcomes of the FL teaching under investigation.

More specifically, the FL students' multifaceted identity work became visible through their increasing and developing agency in those fields of their personal lives that involved the TL. This agency referred to a socially and contextually negotiated, dynamic and developmental process involving psychological (affective, motivational, self-regulatory) dimensions and manifesting itself in the FL student's behaviour (for connections to theory, see Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Mercer 2012; van Lier 2008). This agency related to the degree to which the students were capable and willing to perceive affordances for language learning and use in the surrounding sociolinguistic and sociocultural ecologies, to seize the existing action/meaning potentials, and to actively contribute to the creation of new ones (see Menezes 2011a; Palfreyman 2014; van Lier 2004). The analyses pointed to two aspects of agency closely interacting in the processes of language learning: learner agency (AL) and agency beyond language learning purposes (AbL). On the basis of these findings, it was argued that successful language learning that involves reconstructions and transformations of FL identity in the adult upper secondary context also entails the development and integration of both aspects of agency.

Not every language learning outcome in the data can be attributed to the examined FL teaching, however. The students' language learning processes extended – and were encouraged to extend by the FL teaching – over numerous TL-related domains, settings and environments, both formal and informal (for a theoretical background, see Barnett 2010; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Lamb 2013). The classroom was one of the many contexts of language learning. It represented a space for the FL teaching, manifested as an open environment and a complex ecological system where interacting forces contributed to the individual language learning processes side by side, providing the FL students with different action/meaning potentials for perception (see Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Menezes 2011a; Mercer 2011, 2012; van Lier 2004). The analyses in chapter 7 and chapter 10 pointed to the meaningfulness of an ecological perspective on the teaching, as it was discovered that the presence of constraints, obstacles, opportunities and potentials was experienced as an essential element of this teaching.

Despite the openness of the formal institutional FL context and the many forces interacting within it, the FL teaching itself can be considered a successful enterprise that had a positive impact on many students' TL-related lives. This conclusion can be drawn, bearing in mind the rich evidence of FL identity work

going on in the language classroom, as well as the outcomes related to this identity work. When it comes to examining (experiences of) the teaching that contributed to this identity work in more detail, the narrative analyses in chapter 7 and chapter 10 also revealed four other influential lines of development in addition to the storyline of *constraints, obstacles, opportunities and potentials*.

First, the storyline of *engaging, involving and participating* was about promoting the construction of subject positions that nurtured the students' development as authors of their FL learning as well as their TL-related personal lives in general. Second, the storyline of *meaningful, multidimensional English use* referred to the wide-ranging engagement of the FL students with the TL. This element of the FL teaching aimed at contributing to the amount, scope and context of TL use and TL-related participation. Third, the storyline of *fostering awareness, deepening understanding* had two focal areas: to develop, on the one hand, the learners' consciousness of their learning processes and, on the other, an understanding of the broader domains of their social and cultural lives. Finally, the storyline of *co-direction, community and togetherness* captured the development of the FL teaching towards an equally shared control over the different aspects of language learning, use and participation. This process was accompanied by a strengthening sense of community within the entire adult upper secondary collective. It was the evolvment of these five storylines that stood out as the core of FL teaching in the local GUSSA. To a substantial degree, these storylines were connected by the narrative elements embedded in the teaching.

The analyses provided evidence that the developing FL identities enabled many students to adopt more empowered subject positions as language learners, communicators and participants in different FL domains, settings and environments, thus increasing their control over the TL-related aspects of their lives. This argument has immediate associations with autonomy. Indeed, many of the language learning outcomes examined under the heading of FL identity were closely linked to the evolvment of and increase in autonomy. The FL teaching under examination was conceptualised as a particular type of pedagogy for autonomy (chapter 10, 339). The teaching had a number of features in common with some of the theoretical approaches to autonomy in language learning, including Little's (2007) principles of learner involvement, learner reflection and meaningful TL use. Nonetheless, the FL teaching under examination here had adopted a somewhat broader take on these principles, adding aspects of personal

growth and development to the teaching of foreign languages more explicitly, and approaching FL learning as a multidimensional process with lifelong, lifewide and lifedep elements (for a theoretical background, see Barnett 2010; Benson 2009b; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Lamb 2013).

Essentially, this FL teaching was viewed as a mixture of self-direction and co-direction in language learning (see Holec 2009) with an emphasis on the latter. Based on these findings, an argument was formulated that this emphasis was the most appropriate autonomy approach to language learning in the local FL context. Generally speaking, it can also be noted that the more challenging lives the language learning GUSSA students led and the poorer and narrower their lives were with respect to encounters with the TL, the more important the personalised counselling and the social support included in the co-directed autonomy approach became for the development of empowered FL identities. As for the assessment-autonomy relationship, this FL teaching was further linked to authentic and sustainable assessment practices that have often been associated with pedagogies for autonomy in (relation to) language learning in autonomy theory (see Everhard 2015b; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Kohonen 2012; Little 2007). On identifying some of the challenges surrounding the assessment process that was embedded in the FL teaching in the local GUSSA, I claimed that more co-directed and socially-supported practice for the development of critical reflection and self-assessment skills would have been needed to integrate the assessment process into the FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy.

The FL teaching as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy also adopted a broader take on the idea of autonomy than implied by the learner autonomy discourse that has usually emphasised the development of the language learners' linguistic skills and strategic competences. Drawing on researchers like Allwright and Hanks (2009), Hunter and Cooke (2007), Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), Kumaravadivelu (2003), Littlewood (1996) and Pennycook (1997), the findings on the FL teaching were discussed in relation to broader theoretical approaches to autonomy in (relation to) language learning. It was argued that the FL teaching enabling FL identity work emphasised the development of empowered, social agents capable and willing to a) use their own voice in the TL and b) exercise their agency responsibly and flexibly in the TL in shifting sociolinguistic and sociocultural conditions filled with interdependencies, and also c) contribute to the transformation of these diverse conditions whenever necessary.

This FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy was further conceptualised through the notions of authenticity and affordance, which were associated with the narrative aspects of the teaching (among others Benson 2013a; Kaikkonen 2002; Kohonen 2009a; Menezes 2011a; Ricœur 1991b, 1992; van Lier 2004; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). First, authenticity added the conception of developing the language learners as themselves to the FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy. In the FL classroom, this objective was embedded in an experientially-oriented language learning process with lifelong, lifewide and lifedep elements which enabled the FL learners' multifaceted ownership of their TL-related lives embedded in social, cultural, historical and political conditions. Second, the notion of affordance theorised the FL teaching as a process of providing the students with a broad range of personally meaningful action/meaning potentials to be perceived in the different FL communities and collectives that the language learning individuals were engaged with. From this perspective, the FL teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy involved myself as the FL teacher to develop the FL learners' perceptions in dialogue with the learners towards these potential affordances from each learner's individual subject position. For this to be possible, I needed to develop a critical understanding of the prevailing conditions of FL teaching and work in collaboration with others in the GUSSA community.

In sum, this research makes the following claims about research questions 1a and 1b: a) FL identity, which can be examined as a narrative identity, can be adopted as a broad framework that captures the range of potential language learning outcomes and characterises the GUSSA students' language learning in this FL context. b) FL identity work in this FL context is often triggered by critical experiences and made manifest through developments in the person's agency in language learning and agency beyond language learning purposes, the development of which promote the person's perception of affordances for FL learning, communication and participation. c) The empowering reconstructions and transformations of FL identity embedded in the individual language learning processes are closely connected to the development of personal autonomy. d) The FL teaching in the local GUSSA can be conceptualised as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy that extends beyond the conception of learner autonomy towards more holistic approaches to fostering the FL students' personal autonomy through FL education. e) The assessment practices embedded in the the FL teaching can be conceptualised as a type of authentic and sustainable assessment

strategy which would have to be integrated more carefully to the individual language learning processes to be able to promote the students' growth to autonomy more effectively. f) The studied pedagogy for autonomy is oriented towards fostering the language learning individual's growth towards authenticity in the FL context of the local GUSSA, which is enriched with personally engaging affordances. In this process, narrativity plays a more or less central role.

Autonomy in the adult upper secondary context

This research was an empirical attempt to study autonomy through the construct of identity, as it became manifest in the FL education of the local GUSSA. Since it was grounded on the generally held but ambiguous theoretical assumption that autonomy and identity are related within the processes of language learning (chapter 4, 109; also Huang & Benson 2013), this constituted another debatable starting point in addition to the assumption that language learning will impinge on the language learning person's identity. While assuring that there, indeed, are good reasons to treat autonomy and identity as distinct but interrelated constructs, Huang and Benson (2013) admit that the ambiguity concerning the notions depends on the relatively weak empirical knowledge base on their interrelations. To the best of my knowledge, this study was among the first attempts to examine growth to autonomy through the development of identity. With this in mind, I simply promised to tease out (chapter 4, 109) what was involved in identity development and how it might relate to autonomy, assuming that this investigation would deepen my understanding of the two constructs.

Following Holec's (2009) and Smith's (2003) advice to remain open to the meanings of autonomy in the FL context, an open-ended point of departure was adopted that contemplated the construct broadly as an aspect of personal autonomy anchored to the diverse TL-related spheres of life (those including TL learning, use and TL-related participation in general). Involving individual, technical, psychological, social, political and critical dimensions, autonomy was theorised with scope, competence, control, dynamic, authenticity and dependence among its defining components. With the findings and their conceptualisation in mind, the construct of autonomy will be revisited by discussing research question 2: What is autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the general adult upper

secondary context? This discussion requires examining the degree to which it has been possible to capture autonomy by studying identity development, and what kind of evidence of autonomy (development) can be found in the data.

The findings on the research participants' language learning were conceptualised as the development of FL identity, to which the notions of agency and affordance were intimately linked (chapter 9, 289). As to FL identity, the notion was shown to capture a range of language learning outcomes in the FL context of the local GUSSA, including developments in identity-related sociopragmatic competence, linguistic self-concept and various FL-related personal competences (chapter 9, 289). In the data, these outcomes involved the FL students' abilities to function as themselves using the TL, the students' affiliations to the TL, the students' conceptions of themselves as TL learners and users, and a diversity of non-linguistic outcomes such as increased courage, general education, intercultural competence, self-confidence and critical awareness regarding different phenomena in the world.

Studying FL learning within the framework of identity provided empirical evidence of the FL students' developing agency (chapter 9, 296). This agency was seen to incorporate the student's agentic behaviour, personal disposition and his/her contextually situated relationships to and dialogic processes with the socially constructed world. Agency was manifest differently in different temporal-relational contexts of action, indicating the existence of different types/degrees of agency. There was evidence of two types of agency in connection to the TL (agency in language learning and agency beyond language learning purposes), the expansion and integration of which were claimed to be essential for FL learning. Elaborating on Hunter and Cooke (2007), agency was theorised as the language learning person's skill, will and space to act with initiative and effect in the TL-related spheres of one's life. In the local GUSSA, agency referred to a socially and contextually negotiated (or constrained), dynamic and developmental process which involved psychological (affective, motivational, self-regulatory) dimensions. It manifested itself in more or less self-directed behaviour and was framed by socio-political, social-interactive and individual-cognitive forces shaping the subject positions that the person inhabited.

Finally, this conceptualisation of FL learning through the lens of identity was complemented by the notion of affordance (chapter 9, 302) which highlighted an understanding of FL learning as a contextually negotiated process taking place in

on-going interaction with complex ecologies involving a diversity of propellants and obstacles for meaning-making and action that yielded opportunities for TL-related engagement and participation. As the FL students perceived, grasped and acted upon these meaning and action potentials based on their individual capacities and preferences – the world affording different students different possibilities for action – the outcomes of the language learning processes varied substantially. From this type of ecological perspective, FL learning was then viewed as “the process of finding one’s way in the linguistic world, which is part of the semiotic world [...] and taking an increasingly active role in developing one’s own constitutive role in it” (van Lier 2008, 177).

Where does autonomy fit in this conceptualisation of FL learning in the local GUSSA? An empirically grounded overall impression apparent when reading through the data is that formal institutional language learning as the development of FL identity that is closely connected to the notions of agency and affordance *also contains the potential to promote the language learning person’s autonomy in different fields of life that involve the TL one way or the other*. During their language learning processes, for example, Leena grew as a more empowered English user in intercultural encounters, Susanna assumed more responsibility for and control over her EFL learning, Suvi developed her sense of agency and emotional preparedness as an English learner and user, and Noora experienced moments of personal growth and empowerment through discovering her voice in English. Although these outcomes were theorised with references to identity, agency and affordance, associations with autonomy become evident when considering the findings in relation to recent (re)definitions, conceptions and descriptions of autonomy.

According to Benson (2001, 2), autonomy in language learning can be defined as the “capacity to take control over one’s own learning” (also chapter 3, 61, 67). Although the meaning and location of “capacity” and “control” in the data deserves a more detailed examination, the findings of this research not only include evidence of some FL students’ developing capacity to control their language learning processes in particular but also their capacity to take control over those areas of life involving the TL in general. On the other hand, the findings can be related to the definition proposed by the EuroPAL research group (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007, 1), who have examined the construct as “the competence to develop as a self-determined, socially responsible and critically

aware participant in (and beyond) educational environments, within a vision of education as (inter)personal empowerment and social transformation” (also chapter 3, 63). When scrutinizing the empirical findings, connections between the students’ language learning processes and the different elements of autonomy captured by this definition can be observed. For example, many FL students grew as more self-determined and empowered participants in the TL-related spheres of their lives as a result of their FL learning in the GUSSA.

The depth and width of autonomy was captured with authenticity, competence, control, dependence, dynamic and scope among its key components (see chapter 3, 67). It is now justified to ask about the degree to which these components are observable and can be located in the GUSSA students’ language learning processes theorised as the development of FL identity that is closely connected to agency and affordance. What kind of traces of these components can be distinguished in the findings? To empirically ground the answer, the data will be revisited to pay attention to some of the findings from a different theoretical angle without, however, going through all the findings systematically. What follows in the subsections below should therefore be read as carefully selected illustrations of the components of autonomy during the students’ language learning processes rather than a comprehensive body of evidence for the components, as they make themselves manifest amongst the findings.

Competence

Viewing the notion as a *competence*, Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) incorporate autonomy in learning competence, competence to self-motivate and competence to think critically (see chapter 3, 69). The researchers examine this competence in terms of the person’s ability and willingness to promote agency, responsibility and self-determination in language learning. This individual-cognitive core is put in a complex environment involving social participation, empowerment and transformation, which are framed by a diversity of driving and constraining forces. As to the empirical findings in this study, many language learning GUSSA students’ narratives can be read as stories of their developing ability and willingness to function as more competent language learners, users, intercultural communicators and social participants in different cultural and linguistic environments. For example, Susanna’s and Suvi’s narratives showed evidence of

their widening knowledge, improving skills and deepening commitments as English learners, whereas Noora's and Leena's narratives indicated their developing competences to function as intercultural TL users and self-determined participants in diverse communities.

A detailed analysis of the components that underlie this agency, responsibility and self-determination was beyond the goals of this study. However, the findings do indicate a number of qualities and conditions, the meaning of which for the development of autonomy, as conceptualised here, appears to be important. First, the FL students need knowledge and skills to exercise their TL-related agency effectively and purposefully for authentic self-expression in social interaction. Clearly, this component is connected to linguistic proficiency. Second, the students need (metacognitive) preparedness to flexibly and insightfully control and develop this agency in the contexts of living, including language learning and social participation in general. Third, the students need motivation and inclination to develop curiosity and become engaged and involved in inquiring into the TL-related aspects of living, i.e., they need to see the personal relevance of their agency and regard it as an investment. Fourth, they need the skills to evaluate the implications of their behaviour so as to be able to act constructively and promote personal development (and social transformation). Fifth, the FL students need the emotional preparedness, self-confidence and trust in their own abilities to control their lives in the different sociocultural and sociolinguistic landscapes. At some level then, these findings can be associated with Jiménez Raya et al.'s (2007) claims about the three sub-competences of autonomy.

Recently, Huang and Benson (2013) have incorporated the individual and social dimensions of autonomy, examining the construct as a capacity, a potential within individuals, rather than a set of observable behaviours. According to them, autonomy involves ability, desire and freedom as its main components. With ability referring to the person's knowledge and skills in the domains of study and language, desire to their motivational and intentional incentives in language learning and freedom to the degree to which they are "permitted" to control their actions and behaviors, Huang and Benson's view of autonomy as a capacity manages to capture the GUSSA students' language learning processes in a very similar social matrix to what Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have used to provide autonomy in language learning as a set of personal competences with a fundamentally social foundation.

Control

According to Benson (2001), autonomy in language learning is essentially about exercising *control*, i.e., “having the power to make choices and decisions and acting on them” (Huang & Benson 2013), over three interrelated domains: learning management, cognitive processes and learning content (see chapter 3, 70). Whereas practising all these aspects was part of the GUSSA students’ language learning processes (see the analysis in chapter 10), the degree to which each FL student exercised or developed their control showed individual variation. For example, Leena was able to regulate her language learning and integrate language study into her daily routines effectively whereas “Niko” categorically refused to put much effort into his language learning process; Suvi especially worked on her cognitive processes during her FL studies with the help of regular and on-going reflective writing whereas Noora made use of the flexibility involved in opportunities to control the content of her language learning.

However, control as an integral element of autonomy in the data did not confine itself to language learning contexts only. Essentially, the development of autonomy in (relation to) language learning in the local GUSSA was also about promoting the language learning person’s control over those areas of his/her personal life that were accessed through the TL. Thus, the three domains suggested by Benson (2001) deserve to be examined in a broader framework of controlling one’s life through the TL.

What the findings also indicated was that control as a core component of autonomy was influenced (promoted and constrained) by the interrelated forces operating within the framework of formal institutional FL learning in the GUSSA context. Among other things, the shortness of the teaching periods and the students’ busy lives constrained their possibilities to control their FL learning, making it necessary to share control or even let the teacher control parts of it. On the other hand, there were elements in the language learning processes that worked in the opposite direction. For example, the diversity of the learning tasks often provided the students with opportunities to assume more control. Indeed, autonomy as control over the different aspects of language learning can perhaps best be understood through co-direction in the local GUSSA (Holec 2009; also chapter 10, 340). This control was dynamically, flexibly and individually divided between the FL student and the FL teacher, meaning that the amount of control

that the students exercised varied both temporally and between students. The learning tasks were different in terms of control, some being strictly guided by myself as the teacher and others letting the students define, execute and evaluate the entire task. It should nonetheless be pointed out that no FL student was able to be in “full” control over their FL learning in the absolute meaning of the word, no matter how self-directed they were, since the FL context necessarily determined certain aspects of the language learning processes such as the lengths and topics of the courses, the number of lessons per course, etc. Still, the students had opportunities to take control over their language learning processes to a substantial degree (see chapter 10, 318), provided that they also had the competence to do so.

Dependence

Earlier (chapter 3, 73), *dependence* was understood as the person’s relations to other people, communities, contexts and ideologies which together build a complex network of interdependencies, belongings, affiliations and relationships with a diversity of interrelational spaces for autonomy (for a theoretical background, see Benson 2010a; Kohonen 1992; La Ganza 2008; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007). This research indicated that this network of dependencies exists in the FL context of interest here. The students can hardly exercise their capacity to control their language learning, use and participation totally freely and independently of others; language learning is anchored and negotiated in ecologies over time.

Dependency is also inherently involved in the constructs of FL identity, agency and affordance which were adopted to capture the FL students’ language learning processes in the local GUSSA (chapter 9, 289). As some facets of FL identity refer to the language learning person’s affiliations to ideas and phenomena as well as identifications with and senses of belonging to communities, collectives and social groups (see Benson et al. 2013), thus creating many types of connections between the person and the world, dependencies can be viewed as a natural attribute of language learning as the development of FL identity. The constructs of agency and affordance also imply dependency between the language learning person and the (socially constructed) world, with agency being defined here as a situated and dialogical process and affordance as

something emerging from the interaction between the environment and the individual (Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Menezes 2011a).

In autonomy theory, dependency has surfaced through a diversity of social examinations of the construct (for collections of studies, see Benson & Cooker 2013; Murray 2014b). Focusing attention on the emotional, spatial and political dimensions of autonomy, these approaches have reconstructed the foundations of the notion by emphasising that autonomy is about individuals learning languages in communities and ecologies (Benson 2013a). When proposing that capacity as a component of autonomy involves freedom to control one's language learning, Huang and Benson (2013) imply that autonomy is about developing a certain type of relationship to the dependencies in one's life, one that enables the person to exercise relative freedom from the obstacles constraining language learning.

In the FL context, the idea of dependency relates autonomy in language learning to autonomy in language teaching to an important degree. The assumed interrelatedness between learner and teacher autonomy (see Little 1995, 2001) suggests that students can exercise their capacity to control their learning only in so far as their teachers can exercise their capacity to control their teaching. Although the GUSSA context limited my freedom to control my teaching, it also provided me with possibilities – perhaps more than many formal institutional contexts – to harness the FL teaching in order to foster autonomy in (relation to) language learning. From this point of view, the narrative of FL teaching emplotted and analysed in this study can be read as the EFL teacher's growth towards teacher autonomy, as my path to understanding how autonomy may and can be promoted in FL teaching (for a similar attempt to reach a narrative understanding of teacher autonomy, see Aoki, with Kobayashi 2009).

On the other hand, the existing (inter)dependencies in the local FL context also need to be understood in more positive terms, as a potential rather than a constraint for the development of autonomy. For example, both Susanna and Suvi experienced the evolving pedagogic relationship to me, the EFL teacher, as an asset that had a substantially positive impact on their development in the EFL courses. However, this relationship was not particularly equal in the beginning. It involved power relations and the students' dependencies on me, as both students desired plenty of personal guidance and even teacher control. Whereas Susanna was more explicit in expressing this dependency, claiming that she would “like the teacher to supervise that I really do my homework and revise things at home”,

Suvi put it more implicitly, referring to the teacher as “the great knower” without whom the group would get lost. Although the nature of this relationship developed along with their learning processes in a more equal direction, also allowing more freedom to the students, the teacher remained a type of father-figure to Susanna and Suvi; his advice was considered valuable although they could also protest and defy him. Moreover, whereas Susanna was never particularly dependent on the language learner community in the local GUSSA, or rather, she made considerable effort to avoid developing strong dependence on it, Suvi was very much dependent on the group, especially on the few “significant others”. It was the relaxed atmosphere in the group combined with support from other students that greatly contributed to Suvi’s development. As she said herself: “[T]he group is a peer support group, which promotes learning and motivates. On my own I wouldn’t study.” All in all, these findings appear to suggest that the social dependencies involved in language learning in the local FL context play a substantial role in the development of autonomy in (relation to) language learning, at least when it comes to the emotional preparedness to exercise this autonomy in the language classroom and beyond.

Dynamics

Autonomy in language learning was also examined as a developmental and *dynamic* process (chapter 3, 71; also Benson 2010a; Little 1991; Littlewood 1999; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008a; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007). The findings indicated how some FL students began to position themselves more positively during their FL studies, with regard to their TL-related agency in and beyond language learning purposes (see the analyses on Susanna and Suvi). Although the changes in subject positions were sometimes negative (see the analysis on “Niko”), this identity development was linked to autonomy in that it influenced the students’ capacity to control their TL-related lives. In addition to resembling a developmental process, the language learning person’s autonomy was context-specific in the sense that it was initially dependent on both time and place, despite containing the potential to expand over contexts. This can be noticed in Suvi’s narrative, which indicates how she quickly developed her agency in the FL classroom but struggled much longer with her TL-related agency beyond language learning purposes.

The proactive and reactive levels of autonomy (Littlewood 1999) are also illustrative in understanding the capacity to control one's FL learning. As proactive autonomy was not always possible in this FL context, self-directed students like Noora became competent and effective in exercising autonomy in the reactive levels of their FL learning. Noora was also capable of deciding the level of control in different learning tasks by herself. With these dynamic manifestations of autonomy in mind, the construct can perhaps be examined through the notion of *flexible control*, which Aviram and Yonah (2004) consider a suitable notion for conceptualising personal autonomy in postmodern education. According to Aviram and Yonah, flexible control entails a conception of an autonomous person who has developed his/her capacity to exercise agency flexibly in a continuum ranging between a minimal and maximal level of control in different and fluid circumstances and contexts of action.

Scope

The findings of this study showed that FL learning as the development of FL identity closely connected to agency and affordance may touch upon wide areas of the person's life, also improving and broadening the person's possibilities to function and participate as a social agent in different TL-related spheres of his/her life (see chapter 8 and chapter 9). In addition to increasing and deepening their control over language learning (see the analyses on Susanna and Suvi), understood here as the FL student's intentional effort and engagement to study the TL in a diversity of social domains, contexts and environments in and beyond the formal institutional FL teaching, the FL students' capacity to exercise control also expanded beyond these processes of language learning. For example, Leena attributed her increasing sense of control over social encounters involving English use beyond school contexts to her language learning in the EFL courses, whereas Suvi and Noora pointed out the general educative value that language learning had for their lives, feeling that having grown as persons they could participate more actively, freely and responsibly as themselves in different multicultural environments. As to Suvi (and a few other unnamed research participants), it can be also argued that language learning prevented her social marginalization and exclusion from many English-related spheres of life, thus providing her with better opportunities to remain and become a fully functioning member of society.

In autonomy theory, these findings can be examined as a question of *scope* and associated with what Littlewood (1996) and Macaro (2008) have proposed about autonomy in FL education. According to the writers, FL teaching involves the potential to foster autonomy at three interrelated levels: autonomy as a language learner, communicator and person. A similar understanding of autonomy as a goal in language education has been promoted by the EuroPAL research group (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Jiménez Raya 2009), whose ideas about pedagogy for autonomy lie close to the principles guiding the general developmental work on language education in Europe (Sheils 2010; Schärer 2010). On the basis of the findings on the GUSSA students' language learning, there is justification for broadening the conception of autonomy beyond the capacity to control one's language learning (Benson 2001) to encompass the promotion of one's capacities to control one's own life in a diversity of domains, contexts and environments that one engages with and that involve the language to be learnt (also Kumaravadivelu 2003).

Supporting evidence for this claim was also provided by chapter 10, which put the conceptualisation of language learning in context by analysing the FL teaching framing the language learning processes. Those findings theorised the teaching as a pedagogy for autonomy that combined learner engagement, learner reflection and purposeful TL use with a co-directed and socially negotiated language learning process which aimed at developing the competences required in language learning, use and participation (see Holec 2009; Little 2007). Incorporating lifelong, lifewide and lifedep dimensions, the teaching not only expanded the conception of autonomy beyond the traditional learner autonomy discourse but also embraced the empowering and transformatory potential of language learning in a person's life (see Allwright & Hanks 2009; Karlsson & Kjisik 2009; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 1997; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007). With my initial desire to promote any aspect of personal autonomy through FL education in mind (chapter 3, 88), the teaching appears to have been fairly successful in fostering autonomy as a broad personal capacity which does not confine itself only to the processes of language learning. A pedagogy for autonomy in the local FL context may foster personal autonomy in other domains and contexts of the person's life that are linked to the TL one way or the other.

Authenticity

The analyses conducted on the GUSSA students' language learning also point to and make claims for the importance of personally meaningful language learning, language use and social encounters (chapter 8 and chapter 9). For example, the FL students valued 1) opportunities to make use of their previous life experience (Leena), focus on their own areas of interest (Leena, Noora), influence the content of their language studies at several levels (Suvi, Noora), practise using the TL as themselves (Suvi, Noora), personalize their language learning paths (Noora, Susanna) as well as 2) experiences of being treated as genuine human beings with their mistakes (Suvi, Susanna) during the processes of language learning. Personal relevance of this type became an essential trigger for FL identity work related to the development of the students' agency and perception of affordances.

Within autonomy theory, Huang and Benson (2013) have discussed the importance of personal relevance, arguing that autonomy as a capacity to exercise control over one's language learning is essentially about having the ability, desire and freedom to perceive and act upon affordances by following one's own rather than the teacher's agendas. Personal relevance in autonomy can be understood in terms of *authenticity*. In the pages above, authenticity was depicted as a multifaceted component of autonomy (chapter 3, 72), following the theoretical contributions that have recognised the meaning of the notion for personal autonomy (see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2013a). In one of these contributions, Aviram and Yonah (2004) have closely linked authenticity to the construct of autonomy, which they conceptualise as a type of flexible control over one's life. Drawing on Mill, they (*ibid.*, 11) argue that

the autonomous person [...] is not merely a person who is able to place his or her conduct under moral and prudential restraints, she must also be free to develop and cultivate her potential and talents. The autonomous person, then, is one who is able to lead an authentic life; that is, someone who is attentive to the uniqueness of his or her identity, someone who is able to give expression to his or her deepest needs and desires.

Aviram and Yonah adopt an approach to autonomy as a capacity to express one's own identity by acting upon one's "deepest needs and desires", which Bonnet and Cuypers (2003) have referred to as authentic concerns. According to Bonnet and Cuypers, it is paramount that this expression of identity is framed by reflective

reasoning and critical thinking. Real “experiments in living”, they (ibid. 11) argue, need to be combined with “intellectual power”. Growing autonomous through language learning can thus be understood in terms of increasing the authenticity of one’s identity (also Taylor 1991).

On the basis of the findings in chapter 10, which showed the role of authenticity in the FL context under examination, the notion was theorised in the following terms: being true to one’s self that functions and participates in a world of complex interdependencies (Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2013a; Bonnet & Cuypers 2003; Taylor 1991), becoming the owner of one’s learning experiences (Kaikkonen 2012; Kohonen 2009a; Norton 1997), encountering other people in FL contexts as holistic human beings (Jaatinen 2007; Kaikkonen 2012) and incorporating lifelong, lifewide and lifedeeep elements into the learning process (Kohonen 2009a; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011). On examining the FL learning and teaching in the autonomy theoretical framework, with the above findings and conceptualisations in mind, claims can be made that growing autonomous through the processes of FL learning implies developing the authenticity of the self as it functions and participates in a diversity of TL-related domains and networks. This authenticity of the self enables flexible personal agency in shifting and fluid sociolinguistic and -cultural landscapes and this agency reflects the person’s authentic concerns. From this perspective, the FL student’s growth towards autonomy is intimately linked to the development of FL identity.

Theorising autonomy in (relation to) language learning

To summarise the essence of autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in response to research question 2, the following knowledge claims can be made: a) The core of autonomy in the FL context of the local GUSSA can be understood in terms of the language learning person’s capacity to control the TL-related aspects of his/her life. This view elaborates on Benson’s (2001) definition of autonomy as the language learner’s capacity to take control over his/her language learning. First, autonomy as a capacity involves individual-cognitive, social-interactive and socio-political dimensions that underlie Huang and Benson’s (2013) conception of capacity as the person’s ability, desire and freedom to learn the TL. In the FL context under examination, this capacity can be understood as the language learning person’s competence (including different types of knowledge, skills,

390

motivation, confidence, critical orientation and emotional preparedness) to function as a language learner, language user and social participant within the social matrix captured by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) in their contextualization of autonomy. Second, the scope of control is not limited to the intentional processes of language learning but extends to cover those aspects of life connected to using the TL to communicate, participate and function as a person and an individual in different spheres, domains and contexts of life without any language learning intentions or purposes in mind. Thus, if autonomy in language learning is generally conceptualised as taking control over the learning management, learning content and cognitive processes of language learning (Benson 2001; Huang & Benson 2013), it can be speculated whether the autonomy fostered through the FL education in the local GUSSA should be viewed more broadly as the exercise of control over those areas of “life management”, “life content” and (meta)cognitive processes that become relevant when the person variously engages with the TL in their daily lives.

b) This type of capacity to control the TL-related aspects of one’s life needs to be examined from an ecological perspective similar to what Palfreyman (2014), Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) or van Lier (2004, 2007, 2008) have made claims for, when discussing autonomy and language learning. First, the GUSSA students’ growth towards autonomy is situated in an open, complex ecology where innumerable interacting forces promote and constrain the person’s capacity to assume control. These forces work at several levels, including the cultural, economic, educational, individual, institutional, ideological, practical, professional, social, technological, theoretical and political. Second, TL-related autonomy development has lifewide dimensions in that it is spread across various disciplines of the person’s life. The presence or absence of autonomy cannot be attributed entirely to the person’s language learning in the formal institutional FL context although this context cannot be disregarded either as a substantial potential contributor to, or inhibitor of, the development of the capacity to control the TL-related aspects of one’s life. Third, growth towards autonomy is a social-interactive in addition to an individual-cognitive phenomenon in this FL context. Autonomy is fostered through a co-directed process where control is shared and negotiated between the teacher and the student (and sometimes between students), most of whom would not have the possibility to study in the GUSSA, were they always obliged to assume full control over their learning. The students’ autonomy

development is also dependent on the teacher's autonomy. All in all, the value of the ecological theory in understanding autonomy in (relation to) language learning in this research is that it enables the examination of the capacity to control amidst diverse levels of dependency in relation to people, communities, contexts and ideologies. These dependencies then build an intricate network of belongings, affiliations and relationships which provides the language learning person with a diversity of interrelational spaces for autonomy.

c) Autonomy manifests itself in the LaNas as a dynamic construct developing temporally, anchored in place and time, and regulated flexibly. In the adult upper secondary context under scrutiny, the dynamic involved in autonomy can be captured by Aviram and Yonah's (2004) notion of flexible control. This notion examines autonomy as a capacity of the individual that manifests itself in many kinds of observable behaviour, in which the individual exercises his/her capacity to take control flexibly in a continuum between no self-control and full self-control, with the level of control reflecting the individual's interpretation of the best possible course of action within the prevailing circumstances. In this study, flexible control makes it possible to understand how self-directed students may (wish to) submit to the goals of others, still preserving the experience of being in control of their language learning. Emphasising that "personal autonomy is not necessarily incompatible with the capacity to form unmediated commitments and enter stages of self-forgetting" (Aviram & Yonah 2004, 15), flexible control provides a response to the communitarian and postmodern critique, according to which personal autonomy in a world of interdependencies and invisible structures of power, which also characterise the FL context of the Finnish general upper secondary school for adults, is suspicious and at least calls for reconceptualisations of the traditional views of personal autonomy.

d) Fostering autonomy through FL education in this research is intimately linked to promoting the authenticity of the language learning adult upper secondary students' lives in the TL-related spheres and domains that they engage with, both in and beyond school context (for a theoretical background, see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2013a; Bonnet & Cuypers 2002; Kaikkonen 2000, 2012; Karlsson & Kjisik 2009; Kohonen 2009a; Taylor 1991). In particular, authenticity becomes a question of making one's experiences of language learning, language use and participation one's own so that they enable and contribute to reconstructions of FL identity, the development of agency and the perception of

affordances based on the language learning person's authentic concerns. In the postmodern condition characterised by social constitutions of the human being, complex interdependencies and invisible techniques of governmentality, authenticity as an integral component of autonomy implies that these authentic concerns about being true to the self become a matter of on-going self-reflection in the autonomy process. In the FL context of this research, authenticity was striven for by personalizing the FL students' study paths, putting emphasis on the nature of the human encounters involved, and incorporating lifewide and lifedep elements in each student's individual language learning process.

In addition to confirming that the FL learning in the local GUSSA can be interpreted from an autonomy theoretical perspective, the findings of this study suggest a close connection between the constructs of autonomy, identity and agency. Indeed, a detailed examination of the LaNas will give the reader a strong impression that they cannot be disconnected from each other in the processes of language learning in the local FL context. This interrelatedness of the constructs will be discussed in chapter 12.

Implications for foreign language education

The underlying purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of what was involved in the GUSSA students' language learning processes so that the FL teaching they took part in could promote these learning processes effectively, meaningfully and purposefully (see chapter 1 and chapter 2). Informed by the theoretical views emphasising autonomy and identity in language learning, I approached this issue as a matter of fostering autonomy and identity through the FL teaching. The following subsections will suggest implications that this research poses for FL education. These implications are concerned with autonomy, reflective narrativity, ecology, teacher education and the institutional ethos of the GUSSA. Yet, it should be borne in mind that this study contributes to a situated understanding of FL learning and teaching; the validation of the findings beyond this context lies in the hands of others and is to be determined by studies to come. Still, it is open to speculation whether and to what degree conditions similar to the FL teaching in the local GUSSA are required of other contexts oriented towards fostering autonomy and identity through FL education.

Autonomy

In this study, autonomy in (relation to) language learning was understood in terms of becoming the “author of one’s world” (Pennycook 1997, 45) also on occasions that involved the TL (this chapter, 390). Fostering autonomy in this sense in different FL contexts was seen to imply FL teaching which has as its goal the development of social agents capable and willing to exercise their agency flexibly and use their voice authentically in the prevailing sociocultural conditions, on the one hand, and contribute to the transformation of these conditions if/when required on the other. Associating the FL teaching in the local GUSSA with the views of scholars like Allwright and Hanks (2009), Holec (2009), Hunter and Cooke (2007), Karlsson and Kjisik (2011), Little (2007), Littlewood (1996), Pennycook (1997), and Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), the FL teaching was theorised as a particular type of pedagogy for autonomy that more or less embraced the above-mentioned conception of autonomy (see chapter 10, 339).

The essence of the adopted pedagogy for autonomy was captured by the notions of co-direction, authenticity and affordance. Incorporating the principles of learner involvement, reflection and TL use (Little 2007) in a broad and flexible sense, this pedagogy acknowledged the FL contexts beyond the formal institutional as potential sites for FL learning (Karlsson & Kjisik 2009). It promoted an understanding of FL teaching which emphasises communication and learning strategies, independent work and the creation of personal learning contexts as well as linguistic creativity and expression of personal meanings (Littlewood 1996) in its daily practices, or, as Hunter and Cooke (2007) have put it, FL teaching which includes sociocultural knowledge, initiative and adventuring, insight and inquiry, social interaction and reflective learning as its key components. Similar pedagogies have been proposed by Allwright and Hanks (2009), who promote a conception of language learners as developing practitioners in their own right who collaborate with others in classrooms and beyond to develop their understandings, and by Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), who suggest several pedagogical principles to foster self-determined, socially responsible and critically aware participants with capacities and competences to contribute to social transformation. Among other things, these principles include action-orientedness, cognitive autonomy support, flexible control, interaction, learner differentiation, learning to learn and reflection.

Also van Lier (2007) has captured a pedagogy for autonomy using similar ingredients with his conception of action-based language teaching, which underlines perception-action processes embedded in democratic classrooms that treat language learning holistically and examine linguistic practices in the service of meaning-oriented tasks. Van Lier suggests pedagogical scaffolding, which he considers a design feature and an interactional process in the language classroom, as a possible means to adopt an action-based pedagogy. This pedagogical scaffolding shares a number of features with the co-directed pedagogy studied here. For example, action-orientation requires personal investment and engagement, includes learning tasks that make sense, and is organised in challenging, satisfying and supported ways. According to van Lier, this combination involves the potential to foster autonomy and identity.

Based on the connections with the existing models for pedagogy for autonomy listed above, the FL teaching in the local GUSSA was seen to consist of directing the FL students' perceptions towards personally motivating and engaging learning tasks in the ecology that they inhabited, and sharing the power with these students in a co-directed, pedagogically supportive FL context. In a recent volume on autonomy in language learning, Murray (2014a, 237) has summarised the implications of the authors' contributions on pedagogical practice. In his summary, he suggests that pedagogies for autonomy with a desire to address the social dimensions of autonomy in language learning need to

- (1) embrace collaboration;
- (2) engage learners' various identities;
- (3) incorporate ample opportunities for group as well as individual reflection;
- (4) explore affordances available within as well as beyond the classroom;
- (5) place importance on the affective aspects of the learning process;
- (6) promote respect for the autonomy of others;
- and (7) facilitate the expression of human sociality which encompasses empathy, fairness, cooperation, conflict resolution, and helpfulness.

To some degree at least, the FL teaching in the local GUSSA shares many of these pedagogical commitments.

Following in the footsteps of the ELP (e.g., Kohonen 2012; Little 2012; Schärer 2012), the FL teaching in the local GUSSA adopted portfolio work as the most central language learning and assessment tool, with the students working on their personal language portfolios, self-assessing and reflecting on their language learning in an on-going process in the EFL courses. It was portfolio work that combined authenticity, flexible control, personalised counselling, reflection,

social interaction, student involvement, TL use, and so on, into meaningful language learning processes. Even though working on the portfolio may not have been beneficial for those GUSSA students who a) took few EFL courses at irregular intervals without following the expected order of the courses or b) were unable or unwilling to put effort into their language learning during these courses, this research showed the potential of the portfolio to promote the GUSSA students' personal development through authentic and sustainable assessment practices in profound ways, as long as the students were convinced (by their teacher, by themselves, and/or by other means) that the portfolio work was an investment in their FL learning (cf. Jaatinen 2013). On a more general note, the portfolio work in the EFL courses contributed to similar language learning processes and outcomes that have been pursued with the ELP in the past two decades (see Kohonen 2009a; Kohonen & Korhonen 2007; Kühn & Pérez Cavana 2012; Schärer 2010; Sheils 2010). This implies that the language portfolio is an essential pedagogical component and tool of assessment when fostering autonomy and identity through FL education in the GUSSA.

What remains to be solved is how portfolio work could also serve the language learning needs of the above-mentioned groups of GUSSA students. As pointed out earlier (chapter 10, 351), this challenge is closely related to issues about the authentic and sustainable assessment strategies adopted and integrated into the FL teaching. Furthermore, this research indicated that the amount of time and energy spent on studying the course book on one hand and working on the portfolio on the other had to be carefully designed to avoid burdening the students. Efforts had to be made to find a "middle way" since focusing merely on the portfolio work or working solely on the course book were unsuccessful approaches. One solution might be the type of personalised assessment that was referred to above (chapter 10, 351). The division between studying the course book and focusing on the portfolio could be done flexibly and individually among the students taking the same course. Whereas some students' assessment could emphasise the course book and exams, others' assessment could put more, or possibly the whole weight on the portfolio work. Perhaps this mode of assessment would provide the means to integrate portfolio work into the EFL studies of the two challenging groups of GUSSA students.

In sum, one major implication of the present research for FL education is the need to promote a broad conception of autonomy in the FL context, as this

conception also determines the pedagogical principles and practical solutions that the teacher will adopt in the FL classroom. The conception underlying the pedagogy for autonomy in the local GUSSA treated autonomy as essentially more than control over language learning, which is how the influential discourse on learner autonomy has long examined the concept (Benson 2001). In addition to improving the students' linguistic proficiency and promoting their self-direction in language learning, the FL teaching of interest was nonetheless broadly intent on developing the FL students' capacities to author their personal lives as citizens and human beings in those sociolinguistic and sociocultural landscapes where the TL played a role. Autonomy was viewed in a similar holistic vein to Jiménez Raya et al. (2007), who have examined the notion as a basic human disposition for becoming a self-determined participant in social communities.

In this process of becoming, the development of the FL student's learning, linguistic and self-assessment skills are a means to an end, the end being the renewal or transformation of life to retain full citizenship in 21st-century societies. In this view, co-direction and autonomous interdependency are necessary attributes instead of obstacles in the autonomy process. Thus, the FL teaching studied here not only embraced the social, political and critical educational orientations to autonomy (Aviram & Yonah 2004; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Kohonen 2009a; Kumaravadivelu 2003; Pennycook 1997; Rebenius 2007; Zembylas & Lamb 2008) but also echoed the more general goals, tensions and rationales characteristic of language education policies in Europe over the past decades (Council of Europe 2001; Lamb 2008b; Jiménez Raya 2008; Schärer 2012; Sheils 2010). Claims can be made that it was this broad take on autonomy that facilitated the development of FL identity.

Reflective narrativity

Narrativity in this research refers to the analysis method, the research material and human life itself (see chapter 5). As for the third use of the notion, an important implication of this assumption of a narratively constructed reality was the conception, according to which narratives have a constituent role in making sense of experiences, generating human understanding and constructing personal identity. Drawing on the Ricœurian (1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; also Bruner 1991a; Ezzy 1998; Laitinen 2007; Polkinghorne 1996; Verhesschen 2003;

Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013) perspective on narrative, FL identity was examined as a narrative identity (chapter 5, 130). On the other hand, the self-assessment and reflective elements integrated into the GUSSA students' language learning processes, with the assistance of the counselling sessions, language journals, language portfolios, reflective essay tasks and course work requiring a personal response of some sort, had an identifiably narrative quality (as to the narrativity of portfolio work in language education, see Jaatinen 2013). In the language journals, the students were prompted to tell the reader about their language learning experiences; the counselling sessions involved co-narration and retelling of events; the reflective essays encouraged the students to report and comment on their development, and so on. Narrativity can be considered an important aspect of self-assessment and reflection in this research. The second major implication that this research suggests for FL education derives from this background and involves the importance of narrativity, and the (self)reflective aspects that narrativity entails here, for the FL learning and teaching. The term 'reflective narrativity' will be adopted to refer to a combination of these two components.

As shown by the findings, this reflective narrativity inherent in the FL teaching and learning provided the GUSSA students with opportunities for on-going self-interpretation. They involved a narrative action/meaning potential that afforded the students with possibilities to increase their (behavioural, cognitive, emotional, etc.) control over their lives consciously and work on their identities in relation to the TL. The findings of this research showed how these reflective-narrative elements of the teaching became contextually anchored tools for the development of autonomy and the narrative construction of FL identity. Thus, reflective narrativity is another pedagogical element to be used to foster autonomy and identity systematically in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA.

From an autonomy theoretical perspective, reflection can be motivated as a way of fostering learner autonomy in language learning by developing the learners' metacognition, critical thinking and learning competences (Gao & Zhang 2011; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007). The abilities to self-assess and engage in critical reflection have commonly been regarded as prerequisites for the development of autonomy (Everhard 2015b). As to identity theory, narrativity can be motivated with the help of Ricœur's (1984, 1992) conception of triple mimesis (chapter 5, 120; also Verhesschen 2003; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013). Briefly, the importance of narrativity embedded in the identity processes lies in

the FL students' on-going interpretations of themselves in relation to the world as they increase their knowledge of the TL, practise TL use, conceptualise the TL-related aspects of this world, express themselves through the TL and reflect on their experiences when studying and learning the language in the EFL courses.

These self-interpretations enable the configuring act of emplotment, by which the pre-narrative quality of the students' experiences is storied. This process of languaging through (reflective) narration, which is being influenced by whatever goes on pedagogically and otherwise in the classroom and the language learner community of the local GUSSA, involves the potential to reveal the self in relation to the TL-related world in a different light and transform one's actions when these interpretations are adopted as part of one's life. The transformed actions will generate new experiences that call for new self-interpretations. This way, the Ricœurian perspective on narrative and identity is useful in understanding how the students' LaNas may reflect back into their lives and conceptions of themselves as FL learners, users and participants in the diverse social, linguistic and cultural contexts involving the TL.

Personal narratives have long been used to trace, promote and understand the development of individuals in many fields. Yrjänäinen and Ropo (2013) have observed the meaning of narrative processes for teaching and learning situated within formal institutional educational contexts. Grounding their views in Ricœurian philosophy, the writers examine learning in a wider perspective as an aspect and, indeed, a trigger for identity development. They not only conceptualise learning as a cognitive and contextual but also narrative process, in which the learners actively attribute personal meanings to the phenomena studied in a social and cultural environment and reconstruct personal understandings on the basis of these meanings. In particular, the writers argue, it is important for the learning to promote the emergence of autobiographical, social and cultural narratives that allow the learners to re-position with respect to themselves, the communities that they are involved in, and the cultural world in general. As to the FL teaching studied here, this could mean adopting narratively-oriented pedagogical measures to develop the students' conceptions of themselves as empowered language learners and users, as competent participants in groups, communities and collectives related to the TL, and as socially responsible citizens of multilingual and multicultural societies. With this in mind, reflective

narrativity can be considered essential for any FL teaching desiring to promote autonomy and identity development.

Consideration is still required as to how much reflective narrativity to include in the teaching-learning processes and how to include it in practice so that it fulfils its educational purpose and contributes to personal development in desired ways. A persistent challenge in the local GUSSA was to convince the students of its value as a key aspect of their learning processes and motivate them to use the narrative tools for personal development (also chapter 10, 326, 333). For example, some students kept seeing the language journal as compulsory course work which hardly assisted them in their language learning. Compulsory it of course was, but it may also have been that the students' preconceptions of what FL teaching and learning in a GUSSA should be like interfered with their studies. The influence of learners' expectations and earlier experiences has also been noted by Murphy (2015). Consequently, some GUSSA students responded by refusing to engage themselves with reflective narration while others questioned the purposefulness of the teaching altogether on the basis of those elements that "did not belong to the English courses", as one student bluntly put it.

Occasionally, these difficulties to comprehend the meaning of reflective narrativity in language learning were connected to the challenges faced by GUSSA students in engaging themselves and organising time for studying in general and language learning in particular, as well as to their challenges in expressing themselves in writing, which was how many narrative components in the courses were completed. With this problematics in mind, it is worth considering whether emphasis could be placed on oral narrativity and reflection, whether the journals could be turned into personal blogs, in which the students would simply write about their lives instead of language learning, and whether these blogs could in part be jointly produced by all the students and their teacher. Indeed, the shortage of peer-assessment and lack of opportunities for co-directed reflection in the FL classroom (chapter 10, 351) raises speculations about the potential of increased peer-assessment and social, shared or collaborative reflection to resolve some of the challenges related to reflective narrativity in the local GUSSA. In any future undertaking these considerations would be important as reflective narrativity is an integral aspect of the conception of pedagogy for autonomy that was developed to suit the needs of the local GUSSA students.

Ecology

According to Murray (2014a), attempts to broaden our understanding of the different dimensions of autonomy in language learning will require an increasing interest in language learners' relationships with their environments. The third major implication that this research poses for FL education in this particular FL context can be related to this Murray's suggestion directly, as the findings point to the importance of adopting an ecological view of the GUSSA students' language learning (also this chapter, 371). With the concept of ecology originally referring to the complex entity of organisms in relation to the ecosystem/environment that they inhabit, this research has mostly drawn on van Lier's (2004) use of the notion in applied linguistics. According to his (ibid., 8) ecological view of language learning, the formal institutional FL context can be treated as an intricate, social ecosystem, in which

a large number of influences are present in a partially chaotic, that is, unpredictable and uncontrolled way, and somehow among all the movement and interaction a social system, a complex order emerges. This order, which is dynamic rather than static, provides affordances for active participants in the setting, and learning emerges as part of affordances being picked up and exploited for further action.

As to the local GUSSA, this type of ecological approach was motivated by two aspects of the students' language learning processes in particular. First, the EFL teaching was but one of the many contexts to learn the TL. For many busy GUSSA students unable to put one hundred percent effort into their upper secondary studies, it was still not at all self-evident that it was worth trying to learn English in other (informal) ways in addition to cramming vocabulary and grammar in the EFL courses. Therefore, pushing their language learning processes explicitly beyond the FL classroom to include fields like work, home, interests and leisure time activities marked an important insight for many students. Besides broadening and increasing the range of their TL use, this made them realise that language learning did not have to confine itself to the language classroom and course books, and that spreading their language learning processes across several areas of life and becoming involved in many different TL-related ecologies had valuable potential to promote their formal language learning in the GUSSA. Moreover, being able to perceive connections between language learning in the EFL courses and TL use in other domains also brought meaning

and purpose to the students' institutional language learning. For myself as the EFL teacher struggling with the fewness of lessons per course, this ecological view was also liberating as it implied that the students' development was not merely dependent on the TL-related experiences provided to them in the EFL courses; instead, I could also direct the students' attention to the diversity of affordances beyond the formal and the institutional.

Instead of separate ecologies (e.g., the ecology of the FL classroom, the GUSSA, family, work, etc.), in which language learning can be situated, it might make sense to adopt the *ecology of FL learning* as the overarching notion to capture the contexts, domains, environments and settings of life involving the TL in question (also this chapter, 371). Theoretically, this aspect of ecology can be connected to views about language learning beyond the language classroom (see Barnett 2010; Benson 2009b; Karlsson & Kjisik 2011; Menezes 2011a), which has grown as a distinct field of study in the past years (see Benson & Reinders 2011; Pitkänen et al. 2011). What this heterogeneous group of approaches has to offer for FL learning and teaching in the GUSSA is the conception of language learning as a lifewide process that could be more explicitly taken into account in and linked to the formal institutional language teaching. As Benson (2011a) has noted, referring to Ellis, a combination of exposure to formal instruction and TL use outside the classroom context may, indeed, promote the language learning processes rapidly. With this in mind, understanding the GUSSA students' language learning in lifewide terms might provide them with better action/meaning potential for the development of autonomy and identity.

Second, an ecological view was also supported by findings indicating that the GUSSA students' language learning was both promoted and constrained by a number of interacting and interdependent forces deriving from within and beyond the institutional context. In addition to the language curricula, the language teacher and the language teaching, the individual learning processes and outcomes were affected by the local school culture and the diverse demands and expectations placed upon the GUSSA by the surrounding society, among other things. On the one hand, for example, my hands as a teacher may not have been so tied when it came to language teaching pedagogy since the relatively new school did not yet have many established traditions. Furthermore, I was the only FL teacher in that particular educational institute. Therefore, I was able to experiment with different practices and organise my teaching relatively freely.

On the other hand, since the school was commonly expected to serve as a quick study path for different people to complete their upper secondary studies, language learning frequently became a combination of irregular distance learning and rapidly studied independent courses instead of carefully organised learning processes that could be spread evenly across the student's GUSSA studies and provide possibilities for profound personal development. As another example of frequent, externally imposed demands, economic pressure also raised the issues of cost-effective teaching solutions and on-going competition for customers. Lamb (2008a, 276) has examined such forces influencing the daily lives of educational institutes in terms of "hegemonic practices in which power and ideology are embedded in the structures, attitudes, and commonsensical, taken-for-granted social arrangements". Although many of these hegemonic practices of the local GUSSA were incompatible with the desire to foster autonomy and identity, identifying these forces and recognising their influence on FL learning and teaching through this narrative inquiry made it easier for me as the EFL teacher to take them into account one way or another in the classroom.

The students did not leave their personal lives outside the language classroom either; they entered the classroom with their agendas, anxieties, desires, expectations and personalities. The students' backgrounds, past experiences, personal theories and life situations had a powerful influence on their studying and language learning, and it was as good as impossible to encounter them through their language learner identity only. In addition to being language learners, they were atheists, accountants, artists, dyslexics, recovering intoxicant abusers, globe-trotters, people with mental disabilities, professional athletes, single-mothers, sports enthusiasts, teenagers, university researchers, etc. Each student's complex and unique subject position had to be taken into account as a whole in his/her learning process; as a teacher I could not focus on the learner without addressing the person since the learning outcomes did not simply result from the learner learning in isolation from his/her holistic positioning in the social and cultural world. Each student's subject position also had an impact on other students' learning processes since it was the course participants that determined how the topics could be taught (see the discussion about co-direction and self-direction in chapter 10, 340). The FL classroom represented a shared learning space conditioned by the individual members of the language learner community.

With all these interacting and interdependent forces in mind, it is perhaps more understandable why my contribution as the EFL teacher to some GUSSA students' autonomy and identity development remained modest, despite the effort (for a similar ecological perspective on teacher autonomy, see Aoki, with Kobayashi 2009). The findings of this study have ecological undertones and they can be associated with the social and poststructuralist views of autonomy and identity that share a conception of personal development being individually constructed in interaction with the world, on one hand, and culturally, linguistically, politically and socially constrained, conditioned and dependent, on the other (e.g., Benson 2013a; Block 2007a; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Menezes 2013; Mercer 2011; Murray 2014a; Norton 2013; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Yashima 2013; Zembylas & Lamb 2008). The meaning of these views for the FL education in the local GUSSA lies in that they promote an understanding of FL learners as holistic beings nested within complex ecologies as well as a conception of language learning which takes place in an open system that is susceptible to cultural, individual, political and social influences deriving from the hegemonic practices that the different parties bring along when entering the system. Adopting an ecological approach thus makes sense when fostering autonomy and identity in FL education.

Teacher education, curricular design and institutional ethos

In the range of implications posed by this research, attention must be paid to issues concerning teacher education, curricular design and the institutional ethos of the Finnish GUSSA. To begin with, the Finnish national core curriculum for the general upper secondary education for adults (Finnish National Board of Education 2004) outlines a number of overall and subject-specific goals and thematic components for FL teaching that are closely associated with nurturing the students' personal autonomy and identity in the processes of language learning (Hildén 2011). Over the years, (foreign) language education has become the framework within which issues about autonomy and identity are worked out in practice in the language classrooms (Hildén & Kantelinen 2012; Jaatinen et al. 2009; Kaikkonen 2005; Kohonen 2009a). A widely-accepted approach to autonomy in (relation to) language learning has interpreted the notion in terms of the language learners' capacity to assume responsibility for their learning, their

opportunities to make choices about their learning processes, their sense of ownership of their learning and their purposeful use of language learning strategies (see Salo & Hildén 2011).

This research has pointed out the importance of adopting a broader approach to autonomy (see this chapter, 390). In the FL context of the local GUSSA, autonomy – and identity as a construct in close relation to autonomy (see chapter 12) – both refer to personal growth that entails more than control over one’s language learning combined with an empowered self-concept as a language learner. FL teaching with only this type of academic interpretation of autonomy (Kumaravadivelu 2003) may provide limited possibilities to foster the type of human development outlined by recent language educational policies and curricular documents. Indeed, FL teaching drawing on this narrow conception of learner/student autonomy may risk turning into an FL context where the prospects of identity work may well be “minimal to non-existent”, as Block (2007a) claims they generally are in most FL contexts.

What is needed is an explicitly outspoken interpretation of language education as a holistic enterprise that involves the potential to promote personal agency, authentic growth and human well-being on a wider and deeper scale. One way to do this is to integrate the philosophy of language education into the language teaching curricula more explicitly. This integration is actually expected to take place in the forthcoming curricular reform of 2016. Echoing the broader rationales and imperatives with an emphasis on education for democratic citizenship, education for life and education for lifelong learning (Lamb 2008b; Little 2012; Kohonen 2012; Jiménez Raya 2008; Sheils 2010), this change will hopefully make room for broader conceptions of autonomy in the language classrooms, thus allowing them to incorporate ecological, narrative and reflective elements into their daily practices more easily.

However, broadening the conception of autonomy is primarily a challenge for teacher education. Since the teachers in the Finnish school system are the ones to exercise their professional freedom when teaching on the basis of their interpretations of the curricular goals (Toom & Husu 2012), it would be paramount for these educational professionals to understand the full potential of autonomy and identity. Enabling the teachers to make informed and authentic choices regarding their teaching, this understanding would lay grounds for their professional autonomy. This challenge to educate teachers who prioritise personal

growth related to autonomy and identity concerns both pre-service and in-service teacher education. For school to develop, the new generations of teaching professionals need to be welcomed by in-service teachers able and willing to question the existing practices and principles.

One way to meet this challenge might be to develop the existing research-orientation in teacher education (Jaatinen 2014; Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012; Niemi 2012). Instead of researchers in the academic meaning of the notion, teachers could be encouraged to become practitioners who (are broadly allowed and encouraged to) puzzle over issues about their work in an on-going process and make the quality of classroom life their primary pedagogical concern. In this sense, research-orientation would not only examine inquiry as a teaching method but also as the teacher's overall reflective attitude and a way of being in the classroom (cf. Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012; Kohonen 2009b). Perhaps this type of exploratory orientation that could be maintained through more intensive collaboration between schools and universities would also be less onerous and time-consuming for the burdened and busy teachers.

Second, despite the general turn towards autonomy and identity, Lamb (2008b) has reminded of the obstacles that might still apply regarding policy implementation. As to the local GUSSA, some of the challenges to fostering autonomy and identity derived from the fact that EFL studies, alongside other school subjects, were divided into separate courses placed in short, about 7-week teaching periods, between which there were periods without any English teaching. These were not ideal conditions to foster autonomy and identity, the development of which is a question of long-term process that extends beyond the length of any individual EFL course. Thus, although the curriculum provided me with freedom to organise my teaching in pedagogically purposeful and meaningful ways, the pre-determined and tight time frame, combined with the numerous topics to be covered in a relatively small amount of 80-minute lessons per course, limited my possibilities to nurture the FL students' autonomy and identity development in practice, also posing a threat to my own autonomy.

On the other hand, the local GUSSA as a small educational institute represented an exceptional FL context in that I, being the only one teaching English there, was able to commit myself to teaching and counselling the same students from course to course throughout their FL studies. This had a generally positive impact on the autonomy and identity processes, as it compensated for the

short, intensive courses and teaching periods without English studies. The present research thus questions the meaningfulness of course-based FL studies, which in most upper secondary schools implies that the FL courses are taken in short, pre-determined teaching periods with a possibly different teacher in each course. This can be seen as a question of transforming language learning as a holistic and multidimensional process into a school subject with defined temporal and spatial boundaries, about the challenge to fit an experiential and highly personal project into a pre-determined and rather inflexible technical-rational framework of teaching in educational institutes. To meet this challenge, more holistic educational thinking would be required, thinking that would blur the boundaries between different school subjects and enable the re-organisation of teaching on the basis of the needs of the subject. As the development of these conditions presupposes broad institutional changes, the entire school community should have to be involved in discussions about the suitable teaching philosophy for the educational institute in question. Hopefully, this will also be eased by the forthcoming curricular reform.

Finally, this research underlines the importance of treating the GUSSA students as individuals learning languages in communities rather than by themselves in isolation from others. Echoing Benson's (2013a, 89) interpretation of the tension between the individual and the social within autonomy theory, this view has relevance in the FL context of the local GUSSA. Although the National core curriculum for the general upper secondary education for adults (Finnish National Board of Education 2004) recognises the social aspect of learning, viewing it as a goal-oriented activity whereby students construct their knowledge in interaction with other students, the teacher and the surroundings, Siivonen (2010, 36–37) has observed that an ethos emphasising the individual aspects of the learning process is still widely-held in the Finnish GUSSA (also Sivenius & Ikonen 2011). Although this ethos dates back to the historical role of the GUSSA with flexible learning opportunities for people with varying agendas, it poses challenges for fostering autonomy and identity in the 21st century, as it underlines how the learner alone is responsible for taking action and constructing knowledge to promote his/her learning in an individualized and flexible study path. This ethos is in sharp contrast with the findings indicating that co-direction and learner community also have important roles in autonomy and identity development.

Although interest in the individual should certainly be preserved, putting all the emphasis on the individual may create an illusion that individually tailored learning opportunities can be arranged for anyone at any time and that everything will be fixed according to each student's wishes. By encouraging the use of more cost-effective forms of distance learning, the organizer responsible for the upper secondary schooling of adults may reinforce this ethos of individuality which was identifiable in the local GUSSA. Whereas a discourse that orients itself towards the responsibility of the individual may in principle sit well in adult educational institutes like the GUSSA, which is committed to promoting lifelong learning that embraces the idea of a responsible, self-regulating "entrepreneur" of one's learning (see Finnish National Board of Education n.d.a.; Popkewitz et al. 2006; Tuschling & Engemann 2006), such a discourse did not provide ideal conditions for autonomy and identity development as it weakened the student's commitment to the GUSSA community. Reducing a 7-week EFL course to independent distance learning complemented by three one-hour meetings between the teacher and the student can hardly prevent marginalization and societal and social exclusion nor promote empowering personal growth.

Instead of individualized study paths, many students challenged by time, motivation and life benefitted from communities inside the FL context, once they allowed themselves to affiliate to or become members of these collectives through participation. In some cases, these communities boosted the students' development, sustained their motivation, increased their commitment and made their language learning effective. There were FL students among the research participants who would have failed to develop their voices in the TL, had they been unsuccessful in identifying themselves with the language learner community. Even students attributing a minor or neutral meaning to the language learner communities in the GUSSA and students struggling to gain membership in those communities often pointed out positive issues related to them. Typically, however, most FL students did not go beyond a superficial acquaintance with each other during their FL studies; to benefit from the feeling of belonging, it was enough to become close classmates and share the common interest in learning the TL. This made the TL communities in the FL context fluid and flexible enough for newcomers to enter more easily.

These observations posing a challenge for the development of adult education in particular contributed to the idea of fostering personal autonomy in a co-

directed process that was oriented towards authenticity in an FL context enriched with personally engaging affordances with a lifewide flavour (see chapter 10, 339). This pedagogy for autonomy focused on the individuals but in a personalized rather than individualized manner. In this approach, the essence of teaching lay in guiding each FL student through a personally meaningful, purposeful and experiential language learning process as a member of the language learner community and also encouraging the students to strive for affiliations, belongings and memberships in other TL communities across his/her life in the process. All in all, this research raises the question of whether the potential underlying the social and collective aspects of language learning could and should be taken more explicitly into account in adult education. Moreover, this research implies that changing the ethos towards the individual also requires changes in the widespread practice of teachers working alone, which was another outstanding feature in the local GUSSA.

12 INTERRELATING AUTONOMY, IDENTITY AND AGENCY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Arguing for the possibility to study autonomy through the lens of identity, this research adopted as its point of departure (chapter 4, 109) Benson's (2007, 30) proposal, according to which "agency can perhaps be viewed as a point of origin for the development of autonomy, while identity might be viewed as one of its more important outcomes". As the findings established links between the FL teaching theorised as a pedagogy for autonomy (chapter 10, 339) and the FL learning theorised as the development of FL identity that is related to both agency and affordance (chapter 9, 289), it can be argued on the basis of this empirical evidence that autonomy, agency and identity are, indeed, closely related in the processes of formal institutional FL learning in the local adult upper secondary context. With these contextualisations of the FL learning and teaching in mind, Benson's suggestion can now be revisited.

Drawing on the findings of this research, chapter 12 will begin by briefly summarising where I stand now in terms of understanding agency, autonomy and identity in (relation to) language learning in the formal institutional FL context of the local GUSSA. The chapter will then move on to present what can be said about the interrelations between the three constructs on the basis of this research, connecting the findings to existing theoretical views. Finally, an empirically grounded theoretical model for understanding the interrelatedness of agency, autonomy and identity in the ecology of language learning will be suggested and its meaning for FL learning and teaching discussed.

Identifying the relatedness of the three constructs

Identity as one of the key concepts of this research was studied from the perspective of FL identity. The notion was coined by elaborating on the provisional definition of SL identity (Benson et al. 2012, 2013) and was defined

as any aspect of personal identity that is connected to the person's knowledge or use of the TL to be learnt. This take on FL identity involved an inclusive and multifaceted interpretation of the concept that promoted an understanding of the complex and fluid relationships between the person and the languages that s/he knows (chapter 4). An analysis of the FL learning in the local GUSSA within this framework showed that FL learning also involved development that was captured by the notions of agency and affordance. Informed by empirical evidence, agency was examined in terms of the person's agentic behaviour, personal disposition, contextually situated relationship to and dialogic process with the socially constructed world (chapter 9, 296), thus echoing a diversity of theoretical perspectives influential in applied linguistics and language education (among others Ahearn 2001; Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Lantolf & Pavlenko 2001; Mercer 2012; van Lier 2008). This evidence pointed to the existence of two types of TL-related agency, i.e., agency in (AL) and agency beyond (AbL) language learning. Together, these findings about language learning promoted an understanding of agency as the person's ability to interact with initiative and effect in the TL-related spheres and domains of the socially constructed world (see Hunter & Cooke 2007).

Finally, the findings of this research were used as a basis for conceptualising autonomy as a goal of FL education in terms of the person's capacity to exercise authentic, flexible control over the different TL-related aspects of the ecology that s/he inhabits (for connections to autonomy theory, see Aviram & Yonah 2004; Benson 2013a; Bonnet & Cuypers 2003; Huang & Benson 2013; Karlsson & Kjisik 2009; Kaikkonen 2001; Kohonen 2009a; Littlewood 1996; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; van Lier 2004). Autonomy in this sense not only encompasses the traditional and relatively narrow individual-cognitive views on learner autonomy (e.g., Benson 2001; Holec 2009; Little 1991) but also the broader social and political conceptions that expand the notion beyond language learning and emphasise the empowering and transformatory potential of the notion in complex social ecologies (e.g., Kumaravadivelu 2003; Oxford 2003; Pennycook 1997; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Rebenius 2007; Zembylas & Lamb 2008).

As for autonomy in relation to identity, the findings suggest that autonomy often emerges alongside the development of identity in a mutually supportive process in the ecology of language learning, of which the formal institutional adult upper secondary context constitutes a more or less substantial domain. As

shown above, many aspects of the FL students' identity development can be associated with the different components of autonomy (see chapter 11, 378). It can be argued on the basis of the findings that developing the capacity to control one's life in the TL presupposes positioning oneself anew through subject positions that involve an empowering identity-related TL proficiency and linguistic self-concept combined with advanced TL-mediated personal competences (cf. Benson et al.'s (2013) definition of SL identity; also chapter 9, 289). On the other hand, it can also be claimed that the development of an empowered personal identity in the TL contributes to the person's capacity to control the TL-related aspects of his/her life to an essential degree. One only needs to look at Leena's, Susanna's or Suvi's narratives in this research to find the seed of truth in these.

It seems that the different facets of FL identity are closely related to the person's ability, desire and freedom to regulate and direct his/her life through the TL. These claims about the non-linear relations between the two constructs provide interesting parallels with the theoretical views and assumptions brought up earlier (chapter 4, 109). The empirical findings underlying these knowledge claims may also bring more sense to the differing interpretations of the interconnections between autonomy and identity. If agreement can be reached that the findings presented here are, indeed, evidence of identity development promoting autonomy development and vice versa, it is also easier to comprehend why some scholars have theorised growth towards autonomy as a prerequisite for identity construction while others have considered identity development as a process towards personal autonomy.

Approaching identity and autonomy in language learning from a post-structuralist perspective, Benson and Cooker (2013) have recently examined identity as an intersection between the social and the individual in that identity is partially conditioned and even determined by the prevailing cultural, historical and social conditions, and partially constructed and even transformed by the individuals themselves through the exercise of autonomy (and agency). Proposing that the individual side of identity (construction) can be addressed through the development of autonomy (and agency) like this, the writers establish a close connection between the notions. To what degree the FL students are responsible for their identity development and to what degree they submit to being defined by others and the context is a question of their capacity to take control over their

identity process, i.e., a matter of becoming autonomous and exercising personal agency. A poststructuralist framework like this thus depicts the interrelations between autonomy and identity in the FL context of the local GUSSA.

To make matters more complex, the empirical findings of this study urge that the dialectics between autonomy and agency be revisited. Earlier (chapter 9, 296), the FL learning as the development of FL identity was closely associated with those areas of the person's agency that were mediated and manifest through the TL. For example, the findings indicated that Suvi's agency developed alongside her FL identity (chapter 8, 219; chapter 9, 254, 273; also Korhonen 2014). After beginning her EFL studies, she soon began to identify herself as a member of the classroom English learner community and negotiate her subject positions within it, thus initiating her identity work. As her belonging to this community intensified, she began to identify with the imagined community of English users that she felt she was denied access to when she was younger. Initiated and fuelled by her emerging learner agency and accompanied with positive developments in her identity-related sociopragmatic and personal competences, these processes of identifying and belonging shaped Suvi's image of herself in relation to English in profound ways. Gradually, Suvi's identity development expanded – along with the development of her TL-related agency beyond language learning purposes – from the formal institutional FL context towards other multicultural spheres of her life, her emerging voice in the TL enabling her to participate meaningfully and effectively not only in the FL classroom but also beyond it.

Whereas literature on autonomy in language education has blurred the boundaries between agency and autonomy (Huang & Benson 2013), sometimes considering the notions virtually synonymous (van Lier 2010), the present research adopted a stand that treated agency and autonomy as related but distinct concepts, despite their apparent similarities and overlapping components (chapter 3, 75 and chapter 4, 109). On the basis of the findings, several parallels can be found between the two forms of agency (chapter 9, 296) and the different views on autonomy. Comparing learner agency with learner autonomy, which has classically been defined as the language learner's "ability to take charge of one's own learning" (Holec 1981, 3) or as a "capacity – for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making and independent action" (Little 1991, 4), it is relatively tempting to see learner agency as a concrete, real-life manifestation or expression of learner autonomy that is situated over a number of contexts in the

ecology of language learning, as if learner autonomy was channelled, mediated or actualised through this learner agency (for connections to previous research with very similar claims, see Toohey 2007; also Toohey & Norton 2003).

The TL-related agency beyond language learning purposes, on the other hand, is more compatible with some of the broader approaches to autonomy. For example, Jiménez Raya et al.'s (2007, 1) conception of autonomy as a “competence to develop as a self-determined, socially responsible and critically aware participant in (and beyond) educational environments, with a vision of education as (inter)personal empowerment and social transformation” can be associated relatively unforced with the idea of a social participant who exercises his/her agency through the TL in diverse spheres and domains of life. Thus, this research suggests that this agency beyond intentional language learning purposes can be seen as a real-life manifestation or expression of the broader approaches to personal autonomy, as they are contextually anchored in place and time. Together, these two expressions of autonomy constitute the construct as it is conceptualised in this research. In other words, the language learning adult upper secondary students' agency is a reflection of their actualised autonomy.

Fairly similar conceptions about the relationship between agency and autonomy have also been provided by Huang (2011, 242) who contemplates agency as “raw material” for autonomy and suggests that “agency is more concrete, specific and observable, while autonomy is a capacity that entails long-term development”. Whereas I am not easily convinced that agency necessarily is more observable than autonomy – after all, agency is not directly a question of being active instead of passive, as van Lier has noted (2008) – Huang's remark is useful in that it promotes an idea of autonomy being reflected in or mediated by agency. Recently, Huang and Benson (2013) have elaborated on this view, suggesting a more detailed examination of the interrelatedness between agency, autonomy and identity, and defining agency and autonomy as two distinct but interdependent constructs in the processes of language learning. Seeing autonomy manifest in and through the language learning person's agency, as this research suggests, is also coherent with and makes further sense of Huang and Benson's remark about growth towards autonomy being dependent on the exercise of agency, although the mere exercise of agency may still not be a sufficient condition for the development of autonomy. In other words, there is more to autonomy than the notion of agency can constitute.

Further support for the claims presented here can be found in Menezes (2011b, 63), in which the writer depicts a relationship between agency and autonomy very similar to the one suggested in this research. She argues for a conception of autonomy as a socio-cognitive system nested within the SLA system in the following extract:

[Autonomy] involves not only the individual's mental states and processes, but also political, social and economic dimensions. It is not a state, but a non-linear process, which undergoes periods of instability, variability and adaptability. It is an essential element in SLA because it triggers the learning process through learners' agency and leads the system beyond the classroom. Autonomous learners take advantage of the linguistic affordances in their environment and act by engaging themselves in second language social practices. They also reflect about their learning and use effective learning strategies.

This approach to autonomy in language learning has immediate associations with this study's conception of autonomy in the FL context, where autonomy is embedded in an ecological frame and examined as a complex construct with individual, social and political dimensions. As for the interrelatedness of agency and autonomy in particular, Menezes views agency as the construct, through which autonomy manifests itself, when proposing that autonomy triggers language learning through agency. It is agency that anchors autonomy in time and place, connecting it to a social and cultural context.

Also Hunter and Cooke's (2007) explorations of agency and autonomy can be contemplated in connection to the claims made in this research. The researchers argue for abandoning the notion of autonomy altogether in favour of agency, which they consider a construct that broadens and deepens the conception of autonomy in language learning by recognising the diverse interdependencies implied by the person's engagement in a social world (see chapter 3, 75 and chapter 9, 296). Although I have conceptualised autonomy somewhat differently to Hunter and Cooke, viewing the notion in the FL context essentially as a social construct, Hunter and Cooke's examination of the relationship between the two concepts is of particular interest since it resembles the interpretation proposed in the pages above. Examining autonomy mostly with reference to an individual's psychological capacity and inner developing potential, Hunter and Cooke define agency in language learning in less abstract terms by incorporating into the construct one's ability to act, engage and participate intentionally and effectively

in social contexts. This observation makes it possible to speculate whether the relation between agency and autonomy is actually fairly similar to what has been proposed by this study.

Finally, Toohey and Norton's (2003) case study on two successful SL learners also draws connections between agency, autonomy and identity relevant for the understanding of this research, although their study does not explicitly focus on investigating the relationships between the concepts. However, the researchers show through their data how the language learners resort to their personal agency to work on their identities and how learner autonomy can be understood in terms of the language learner's agency in sociocultural settings (also Toohey 2007). Besides implying similar interrelatedness between the constructs to this research, the researchers' findings convince them of the importance of studying language learning through the social practices situated across different contexts of language learning. Perhaps then, based on the above references to research literature that support the empirical findings of this study, agency can be considered the concept to capture autonomy in practice and bring sense to the complex dialectic between autonomy and identity in the ecology of language learning.

A theoretical model connecting the three constructs

To sum up what is being suggested here about the interrelations between agency, autonomy and identity in the ecology of language learning, the following claims can be made on the basis of the findings: a) Agency, autonomy and identity are distinct but closely related key constructs in the process of language learning. b) Autonomy and identity develop in a complex, on-going and reciprocal process, in which one influences the other. c) As an expression of autonomy and identity, personal agency becomes the mediating force between the two constructs, situating them spatially and temporally in the different TL-related spheres of life. d) On the other hand, autonomy and identity development are both fuelled by this agency, the expansion of which beyond language learning purposes is an essential trigger for personal growth towards autonomy in relation to the TL, i.e., the development of the capacity to exercise authentic, flexible control over the TL-related aspects of the ecologies that one inhabits.

In other words, this research suggests that the interrelations between autonomy, identity and agency can perhaps best be understood as a kind of symbiosis, with the three constructs constituting three coexisting, interdependent and mutually influencing dimensions in the processes of language learning. Expanding across and over diverse contexts, these dimensions develop dynamically and simultaneously, intertwined with one other and affected by the contexts in which they are situated. Diagrammatically, these symbiotic relationships are indicated as in Figure 18 (also Korhonen 2014).

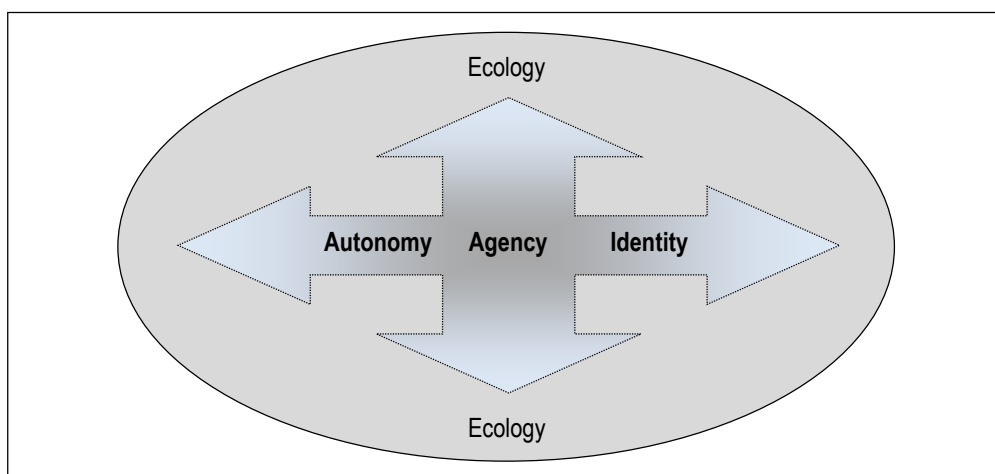


Figure 18. Interrelations among agency, autonomy and identity in the ecology of language learning

My proposal is that language learning takes place in this type of intricate symbiosis which is enacted by socially and culturally mediated means, i.e., other people and the semiotic and material tools that the language learning person is capable of perceiving and acting upon. The affordances which the person may learn to control, influence and perceive in different TL contexts both promote and constrain possibilities for meaningful participation. Language learning can be seen as situated like this in an ecology of TL contexts, in which personal agency is negotiated over and again in interaction with those domains of the ecology that the person is engaged with and related to.

For the FL context of interest in this research, which can be viewed as one of the many domains or contexts in the entire ecology of language learning, this proposal implies the following (also Korhonen 2014): Provided that this FL

context contributes to the development of personal agency in language learning, the FL students can negotiate their subject positions and identify themselves as active participants in this language learning community more easily, thus initiating the reconstruction of their FL identities and the development of their learner autonomy. This process contains the potential to contribute to the students' TL-related agency beyond language learning purposes, and expand the students' identity work and growth towards autonomy to also encompass their lives beyond the language classroom. This expansion of TL-related agency becomes an expression of the language learning person's growth and transformation in terms of autonomy and identity in relation to the TL in general.

Thus, this research partially verifies Benson's (2007, 30) suggestion that was adopted as the initial hypothesis about the relations among the constructs of agency, autonomy and identity. However, the findings of this research confirm that Benson's suggestion needs to be revised and specified as follows: Learner agency as a form of committed and intentional engagement in one's language learning – negotiated in interaction with each language learning context – can be viewed as a point of origin for learner autonomy and identity which, at best, contribute to the development of TL-related personal agency beyond language learning purposes. This expansion of the scope of agency both promotes and presupposes reconstructions of FL identity and growth towards personal autonomy in relation to the TL. These developments manifest themselves in terms of personal empowerment and transformation in those TL-related domains, contexts and spheres of life that the person engages him-/herself with.

To conclude this discussion about autonomy and its relations to agency and identity in the adult upper secondary context, the constructs will be examined in connection to van Lier's (2004) views of their relations. On arguing for an ecological perspective that treats language learning and language education as contextually situated social activities, van Lier (*ibid.*, 8) defines autonomy in the following extract:

Autonomy in an ecological approach does not mean independence or individualism, however. It means having the authorship of one's actions, having the voice that speaks one's words, and being emotionally connected to one's actions and speech (Damasio 2003), within one's community of practice (Wenger 1998). This type of autonomy is dialogical in Bakhtin's sense (1981): socially produced, but appropriated and made one's own.

To a large degree, this extract summarises how I have learnt to understand autonomy in this study. In the extract, van Lier suggests an ecological take on the capacity to control one's actions and speech in those TL-related collectives, communities and social groups that one is engaged with. Autonomy in this sense is developed in dialogue with the world and negotiated within the framework of social dependencies and networks. It presupposes a personal competence to take control over one's TL-related life flexibly and adaptively. The extract implies the importance of authenticity in autonomy, which emerges when van Lier links autonomy to the Bakhtinian idea of appropriating, becoming the owner or the author of, one's actions and speech so that they mediate words and emotions true to the self and thus become an authentic expression of one's identities.

In other words, the conception of autonomy that van Lier (2004) makes claims for in the above extract promotes an understanding of autonomy in (relation to) language learning as a capacity to assume flexible control over the TL-related aspects of one's life, which then enables authentic self-expression through one's own voice. Elaborating on van Lier, who examines the notion from sociocultural and Bakhtinian (1981) perspectives, the term *voice* is understood here to refer to something like an intersection between agency and identity (see chapter 4, 100). As the outcome of one's authentic self-expression through agency, voice can thus be seen to encompass and connect both agency and identity.

Capturing the developmental process towards autonomy with the metaphor of finding one's own voice (also van Lier 2007, 2008), the above extract also implies profound connections between the constructs of agency, autonomy and identity, the interrelations of which have puzzled me throughout this empirical endeavour. Implying that growing autonomous is a matter of becoming capable to express one's identities authentically through personal agency in different sociolinguistic and sociocultural contexts, the extract defines agency as an expression of personal autonomy depicted by the extract as the capacity to author one's actions and speech. On the other hand, van Lier also views agency as a key construct for the development of autonomy and identity. His interpretation captures a dialectic between the constructs of agency, autonomy and identity very similar to the model proposed above on the basis of my own empirical findings in this research. These are the reasons why van Lier's take on autonomy seems suitable for conceptualising the essence of the three constructs studied here.

13 ON VALIDATING THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Without a doubt, conducting valid scientific research is a desired goal for all researchers. During the past decades, it has been acknowledged that the quality of narrative inquiry as a particular type of qualitative research, on the one hand, and a methodological approach in its own right, on the other, can hardly be evaluated with the traditional standards deriving from quantitative research orientations (see Angen 2000; Barkhuizen et al. 2014; Chase 2005; Cho & Trent 2006; Heikkinen, Huttunen & Syrjälä 2007a; Heikkinen et al. 2012; Lieblich et al. 1998; Patton 2002; Polkinghorne 2007; Riessman 2008; Tracy 2010). By bringing up the qualitative–quantitative dichotomy I merely wish to express agreement with what Riessman (2008) has pointed out: the quality of narrative research involves complex issues of validation and ethics that cannot be simplified into a fixed, universal set of criteria to be met (also Heikkinen et al. 2012). Moreover, since different ways of thinking about validity and ethics exist within different epistemologies, disciplines and theories, Riessman continues, the quality of a narrative study needs to be assessed within the tradition in which it exists. Notwithstanding this complexity, narrative researchers are expected to address questions about the quality of their research from their situated perspectives that will, in turn, also inform the ethical aspects of their research (Angen 2000; Barkhuizen et al. 2014; Polkinghorne 2007).

According to Polkinghorne (2007), validation is ultimately a question of convincing the audience of the believability of the statement or knowledge claim. An academic study such as the one at hand can be understood as a scientific statement and/or knowledge claim that has something to say about the human condition. To have scientific believability requires evidence and argumentation that support the statement/knowledge claim. Therefore, the validity of narrative research depends on the force and soundness of the evidence and argumentation proposed in support of the statement/knowledge claim. This makes validation a multifaceted, argumentative practice that spreads across the whole research process and aims at convincing the readers of what the researcher has discovered.

Not only does validation involve issues related to data collection and analysis but also concerns about the authenticity, coherence, creativity, ethics, persuasiveness, reflexivity, relevance, reporting and sincerity of the research as well as questions about its methodological, pragmatic, political and theoretical meanings, for example (see Heikkinen et al. 2007a; Heikkinen et al. 2012; Patton 2002; Riessman 2008; Tracy 2010). The quality of narrative inquiry thus becomes an inherent characteristic of the whole, unique process of narrative knowledging that must be carefully considered in each specific instance (Barkhuizen 2011; also Angen 2000; Heikkinen & Huttunen 2007). This means that “we have to take into account all the dimensions of practices when we evaluate the quality or the ‘goodness’ of research” (Heikkinen et al. 2012, 17). Quality becomes a question of “well-crafted, subjective interpretation of data” (Barkhuizen et al. 2014, 89) that “convinces [the readers] at the level of plausibility, credibleness, or trustworthiness of the claim” (Polkinghorne 2007, 477), rather than a strictly disciplined attempt to reach the level of absolute or near certainty about the knowledge claim. In other words, the quality of narrative research is something that penetrates the entire research process.

The following subsections will examine the “goodness” of this research. First, issues related to rigor, trustworthiness and generalizability, which Barkhuizen et al. (2014) have adopted as the three interrelated key areas of validation in narrative research, will be addressed. Then, particular attention will be paid to the relevant ethical aspects of this study, and finally, possible directions for further empirical interest and scholarly endeavour will be provided. These subsections should be read as a summary of the many quality-related issues that have been relevant and discussed in the earlier phases of this research project. The quality of this study has been developed consciously throughout the process of inquiry, with these few subsections playing only a minor role in the entire process of validating this narrative research.

Moreover, it should be noted that other approaches could also have been used to examine the quality of this study. For example, the principles for validation suggested by Heikkinen et al. (2007a) (also Heikkinen et al. 2012) would have provided an equally useful framework for the evaluation of this research. To a substantial degree, these writers’ principles of historical continuity, reflexivity, dialectics, workability and ethics, and evocativeness, indeed, concern issues that are closely related to rigor, trustworthiness, generalizability and ethics. The

reason this research mainly draws on Barkhuizen et al. (2014) when evaluating quality is that Barkhuizen et al. discuss validation more explicitly with respect to conducting narrative inquiry in language teaching and learning research.

Rigor, trustworthiness, generalizability

Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 89) use the term *rigor* to refer to the “degree to which an analysis is systematic with regard to both the coverage of data and the application of analytical procedures”. The rigor of narrative research thus entails that the data available are collected, reviewed and analysed in a thoroughgoing and appropriate fashion and that these processes are carefully articulated alongside the findings for the readers. In this research, an extensive body of narrative research material was generated by the research participants during the processes of learning and teaching EFL in the local GUSSA over a span of 3½ years. This material was collected and stored using several sources to guarantee the multiplicity of voices and perspectives in the data. This process of data construction, the different types of research material, the theoretical considerations regarding the data as well as the possible validity threats to the data have been described and discussed above (chapter 5, 133 and chapter 6, 157). In general, the design for data construction was informed by the different discussions and criticisms to do with generating and collecting narrative data (among others Barkhuizen 2011; Lieblich et al. 1998; Pavlenko 2007; Polkinghorne 2007; Riessman 2008). Here, one further aspect of the data construction will be addressed: the translation of the Finnish parts of the research material into English.

According to Pavlenko (2007), the analysis of narratives should always be conducted in the language in which they were told and not in translation. This advice was carefully followed in this research. The two holistic analyses (chapter 9 and chapter 10) as well as the emplotting of the multivoiced narratives (chapter 7 and chapter 8) were based on the original data that included both Finnish and English parts. The translation of the Finnish parts represented the final phase of the actual analysis, and its simple purpose was to present the findings to a wider community of (non-Finnish-speaking) readers. The translations were done by a native speaker of English who knows Finnish and has decades of experience of academic research, the Finnish culture, language education and translation.

During the translation process, the translator consulted me in culturally challenging cases and I examined the final translations myself. At this phase, the original English parts of the data were distinguished from the translated parts by using the same font in bold. Although researchers like Nikander (2010) stress the importance of revealing the original data to the audience in addition to the translations to increase the transparency of the research, this advice could only be followed as far as the holistic analyses were concerned by adding the original data extracts as appendices (see Appendix 9 and Appendix 10). When it came to the emplotted narratives, it was not possible to include them in their original language in this research due to limitations of space. In these cases, the readers only have interpreted access to the data. However, this deficiency was compensated to some degree by the fact that a number of extracts included in the emplotted narratives were also quoted in the holistic analyses.

As to the rigor of the analysis, Barkhuizen et al. (2014) emphasise that the analysis procedures need to rely on a systematic review of the data. They warn against “cherry-picking”, i.e., selecting only those data extracts that support the researcher’s knowledge claims while ignoring the problematising parts. What is more, Pavlenko (2007) urges narrative researchers to consider the theoretical assumptions underlying their method prior to analysis. In this research, the choice of methodology was theoretically grounded in chapter 5 while the principles of data analysis were described, examined and motivated in the methodology sections of chapter 6. These discussions are also important with respect to increasing the coherence of the research. As Lieblich et al. (1998) have put it, a narrative study should create a complete and meaningful picture in which the different parts fit together. In this research, the methodological discussions were complemented by detailed descriptions of the method in practice in chapters 7–10, which reported on how the storied accounts were emplotted and the holistic analyses conducted in addition to presenting the findings. Regarding the process of emplotting, Barkhuizen et al. (2014) problematize this type of narrative writing, claiming that despite its potentially counterintuitive effect, the researcher may need to consider accounting for the main steps in the construction of the narratives to demonstrate that the writing process was based on a systematic review of the available data. Lieblich et al. (1998) also stress the researcher’s ability to conduct the analysis systematically based on a small number of concepts. In this research, the framework proposed by Lieblich et al. (*ibid.*)

provided me with the required conceptual tools for the holistic analyses. The process of emplotting, which was systematically based on these two holistic analyses, was also carefully depicted in chapter 7 and chapter 8.

Also related to rigor, Lieblich et al. (1998) underline the importance of providing the audience with sufficient and comprehensive empirical evidence that supports the knowledge claims proposed. With this the writers refer to the quality and width of the data and the quotations chosen for the research report. With the amounts of material gathered from different sources in mind (chapter 6, 157), the data of this research can be considered sufficient and comprehensive. The holistic analyses were also accompanied by several quotations from the data in support of the interpretation while the storied narratives were emplotted as the result of a careful examination of all the relevant data. Together, these analyses provide the readers with abundant extracts from the participants' storied experiences.

However, this aspect of rigor is also connected to what Lieblich et al. (1998) touch upon with the ideas of insightfulness and parsimony: a sense of innovation and originality combined with elegance and aesthetic appeal in the presentation of the study. What is more, Riessman (2008) has argued that "validity can be strengthened if the analytic story the investigator constructs links pieces of data and renders them meaningful and coherent theoretically." In other words, it is not irrelevant how the research is reported and the findings made explicit; the reporting should build a coherent and meaningful entity that is based on a relatively small number of conceptual tools. As Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 95) put it, "issues to do with rigor, trustworthiness, and generalizability apply not only to the quality and ethics of the data analytical processes, but also to quality and ethics in the presentation of the research outcomes". Thus, the quality and ethics of a narrative study are reflected by the research report itself.

As for the report at hand, my sincere intention was to trace the research process explicitly to the audience. Following the suggestion by Barkhuizen et al. (2014), this was done by putting the decisions underlying this research (including those related to the topic and purpose of this research, the participants and my role as a researcher) into writing. For example, as I was an active participant rather than a distant observer alongside the other participants, I decided to be visibly present in this report. This can be seen in that this research text has been written in the first person singular whenever possible. On the other hand, although the research journey resembles a personal narrative of sorts, the form of this report follows the

structure of a fairly traditional research report in order to make the different phases of this journey easily accessible for an academic readership. The organisation of the findings may still be unconventional. Although the two holistic analyses preceded the process of emplotting, the emplotted narratives were placed as the readers' first contact with the empirical evidence in this report, i.e., before presenting the findings of the holistic analyses.

One of the motivators for this organisation of the report was that it opened up for the audience access to the developments of the experienced FL learning and teaching as a whole over time prior to dissecting these experiences into parts in the holistic analyses. Moreover, I desired the participants' voices to be heard before interfering with them with explicit interpretations. It was ethically motivated to let the participants introduce themselves in their own words. These "crafted narratives" functioned as useful "alternative rhetorical forms more appropriate for presenting the findings of narrative inquiry" (Barkhuizen et al. 2014, 111). For their own part, these emplotments contributed to the innovativeness of this study when reporting on the main findings by providing holistic, storied answers to the research questions.

In chapter 9 and chapter 10 these synthesising, emplotted narratives were then balanced by analytical approaches, something that still involved a sense of originality, which can be seen for example in the unconventional use of the holistic-form approach to the investigation of the collectively experienced meaningfulness of the FL teaching. Still, I believe that this report has shown that this narrative method has fulfilled its purpose. Together, the emplotted narratives and the holistic analyses have made it possible to conceptualise the GUSSA students' FL learning and the FL teaching as the formal, institutional FL context in which this language learning is situated. In conclusion, then, claims can be made that this research has built a rather coherent, persuasive and rigorous entity.

The second issue that Barkhuizen et al. (2014) consider essential for the quality of narrative research is *trustworthiness*. With this notion, the writers (ibid., 90) refer to the "complex question of the relationship between the findings of narrative inquiry studies and the underlying 'reality' they purport to represent". Trustworthiness can be evaluated by examining the relationship between the narratives and the reality they represent, on one hand, and the relationship between the researcher and the research participants, on the other (also Polkinghorne 2007). As for the first aspect, Pavlenko (2007), drawing on

Denzin's (1989) distinction between life as lived, life as experienced and life as told, urges the narrative researcher to express their commitment to the question of representation, i.e., whether they will examine life, subject or text realities through their data. The question about representation was problematized in chapter 5 and elaborated further in chapter 6. The core of this discussion was that, although it can be assumed that the participants have written about what has actually happened to them, their LaNas cannot represent these events exactly as they have happened (Barkhuizen 2011). The LaNas represent the subjectively experienced meanings that life events have had for their narrators. They consist of subjective interpretations of the world, involving reflections of situated, narrative truths instead of historical ones (Angen 2000; Barkhuizen 2011; Heikkinen et al. 2007b; Polkinghorne 2007; Riessman 2008). Still, as pointed out earlier, the LaNas are not fictive texts either (also Lieblich et al. 1998). Following the Ricœurian (1991a; also Huttunen & Kakkori 2002; Verhesschen 2003) framework, these three realities are inextricably related to each other.

In narrative research, validity threats related to representation also arise due to the limits of the language to capture human experience, as Polkinghorne (2007) has noted (cf. Denzin's idea of life as told above). Most LaNas do not form cohesive stories if cohesiveness is understood in terms of continuity, coherence and universality. Instead, the LaNas consist of complicated subjective perceptions that often focus on the landscape of consciousness rather than that of action. Many parts of the data represent the narrators' reflections and observations of themselves and their TL-related lives while the actual events take place in the background. The data involve narrative fragments which rarely form recognisable narratives from the point of view of typology or plot. The LaNas may also break the conventional form of chronological and linearly progressing rendition of lives. How these aspects of the LaNas have been taken into consideration has been described above (chapter 5, 133 and chapter 6, 160). These descriptions function as an argument with the aim of convincing the reader that the "ensemble of storied portrayals, although only partial, does not overly distort participants' meaning" (Polkinghorne 2007, 482).

As for the second aspect of trustworthiness, attention needs to be paid to the researcher's influence on the findings, i.e., validating the interpretations of narrative texts (Polkinghorne 2007; also Barkhuizen 2011). As the researcher's analysis is necessarily a more or less believable interpretation of the data rather

than a summary mirroring the storied texts exactly as they were, Polkinghorne points out that it is important for the researchers to explicitly express their historical and situated embeddedness that informs their interpretive claims. This also encompasses the need to explicate the researcher's relationship to the research participants. In this study, I have positioned myself as a narrative researcher, explaining where I stand in relation to the relevant ontological and epistemological questions. I have also described where I stand in relation to the research participants and admitted my influence on the data. Although my role in the selection of the research participants has been instrumental, I have also argued why my choices have not done an injustice to the reality of the FL classroom. By contextualising this research like this, I hope to have strengthened the trustworthiness of the interpretations that I have made on the basis of the analyses. In addition to expressing their situated commitments to ontological and epistemological questions, however, Riessman (2008) continues further that narrative researchers also need to demonstrate carefully how they used their methods appropriate to these situated perspectives. This brings validation as the trustworthiness of a study close to validation as the rigor of the study (as for how these issues were dealt with in the research at hand, see the discussion above).

According to Angen (2000), the interpretive understanding of validity also encourages validation through negotiation and dialogue. Barkhuizen et al. (2014) have noted that this can be done, for example, by involving the participants in the different stages of the research process. In this study, the FL students were aware that I was conducting research in the classroom, and that they were participating in it if they had given their informed consent. I involved the participants in the research analysis, asking for comments from the five protagonists (Leena, Susanna, Suvi, Noora and Anna) regarding the emplotted narratives of their TL-related lives and adding these comments to the research report.

On the other hand, validation through negotiation and dialogue can also refer to the scientific and professional community. In this study, I shared my findings and interpretations in different phases of the research with different types of audiences ranging from other young researchers in the university researcher seminar to delegates of various international conferences in adult education and applied linguistics, and less frequently also to my teacher colleagues in the upper secondary community. This assisted me in receiving what I considered valuable critique that whenever possible I paid attention to during the process of inquiry.

Finally, Polkinghorne (2007) points out that the researcher will also validate his/her findings when engaging in dialogue with existing research. Due to the relatively few studies conducted in this particular institutional FL context, this type of validation was done in this research by reconceptualising the FL learning and teaching under investigation anew on the basis of the research analysis and contrasting these reconceptualisations with existing theories about FL learning and teaching. Since this aspect of trustworthiness is also closely linked to the generalizability of narrative research, which is the third key issue of validation suggested by Barkhuizen et al. (2014), it shall be turned to below.

According to Polkinghorne (2007, 477), researchers “should not argue for the level of certainty for their claims beyond that which is possible to conclude from the type of evidence they gather and from the attributes of the realm about which they are inquiring”. While this is certainly good advice for any research, these issues related to *generalizability* may turn out to be problematic for narrative inquiry studies, which often emphasise the particular and individual as opposed to the abstract and general. However, these limited possibilities for making general claims do not mean that issues about generalizability need not be addressed in narrative studies. As Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 92) have pointed out regarding narrative research, “[t]here is often an expectation that research findings should be ‘generalizable,’ not simply in the sense that they are applicable to a wide range of contexts, but also in the sense that they make some contribution to theory”. The importance of this citation lies in that it implies the existence of alternative approaches to understanding the general in narrative research.

To begin with one such approach, Barkhuizen et al. (2014) provide examples of narrative studies that make claims for “typicality” or propose hypotheses that call for testing through further studies. This research has suggested, for instance, that the six EFL students’ learning experiences may be shared by a wider group of language learning adult upper secondary students. Although more research is needed to test this hypothesis, I have been able to generalise the findings by pointing out a possible pattern of shared experience. Another way to tackle generalisation is to turn to the pragmatic use of the research (Riessman 2008). Pragmatic use can be understood in several ways. For example, Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 93) have proposed that “an approach that appears to have proven effective in one case study may well prove effective in others, especially in teaching and learning situations”. In this study, I made this type of generalisation by theorising

the teaching as a specific example of a pedagogy for autonomy, the effectiveness of which in other FL contexts needs to be examined case by case. Generalisation in this sense relates to insightfulness, which Lieblich et al. (1998) connect to gaining greater comprehension regarding one's own life when reading the research. In this case, generalisation could mean, for example that the readers begin to identify similarities and differences between their teaching and the teaching depicted in this research, and possibly consider the appropriateness and suitability of the pedagogy depicted in this research for their own FL classrooms.

What Riessman (2008) means with the pragmatic use of narrative research, however, involves the meaning of the study for the scholarly community, i.e., to what extent the study conducted becomes a basis for other researcher's work. This is ultimately a question of the audience's sense of whether the study is a worthwhile interpretation (Angen 2000). In her discussion, Riessman (2008) brings up several arguments for the importance of narrative research as a form of case-centred inquiry, including the value of context-dependent knowledge, contribution to the development of scientific knowledge, extension of theory through atypical or paradigmatic cases, close examination of everyday social life and the possibility to gain important insights through narrative detail.

My view is that this particular research has contributed to the relatively weak empirical knowledge base about formal, institutional FL learning and teaching in the adult upper secondary context, shedding light on the GUSSA students' TL-related lives, raising questions about appropriate pedagogy and theorising the interconnections between the constructs of agency, autonomy and identity. Lieblich et al. (1998) examine this approach to generalizability in relation to the coherence of the research, which they emphasise also needs to be evaluated externally against existing theories and previous research in addition to contemplating how the different parts of the research fit together (see the discussion about rigor above). The general in narrative research can thus be addressed through contributions to theory. The present research has conceptualised the empirical findings related to FL learning and teaching through the notions of agency, affordance, authenticity, autonomy and FL identity (see chapters 9–11), thus raising the theoretical level of the research towards the end and suggesting potential contributions to autonomy and language learning theory.

To the previous discussion about the meaning of narrative studies to the research community, the potential methodological contribution to the field could

be added. As an “amalgam of interdisciplinary analytic lenses, diverse disciplinary approaches, and both traditional and innovative methods” (Chase 2005, 651), narrative research often provides a variety of methodological approaches to the interpretive, qualitative research field. From this perspective, generalisation involves the discovery of new, different and useful narrative methodologies that can be adopted for the investigation of narrative realities in other contexts. This study has combined the traditional with the unconventional, first by extending the boundaries of Lieblich et al.’s (1998) traditional analytical framework by means of the holistic analyses and then by adopting the Ricœurian (1984; also Laitinen 2002; Polkinghorne 1995; Verhesschen 2003) notion of emplotment when crafting the multivoiced, storied accounts resorting to multiple sources of data. In particular, drawing on Ricœur in the analysis can be considered fairly innovative since his philosophical writings are usually said to have little to offer methodologically. On the other hand, this method also indicated the limitations of the analytical framework by Lieblich et al. (1998). For example, it was challenging to conduct the holistic analyses when the narrative was spread across several sources and told by many participants simultaneously, as was especially the case with the narrative of FL teaching. With this study, I hope to have made a contribution to narrative research methodology.

Finally, Angen (2000) has pointed out that research should be relevant and beneficial to those concerned and that this aspect should be taken into consideration when discussing validation. With this in mind, the generalisability of narrative research can be evaluated in terms of pragmatic use to the participant rather than reader communities, i.e., to what extent the research contributes to social change, develops existing conditions and/or empowers the participants in the community, in which the study was conducted. Whereas Riessman (2008) refers to this aspect of generalisability with the terms political and ethical use (see the following section), I consider it an essential part of the practical meaning of narrative research (see Heikkinen et al.’s (2007a) and Heikkinen et al.’s (2012) discussions about the validity of narrative action research). It should still be kept in mind that many of the pragmatic meanings listed in the following paragraph, indeed, have political and ethical implications.

According to Terry Lamb (2011), there have not been many studies of the ways in which learners’ voices have contributed to teacher development. For my development as an FL teacher, listening to the voices of the participants of this

study has been both paramount and instrumental. My desire to deepen my understanding of my teaching and the students' language learning (chapter 1) gradually led to the reconceptualisation of FL learning and teaching proposed in the pages above. In addition, this research has been able to point out aspects of FL learning and teaching that needs to be taken into consideration in adult upper secondary contexts. Closely related to this, this research has proposed a pedagogical model for teaching foreign languages in the GUSSA.

Judging by the GUSSA students' experiences, this study has also contributed to the meaningfulness, purposefulness and usefulness of the FL teaching in the local GUSSA. It has increased the amount of dialogue, flexibility, negotiation and personalisation involved in counselling the students through their EFL courses. Although the meaning of this study for the school community as a whole cannot be isolated from other changes taken place in the educational institute during the process of inquiry, this research has contributed to the emerging sense of community, the increased awareness of the students' individuality and the development of personalised student counselling and assessment. From this perspective, this study has played a role in the development of our school.

What can be considered the most essential pragmatic use of this research in addition to my own professional growth, however, is the meaning that this research has had for the research participants, i.e., the students who attended the EFL courses. Through this research and with these participants I was able to deepen my understanding of what was going on in the courses, which enabled me to foster the students' identity development in my teacher role, including the promotion of their personal agency and autonomy in the TL-related domains of their lives. At least some of the participants grew as more empowered individuals as a result of the research process. These participants also did a valuable service for future GUSSA students. Assisting me through their actions, comments, narratives and responses in the process of developing a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy oriented towards authenticity, the participants contributed to the empowering and transformative potential of the FL teaching in this GUSSA. In this respect, it could be claimed that this research fulfilled its pragmatic purpose in that it contributed to (minor) social change in and through FL education, developed the GUSSA community and even empowered some of the participants.

All in all, based on the discussions about generalisation above, it can be summarised that generalisation in narrative research is often a question of

resonance, an issue of the degree to which the findings somehow resonate, provide points of anchorage, with one's personal life experience and the spheres of life one is engaged with, which in this particular case are connected to experiences and spheres of learning and teaching (foreign languages) in contexts of adult education (for a more general discussion about resonance in qualitative research, see Tracy 2010). A study may resonate with several types of audiences including scholarly readers, professionals and practitioners from different fields as well as the research participants themselves. Furthermore, resonance is surely also affected by the aesthetic merit and evocative writing of the research report, as Tracy (2010) has noted. As for narrative inquiry studies resonating with different audiences, however, it should be noted that "the research 'findings' do not come in the form of generalizable propositions but are constituted by the narrative or analysis as a whole", as Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 93) conclude. What still remains to be done here, to properly validate this particular piece of narrative research, is to address the ethical aspects of the research process.

Ethical concerns

Ethically sustainable research can be considered a universal attribute of any scientific endeavour expecting to be taken seriously. As value-free science is impossible, researchers are increasingly expected to make their underlying moral assumptions explicit to assure the readers that ethical practice has been followed. Indeed, Heikkinen et al. (2012) have noted how the ethical aspect has become more and more important in discussions about the "goodness" of research in recent years. The meaning of the ethical aspects for the quality of narrative research in particular, in which virtually the whole research process is saturated by ethical issues, can hardly be overemphasised. The core of ethically sustainable research is relatively straightforward: to adopt a sensitive inquiring approach that respects the dignity and welfare of others, does justice to every quarter involved and guarantees that no harm is done to those participating in the research in any phase of the process. Tracy (2010, 846–848) has examined this approach from four perspectives. First, procedural ethics involves the general ethical actions adopted to avoid deception, guarantee the participants' rights, negotiate informed consent and ensure privacy and confidentiality. Second, situational ethics refers

to the particular contextual conditions, the idiosyncrasies of which also deserve ethical examination. Third, relational ethics emphasises the researcher's mindfulness of the consequences of his/her actions for others, involving an orientation towards mutual respect and well-being. Finally, Tracy lists exiting ethics, which is concerned with how the researcher leaves the scene and shares findings so as to avoid unjust and unintended consequences.

As Josselson (2006) has pointed out, however, the reality of ethical practices in narrative research is a complex, context-sensitive issue involving contradictory goals that demand a choice among them case by case to minimise harm. These contradictions derive from the dual role of the researcher, who is not only responsible for the dignity, privacy and well-being of the participants but also accountable to the research community for the accuracy and authenticity of the study. Bearing the emergent nature of narrative research in mind, Josselson (*ibid.*) argues that ethics in narrative research cannot be a matter of following a universal set of fixed rules or preferring some abstractly correct behaviour to another. She (*ibid.*, 538) calls for a broader ethical attitude which “involves thinking through these matters and deciding how best to honor and protect those who participate in one's studies while still maintaining standards for responsible scholarship”. This attitude prioritises the reflexive over the procedural; it emphasises the researcher's commitment to ethical values that need to be interpreted anew under each local condition. Josselson examines this attitude through the ethics of the relationship, the research report and the research design. This division has been adopted below to evaluate this study. It should be noted that parts of these issues have been touched upon in relation to rigor, trustworthiness and generalizability since ethics is part and parcel of the quality of the whole research process. This section should be read as complementary to what has been said above.

Ethics of the relationship

With the *ethics of the relationship*, Josselson (2006) refers to both an explicit and implicit contract between the researcher and the participant. As for the explicit contract, ethically sustainable research practices are promoted by asking the participants' informed consent that informs the participants about the research, allows the researcher to “intrude” into the participants' lives to gather and investigate data often of a highly personal nature and gives the participants

promises about confidentiality (Barkhuizen et al. 2014). As simple as it may sound, this informed consent may involve ethically problematic issues, for example as to revealing the exact purposes of the research to the participants and making informed decisions about participation based on this knowledge (Josselson 2006). In this study, all students were generally told about the ongoing research in the EFL courses, after which the informed consent form (Appendix 1) was usually signed at the end of the first face-to-face counselling session, provided that the student fulfilled the general criteria (chapter 6, 151) and gave the green light for participation. In the counselling session, the student also had the chance to pose questions about the research confidentially.

When introducing the research, I was open about my goals, telling the students that I was interested in their experiences of learning English in the EFL courses because I wanted to promote their language learning and personal growth as well as I could through my teaching. I gave assurances of confidentiality, privacy, anonymity and the possibility to withdraw from the research at any point during the investigative process. Although the consent form itself only briefly mentions that the data collected may be used in further research, the students were told in the counselling session that their data will be stored and safeguarded for possible academic use later on. What was more, the students were informed that participation would not cause extra work for them since data generation would be integrated into the daily language teaching practices. For me, this was a well-considered ethical choice enabled by exploratory practice as research philosophy (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006b). Moreover, although I was equally interested in the students' learning processes and their experiences of the EFL teaching, I emphasised the fact that I desired to develop the teaching practices based on the students' experiences. This was done to avoid the potential pressure that the students might have felt, had I underlined for them instead that I was also expecting them to show progress in their learning processes. Besides, they knew that I automatically needed to assess their learning in my teacher role. In addition, although my focus lay on autonomy and identity, I rarely used the two terms when introducing the research due to the inherent complexities of the constructs. Instead, I simply said that I was interested in the students' development as persons absorbed in FL learning, as made possible by this particular type of formal institutional FL teaching.

As for the students' reactions to participating in the research, none of them actually responded negatively to the research itself. Nevertheless, some considered carefully before signing the consent form and a few politely refused to participate due to personal reasons. Whereas most students adopted a fairly neutral attitude when being informed about the study and giving their informed consent, many also considered the research important and, in fact, were impressed by the opportunity to take part in the study and possibly develop the teaching practices in that way. Despite these positive initial reactions, I nonetheless used the annual counselling sessions during the research process as an opportunity to make sure that the students continued to feel comfortable with their agreement to participate. In brief, this was the external process that related to ensuring the ethics of the relationship.

Irregardless of informed consent, the ethical foundation of narrative research usually lies in the implicit contract, i.e., the social encounters between the researcher and the participant. As Josselson (2006, 539) has noted, "the nature of the material disclosed is influenced not by the explicit contract but by the trust and rapport the researcher/interviewer is able to build with the participant". The participant can hardly prepare for this relationship beforehand, let alone give informed consent to it, as it is something that emerges gradually between the researcher and the participant during the research process. As a rule, Josselson (*ibid.*, 558) still encourages avoiding any dual relationships between the researcher and the research participant as they "might imply coercion". As an example of such relationships she brings up teachers interviewing their students. This argument is problematic not only for the narratively oriented exploratory practice of this study but also for the foundation of practitioner research in general. The idea of inquiring teachers often implies that teachers are actively engaged in studying their teaching, gathering and analysing possibly narrative research data from, and sometimes together with their students (Allwright & Hanks 2009; Johnson & Golombek 2002a). With this in mind, how should my dual role in this research be assessed from an ethical viewpoint?

In this narrative inquiry study, my intention was not to ensure the ethical soundness (nor the validity) of the study by embracing the idea of the narrative researcher as a neutral, unengaged and remote observer. In my role as an inquiring FL teacher, I was intimately involved in whatever went on in the FL classroom; I was involved in providing support and counselling for the students' language

learning; I was involved in listening to their concerns, reacting and responding to them to the best of my knowledge. Following the central idea of exploratory practice (chapter 1, 26), I wanted to encourage the FL students to develop their own understandings and provide them with different meaning and action potentials for language learning and participation. These social encounters took place almost on a daily basis during the student's EFL studies, developing the trust and rapport required between the teacher and the student. During this pedagogical counselling relationship, I became more or less involved in the TL-related aspects of the GUSSA students' lives, also learning to know the person in addition to the learner to some degree. Since the instances of data collection for this research (the journal writing, the reflective course tasks, the counselling sessions, etc.) were indistinguishable from the teaching itself, I was also personally involved in generating and influencing the research material, when collecting it from FL students attending my EFL lessons (see the discussions about addressing validity threats for the data in chapter 6, 160 and this chapter, 422). Under no circumstances was I a neutral collector and analyst of the data. On the contrary, I was a research participant myself.

This does not automatically mean that the dual role would have put me in an unethical position as a researcher. The teacher–student relationship itself was ethically bound in that it was based on care, dialogue and trust, and focused on seeing to the student's well-being in every situation. This adherence to professional ethics was an integral aspect of the research process. As a narratively oriented inquiring practitioner, my primary ethical concern was getting the teaching, the pedagogy and the learning done instead of getting the research done; exploratory practice also called for ethically motivated, locally appropriate methods for data collection (see Allwright 2005, 2006). In this research, the students were informed about the data collection and the possibility to participate in the study, should they desire to do so. As they were told that the research would be integrated into the daily teaching, it was emphasised that participation was voluntary and did not affect or change their EFL studies. For example, the amount of course work was the same for participants and non-participants. As a researcher, I also avoided taking advantage of my teacher role during the data collection. For example, if the student revealed confidential or otherwise sensitive matters in the data, which they sometimes did, I omitted those parts from the analysis to avoid causing harm to the student. Moreover, the counselling sessions

and language learning journals in themselves provided the participants with a means for debriefing, as they enabled them to work and reflect on their experiences of FL learning and teaching.

My dual role as an inquiring FL teacher was beneficial for this study in that I was not a stranger to the participants when gathering the data. The trust and rapport that Josselson (2006) emphasises are required for a fruitful relationship to develop between the narrative researcher and the research participant emerged more easily and naturally when I was also a “native” to the classroom in the eyes of the other (student) participants. This was my experience when working closely with them. Despite individual differences in how deep and open this relationship became, I came across to all participants as a familiar and approachable person that they were accustomed to interacting with. Furthermore, I saw myself in a better position as a researcher when knowing, through my personal experience, which questions to pose to the participants in the counselling sessions, for example. I also considered it important for the participants to feel that they were treated as human beings instead of informants during the research process. Being a teacher in the participants’ lives contributed to the emergence of this type of human relationship.

My dual role assisted me in avoiding coercion in data collection. Barkhuizen et al. (2014) have pointed out the challenges that a narrative researcher may face with getting the participants to write in the first place. In this study, the language learning journals and reflective writing tasks used as data were among the course work that was required of all FL students regardless of their participation in the study. Although some students had problems finding the time and motivation to write their journals and turn in the other reflective writing tasks, it was primarily a challenge for the teaching and had to be dealt with between the teacher and the student instead of the researcher and the research participant. Finally, the end of the teacher–student counselling relationship at the conclusion of the student’s FL studies also provided me with a fairly natural way to exit the participants’ lives. All things considered, it can be claimed that my dual role as a teacher investigating my teaching and the students in my FL classroom hardly led to ethically ambiguous research practices that would have caused harm to the participants. What was required, though, was my on-going, self-reflective sensitivity to ethical issues. This is also emphasised by Josselson (2006).

Ethics of the report

With the *ethics of the report*, Josselson (2006) refers to the narrative researchers' responsibility to report on their studies and findings to the academic community in an ethically sustainable fashion. As for the study at hand, two issues related to this aspect of ethics have been of particular importance during this research process: representation/interpretation and anonymity. To begin with the former, Josselson identifies two general goals that narrative researchers often have in their analyses: to give voice to the participants and/or decode the data at another level of understanding. These two goals involve different types of ethical concerns. Whereas giving voice is concerned with providing a faithful representation of the participants' experiences to the audience, decoding struggles with participants not finding the meanings that they had given to their experiences represented in the report. The FL learning and teaching has been studied from both viewpoints in this research. On one hand, the intention has been to provide the participants with space to share their storied experiences of FL learning and teaching with the readers and, on the other, to conceptualise this FL learning and teaching in ways that may not have been possible prior to conducting this research.

To assure good ethical practice regarding the voice-giving aspect of this research, the five key participants were asked to read and respond to the emplotted accounts depicting their language learning processes in the local GUSSA, and their responses were added to the end of each emplotment in this report (see chapter 8). Encouraged by writers like Barkhuizen et al. (2014, 49) and Riessman (2008, 198), I chose this type of member-checking strategy for the emplotments, feeling that they were the parts of this research that put the participants' voices in the limelight. Although my ambitious aim was to preserve the voices as authentic as possible, I was aware that my textual, linear portrayals could be no more than flattened and inaccurate compilations of the participants. In addition, as I sent the accounts to the participants long after they finished their studies, I acknowledged that the reader of the account was no longer exactly the same person who had narrated their experienced meanings during their FL studies. Time had passed, circumstances changed and identities reconstructed. This can be seen in the comments to some degree although I was surprised that the participants claimed to have recognised themselves so well in the emplotments. From this perspective, these participants can also be regarded as co-producers of this research report.

On the other hand and despite their goal of showing the participants' own voices, the storied emplotments as well as the rest of this narrative research represent my interpreted understanding of the data, for which I need to assume responsibility. After all, it was I who decided what to retell in the report, what to leave out and how to organise the report. As Josselson (2006) emphasises, this means that the portrayals provided of the participants by the research report are by no means literal truths about them or their actual lives; they do not mirror the participants as a whole exactly as they are. The portrayals cannot represent the participants entirely faithfully since the researcher has constructed the interpretation with the aims of the research in mind. To my view, however, this is what the narrative researcher needs to and has the right to do as long as it is done tentatively and respectfully with the well-being of the participant in mind. Whereas the participant has ownership over the data, Josselson (*ibid.*) points out, the interpretive authority belongs to the researcher. This is why I did not send the other parts of my analysis to the participants; they were my interpretations and I will take responsibility for them as the researcher who conducted this study.

With this interpretive authority in mind, Josselson (2006, 552) suggests that “the most ethical approach is to explain to the participant [...] that what I will write about [them] will depend on the general conclusions I make about the whole group”. On sending the storied accounts to the participants, I only mentioned this briefly in the email message, as I desired to obtain the participants' responses in as authentic a form as possible and avoid raising unnecessary doubts about the interpretations among the participants before they had even read the emplotments. Since I had learnt to know the participants well during the research process in my teacher role, I had no doubts that they would *not* share their reactions with me, had there been something in the emplotment that they felt was wrong. This type of confidential relationship was one of the advantages of conducting narrative research as an inquiring teacher. I also encouraged the participants to explicate if they felt there was something misleading in the texts. For example, Suvi brought new meanings to her narrative by pointing out in her response that her night work with little sleep also affected her learning process.

This study has followed the general procedures for guaranteeing the anonymity of the participants, including the use of pseudonyms, changes of names, times and places, and the precautions for preventing the data from getting into the “wrong” hands (see Kuula & Tiitinen 2010). According to Josselson

(2006), this may not be enough for anonymity when conducting research in a small community, like the local GUSSA in this study. To safeguard the participants better, I omitted details about them from time to time (see chapter 8, 205). It was my obligation to guarantee anonymity although most participants reassured me that they did not mind if they were recognised. Yet, disguising the participants was important to assure the anonymity of other people, to whom the participants made reference. As Josselson (ibid.) points out, however, it is impossible to have absolute anonymity in cases like these. Neither can I guarantee that those who know the participants well, who have attended the same courses and know of their participation would not recognise them. I can only reassure myself in the knowledge that this refers to a very small group of people.

This said, however, researchers “are ethically bound to consider how publication of the material might affect the person’s reputation in the community were their identity to be revealed” (Josselson 2006, 554). In this study, particular concern was shown regarding the potential harm that might occur to those participants whose language learning processes were less successful. Would they be insulted or hurt by the researcher’s interpretations? How would the unlikely but possible revelation of their identities affect their reputation? These concerns, together with the fact that no single unsuccessful FL student had produced enough material to be used as data for the analysis, led me to the decision to craft a sixth student narrative, that of “Niko”, by drawing on eleven different students who all had their challenges in studying EFL (see chapter 6, 151).

Josselson (2006, 553) criticises the creation of composites out of several participants like this as it may run the risk of fictionalising the data and creating an unethical relationship to the academic community. Although this criticism needs to be taken seriously, these are not the meanings that I would attribute to “Niko’s” emplotted narrative. Although the unsuccessful FL students in the local GUSSA were a heterogeneous group of people, their LaNas included elements, events, moments and positionings which were typical of these students, and which were integrated into and made visible by “Niko’s” narrative. The fact that this emplotted narrative was based on data produced by several participants does not make it fiction; the extracts that this narrative consists of are authentic. The narrative combines these extracts and voices into a single storied account of an unsuccessful FL student. “Niko’s” narrative thus represents my interpretation of

the data in as much as the five other emplotted student narratives, which also combine student and teacher voices into storied accounts.

To my mind, it would also have been unethical to ignore or omit students like “Niko” from this research or merely analyse them from the teacher’s perspective due to shortness of data since there, indeed, were students of this type in the EFL courses and I had access to the modest but valuable data that they had produced. Even if there had been enough data from an unsuccessful FL student, this method would still have been a viable alternative since it might have been unethical to select one unsuccessful student and risk losing his/her anonymity in the small GUSSA community. I also claim that the weaknesses of this method have been compensated partially by the research design and my own actions. First of all, the interpretive process underlying “Niko’s” profile relied on my first-hand experiences of encountering students like “Niko” in my teacher role. Second, I have been aware of the risks of crafting composites like this and shared my concerns about the plausibility of the method with the academic community earlier in this report (see chapter 8, 241). I have also explicated the process of emplotting. With these remarks in mind, the risk of being criticised by the scholarly community for creating a composite narrative out of several GUSSA students like this was deemed worth taking.

Ethics of the research design

Finally, Josselson (2006) urges evaluation of the *ethics of the research design* which addresses the potential benefits of the research. She raises the ethical question of whether the research should benefit the research participants or the communities involved. At the very least, she concludes, the research needs to dissociate itself from all types and kinds of exploitation. Riessman (2008) links this ethical aspect to the political uses of narrative research which are closely related to contributing to social change, fostering social justice and empowering people. As to the study at hand, the principles of EP emphasised the importance of conducting ethically sustainable practitioner research that put the quality of classroom life as experienced by the participants as the inquiring teacher’s primary concern (see chapter 1, 26; also Allwright 2005; Allwright & Hanks 2009; Gieve & Miller 2006b). This ethical attitude was realised by integrating research into the daily FL teaching and assembling the data on the students’ terms

and conditions. This also meant adopting a sensitive, inquiring attitude that was based on on-going self-reflection and openness to the students' perspectives.

What was considered particularly important for the ethics of this research design was that the philosophy of EP also implied that "all persons involved in the practice [...] have the right to develop their own understandings, and to expect others to help them in this, not get in their way" (Allwright 2005, 357). This is where the potential for empowerment and transformation exists. EP treats students as what Allwright and Hanks (2009, 2) have called "key developing practitioners" who are encouraged to work in dialogue alongside their inquiring teachers as legitimate co-researchers with the aim of developing their own understandings of the course topics from personally meaningful perspectives.

With this in mind, my initial assumption was that EP could enable the students to deepen their understandings of their TL-related lives as an on-going project, thus boosting their learning and creating an ideal condition for their growth to autonomy. While this was made possible by EP, it soon became clear that it was too ambitious to expect all GUSSA students to be able and willing to adopt EP as their guiding language learning philosophy. The obstacles not only related to the students' motivation and personal lives but also to the FL context of the local GUSSA (see chapter 10, 333, 346). In reality, then, EP became an attempt to work towards shared understandings of the student's TL-related life in a personalised but co-directed process, which the student had the power to influence flexibly within the institutional frame. Whereas some students were less successful in developing their autonomy through this FL teaching, others maintained their determination, interest and self-direction throughout the EFL courses. Then there were GUSSA students who, indeed, showed more progress, as shown by the findings above. For example, successful experiences of language learning and use were often accompanied with broader personal developments involving courage, motivation, self-confidence, widening views and more agentic subject positions. All in all, it can be claimed that this research was beneficial in that it contributed to individual FL students' personal empowerment, to some degree at least, if not having promoted major social transformations in their lives.

In addition to influencing individual students, the benefits of a research design can be evaluated by asking whether the research has contributed to social change more generally. For example, what meaning has this research had for the adult upper secondary community? Although this question has partially been touched

upon earlier (this chapter, 422), it perhaps deserves more elaboration now. To begin with, it has to be emphasised that this narrative inquiry study was primarily designed to benefit the FL teacher and the adult upper secondary students attending the EFL courses during the time of the research process, whereas the potential other benefits have not been intentional or premeditated. With this in mind, this research can be considered beneficial and ethically designed. By increasing knowledge of FL learning and teaching in the local GUSSA, this research is also ethical in that it has made future adult upper secondary students' personal growth through this particular FL teaching more likely.

Although conducting this research has been instrumental for the FL teaching and my development as an FL educator, there is no denying that I conducted this study by myself, without asking for or getting much feedback from colleagues. However, I did tell those who wanted to know about my research and I reported on my progress in teacher meetings from time to time. Moreover, I shared some of my research articles with the community during the research process, receiving occasional feedback and comments from individual teachers in response. The frequent discussions with the study counsellor, who worked as the assistant head of school (chapter 2, 48), became an important means to relate what emerged through the research to what was going on in the school community in general. In the small educational institute that the local GUSSA was, these tenuous links between this research and the professional community were not irrelevant.

This research may have contributed to the teaching personnel's understanding of the GUSSA students' idiosyncrasies, the development of personalised student counselling and assessment, the personnel's commitment to the community and the awareness of what may be involved in purposeful and meaningful pedagogies in this educational context. It can be speculated whether this research has positively influenced the reputation of the local GUSSA as an adult educational institute where emphasis is systematically put on the student's well-being and the quality of teaching. Although such contributions go beyond the purposes of this study, they were brought up on various occasions as the benefits of this research. It has to be emphasised, however, that these are only speculations based on my sophisticated assumptions instead of empirical evidence.

Although generalisations can hardly be made, this study has raised broader questions, for example with regard to meaningful FL learning and teaching in the formal institutional adult upper secondary context and the purposefulness of

course-type FL studies with a potentially different FL teacher in every course (see chapter 11, 404). In other words, various indirect and unintentional benefits with pedagogical and political implications for the GUSSA community can be pointed out despite the fact that major social transformations hardly took place. All in all, based on what has been said, claims can be made that good ethical practice as understood by Josselson (2006) has been followed to the best of my knowledge. The ethical challenges that emerged during the research process have not harmed the participants nor reduced the quality of this narrative research.

The journey continues

Whenever one adopts a theoretical concept to depict human life, one should be aware of its history to make sure that the concept is compatible with that particular context. The notion of autonomy has a long and challenging history in this respect. From the self-governing city states of ancient Greece, autonomy spread over centuries to cover personal autonomy, reaching one of its highpoints by the time of the Enlightenment when it flourished in rationalist thinking that emphasised the capacity of individuals to act morally based on reason. Since then the concept has spread to different spheres of life in a few hundred years. Before becoming a language learning concept in the 1970s, autonomy had reached educational contexts in connection with adult education, educational reform and psychology of learning. In language education, the concept has been given different emphases at different times, and not least because of the shifting ideologies, political climates, traditions and values of society. Still, the core of autonomy in (relation to) language learning has shown exceptional persistence; even today, the construct is commonly understood as the capacity to exercise control over one's language learning. Predominantly, this essence of the notion was examined within the individual-cognitive tradition until the 1990s when a diversity of critical, postmodern and sociocultural theories began making claims for the social and political dimensions of autonomy and even questioning the existence of the notion itself. (See chapter 3; also Benson 2001; Kohonen 2009a; Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2008; Zembylas & Lamb 2008.)

In the introduction to a book on language educational perspectives on autonomy, Palfreyman (2003, 2) formulates three questions for contemporary

research to address: 1. What does learner autonomy mean in the context of particular cultures? 2. Is autonomy (in the sense that it is interpreted in language education) an appropriate educational goal across cultures? 3. If so, how can autonomy be enhanced in a variety of cultural contexts? In many respects, the present research has dealt with this puzzlement, searching for answers to what meaningful FL learning and teaching could and should involve within the formal institutional culture of general adult upper secondary education. More specifically, the research at hand has studied autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in a particular adult upper secondary school, also addressing the complex dialectic between autonomy, identity and agency in the process.

Although common agreement on how to use the terms and how to differentiate between them in FL contexts can hardly be found, this study has contributed to the empirical knowledge base about the constructs and their interaction in the processes of formal institutional FL learning. On the basis of the findings, this study has argued that GUSSA students' language learning can be conceptualised in terms of FL identity that is closely connected to the constructs of agency and affordance. This language learning as the development of FL identity has a narrative foundation. More specifically, language learning as the development of FL identity in this FL context involves processes and outcomes very similar to those that have been identified in language learning in study abroad contexts. This research has also shown that the FL education contributing to this type of language learning can be understood as a pedagogy for co-directed autonomy that is oriented towards authenticity and personally engaging affordances, and zealous about including reflective narrativity in its daily teaching practices.

In their recent article, Huang and Benson (2013) encourage us to avoid confusing descriptions of autonomy with definitions of autonomy. My purpose in the present research has not been to redefine autonomy in (relation to) language learning at any general level. However, I also believe that descriptions of autonomy, which can be considered contextualised redefinitions of the construct, are also needed. As Murray (2014a) has pointed out, these descriptions may allow us to see the many manifestations of autonomy and deepen our understanding of the nature of the construct. This research has suggested a contextually anchored redefinition of autonomy for further scrutiny:

In this FL context, autonomy in (relation to) language learning incorporates a broader conception of the notion than the predominant discourses on learner

autonomy since it refers to the person's capacity (ability, willingness and freedom) to exercise authentic and flexible control over the TL-related aspects of living in complex multicultural and multilinguistic ecologies. Assuming authorship of one's life in relation to the TL, i.e., becoming capable and willing to express one's voice in the TL, exercise agency flexibly through the TL in shifting conditions filled with interdependencies, and contribute to the social change of these conditions through the TL if/when needed, highlights the empowering and transformatory aspects that growing autonomous in relation to language learning entails. Fostering autonomy in this particular FL context can also be seen to involve a potential to prevent exclusion and marginalisation. This thematic cannot be addressed by the learner autonomy discourse exclusively; autonomy in (relation to) FL learning in the local GUSSA needs to be examined as a broader educational and social goal that extends beyond the individual and the cognitive and is also linked to civil rights.

Within this framework of FL learning, autonomy and identity were seen to develop simultaneously in a complex and mutually supportive process. This process was fuelled by and dependent on the development and expansion of the person's agency in relation to TL learning, TL-related communication and participation, not only in the formal institutional FL context but also in the diverse domestic, multicultural and international TL-related communities, collectives and contexts beyond it. On the other hand, this sense of personal agency, which was seen to incorporate the person's agentic behaviour, personal disposition, contextually situated relationship to and dialogic process with the socially constructed world, and which essentially culminated in the person's own voice in the TL, also marked an expression of autonomy and identity development in practice. In other words, autonomy and identity made themselves manifest through agency. Agency represented the mediating force between the two constructs, situating them spatially and temporally in the different TL-related spheres of life that were able to promote and constrain autonomy and identity development by providing and denying opportunities for dialogue and negotiation about language learning, communication and participation. In particular, the two forms of agency identified in the analysis were theorised as real-life manifestations of the different senses of autonomy in (relation to) FL learning, with *agency in language learning* being compatible with the conceptions of

learner/student autonomy and *agency beyond language learning purposes* being compatible with the broader social and political approaches to autonomy.

Finally, this research suggested implications for FL education. These implications addressed the conception of autonomy, reflective narrativity, ecology of language learning, teacher education, curricular design and the institutional ethos of the GUSSA. All in all, this study elaborated on the construct of autonomy in (relation to) language learning in adult upper secondary education and made claims for the usefulness of autonomy, identity and agency in understanding FL learning conceptually by indicating how they are all relevant notions in the FL context of the local GUSSA. FL education includes a potential to promote positive reconstructions of FL identity in a narrative-reflective process with the aim of fostering autonomy and agency in a broad sense. In proposing a contextually anchored understanding of FL learning and teaching in a particular adult educational institute, this research has succeeded in providing answers to the three research questions (chapter 1, 32) without resolving them conclusively.

With the above in mind, this study indicates possible directions for studies to come. To begin with, research on identity in the FL context is an underrepresented territory in the fields of applied linguistics and language education, as Huang and Benson (2013) have noted. Although this study has seriously questioned, if not entirely falsified, some of Block's (2007a) arguments about language identity in the FL context, more research addressing questions related to SL/FL identities is needed to resolve the differing claims about the possibilities for language identity development in formal institutional contexts conclusively. Second, this research challenges future studies to contemplate the different views of autonomy in (relation to) FL learning, thus echoing Holec's (2009) and Palfreyman's (2003) invitations to consider the meaning of autonomy in the diverse autonomy approaches to language learning, and reminding the academic community about Smith's (2003) advice to remain open to different insights about the notion within FL education. For the development of autonomy theory, it would be important to focus on empirically-grounded investigations into the extent, to which autonomy in (relation to) FL learning can be conceptualised as an ecological, political and social construct with an impact on (inter)personal empowerment and social transformation (also Murray 2014a; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007).

Third, this study calls for more empirically-oriented dialogue between constructs like agency, autonomy and identity in order to deepen understanding

of their connections and complexities in language education and learning. The same has been suggested by Benson (2007) and Murray (2011a). Indeed, explorations are needed that will respond to the proposed model (chapter 12, 416) for the interrelatedness between agency, autonomy and identity (since the model is based on highly contextualised findings from a single adult educational institute) or alternatively present hypotheses of their own for scrutiny. A substantial increase in this type of dialogue between concepts deriving from distinct but, apparently, quite compatible fields of research would in any case broaden the knowledge base of autonomy theory.

Fourth, future research is urged to consider the underlying potential of narrativity in language learning in general, and autonomy and identity development in particular. Since different poststructuralist approaches have frequently viewed identity in narrative terms (Block 2007a; Ricœur 1991b; Sclater 2003; Smith & Sparks 2008; Straub et al. 2005; Yrjänäinen & Ropo 2013), it would be essential to examine how the narrativity of language learning processes might be harnessed to promote both meaningful reconstructions of SL/FL identity and growth towards autonomy, which may accompany this identity development in formal institutional language learning contexts. At least, the findings of this study have given reasons to speculate whether the reflective narrativity embedded in the FL teaching in the local GUSSA is in fact one of the key contributors that enable the emergence of critical TL-related experiences and thus trigger, reinforce or redirect autonomy and identity development.

Fifth, more studies also need to take a closer look at individual language learners' learning processes, as they are embedded across different ecologies in and beyond the formal institutional FL context. Steps in this direction have been taken by scholars wishing to establish language learning beyond the language classroom as a distinct field in applied linguistics (Benson & Reinders 2011; Pitkänen et al. 2011). On the other hand, a similar thematic about language learning has been brought up in relation to the recent generations of new technologies, which are changing the landscape of language learning (Luzón et al. 2010). The field of new literacy studies, for example, has questioned whether instruction has to be a necessary precondition for TL use, and whether the content of language teaching needs to be abstracted from authentic contexts of language use through curricula, grammar teaching and testing.

With the aims of promoting identity development, social participation and collaboration, among other things, the new technologies often share common ground with many of the ideas embedded in autonomy-oriented FL teaching (see Villanueva, Ruiz-Madrid & Luzón 2010). Although research in this area is in its infancy, Benson and Chik (2010, 72) have predicted that these technologies will “lead to very different ways of going about FL teaching and learning than those we are accustomed to”, as they provide new opportunities for authentic out-of-class TL use and control over one’s learning.

Sixth, although autonomy and identity both refer to long-term processes with profound personal development instead of any occasional exercise of agentic behaviour and the temporal adoption of context-specific subject positions, longitudinal research into formal institutional FL learning extending over several academic years is still underrepresented in contemporary research literature. As the findings above indicate, however, it may well take as long as the whole general upper secondary period before any substantial developments in the FL student’s relation to autonomy or identity will occur.

Seventh, as for Finnish (language) educational research, more studies focusing on the GUSSA might be able to increase our understanding of the special role of the GUSSA in the Finnish educational field. As shown by parts of the data, the GUSSA was commonly equated in people’s conceptions with adult education centres and similar non-formal adult educational institutes or, less frequently, also associated with the “daytime” upper secondary schools for younger pupils. However, this study has confirmed how the Finnish GUSSA, in fact, differs from both and deserves to be distinguished as a Finnish adult educational institute in its own right. Examining the peculiarities of the GUSSA in comparison with other types of formal education, future research could help verify its distinct identity and clarify the existing confusions about this educational institute.

Finally, to continue this scholarly endeavour in the local GUSSA, it would be important to go on studying the many components, aspects and dimensions of autonomy identified in chapter 11, as well as develop the assessment process further so as to integrate it better into the individual language learning processes. It would be equally important to study the many practical and other implications of the model suggested to capture the interrelatedness between agency, autonomy and identity in more detail: What possibilities does the model offer, and how can it be utilised in the local GUSSA and beyond?

Many of the recommended research directions call for inventive methodologies able to capture individual language learners' development in social and cultural contexts. Any dialogue between complex constructs that derive from different research orientations also requires stretching the boundaries of traditional theoretical stances and research paradigms. In this narrative research, I have primarily drawn on Lieblich et al. (1998) and Polkinghorne (1995), elaborating on and expanding their models of analysis on the basis of Ricœurian philosophy to construct a method appropriate for analysing and interpreting the data gathered. Although the model proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998) may seem to capture a dichotomous and simplistic approach to analysing narratives, this combination provided me with a relatively flexible methodological framework enabling the examination of individuals and their contexts. Although the study at hand has shown that narrative research as an interdisciplinary methodological approach can provide a suitable framework for academic scholars and inquiring practitioners wishing to extend methodological boundaries and stretch paradigms, other imaginative research designs could certainly enrich the fields of applied linguistics and (foreign) language education.

According to Nakata (2009), teacher autonomy refers to a process whereby teachers assume responsibility for and control over their growth, increase their understanding of their strengths and weaknesses as practitioners, and become collaborative in their professional development. This way, they can obtain a sense of agency in their work. More often than not, this process presupposes that the teachers learn to know how their students feel about their teaching, begin reflecting on their practices, also by comparing with colleagues, and accept the states of confusion and turmoil as a part of the process. For this to be possible, a degree of freedom enabling the teacher's professional discretion, combined with the teacher's internal capacity to exercise this discretion within the prevailing constraints, is required, as Lamb (2008a) has pointed out (also chapter 3, 73).

The research-based approach that has long been the general guideline of teacher education in Finland aims at this type of teacher development by promoting the teacher's inquiring disposition and reflective orientation to his/her own work as an autonomous teaching practitioner (Hildén & Kantelinen 2012; Jaatinen 2014; Jyrhämä & Maaranen 2012). In essence, the present research has also been about developing this type of teacher autonomy, about "striving for what you believe in and empowering yourself as a teacher" (Vieira 2007, 21–22)

in a particular educational context. What made this development possible was my openness as a teacher to the voices of the students attending my English lessons.

However, instead of embracing the existing dichotomies such as those between teacher and learner autonomy, I have grown more inclined to adopting inclusive approaches to autonomy in the FL context when conducting this research. Teacher autonomy need not be isolated from learner autonomy, as Jiménez Raya et al. (2007) have underlined. Neither does learner autonomy need to be isolated from other dimensions of personal autonomy that the processes of language learning may touch upon. In both cases, the autonomy manifesting itself in the FL context is about fostering and struggling for critical understanding, ethically sustainable participation, (inter)personal empowerment and social transformation that are closely related to the language to be learnt, used and acted upon. The ultimate goal, then, is to improve people's existential disposition so that they can genuinely assume authorship of their lives and exercise their full potential as capable citizens of 21st-century societies.

Adopting a broadly inclusive approach to autonomy in (relation to) FL learning is not an easy path, however, as the concept carries historical baggage in the FL classroom. This baggage will limit and narrow down the usefulness of the concept in FL learning and teaching. Still, if the need for a pedagogy for autonomy is seen to derive from the fundamental constitution of the human being (Deci 1996; Little 1999, 2009a), and language education is to contribute to democratic citizenship, (inter)personal empowerment, mutual understanding, social transformation, and so on (Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Sheils 2010), the conception of autonomy related to these perspectives captures more than learning to learn skills and a sense of personal responsibility for improving one's linguistic proficiency. With this in mind, this study has reinterpreted rather than misunderstood autonomy (in relation to) FL learning.

As part of this reinterpretation, autonomy presupposes that the language learning GUSSA student is encountered as an equal human being with valuable experiential knowledge of his/her own language learning in the practices of FL teaching. This knowledge can be taken advantage of when fostering the student's personal growth flexibly in dialogue with the student. Promoting authenticity and commitment, this type of personalized and co-directed FL learning combined with the support of the adult upper secondary community and a sense of care

deriving from degrees of external, institutional control is integral to the development of autonomy and identity on the basis of the findings of this study.

The present research has made attempts to explore the landscape of autonomy in (relation to) language learning in order to anchor the identified broader conception of autonomy theoretically by evoking a response to it within the existing autonomy tradition. This personal quest has led me to examine the boundaries of this tradition and even consider what lies beyond. It has prompted interaction between such complex concepts as agency, autonomy and identity. This type of openness and dialogue can be deemed necessary to de- and reconstruct a concept with a century-long history in ways that will meet the language educational challenges of the new millennium. Indeed, one of the challenges of future pedagogies for autonomy appears to be to see beyond the learner/student autonomy discourse without abandoning language learning competence and intercultural communicative proficiency as essential but not sole ingredients of autonomy in the daily FL learning and teaching.

Such endeavours to reconceptualise the notion may be required so that educators will be able to resist the uncritical assimilation of broadly consumerist approaches to (language) learning and learner/student autonomy that have tended to see education exclusively in the service of a global economy while down-playing if not forgetting the educational task of upper secondary education to foster empowerment and transformation of individuals and communities (cf. Gray & Block 2012). To some degree, this de- and reconstructive process has taken off, as shown by the references made to recent research (e.g., Allwright & Hanks 2009; Benson & Cooker 2013; Huang & Benson 2013; Hunter & Cooke 2007; Korhonen 2014; Murray 2014; Jiménez Raya et al. 2007; Rebenius 2007; Zembylas & Lamb 2008), but it has to increase in size and its voice has to become louder in the future. The present study can be linked to this strand of research within the autonomy tradition, as part of the continuum.

The journey captured by this research report is about to end. No matter how unfinished and fragmented they have been, the narratives included in this report have now been told. Hopefully, they have touched the readers as much as they have touched me. Rooted in their narrators' personal experience, they have recounted colourful and vivid stories of what it has been like to learn, study and teach EFL in the local GUSSA over the three-and-a-half-year span that this research has captured. These narratives, which I have analysed and interpreted in

this research report, represent their narrators' versions of their TL-related lives and the meanings that they have attributed to these lives. Imitating although not mirroring the lives lived and experienced, these LaNas have raised issues current and relevant in a particular adult educational institute in a particular period of time. Yet, browsing through some of the topics of articles in recent professional journals aimed at language educators and teachers in Finland – these include action-oriented language teaching, authenticity in spoken English learning, citizenship education in language teaching, content and language integrated learning, informal learning of English in connection to EFL learning at school, multilingualism in FL classroom and teaching, peer support in lessons, personal learning environments integrated into language courses, language learning through classroom interaction, etc. – it appears to be that a similar thematic to the one addressed by this study will continue to puzzle language educators, practitioners, professionals and researchers both in domestic and presumably also international contexts of second and foreign language learning in the years to come. Hopefully, this study will therefore also have resonance beyond this particular temporal-relational FL context.

For myself as the author of this research report, this is not the end. As an inquiring (foreign) language educator and practitioner, I will continue to be puzzled by agency, autonomy, identity, narrativity and other issues closely related to learning, studying and teaching foreign languages. Only this time, I will be able to contemplate these phenomena from new perspectives, with different questions to the ones posed at the beginning of this scholarly endeavour in mind. A bit wiser than before, I will know that there is still much to be understood about the realm of FL learning and teaching. The journey continues.

References

- Ahearn, L. 2001. Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 109–137.
- Aikuislukiot. 2007. [Adult high schools]. Retrieved from <http://www.aikuislukiot.fi/in-english>
- Allwright, D. 2003. Exploratory practice: Rethinking practitioner research in language teaching. *Language Teaching Research*, 7 (2), 113–141.
- Allwright, D. 2005. Developing principles for practitioner research: The case of exploratory practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89 (3), 353–366.
- Allwright, D. 2006. Six promising directions in applied linguistics. In S. Gieve & I.K. Miller (Eds.), *Understanding the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 11–17.
- Allwright, D. 2009. Inclusive practitioner research: Why we need it and what exploratory practice offers. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 15–31.
- Allwright, D. & Bailey, K.M. 1991. *Focus on the language classroom*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Allwright, D. & Hanks, J. 2009. *The developing language learner. An introduction to exploratory practice*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Angen, M.J. 2000. Pearls, pith, and provocation. Evaluating interpretive inquiry: Reviewing the validity debate and opening the dialogue. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10 (3), 378–395.
- Aoki, N. 2009a. A small-scale narrative inquiry for teacher development. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 201–213.
- Aoki, N. 2009b. Where learner autonomy could fail a second language user: Three-level analysis of social context. In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 236–261.
- Aoki, N. 2012. Learner autonomy for personal autonomy. In M. Hobbs & K. Dofs (Eds.), *Autonomy in a networked world. ILAC selections*. Christchurch: Independent Learning Association, 165–167.
- Aoki, N., with Hamakawa, Y. 2003. Asserting our culture: Teacher autonomy from a feminist perspective. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 240–253.

- Aoki, N., with Kobayashi, H. 2009. Defending stories and sharing one: Towards a narrative understanding of teacher autonomy. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 199–216.
- Aoki, N., with Osaka University students. 2010. A community of practice as a space for collaborative student teacher autonomy. In B. O'Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 63–78.
- Aviram, R., & Yonah, Y. 2004. Flexible control: Towards a conception of personal autonomy for postmodern education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36 (1), 3–17.
- Bakhtin, M. 1981. *The dialogical imagination*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Bakhtin, M. 1984. *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakhtin, M. 1986. *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Bamberg, M. 1997. Positioning between structure and performance. *Journal of narrative and life history*, 7 (1–4), 335–342.
- Bamberg, M. 2006. Stories: Big or small: Why do we care? *Narrative inquiry*, 16 (1), 139–147.
- Bailey, K. & Nunan, D. 1996. *Voices from the classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barfield, A. & Brown, S. (Eds.) 2007. *Reconstructing autonomy in language education: Inquiry and innovation*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Barkhuizen, G. 2008. A narrative approach to exploring context in language teaching. *ELT Journal*, 62 (3), 231–239.
- Barkhuizen, G. 2010. An extended positioning analysis of a pre-service teacher's *Better life* small story. *Applied linguistics*, 31 (2), 282–300.
- Barkhuizen, G. 2011. Narrative knowledging in TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 8 (1), 1–25.
- Barkhuizen, G. 2013a. Introduction: narrative research in applied linguistics. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–16.
- Barkhuizen, G. (Ed.) 2013b. *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barkhuizen, G., Benson, P. & Chik, A. 2014. *Narrative inquiry in language teaching and learning research*. New York: Routledge.
- Barnett, R. 2010. *Life-wide education: a new and transformative concept for higher education?* Retrieved from <http://lifewidelearningconference.pbworks.com/E-proceedings>.
- Bauman, Z. 1999. *Culture as praxis*. London: Sage.
- Bell, J. 2002. Narrative inquiry: More than just telling stories. *TESOL Quarterly*, 36 (2), 207–213.

- Benson, P. 1997. The philosophy and politics of learner autonomy. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 18–34.
- Benson, P. 2001. *Teaching and researching autonomy in language learning*. London: Pearson Education.
- Benson, P. 2007. Autonomy in language teaching and learning. *Language Teaching*, 40 (1), 21–40.
- Benson, P. 2009a. Making sense of autonomy in language learning. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 13–26.
- Benson, P. 2009b. Mapping out the world of language learning beyond the classroom. In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 217–235.
- Benson, P. 2010a. Measuring autonomy: Should we put our ability to the test? In A. Paran & L. Sercu (Eds.), *Testing the untestable in language education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 77–97.
- Benson, P. 2010b. Teacher education and teacher autonomy: Creating spaces for experimentation in secondary school English language teaching. *Language Teaching Research*, 14 (3), 259–275.
- Benson, P. 2011a. Language learning and teaching beyond the classroom: An introduction to the field. In P. Benson & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Beyond the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 7–16.
- Benson, P. 2011b. What's new in autonomy? *The Language Teacher*, 35 (4), 15–18.
- Benson, P. 2013a. Drifting in and out of view: Autonomy and the social individual. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 75–89.
- Benson, P. 2013b. Narrative writing as a method: Second language identity development in study abroad. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 244–263.
- Benson, P., Barkhuizen, G., Bodycott, P. & Brown, J. 2012. Study abroad and the development of second language identities. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 3 (1), 173–193.
- Benson, P., Barkhuizen, G., Bodycott, P. & Brown, J. 2013. *Second language identity and narratives of study abroad*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benson, P. & Chik, A. 2010. New literacies and autonomy in foreign language learning. In M.J. Luzón, M.N. Ruiz & M.L. Villanueva (Eds.), *Digital genres, new literacies and autonomy in language learning*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 63–80.
- Benson, P. & Cooker, L. 2013. The applied linguistic individual: Gaining perspective. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 178–186.
- Benson, P. & Nunan, D. 2004. *Learner stories: Difference and diversity in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Benson, P. & Reinders, H. (Eds.) 2011. *Beyond the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benson, P. & Voller, P. (Eds.) 1997a. *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman.
- Benson, P. & Voller, P. 1997b. Introduction: Autonomy and independence in language learning. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 1–12.
- Biesta, G. & Tedder, M. 2006. How is agency possible? Towards an ecological understanding of agency-as-achievement. Working Paper 5, Learning Lives: Learning, Identity and Agency in the Life Course. Retrieved from http://www.tlrp.org/project%20sites/LearningLives/papers/working_papers/Working_paper_5_Exeter_Feb_06.pdf
- Blake, Jr. R.W. & Blake, B.E. (Eds.) 2012. *Becoming a teacher: Using narrative as reflective practice. A cross-disciplinary approach*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Blake, N., Smeyers, P., Smith, R. & Standish, P. 1998. *Thinking again. Education after postmodernism*. London: Bergin & Garvey.
- Block, D. 2003. *The social turn in applied linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Block, D. 2007a. *Second language identities*. London, New York: Continuum.
- Block, D. 2007b. The rise of identity in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 863–876.
- Block, D. 2008. EFL narratives and English-mediated identities: Two ships passing in the night? In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 141–154.
- Blommaert, J. 2005. *Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonnett, M. & Cuypers, S. 2003. Autonomy and authenticity in education. In N. Blake, P. Smeyers, R. Smith & P. Standish (Eds.), *The Blackwell guide to the philosophy of education*. London: Blackwell, 326–340.
- Boud, D. & Falchikov, N. 2006. Aligning assessment with long-term learning. *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education*, 31 (4), 399–413.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Bown, J. 2009. Self-regulatory strategies and agency in self-instructed language learning: A situated view. *The Modern Language Journal*, 93 (4), 570–583.
- Breen, M.P. & Mann, S.J. 1997. Shooting arrows at the sun: Perspectives on a pedagogy for autonomy. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 132–149.
- Brookfield, S. 1993. Self-directed learning, political clarity, and the critical practice of adult education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 43 (4), 227–242.
- Bruner, J. 1986. *Actual minds, possible words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. 1987. Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54 (1), 11–32.
- Bruner, J. 1991a. Self-making and world-making. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 25 (1), 67–78.
- Bruner, J. 1991b. The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18, 1–21.

- Bruner, J. 1996a. *The culture of education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. 1996b. *The narrative construal of reality*. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Burns, A. 1999. *Collaborative action research for English language teachers*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Byram, M. 2002. Politics and policies in assessing intercultural competence in language teaching. In V. Kohonen & P. Kaikkonen (Eds.), *Quo vadis foreign language education*. Tampere: University of Tampere, Publications of the Department of Teacher Education, 17–32.
- Byram, M. 2008. *From foreign language education to education for intercultural citizenship. Essays and reflections*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Campbell, E. 2008. Teaching and learning through lived experience. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 38 (1), 1–5.
- Candlin, C. 1997. General editor's preface. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, x–xiii.
- Candy, P.C. 1991. *Self-direction for lifelong learning. A comprehensive guide to theory and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Carr, W. & Kemmis, W. 1986. *Becoming critical: Education, knowledge and action research*. London: Falmer Press.
- Carter, I. 2003. Positive and negative liberty. In E.N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (Spring 2012 Edition). Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2012/entries/liberty-positive-negative>.
- Carter, K. 1993. The place of story in the study of teaching and teacher education. *Educational Researcher*, 22 (1), 5–12.
- Casey, K. 1996. The new narrative research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 21, 211–253.
- Chase, S.E. 2005. Narrative inquiry. Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research, 3rd edition*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 651–679.
- Chik, A. 2007. From learner identity to learner autonomy: A biographical study of two Hong Kong learners of English. In P. Benson (Ed.), *Learner autonomy 8: Teacher and learner perspectives*. Dublin: Authentik, 41–60.
- Chik, A. & Benson, P. 2008. Frequent flyer: A narrative of overseas study in English. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 155–168.
- Chik, A. & Breidbach, S. 2011. Identity, motivation and autonomy: A tale of two cities. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 145–159.
- Cho, J. & Trent, A. 2006. Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research*, 6 (3), 319–340.
- Choi, M. 2014. Metamorphosis of a language learner: The dynamic interplay between identity, motivation and autonomy – an autobiographical account. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1 (2), 121–128.

- Clandinin, D.J. & Connelly, F.M. 1994. Personal experience methods. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 413–427.
- Clandinin, D.J. & Connelly, F.M. 2000. *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Clandinin, D.J. & Rosiek, J. 2006. Mapping a landscape of narrative inquiry. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry. Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 35–75.
- Commission of the European Communities. 2007. *Improving the quality of teacher education*. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities 3.8.2007. Retrieved from <http://www.oapee.es/documentum/MECPRO/Web/weboapee/servicios/documentos/documentacion-convocatoria-2008/com392en.pdf?documentId=0901e72b8000447c>
- Cooker, L. 2015. Assessment as learner autonomy. In C. J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 89–113.
- Cotterall, S. 1995. Readiness for autonomy: investigating learner beliefs. *System*, 23 (2), 195–205.
- Cotterall, S. 2009. Learner autonomy in a mainstream writing course: Articulating learner gains. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 87–107.
- Cotterall, S. & Malcolm, D. 2015. Epilogue. In C. J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 167–175.
- Council of Europe. 2001. *Common European framework of reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawshaw, R., Callen, B. & Tusting, K. 2001. Attesting the self: Narration and identity change during periods of residence abroad. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 1 (2), 101–119.
- Dam, L. 2009. The use of logbooks – a tool for developing learner autonomy. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 125–144.
- Davies, B. & Harré, R. 1990. Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20 (1), 43–60.
- Davies, B. & Harré, R. 1999. Positioning and personhood. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*. Oxford: Blackwell, 32–52.
- Deci, E.L. 1996. *Why do we do what we do: Understanding self-motivation*. New York: Penguin.
- Dickinson, L. 1987. *Self-direction in language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- de Cillia, R. 2007. Europäische Sprachenpolitik und Innovation im postkommunikativen Sprachunterricht. [European language policy and innovation in postcommunicative language teaching]. In A. Koskensalo, J. Smeds, P. Kaikkonen & V. Kohonen (Eds.), *Foreign languages and multicultural perspectives in the European context*. Berlin: LIT, 47–62.
- de Fina, A. 2003. *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- de Fina, A., Schifffrin, D. & Bamberg, M. 2006. Introduction. In A. de Fina, D. Schifffrin & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–23.
- Denzin, N. 1989. *Interpretive biography*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage.
- Draucker, C. & Martsof, D. 2010. Life-course typology of adults who experienced sexual violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 25 (7), 1155–1182.
- Early, M. & Norton, B. 2013. Narrative inquiry in second language teacher education in rural Uganda. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 132–151.
- Edwards, S. & Gabbay, M. 2007. Living and working with sickness: a qualitative study. *Chronic Illness*, 2 (3), 155–166.
- Elbaz-Luwisch, F. 2005. *Teachers' voices: Storytelling and possibility*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Information Age Publishing.
- Elbaz-Luwisch, F. 2006. Studying teachers' lives and experience. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry. Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 357–382.
- Emirbayer, M. & Mische, A. 1998. "What is agency?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 103 (4), 962–1023.
- Esch, E. 2009. Crash or clash? Autonomy 10 years on. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 27–44.
- Everhard, C.J. 2015a. Investigating peer- and self-assessment of oral skills as stepping-stones to autonomy in EFL higher education. In C.J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 114–142.
- Everhard, C.J. 2015b. The assessment-autonomy relationship. In C.J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 8–34.
- Everhard, C.J. & Murphy, L. (Eds.) 2015. *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ezzy, D. 1998. Theorizing narrative identity: Symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. *Sociological Quarterly*, 39 (2), 239–252.
- Fejes, A. 2005. New wine in old skins: Changing patterns in the governing of the adult learner in Sweden. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24 (1), 71–86.
- Finnish National Board of Education. 2004. *Aikuisten perusopetuksen ja lukiokoulutuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2004* [National core curriculum for adult basic and upper secondary education]. Retrieved from

- http://www.oph.fi/download/47348_Aikuisten_perusopetuksen_ja_lukiokoulutuksen_opetussuunnitelman_perusteet_2004.pdf
- Finnish National Board of Education. n.d.a. General upper secondary education. Retrieved from http://www.oph.fi/english/curricula_and_qualifications/general_upper_secondary_education
- Firth, A. & Wagner, J. 1997. On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA Research. *Modern Language Journal*, 81 (3), 285–300.
- Firth, A. & Wagner, J. 2007. Second/Foreign language learning as a social accomplishment: Elaborations on a reconceptualized SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 800–819.
- Flowerdew, J. & Miller, L. 2013. Narrative inquiry in a second language context: stories from Hong Kong. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 41–61.
- Forrester, M. 1999. Conversation and instruction within apprenticeship: Affordances for learning. In P. Ainley & H. Rainbird (Eds.), *Apprenticeship: Towards a new paradigm of learning*. London: Kogan Page, 86–97.
- Foucault, M. 1988. Technologies of the self. In L.H. Martin, H. Gutman & P.H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 16–49.
- Gao, X. 2010. *Strategic language learning: The roles of agency and context*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Gao, X. & Lamb, T. 2011. Exploring links between identity, motivation and autonomy. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 1–8.
- Gao, X. & Zhang, L.J. 2011. Joining forces for synergy: Agency and metacognition as interrelated theoretical perspectives on learner autonomy. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 25–41.
- Gao, Y.H., Li, Y.X. & Li, W.N. 2002. EFL learning and self-identity construction: Three cases of Chinese college English majors. *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching*, 12, 95–119.
- Gee, J.P. 1996. *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. 2nd edition. London: Falmer.
- Gee, J.P. 2005. Semiotic social spaces and affinity spaces. From the *Age of Mythology* to today's schools. In D. Barton & K. Tusting (Eds.), *Beyond communities of practice: Language, power and social context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 214–232.
- Georgakopoulou, A. 2007. *Small stories, interaction and identities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. 2010. Narrative analysis. In R. Wodak, B. Johnstone & P.E. Kerswill (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 388–403.

- Gergen, K.J. & Gergen, M.M. 1988. Narrative and the self as relationship. *Archives in Experimental Social Psychology*, 21, 17–56.
- Gibson, J.J. 1986. *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gibson, E. & Pick, A. 2000. *An ecological approach to perceptual learning and development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A. 1984. *The constitution of society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gieve, S. & Miller, I.K. (Eds.) 2006a. *Understanding the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gieve, S. & Miller, I.K. 2006b. What do we mean by ‘quality of classroom life’? In S. Gieve & I.K. Miller (Eds.), *Understanding the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 18–46.
- Giroux, H.A. 1988. *Schooling and the struggle for public life: Critical pedagogy in the modern age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Gray, J. & Block, D. 2012. The marketisation of language teacher education and neoliberalism. Characteristics, consequences and future prospects. In D. Block, J. Gray & M. Holborow (Eds.), *Neoliberalism and applied linguistics*. London & New York: Routledge, 114–143.
- Gremmo, M-J. & Riley, P. 1995. Autonomy, self-direction and self access in language teaching and learning: the history of an idea. *System*, 23 (2), 151–164.
- Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. 2008. Narrative ethnography. In S.N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods*. New York, London: The Guilford Press, 241–264.
- Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. 2009. *Analyzing narrative reality*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage.
- Gudmundsdottir, S. 1997. Narrative perspectives on research on teaching and teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 13 (1), 1–3.
- Hall, S. 1999. *Identiteetti*. [Identity]. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Hanks, J. 2009. Inclusivity and collegiality in exploratory practice. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 33–55.
- Harjanne, P. & Tella, S. 2009. Investigating methodological reality in Finnish foreign language classrooms: Revisiting the KIELO project’s rationale and research. In R. Kantelinen & P. Pollari (Eds.), *Language education and lifelong learning*. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland, 135–154.
- Harré, R. & van Langenhove, L. 1999a. Reflexive positioning: Autobiography. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of international action*. Oxford: Blackwell, 60–73.
- Harré, R. & van Langenhove, L. 1999b. The dynamics of social episodes. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of international action*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1–13.

- Hayes, D. 2013. Narratives of experience: teaching English in Sri Lanka and Thailand. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 62–82.
- Heidegger, M. 1962. *Being and time*. Translated by J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heikkinen, H. 2002. Whatever is narrative research? In R. Huttunen, H. Heikkinen & L. Syrjälä (Eds.), *Narrative research. Voices of teachers and philosophers*. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 13–28.
- Heikkinen, H. & Huttunen, R. 2007. Toimintatutkimus tieteenä. [Action research as science]. In H. Heikkinen, E. Rovio & L. Syrjälä (Eds.), *Toiminnasta tietoon: Toimintatutkimuksen menetelmät ja lähestymistavat*. Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura, 184–202.
- Heikkinen, H., Huttunen, R. & Syrjälä, L. 2007a. Action research as narrative: Five principles for validation. *Educational Action Research*, 15 (1), 5–19.
- Heikkinen, H., Huttunen, R., Kakkori, L. & Tynjälä, P. 2007b. Totuuden ongelma. [The problem of truth]. In H. Heikkinen, E. Rovio & L. Syrjälä (Eds.), *Toiminnasta tietoon: Toimintatutkimuksen menetelmät ja lähestymistavat*. Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura, 163–183.
- Heikkinen, H., Huttunen, R., Syrjälä, L. & Pesonen, J. 2012. Action research and narrative inquiry: Five principles for validation revisited. *Educational Action Research*, 20 (1), 5–21.
- Heikkinen, H., Rovio, E. & Syrjälä, L. (Eds.) 2007. *Toiminnasta tietoon: Toimintatutkimuksen menetelmät ja lähestymistavat* [From action to knowledge: Methods and approaches to action research]. Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura.
- Herman, D. 2009. *Basic elements of narrative*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Herman, L. & Vervaeck, B. 2001. *Handbook of narrative analysis*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hildén, R. 2002. The ELP – Integrating theory and practice to foster socially responsible autonomy. In V. Kohonen & P. Kaikkonen (Eds.), *Quo vadis foreign language education*. Tampere: University of Tampere, Publications of the Department of Teacher Education, 107–128.
- Hildén, R. 2011. Muutosten tarpeet ja mahdollisuudet kielten opetuksessa. [The needs and possibilities of change in language teaching]. In R. Hildén & O-P. Salo (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna. Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki*. Helsinki: WSOYpro, 6–18.
- Hildén, R. & Kantelinen, R. 2012. Language education – Foreign languages. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle in education. The principles and practices of teaching and learning in Finnish schools*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 161–176.
- Hildén, R. & Salo, O-P. (Eds.) 2011. *Kielikasvatus tänään ja huomenna. Opetussuunnitelmat, opettajankoulutus ja kielenopettajan arki*. [Language education today and tomorrow. Curriculum, teacher training and the work of the language teacher]. Helsinki: WSOYpro.

- Hiles, D. & Čermák, I. 2008. Narrative psychology. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 147–164.
- Holec, H. 1981. *Autonomy in foreign language learning*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Holec, H. 2008. Foreword. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1–3.
- Holec, H. 2009. Autonomy in language learning: A single pedagogical paradigm or two? In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 21–47.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W., Skinner, D. & Cain, C. 1998. *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Holliday, A. 2003. Social autonomy: Addressing the dangers of culturism in TESOL. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 110–126.
- Huang, J. 2011. A dynamic account of autonomy, agency and identity in (T)EFL learning. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 229–246.
- Huang, J. 2013. *Autonomy, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Huang, J. & Benson, P. 2013. Autonomy, agency and identity in foreign and second language education. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 36 (1), 7–28.
- Huhtala, A. & Lehti-Eklund, H. 2012. Language students and emerging identities. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 6 (2), 5–17.
- Hunter, J., & Cooke, D. 2007. Through autonomy to agency: giving power to language learners. *Prospect*, 22 (2), 72–88.
- Huttunen, R. & Kakkori, L. 2002. The hermeneutics of truth and selfhood. Heidegger's Gadamer's and Ricœur's significance in the autobiographical research. In R. Huttunen, H. Heikkinen & L. Syrjälä (Eds.), *Narrative research. Voices of teachers and philosophers*. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 77–90.
- Hyvärinen, M. 2008a. Analyzing narratives and storytelling. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman & J. Brannen (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social research methods*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 447–460.
- Hyvärinen, M. 2008b. "Life as narrative" revisited. *Partial answers*, 6 (2), 261–277.
- Hyvärinen, M. 2008c. Narrative form and narrative content. In I. Järventie & M. Lähde (Eds.), *Methodological challenges in childhood and family research*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 43–63.
- Hyvärinen, M. 2009. *Narrative analysis (NA)*. Retrieved from www.hyvarinen.info.
- Hyvärinen, M., Hydén, L.C., Saarenheimo, M. & Tamboukou, M. 2010. *Beyond narrative coherence*. In M. Hyvärinen, L.C. Hydén, M. Saarenheimo & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Beyond narrative coherence*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1–15.

- Hänninen, V. 2002. *Sisäinen tarina, elämä ja muutos*. [Inner narrative, life and change]. 5th ed. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Jaatinen, R. 2007. *Learning languages, learning life-skills: autobiographical reflexive approach to teaching and learning a foreign language*. New York: Springer.
- Jaatinen, R. 2009. Ennakoimattomuus voimavarana: Autobiografisuus, elämäntulkinta ja pyrkimys autenttisuuteen vieraan kielen oppimisen ja opettamisen ydinkäsitteenä. [Unforeseeability as a resource: Autobiography, life course and the aim towards authenticity as the core concepts in foreign language learning and teaching]. In R. Jaatinen, V. Kohonen & P. Moilanen (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus, opettajuus ja kulttuurienvälinen toimijuus*. Helsinki: OKKA-säätiö, 73–94.
- Jaatinen, R. 2013. Narrative portfolio in foreign language teacher education. In E. Ropo & M. Huttunen (Eds.), *Puheenvuoroja narratiivisuudesta opetuksessa ja oppimisessa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 105–124.
- Jaatinen, R. 2014. Implementing research orientation and integrating curriculum in teacher education – A case example of foreign language teacher education in a Finnish university. *JACET Language Teacher Cognition Research Bulletin 2014*, 1–19.
- Jaatinen, R., Kohonen, V. & Moilanen, P. (Eds.) 2009. *Kielikasvatus, opettajuus ja kulttuurienvälinen toimijuus*. [Language education, teacher professionalism and intercultural agency]. Helsinki: OKKA-säätiö.
- Jiménez Raya, M. 2006. Autonomy support through learning journals. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Supporting independent language learning*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 123–140.
- Jiménez Raya, M. 2008. Learner autonomy as an educational goal in modern languages education. In M. Jiménez Raya & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education. Theory, practice, and teacher education*. Dublin: Authentik, 3–15.
- Jiménez Raya, M. & Lamb, T. 2008a. Pedagogy for autonomy in language education: manifestations in the school curriculum. In M. Jiménez Raya & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education. Theory, practice, and teacher education*. Dublin: Authentik, 58–76.
- Jiménez Raya, M. 2009. Teacher education for learner autonomy: An analysis of the EuroPAL contribution to a knowledge base. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 3 (3), 221–238.
- Jiménez Raya, M. & Lamb, T. (Eds.) 2008b. *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education. Theory, practice, and teacher education*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Jiménez Raya, M., Lamb, T. & Vieira, F. 2007. *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education in Europe. Towards a framework for learner and teacher development*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Johnson, K.A. 2002. Action for understanding. A study in teacher research with exploratory practice. In K.E. Johnson & P.R. Golombek (Eds.), *Teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 60–71.

- Johnson, K.E. & Golombek, P.R. 2002a. Inquiry into experience. In K.E. Johnson & P.R. Golombek (Eds.), *Teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–14.
- Johnson, K.E. & Golombek, P.R. (Eds.) 2002b. *Teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Josselson, R. 2006. The ethical attitude in narrative reseach. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry. Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 537–566.
- Jyrhämä, R. & Maaranen, K. 2012. Research orientation in a teacher's work. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle in education. The principles and practices of teaching and learning in Finnish schools*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 97–112.
- Kaasila, R. 2000. "Eläydyin oppilaiden asemaan". *Luokanopettajaksi opiskelevien kouluaikeisten muistikuvien merkitys matematiikkaa koskevien käsitysten ja opetuskäytäntöjen muotoutumisessa*. [”An insight into the role of pupils.” The significance of school recollections in the formation of the conceptions and teaching practices of mathematics for preservice teachers]. *Acta Universitatis Lapponiensis* 32. Rovaniemi: Lapin Yliopistopaino.
- Kaasila, R. 2008. Eri lähestymistapojen integroiminen narratiivisessa analyysissä. [Integrating different approaches in narrative analysis]. In R. Kaasila, R. Rajala & K.E. Nurmi (Eds.), *Narratiivikirja: Menetelmiä ja esimerkkejä*. Rovaniemi: Lapin yliopistokustannus, 41–66.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2000. Autenttisuus ja sen merkitys kulttuurienvälisessä vieraan kielen opetuksessa. [Authenticity and its meaning in intercultural foreign language education]. In P. Kaikkonen & V. Kohonen (Eds.), *Minne menet kielikasvatus? Näkökulmia kielipedagogiikkaan*. Jyväskylän yliopisto: Opettajankoulutuslaitos, 49–61.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2001. Intercultural learning through foreign language education. In V. Kohonen, R. Jaatinen, P. Kaikkonen & J. Lehtovaara (Eds.), *Experiential learning in foreign language education*. London: Pearson Education, 61–105.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2002. Authentizität und authentische Erfahrung in einem interkulturellen Fremd-sprachenunterricht. [Authenticity and authentic experience in intercultural foreign language education]. *Info DaF*, 29 (1), 3–12.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2005. Kielikasvatus koulun vieraan kielen opetuksen kehyksenä. [Language education as framework for foreign language teaching at school]. In V. Kohonen (Ed.), *Eurooppalainen kielisalkku Suomessa. Tutkimus- ja kehittämistyön taustaa ja tuloksia*. Helsinki: WSOY, 45–58.
- Kaikkonen, P. 2012. Language, culture and identity as key concepts of intercultural learning. In M. Bendtsen, M. Björklund, L. Forsman & K. Sjöholm (Eds.), *Global trends meet local needs*. Vaasa: Faculty of Education, Åbo Akademi Universitet, 17–33.
- Kaikkonen, P. & Kohonen, V. (Eds.) 1998. *Kokemuksellisen kielenopetuksen jäljillä*. [In search of experiential language teaching]. Tampere: Reports from the Department of Teacher Education in Tampere University.

- Kalaja, P., Alanen, R., Palviainen, Å. & Dufva, H. 2011. From milk cartons to English roommates: Context and agency in L2 learning beyond the classroom. In P. Benson & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Beyond the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 47–58.
- Kalaja, P., Dufva, H. & Alanen, R. 2013. Experimenting with visual narratives. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Narrative research in applied linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 105–131.
- Kalaja, P., Menezes, V. & Barcelos, A.M.F. (Eds.) 2008a. *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kalaja, P., Menezes, V. & Barcelos, A.M.F. 2008b. Narrativising learning and teaching EFL: The beginnings. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes & A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 3–14.
- Karlsson, L. 2008a. Turning the kaleidoscope – (E)FL educational experience and inquiry as auto/biography. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Language Centre.
- Karlsson, L. 2008b. Turning the kaleidoscope – EFL research as auto/biography. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 83–97.
- Karlsson, L. & Kjisik, F. 2009. Whose story is it anyway? Auto/biography in language learning encounters. In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 168–189.
- Karlsson, L. & Kjisik, F. 2011. Lifewide and lifedeeep learning and the autonomous learner. In K. K. Pitkänen, J. Jokinen, S. Karjalainen, L. Karlsson, T. Lehtonen, M. Matilainen, C. Niedling & R. Siddall (Eds.), *Out-of-classroom language learning*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Language Centre, 85–106.
- Kaunismaa, P. & Laitinen, A. 1998. Paul Ricœur ja narratiivinen identiteetti. [Paul Ricœur and narrative identity]. In P. Kuhmonen & S. Sillman (Eds.), *Jaettu jana, ääretön raja*. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 168–195.
- Kemmis, S. & McTaggart, R. 2005. Participatory action research. In N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 3rd edition. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 559–603.
- Kjisik, F., Voller, P., Aoki, N. & Nakata, Y. (Eds.). 2009. *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Knowles, M. 1975. *Self-directed learning: A guide for learners and teachers*. New York: The Adult Education Company.
- Kohonen, V. 1992. Experiential language learning: Second language learning as cooperative learner education. In D. Nunan (Ed.), *Collaborative language learning and teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 14–39.
- Kohonen, V. 2001. Towards experiential foreign language education. In V. Kohonen, R. Jaatinen, P. Kaikkonen & J. Lehtovaara (Eds.), *Experiential learning in foreign language education*. London: Pearson Education, 8–60.

- Kohonen, V. 2002. The European Language Portfolio: From portfolio assessment to portfolio-oriented language learning. In V. Kohonen & P. Kaikkonen (Eds.), *Quo vadis foreign language education*. Tampere: University of Tampere, Publications of the Department of Teacher Education, 77–96.
- Kohonen, V. (Ed.) 2005. *Eurooppalainen kielisalkku Suomessa. Tutkimus- ja kehittämistyön taustaa ja tuloksia*. [The European Language Portfolio in Finland. Background and results of research and development work] Helsinki: WSOY.
- Kohonen, V. 2006. On the notions of language learner, student and user in FL education: Building the road as we travel. In P. Pietilä, P. Lintunen & H.M. Järvinen (Eds.), *Kielenoppija tänään – Language learners of today*. Jyväskylä: Centre for Applied Language Studies/AFinLA, 37–66.
- Kohonen, V. 2009a. Autonomy, authenticity and agency in language education: The European language portfolio as a pedagogical resource. In R. Kantelinen & P. Pollari (Eds.), *Language education and lifelong learning*. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland, 9–44.
- Kohonen, V. 2009b. Reflection, interaction and authenticity: Towards transformative professionalism in foreign language teacher education. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 133–158.
- Kohonen, V. 2010. Autonomy, agency and community in FL education: Developing site-based understanding through a university and school partnership. In B. O'Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 3–28.
- Kohonen, V. 2012. Developing autonomy through ELP-oriented pedagogy: Exploring the interplay of shallow and deep structures in a major change within language education. In B. Kühn & M.C. Pérez Cavana (Eds.), *Perspectives from the European Language Portfolio: Learner autonomy and self-assessment*. London: Routledge, 22–42.
- Kohonen, V., Jaatinen, R., Kaikkonen, P. & Lehtovaara, J. (Eds.) 2001. *Experiential learning in foreign language education*. London: Pearson Education.
- Kohonen, V. & Kaikkonen, P. (Eds.) 2002. *Quo vadis foreign language education*. Tampere: University of Tampere, Publications of the Department of Teacher Education.
- Kohonen, V. & Korhonen, T. 2007. Student perspectives to the ELP: Voices from the classrooms. In A. Koskensalo, J. Smeds, P. Kaikkonen & V. Kohonen (Eds.), *Foreign languages and multi-cultural perspectives in the European context*. Berlin: LIT, 239–267.
- Korhonen, T. 2005a. Muutoksen kohtaaminen kielenopetuksessa – EKS-mentorprojektin opettajien näkökulmia. [Encountering change in languages teaching – Teacher perspectives on the ELP Mentor Project]. In V. Kohonen (Ed.), *Eurooppalainen kielisalkku Suomessa. Tutkimus- ja kehittämistyön taustaa ja tuloksia*. Helsinki: WSOY, 283–294.

- Korhonen, T. 2005b. ”...pulumista huolimatta plussalla” – Opettajuuden muutos kehittämisprojektin aikana. [”...on the positive side, despite problems” – Change in teacher professionalism during the development project]. In R. Jaatinen & J. Lehtovaara (Eds.), *Arviointi autenttisemmaksi – kielenopettajien kertomuksia opetuksen ja arvioinnin kehittämisestä*. Tampere: Pirkanmaan ammattikorkeakoulun julkaisusarja A. Tutkimukset ja selvitykset 8, 7–24.
- Korhonen, T. 2014. Language narratives from adult upper secondary education: Interrelating agency, autonomy and identity in foreign language learning. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 8 (1), 65–87.
- Koskensalo, A., Smeds, J., Kaikkonen, P. & Kohonen, V. (Eds.) 2007. *Foreign languages and multicultural perspectives in the European context*. Berlin: LIT.
- Kramsch, C. 2009. *The multilingual subject. What foreign language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kumaravadivelu, B. 2003. *Beyond methods: Macro-strategies for language teaching*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Kuula, A. & Tiitinen, S. 2010. Eettiset kysymykset ja haastattelujen jatkokäyttö. [Ethical questions and the further use of interviews]. In J. Ruusuvoori, P. Nikander & M. Hyvärinen (Eds.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 446–461.
- Kühn, B. & Péres Cavana, M.L. (Eds.) 2012. *Perspectives from the European language portfolio: Learner autonomy and self-assessment*. London: Routledge.
- Labov, W. & Waletzky, J. [1967] 1997. Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7, 3–38.
- La Ganza, W. 2008. Learner autonomy – teacher autonomy. Interrelating and the will to empower. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 63–79.
- Laitinen, A. 2002. Charles Taylor and Paul Ricoeur on self-interpretations and narrative identity. In R. Huttunen, H.L.T. Heikkinen & L. Syrjälä (Eds.), *Narrative research. Voices of teachers and philosophers*. Jyväskylä: SoPhi, 57–71.
- Laitinen, A. 2007. Syntykö itseys tulkinnoissa vai edeltääkö se niitä? [Is selfhood created in interpretations or does it precede them?] In J. Kotkavirta (Ed.), *Persoonia vai ihmisiä*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 136–185.
- Lamb, M. 2011. Future selves, motivation and autonomy in long-term EFL learning trajectories. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 177–194.
- Lamb, M. 2013. The struggle to belong: Individual language learners in situated learning theory. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 32–45.
- Lamb, T. 2000. Finding a voice – learner autonomy and teacher education in an urban context. In B. Sinclair, I. McGrath & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Learner autonomy, teacher autonomy: future directions*. London: Longman, 118–127.

- Lamb, T. 2008a. Learner autonomy and teacher autonomy. Synthesising an agenda. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 269–284.
- Lamb, T. 2008b. Learner autonomy in eight European countries: Opportunities and tensions in education reform and language teaching policy. In M. Jiménez Raya & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education. Theory, practice, and teacher education*. Dublin: Authentik, 36–57.
- Lamb, T. 2010. Assessment of autonomy or assessment for autonomy? Evaluating learner autonomy for formative purposes. In A. Paran & L. Sercu (Eds.), *Testing the untestable in language education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 98–119.
- Lamb, T. 2011. Fragile identities: Exploring learner identity, learner autonomy and motivation through young learners' voices. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 14 (2), 68–85.
- Lamb, T. & Reinders, H. (Eds.) 2008. *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lantolf, J. 2013. Sociocultural theory and the dialectics of L2 learner autonomy/agency. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 17–31.
- Lantolf, J.P. & Pavlenko, A. 2001. (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: understanding second language learners as people. In M.P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 141–158.
- Lantolf, J.P. & Thorne, S.L. 2006. *Sociocultural theory and the genesis of second language development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lapinoja, K-P. & Heikkinen, H.L.T. 2006. Autonomia ja opettajan ammatillisuus. [Autonomy and teacher professionalism]. In A. Etäpelto & J. Onnismaa (Eds.), *Ammatillisuus ja ammatillinen kasvu*. Vantaa: Kansanvalistusseura ja Aikuiskasvatuksen Tutkimusseura, 144–161.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. 1991. *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Layder, D. 2004. *Social and personal identity: Understanding your self*. London: Sage.
- Lehtovaara, J. 1994. Dialogisuus, reflektointi ja ihmisen maailmassa oleminen. [Dialogue, reflection and being in the world]. In J. Lehtovaara & R. Jaatinen (Eds.), *Dialogissa, osa 1 – matkalla mahdollisuuteen*. Tampere: Tampereen yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitoksen julkaisuja A21, 213–234.
- Leppänen, S. & Kalaja, P. 2002. Autobiographies as constructions of EFL learner identities and experiences. In E. Kärkkäinen, J. Haines & T. Lauttamus (Eds.), *Studia linguistica et litteraria septentrionalia. Studies presented to Heikki Nyyssönen*. Oulu: Oulu University Press, 189–203.
- Leppänen, S., Nikula, T. & Kääntä, L. (Eds.) 2008. *Kolmas kotimainen: Lähikuvia englanninkäytöstä Suomessa*. [The third official language: Close-ups of English use in Finland]. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Levine, C. 2005. What happened to agency? Some observations concerning the postmodern perspective on identity. *Identity: An international journal of theory and research*, 5 (2), 175–185.

- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R. & Zilber, T. 1998. *Narrative research. Reading, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lin, A., Wang, W., Akamatsu, N & Riazi, A.M. 2002. Appropriating English, expanding identities, and revisioning the field: From TESOL to teaching English for globalized communication (TEGCOM). *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 1, 295–316.
- Little, D. 1991. *Learner autonomy: Definitions, issues and problems*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Little, D. 1995. Learning as dialogue: The dependence of learner autonomy on teacher autonomy. *System*, 23 (2), 175–182.
- Little, D. 1996. Freedom to learn and compulsion to interact: Promoting learner autonomy through the use of information systems and information technologies. In R. Pemberton, E.S.L. Li, W.W.F. Or, H.D. Pierson (Eds.), *Taking control: Autonomy in language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 203–218.
- Little, D. 1999. Strategies, counselling and cultural difference: Why we need an anthropological understanding of learner autonomy. In R. Ribé (Ed.), *Developing learner autonomy in foreign language learning*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 17–33.
- Little, D. 2001. We're all in it together: exploring the interdependence of teacher and learner autonomy. In L. Karlsson, F. Kjisik & J. Nordlund (Eds.), *All together now*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Language Centre, 45–56.
- Little, D. 2004. Constructing a theory of learner autonomy: some steps along the way. In K. Mäkinen, P. Kaikkonen & V. Kohonen (Eds.), *Future perspectives in foreign language education*. Oulu: University of Oulu, 15–25.
- Little, D. 2007. Language learner autonomy: Some fundamental considerations revisited. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 1 (1), 14–29.
- Little, D. 2009. Learner autonomy, the European Language Portfolio and teacher development. In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 147–173.
- Little, D. 2012. The European Language Portfolio: History, key concerns, future prospects. In B. Kühn & M.C. Pérez Cavana (Eds.), *Perspectives from the European Language Portfolio: Learner autonomy and self-assessment*. London: Routledge, 7–21.
- Little, D., Ridley, J. & Ushioda, E. (Eds.) 2003. *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom. Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Littlewood, W. 1996. Autonomy: An anatomy and a framework. *System*, 24 (4), 427–435.
- Littlewood, W. 1997. Self-access: Why do we want it and what can it do? In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 79–91.
- Littlewood, W. 1999. Defining and developing autonomy in East Asian contexts. *Applied Linguistics*, 20 (1), 71–94.

- Littlewood, W. 2002. Cooperative and collaborative learning tasks as pathways towards autonomous interdependence. In P. Benson & S. Toogood (Eds.), *Learner autonomy 7: Challenges to research and practice*. Dublin: Authentik, 29–40.
- Luzón, M.J., Ruiz, M.N. & Villanueva, M.L. (Eds.) 2010. *Digital genres, new literacies and autonomy in language learning*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Macaro, E. 2008. The shifting dimensions of language learner autonomy. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 47–62.
- Mackenzie, C. & Stoljar, N. 2000. *Relational autonomy: Feminist perspectives on autonomy, agency and the social self*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marchenkova, L. 2004. Language, culture, and self: The Bakhtin–Vygotsky encounter. In J.K. Hall, G. Vitanova & L. Marchenkova (Eds.), *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and foreign language learning*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 171–188.
- Marshall, J.D. 1996. *Michel Foucault: Personal autonomy and education*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- McAdams, D.P. 1997. *The stories we live by. Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- McAdams, D.P., Josselson, R. & Lieblich, A. 2006. Introduction. In D.P. McAdams, R. Josselson & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *Identity and story. Creating self in narrative*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 3–11.
- Menard-Warwick, J. 2005. Both a fiction and an existential fact: Theorizing identity in second language acquisition and literacy studies. *Linguistics and Education*, 16, 253–274.
- Menezes, V. 2011a. Affordances for language learning beyond the classroom. In P. Benson & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Beyond the language classroom*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 59–71.
- Menezes, V. 2011b. Identity, motivation and autonomy in second language acquisition from the perspective of complex adaptive systems. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 57–72.
- Menezes, V. 2013. Chaos and the complexity of second language acquisition. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 59–74.
- Mercer, K. 1990. Welcome to the jungle: Identity and diversity in postmodern politics. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Culture, community, difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 43–71.
- Mercer, S. 2011. Understanding learner agency as a complex dynamic system. *System*, 39, 427–436.
- Mercer, S. 2012. The complexity of learner agency. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies*, 6 (2), 41–59.
- Meretoja, H. 2009. Inhimillisen todellisuuden narratiivisuus ontologisena ja epistemologisena kysymyksenä. [The narrativity of human reality as an

- ontological and epistemological question]. In S. Hägg, M. Lehtimäki & L. Steinby (Eds.), *Näkökulmia kertomuksen tutkimukseen*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 207–237.
- Mideros, D. & Carter, B.A. 2014. Meeting the autonomy challenge in an advanced Spanish listening class. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 135–151.
- Miller, I.K. 2009. ‘Puzzle-driven’ language teacher development: The contribution of exploratory practice. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 77–93.
- Miller, J. 1999. Becoming audible: social identity and second language use. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 20 (2), 149–165.
- Miller, J. 2003. *Audible difference. ESL and social identity in schools*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mink, L.O. 1987. *Historical understanding*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mishler, E.G. 1995. Models of narrative analysis: A typology. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 5, 87–123.
- Mishler, E.G. 2006. Narrative and identity: The double arrow of time. In A. de Fina, D. Schiffrin & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 30–47.
- Moghaddam, F.M. 1999. Reflexive positioning: Culture and private discourse. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of international action*. Oxford: Blackwell, 74–86.
- Moita-Lopes, L.P. 2006. On being white, heterosexual and male in a Brazilian school: Multiple positionings in oral narratives. In A. de Fina, D. Schiffrin & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 288–313.
- Moreira, M.A. & Ribeiro, D. 2009. Then the I becomes us... on collaborative supervision journals and the development of professional autonomy. In F. Vieira (Ed.), *Struggling for autonomy in language education*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 63–80.
- Morgan, J. 1996. A defence of autonomy as an educational ideal. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 30 (2), 239–252.
- Morgan, B. & Clarke, M. 2011. Identity in second language teaching and learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning*. New York: Routledge, 817–836.
- Murase, F. 2015. Measuring language learner autonomy: Problems and possibilities. In C. J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 35–63.
- Murphey, T. 2001. Tools of recursion, intermental zones of proximal development, and critical collaborative autonomy. *JALT Journal*, 23 (1), 121–141.
- Murphy, L. 2015. Autonomy in assessment: Bridging the gap between rhetoric and reality in distance language learning context. In C.J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 143–166.

- Murray, G. 2008. Communities of practice: Stories of Japanese EFL learners. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 128–140.
- Murray, G. 2009. Self-access language learning: Structure, control, and responsibility. In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 118–142.
- Murray, G. 2011a. Identity, motivation and autonomy: Stretching our boundaries. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 247–262.
- Murray, G. 2011b. Imagination, metacognition and the L2 self in a self-access learning environment. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 75–90.
- Murray, G. 2014a. Autonomy in language learning as a social construct. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 233–249.
- Murray, G. (Ed.) 2014b. *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Murray, G., Gao, X. & Lamb, T. (Eds.). 2011. *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Murray, G. & Kojima, M. 2007. Out-of-class language learning: One learner's story. In P. Benson (Ed.), *Learner autonomy 8: Teacher and learner perspectives*. Dublin: Authentik, 25–40.
- Mäkinen, K., Kaikkonen, P. & Kohonen, V. (Eds.) 2004. *Future perspectives in foreign language education*. Oulu: Faculty of Education, University of Oulu.
- Nakata, Y. 2009. Towards learner autonomy and teacher autonomy in the Japanese school context. In F. Kjisik, P. Voller, N. Aoki & Y. Nakata (Eds.), *Mapping the terrain of learner autonomy. Learning environments, learning communities and identities*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 190–213.
- Neisser, U. 1987. From direct perception to conceptual structure. In U. Neisser (Ed.), *Concepts and conceptual development: Ecological and intellectual factors in categorization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11–24.
- Niemi, H. 2012. The societal factors contributing to education and schooling in Finland. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle in education. The principles and practices of teaching and learning in Finnish schools*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 19–38.
- Niemi, R. 2009. *Onks tavallinen koe vai sellanen, missä pitää miettii? Ympäristölähtöisen terveystieteiden pedagogiikan kehittäminen narratiivisena toimintatutkimuksena*. [Is this a normal test or do we have to think? Developing environmentally oriented health education pedagogy as narrative action research]. Studies in Sport, Physical Education and Health 140. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University.

- Niemi, R., Heikkinen, H.L.T. & Kannas, L. 2010. Polyphony in the classroom: Reporting narrative action research reflexively. *Educational Action Research*, 18 (2), 137–149.
- Nikander, P. 2010. Laadullisten aineistojen litterointi, kääntäminen ja validiteetti. [Transcribing, translating and validating qualitative data]. In J. Ruusuvuori, P. Nikander & M. Hyvärinen (Eds.), *Haastattelun analyysi*. Tampere: Vastapaino, 432–445.
- Nikula, T. & Pitkänen-Huhta, A. 2008. Using photographs to access stories of learning English. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 171–185.
- Norton Peirce, B. 1995. Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29 (1), 9–31.
- Norton, B. 1997. Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31 (3), 409–429.
- Norton, B. 2001. Non-participation, the imagined communities and the language classroom. In M.P. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*. Harlow: Longman, 159–171.
- Norton, B. 2013. *Identity and language learning. Extending the conversation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Nunan, D. 1989. *Understanding language classrooms*. Hemel Hempstead, UK: Prentice Hall International.
- Nunan, D. & Choi, J. 2010. *Language and culture: Reflective narratives and the emergence of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Ochs, E. & Capps, L. 2001. *Living narrative. Creating lives in everyday storytelling*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- O’Leary, C. 2014. Developing autonomous language learners in HE: A social constructivist perspective. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 15–36.
- Olsen, M. 2005. Foucault, educational research and the issue of autonomy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 30 (2), 239–252.
- O’Rourke, B. & Carson, L. (Eds.) 2010. *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Oxford, R. 1990. *Language learning strategies: What every teacher should know*. Rowley: Newbury House.
- Oxford, R. 2003. Toward a more systematic model of L2 learner autonomy. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 75–91.
- Palfreyman, D. 2003. Introduction: Culture and learner autonomy. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1–19.
- Palfreyman, D. 2014. The ecology of learner autonomy. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 175–191.

- Palfreyman, D. & Smith, R.C. (Eds.) 2003. *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Patterson, W. 2008. Narratives of events: Labovian narrative analysis and its limitations. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 22–40.
- Patton, M.Q. 2002. Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry: A personal experiential perspective. *Qualitative Social Work*, 1 (3), 261–283.
- Pavlenko, A. 1998. Second language learning by adults: Testimonies of bilingual writers. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 9 (1), 3–19.
- Pavlenko, A. 2001a. “In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined”: Negotiation of identities in cross-cultural autobiographies. *The International Journal of Bilingualism*, 5 (3), 317–344.
- Pavlenko, A. 2001b. Language learning memoirs as a gendered genre. *Applied Linguistics*, 22 (2), 213–240.
- Pavlenko, A. 2005. *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavlenko, A. 2007. Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 28 (2), 163–188.
- Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. 2000. Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 155–177.
- Pemberton, R., Toogood, S. & Barfield, A. (Eds.) 2009. *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Pennycook, A. 1997. Cultural alternatives and autonomy. In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 35–53.
- Perttula, J. 1998. *The experienced life-fabrics of young men*. Academic dissertation. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.
- Phoenix, A. 2008. Analysing narrative contexts. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 64–77.
- Pinnegar, S. & Daynes, J.G. 2006. Locating narrative inquiry historically. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry. Mapping a methodology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 3–34.
- Pitkänen, K.K., Jokinen, J., Karjalainen, S., Karlsson, L., Lehtonen, T., Matilainen, M., Niedling, C. & Siddall, R. (Eds.) 2011. *Out-of-classroom language learning*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Language Centre.
- Polkinghorne, D. 1988. *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Polkinghorne, D. 1995. Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In A.J. Hatch (Ed.), *Life history and narrative*. London: RoutledgeFalmer, 5–23.
- Polkinghorne, D. 1996. Explorations of narrative identity. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7 (4), 363–367.

- Polkinghorne, D. 2007. Validity issues in narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13 (4), 471–486.
- Popkewitz, T.S., Olsson, U., & Peterson, K. 2006. The learning society, the unfinished cosmopolitan, and governing education, public health and crime prevention at the beginning of the twenty-first century. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 38 (4), 431–449.
- Rebenius, I. 2007. *Talet om learner autonomy: språkinläring, autonomi och ett demokratiskt medborgarskap – ett gränsland till moralfilosofi*. [Talking about learner autonomy: language learning, autonomy and democratic citizenship]. Örebro Studies in Education 18. Örebro: Örebro universitet.
- Ribé, R. (Ed.) 1999. *Developing learner autonomy in foreign language learning*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Ricento, T. 2005. Considerations of identity in L2 learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 895–910.
- Ricœur, P. 1984. *Time and narrative I*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricœur, P. 1985. *Time and narrative II*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricœur, P. 1988. *Time and narrative III*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ricœur, P. 1991a. Life in quest of narrative. In D. Woods (Ed.), *On Paul Ricœur: Narrative and interpretation*. London: Routledge, 20–33.
- Ricœur, P. 1991b. Narrative identity. *Philosophy Today*, 35 (1), 73–81.
- Ricœur, P. 1992. *Oneself as another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Riessman, C. K. 2008. *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage.
- Riley, P. 2003. Self-access as access to 'self': Cultural variation in the notions of self and personhood. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 92–109.
- Riley, P. 2010. Reflections on identity, modernity and the European Language Portfolio. In B. O'Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 373–385.
- Ropo, E. & Gustafsson, A.-M. 2006. Elämäkerrallinen näkökulma ammatilliseen ja persoonalliseen identiteettiin. [Biographical approach to professional and personal identity]. In A. Eteläpelto & J. Onnismaa (Eds.), *Ammatillisuus ja ammatillinen kasvu*. Helsinki: Kansanvalistusseura ja Aikuiskasvatuksen tutkimusseura, 50–76.
- Ropo, E. 2009a. Näkökulmia narratiiviseen opetussuunnitelma-ajatteluun opettajankoulutuksessa. [Views on narrative curriculum in teacher education]. In R. Jaatinen, V. Kohonen & P. Moilanen (Eds.), *Kielikasvatus, opettajuus ja kulttuurienväläinen toimijuus*. Helsinki: OKKA-säätiö, 141–157.
- Ropo, E. 2009b. Oppimisympäristöt opetuksen ja opiskelun kontekstina. [Learning environments as the context of teaching and learning]. In P. Venäläinen (Ed.), *Kulttuuriperintö ja oppiminen*. Helsinki: Tammi & Suomen museoliitto, 40–49.

- Ropo, E. & Huttunen, M. (Eds.) 2013. *Puheenvuoroja narratiivisuudesta opetuksessa ja oppimisessa*. [On narrativity in teaching and learning]. Tampere: Tampere University Press.
- Ryan, R.M. 1991. The nature of the self in autonomy and relatedness. In J. Strauss & G. R. Goethals (Eds.), *The self: Interdisciplinary approaches*. New York: Springer, 208–238.
- Ryan, S. & Mercer, S. 2011. Natural talent, natural acquisition and abroad: Learner attributions of agency in language learning. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 160–176.
- Sade, L.A. 2014. Autonomy, complexity, and networks of learning. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 155–174.
- Sakui, K. & Cowie, N. 2008. ‘To speak English is tedious’: Student resistance in Japanese university classrooms. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (Eds.), *Narratives of learning and teaching EFL*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 98–110.
- Schmenk, B. 2005. Globalizing learner autonomy. *TESOL Quarterly*, 39 (1), 107–118.
- Schwandt, T.J. 2000. Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretation, hermeneutics, and social construction. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2nd edition. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 189–213.
- Schärer, R. 2010. The European Language Portfolio: Goals, boundaries and timelines. In B. O’Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 327–336.
- Schärer, R. 2012. Between vision and reality: Reflection on twenty years of a common European project. In B. Kühn & M.C. Pérez Cavana (Eds.), *Perspectives from the European Language Portfolio: Learner autonomy and self-assessment*. London: Routledge, 45–58.
- Sclater, Day, S. 2003. What is the subject? *Narrative Inquiry*, 13 (2), 317–330.
- Sealey, A. & Carter, B. 2004. *Applied linguistics as social science*. London: Continuum.
- Sfard, A. 1998. On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one. *Educational Researcher*, 27 (3), 4–13.
- Sheils, J. 2010. Council of Europe policy for plurilingual education. In B. O’Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 315–326.
- Shotter, J. & Newson, J. 1982. An ecological approach to cognitive development: Implicate orders, joint action and intentionality. In G. Butterworth & P. Light (Eds.), *Social cognition: Studies in the development of understanding*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 32–52.
- Siivonen, P. 2010. *From a “student” to a lifelong “consumer” of education? Constructions of educability in adult students’ narrative life histories*. Jyväskylä: Finnish Educational Research Association.

- Siivonen, P. & Brunila, K. 2014. The making of entrepreneurial subjectivity in adult education. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 36 (2), 160–172.
- Sinclair, B., McGrath, I. & Lamb, T. (Eds.) 2000. *Learner autonomy, teacher autonomy: future directions*. London: Longman.
- Sivenius, A. & Ikonen, R. 2011. Aikuislukion eetosta etsimässä. [In search of the ethos of the adult upper secondary school]. *Kasvatus & Aika*, 5 (1), 38–55.
- Slimani-Rolls, A. 2009. Complexity and idiosyncrasy on classroom life. In T. Yoshida, H. Imai, Y. Nakata, A. Tajino, O. Takeuchi & K. Tamai (Eds.), *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 57–75.
- Smart, B. 1999. *Facing modernity*. London: Sage.
- Smith, R.C. 2003. Postscript: Implications for language education. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures. Language education perspectives*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 254–260.
- Smith, R. & Ushioda, E. 2009. Autonomy: Under whose control? In R. Pemberton, S. Toogood & A. Barfield (Eds.), *Maintaining control. Autonomy and language learning*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 241–253.
- Smith, B. & Sparkes, A.C. 2008. Contrasting perspectives on narrating selves and identities: an invitation to dialogue. *Qualitative research*, 8 (1), 5–35.
- Straub, J., Zielke, B. & Werbik, H. 2005. Autonomy, narrative identity, and their critics. In W. Greve, K. Rothermund & D. Ventura (Eds.), *The adaptive self: Personal continuity and intentional self-development*. Cambridge, MA: Hogrefe & Huber, 323–350.
- Strawson, G. 2004. Against narrativity. *Ratio*, 17 (4), 428–452.
- Squire, C. 2008. Experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 41–63.
- Squire, C., Andrews, M. & Tamboukou, M. 2008. What is narrative research? In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 1–23.
- Swain, M. & Deters, P. 2007. “New” mainstream SLA theory: Expanded and enriched. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 820–836.
- Swain, M., Kinnear, P. & Steinman, L. 2011. *Sociocultural theory in second language education. An introduction through narratives*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Tammi, P. 2006. Against narrative: A boring story. *Partial Answers*, 4 (2), 19–40.
- Tassinari, M.G. 2015. Assessing learner autonomy: A dynamic model. In C. J. Everhard & L. Murphy (Eds.), *Assessment and autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 64–88.
- Taylor, C. 1989. *Sources of the self. The making of the modern identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, C. 1991. *The ethics of authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thomsen, H. 2010. This is my portfolio: Telling the story of my learning. In B. O’Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 337–350.

- Toohey, K. 2007. Autonomy/Agency through socio-cultural lenses. In A. Barfield & S. Brown (Eds.), *Reconstructing autonomy in language education: Inquiry and innovation*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 231–242.
- Toohey, K. & Norton, B. 2003. Learner autonomy as agency in sociocultural settings. In D. Palfreyman & R.C. Smith (Eds.), *Learner autonomy across cultures*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 58–72.
- Toom, A. & Husu, J. 2012. Finnish teachers as ‘makers of the many’: Balancing between broad pedagogical freedom and responsibility. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle in education. The principles and practices of teaching and learning in Finnish schools*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 39–54.
- Tracy, S.J. 2010. Qualitative quality: Eight “big-tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16 (10), 837–851.
- Trebbi, T. 2008. Freedom – a prerequisite for learner autonomy? Classroom innovation and language teacher education. In T. Lamb & H. Reinders (Eds.), *Learner and teacher autonomy. Concepts, realities, and responses*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 33–46.
- Tuschling, A., & Engemann, C. 2006. From education to lifelong learning: The emerging regime of learning in the European Union. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 38 (4), 451–469.
- Ushioda, E. 2003. Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom. Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment*. Dublin: Authentik, 90–102.
- Ushioda, E. 2006. Language motivation in a reconfigured Europe: Access, identity, autonomy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27 (2), 148–161.
- Ushioda, E. 2011. Motivating learners to speak as themselves. In G. Murray, X. Gao & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Identity, motivation and autonomy in language learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 11–24.
- van Langenhove, L. & Harré, R. 1999. Introducing positioning theory. In R. Harré & L. van Langenhove (Eds.), *Positioning theory: Moral contexts of intentional action*. Oxford: Blackwell, 14–31.
- van Lier, L. 2004. *The ecology and semiotics of language learning. A sociocultural perspective*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- van Lier, L. 2007. Action-based teaching, autonomy and identity. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, 1 (1), 46–65.
- van Lier, L. 2008. Agency in the classroom. In J.P. Lantolf & M.E. Poehner (Eds.), *Sociocultural theory and the teaching of second languages*. London: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 163–186.
- van Lier, L. 2010. Foreword: Agency, self and identity in language learning. In B. O’Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy. Policy, curriculum, classroom*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, ix–xviii.
- Varela, F.J., Thompson, E. & Rosch, E. 1991. *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

- Verhesschen, P. 2003. 'The poem's invitation': Ricœur's concept of mimesis and its consequences for narrative educational research. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 37 (3), 449–465.
- Vieira, F. 2007. Teacher autonomy: Why should we care? *Independence*, 41, 20–28.
- Vieira, F. 2009a. Pedagogy for autonomy and teacher education – putting teachers centre-stage. In F. Vieira (Ed.), *Struggling for autonomy in language education*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 15–37.
- Vieira, F. (Ed.) 2009b. *Struggling for autonomy in language education*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Villanueva, M.L., Ruiz-Madrid, M.N. & M.J. Luzón 2010. Learner autonomy in digital environments: Conceptual framework. In M.J. Luzón, M.N. Ruiz & M.L. Villanueva (Eds.) *Digital genres, new literacies and autonomy in language learning*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1–22.
- Vitanova, G. 2004. Authoring the self in a non-native language: A dialogic approach to agency and subjectivity. In J.K. Hall, G. Vitanova & L. Marchenkova (Eds.), *Dialogue with Bakhtin on second and foreign language learning*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 149–170.
- Vitikka, E., Krokfors, L. & Hurmerinta, E. 2012. The Finnish national core curriculum. Structure and development. In H. Niemi, A. Toom & A. Kallioniemi (Eds.), *Miracle in education. The principles and practices of teaching and learning in Finnish schools*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 83–96.
- Voller, P. 1997. Does the teacher have a role in autonomous language learning? In P. Benson & P. Voller (Eds.), *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London: Longman, 98–113.
- Vygotsky, L.S. 1978. *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wall, S. 2003. Freedom as a political ideal. In E.F. Paul, F.D. Miller & J. Paul (Eds.), *Autonomy*. Cambridge: CUP, 307–334.
- Watson-Gegeo. 2004. Mind, language, and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *Modern Language Journal*, 88 (3), 331–350.
- Webster, L. & Mertova, P. 2007. *Using narrative inquiry as a research method. An introduction to using critical event narrative analysis in research on learning and teaching*. London: Routledge.
- Weedon, C. 1997. *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wenden, A. 1991. *Learner strategies for learner autonomy*. London: Prentice Hall International.
- Wenden, A. 1998. Metacognitive knowledge and language learning. *Applied Linguistics*, 19 (4), 515–537.
- Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Wenger, E. 2000. Communities of practice and social learning systems. *Organization*, 7 (2), 225–246.

- White, H. 1981. The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. In H. White (Ed.), *The content of the form: narrative discourse and historical representation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1–25.
- Williams, G. 1984. The genesis of chronic illness: narrative re-construction. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 6 (2), 175–200.
- Wortham, S. 2000. Interactional positioning and narrative self-construction. *Narrative Inquiry*, 10, 157–184.
- Wortham, S. 2001. *Narratives in action. A strategy for research and analysis*. New York: Teachers' College Press.
- Wortham, S. & Gadsden, V. 2006. Urban fathers positioning themselves through narrative: An approach to narrative self-construction. In A. de Fina, D. Schiffrin & M. Bamberg (Eds.), *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 314–341.
- Yamaguchi, A. 2011. Fostering learner autonomy as agency: An analysis of narratives of a student staff member working at a self-access learning centre. *Studies in Self-Access Learning Journal*, 2 (4), 268–280.
- Yashima, T. 2013. Individuality, imagination and community in a globalizing world: An Asian EFL perspective. In P. Benson & L. Cooker (Eds.), *The applied linguistic individual. Sociocultural approaches to identity, agency and autonomy*. Sheffield: Equinox, 46–58.
- Yoshida, T., Imai, H., Nakata Y., Tajino, A., Takeuchi, O. & Tamai, K. (Eds.) 2009. *Researching language teaching and learning. An integration of practice and theory*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Yrjänäinen, S. & Ropo, E. 2013. Narratiivisesta opetuksesta narratiiviseen oppimiseen. [From narrative teaching to narrative learning]. In E. Ropo & M. Huttunen (Eds.), *Puheenvuoroja narratiivisuudesta opetuksessa ja oppimisessa*. Tampere: Tampere University Press, 17–46.
- Zaragoza, E.D.C. 2014. Social class and autonomy: Four cases studies in a Mexican SAC. In G. Murray (Ed.), *Social dimensions of autonomy in language learning*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 192–210.
- Zembylas, M. & Lamb, T. 2008. Interrogating the notion of autonomy in education: tensions and possibilities. In M. Jiménez Raya & T. Lamb (Eds.), *Pedagogy for autonomy in language education. Theory, practice and teacher education*. Dublin: Authentik, 21–35.
- Zimmerman, B.J. & Schunk, D.H. (Eds.) 2001. *Self-regulated learning and academic achievement: Theoretical perspectives. 2nd edition*. New York, London: Routledge.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Permit to gather and use research data (English translation)

Subject of study

Starting in spring 2009, a study with a focus on EFL teaching will be conducted in [the name of the local general upper secondary school for adults]. This study is related to language teacher Tero Korhonen's academic dissertation (School of Education, University of Tampere), the subject of which is to foster the language learner's autonomy through FL teaching.

Objectives of study

The main objectives of the study are to

- describe the FL teaching and learning in the local GUSSA, as experienced by those who have taken part in it
- investigate the students' FL identity development within the FL context of the local GUSSA
- increase understanding of how foreign languages should be taught in the GUSSA

Method of data collection

Research data consist of the material produced by the student in the processes of EFL learning (e.g., the student's portfolio work, self-assessment sheets and language learning journals). Research data may also be gathered in connection with the counselling sessions.

Treatment of personal details

The material gathered as research data will be treated confidentially and anonymously so that the student's identity will not be revealed in any phase of the research process.

Meaning for the student

The purpose of the study is to develop the EFL teaching so that it will meet the GUSSA student's language learning needs. The study has been integrated into the EFL courses as part of the daily language teaching. It will not cause the student extra obligation or work.

I will give my consent to use the material from the counselling sessions and the material that I have produced in the EFL courses as research data in language teacher Tero Korhonen's academic dissertation and possible further research. However, I also have the right to withdraw the consent that I have given afterwards.

Date

Student's signature and name clarification

Contact info:
tero.korhonen@xxxxxxxxx.fi
+358XXXXXXXXXX

Appendix 2. An extract illustrating the process of emplotting the FL teaching

1st reading: Combining different types of data into a narrative “stream”

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äänessä olemisen/ääneen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Paritehtävät ovat myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää ollenkaan ole niin jännittävää/pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmätöitä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan voimin kimpassa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestäväää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tunnille menen. Ajattelukaavani näemmä pyrkivät aina suojelemaan minua kaikelta, mikä aikuttaa kamalalta. Pessimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilailla ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin itseni vähän pöjäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumaa.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 3, October 2)

Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin pareittain teksti 6 loppuun, Sofia tokaisi minulle että sen mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut...) Hiphei, ehkä siihen on sitten hiuksen hienoa parannusta tapahtunut ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä ääntää ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja rohkeammin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 13)

Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltennyhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimisvaikeuksista kärsiviä, maailmanmatkaajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään mennä sieltä, missä aita on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, mutta voi olla niinkin, että opiskelijalla on ollut tänne tullessaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukion kursseja uusintana suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti toisenlainen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokonaan puhtaalta pöydältä. Menneen ja tämän päivän menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaen vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä. Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskelemaan, en seurustelemaan. Olen tässä kahden vaiheilla, kannattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on stressaava, pitkiä päiviä edessä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

2nd and 3rd reading: Identifying thematic plots and following their progression; preserving the dynamics and the diversity of voices

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän **Engaging, involving, participating** nisen/ääneen puhumisen kynnyks matal **ista tykkään**. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai pareittain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin **puhumaan** pienissä porukoissa. **ollenkaan ole niin jännittävää/** **Co-direction, community, togetherness** **ää** ja yleensäkin koko luokan voimin kimpussa kaydaan kappaleita tapi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koken mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestäväää **painajaismaista dialogia**. Harkitsin **Engaging, involving, participating** **koa ei** voi väistää jos tunnille menen. Aja **maan** minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalalta. Pessimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arvioi **Meaningful, multidimensional English use** **in jopa enemmän pariltani,** joka y **haan suomeksi. Yritin siinä** pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua ylia ja **tunsin itseni vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt** **kuitenkaan trauma**joja.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 3, October 2)

Tällä viikolla **kun luettiin pareittain teksti 6 loppuun. Sofia** tokaisi minulle että sen mielestä m **Co-direction, community, togetherness** siihen on sitten hiuksen hienoa para **aina kotona sitä ääntää** ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja rohkeammin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 13)

Huhhuijaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, **vieläkin heteroaeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja ko** **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** **a siirtyneitä drop-outteja,** **yksi jatko-** opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! **Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.**

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään me **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** **asettaa haasteensa,** **mut** **ssaan epärealistiset** odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. **Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttää.**

[...]

Gently ascending progression:

- lowering the threshold for speaking out loud
- pair/group work reduces anxiety

- positive experiences of FL use in the lesson
- critical experience

- positive peer feedback
- sharing feelings about reading out loud

Descending progression:

- professional challenges due to student diversity
- lack of motivation
- lack of life skills
- TP 1?

- unwillingness to commit to studying
- unrealistic expectations
- conflicts

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukion kursseja uusintana suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti toisenlainen, kuin Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials en ja tämän päivän meistä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaan vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä. Mikä Co-direction, community, togetherness oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut en tässä kahden vaiheilla, kannattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on Engaging, involving, participating dan, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Täyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

- doubts about the teaching
- inability to understand the purpose of the teaching practices
- lack of time to study

4th reading: Organising the extracts into a narrative, smoothing

"Kurssilla laitettiin äänessä olemisen/ääneen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei ole niin jännittävää/ pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmätöitä tehdään paljon ja koko luokan voimin kimpassa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi." "Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestäväää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa voi väistää. Kivuita sujuivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilailla ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi." "Tykkään ääntämisharjoituksista. Ne ovat tärkeitä; itsekin luen kotona ääneen. Tällä viikolla Sofia tokaisi minulle, että sen mielestä ääntämiseni on parantunut.:" "Tiimityö vakiparin kanssa on toimivaa ja tuloksellista. Hän on lahjakas ja vauhdikas, minä takerrun yksityiskohtiin ja kyseenalaistan. Yhdessä on hausempi pohdiskella. Ryhmässä parasta on yksilöiden erilaisuus ja monenlaiset näkökulmat. Ryhmä on vertaistukijoukko, joka edistää oppimista ja motivoi. Mieliptideiden ja kokemusten jakaminen on tärkeää. Jos ei olisi ketään, kenen puoleen kääntyä, en jaksaisi selvittää asioita.

Chapter two

"Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimisvaikeuksista kärsiviä, maailmanmatkajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta." "Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään mennä sieltä, missä aita on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, mutta voi olla niinkin, että opiskelijalla on ollut tänne tullessaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä."

"Menneen ja tämän päivän [opetus]menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana kuin itä on lännestä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaan vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä. Miksi tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskelemaan, en seurustelemaan. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?"

"Opettajan kehoitus pohtia, mikä hyöty/merkitys viikon aiheilla ja tehtävillä oli itselle, on minulle aina yhtä mystinen. Mitäs pohtimista siinä on, koulussa tulee tehdä niin kuin opettaja käskää. Niin on ennenkin tehty, eikä opettajan arvovaltaa aseteta kyseenalaiseksi." "Juuso kritisoi kieltenopiskelua. Hän sanoo odottaneensa, että kursseilla esim. kuunnellaan musiikkia, katsellaan elokuvia ja keskustellaan niistä englanniksi. Olen joutunut karsimaan pois kursseilta paljon hauskaa, mutta eihän opiskelu silti voi pelkkää viihdykettä olla, vaikka sitäkin kannattaisi enemmän hyödyntää tämän tablettisukupolven kanssa. Toisaalta monelle vartuneemmalle aikuisopiskelijalle on ollut iso asia jo sekin, ettei kieltenopiskelu ole pelkkää tekstien kääntämistä ja ulkoa opettelua."

"Läksymäärä on älytön, kun pitäisi muidenkin aineiden läksyt tehdä. Varsinkin pitkä matematiikka vaatii energiaa ja paneutumista." "Oman opiskelun pähkäily tursuaa jo ylitse. En ole varma onko itsearviointista hyötyä itselleni. Suhtaudun skeptisesti arviointeihin. Arviointi lyö leiman kohteeseen, saa opiskelijan uskomaan 'tällainen minä olen, näin minä osaan'. Sillä voi olla epäedullista vaikutusta (vähän sama juttu kuin ennustuksissa ja horoskoopeissa)."

5th and 6th reading: Adding a summary of each paragraph next to the narrative; translating the Finnish parts of the narrative into English

"We lowered the threshold for speaking aloud in the course. When everybody has to do it, it doesn't make you so frightened. We do a lot of pair and group work and we go through the chapters and check the exercises with the whole class contributing. I find that makes good sense." "The conversation exercises make me nervous. In my mind I imagine a nightmare dialogue that lasts for the entire lesson. I thought about staying at home because I was sure there was no way of avoiding a fiasco. The minutes spent on discussion passed painlessly. I even expected more from my partner, who understood the task differently and occasionally started talking away in Finnish." "I like pronunciation exercises. They're important; I read aloud myself when I'm at home. This week Sofia told me she thought my pronunciation had improved.:" "Teamwork with a regular partner works and produces results. He is talented and full of action, I get caught up in the details and question everything. It's more fun thinking about things together. The best thing about the group is the diversity of individuals and the many different viewpoints. The group is a peer support group, which promotes learning and motivates. Sharing opinions and experiences is important. If there wasn't anybody to turn to, I wouldn't have the energy to get things clear."

A student considers the low threshold to speak English in the lessons important. She also finds oral pair and group work meaningful.

Another student was anxious about the discussion task beforehand but it turned out to be a nice experience after all.

A third student likes pronunciation exercises.

A fourth student emphasises the importance of other students for her language learning.

Chapter two

"Phew! The academic year is not even halfway through and this year's language groups have been, if that's possible, even more heterogeneous than earlier: under age students doing a double or triple examination, pensioners, drop-outs from the daytime upper secondary school, those with learning difficulties, world travellers, even a post-graduate student and a Ph.D! And they all have their own reasons for learning and revising English! How, then, am I going to find something to hold the teaching together? For example, the ones who drop out of the daytime upper secondary school often seem to have poor motivation. They assume they don't have to do anything in our courses. From time to time we get students who are having problems with their general life management skills. Then the student generally has difficulties also accepting responsibility for his/her own learning." Yes indeed, for some students this GUSSA is a real place for growing. When they come here some of them aren't prepared to work to move their studies on, but try to get through with the least possible work. Of course, life itself creates challenges, but it may well be that when they come here the students have unrealistic expectations and ideas about upper secondary school studying. These aren't your adult education centre courses: they prepare you for the matriculation examination.

Adult FL students in the EFL courses are an extremely heterogeneous group, which poses many challenges for pedagogy and teaching. Some of the students have low motivation, unrealistic expectations about themselves and studying and challenges in their personal lives.

When the school and the students have different expectations, you can't avoid collisions."

"(Teaching) methods today and in the past are as far apart as west and east. You can't help comparing the old and the new. I feel the mutineer inside me. I long for the old times when you translated texts. Why do we have to concentrate on the people around us in the lesson? I came here to study English, not to socialize. There's a lot of new stuff in the teaching and I find it difficult to internalize. What do we need this for?"

"When the teacher tells us to think about the usefulness/significance for ourselves of the week's topics and exercises, it's still as much of a mystery to me. What is there to think about: in school you do what the teacher tells you to do. That's the way it was done before and nobody questioned the teacher's authority." Juuso criticised the way we study languages. He said he expected that during the course we would, for example, listen to music, watch films and discuss them in English. In the courses I've had to cut down a lot on the fun stuff, but surely studying can't just be a succession of entertainments, even though it would be worth making more use of such things with this generation of tablet owners. On the other hand, it has been a big thing for many of the older adult students to realize that language learning isn't just translating texts and rote learning."

"The amount of homework is ridiculous when you have to do the homework for the other courses as well. The long mathematics course especially demands energy and dedication." "I've had it up to here with this reflecting on my studying. I'm not sure whether self-assessment is any use to me myself. I am very sceptical about assessments. Assessment puts a stamp on that person, it makes the student believe 'this is what I'm like, this is what I can do'. It may have an adverse effect (a bit like with predictions and horoscopes)."

A student is critical towards the current teaching methods.

Another student considers reflections about the meaning of the topics irrelevant since the students should do as they are told without questioning the teacher's authority.

A student complains about the teaching.

The fact that studying foreign languages is not only about translating and learning by heart represents a significant change from the past for many adult students.

A student considers the amount of homework overwhelming.

Another student criticises the role of reflection and self-assessment.

Appendix 3. An extract illustrating the process of emplotting the adult students' FL-related lives

1st reading: Combining different types of data into a narrative "stream"

Teaching journal (English 6, February 26)

[Susannasta] huomaa, että opiskelumotivaatio heittelehtii kurssista ja tunnista toiseen. Tämä kurssi ei kiinnosta häntä niin paljon kuin edellinen. Hän on jotenkin hiljainen, vetäytyvä ja arka. Tiedä sitten vaikuttaisiko sekin, että kurssilla on niin enemmän osaavia opiskelijoita, ei itse tarvitse vaivautua? Tai sitten kurssi vaan on [Susannan] mielestä tylsä. Ei opetuksellisesti mutta sisällöllisesti. Täytyy miettiä, miten näitä tekniikasta vähemmän kiinnostuneita saisi aktivoitua tässä kurssin alussa. Ehkäpä ensi viikon ryhmätyö edistää asiaa.

[...]

Susanna's language learning journal (English 5, April 13)

After glancing through the course book I think this course's going to fun if not fantastic! I love the topics and themes. [...] I wanna enlarge my vocabulary and improve my pronunciation. I hope we'd do more pronunciation practices in class, not just reading texts aloud. For example, we could go through the mistakes that are typical for Finns. I'd also be keen on different dialects of English language. It's a shame we haven't dealt with them during any English course so far.

[...]

Counselling session with Susanna (English 5, April 23)

Tero: Nii, sanoit muuten aikasemminkin siitä et sä et tykkää ryhmätöistä ja tällasista.

Susanna: Mä inhoon niitä.

Tero: Se ei oo muuttunu siitä mikskään?

Susanna: Ei.

Tero: Miks sä niitä inhoot?

Susanna: Ne on tosi turhia. No me käytetään niihin yleensä monta tuntia. Jos mä voisin sen saman, vaikka kaks tuntii lukee oppikirjaa, ni mä taatusti oppisin enemmän. Ja sitte ku se on tosi väkinäistä, ihmiset ei tosissaan panosta, se ei vaa istu suomalaisille tollanen ryhmätyöskentely. Ainakaan tällee ku ei tunne porukkaa. Et jossain työpaikalla nyt on paljon enempi tiimissä.

[...]

Susanna: No se on päiväkotimeininkiä, sellast askarteluu, sillei oo tarkotusta.

Tero: Okei. Mä aattelin, et jos sil ois ollu sellanen tarkotus, et jos se ois jollakin tavalla, jos me nyt ei aatella pelkästään suomalaisena, vaan sitä kenen kanssa sä sitä teet, ni jos te teette yhteistyötä ni sillä toisella tai kummallaki on mahdollisuus oppia.

Susanna: Mut mä en usko tollaseen oppimiseen. Mut mielest itse opiskelu on paras tapa. Jos ei oo oppinu sosiaalisia taitoja lapsena ni turha niit on enää lukiossa enkuntunnilla yrittää opetella.

Tero: Ni mä en välttämättä tarkota vaan sosiaalisia taitoja ku kieli on kuitenkin tarkotettu sosiaaliseen vuorovaikutukseen ni mä aattelin, et sitä kannattais sit täällä tunnilla käyttää siihen sosiaalisen vuorovaikutukseen.

Susanna: Se on vaan vähän epäaito ympäristö.

[...]

Susanna: Mun mielest tän koulun ehdottomii plussii on, et tää on yksilöllistä, ei yhteisöllistä. Et tääl saa olla rauhassa. Ei tarvi luoda mitää suhteita muihin opiskelijoihin. Et tietää muut nimeltä, se riittää. Ei tarvi tietää toisten lempivärejä.

2nd and 3rd reading: Identifying thematic plots and following their progression; preserving the dynamics and the diversity of voices

Teaching journal (English 6, February 26)

[Susannasta] huomaa, että opiskelumotivaatio heittelehtii kurssista ja tunnista toiseen.

Tämä vetäyt [The meaning of the language learning environment] tenkin hiljainen, niin enemmän osaavia opiskelijoita. ei itse tarvitse vaivautua? Tai sitten kurssi vaan on [Susannan] mielestä tylsä. Ei opetuksellisesti mutta sisällöllisesti. Täytyy miettiä, miten näitä tekniikasta vähemmän kiinnostuneita saisi aktivoitua tässä kurssin alussa. Ehkäpä ensi viikon ryhmätö edistää asiaa.

[...]

Susanna Authenticity of language learning April 13)

After Authenticity of language learning nk this course's going to fun if not fantastic! I love the topics and themes. [...] I wanna enlarge my vocabulary and improve my pronunciation. I hope we'd do more pronunciation practices in class, not just reading Authenticity of the teacher-student encounters takes that language. are typical for Finland. It's a shame we haven't dealt with them during any English course so far.

[...]

Counselling session with Susanna (English 5, April 23)

Tero: Nii, sanoit muuten aikasemminkin siitä et sä et tykkää ryhmätöistä ja tällasista.

Susanna: Mä inhoon niitä.

Tero: Se ei oo muuttunu siitä mikskään?

Susanna: Ei.

Tero: Miks s Authenticity of language learning

Susanna: Ne on tosittomia, no ne käytetään niiniin yleensä monta tuntia. Jos mä voisin sen saman, vaikka kaks tuntii lukee oppikirjaa, ni mä taatusti g The meaning of the language learning environment sissaan p kentely. Ainakaan tällee ku ei tunne porukkaa. Et jossain työpaikalla nyt on paljon enempi tiimissä.

[...] No se on päiväkotimeininkiä, sellast askarteluu, sillei oo tarkotusta.

Tero: Okei. Mä aat Authenticity of language learning jos se ois jollakin tavalla, jos n vaan sitä kenen kanssa sä sita teet, ni jos te teette yhteistyötä ni sillä toisella tai kummallaki on mahdollisuus oppia.

Susanna: Mut mä en usko tollaseen oppimiseen. Mut mielest itse opiskelu on paras tapa. Jos ei oo oppinu sosiaalisia taitoja lapsena ni turha niit on enää lukiossa enkuntunnilla yrittää opetella.

Tero: Ni mä en välttämättä tarkota vaan sosiaalisia taitoja ku kieli on kuitenkin tarkotettu sosiaalis Authenticity of language learning et sitä kannattais sit t jaalisen vuorovaikutukseen.

Susanna: Se on vaan vähän epäaito ympäristö.

[...]

Susanna: Mun mielest tän koulun ehdottomii plussii on et tää on yksilöllistä, ei yhte The meaning of the language learning environment teita muihin opiskelijoihin. Et tietää muut nimeltä, se niittaa. Et tarvi tietää toisten lempivärejä.

Unstable progression:

- fluctuating motivation
- lack of participation
- interest in the course topics
- commitment to FL learning
- expectations for the EFL course
- criticism towards project/group work
- interest in studying English
- criticism towards project/group work
- criticism of the learning environment
- critical experience

4th reading: Organising the extracts into a narrative, smoothing

"Susanna's study motivation fluctuates from course to course and lesson to lesson. This course doesn't interest her as much as the previous one. She's quiet, withdrawn and shy. I wonder whether one thing affecting it might be that there are students who know more so she doesn't have to make the effort herself?" **"I hope we'd do more pronunciation practices in class, not just reading texts aloud. For example, we could go through the mistakes that are typical for Finns. I'd also be keen on different dialects of English language. It's a shame we haven't dealt with them during any English course so far."** "[Ryhmytyöt] on tosi turhia. Me käytetään niihin monta tuntia. Jos voisin saman ajan lukee yksin kirjaa, taatusti oppisin enemmän. Se on väkinäistä, ihmiset ei tosissaan panosta, ryhmätyöskentely ei vaa istu suomalaisille." "Se on päiväkotimeininkiä, askartelu, sillei oo tarkotusta. Mun mielest itseopiskelu on paras tapa. Jos ei oo oppinu sosiaalisia taitoja lapsena ni turha niit on enää lukiossa enkuntunnilla yrittää opetella. Se on vaan vähän epäaito ympäristö." "Mun mielest [aikuislukion] ehdottomii plussii on, et tää on yksilöllistä, ei yhteisöllistä. Tääl saa olla rauhassa. Ei tarvi luoda suhteita muihin opiskelijoihin, eikä tietää toisten lempivärejä."

5th and 6th reading: Adding a summary of each paragraph next to the narrative; translating the Finnish parts into English

"Susanna's study motivation fluctuates from course to course and lesson to lesson. This course doesn't interest her as much as the previous one. She's quiet, withdrawn and shy. I wonder whether one thing affecting it might be that there are students who know more so she doesn't have to make the effort herself?" **"I hope we'd do more pronunciation practices in class, not just reading texts aloud. For example, we could go through the mistakes that are typical for Finns. I'd also be keen on different dialects of English language. It's a shame we haven't dealt with them during any English course so far."** "[Group work] is a real waste of time. We spend a lot of lessons on doing it. If I could spend the same time on reading the book on my own, I bet I'd learn more. It's so forced, people don't really make an effort, group work just doesn't work with Finns." "It's more like what they do in daycare, handicraft, it's got no purpose. I think independent study is the best way. If you haven't learned social skills as a child then it's a waste of time trying to learn them in an upper secondary school English class. It's just a bit of an inauthentic environment." "In my opinion one of the biggest plusses [of adult upper secondary school] is that this is individual, not communal. You can work in peace here. You don't have to create contacts with other students or know what other people's favourite colour is."

The EFL teacher has noticed that Susanna's motivation fluctuates.

Susanna would like to practise more pronunciation and learn more about different English dialects.

She considers group work useless since it takes time but is without purpose.

She likes the adult upper secondary school because of its orientation towards the individual.

Appendix 4. Two extracts illustrating the *sjuzet-fabula* analysis

The *sjuzet-fabula* analysis of Suvi's FL-related life

Suvi's language learning journal (English 1, January 15)

Opiskellessa on aina mahdollista oppia myös itsestään jotakin, kokeilla rajojaan ja pitää jonkin asteista aivotoimintaa yllä. Olen yrittänyt ajatella positiivisemmin ja suhtautua rennommin olemassaolooni ja oppimiseenkin. Pikkuisen silti epäilyttää kaikki, kai ihan varmuuden vuoksi. Harmittaa jo valmiiksi, että saatan unohtaa kaiken oppimani seuraavassa käänteessä. Aika kummallista ennakointia, eikä mitenkään hyödyllistä.

Englannin käyttäjänä olen viimeaikoina aktivoitunut tavalliseen tapaan katselemalla Tähtiportti-sarjaa (mainitsemallani kotisohvalla). Kirjakaupasta en voinut poistua ostamatta Andy Riley:n sarjakuvakirjaa "The book of bunny suicides", jossa ei montakaan sanaa lue, mutta silti sain sanakirjan etsiä tulkiksi, hoksatakseni kaikki jutut. Tuo kirja tekee minuun vaikutuksen kerta toisensa jälkeen. Luulen, että selaan sen läpi vielä niin monesti, että opin nuo muutamat sen sisältämät sanat.

Maanantain tunnilla olin hermostunut puheeni pitämisestä. Puheestani en muista juuri mitään, olen jälkepäin arvailut mielessäni, mitähän tulin sanoneeksi ja sanoin kohan suunnilleen kaiken mitä olin suunnitellut. En koe hyötyneeni puheesta paljoakaan, sillä se aiheutti ahdistusta melkein kuukauden ja loppurutiuksesta ei jäänyt kuin tärisevät kädet ja mustia aukkoja mieleeni. Outoa. Mutta kokemus tuokin. (Saamani arvioinnit olivat ihan mukavan kannustavia.)

The *sjuzet-fabula* analysis of FL teaching

A student's language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Annettiin tehtäväksi valmistaa esitys työnhakutilanteesta CV:ineen ja saatekirjeineen. Kolmen hengen ryhmissä työskennellään. Kaksi esittää työnhakijoita ja kolmas haastattelee. Sofia tarttui nuoruuden innolla haastattelijan tehtävään ja me Annan kanssa saimme osaksemme olla työnhakijoita. Työ saatiin tiistaina hyvään alkuun ja torstaina jatkettiin.

[...]

A student's language learning journal (English 3, September 26)

Oli mukava tehdä ryhmässä töitä. Sen jälkeen tuntui, että tunsin luokkatoverini paremmin ja jännitys oli poissa. Olisin toivonut ryhmätöitä heti [kurssin] alkuun, niin olisi päässyt tutustumaan ihmisiin.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 3, September 26)

On esitysten vuoro. Esiintymislava on keskellä luokkaa. Tunnelma on tiivis. Muiden ryhmien tehtävänä on kuunnella haastatteluja ja perustella esityksen jälkeen, kumman hakijan he valitsisivat työpaikkaan.

Appendix 5. An extract illustrating the holistic-form analysis of the adult students' FL-related development

1st reading: Dividing the data into the *sjuzet* and *fabula*

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, April 21)

As an English student I've been quite diligent. I have studied the chapters beforehand. It gives me time to do something extra or ask something that's on my mind. I'm still trying to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word 'diligent'. **How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks!**

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 19)

I'm also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years in [the upper secondary] school I won't be "totally complete". I'm doing my best and I have all the reasons to be pleased with the results.

[...]

Noora's reflective writing task (English 2, May 21)

Lukion alussa en tiennyt, mitä odottaa kielen opiskelulta. Lukuvuoden aikana olen huomannut, että **se on järjestelmällistä ja työlästä.** Vierasta kieltä on käytettävä paljon, sen opiskeluun pitää käyttää aikaa, itselleen joutuu asettamaan tavoitteita ja itseään joutuu arvioimaan. **Vieraan kielen tuottamisessa tuskin koskaan pääsen samalle tasolle kuin äidinkiessä.** Omat tavoitteet onkin asetettava realistisesti. Kieltä voi kuitenkin opiskella monella eri tavalla. **Kun kielestä on saanut otteen, korostuu oma aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä vain. Jokaisen on löydettävä oma tapansa kartuttaa sanavarastoaan ja löytää tekemistä, missä kieltä voi oppia ja hyödyntää.**

[...]

Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palauttaa huikean kielisalkun. Hän on todella nähnyt vaivaa salkun vuoksi, tehnyt ylimääräisiä salkkutehtäviä esim. uusiin sanoihin liittyen, lisännyt kommentteja palauttamiinsa tehtäviin ja reflektoinut saamiaan palautteita. Salkku havainnollistaa [Nooran] opiskelua kuluneen vuoden aikana. Miten hän jaksakin olla noin omistautunut? Ehkä hän vain on sen verran perfektionistinen luonteeltaan tai sitten hän tosissaan tykkää salkun kokoamisesta, mutta hänellä on salkussa joka tapauksessa tosi paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [Nooran] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 3, September 8)

When I started in upper secondary school I only wanted to study because I liked it. But now I have a higher purpose. I have sometimes dreamt of being a teacher and the longer I've studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 3, September 18)

[Nooran] ensimmäinen lukiovuosi sujui erinomaisesti. Hän oli erittäin motivoitunut, määrätietoinen ja itseohjautuva. Tämäniltaisessa ohjauskeskustelussa puhumme lähinnä siitä, onko opiskelussa ollut riittävästi niitä haasteita, joita hän toivoi saavansa. [Noora] kertoo myös, että hänen nuoruuden haaveensa (englannin) opettajan urasta on taas herännyt. Hän on pohtinut asiaa ihan tosissaan kesän aikana, koska oli selvittänyt hakuprosessejakin eri yliopistoihin.

2nd and 3rd reading: Outlining the progression of the emerging themes; locating key events, episodes, turning points, etc.

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, April 21)

As an English student I've been quite diligent. I have studied the chapters beforehand. **It gives me time to do something extra or ask something that's on my mind.** I'm still trying to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word 'diligent'. **How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks!**

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. **Fortunately they are understanding persons** and encourage me. **I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored** because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 19)

I'm also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years in [the upper secondary] school I won't be "totally complete". I'm doing my best and I have all the reasons to be pleased with the results.

[...]

Noora's reflective writing task (English 2, May 21)

Lukion alussa en tiennyt, mitä odottaa kielen opiskelulta. Lukuvuoden aikana olen huomannut, että se on järjestelmällistä ja työlästä. Vierasta kieltä on käytettävä paljon, sen opiskeluun pitää käyttää aikaa, itselleen joutuu asettamaan tavoitteita ja itseään joutuu arvioimaan. Vieraan kielen tuottamisessa tuskin koskaan pääsen samalle tasolle kuin äidinkielessä. Omat tavoitteet onkin asetettava realistisesti. Kieltä voi kuitenkin opiskella monella eri tavalla. Kun kielestä on saanut otteen, korostuu oma aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä vain. Jokaisen on löydettävä oma tapansa kartuttaa sanavarastoaan ja löytää tekemistä, missä kieltä voi oppia ja hyödyntää.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palauttaa huikean kielisalkun. Hän on todella nähnyt vaivaa salkun vuoksi, tehnyt ylimääräisiä salkkutehtäviä esim. uusiin sanoihin liittyen, lisännyt kommentteja palauttamiinsa tehtäviin ja reflektoinut saamiaan palautteita. Salkku havainnollistaa [Nooran] opiskelua kuluneen vuoden aikana. Miten hän jaksaa olla noin omistautunut? Ehkä hän vain on sen verran perfektionistinen luonteeltaan tai sitten hän tosissaan tykkää salkun kokoamisesta, mutta hänellä on salkussa joka tapauksessa tosi paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [Nooran] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 3, September 8)

When I started in upper secondary school I only wanted to study because I liked it. But now I have a higher purpose. **I have sometimes dreamt of being a teacher** and the longer I've studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.

[...]

Stable, positive progression:

- devotion to study
- diverse FL learning

- diverse FL learning and use

Ascending, positive progression:

- critical experience
- key episode
- re-positioning
- TP1?

- devotion to study
- critical experience
- diverse FL learning and use
- commitment and determination
- TP1?

- devotion to study

- diverse FL learning

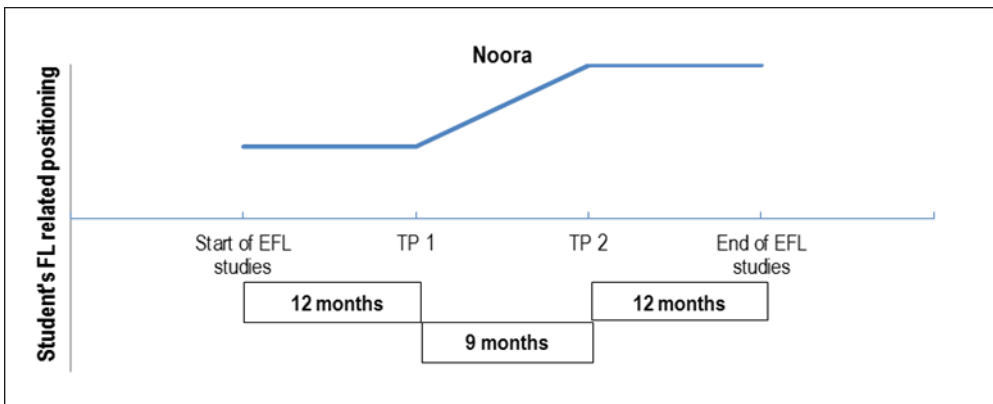
- key episode
- repositioning
- new FL-related goals and identities

Teaching journal (English 3, September 18)

[Nooran] ensimmäinen lukiovuosi sujui erinomaisesti. Hän oli erittäin motivoitunut, määrätietoinen ja itseohjautuva. Tämänlaisessa ohjauskeskustelussa puhumme lähinnä siitä, onko opiskelussa ollut riittävästi niitä haasteita, joita hän toivoi saavansa. [Noora] kertoo myös, että hänen nuoruuden haaveensa (englannin) opettajan urasta on taas herännyt. Hän on pohtinut asiaa ihan tosissaan kesän aikana, koska oli selvittänyt hakuprosessejakin eri yliopistoihin.

- new FL-related goals and identities
- TP1?

4th reading: Graphing the dynamics of the plot progression



Appendix 6. An extract illustrating the holistic-content analysis of the adult students' FL-related development

1st reading: Dividing the data into the *sjuzet* and *fabula*

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, April 21)

As an English student I've been quite diligent. I have studied the chapters beforehand. It gives me time to do something extra or ask something that's on my mind. I'm still trying to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word 'diligent'. How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks!

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 19)

I'm also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years in [the upper secondary] school I won't be "totally complete". I'm doing my best and I have all the reasons to be pleased with the results.

[...]

Noora's reflective writing task (English 2, May 21)

Lukion alussa en tiennyt, mitä odottaa kielen opiskelulta. Lukuvuoden aikana olen huomannut, että se on järjestelmällistä ja työlästä. Vierasta kieltä on käytettävä paljon, sen opiskeluun pitää käyttää aikaa, itselleen joutuu asettamaan tavoitteita ja itseään joutuu arvioimaan. Vieraan kielen tuottamisessa tuskin koskaan pääsen samalle tasolle kuin äidinkielessä. Omat tavoitteet onkin asetettava realistisesti. Kieltä voi kuitenkin opiskella monella eri tavalla. Kun kielestä on saanut otteen, korostuu oma aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä vain. Jokaisen on löydettävä oma tapansa kartuttaa sanavarastoaan ja löytää tekemistä, missä kieltä voi oppia ja hyödyntää.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palauttaa huikean kielisalkun. Hän on todella nähnyt vaivaa salkun vuoksi, tehnyt ylimääräisiä salkkutehtäviä esim. uusiin sanoihin liittyen, lisännyt kommentteja palauttamiinsa tehtäviin ja reflektoinut saamiaan palautteita. Salkku havainnollistaa [Nooran] opiskelua kuluneen vuoden aikana. Miten hän jaksaa olla noin omistautunut? Ehkä hän vain on sen verran perfektionistinen luonteeltaan tai sitten hän tosissaan tykkää salkun kokoamisesta, mutta hänellä on salkussa joka tapauksessa tosi paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [Nooran] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 3, September 8)

When I started in upper secondary school I only wanted to study because I liked it. But now I have a higher purpose. I have sometimes dreamt of being a teacher and the longer I've studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 3, September 18)

[Nooran] ensimmäinen lukiovuosi sujui erinomaisesti. Hän oli erittäin motivoitunut, määrätietoinen ja itseohjautuva. Tämäniltaisessa ohjauskeskustelussa puhumme lähinnä siitä, onko opiskelussa ollut riittävästi niitä haasteita, joita hän toivoi saavansa. [Noora] kertoo myös, että hänen nuoruuden haaveensa (englannin) opettajan urasta on taas herännyt. Hän on pohtinut asiaa ihan tosissaan kesän aikana, koska oli selvittänyt hakuprosessejakin eri yliopistoihin.

2nd reading: Identifying and naming the powerful thematic storylines

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, April 21)

As an English student I've been quite diligent Sense of self-direction **ters beforehand. It gives me time to do something extra or ask something that'** to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word 'diligent'. **How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks!**

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to Sense of self-direction **as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text r** ish. **For** The width, depth and length of studying English **age** me. **I see myself as an inventive student. I don't c** the grammar or the words.

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 19)

I'm also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years in [the upper secondary] school I won't b Strengthening voice in the TL **est and I have all the reasons to be pleased with the results.**

[...]

Noora's reflective writing task (English 2, May 21)

Luki Strengthening voice in the TL **h käytettävä** nalion. **sen opiskeluun nitää kävttää aikaa** itselleen ioutuu **asettamaan tavoitteita ja itseään joutuu arvioimaan** The width, depth and length of studying English **halle** tasolle kuin äidinkiessä. **Omat tavoitteet onkin asetettava** **tehtävissä. Niitä voi kuitenkin opiskella monella eri tavalla. Kun** **stuu oma aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä vain. Jokaisen on löydettävä** **arastoaan ja löytää tekemistä, missä kieltä voi oppia ja hyödyntää.**

[...]

Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palauttaa huikean kielisalkun. Hän on todella nähnyt vaijaa salkun vuoksi tehnyt ylimääräisiä salkkutehtäviä esim. uusiin sanoihin liittyen, lisännyt k The width, depth and length of studying English *in* *palautteita. Salkku havainnollistaa [Nooran] opiskelua kuluneen vuoden aikana. miten hän jaksaa niin oia niin omistautunut?* **Sense of self-direction** *reflektionistinen luonteeltaan tai sitten hän tosissaan tykkää salkun kokoamisesta.* *tapauksessa tosi paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [Nooran] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.*

[...]

Noora's language learning journal (English 3, September 8)

When I started in upper secon Sense of self-direction **tudy because I liked it. But now I have a higher purpose. I have sometimes d** the longer I've studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 3, September 18)

[Nooran] ensimmäinen lukiovuosi sujui erinomaisesti. Hän oli erittäin motivoitunut, määrätietoinen ja itseohjautuva. Tämäniltaisessa ohjauskeskustelussa puhumme lähinnä siitä onko opiskelussa ollut riittävästi niitä haasteita, joita hän toivoi saavansa. [Noora] kertoo my **Sense of self-direction** *teensa (englannin) opettajan urasta on taas herännyt. Hän on pohtinut asiaa ihan tosissaan kesän aikana, koska oli selvittänyt hakuprosessejakin eri yliopistoihin.*

3rd and 4th reading: Isolating the storylines from other data; following their development

Sense of self-direction

The width, depth and length of studying English

Strengthening voice in the TL

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, April 21)

As an English student I've been quite diligent. I've studied the chapters before and it gives me time to do something extra or ask something that's on my mind. I'm still trying to learn new words. I searched the dictionary and I found the word 'diligent'. How can I memorize this new word? Well, it reminds me of John Dillinger who was quite diligent when it came to robbing banks.

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.

Noora's reflection (English 2, May 19)

Lukion alussa odottaa kielen vuoden aikana että se on työstä. Viie käytettävä pa pitää käyttää a asettamaan t joutuu arvioim tuottamisessa pääsen sam äidinkielessä. O asetettava rea kuitenkin opistavalla. Kun otteen, korostua aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 5)

I'm trying to use English (and Swedish) as much as possible. I'm bugging my friends because I only send them text messages in English or Swedish. Fortunately they are understanding persons and encourage me. I see myself as an inventive student. I don't get bored because I always find different ways to study the grammar or the words.

Noora's reflection (English 2, May 19)

Lukion alussa odottaa kielen vuoden aikana että se on työstä. Viie käytettävä pa pitää käyttää a asettamaan t joutuu arvioim tuottamisessa pääsen sam äidinkielessä. O asetettava rea kuitenkin opistavalla. Kun otteen, korostua aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä

Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palautteita. Hän on vaivaa salkun määräisiä salkkuja uusiin sanoihin kommentteja tehtäviin ja refletoinut saamiaan palautteita. Salkku havainnollistaa

Noora's language learning journal (English 2, May 19)

I'm also starting to understand that learning a foreign language is a lifelong process and during these three years [in the upper secondary] I won't be totally comfortable. I'm doing my best and I have the reasons to be pleased with the results.

Noora's reflection (English 2, May 19)

Lukion alussa odottaa kielen vuoden aikana että se on työstä. Viie käytettävä pa pitää käyttää a asettamaan t joutuu arvioim tuottamisessa pääsen sam äidinkielessä. O asetettava rea kuitenkin opistavalla. Kun otteen, korostua aktiivisuus. Uusia sanoja voi oppia lähes mistä

vain. Jokaisen on löydettävä oma tapansa kartuttaa sanavarastoaan ja löytää tekelehtiä missä kieltä voi oppia ja hyödyntää.
Teaching journal (English 2, May 21)

[Noora] palautteista huikkeen kielen todella nähnyt salkun. Hän on koki, tehnyt ylimääräisiä tehtäviä esim. uusiin sanoihin liittyen, lisännyt kommentteja palauttamiinsa tehtäviin ja kommentoinut saamiaan palautteita. Se havainnollistaa [Nooran] on luua kuluneen vuoden aikana. Miten hän jaksaa olla noin omis...? Ehkä hän vain on sen verran perfektionistinen luonteeltaan t...n hän tosissaan tykkää salkun...amisesta, mutta hänellä on s...alkussa joka tapauksessa... paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [No...] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.

Noora's language learning journal (English 3, September 8)
When I studied in upper secondary school I only wanted to study because I liked it. But now I have other purpose. I have sometimes dreamt of being a teacher and the longer I've studied the more I feel I might apply for university someday.
(English 3, September 18)

[Nooran] opin lukiovuosien ajan oli erittäin motivoitunut ja itseohtautuva. Hän on ollut läsnä lähinnä siitä, mitä opiskelussa ollut riittävästi niitä asioita, joita hän toivoi saavansa [Noora] kertoo myös, että hänen nuoruuden haaveensa (englannin) opettajan urasta on taas herännyt. Hän on pohtinut asiaa ihan tosissaan kesän aikana, koska oli selvittänyt hakuprosessejakin eri yliopistoihin.

[Nooran] opiskelua kuluneen vuoden aikana. Miten hän jaksaa olla noin omis...? Ehkä hän vain on sen verran perfektionistinen luonteeltaan t...n hän tosissaan tykkää salkun...amisesta, mutta hänellä on s...alkussa joka tapauksessa... paljon omia kursseihin liittyviä tehtäviä, jotka huokuvat [No...] aktiivisuudesta ja tunnollisuudesta kaiken kiireen keskellä.

Appendix 7. An extract illustrating the holistic-form analysis of the FL teaching

1st reading: Dividing the data into the *sjuzet* and *fabula*

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äänessä oleminen/ääneen puhumisen kynns matalaksi. Paritehtävät ovat myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää ollenkaan ole niin jännittävää/pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmätöitä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan voimin kimpassa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestäväää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tunnille menen. Ajattelukseni näemmä pyrkivät aina suojelemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalalta. Pessimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuita kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilalla ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin itseni vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumoja.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 2, May 22)

Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin pareittain teksti 6 loppuun, Sofia tokaisi minulle että sen mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut.:) Hipeji, ehkä siihen on sitten hiuksen hienoa parannusta tapahtunut ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä ääntää ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja rohkeammin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, December 13)

Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimisvaikeuksista kärsiviä, maailmanmatkajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään mennä sieltä, missä aita on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, mutta voi olla niinkin, että opiskelijalla on ollut tänne tullessaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukion kursseja uusintana suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti toisenlainen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokonaan puhtaalta pöydältä. Menneen ja tämän päivän menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaam vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä. Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskelemaan, en seurustelemaan. Olen tässä kahden vaiheilla, kannattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on stressaava, pitkiä päiviä edessä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

2nd and 3rd reading: Outlining the progression of the emerging themes; locating key events, episodes, turning points, etc.

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äänessä olemisen/ääneen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Paritehtävät ovat myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää ollenkaan ole niin jännittävää/pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmätöitä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan voimin kimpassa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestäväää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tunnille menen. Ajattelukaavani näemmä pyrkivät aina suojelemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalalta. Pessimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilailla ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin itseni vähän pölijäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumoja.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 2, May 22)

Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin pareittain teksti 6 loppuun, Sofia tokaisi minulle että sen mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut.:) Hiphei, ehkä siihen on sitten hiuksen hienoa parannusta tapahtunut ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä ääntää ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja rohkeammin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, December 13)

Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimisvaikeuksista kärsiviä, maailmanmatkaajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kurssilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämäntaitojensa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään mennä sieltä, missä aita on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, mutta voi olla niinkin, että opiskelijalla on ollut tänne tullessaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä.

[...]

Gently ascending progression:

- lowering the threshold for speaking out loud
- pair/group work reduces anxiety
- positive experiences of FL use in the lesson
- critical experience

- positive peer feedback
- sharing feelings about reading out loud

Descending progression:

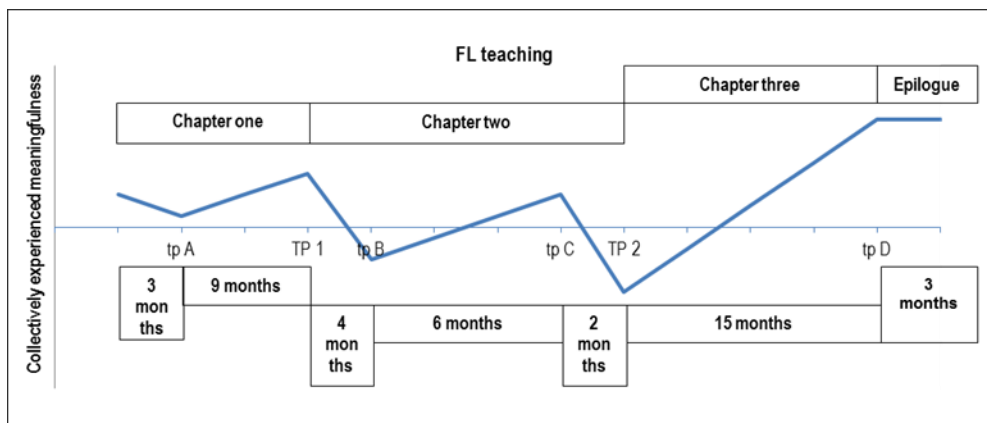
- professional challenges due to student diversity
- lack of motivation
- lack of life skills
- TP 1?
- unwillingness to commit to studying
- unrealistic expectations
- conflicts

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukion kurssija uusintana suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti toisenlainen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokonaan puhtaalta pöydältä. Menneen ja tämän päivän menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaen vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskelemaan, en seurustelevaan. Olen tässä kahden vaiheilla, kannattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on stressaava, pitkiä päiviä edessä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

- doubts about the teaching
- inability to understand the purpose of the teaching practices
- lack of time to study

4th reading: Graphing the dynamics of the plot progression



Appendix 8. An extract illustrating the holistic-content analysis of the FL teaching

1st reading: Dividing the data into *sjuzet* and *fabula*

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äänessä olemisen/ääneen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Paritehtävät ovat myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää ollenkaan ole niin jännittävää/pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmätöitä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan voimin kimpassa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestävää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tunnille menen. Ajattelukaavani näemmä pyrkivät aina suojelemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalalta. Pessimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariliani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilailla ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin itseni vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumoja.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 2, May 22)

Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin pareittain teksti 6 loppuun, Sofia tokaisi minulle että sen mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut.:) Hiphei, ehkä siihen on sitten hiuksen hienoa parannusta tapahtunut ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä ääntää ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja rohkeammin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, December 13)

Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimisvaikeuksista kärsiviä, maailmanmatkaajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! Ja kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opiskelun edistämiseksi, vaan yritetään mennä sieltä, missä aita on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, mutta voi olla niinkin, että opiskelijalla on ollut tänne tullessaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoa. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukion kursseja uusintana suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti toisenlainen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokonaan puhtaalta pöydältä. Menneen ja tämän päivän menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä. Väkinen tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaam vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä. Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskelemaan, en seurustelemaan. Olen tässä kahden vaiheilla, kannattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on stressaava, pitkiä päiviä edessä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

2nd reading: Identifying and naming the powerful thematic storylines

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)

Kun esimerkiksi läksiviä läni käydessä inkainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äännesuullisesti **Engaging, involving, participating** natalaksi. Paritehtävät ovat myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti **Engaging, involving, participating** ain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei olekaan ole niin innoittavaa. Pari-ryhmitöitä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan **Co-direction, community, togetherness** tarkistetaan tehtävät. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)

Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestävää painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä, koska olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi **Engaging, involving, participating** i näemmä pyrkivät aina suojelemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa **Engaging, involving, participating** viointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa enemmän pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän erilailla ja innostui välillä rupattel **Engaging, involving, participating** keskustelua yllä ja tunsin itseni vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenki **Meaningful, multidimensional English use**

[...]

Language learning journal (English 2, May 22)

Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin **Co-direction, community, togetherness** e että sen mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut.:) Hipheji, eli **Co-direction, community, togetherness** tapahtunut ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä ääntää ihan tunteella ja paljon paremmin ja renkeämmin kun sitten tunnilla!

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, December 13)

Huhhujaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltennyhmät ovat jo nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin hetepönnisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kolmoistutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, päivälukiosta **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** ilmanmatkaajia, onpa yksi jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtori **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** nglantia! Miten siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. päivälukion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono motivaatio. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvitse tehdä mitään. Välillä meille tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoissa on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta oppimisesta.

[...]

Teaching journal (English 4, January 19)

Kyllähän tämä aikuislukio on sellainen kasvun paikka joillekin opiskelijoille. Osa ei tänne tullessaan ole valmiita tekemään töitä opisk **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** a on matalin. Toki elämä itsessään asettaa haasteensa, **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** essaan epärealistiset odotukset ja käsitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nama mitaan kansalaisopiston kursseja ole, vaan valmistavat yo-tutkintoon. Kun koulun ja opiskelijan odotukset ovat erilaiset, yhteentörmäyksiltä ei voi välttyä.

[...]

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)

Lukio **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** varmasti toisenlainen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokor **Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials** etelmät ovat yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä, vaksiin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. **Engaging, involving, participating** oloin käännettiin tekstejä. Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä **Engaging, involving, participating** lantia opiskel **Engaging, involving, participating** vaiheilla, kannattiko tata kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? **Co-direction, community, togetherness** sä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tassa olisi nyt järkevää. **Co-direction, community, togetherness** opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

3rd and 4th reading: Isolating the storylines from other data; following their development

Engaging, involving, participating

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)
Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englanniksi vähän jotakin, kursilla laitettiin äänessä olemiseen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Paritehtävät myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisia tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuitenkin vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmiä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan kimpussa käydään kappaleita läpi ja tarpeita tehdään. Sen koen mieleiseksi.

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)
Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestävä painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä ja olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tulee menen. Ajattelukaavani näemmä pyrkivät aina elemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalasti. Yritin siinä pitää essimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa erin pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumoja.

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)
Lukion kurssija uuden suorittavan näkökulma kurssiin on varmasti onnen, kuin jos aloittaisi kurssin kokonaan pöydältä. Menneen ja tämän päivän menetelmät yhtä kaukana toisistaan kuin itä on lännestä. Tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenkien päälle. Kaipaan vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännekokstejä. Miksi englannin tunnilla pitäisi keskittyä ääriillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut englantia opiskellessäni, en seurustelemaan. Olen tässä kahden vaiheilla. Innattiko tätä kurssia edes aloittaa tai nyt yrittää jatkaa? Työtilanteeni on stressaava, pitkiä päiviä eläessä ja tiedän, että tunneilta tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

Meaningful, multidimensional English use

Language learning journal (English 0, September 24)
Jännitin keskusteluharjoituksia. Kuvittelin mielessäni koko tunnin kestävä painajaismaista dialogia. Harkitsin kotiin jäämistä ja olin varma, ettei fiaskoa ei voi väistää jos tulee menen. Ajattelukaavani näemmä pyrkivät aina elemaan minua kaikelta, mikä vaikuttaa kamalasti. Yritin siinä pitää essimisti ei pety, muuhun kuin arviointikykyynsä. Kivuitta kuluivat keskusteluhetket. Odotin jopa erin pariltani, joka ymmärsi tehtävän ja innostui välillä rupattelemaan suomeksi. Yritin siinä pitää englanninkielistä keskustelua yllä ja tunsin vähän pöljäksi. Ei jäänyt kuitenkaan traumoja.

Co-direction, community, togetherness

Language learning journal (English 3, September 19)
 Kun esimerkiksi läksyjä läpi käydessä jokainen joutui heti lukemaan englannin vähän jotakin, kurssilla laitettiin äänessä oleminen puheen puhumisen kynnyks matalaksi. Paritehtävä on myös sellaisia joista tykkään. Käydään suullisesti tehtäviä pienissä ryhmissä tai parettain, pääsee kuulla vielä hieman rennommin puhumaan pienissä porukoissa. Kun kaikki joutuvat sitä tekemään, se ei enää ole pelottavaa. Pari-/ryhmissä tehdään paljon ja yleensäkin koko luokan kappaleita läpi ja tarjotaan mieleiseksi.

Language learning journal (English 2, May 22)
 Tällä viikolla, kun luettiin erittäin teksti 6 loppuun, Sofia tokaisi minulle että (mielestä mun ääntämiseni on parantunut..) Hipheihin hienoa parannusta tapahtui ja keskusteltiin siitä, kuinka aina kotona sitä on paremmin ja rohkeammin.

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)
 Lukion kursseja uusiin kurssiin on varmasti kurssin kokonaan päätän tämän päivän menetele kuin itä on lännestä. vanhaa. Kapinahenki aikoja, jolloin käännetunnilla pitäisi keskittyä tullut englantia opiskelentässä kahden vaiheilla, aloittaa tai nyt yrittää stressaava, pitkiä päiviä ei tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

Constraints, obstacles, opportunities, potentials

Teaching journal (English 4, December 13)
Huhhuijaa! Lukuvuosi ei ole edes puolivälissä ja tämän vuoden kieltenryhmät on nyt olleet, jos mahdollista, vieläkin heterogeenisempiä kuin aiemmin: alaikäisiä kaksois- ja kaksikielisiä, maailmatutkinto-opiskelijoita, eläkeläisharrastajia, pöytästä siirtyneitä drop-outteja, oppimattomista karsivista, maailmanmatkaajia ja yksi si jatko-opiskelija ja yksi tohtoriksi väitellytkin! kaikilla omat intressit oppia/kerrata englantia? siis löytää yhteinen sävel opetukseen? Esim. pöytä kion lopettaneilla tuntuu usein olevan huono tulos. He olettavat, ettei meidän kursseilla tarvita tulla, joiden yleisissä tulee myös opiskelijoita, joiden yleisissä elämänhallinnan taidoista on ongelmia. Tällöin opiskelijalla on pääsääntöisesti vaikeuksia ottaa vastuuta myös omasta tuesta.

Teaching journal (English 3, January 19)
 Kyllähän tämä aikuisluokallekin opiskelijoille. sellainen kasvun paikka valmiita tekemään töitä ei tänne tullessaan ole yritetään mennä sieltä edistämiseksi, vaan elämä itsessään asettaa matalin. Toki on ollut tänne tullessaan omilla tunteilla ja paljon sitykset lukio-opiskelusta. Eivät nämä mitään kansainvälisen koulun ja opiskelijan valmistavat yo-tutkinto-ohjelmien tunteentörmäyksiltä ei voi odotukset ovat erilaisia välttyä.

Language learning journal (English 4, February 12)
 Lukion kursseja uusiin kurssiin on varmasti kurssin kokonaan päätän tämän päivän menetellen kuin jos aloittaisi kuin itä on lännestä. vanhaa. Kapinahenki aikoja, jolloin käännetunnilla pitäisi keskittyä tullut englantia opiskelentässä kahden vaiheilla, aloittaa tai nyt yrittää stressaava, pitkiä päiviä ei tulee poissaoloja. Tästä pitäisi keskustella, mikä tässä olisi nyt järkevää. Opetukseen sisältyy paljon uutta, jonka sisäistäminen on vaikeaa. Mihin tätä tarvitaan?

Appendix 9. The original Finnish data extracts quoted in the holistic-content analysis of the protagonists' FL-related development

Leena

[...]

(2) Ihan alkuun mä aattelin siitä [salkkutyöskentelystä] et mitä näitä keräilemään. Mutta ku eilen illalla kattelin ajatuksen kans, mitä sinne oli kertyny, ni täähän on hirveen hyvä idea. Oikeesti näkee, mitkä on ne ongelmat, mihin pitäis paneutua enemmän. Ja näkee kehittymistään ihan selkeesti.

(3) Kieloppihan mulla on se kaikista ongelmallisin alue. Se on vaan sellasta että mun pitää harjotella ja opetella niitä asioita. Ei se oo ongelma, että mulla ois joku erityisvaikeus. Se on vaan semmosta raakaa tekemistä.

(4) Jos ajattelee oppimisen kannalta, ni se on ollu aika ideaalimäärä, mitä niit [läksyjä] on ollu ja et on ollu erilaisia tehtäviä. Kyllä tää sellasta on, et ei sitä vapaa-aikaa juurkaa jää. Mutta jos tämmöst rupee suorittamaan, ni emmä ymmärrä sitäkää, että jätetään tekemättä ja sanotaan, että onhan sitä muutaki elämää. Jos sitä aikaa ei pysty ottamaan, ei tätä kannata ruveta tekemään ollenkaa. Kyl se on pistettävä etusijalle niissä tilanteissa mis vaihtoehtoja on.

(5) Tiedon ja taitojen lisääntyessä näkökulma asioihin laajenee. Kulttuuria osaa tarkastella kriittisemmin. Syntyy halu katsoa asioita, jotka eivät heti näy. Vaikka länsimaiset kulttuurit ovat samantapaisia, tavoissa ja arvostuksissa on eroja. Englantia puhutaan hyvin erilaisissa kulttuureissa eikä Intiassa kaikki ole samanlaista kuin Irlannissa, Suomesta puhumattakaan.

(6) Meijän kolmesta tytöstä kaks on siellä Englannissa. Viimeks ku menin käymään, ni enää ei vahdita niin tarkkaan, et miten se mutsi selviytyy lentokentältä sinne perille, et pitääkö tulla vastaan, ja et pitääkö tulla asemalle, et osaakohan se mennä taksilla sinne, minne sen pitää. Neki jo näkee, että mä selviän englanniksi siellä. Mua ei tartte enää olla holhoomassa.

Susanna

[...]

(8) Kivaa ku ei oo vaa joku, jonka nimee ei muisteta. Tuntuu et aikuislukiossa opettajat enemmän välittää, muistaa millanen oppilas on, millaisia sen jutut on.

(9) Mä en aikasemmin tehny ikinä mitään koulussa englannin oppimiseksi, mä olin tosi huono. Tääl mä rupesin haluun, et opin. Se oli se et sä sanoit sillon [kolmoskurssilla], ku mä kirjoitin sen aineen, että mä voisin saada parempiakin. Emmä ollu ikinä aatellu, et voisin saada parempia. Oon sen jälkeen ruvennu miettiin enemmän sitä [tekstin] rakennetta. En vaa kirjota mitä mieleen tulee. Oon enemmän miettiny, mitä mä kappaleeseen laitan, mitä pointteja haluun siihen kirjoitukseen.

(10) [Ryhmytyöt] on tosi turhia. Me käytetään niihin monta tuntia. Jos voisin saman ajan lukee yksin kirjaa, taatusti oppisin enemmän. Se on väkinäistä, ihmiset ei tosissaan panosta, ryhmätyöskentely ei vaa istu suomalaisille. Se on päiväkotimeininkiä, askarteluu, sillei oo tarkotusta. Mun mielest itseopiskelu on paras tapa. Jos ei oo oppinu sosiaalisia taitoja lapsena, ni turha niit on enää lukiossa enkuntunnilla yrittää opetella. Se on vaan vähän epäaito ympäristö.

(11) Puhuminen on vaan vaikeempaa. Voi olla, et se on kii asennoitumisestaki, tääl [oppitunneilla] sitä ei sillee ota todellisena tilanteena. Et kuitenki oon Lontoossaki hengailtu, ku joskus ei koulu huvittanu, ni ei mul mitää ongelmia ollu.

[...]

(14) Kielitaitoni ja opiskeluun liittyvät asenteeni ovat muuttuneet radikaalisti. Olen vihdoin tiedostanut, mitä opettajat ja vanhemmat ovat toittaneet ala-asteelta lähtien – emme opi koulua vaan elämää varten. Tarvitsen näitä täällä opittuja asioita. Tajusin, että englanti liittyy moniin unelmiini (matkustelu, asuminen ja työskentely ulkomailla), ja päättelin, ettei sen opiskelusta näin ollen haittaakaan olisi. Pikkuhiljaa aloin pitää englannista, vaikkei sen myöntäminen katu-uskottavaa olekaan.

(15) Koen olevani sitä osaamisen tasoa alempana, missä minun tulisi olla opiskeluvuosien perusteella. Aikuislukion puolella sitä ei onneksi huomaa. On helpompaa ku tääl on vanhempia ja ne on huonompia englannissa, ku niil on kansakouluenglanti. Pidän opiskelusta pienemmässä porukassa. Kynnys osallistua opetukseen on pienempi ja ilmapiiri leppoisampi.

(16) Mun mielest [aikuislukion] ehdottomii plussii on, et tää on yksilöllistä, ei yhteisöllistä. Tääl saa olla rauhassa. Ei tarvi luoda suhteita muihin opiskelijoihin, eikä tietää toisten lempivärejä.

Suvi

(17) Vaikka opiskelujastani/energiastani haukkaa suuren palan reflektiot ja päiväkirjat, koen ne hyödyllisinä havaintovälineinä, jotka auttavat ymmärtämään, mitä minä yritän, miten ja miksi.

(18) Olen miettinyt englannin puhumisen pelkoani nyt kyllästymiseen saakka. Olkoon, jos ja kun mokailen, niin sittenpä mokailen, tuskin mitään ikimuistoista saan aikaan.

(19) Ärsyttää jo vanhoista huonoista kokemuksistani jauhaminen. Olen kehittänyt niistä suurempia kauhuskenaarioita kuin ne ovat. Yritän jatkossa korvata negatiivisen ajatteluni positiivisemmalla. Englannin opiskelu ei ole enää kuolemanvakava aihe minulle, vaikka merkityksellinen onkin.

(20) Tiimityö vakiparin kanssa on toimivaa ja tuloksellista. Hän on lahjakas ja vauhdikas, minä takerrun yksityiskohtiin ja kyseenalaistan. Yhdessä on hausempi pohdiskella. Ryhmässä parasta on yksilöiden erilaisuus ja monenlaiset näkökulmat. Ryhmä on vertaistukijoukko, joka edistää oppimista ja motivoi, yksin ei tulisi opiskeltua. Mielipteiden ja kokemusten jakaminen on tärkeää. Jos ei olisi ketään, kenen puoleen kääntyä, en jaksaisi selvittää asioita. Myös opettajalla on keskeinen rooli ryhmän johtamisessa ja oppimisessa. Ilman opettajaa ryhmä olisi joukko eksyneitä, jotka eivät tietäisi miten ovat paikalle joutuneet ja mihin pitäisi suunnata.

(21) Ennen englannin opiskelun aloittamista suljin silmäni ja korvani englannin kieleltä ja väistelin vieraita kulttuureita. Jatkuva pakenemisen tunne oli psykkinesti rasittavaa ja itsetuntoa koettelevaa. Opiskelijan roolissa olen alkanut seurata ympäristöäni toisella lailla. Minun ei tarvitse olla mestari ja saan oppia omaan tahtiini. Opiskelijana minulla on lupa yrittää ja erehtyä, kohdata eteen tulevat haasteet. Tämä on ollut henkisen kehityksen kannalta suuri, mielenkiintoinen ja vapauttava asia. Kun olen hyväksynyt opiskelijan itsessäni, olen huomannut, että tuo opiskelija aktivoituu monissa tilanteissa.

(22) Kävimme risteilyllä Tukholmassa lomalla. [...] Nyt oli paljon itsevarmempi olo, uskalsin mm. vaihtaa rahaa museossa ja tilata ruokaa, eikä se tuntunut mitenkään ponnistukselta. Voisi tätä sanoa positiiviseksi kokemukseksi, on sillä merkitystä.

(23) Englannin opiskelu merkitsee minulle enemmän kuin olisin koskaan voinut kuvitella. Englannin kieli on avain, joka avaa monia ovia ympäriväan maailmaan, ilman sitä useat asiat ja tiedot jäisivät puolittain pimentoon.

Anna

(24) Mieheni sairastui, niin mullon tullu kotitöitä valtavan paljon lisää...se ei oo elämä enää samanlaista kuin ennen. Ja kyl ne huolet rassaa niin ettei oo sitä voimaa niin.

(25) Ryhmätyö olisi ollut mielenkiintoinen kokonaisuus tehdä kokonaan yhdessä. Tää nyt taas meni vain näin [että jouduin olemaan pois tunneilta]. Jos olisin nopeampi tuottamaan tekstiä, tehtävät sujuisivatkin. Joskus on tunne, että olen ryhmälle vain taakaksi.

(26) Koska kielen alkeet ovat minulta läpikäymättä, on hankalaa opiskella uutta, kun minulla ei ole perustaa, mihin liittää vaativampaa tasoa olevia asioita. Rakennuskin huojuu ilman kunnollista sokkeliä.

(27) Itseäni kyllä motivoi tehtävissä onnistuminen. Kun on ollut aikaa paneutua ja onnistunut jokseenkin vaaditusti tekemään tehtävänsä, jatkaa hyvillä fiiliksillä ja pyrkii parempaan.

(28) Olen monasti suhtautunut yllölkäisesti oppimisvinkkeihin, mitä tunteilla jaetaan. Kuitenkin niihin pysähdyttyä ja kokeiltua niitä, olen havainnut niiden toimivan. Esimerkiksi sanojen opiskelussa niiden ryhmittely auttaa. Muutos, ainakin tällä ikää, on vaan vaikea viedä läpi. Kuitenkin juuri muutosta tarvitsen sanojen opiskelussa, sillä vanhat konstit eivät toimi.

(29) Kielisalkkuni on sisällöltään vaatimaton ja kehityksen kaarta on kohdallani turha hakea. Toisaalta tiedän oppineeni asioita, mutta mitä? Analyysi on vaikeaa. Yritystä on ollut, tehtävät olen saanut tehtyä melkein ajallaan. Alkukurssista tuli viivettä. Joskus olen ymmärtänyt tehtävänannonkin virheellisesti. Sanottavaa minulla olisi, mutta joskus oikein suututtaa, kun ei ole riittävästi taitoa ilmaista itseään.

(30) Se työväenopiston opetus on ollu hirveen hyvää, se on kuin terapiaa samalla. Siellä ymmärtää kaiken, kun siellä mennään niin hitaasti alkeita. On tosi helppo olla.

Noora

[...]

(33) Joissakin aiheissa on ehkä parempi et mietitään ryhmässä, tulee uusia ideoita, uusia näkökulmia. [...] Mut sit taas mullon se oma [yksin opiskelun] tekniikka mist mä haluun pitää kiinni ja omat [yksilölliset] tavat opiskella ja mä pääsen niillä hyvin tuloksiin. Ja se kuulostaa ehkä kauheelta sanoa nii mut jos mä teen ryhmätyönä ja annan jonku toisen tehtäväks ton niin se ei tee sitä nii hyvin ku minä. Mutta se tekee sen niin hyvin kun se tekee. Mut ehkä mä oonki just sen takia, et jos on joku ryhmätyö, ni sit mä oon siinä se johtaja ja vetäjä, joka sanoo kuka tekee mitäkin. [...]

"Niko"

(38) Opiskelijana olen laiska läksyjen suhteen, enkä lue melkein ollenkaan oppikirjoja vapaa-ajallani. Jatkan kuitenkin opiskeluani todennäköisesti samaan malliin. [...] Kurssiarvosanaksi antaisin itselleni 7, koska toivon sitä todella.

(39) Miksi minun pitäisi englannin tunnilla keskittyä ympärillä oleviin ihmisiin? Olen tullut opiskelemaan englantia, enkä seurustelemaan.

[...]

(41) Mutta harmittaa silti se, että kappaleita käsiteltiin melko vähän tunnilla. Minusta olisi ollut parempi lukea ja suomentaa kappaleita tunneilla, sillä nyt kun ne jäivät tehtäväksi omalla vapaa-ajalla, minulla ei tietenkään jäänyt aikaa niihin kaiken muun lisäksi.

(42) Olen turhautunut ja ärsyyntynyt siihen, että olen tällä kurssilla uudestaan. Pääsin jo kerran läpi, mutta silti sain hylätyn kurssiarvosanaksi joka oli minun mielestäni epäreilua sillä kävin tunneillakin.

(43) [Koulun ulkopuolella] osaan puhua englanniksi melkein kaikista minua kiinnostavista aiheista, mikäli niissä on simppeleitä sanastoa. Vapaa-ajalla saatan puhua kavereiden kanssa englantia muuten vaan ja tietysti tilanteissa joissa ei edes voi puhua äidinkieltä. Tämän kurssin aiheet ovat kuitenkin tosi vaativia sanastoltaan, tällaisista asioista harvoin puhun.

(44) Hieman on kummastuttanut tämä suuri läksyjen määrä, koska jokainen tai ainakin suurin osa on työssä käyviä ihmisiä ja saattaa lapsikin olla + harrastukset yms. Aikaa läksyjen tekoon ei välttämättä hirveästi ainakaan itsellä löydy.

(45) [P]oissaolot on tullu kun en vaan ole voinut jättää treenejä välistä. Jos niitä poissaoloja nyt tulee liikaa niin anna vaikka lisätehtäviä että saan kokeeseen osallistua. Tää on vaikee tilanne käydä tätä iltalukiota.

(46) Mielestäni kielioppiasioihin olisi voitu kiinnittää enemmän huomiota ja joskus tuntui että ryhmätehtäviin käytettiin liikaa aikaa, joka olisi voitu käyttää esim. kielioppiin tai tehtävien tekemiseen. Kielioppiasioissa minulla on paljon opeteltavaa. Tunneilla kielioppia ei käyty riittävän hyvin läpi, joten en ymmärtänyt kaikkia asioita.

Appendix 10. The original Finnish data extracts quoted in the holistic-content analysis of the FL teaching

Engaging, involving, participating

(1) *Käsitlemme tällä kurssilla kirjoitustehtävien suunnittelu- ja jäsenysvaiheita. Opiskelijat saavat salkkutehtävänä seuraavaan viikkoon mennessä suunnitella oman ainekirjoituksensa sisällön.*

(2) *Tiimityö vakiparin kanssa on toimivaa ja tuloksellista. Hän on lahjakas ja vauhdikas, minä takerrun yksityiskohtiin ja kyseenalaistan. Yhdessä on hauskeampi pohdiskella.*

(3) *Yksilöpalautte oli mukava poikkeama rutiineihin, monen on helpompi kysellä opettajalta tarkemmin asioista. Minulla on edelleen paljon punaista, turha selitellä. Pitäisi pysähtyä tarkistamaan.*

[...]

(5) *Minun kurssisuoritukseni -moniste on hyvä muistilappu. Deadline-päivämäärät pakottavat toimimaan, mutta silti on omaa valintaa tehtävien tekemisessä, kun on kaksi tai kolme mahdollista palautuspäivää.*

(6) *Kurssikaveri kertoi, että tekee sanoista lappuja, toiselle puolelle selitys suomeksi. Ajattelin, että täytyy olla tosi innostunut, jos jaksaa askarrella. Kokeilin kakkostekstin sanoilla ja yllätys yllätys, opiskelu oli hauskaa ja kovaan kallooni jäävää. Saman tein kolmostekstin kanssa ja sain jopa tyttäreni pelaamaan muistipeliä sanoilla!*

[...]

(9) *Muiden opiskellessa tänään tekstiä Juuso kirjoittaa rästiin jääneen ainekirjoituksen. Hän paneutuu tehtävään ja aineesta tulee oikein hyvä. Tällä kertaa tunnista oli hänelle hyötyä. Pitää varmaan kokeilla käytäntöä toistekin.*

(10) *Kokelen englanninkurssilla opiskelua kolmen hengen tutorryhmissä. Yksi pienryhmän opiskelija on tutor, joka osittain vastaa ryhmän opiskelusta tuntien aikana.*

(11) *Ilalukiassa puhutaan enemmän englantia ja opiskelussa huomioidaan paremmin ryhmän tarpeet tai taidot, mikä auttaa oppimaan paremmin. Ilalukiassa ihmiset osaavat englantia hyvin vaihtelevasti, joten kynnys puhua tai kysyä 'tyhmiä' kysymyksiä on pienempi, koska ei tarvitse pelätä itsensä nolaamista. Itse koin saavani kurssista itsevarmuutta puhua, koska olen ajatellut olevani huono englannissa, koska en osaa kieliooppia ja teen kirjoitusvirheitä. Mutta parityöskentelyssä olen huomannut, että ymmärrän paljon puhetta ja pystyn suullisesti tuottamaan tekstiä. Esimerkiksi yhdellä tunnilla en ollut tehnyt läksyjä, mutta siitä huolimatta pystyin käymään niitä parityöskentelyssä läpi koska osasin ne muuten! Se oli aika hienoa, sillä se oli niitä positiivisia onnistumisen tunteita, joita opiskelussa tarvitaan.*

Meaningful, multidimensional English use

(12) *Tein itse suunnittelemani portfoliotehtävän. Katsoin Kauniit ja rohkeat -jakson ilman tekstitystä. Ohjelmaan joutui keskittymään kovasti, olo tuntui jälkeensä väsyneeltä.*

(13) *Draamatehtävä oli uusi juttu. Aluksi oli hiljaista, kun kaikkia jännitti, mutta kun saimme keskustelun käyntiin, oli mielenkiintoista ja hauskaa. Siitä jäi hyvä mieli!*

(14) *Tällä viikolla lempikohtani tunneilla oli improvisointiharjoitus. Spontaani keskustelu oli hauskaa, ja haluaisin lisää sen kaltaisia harjoituksia. Ehkä siten oppisin olemaan jännittämättä muitakin keskusteluita.*

(15) *Finnish-free lessons ei liene hassumpi ajatus. Jouduin silti käyttämään suomeakin, koska pulpettikaverini Annan sanavarasto oli omaanikin huonommassa jamassa ja yritykseni päästä kontaktiin hänen kanssaan ei tuottanut tulosta. Katsoin parhaaksi selittää suomeksi, koska emme muuten olisi pystyneet kommunikoimaan lainkaan.*

[...]

(18) *Ilalukiassa puhutaan enemmän englantia ja opiskelussa huomioidaan paremmin ryhmän tarpeet tai taidot, mikä auttaa oppimaan paremmin.*

Fostering awareness, deepening understanding

(19) *Tunnilla keskustelimme reflektioesseeissä esiin tulleista asioista. Opettaja oli koonnut paperille kysymyksiä. Pohdinnan aihetta antoivat emotionaaliset tekijät, oman motiivin, rohkeuden, asenteen, pitkäjänteisyyden arvioiminen ym. Tästä pidin, ajatukset saivat pohtimaan!*

(20) *Minua on motivoinut erityisesti pakollisia kursseja vapaampi opiskelu ja kiinnostavat aiheet. Globalisoituvaa maailmaa, erilaiset tavat ja pohdinnat ovat juuri sitä mikä minua kiinnostaa, ja minkä takia haluan opiskella englantia.*

(21) Oman opiskelun pätkäily tursuaa jo ylitse. En ole varma onko itsearvioinnista hyötyä itselleni. Suhtaudun skeptisesti arviointeihin. Arviointi lyö leiman kohteeseen, saa opiskelijan uskomaan 'tällainen minä olen, näin minä osaan'. Sillä voi olla epäedullista vaikutusta (vähän sama juttu kuin ennustuksissa ja horoskoopeissa).

(22) Laurin mielestä kielipäiväkirjan pitämisestä ei ole mitään hyötyä. Oppimispäiväkirja vaatii opiskelijalta sitoutumista pitkäjänteiseen oppimisprosessiin. Lauri ei ole suorittanut kursseja järjestyksessä vaan käynyt niitä epäsäännöllisesti sieltä täältä. Tällaisten opiskelijoiden kohdalla prosessimainen opiskelu puuttuu kokonaan.

(23) Pyysin terveystiedon opettajaa englannintunnille kertomaan englanniksi 'kesätyöstään' Tansanian kouluissa. Marja innostuikin puhumaan englanniksi pitkälti yli tunnin! Käsiteltyä tulivat niin kielenkäytön vaikeudet, paikallisten olojen kurjuudet kuin kulttuurierotkin. Moni opiskelija kuunteli mielenkiinnolla Marjan kokemuksia ja esitti paljon kysymyksiä. Marjan esitys syvensi kolmoskurssin koulu- ja työura-aiheita ja antoi mahdollisuuksia pohtia kulttuurien kohtaamista ja toivottavasti rohkaisi opiskelijoita hyödyntämään kielitaitoaan, oli se millainen tahansa.

(24) Jaakko, Riku ja Irja antoivat tänään kivaa palautetta kurssista. Oli kuulemma 'mieltä ja maailmoja avaava' kurssi, joka 'pisti vanhankin miettimään'. Kurssilla tehtiin mm. pieni projektityö ja pojat kirjoittivat englanniksi lehtiartikkelin, jonka ajatuksena oli kriittinen näkökulma suomalaiseen hyvinvointiyhteiskuntaan. Jaakko oli kotona lukenut koko 6 minuutin artikkelin nauhalle radiolähetyksen muotoon, ja siitä syntyi sitten heidän esityksensä eilliselle tunnille. Olivat pojat panostaneet hommaan ihan kunnolla.

Co-direction, community, togetherness

(26) Kun käsittelemme tekstiä, opiskelija kerrallaan lukee tekstiä ääneen luokalle ja yhdessä käännetään suomeksi kohdat, joiden ymmärtämisessä on ollut hankaluuksia. Suurin osa on hiljaa, mutta kaksi aktiivista sentään löytyy, joilla on usein kysyttävää. Nostan myös itse esille omasta mielestäni kielellisesti vaikeita kohtia. Tekstin loppupuolisko käsitellään parin kanssa – parilta on helpompi kysyä, jos ei jotain ymmärtänyt.

(27) Keskiviikon tunnilla työskentely oli ahkeraa. Osa työskenteli tiiviisti ryhmissä tai parittain, itse näin mielekkääksi kääntää kappaletta yksin, tunti loppui vähän kesken, sillä en ehtinyt ryhmän kanssa juuri tarkistaa tekemisiäni.

(28) Tunneilla on aivan mahtavaa se, että tuntihenki on aivan erilainen! Se on kannustava ja jos moka sattuu tapahtumaan, ei tarvitse painaa päätään pusikkoon vaan yrittää uudelleen seuraavalla kerralla. Se, että muut ovat innokkaita oppimaan ja tunneilla on hyvä fiilis, motivoi oppimaan ja tekee siitä huomattavasti mukavampaa.

(29) Annettiin tehtäväksi valmistaa esitys työnhakutilanteesta CV:ineen ja saatekirjeineen. Kolmen hengen ryhmissä työskennellään. Kaksi esittää työnhakijoita ja kolmas haastattelee. Sofia tarttui nuoruuden innolla haastattelijan tehtävään ja me Annan kanssa saimme osaksemme olla työnhakijoita. Työ saatiin tiistaina hyvään alkuun ja torstaina jatkettiin.

(30) Kun opiskelijat tekevät paljon pareittain töitä tunneilla, koitan toistuvasti teroittaa opiskelijoille, että ryhmä etenisi yhdessä ja että koko ryhmä vastaisi siitä, että teksti tulee käsiteltyä. Ei ole mitään mieltä sellaisessa, että ollaan ikään kuin tekemässä kimpassa, ja yksi tekee muita nopeammin, vaikka hitaammat kamppailevat tehtävien kanssa.

(31) Tiistaina sain parikseni uuden henkilön, jonka kanssa työskennellessä minulla tunne, ettemme puhu samaa kieltä edes suomea puhuessamme. Aika haasteellista oli meidän yhteistyömme, etenkin tekstistä keskustellessa oli vaikeuksia.

[...]

(33) Onko aikuislukiossa mahdollista olla sosiaalisesti vastuullinen, kun välillä tuntuu, ettei opiskelija osaa kantaa vastuuta edes itsestään? Opiskelijan elämäntilanne (väsymys, paineet, oppimisvaikeudet, stressi) vaikuttavat selvästi parityöskentelyyn, ja voivat estää sen onnistumisen. Osa opiskelijoista kokee myös tarvitsevansa opettajaa kontrolloimaan omaa toimintaansa. Toimiminen ryhmän jäsenenä on yllättävän vierasta.

(34) Olen saanut Nooralta henkilökohtaista apua ääntämisessä ja kappaleiden vaikeiden kohtien selvittämisessä. Nyt olen yrittänyt panostaa erityisesti kuunteluun ja ääntämiseen.

(35) Eilen juteltiin kollegoiden kanssa siitä, että meidänkin opiskelijoista muutama oli koittanut lähiseudun isossa aikuislukiossa suorittaa kursseja. Ei siitä lopulta mitään tullut, koska vastuu opiskelusta jäi kokonaan opiskelijalle itselleen eikä kukaan muu huolehtinut kurssisuorituksen edistymisestä. Kun näitä opiskelijoita paremmin alkaa tuntea, tajuaa myös, että osa tarvitsee vahvaa yhteisön tukea ja sitä tämä meidän pieni porukkamme pystyy mielestäni tarjoamaan isoa aikuislukiota paremmin.

Constraints and obstacles vs. opportunities and potentials

(36) *En aina osaa olla opiskelijoille välittävä ihminen, varsinkin jos tuntuu, että on kiire ja paljon opetettavaa. Huomaan ajattelevani, että oppitunti pitää käyttää kokonaan hyödyksi oppimisen kannalta. Olisi kuitenkin tärkeää antaa aikaa oppia. Ajattelen liian suorituskeskeisesti, en näe ihmistä oppimisen takana.*

(37) *Minun on vaikeaa aktivoida opiskelijoita keskustelemaan asioista, kun en itsekään ole hyvä puhuja. Tulee huono omatunto tai lähinnä sitä on pettynyt itseän, kun ei osaa olla sellainen opettaja kuin haluaisi. En silti voi alkaa esittää mitään, tällainen minä olen.*

(38) *Olen kurssin aikana havainnut selvästi, että opiskelijoiden odotukset opetuksen suhteen ovat ristiriitaisia: yksi haluaa opetella vain kielioppia ja kääntää tekstejä; toinen haluaa opiskella itsenäisesti yksin ja kolmas haluaa harjoitella parin kanssa suullisesti. Lisäksi jokainen opiskelija pitäisi huomioida yksilönä, jolla on elämää koulun ulkopuolella. Juuri nyt tuntuu siltä, etten kykene antamaan heikoille tarpeeksi tukea enkä vahvoille riittävästi vapauksia.*

(39) *Ohjaussuhde muodostuu läheisemmäksi, kun saa opettaa samoja opiskelijoita kurssilta toiselle. Kielipäiväkirja, ohjauskeskustelut ym. opiskelua henkilökohtaistavat toimintatavat edistävät opiskelijan tuntemusta. Olisi vaikeaa opettaa luokassa, jonka opiskelijoita en tunne.*

(40) *Tunnilla mainittiin sanakirjoista. Välillä sanan etsiminen on melkoista arpomista, siksi on hyvä että opettaja mainitsi yksikieliset sanakirjat (itse en olisi keksinyt moista mahdollisuutta).*

(41) *Oman kuuntelutehtävän tekeminen avasi uuden maailman, kun uskaltauduin kuuntelemaan BBC:n ohjelmia. [Kurssin verkkosivun] linkkien takaaahan löytyy vaikka mitä!*

(42) *Menneen ja tämän päivän [opetus]menetelmät ovat yhtä kaukana kuin itä on lännestä. Väkisin tulee verrattua uutta ja vanhaa. Kapinahenki iskee päälle. Kaipaen vanhoja aikoja, jolloin käännettiin tekstejä.*

(43) *Tietyt opiskelijat eivät ikinä selvitä läksyjä, jättävät tehtävät tekemättä. Joskus opiskelija on poissa monta kertaa peräjälkeen ja ilmestyy sitten tunnille mitään sanomatta. On se masentavaa, kun ei yrityksestä huolimatta saa opiskelijoita aktivoitua. Tajuan kyllä, ettei syy aina ole opettajassa, mutta silti!*

(44) *[O]pekouksessa oli hyödyllistä kuulla kollegojen ajatuksia opiskelijasta, josta on itsekin huolissaan. [...] Keskusteluissa nousi esille, että aikuislukiosta tarvitaan päivälukiosta poikkeavaa pedagogiikkaa. Osa näyttää tulkitsevan tämän niin, että meidän pitäisi tinkiä vaatimuksista, jotta opiskelijat saavat kurssit ja tutkinnot suoritettua, että esim. esiintymiskammoisten ei tarvitsisi pitää esityksiä yms. Minusta pitäisi miettiä, miten opiskelijaa voisi tukea vaatimuksista tinkimättä.*

(45) *Kuulin tänään mielenkiintoisen keskustelun kahden opettajan välillä. Toinen tutkiskeli listaa opiskelijoiden arvosanoista englannin yo-kokeessa, ja totesi lopetettuaan helpottuneena toiselle opettajalle, että on hyvä, että jotkut ongelmaopiskelijat on siirretty aikuislinjalle päivälukion keskiarvoja alentamasta. Tähän toinen vastasi, että on todella ollut turhaa opettaa niitä opiskelijoita kurseilla. Tämä keskustelun poikanen sai minut miettimään, millainen käsitys näillä kahdella opettajalla on aikuislukiosta ja sen opiskelijoista.*

(46) *Sähköpostiviestit opettajalta ovat olleet kannustavia, niistä on saanut mukavasti potkua. Erityisen merkityksellistä viestien ystävällisyydessä ja tasapainoisuudessa on, että ne muistuttavat opettajan inhimillisyydestä. Vaikka opettaja on ryhmän suuri tietäjä, se ei tarkoita sitä, että pitäisi varoa lentäviä loitsuja (ja esineitä) jos opettajaa alkaa hermostuttaa kesken tunnin.*

(47) *Tällä kurssilla olen pitänyt ns. kysymysvihkoa, jotta muistan ne asiat, jotka ovat jääneet askarruttamaan. Olen tyytyväinen itseäni, sillä olen saanut selvitettyä opettajan kanssa ne asiat. Muutamia asioita täytyy 'jumpata', olen merkinnyt ne huutomerkillä. Se on mielestäni merkki, että tajuaa jotain, kun osaa kysyä. Jatkan vihkon pitämistä jossain muodossa jatkossakin.*

(48) *Viime viikkojen aikana on noussut esille ajatus koeviikottomien jaksojen järjestämisestä koulussamme. Minusta tämä olisi harkinnan arvoinen juttu, koska tällöin oppitunteja vapautuisi lisää opetuskäyttöön, jakson lopun stressiperiodi poistuisi ja kurssien arviointi voisi kunnolla perustua kurssin aikana tapahtuvan oppimiseen ja kehittymiseen.*

[...]

(50) *Juuso on lahjakas kuin mikä, muttei vielääkään ole oppinut ottamaan vastuuta opiskelusta, hän tulee aina valmistautumatta tunnille eikä pariytöskentelykään onnistu. Kyllä hän tekstit osaa ja yleissivistyskin on valtava. Muiden opiskellessa tänään tekstiä Juuso saa kirjoittaa rästiin jääneen ainekirjoituksen. Hän paneutuu tehtävään ja aineesta tulee oikein hyvä. Tällä kertaa tunnista oli hänelle hyötyä. Pitää varmaan kokeilla käytäntöä toistekin.*

Index

Affordance

- and authenticity; 367, *see also Authenticity*
- and FL teaching; 361, 367, 377
- and language learning; 76, 302, 374, 379
- and perception; 303, 377
- and portfolio; 365, *see also Portfolio*
- definition of; 77, 303

Agency

- and authenticity; 347, 358, 390, 419, *see also Authenticity*
- and autonomy; 78, 111, 142, 349, 413, 415, 417, 446, *see also Autonomy*
- and ecology; 297, 299, 301, 413, 416, *see also Ecology*
- and FL teaching; 347, 376, 394, 405, *also see Language education*
- and identity; 78, 96, 111, 301, 374, 377, 380, 412, 413, 417, *see also Identity*
- and language learning; 296, 297, 301
- and social structures; 75
- and voice; 105, 419
- as agentic behaviour; 76
- as contextually situated relationship; 76
- as dialogic process; 77
- as personal disposition; 76
- beyond language learning purposes, AbL; 300, 379, 411, 446
- definition of; 76, 379
- degrees, forms, types of; 299, 374, 379
- in language learning, AL; 300, 379, 411, 446

Ahearn, L.; 76

Allwright, D.; 29, 30, 139, 151, 348, 359, 394, 434

Aoki, N.; 29, 80, 88, 145, 150, 385, 404

Assessment

- and authenticity; 72, 86, 352, 356, 376, *see also Authenticity*
- and autonomy; 72, 84, 86, 87, 342, 351, 376, *see also Autonomy*
- and narrativity; 398, *see also Narrativity*
- and portfolio; 86, 395, *see also Portfolio*
- and reflection; 87, 157, 159, 354
- as learning; 86
- for learning; 86
- formative; 85, 351
- of learning; 86
- peer-assessment; 87, 342, 354
- self-assessment; 87, 157, 159, 342, 353, 376
- summative; 85, 351
- sustainable; 85, 352, 376
- teacher; 354

Authenticity

- and affordance; 367, *see also Affordance*
- and agency; 347, 358, 390, 419, *see also Agency*
- and assessment; 72, 86, 352, 356, 376, *see also Assessment*
- and autonomy; 72, 357, 377, 378, 389, 390, 392, 411, 419, *see also Autonomy*
- and exploratory practice; 359, *see also Exploratory practice, EP*
- and identity; 41, 56, 357, 361, 390, 393, 419, *see also Identity*
- and portfolio; 356, 361, *see also Portfolio*
- and voice; 105, 358, 419
- history of; 72
- in FL teaching; 41, 72, 356, 377, 390, 394, *also see Language education*
- in language learning; 41, 72, 291, 356, 359, 390

Autonomy

- and (inter)dependence; 73, 384, 397
 and agency; 78, 111, 142, 349, 413, 415, 417, 446, *see also Agency*
 and assessment; 72, 84, 86, 87, 342, 351, 376, *see also Assessment*
 and authenticity; 72, 357, 377, 378, 389, 390, 392, 411, 419, *see also Authenticity*
Authenticity
 and capacity; 382, 390
 and competence; 69, 381
 and control; 70, 383, 390
 and dynamic; 71, 392
 and ecology; 71, 110, 391, 404, 415, *see also Ecology*
 and educational policy/curricular design; 39, 43, 47, 85, 349, 404
 and flexible control; 387, 392
 and identity; 90, 109, 375, 380, 411, 417, 446, *see also Identity*
 and language learning; 100
 and portfolio; 341, 345, 347, 396, *see also Portfolio*
 and scope; 68, 388
 and self-management; 79
 and self-regulation; 80
 broader understanding of; 88, 341, 346, 376, 378, 390, 397, 401, 405, 411, 418
 co-direction in; 81, 343, 376
 critique; 55, 56, 57
 definition/description of; 43, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 347, 376, 380, 411, 445
 history of; 53, 444
 in adult education; 46
 in language education; 41, 54, 405, *also see Language education*
 individual-cognitive perspective to; 62, 411
 learner autonomy; 41, 61, 65, 69, 78, 347, 413
 pedagogy for; 340, 346
 political-critical perspective to; 65, 411
 self-direction in; 81, 344, 376
 social-interactive perspective to; 63, 411
 teacher autonomy; 74, 385, 450
- Aviram, R.; 59, 83, 387, 389, 392
 Bakhtin, M.; 41, 104, 105, 419
 Barkhuizen, G.; 96, 135, 202, 422, 425, 428
- Benson, P.; 42, 46, 63, 64, 70, 74, 78, 83, 101, 111, 172, 294, 357, 373, 380, 382, 383, 389, 410, 414, 418
 Block, D.; 93, 94, 99, 100, 106, 142, 291, 294
 Bruner, J.; 124, 127, 134
 Čermák, I.; 167
 Clandinin, D.J.; 135, 147
 Community of practice, CoP; 29, 97
 and identity; 98
 Connelly, F.M.; 135, 147
 Cooke, D.; 76, 78, 84, 298, 349, 394, 415
 Cooker, L.; 75, 89, 110, 412
 Council of Europe; 54, 66, 397
 Curriculum; 37
 National core curriculum for general upper secondary education for adults; 38, 39, 46, 85, 404
- Davies, B.; 95, 96
 Denzin, N.; 426
- Ecology
 and agency; 297, 299, 301, 414, 416, *see also Agency*
 and autonomy; 71, 110, 391, 404, 415, *see also Autonomy*
 and identity; 402, 404, 411, *see also Identity*
 in FL teaching; 203, 367, 374, 401
 in language learning; 304, 374, 380, 401, 418
- Emirbayer, M.; 77
 Esch, E.; 66, 73
 Everhard, C.J.; 53, 64, 85
 Exploratory practice, EP; 29, 32, 139
 and authenticity; 359, *see also Authenticity*
 and ethics; 434, 442
 and puzzlement; 32
 as pedagogy for autonomy; 91, 348
 principles of; 30
- Gao, X.; 75, 80
 General upper secondary school for adults, GUSSA; 44
 ethos of; 364, 407
 local institute; 48, 332, 343, 344, 406
- Gergen, K.J.; 247
 Gibson, J.J.; 303
 Giddens, A.; 75, 94, 96

- Gieve, S.; 29, 139, 151, 307, 348, 359, 434
Hanks, J.; 32, 151, 348, 359, 394, 434, 442
Harré, R.; 95, 96
Heikkinen, H.L.T.; 119, 123, 421
Herman, D.; 96, 149
Hildén, R.; 41, 42
Hiles, D.; 167
Holec, H.; 46, 61, 81, 343, 344, 413
Huang, J.; 76, 112, 382, 389, 390
Hunter, J.; 76, 78, 84, 298, 349, 394, 415
Huttunen, R.; 122
Hänninen, V.; 156
Identity
 and agency; 78, 96, 111, 301, 374, 377, 380, 412, 413, 417, *see also Agency*
 and authenticity; 41, 56, 357, 361, 389, 390, 392, 419, *see also Authenticity*
 and autonomy; 90, 109, 375, 380, 411, 417, 446, *see also Autonomy*
 and critical experiences; 101, 106, 107, 248, 291, 292, 372, 377
 and ecology; 402, 404, 411, *see also Ecology*
 and educational policy/curricular design; 41, 404
 and narrative; 98, 123, 130, 132, 294, 372, 377, 397, 398, *see also Narrative*
 and portfolio; 294, 396, *see also Portfolio*
 and positioning; 95, 169, 289, *see also Positioning*
 and poststructuralism; 93, 98, 99, 100, 132, 404, 412, 413, *see also Poststructuralism*
 and voice; 105, 419, 446
 FL identity; 102, 104, 290, 372, 411, 445
 in LaNas; 137, 162
 in language education; 40, 41, 106, 404, *also see Language education*
 in language learning; 92, 100, 107, 371, 374
 SL identity; 101, 109, 294
Jaatinen, R.; 91, 358, 390, 398, 406, 450
Jiménez Raya, M.; 43, 55, 69, 74, 79, 342, 348, 362, 380, 388, 397, 414
Josselson, R.; 433, 438, 441
Kaikkonen, P.; 73, 100, 358, 359, 390
Karlsson, L.; 141, 346, 360, 390
Kaunismaa, P.; 132
Kjisik, F.; 346, 360, 390
Knowles, M.; 80
Kohonen, V.; 41, 62, 73, 86, 140
Kumaravadivelu, B.; 66, 68
Laitinen, A.; 128, 132
Lamb, M.; 97, 98, 373
Lamb, T.; 38, 43, 55, 66, 75, 79, 112, 340, 403, 406, 430
Language education; 37, 41, 66, 92, 404, 405, 444, 451
Lantolf, J.; 40, 77, 96, 106, 149
Lave, J.; 64, 97, 111
Lieblich, A.; 167, 246, 263
Little, D.; 62, 74, 81, 110, 140, 340, 413
Littlewood, W.; 68, 71, 73, 347, 387
Menezes, V.; 303, 415
Mercer, S.; 76, 77, 299
Mertova, P.; 168, 248
Miller, I.K.; 29, 32, 139, 151, 307, 348, 359, 434
Mische, A.; 77
Murphy, L.; 84, 343
Murray, G.; 64, 111, 142, 404, 452
Nakata, Y.; 450
Narrative
 and assessment; 398, *see also Assessment*
 and employment; 121, 180, 206
 and experience; 27, 121, 126, 133, 397
 and FL teaching; 294, 345, 357, 378, 398
 and identity; 98, 123, 130, 132, 294, 372, 377, 397, 398, *see also Identity*
 and language learning; 26, 294, 357, 398, 448
 and mimesis; 121, 126, 398
 and narrativity; 119, 294, 346, 358, 368, 397
 and positioning; 95, 169, *see also Positioning*
 and story; 118
 as epistemology; 124, 149, 397
 as ontological question; 120, 121, 149, 397
 as practical tool; 120
 as research material; 117, 150, 160

- content and form; 168, 176, 246, 262, 306, 318
 definition of; 118
 history of; 116, 117
 language narrative, LaNa; 28, 134, 137, 157, 162, 166, 167, 306, 399, 426
 reflective narrativity; 398, 400
 research; 27, 138, 140, 420
 research method; 151, 166, 167, 175, 180, 206, 246, 262, 307, 318
 truth; 136, 162, 175, 426
 Norton, B.; 78, 100, 293, 358, 416
 Oxford, R.; 63, 64, 65
 Palfreyman, D.; 110, 367, 391, 444
 Pavlenko, A.; 77, 96, 106, 136, 149, 161, 165, 422
 Pennycook, A.; 65, 347
 Polkinghorne, D.; 119, 125, 136, 163, 171, 181, 183, 420, 427, 428
 Portfolio
 and affordance; 365, *see also Affordance*
 and assessment; 86, 395, *see also Assessment*
 and authenticity; 356, 361, *see also Authenticity*
 and autonomy; 341, 345, 347, 396, *see also Autonomy*
 and identity; 294, 396, *see also Identity*
 in language learning; 140, 144, 396, 398
 the European Language Portfolio, ELP; 39, 87, 140, 395, 396
 Positioning; 94
 and identity; 95, 169, 289, *see also Identity*
 and narrative; 95, 169, *see also Narrative*
 Poststructuralism; 93
 and identity; 98, 99, 100, 131, 404, 412, *see also Identity*
 Ricœur, P.; 27, 98, 121, 122, 124, 130, 134, 397, 398
 Riessman, C.K.; 117, 420, 424, 427, 429, 441
 Riley, P.; 44
 Ropo, E.; 130, 367, 368, 399
 Ropo, R.; 111
 Schärer, R.; 66, 91, 388
 Smith, R.C.; 89, 111, 378
 Squire, C.; 133, 134, 175
 Tassinari, M.G.; 75, 89
 Taylor, C.; 57, 72, 104, 357, 390, 392
 Thorne, S.; 40
 Toohey, K.; 78, 416
 Ushioda, E.; 70, 110
 van Lier, L.; 76, 103, 105, 299, 303, 395, 401, 418
 Webster, L.; 168, 248
 Weedon, C.; 94
 Wenger, E.; 64, 97, 111
 Verhesschen, P.; 122, 128, 131
 Vieira, F.; 43, 79, 91, 362
 Wortham, S.; 95, 169, 289
 Vygotsky, L.; 40, 64
 Yonah, Y.; 59, 83, 387, 389, 392
 Yrjänäinen, S.; 111, 130, 367, 368, 399