ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE IN TWO DIFFERENT ENGLISH-MEDIUM SCHOOLS

Soysev, Ülviye

PhD Program in English Language Education

Supervisors: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kurt & Asst. Prof. Dr. Çise Çavuşoğlu September 2017, 183 pages

Language learning in foreign contexts is perceived as a necessity to reach future goals as well as for future employment. That is to say, learning and teaching of English language are usually associated with possible economic gains that they may bring. However, there are other and possibly more immediate implications of such instruction, especially on the way young people interact in schools where English is the medium of instruction. Using Bourdieu's framework of capitals, the current thesis aims to explore how English language is perceived and used among young people in two different schools in northern Cyprus where English is the medium of both instruction and communication. It also investigates whether students' attitudes towards this language have any impact on the interaction process when it comes to cultural diversity in and outside the classroom. Analysis of the data, which was collected through in-class ethnographic observations, semi-structured interviews and informal chats with young people in the focal schools, showed that Turkish Cypriots who possessed a higher amount of linguistic and cultural capital in English were perceived as popular and academically superior by all of the participants in the private English medium school. Thus, students' linguistic capital appeared to be a dividing factor rather than a bridge, which affected the school's culture negatively. In the public English medium school, Turkish Cypriots had no desire for learning English language as linguistic and cultural capital. For these students, English language was seen as academic and economic capital rather than social capital. Thus, language did not appear to be a factor for inclusion or exclusion. In this school, however, accent perception played a significant role in students' attitudes towards each other. Peculiar discourses of racism could be observed in the way that some participants showed a certain accent as a negative factor for interaction.

Keywords: English-medium schools; language as capital; social interaction; young people, northern Cyprus.

İNGİLİZ DİLİNDE EĞİTİM VEREN İKİ FARKLI OKULLARDAKİ GENÇLERİN SOSYAL ETKİLEŞİM VE DİL TUTUMLARI

Yabancı ortamlarda dil öğrenmek hem gelecek hedeflere ulaşmada hem de istihdamda bir gereklilik olarak algılanmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, İngiliz dilinin öğrenilmesi ve öğretilmesi, genellikle, getireceği olası ekonomik kazanımlarla ilişkilendirilir. Ancak öğretim dilinin İngilizce olduğu okullarda, bu tür bir eğitimin öğrenciler üzerinde daha farklı ve belki de daha güncel etkileri olmaktadır. Bu tez, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta öğretimin ve iletişimin İngilizce olduğu iki farklı okuldaki gençlerin İngilizce'yi nasıl kullandıklarını ve algıladıklarını Bourdieu'nun sermaye yapısını kullanarak araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, sınıf içinde ve dışında kültürel farklılıklar söz konusu olduğunda, öğrencilerin bu dile karşı olan tutumunun etkileşim sürecine herhangi bir etkisinin olup olmadığı da araştırılmıştır. Veriler sınıf içindeki etnografik gözlemler, okulda öğrenci olan gençler ve onların öğretmenleri ile gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme ve resmi olmayan konuşmalar yoluyla toplanmıştır. Verilerin analizinden alınan sonuçlar, İngiliz dilinde daha fazla dil bilim ve kültür sermayelerine sahip olan Kıbrıslı Türk kökenli öğrencilerin, İngiliz dilinde eğitim veren özel okullardaki katılımcılar arasında akademik olarak daha popüler ve üstün olduklarının görüldüğünü göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla, öğrencilerin dil sermayesi öğrencileri arasındaki ilişkiyi olumlu etkileyerek köprü olmak yerine, okulun kültürünü olumsuz bir şekilde etkileyen ayrıştırıcı bir faktör olmuştur. Kıbrıslı Türklerin İngilizce eğitim veren devlet okulunda, İngilizce'yi dil bilim ve kültür sermayesi olarak öğrenmeye hiçbir istekleri olmadığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu tür öğrenciler, İngiliz dilini sosyal sermayeden ziyade, akademik ve ekonomik sermaye olarak görmüştür. Böylece, dil, arkadaş grubuna dahil olma ve dahil olmama konularında bir faktör olarak ortaya çıkmamıştır. Bu okulda yine de şive algısı öğrenciler arasındaki tutumlarda büyük rol oynamaktadır. Bazı katılımcıların etkileşim için belirli bir aksanı olumsuz bir faktör olarak göstermesinde ise dile dayalı ayırımcılığa bağlanabilecek söylemler gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngilizce tedrisatlı okul; dil sermayesi; sosyal etkileşim; gençler, kuzey Kıbrıs.

NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

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PhD THESIS

ÜLVİYE SOYSEV

NICOSIA

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Ben aşağıda imza sahibi, bu tezde kullanılan ve sunulan tüm bilgileri Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü tarafından belirlenen akademik kurallar ve etik çerçeveye uygun şekilde düzenlediğimi beyan ederim. Aynı zamanda, bu kurallar ve çerçeve uyarınca, tezin sonuçlarına ait olmayan ve tezde kullanılan tüm materyal ve kaynakları uygun şekilde alıntıladığımı beyan ederim.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EMI : English as a Medium of Instruction

SEBs : Students from English Language Backgrounds

STBs : Students from Turkish Language Backgrounds

RP: Received Pronunciation

EFL : English as a Foreign Language

L1 : First Language

L2 : Foreign Language

CLIL : Content and Language Integrated Learning

ELT : English Language Teaching

SW : Swakeleys House

EH : Englefield House

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

During the last decade, English as a medium of instruction (EMI) has started to gain attention in non-English-speaking countries. EMI is considered to be a significant strategy to develop a modernized education system, which is oriented toward the world and the future (Leug & Leug, 2015). EMI is also considered by many as a necessity for graduate employability (Leug & Leug, 2015) and improved life prospects (Kamwangamalu, 2013). The dominant nature of English within the EMI context is considered by many educators as well as students to be advantageous. Students who are exposed to EMI see it "as a career tool and college preparation resource" (Pilotti, Gutierrez, Klein, & Mahameme, 2015, p. 385).

Many studies have shown that language attitudes have a significant impact on language learning in different contexts. In this respect, being able to use English language well is usually perceived to be a distinguishing element of middle-classes and people who possess this ability/skill are considered to be privileged. EMI, therefore, is introduced into the curriculum so that graduates can gain from the institutional benefits that EMI brings, such as high prestige and career opportunities. In order to prepare young people for universities where English is used as the primary medium of instruction, EMI has been adopted by many high schools around the world as an educational model. As Hu and Lei (2013) point out:

The dominant beliefs about the English language and EMI [...] accorded high prestige to the English language, valorized English proficiency, viewed EMI as capable of bringing many important national, institutional, and personal benefits against the backdrop of ever deepening globalization and increasing competition. (p. 557).

In such contexts, the choice to obtain a degree from a school that provides EMI, therefore, "reflects the desire for status and access to a network rather than the desire for knowledge" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 6). For this reason, EMI is considered to be both an antecedent to career opportunities and a marker of social status. Students in English-medium schools feel distinguished from students in other schools because of the privileged position that English has in terms of people's attitudes towards it. Thus, EMI is preferred mostly because it is considered to be an indispensable tool for attaining this valuable skill. However, Kamwangamalu (2013) reminds that there are also arguments against the provision of EMI, especially in very early ages, as immersion in English through education may result in the isolation of certain groups with their preferred language, i.e., English, from students who receive vernacular education with their indigenous languages. Pilotti et al. (2015) also point out that students who study in an EMI context may encounter "decreased opportunities for experiencing the non-dominant language as they progress through the curriculum" (p. 385). Those who have the opportunity to extensively use English in the school setting manage to store more cultural knowledge and experience than those who are offered a variety of informal practice opportunities to use English at school. "Failing to account for cultural distance of students to the educational system in choosing EMI can foster social inequality and contribute to the reproduction of elites" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 5). In other words, students who receive education through EMI may develop attitudes that position them in line with or as the elite as well as alienating them from their indigenous languages.

Choice of EMI is not only a matter of economic advancement but also an extension of the socio-economic background of the students and their families. Because of this demand, EMI schools aiming to teach spoken English and English for passing all kinds of examinations and interviews have rapidly increased in number. In the context of northern Cyprus, where the native language is Turkish, there has been a steady increase in the number

of EMI schools in the last five years. Being privately owned in most cases, these EMI schools provide education at various levels starting from kindergarten to high school and sometimes to university. More importantly, there appears to be a growing demand for these schools, which may have several reasons behind, such as parents' positive language attitudes towards English, their desire for their children to be competent in English as an important skill for future employability or students' future academic plans for studying abroad. On one level, studying in an EMI school would inevitably satisfy many of these desires. On another level, students in EMI schools may feel distinguished from students in other schools because of the privileged position that English has in terms of people's attitudes towards it (Nagme, 2007). In other words, from a Bourdieusian (1986) perspective, students in EMI schools are equipped with the necessary cultural (and linguistic) capital to advance in the social ladder through better access to various educational opportunities. Yet, the outcomes of being immersed in a school like this for such an extended period of time and its effects on young people's interactions with each other need to be carefully analysed to understand how such an experience would shape not only their attitudes towards learning languages but also their actual interactions with each other within the classroom context. Thus, the current study focuses on the interactions of young people studying in an EMI school in northern Cyprus. More specifically, it aims to analyse how they capitalise on their languages, i.e., English and Turkish, when they interact with each other and how their attitudes toward languages in general and English in particular affect these interactions and group dynamics.

Background of the Study

English as a Foreign Language in Cyprus. The power of English in globalization seems to have a deep impact on English language teaching and learning across the globe

since English has become more widely used as a foreign language (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011). "English is increasingly used to communicate across international borders. Therefore, it is an established fact that English become the most important international language today" (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011, p. 219). As Xiaoqiong and Xianxing point out, "as English has become 'world English, international English, global English or the lingua franca', English should not be the property of the native speakers any more. Instead, it should belong to all the people who use it" (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011, pp. 119-120). Yet, considering the current situation with the spread and status of English in most European countries, the situation in general is described as an English as a Foreign Language case. This is because, in most European counties, English did not serve to mark class historically as it had no official or social status in the past (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). The case of learning English now, however, demonstrates that the status of English in these countries appears to go beyond that of being only a foreign language (Mesthrie, 2008) and becomes more widely used in education and academics. Considering its colonial history, the case in Cyprus, however, illustrates the situation differently. Turkish Cypriots were under the British colonial rule from 1870 to 1960. During the colonial times, English used to be one of the official languages alongside Greek and Turkish. Today, however, like in most European countries, the status of English in Cyprus is described as English as a Foreign Language because it has shifted from an official language to a foreign language.

In understanding the case of English language use and its status around the world, Kachru's seminal work is very useful. According to Kachru (1990), 'World Englishes' fall into three categories. The Outer Circle uses English as an institutionalized, official language although English is not their mother tongue. Those who learn English within the Outer Circle use English as a second language. People who use English as an official language can use the language fluently for virtually any type of communication. The Expanding Circle refers to

English as a foreign language (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011; Kachru, 1990). It is significant that Cyprus is one of those countries where English has moved from the 'Outer Circle' to the 'Expanding Circle'. That is to say, English in Cyprus used to be a second language during the British Colonial rule from 1878 to 1960 but following Cyprus's independence in 1960, English remained to have a prominent position and now people in Cyprus use English as a foreign language and as a lingua franca. Given the lingua franca status of English, it seems that most countries need and use English for instrumental reasons, "such as academic studies, commercial pursuits and professional contacts" (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011, p. 222). It seems clear that English has become the main "vehicle for interaction among the non-native speakers with distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds" (Xiaoqiong & Xianxing, 2011, p. 222).

Learning English in Cyprus is also significant with respect to another major reason. Since there used to be three official languages, i.e. Greek, Turkish and English, people from the two communities needed and used English as the common language for communication during the British colonial rule. Nagme (2007) explains that even today, English still plays a significant role in Cyprus: "As it has been compulsory in schools for decades, it is not really in a competition with other foreign languages" (p. 3). Similar to the situation stated by Xiaoqiong and Xianxing (2011), in north Cyprus as well, although Turkish is the national and official language, there are some domains that English is predominantly used, such as shops, restaurants, touristic areas, academic studies, and so on. Nagme (2007) also reports that "some government reports and a significant proportion of official and legal documents are still written in English" (p. 3). The Turkish-English bilingual notifications are exhibited on governmental signs in order to serve expatriates and tourists. Therefore, it is even possible to say that although it is not officially stated, English in north Cyprus may appear as the second language at a first glance.

Attitudes towards English in North Cyprus. The attitudes of people in Cyprus towards English can be said to be quite positive. Phillipson, Kellerman, Selinker, Sharwood & Swain (1991) claims that in India, the English language was such an important factor in the 'modernization of the country. Therefore, in India, English language was considered as a force for the purpose of educating a class of Indians so that they could function as citizens of a modern country. The purpose was to use English language as a force and educate a class of Indians who could function as interpreters between the British colonial power and Indians. Although Phillipson, Kellerman, Selinker, Sharwood & Swain (1991) consider this as a degrading process towards the Indian culture and language, similar perspectives exist with different attitudes in Cyprus. Nagme (2007) points out that unlike in India, Cypriots, who were already given English language education before and during the British rule, accepted English language "as a tool to improve – not change – their culture, knowledge and develop their relations with other countries" (Nagme, 2007, p. 4). Nagme (2007) claims that most Cypriots are aware of the fact that English needs to be spoken for various reasons. Nagme (2007) also reports that most Cypriots want to learn English for academic purposes because they believe that the English language is necessary for accessing to the best universities in the world.

In terms of specific varieties of English, Nagme (2007) states that Cypriots' attitudes towards British English are positive. Received Pronunciation (RP) is preferred rather than American English or other varieties of English since the Cypriot society has always had (colonial and other) links with England. The resources used for teaching English also play a major role in the preference of the Cypriots since most of the resources are imported from England. Nagme (2007) also states that most Cypriots have a positive perception of British English because the RP accent on England sounds more 'pleasant' and 'prestigious' than any

other dialects of English. It is important to keep in mind, however, that due to the dominant position of the British English in Cyprus, most Cypriots are not fully aware of other varieties of English (Nagme, 2007).

Trudgill and Hannah (2002), Liaw (2012) and Hadla (2013) claim that most parents and students believe that the English teachers who are native speakers of English with the RP accent are ideal for English language classroom since the RP accent is associated with the upper-middle classes. It is, therefore, possible to say that those who manage to acquire an RP accent is reacted to as if they were from more popular group with the power and ownership of the language. In this case, these people are advantaged since their ability provides an opportunity for them to get promotions in communication with the native speakers of English (Trudgill & Hannah, 2002).

English as a Medium of Instruction. It appears that there is a fast-moving worldwide shift, in non-Anglophone countries, from English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to English being the medium of instruction (EMI) for academic subjects. English, in Europe and worldwide, is considered as preeminent and the main language that is used as a means of instruction (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2012). The definition of EMI is as follows:

The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English.(Dearden, n.d., p. 4)

This definition of EMI provides a conceptual separation between EMI and content and language integrated learning (CLIL) (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2012). "Whereas CLIL is contextually situated (with its origins in the European ideal of plurilingual competence for EU citizens), EMI has no specific contextual origin" (Dearden, n.d., p. 4). Although CLIL

does not make it clear what second, additional or foreign language (L2) academic subjects are to be studied in, EMI mentions that the language of instruction is English, "with all the geopolitical and sociocultural implications that this may entail. Whereas CLIL has a clear objective of furthering both content and language as declared in its title, EMI does not (necessarily) have that objective" (Dearden, n.d., p. 4).

Looking at the role and status of English in a globalizing world, especially in the field of secondary education, reasons for the introduction and use of English-medium instruction (EMI) may look very similar but when it is deeply examined, a myriad of contextual, geographical, historical and political reasons which make each country's adoption of EMI different in nature and extent appear. "From country to country EMI is being promoted, rejected, refined and sometimes even reversed" (Dearden, n.d., p. 15). Looking at the global picture, the main factors impelling secondary education programs to adopt English-medium instruction (EMI) are listed as follows: promotion of EMI by policy makers, administrators, teachers and parents as EMI is considered to be a passport to a global world, internalization of education offered by policy makers, creating opportunities for students to join a global academic and business community (Dearden, n.d.; Driessen, 2001; Lueg & Lueg, 2015). English is considered as a way of rapidly increasing international mobility while some policy makers see EMI "as a way to build the English language capacity of their home country and ensure that their home students can compete in a world market" (Dearden, n.d., p. 16). Looking at the situation in Europe, EMI is seen as an attractive proposition for many reasons such as academic papers published in English, preparation of students for an academic career, preparation of students for their own studies abroad, and competitive advantage for students on the job market (Hellekjaer & Westergaard, 2003; Airey, 2004).

Regarding the situation worldwide, the analysis of literature reveals the rarity of research findings available into the effects on learning through EMI. Some of the research

findings have reported negative results of learning when the language used to teach is different from the mother tongue (Neville-Barton & Barton, 2005). While an extensive part of research indicates that bilingual education is the most successful type of education for English learning students (Brooks & Karathanos, 2009), the situation in EMI schools is that as a result of factors including the less number of bilingual teachers and the representation of multiple native languages within a school setting, most students who speak a language other than English spend the majority of the school day in English-dominant contexts with predominantly English speaking teachers and students. Students are expected to succeed in the classroom without considering the ways in which the experiences, cultures and languages of these students shape their understanding. "Rather than recognizing culture and language as essential to English language students' connections between their schema and key content area concepts, educators frequently view diverse languages and cultures from a deficit perspective as 'inadequate preparation for learning' "(Brooks & Karathanos, 2009, p. 47). That is to say, students are often expected to learn through EMI in an English-only classroom environment that reflects native English speaking curricula. There are a number of in-depth research studies related to EMI in other contexts. Referring to these studies, Airey and Linder (2008) reveal the scarcity of research in the North European context, reporting that negative results of EMI are best reflected in Carlson (2002) (as cited in Airey and Linder, 2008), who states "...my gut feeling and that of many of my colleagues is that students gain less robust knowledge and poorer understanding if the language used is not their mother tongue" (p.145).

Academic success or failure of students is dependent on their cultural distance from the educational institutions and their educational provisions. The possessed abilities enable students to perform better within the education system. The education system in EMI schools has been organized in a way that will appeal to the dominant culture, the dominant culture-oriented interest of the education system, the unity of the existing system with this culture of

the dominant status groups and the abilities and codes of the culture of the dominant group all contribute to an expansion of already existing differences. This sort of ability is largely "acquired during primary socialization within the family and upbringing by parents who belong to the dominant culture" (Driessen, 2001, p. 515). The stronger the interest of parents in the culture of the dominant and the more oriented their child upbringing is toward the dominant culture, the more equal their children feel and the more a sense of belonging their children have at school. Parents and their child rearing toward the dominant culture have been considered as an important factor in terms of a student's access to the dominant culture and belonging to a dominant status group (Driessen, 2001).

English as a Medium of Instruction in North Cyprus. While English is currently a foreign language in Cyprus, it used to be an official language during the British colonial rule from 1878 to 1960. During this time of colonization, English had been introduced as an integral part of the curriculum at the top classes of the larger schools in 1935 (Nagme, 2007). Nagme (2007) explains that "During this time of expansionist phase of imperialism, the British power founded many schools where the medium of instruction was English, and where the emphasis was on English classes" (p. 1). The students with high linguistic capital would "primarily function as interpreters between the British merchants and the Cypriot merchants" (Nagme, 2007, pp. 1-2), which is the "linguistic imperialism" (Philipson, Kellerman, Selinker, Sharwood, & Swain, 1991). Nagme (2007) points out that:

when more emphasis started being placed on English and the subject was upgraded to one of the most important ones in the syllabus, English found itself in the middle of a political campaign called EOKA. During the EOKA struggle (1955-1959) the anti-British feeling had a very negative influence on the learning and teaching of English. The teaching of English at schools was

seen as a British imperialistic instrument and students and parents at all levels reacted against it. (p.2)

Following Cyprus's independence from the colonial rule in 1960, English remained to have a prominent position. People started having positive attitudes toward foreign languages. Since Cyprus had close relations with Britain, English officially became part of every school syllabus (Nagme, 2007). Hence, learning English and using it well was a strong capital to be utilized in economic terms. Even today, English is very prominent in Cyprus. Beside the fact that Cyprus attracts large numbers of tourists from all over the world with whom English is used as a lingua franca, many Cypriots have family ties with Cypriot relatives living in the United Kingdom, especially in London. Another major reason for learning English is that English is also a prestigious means of access to universities in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and elsewhere. Nagme (2007) lists other reasons of Cypriots for learning English as follows:

careers that require English as a second language, higher education (or private schools), access to research and information and travel.

Considering all of these reasons, it is not unusual to observe a positive attitude towards learning the English language in Cyprus. (p.

4)

Nagme (2007) reports that the majority of Cypriots want to learn English because they think "English is an access to the best universities in the world and because easy to communicate with both native and non-native speakers of English around the world" (pp. 4-5). The study also found that "in general, the Cypriots do not mind seeing English words in shops, restaurants, etc. On the contrary, they regard it as a sign of 'modernisation' and 'globalisation', which they appreciate a lot" (Nagme, 2007, p. 5). Because people all over the country have realized the power of English language and culture, parents are highly

interested in sending young people to English-medium schools. Parents see these schools as a safe place and as their goal to the future of their children. The English language in Cyprus has been considered as a tool for a more successful life. English is the key for a good future so parents are willing to buy their children such a future. It seems that parents want their children to learn English because it is the language of power and prestige. Hence, positive attitudes toward English language can be observed in northern Cyprus in education.

The positive attitudes towards English in northern Cyprus have their roots in the long EMI tradition, which has always been identified as elitist. The first EMI school on record in Cyprus was established in 1900 with the aim of disseminating English culture among Cypriots, who were subjects of the colonial power at the time. It was not only for all the communities of Cyprus, i.e. Greeks, Turks, and others, but it was for students from a range of cultural communities both locally and abroad. With the start of inter-communal conflicts in 1963, Turkish Cypriot pupils and teachers were forced to withdraw from the English school (English School, 2014). Following the emergence of inter-communal conflicts, "Köşklüçiftlik English School" was established for Turkish Cypriots in 1964 so that they could continue their EMI schooling separate from Greek Cypriots. The reason behind the setting up of this school was to provide an opportunity for Turkish Cypriots to continue their education in an English-medium school that was following a similar program with the first EMI school in Cyprus. After the tragic events of 1974, the school remained open but changed in many ways. In 1976, it was transferred to a different building and was renamed as "English College." After 1976, following the de facto separation of the north and the south as Turkish and Greek settlements, the school took its current name as "Türk Maarif Koleji" and it became the first ever public EMI school in the north and continued to grow. However, enrolment to this school is selective through a written exam to this date. Due to this selective process and its position as the only public school to prepare students to study in countries other than Turkey,

it preserved its prestigious and elite position, until other EMI schools were established in the 1980s. Students studying at this school were able to get the chance to study in Britain and the United States of America. It is also significant that after the school was renamed as "Türk Maarif Koleji" (TMK), other TMKs opened in other cities to provide opportunities for other Turkish Cypriots to receive this sort of EMI education(Türk Maarif Koleji, 2009). Today, there are thirteen EMI schools in northern Cyprus and only four of these are public schools. These are Future American College, Eastern Mediterranean Doğa College, Levent College, Ted College, The British Academy, Necat British College, The English School of Kyrenia, Near East College, Bülent Ecevit Anadolu Lisesi, Güzelyurt Türk Maarif Koleji, Gazimağusa Türk Maarif Koleji, 19 Mayıs Türk Maarif Koleji and Lefkoşa Türk Maarif Koleji. Among these EMI schools, Türk Maarif Koleji is the only public school. Table 1 demonstrates the increased number of EMI schools in the last 5-10 years in north Cyprus.

Despite the growing demand for EMI schools in Cyprus and positive attitudes toward English language and despite the increase in the number of EMI schools in recent years, little is known about the effects of EMI on the interaction process of young people in EMI schools. Learning and teaching of English language in foreign contexts is usually associated with possible economic gains that it may bring and many in Cyprus consider EMI as a necessity for graduate employability but there are other and more immediate implications of such instruction, especially on the way young people interact in English-medium schools. Many educators and families consider the dominant nature of English within the EMI context to be advantageous as they believe that language provides better job opportunities and brings high prestige.

Table 1

Numeric information: Schools

School Name	City	Date of Opening	Туре
Türk Maarif Koleji	Nicosia	1964	Public
Güzelyurt Türk	Morphou	1982	Public
Maarif Koleji			
Gazimağusa Türk	Famagusta	1982	Public
Maarif Koleji			
19 Mayıs Türk	Kyrenia	1990	Public
Maarif Koleji			
Near East College	Nicosia	1993	Private
Levent College	Nicosia	1998	Private
Bülent Ecevit	Nicosia	1999	Public
Anadolu Lisesi			
The British	Kyrenia	2001	Private
Academy			
Future American	Kyrenia	2008	Private
College			
The English School	Kyrenia	2008	Private
of Kyrenia			
TED College	Nicosia	2010	Private
Eastern	Famagusta	2011	Private
Mediterranean Doğa			
College			
Necat British	Kyrenia	2012	Private
College			

Statement of the Problem

The general observation is, having considered the research findings so far, that the approach adopted in learning content through EMI seems to have potential negative effects on learning besides the positive contributions, results and observations of learning the academic content through the medium of English. EMI is found to be significantly more effective than traditional English instruction in terms of teaching English (Coleman, 2006; Sert, 2008). Yet, it is also considered that EMI fails to provide the academic content effectively, less active participation in class activities and much less production in the target

language (Cummins, 1984). Empirical evidence from the previous research findings indicate that "children who receive academic instruction in both their first and second languages perform better linguistically, cognitively, and academically in their second language than students who receive instruction in the second language" (Brooks & Karathanos, 2009, p. 48). Such studies have undergone critical investigation and the research has reported findings leading to reconsidering the strategies for building on cultural and linguistic schema. Considering such problems associated with EMI, one needs to look at several research studies and reports cited in the literature. For example, Coleman (2006) and Sert (2008) state that although there is a growing interest in instruction through English and English-medium teaching has been so widely adopted by many European secondary and higher education institutions, some of the studies report various problems in practice, such as difficulty for learners in learning the academic content through the medium of English. It seems that some of the studies report positive results and observations where EMI is employed (Coleman, 2006; Sert, 2008) but there also seem to be problematic areas in EMI in terms of the acquisition of the academic content. Cummins (1984) adds some further possible problems of learning in EMI schools. For example, problems in understanding the academic language of instruction and difficult decrease in equitable learning opportunities for culturally and linguistically diverse students are commonly reported.

Despite the heated disputes and arguments on the issue of EMI, it is reported there is still lack of scientific research deeply investigating the issue (Kırkıcı, 2004; Sert, 2008). Some of the research studies conducted so far report more negative results of EMI than its positive effects (Akünal, 1992; Kılıçkaya, 2006; Kırkgöz, 2005; Sert, 2008). The similar findings gathered from these research studies are that EMI have positive contributions to learning English but it has more of negative effects in performing linguistically and academically. The limited research that has been conducted in the Turkish context so far has

focused on surveying students and perceptions of the impact of EMI on content learning. It seems clear that there is need for a more in-depth investigation into the relationship between EMI and students' academic and linguistic performance at secondary education level.

Considering the role of students' language, culture, prior knowledge and experiences as an important factor in performing better linguistically and academically in the second language, one needs to investigate and understand how language abilities become an important element in shaping the interactional patters among students in EMI schools and how their attitudes toward learning in another language affect these interactions and group dynamics.

Taking the situation into account in the context of Turkish Cypriot pupils, the issue of EMI in Cyprus clearly requires in-depth investigation. If EMI schools are experiencing dramatic increases in the number of students they serve, while there may be negative consequences on learning in another language, attitude or interaction during English-medium instruction, there might be a need for reconsidering and revising the strategies for building on cultural and linguistic schema. While learning English through EMI brings observable prestige and benefits to students, there might be a need to provide equitable learning opportunities for culturally and linguistically diverse students. Culturally and linguistically diverse Turkish Cypriot students may be disadvantaged if their culture, language and experience are excluded in the school setting or in classroom interactions. EMI, in Cyprus, is increasingly being used in secondary schools and even in primary schools. This phenomenon has very important implications for the education of young people. Yet, the issue of how students view English and what they are learning it for in these schools requires in-depth investigation. It is for this reason that I have carried out this study so that the issue of EMI in Cyprus has been investigated in-depth.

Aim of the Study

Reviewing the research studies on the issue and the related literature, some of the studies discuss that students who speak a language other than English or those who speak English with difficulty "may encounter problems in understanding the academic language of instruction, and they may undergo difficulty in making meaningful connections among fundamental concepts in the curriculum to their prior knowledge and experiences" (Brooks & Karathanos, 2009, p. 47). Therefore, providing equitable learning opportunities for culturally and linguistically diverse students is seen as a necessity in EMI contexts. Equitable learning opportunities that teachers must provide for culturally and linguistically diverse students play a significant role in students' classroom interactions (Brooks & Karathanos, 2009):

When students' language, culture and experience are ignored or excluded in classroom interactions, students are immediately starting from a disadvantage. Everything they have learned about life and the world up to this point is being dismissed as irrelevant to school learning; there are few points of connection to curriculum materials or instruction and so students are expected to learn in an experiential vacuum. Students' silence and nonparticipation under these conditions have frequently been misinterpreted as lack of academic ability or effort, and teachers' interactions with students have reflected a pattern of low expectations which become self-fulfilling. (Cummins, 1984, pp. 2-3)

The presence of students with different linguistic backgrounds in private EMI schools in Cyprus, makes this research possible. Considering the situation worldwide, analysis of literature reveals that there is lack of research deeply investigating the issue of Englishmedium education. As mentioned earlier, EMI schools in north Cyprus, are experiencing dramatic increases in the number of students they serve. Referring to a number of research studies carried out in the Cypriot context, Nagme (2007) states that the attitudes towards the

English language in Cyprus are not negative but being in favour of learning, and using English as a medium of instruction consequently affects the practices of English Language Teaching (ELT) as well. The common argument, in the Cypriot context, is that "many students fail to succeed in coping with the requirements of English-medium courses. Their major weaknesses are in expressing themselves especially in academic speaking and writing" (Arkin, 2013, p. 10). Arkin (2013) states that:

most students face the difficulties of living in a non-English speaking environment. Turkish being the native tongue, the contexts students are exposed to English are only the classrooms and for a very limited amount of time, therefore students cannot find many opportunities to be engaged in using and improving their English (as they are fully exposed to Turkish outside class). (p. 10).

Referring to a number of research studies done in the Cypriot context, Arkin indicates that it is challenging for many Turkish speaking students to express themselves through the English language as they are still in the process of learning it. When students have to "handle and perform the spoken and written requirements of their disciplinary learning", this complexity grows (Arkin, 2013, p. 11).

In the light of aforementioned discussions and arguments, a careful investigation of EMI schools, with specific reference to northern Cyprus, becomes essential as such an investigation will address the problems mentioned above and contribute to draw a detailed picture of EMI schools in the context of northern Cyprus. EMI schools are significant spaces where cultural knowledge is both developed and utilized. Language is seen as a cultural construct. It is described a method of "communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (Sapir, 1921, p. 7). Our shared knowledge about facts, ideas and events are fitted into a pattern of knowledge about the world. The

language of each member of the group, therefore, forms its social and cultural reality as well as expressing it (Sapir, 1921). In this respect, EMI schools also play an important role in shaping the interactions among young people as acquisition of certain linguistic skills and knowledge takes place here. These patterns usually mirror social class positions which are projected into their lives after graduation. Thus, EMI schools are important contexts to investigate language attitudes and how these attitudes play their roles in group dynamics among young people, how different linguistic codes are utilized while young people socialize in and outside the classroom. The current study aims to explore how English language is perceived and used among young people in such a context as well as the language attitudes of Turkish speaking students with regard to the use of English in English language classes and their interactions with peers. It also aims to understand how such perceptions and practices are reflected on their interactions with each other in their English language classes. Answers to the following research questions are being sought:

- 1. What language attitudes do Turkish-speaking students who study at Englishmedium secondary schools have towards English language?
- 2. How do young people perceive themselves and their peers as "owners" and "users" of English?
- 3. What is the impact of English as cultural and linguistic capital on young people's interactions in an EMI school?
- 4. How is English capitalized on during peer interactions?

Limitations

The limitations in this study concern the interpretation of findings from the data focused on two different EMI schools in northern Cyprus. One of these limitations relate to the fact that the data was collected through a cross-sectional study from Swakeleys House

(SH) and Englefield House (EH), both in northern Cyprus. Although there are six more EMI schools in Cyprus, the present study focused only on these schools due to the nature of the indepth analysis which the aims required. In order to compensate for this limitation, the participating schools were carefully selected based on the number of foreign students registered in each school at the time of data collection. While SH, also a public school, had the lowest number of foreign students, EH had the highest number of foreign students, which allowed for a comparison to be made between the data collected from these two contexts in terms of the participating students' attitudes and multilingual/multicultural interactions. These two schools became the only focus of this study while the inclusion of the other EMI schools would contribute to a more comprehensible interpretation and a more valid generalization about the case of EMI in secondary education, with specific reference to North Cyprus. Therefore, the interpretations and results provided in this thesis can only be generalized to these two contexts. Nevertheless, they do provide a rich description and analysis of the case under investigation.

The current study is also limited in its scope of the research inquiry. In other words, it is limited to the case of EMI schools in north Cyprus at the secondary school level. Although EMI in primary as well as tertiary education is also a highly debated agenda item in the Turkish Cypriot context, the present study investigated the case only at the secondary level. A more comprehensive investigation and analysis of the perceptions and experiences of Turkish speaking students in primary education would be needed and relevant for a more comprehensive conclusion but the present study is focused on the secondary level because attitudes of students at this level are more developed and clearer than primary level students. Moreover, issues of peer interaction, group dynamics and social/cultural identity are more pressing issues for secondary school students, who are also considered to be adolescents, than

primary or tertiary level students. Therefore, any conclusions and interpretations to be drawn from this study should apply to EMI schools at secondary education level only.

Conclusion

Due to the global factors, it seems that the role and status English has gained today makes its learning compulsory. Learning the academic content through the medium of English brings apparent benefits to individuals. As mentioned earlier, EMI is found to be the most effective of all in terms of language skills development. Nevertheless, we have seen that EMI has potential negative effects on learning and language attitudes as well as potential social inequalities. Such approaches have undergone critical investigation and the research to date has reported findings leading to reconsidering the methodologies for building on cultural and linguistic schema. It is obvious that concerns and arguments over EMI are widespread. Considering the situation in the Turkish Cypriot context, the issue of EMI seems to require in-depth investigation into the effects of EMI, with particular focus into the way in which student interaction is affected by the language used. In northern Cyprus, research, into learning the academic content through the medium of English at secondary education institutions is limited. The need for such investigation is apparent when there are such questions as what language attitudes students from Turkish-speaking backgrounds have towards English language, whether, in EMI schools, the impact of English has more positive effects on students' interactions than negative effects or how students are observed during peer interactions. What Turkish students experience in EMI schools in north Cyprus will remain unclear unless such an investigation is done.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

English Language as Capital

Capitals do not work on their own in social reproduction¹. Bourdieu (1984) states that *capitals* work together with the *habitus*, the classifiable practices and products that individuals produce and their judgments about these, and the *field*, "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97), to generate practice or social action. In terms of schooling, the school is the field where social action takes place and the students' ideas about their potential for success defines their habitus. However, to realize any of these actions and judgments within the field, they need capitals. In his seminal work where he explains the systems of social reproduction, Bourdieu (1986) identifies three types of capital: Economic, social and cultural capital. However, this study mainly focuses on academic, economic and cultural capital, which is the focus in the following sections. Bourdieu points out that cultural capital is significant because children develop their linguistic competences, manners, preferences and orientations through acquiring this capital (Bourdieu 1973). Because cultural capital plays a significant role in the current study too, it is connected to a large part of the study and explained more extensively than academic and economic capital in the following sections.

¹ "a system of objective relations which impart their relational properties to individuals whom they pre-exist and survive, has nothing in common with the analytical recording of relations existing within a given population, be it a question of the relations between the academic success of children and the social position of their family" (Bourdieu, 2003, p. 56).

Academic and Economic Capital

"Depending on the field in which it functions, and at the cost of the more or less expensive transformations which are the precondition for its efficacy in the field in question" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 84), Bourdieu's capital can present itself in different guises. For instance, it can present itself as economic capital, "which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 84). According to Bourdieu, all the other types of capital are derived from economic capital, and these transformed and disguised forms of economic capital "[...] produce their most specific effects only to the extent that they conceal [...] the fact that economic capital is at their root" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 91). The different types of capital can be distinguished depending on their reproducibility or, more precisely, depending on how easily they are transmitted. Cultural capital is considered as convertible, on certain conditions, "into economic capital and maybe institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 84). More precisely, the monetary value of a given academic capital is guaranteed only through cultural capital. Academic capital helps cultural capital to be turned into economic capital. In other words, it is very difficult to demonstrate cultural capital that you have but academic capital sometimes institutionalises this and works as a proof of cultural capital and hence you can turn cultural capital into economic capital. In this case, "one sees clearly the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 88). Students are using this power to make their cultural capital tangible so that they can receive economic gains from it.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1973) claims that cultural capital is the most significant form of capital because children develop their linguistic competences, manners, preferences and orientations

through acquiring this capital. Cultural capital serves as a way for different social groups to remain dominant, to undergird their place in the hierarch or to gain status. As the most valuable form of capital within the educational system, cultural capital is largely "acquired during primary socialization within the family and upbringing by parents" (Driessen, 2001, p. 515). The stronger the interest of parents in the culture of the dominant groups and the more oriented their child upbringing is toward that culture, the more equal their children will feel and the stronger sense of belonging they will have at school (Driessen, 2001). Bourdieu (1973) also argued that academic success is the result of one's cultural capital and one's inclination to invest in the academic market. Hill's (2016) recent ethnographic study focusing on the experiences of one Māori student during her transition from Māori-medium to English-medium education revealed the significant impact of parental support in helping the student not only with a smooth transitioning but also with academic success. Both Bourdieu (1984) and DiMaggio and Useem (1978) revealed that different forms of cultural capital of the dominant positions are rewarded in schools. Those who possess such cultural capital (having been exposed to it from birth in families) are more advantaged in school, communicate easily with teachers, and this advantage is rewarded by teachers while others who lack similar cultural capital are excluded again by the teachers. Children who have more cultural capital, therefore perform better within the education system. (De Graaf, & Kraaykamp, 2000). In this sense, cultural capital has been considered as a way to represent the unequal achievement of children from different socioeconomic backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1977c).

In the Bourdieusian conceptualisation, cultural capital is the collection of the ways in which cultural artefacts and knowledge are brought into play in the dynamics of social class relations. In this perspective, cultural capital is defined as "the ways in which people would use cultural knowledge to undergird their place in hierarch" (Gauntlett, 2011, para.2).

Bourdieu (as cited in Tzanakis, 2011) states that cultural capital is an important factor in the process of social reproduction as it influences social places in the hierarch. Inequalities in cultural capital reflect inequalities in social class (p. 76). Cultural knowledge and possession, according to Bourdieu, is "unequally distributed according to social class and education," is "institutionalised as legitimate" and "confer *distinction* and *privilege* to those who possess and deploy it" (Tzanakis, 2011, p. 77). In other words, as Lueg & Lueg (2015) explain, "a rather unconscious 'feel for the game' will lead to success, while the culturally distanced might be led by misbelief" (p. 9). Bourdieu (as cited in Lueg & Lueg, 2015) has also suggested that:

the offspring of the established strata have a "sense of one's place," which allows them to identify distinct positions in society and to equip themselves with the required qualifications. Competing agents from lower strata have less valuable predispositions that limit the scope of their actions to achieve such positions. Their exclusion is mainly accomplished through the higher-strata agents' shared habitus and common agreement on the underlying structures, principles, and boundaries of the field. (p. 9)

Cultural capital has been considered as a way to represent the unequal achievement of children from different socioeconomic backgrounds (Bourdieu,1986). As these students have the advantage to adapt to the symbolic values and rules in the education system (Grundmann & Steinhoff, 2014), they feel comfortable. Their advantageous positions contribute to academic success (Claussen & Osborne, 2012).

Linguistic Capital and Foreign Language Learning

The sense of the value of one's own linguistic products is considered as one of the dimensions of the sense of class positions. Thus, the value of cultural capital carries out a "systematic slanting of the phonological aspect of speech" (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 660). One's initial relation to the market on which linguistic practices are offered and the discovery of the value offered to one's linguistic capital, along with the discovery of the value offered to one's cultural capital, are certainly important factors that determine the representation of one's status within the society (Bourdieu, 1977a). The acceptability of the linguistic habitus is found in the relationship between a market on which the products of linguistic competence are offered and a habitus. Linguistic competence has been considered as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market on which discourse is offered. Similar to cultural capital, the sense of the value of one's own linguistic products is linked to the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space (Bourdieu, 1977a). When students do not have the linguistic forms required by the education system in which the products of linguistic competence are offered, linguistic capital cannot be developed through the market. The more cultural experience and knowledge students store throughout their education, the more linguistic capital they have. Therefore, it could be argued that linguistic capital is part of cultural capital; it is an artefact of culture that leads the offspring of the privileged to academic success. While cultural capital helps those coming from privileged backgrounds to protect their status in the hierarch, it also helps some others to achieve higher status. From this perspective, linguistic capital plays a vital role in helping people advance in social class terms as well as allowing them to create a 'habitus' that they feel comfortable in. Schools provide the secondary field for the promotion and learning of languages and in this sense are very important context for the development and utilization of linguistic capital. In terms of learning and using English language, linguistic capital can be developed through linguistic

markets such as English as a medium of instruction schools. In this sense, EMI is such a significant market in achieving this artefact of the cultural capital.

When the value of cultural capital is considered in terms of foreign language learning, higher strata students can be defined as the ones having high linguistic abilities in the target language; they have a habitus that those in the lower strata do not feel comfortable in. Therefore, the higher strata students are not necessarily those coming from affluent backgrounds but are those who have high cultural and linguistic capitals and who can use the target language with ease. Cultural capital is also transmitted through "diffuse education" which occurs through social interactions (Claussen & Osborne, 2012, p. 62). The more English language the students use as the primary medium of instruction, the more cultural capital they gain. Lueg and Lueg (2015) argue that "the feeling of impotence negatively affects lower-strata students' success in a second language" (p. 10). Based on their findings, it is possible to say that lower-strata students' interaction with those from higher strata is also negatively affected by this feeling of powerlessness. Linguistic abilities play a significant role in determining the borders of such interactive discourses and when students believe that they have low language abilities in a specific language, they may distance themselves from those who have a perceived higher level of linguistic skills. In this sense, the lack of linguistic abilities/skills may negatively affect students' interactions within the school setting as students with less linguistic capital keep themselves from being active in the educational field thinking that they do not belong there.

Students from different social classes appear to have different reasons for choosing EMI depending on their social class (Lueg & Lueg, 2015). The preference of students from higher social class is generally in favour of EMI because there appears to be a general belief that EMI brings high prestige to social identity. Lueg and Leug (2015) claim that "high social background indirectly fosters the choice of EMI through habitus and cultural capital [...]

Students from high social class make a less peer-dependent and a more cultural-capital related choice for EMI" (p. 6). On the other hand, students from lower social class are not "driven by personal motives of employability, but peer pressure (females) and peer and family pressure (males)" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 6). They also have the fear of academic failure, where "students from the lowest stratum self-select against EMI due to a pronounced fear of failure despite their awareness that EMI leads to higher employability" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 5). Students from the lowest stratum are actually aware of the privileges that EMI brings but because they are not high proficiency level students they have this fear of academic failure. The preference of these students, therefore, is not in favour of EMI. It is, however, possible to see these students in EMI schools because they are driven by family pressure. Considering the demand for English-medium education, it is not difficult to see that Cyprus is also undertaking the same process as is evident in the increasing number of schools offering English-medium education.

Research on Capitals

Bourdieu's framework of capitals has been used in many academic studies to understand the interplay between languages and social interaction within the school context. Cultural capital has been the focus in nearly all studies. Almost all studies that have been done on cultural capital, however, refuse the concept of habitus. Conflicting findings have been reported by the researchers regarding the effects of cultural capital on educational outcomes. Some studies revealed that with regard to education, possessing the cultural capital was necessary for the educational context because students' capital has an effect on their academic achievement (Hill, 2016; Straubhaar, 2014). Cultural capital has an effect on educational outcomes such as grades and years of education attained (DiMaggio, 1982; DiMagio & Mohr, 1985; Farkas, 1996). In this case, the academic achievement of Māori-

medium students can be affected negatively due to cultural issues. Schools that receive Māori-medium students, should anticipate potential for a clash of culture occur when students transition into a new educational context (Hill, 2016). Some studies revealed that cultural capital gained from students' family impacted their successful educational outcomes. These studies argued that students identified capital resources in the form of supportive family for their academic success (Sandoval-Lucero, Maes, & Klingsmith, 2012; Hill, 2016). Malik and Mohamed (2014) also found that cultural capital was necessary for personal development and advancement within the school context and it provides an opportunity for students to constitute a huge step forward in their struggles for success.

Some findings, on the other hand, do not report any support for a cultural capital effect (Katsillis & Robinson, 1990; Robinson & Garnier, 1985). Some studies found that with regard to education, cultural capital has an effect but in a limited way. They claim that other variables such as habitus do affect grades more than cultural capital does. Even the strongest capital will not raise a student's grade noticeably. Inherent ability, a student's habitus and socioeconomic background are more important to a student's grades (Dumais, 2002).

Research on cultural capital and school success does not reveal clear conclusions regarding the differences that may exist between schools. It is not clear whether and why the process of converting cultural capital into educational success may differ between schools. Differences that may exist between schools have not been addressed by most research on cultural capital school success. State schools may not have the same access to cultural resources as private schools do. A more complete empirical consideration of Bourdieu's theoretical framework may help sociologists understand more fully the roles of cultural capital in educational outcomes and how these roles may differ between schools.

Social Interaction in EMI Contexts

The idea that language can be a tool for inclusion and exclusion is central to the current study. With the ability of students to communicate or interact with each other, they "can build communities, which then provide, among other things, a powerful source of identity for their members" (Wright, 2004, p. 7). If the member with one needs to communicate is the member of the community one belongs to then "there is no conflict and these two functions can work symbiotically" (Wright, 2004, p. 7). When this is the case, students may be self-sufficient and isolated from the wider world because they speak the national language only and do not need to move out of their internal circles (Steiner, 1998). This may be the case in "in small traditional communities which are self-sufficient, do not seek to break their isolation and have no contact imposed by the wider world" (Wright, 2004, p. 7). In the context of public EMI schools, there are no different language groups and it is not necessary for students to come into contact with the speakers of another. Where academic pressures do not cause the speakers of one language group to come into contact with the speakers of another then the speaker's linguistic environment can cause a feeling of not wanting to come into contact with the wider society. For students studying at private EMI schools, however, the communicative and identity functions are not fulfilled by one and the same language. In these EMI schools, there are different language groups and students studying at these schools find themselves needing to communicate with a group outside their primary language group. It is, therefore, necessary for these students to come into contact with the speakers of another and move out of their internal circles. As stated by Appel and Muysken (1987), this is leading to a situation where increasing numbers of people are functionally bilingual. A study by Creese and Blackledge (2011) indicated that language is a social construct. The study suggests that language is constructed by nations, communities and individuals for its symbolic value and distinctiveness. The article questions these two

positions and investigates how they are performed in the bilingual contexts of different cities in schools where school children learn different languages. A broad range of bilingual practices across a variety of settings in schools, and at the boundaries of school and home have been observed. From these practices that have been observed, two contradictory positions have been identified in relation to participants' bilingualism: an ideology which argues for language separation and one in which "flexible bilingualism" develops as a practice. The study looks at how students lived both 'separate' and "flexible" positions and handled between them interactively and discursively. The research findings suggest that relations between "language" and "ideology" are far from straightforward for the school children. The study found that the reality of bilingual practice, with its flexible movement across and between languages is constructed by the social structures of which such interactions are separated (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). Academic pressures cause "the speakers of one language group to come into contact with the speaker of another and then to function at whatever level within the latter's linguistic accommodation, either language shift or social bilingualism" (Wright, 2004, p. 7). This is the case in EMI schools and students who study in an EMI context, therefore, may encounter decreased opportunities for experiencing another language.

Regarding the situation worldwide, analysis of literature reveals that those who have the opportunity to extensively use the dominant language (English) in the school setting are advantaged as they manage to store more cultural capital and experience than those who do not come into contact with speakers of the dominant language. Those, however, who fail to account for cultural distance to the educational system can foster social inequality (Pilotti, Gutierrez, Klein, & Mahamame, 2015). "Language builds human societies, solidarity and cooperation but it also plays a crucial role in the distribution of power and resources within a society and among societies" (Wright, 2004, p. 7). Wright (2004) also states that language

reveals class differences among human societies and fosters social inequality. Language plays a significant role in the distribution of authority within a society and among societies since it is seen as a powerful tool for people who try to gain authority by using their language abilities (Wright, 2004).

In a study on agentive goals of children's peer culture, and the role of language in achieving them Kyratzis (2004) focused on "children talking to, and socializing, other children in everyday activities in their peer and friendship groups" (p. 625). The findings indicated that "meaning creation is an active process by which children playfully transform and actively resist cultural categories, and where language is viewed as social action that shape reality" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 625).

In understanding the ways in which young people make use of language and the social structures around which they do so in an EMI context, Bourdieu's conceptualization of capitals is very useful for a number of reasons. First, this conceptualization helps to understand the place of language as an active ingredient of peer culture construction. Following on from Kyratzis's (2004) definition, peer cultures can be described as "a stable set of activities or routines, artefacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). The author states that

the concerns of children's peer cultures include (a) constructing a gender identity for participating in peer groups and practice communities; (b) for adolescents, as they experience considerable embarrassment exploring romantic relationships, relationships between the genders; (c) resisting adult culture – as children attend day care and school settings and increasingly participate in peer groups, they form a group identity strengthened by resisting adults and adult values; and (d) for children

growing up in societies where dominant and minority languages are in contact, reconstructing ethnicities to index peer group affiliation. (p. 627)

The other major concerns of children's peer cultures include inclusion and power in the peer group. In his study of peer groups, Kyratzis has argued that "a central value of children's peer cultures is 'doing things together,' and 'the protection of interactive space'" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). These shared activities become the field in which a bond is formed among the participants and any intrusion from the outside is unwelcome. Language as a cultural capital, i.e. linguistic capital, becomes the medium through which this interactive space is formed. While outsiders may seek to develop different "access strategies," (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627), the field becomes an area of power struggles where those with the necessary cultural and linguistic capital can access the membership and those without are left out. Such understandings of peer status become especially salient during adolescence (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). Recent approaches, however, "view power and hierarchy as central concerns of children's peer cultures across many cultures of the world and cross many ages" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). The study indicates that "peer exclusion is observable in many contexts, including normally developing peers reacting, under certain circumstances, with censure and rejection to children with language disabilities in school" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). Therefore, in this study, power is represented as a major concern of children's peer cultures.

Second, as Bourdieu (1997a) argues, language is not only an instrument of communication or knowledge but also to be an instrument of power. In any interaction involving language, one important factor that may influence the interaction process is the sense of the value of one's own linguistic products. In other words, young people's own perceptions of their linguistic capital as well as others' judgments of it have significant effects on the way interaction if co-constructed. This not only applied to interactions in one's native language but also to his/her language production in any second or foreign language.

The value of one's linguistic capital, therefore, plays an important role in terms of the symbolic power relation between the two speakers (Bourdieu, 1977a). More specifically, in EMI schools, possessing the necessary linguistic capital (high level of English proficiency) and having access to the right kind of habitus allow young people to have symbolic power over others. While examining the interactions of young people through their language use, such an understanding of the value of linguistic capital is essential.

Language Attitudes

Attitude is considered to be a central concept by researchers in the field of psychology. Several definitions of the term "attitude" is available in the literature. Attitudes are primarily defined as positive or negative reactions of an individual towards any aspect of social world (Fazio & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1994). Some researchers have provided that attitude is "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). According to Baker (1992), attitude is human behavior patterns. In the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Applied Linguistics "attitudes" are defined as:

opinions, beliefs, ways of responding with respect to some set of problems.

[...] They may be formed from haphazard experience, or they may be the result of deliberate thought. They may conform to cultural or peer-group norms [...] They may exert considerable control over a learner's behavior in numerous ways. (Johnson & Johnson, 1999, p. 20)

There are many factors that influence one's attitude. An individual's social background, the country in which one lives, age, gender and personal achievements are considered as important factors that influence one's beliefs that lead to form one's attitude (Jones, 1950).

Attitudes towards language are known as language attitudes (Fasold, 1984). Language attitudes are centered on students' feelings towards a target language and culture (Pierson, 1987). These feelings are related to social and schooling experiences. In other words, social and schooling experiences are important factors that form students' feelings that lead to showing their attitudes. Language ability plays a significant role in forming one's attitude towards a target language and vice versa. If one has negative attitudes towards that particular language, it is possible that this language ability and the learning process are affected negatively. Use of and familiarity with a particular language, stereotypes, previous experiences and future goals are important factors that may influence the formation of students' language attitudes (Galloway, 2013). According Galloway (2013), 'motivation' is seen as the most significant factor that forms the attitudes. Motivation is defined as a "combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes towards learning the language" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). The attitude could be positive or negative depending on the degree of motivation and how it is perceived (Gardner, 1985).

In the current neo-liberal educational discourses, languages are important assets, i.e. linguistic capital that can be transferred into cultural or social capital when and where necessary. In this respect, people usually desire to learn languages that they believe will bring them some sort of advantage in the future. This is also closely linked with their attitudes towards the target language. Thus, language attitudes have important implications both for the process of learning and for the social positions of the learners.

Gardner (1985) states that it is by many expected that those with positive attitudes towards the English language would be more attentive, serious, rewarded than those with negative and less favourable attitudes but even so such attitudes might not bring *achievement*. Achievement, according to Gardner (1985), can also be obtained through 'instrumental'

reasons "(reasons which stress the pragmatic aspects of learning the second language, without any particular interest in the language)" (Gardner, 1985, pp. 8-9). Even so, as Gardner (1985) indicates, it is with positive attitudes and with the *integrative* reasons or motivation that an individual can learn more efficiently. If one is not interested in learning the English language in order to meet and communicate with members of the second language community and only is with positive attitudes, achievement in language learning may be limited.

Language attitudes are important because expressions of positive or negative feelings toward learning the target language, i.e. English in this case, appear to be important factors that influence the learners' interactional patters and perceived social statues (Maftoon & Ziafar, 2013). Thus, the current study focuses how language attitudes of students from Turkish language backgrounds (STBs) towards English language and culture affect their classroom interactions with students from English language backgrounds (SEBs) in an English-medium school. A similar study by Mattoon and Ziafar (2013) set out to investigate the attitudes of Japanese English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners and teachers and other (unobservable) factors' influence the classroom interactional patters, demonstrated that the attitudes towards the role of English within their society was a very important factor that influenced students' interactional patterns. According to their study, the Japanese learners do not feel any immediate need to use English. Therefore, they would rather direct their interactions toward "self- expression" and "personal growth" rather than authentic communications (Maftoon & Ziafar, 2013, p. 74). Hence, their attitudes had a direct impact on their ways of learning and using the target language.

Attitudes of learners toward language learning have been widely explored and the findings suggest that anxiety about the language and the learning situation is an important factor that influences learners' language attitudes (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). Maftoon and Ziafar's (2013) study found that anxiety "inhibits Japanese learners from initiating

conversations, raising new topics, and challenging their teachers" (Maftoon & Ziafar, 2013, p. 74). This is because "Japanese language learners are not adapted to the social aspects and patterns of Western teaching practices, which involve individualization, challenging the teacher, and original opinions" (Maftoon & Ziafar, 2013, p. 75). The study demonstrated that Japanese learners "consider their role to be that of a quiet, obedient, and passive learner" (Maftoon & Ziafar, 2013, p. 75). Thus, anxiety is highly related to cultural behaviors, such as shyness, and their perceived values are culture bound. In this respect, it was not surprising to find that culture is another factor that influences the interaction among students. The study by Maftoon & Ziafar (2013) found that the third factor that influenced the interaction process is "Japanese culture, which is characterized by valuing indirect speech, face saving, group conformity, reticence, competition avoidance, and preference for teacher dominated classrooms" (p. 74).

Other important factors are use of and familiarity with the target language, the country in which the language is spoken, and the classroom and the teacher. Other learners, the nature of language learning, particular elements in the learning activities, tests and beliefs about learning in general were also found to be significant factors that affect the attitudes of learners in relation to language learning (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). Language attitudes may also demonstrate what people feel about the speakers of the target language (Johnson & Johnson, 1999).

Attitudes towards the Varieties of English

The attitudes of students towards the accent spoken can be an important factor that influences the social relations between students. A study by Timmis (2002) analysed 400 ESL learners from 14 different countries and revealed that the majority of students preferred

to have a native accent. A similar study by Wei, Yu and Case (2010) set out to investigate Chinese students' attitudes towards varieties of English. They found that native varieties were preferred to non-native varieties and that standard native varieties were favored over less standard native varieties. The study indicated that the students' attitudes were influenced by the entrenched native models in their teaching materials and learning environment. They also argue, however, that these students were aware of the plurality of Englishness, and some challenged the standards of acceptable English (Wei, Yu, & Case, 2010). Another study by Chiba (1995) analysed the attitudes of 169 Japanese university students toward varieties of spoken English. The results of this study revealed that the students with more instrumental motivation were more positive toward non-native English accents than with those with less instrumental motivation. The study also found that the students' familiarity with accents played an important role in their acceptance of varieties of English (Chiba, 1995). Students with instrumental motivation have more positive attitudes towards different accents and therefore their interactional patterns with speakers of different accents are positively affected. Another study conducted in the student's view sets out to investigate Chinese attitudes toward varieties of spoken English (Evans, 2010). This study found that the majority of the students had a positive perception of British English. The study indicated that British English had a higher status compared to the other varieties rated. The study also found that British English was considered to be a 'model' for 'standard' world English than American English is (Evans, 2010). All of these studies demonstrate that the EFL learners develop different language attitudes towards different accents based on their types of motivation, the varieties involved and the type of teaching models they have been exposed to.

A study by Ryan, Carranza and Moffie (1977) surveyed Spanish-English bilingual speakers to understand the relationship between the amount of accentedness heard and the attributed characteristics of the speaker. The study found that "the students made rather fine

discriminations among varying degrees of accentedness in rating a speaker's personal attributes and speech" (Ryan, Carranza, & Moffie, 1977, p. 271). The study indicates that "the high correlations between accentedness ratings and each of the other ratings indicate that small increments in accentedness are associated with gradually less favourable ratings of status, solidarity, and speech characteristics" (Ryan, Carranza, & Moffie, 1977, p. 271). The study found that those who speak with the Spanish accent features in spoken English are negatively affected by stereotyping. The study then indicated that "the greater the prominence of these features, the stronger the stereotyping" (Ryan, Carranza, & Moffie, 1977, p. 271). It seems that the definition of acceptability is found in the relationship between one's linguistic practices and the symbolic profit they can obtain from these linguistic practices which are oriented toward communication and exposed to evaluation. Discourse is effective when it is socially accepted. Therefore, it is effective within a given state of relations of production and circulation (Bourdieu, 1991). It seems clear that competence depends on the practical mastery of a usage of language and the practical mastery of situations in which this usage of language is socially acceptable.

Language is a social structure and it is not possible to build social structures without language. Language serves as a means of communication within social structures. As any value that exists in culture will have the same value in language, every element that exists in language will have the same value in culture as well as every value and concept that exists in culture will have the same value in language. Bourdieu's framework of capitals has been used in many academic studies to understand the interplay between languages and social interaction within the school context. Some studies revealed that with regard to education, possessing the cultural capital was necessary for the educational context because students' capital has an effect on their academic achievement. Some studies revealed that cultural capital gained from students' families impacted their educational outcomes positively. These

studies argued that students identified capital resources in the form of supportive family for their academic success. cultural capital was necessary for personal development and advancement within the school context, and that it provided an opportunity for students to constitute a huge step forward in their struggles for success.

It is inevitable that two cultures and two languages coexist when there is more than one culture and more than one language in contact with each other in the same society, and that these cultures and languages interact with each other.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The current study aims to investigate EMI schools, with specific reference to Cyprus. The major aim of the study is to present a detailed analysis of the case of EMI schools in the context of northern Cyprus and explore how English language is perceived and used among young people in such a context as well as the language attitudes of students from Turkish language backgrounds (STBs) with regard to the use of English in English language classes and their interactions with peers. The study also aims to investigate how such perceptions and practices influence their interactions with each other in their English language classes. The questions addressed in this study are:

- 1. What language attitudes do Turkish-speaking students who study at English-medium secondary schools have towards English language?
- 2. How do young people perceive themselves and their peers as "owners" and "users" of English?
- 3. What is the impact of English as cultural and linguistic capital on young people's interactions in an EMI school?
- 4. How is English capitalized on during peer interactions?

This chapter presents the details of methodology the current research study adopted. First, it presents the overall design of the study and the approaches the study adopted. Then, it moves on to the details of the research context and the participants and the data collection procedures. Finally, the methods for data analysis are presented.

Design

A qualitative design with an ethnographic approach was adopted (Creswell, 1994; Glesne, 2006; Blomberg and Burrell, 2009) to collect the data. Such an approach was significant for this study because this design is categorised as being used in orientational, ideological and cultural studies (Creswell, 1994; Glesne, 2006; Blomberg and Burrell, 2009). It helps to understand the cognition and behavior of research participants within historical, cultural, and social frameworks by collecting data about their everyday interactions within specific settings. This approach is also "a way of exploring the information and communication practices of people interacting with one another, both face to face and through mediating technologies" (Blomberg & Burrell, 2009, p. 964). An ethnographic methodology thus enabled us to investigate the attitudes of STBs toward English culture and language and understand how these attitudes might affect their interactions with their peers through a close investigation of their natural interactions within the school setting.

The Research Context and the Participants

The current thesis will report the findings of the analysis of data collected in two different EMI schools in northern Cyprus. One of these was a private EMI school while the other one was a public EMI school.

Englefield House. The first selected EMI school was private and had the highest number of English speaking students from England among all the EMI schools in northern Cyprus at the time of data collection. While there were some native-speakers of Turkish, majority of the content teachers were native-speakers of English and most students were from English language backgrounds (SEBs). In the context of this school, English as a medium of instruction is used for academic subjects such as history, science and mathematics. Although

the school maintains a considerable degree of independence in its operation and curricula, it is registered with the Ministry of Education and complies with certain curriculum and facility requirements mandated by the Ministry of Education in northern Cyprus. The school is meant to cater for SEBs and offer STBs the opportunity to get qualifications that would ensure their transition to overseas universities of their choice for degree studies. The school, therefore, follows the curriculum required for the acceptance to the universities in the UK. This school was among a few that followed the British curriculum with a few adjustments to allow them to be accredited by the local administration.

The classes that I collected the data in were chosen according to the number of students, i.e., the classes which had the highest number of SEBs and the classes in which the number of STBs and SEBs were equal were selected and observed separately in order to investigate how interactional patterns differed in these two cases. My focus was only on STBs, more specifically their interactions within a group, which included students both from Cyprus, in and outside their English language classes. In total, four different English classes have been observed. The participants' ages ranged from 12 to 14. The number of students in each class varied from 4 to 20. All of the teachers of English in the observed classrooms were native-speakers of English from England, except for one class whose teacher was a native-speaker of Turkish from Cyprus. Table 2 shows the distribution of students according to gender and linguistic background.

 Table 2

 Demographic information: Students in Englefield House

Class/Variable -	Gender		Participants' Linguistic Backgrounds		T . 1
	Male	Female	Native- speakers of Turkish from Cyprus	Native- speakers of English from England	Total no. of Students in Class
Class 1					
	2	2	2	2	4
Class 2					
	5	9	11	3	14
Class 3				12	
	6	14	7	13	20
Class 4				0	
	8	11	10	9	19
Total	21	36	30	27	57

Swakeleys House. "Swakeleys House" is a public EMI school accredited by the Ministry of Education in northern Cyprus. In order to be admitted, students must pass an entrance examination. The school follows the curriculum required for the entrance examination to the universities in Turkey and northern Cyprus. The qualification obtained is acceptable by the universities in Turkey as well as the universities in the United Kingdom, USA, Germany, Belgium, Italy and France. Unlike the private EMI school, majority of students at this public EMI school are from Turkish language backgrounds. While there were some native-speakers of English, majority of the content teachers were non-native speakers of English and almost all the students were from Turkish language backgrounds. All the

participating students were chosen among the students from Turkish language backgrounds. The class that I collected the data from was chosen according to the number of foreign students, i.e., the class which had a foreign student was selected and observed in order to investigate interactional relations. Because majority of students were native-speakers of Turkish, I had the chance of observing one class only, which had one non-native speaker of Turkish from Tswana. Similar to the other context, and in order to help me compare the contexts in the later analysis, my data collection in this school also focused on STBs and their in-group interactions. The participants' ages ranged from 13 to 14. The class that I observed consisted of 25 students. The teacher of English in the observed classroom was a native-speaker of Turkish from Cyprus. Table 3 shows the distribution of students according to gender and linguistic background.

Table 3Demographic information: Students in Swakeleys House

Class/Variable -	Gender		Participants' Linguistic Backgrounds		Total no. of
	Male	Female	Native- speakers of Turkish	Non-native speakers of Turkish	Students in Class
Class 1	10	15	24	1	25
Total	10	15	24	1	25

Snowball sampling was used to access the participants. This strategy is used

in situations in which you don't know in advance who will be available to participate or which individuals or groups should participate. Convenience sampling entails selecting people who are

available, meet the requirements of the research, and are willing to participate (Blomberg & Burrell, 2009, p. 968).

I preferred snowball sampling as a method because it would be not possible for me to access the participants unless the school administration was willing to help access the participants. Because the data collection process took place within a school setting, the only way to reach the participants was through the school administration as well the class teachers. Since there was only one class in which the foreign student was present, I found the possibility of observing the students in one class only. I selected the participants with the help of the English language teacher whose class I had been allowed to observe. I asked the teacher to direct me towards high and low proficiency level students of the same class so that I could observe how students with different levels of English proficiency perceived the importance of English language. Because I asked the class teacher to select the participants for me in accordance with the purpose of the study, the snowball sampling method influenced my data analysis positively.

Data Collection Procedures

Fieldwork consisted of four months of semi-structured and descriptive observations in English language classes at the selected schools and informal chats with the participants. In addition, 13 individual interviews, designed in a semi-structured manner, with the participating students and their English language teachers were conducted. The procedure I followed for "Englefield House" was to send an e-mail to the owner of the school, informing him about the aims of the project that I was working on and asking for permission to be able make observations at his school. I was told that I needed to contact the head of the English department in order to select the appropriate classes to be observed and organise the dates for

observations. I selected the classes to be observed with the help of the respective person and the classes were chosen in accordance with the aim of the current study. I was, then, introduced to the class teachers and was able start my observations.

For "Swakeleys House", I contacted the head of the school over the phone and informed him about my research study. I was told by the head of the school that I needed to get permission from the Ministry of Education to be able make observations at this EMI school. When I went to visit the school with the warrant, I was able to make all the arrangements with the head of the school. Then, I was directed by him to the class teacher to start my observations.

Semi-Structured Observations. Each classroom was visited eight times during data collection. I observed each class separately once a week. Each observation lasted for 60 minutes. The observations were carried out observing everything such as students' behaviours that were being carried out in terms of acts, activities and events, and students' social interactions. The primary data collection tool was semi-structured observations using an observation form. Semi-structured observations usually refer to the researcher knowing what he or she is looking for and having a specific aim in recording the data. In the current thesis, these observations were employed to record the interaction patterns of the students within the classroom setting. The observation form (see Appendix A) enabled me to focus on specific behaviors but I also took extra notes that enabled me to record things that were not originally mentioned in the form but appeared to be significant at during the course of the observation.

Descriptive Observations. In addition to the semi-structured observations, descriptive observations, "which usually means entering the field setting or situation with a goal of recording as much information as possible. Descriptive observations are usually carried out observing everything" (Whitehead, 2005, p. 11). According to Whitehead (2005), descriptive observations are carried out "approaching the activity in progress without any particular orientation in mind, but only the general question, 'what is going on here'" (p. 11). Whitehead also maintains that 'what is going on here?' is not the only question that the observer asks when carrying out descriptive observations. She also says that the researcher asks any question that he/she thinks may carry cultural meaning for the participants in the setting, such as the students in the setting; the behaviors that are being carried out by these students in terms of acts, activities, and events; the interactive patterns between the actors in the setting; discourse content of the setting as reflected in the language, expressive culture, and social interactions the actors in the social setting. These were some of the themes that emerged from the descriptive observations. These categories were significant for the purpose of this study because descriptive observations aim to begin to identify the most general features of phenomena within a social setting and more significantly, they may carry cultural meaning for the participants in the setting. The main reason why I wanted to use descriptive observations beside the semi-structured observations was to collect additional information which I might have left out in my original observation schedule.

Semi-Structured Interviews. While informal chats were an ongoing process and were recorded as part of the descriptive observations, interviews were scheduled, audio-recorded and completed within two weeks. I carried out semi-structured interviews with the participating students and their teachers. Whitehead (2005) explains that

Semi-structured interviewing follows the open-ended approach that is characteristic of ethnographic and qualitative research. While the interviewer has this written list of questions and a particular order to follow them not the set list of response possibilities, such as that found in the survey style of structured interviewing. (p.17)

I employed this type of interviews because they provided an opportunity for me to understand the respondents' points of view rather than making generalisation about their behaviors. It also does not limit the participants or respondents to a set of pre-determined answers. An interview protocol was used only to serve as a guide for the interview. Open-ended questions were used in these interviews (see Appendix D, E, F). The aim to keep these interviews open was

to allow for a wide range of responses and for the participants to express his experiences, his own way, with his own words. Using too structured format constrains the range of possible answers, increases the chances of missing critical pieces of information and increases the risk that discoveries will be limited by the ethnographers' pre-existing concepts, assumptions, and hypothesis. (Blomberg and Burrell, 2009, p. 970)

Each student was interviewed at separate points during the fieldwork. Interviews were conducted with STBs individually and each student was interviewed only once. Each interview was recorded by an audio-recording device from the start to the end. The interviews focused on the personal views of learners with regard to English culture and language; their linguistic and cultural practices; their experiences of English-medium school. Blomberg and Burrell (2009) also suggest that interviewing participants in a familiar setting not only "makes the participants more comfortable, it allows them to reference artifacts in the

environment that play an integral part in their activities" (p. 969). Thus, the participants were interviewed in a room within the school, which provided confidentiality as well. During and after the collection of data via interviews and informal chats, I took field notes as a supplement recording. I wrote these notes by hand and used them in the handwritten form. During the data analysis, I took the generalisability, the triangulation and the validity of findings into consideration. I noted down the findings that could be generalised and were consistent. The trustworthiness of the data was checked through gathering data from observations, informal chats and interviews. The findings were analysed by comparing the data obtained from these sources. I also questioned if the current study aimed to investigate what was intended. The data analysed here comes from fieldnotes based on observations, interviews and informal chats with the selected students.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. This method is primarily used "for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also [...] interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). After collecting data from the field, we sorted the information into categories, and analysed the themes using Bourdieu's framework for capitals. The process of data analysis was based on data reduction and interpretation. The coding procedure was used to reduce the information to themes or categories. The information was then presented in matrices and further re-organised to provide a description of language attitudes and interactional patterns among the participants.

The Researcher's Role

Because the current study used participant observation as the primary method of the data collection, I had an active role in the setting. I immersed myself in and engaged with the setting for four months aiming to understand the students' interactions with their peers through a close investigation of their natural interactions within the school setting. Because the perspective that I took impacted the knowledge produced about the participants being researched, I was fully committed to avoiding any possible biases that could arise due to my pre-assumptions regarding these schools. Through the process of reflexivity, I was continually aware that my positionality was never fixed and it was situation and content dependent. I was positioned as an observer to conduct research and I spent some time thinking about how I was positioned and I was aware of how my positioning could influence my research related thinking. However, as my thinking developed I realised that my position as an observer provided an opportunity for me to learn more about my topic and myself in greater depth. This later transforms into a personal journey and my purpose was to reflect the stories of this journey - stories of mine and others. As I tell the stories of other people, I was also telling them to myself and they helped in finding new meaning in my own life. Listening to and writing these stories down opened up the possibility of looking at my own and the participants' experiences from different perspectives. Keeping a journal during fieldwork also opened up the possibility of finding new meanings and gaining new understanding and helped in achieving reflexivity. "The internal process of reflection can be aided by writing notes after sessions and thinking over what clients have said. We may reflect on our life and work by writing a daily journal" (Etherington, 2004, p. 28). I made my ideas, judgments, thoughts and feelings about things I experienced in the field visible through reflective journals. "These reflections usually stay at a conscious level, using what we already know about ourselves, while at the same time opining up the possibility of knowing ourselves better as we create new meaning and gain new understanding thorough the process of writing and reflection" (Etherington, 2004, p. 28). Noting down not only my thought but also the experiences I gained during fieldwork helped in keeping biases out in my observations.

Therefore, keeping reflective journals and using them in the qualitative research process help in creating transparency in the research process. Reflective journals are very useful in terms of transparency because experiences, opinions, thoughts and feelings are made visible through the process of reflection (Ortlipp, 2008).

My purpose was to observe the naturally developing behaviors of the students. Therefore, it was very important for me not to influence the outcomes of my research by my sheer presence in the field. For this reason, various techniques have been used to minimize the awareness level of the students. As one of the principal tasks of mine during the observation was to take notes, I have chosen to sit at the back of the classroom during the observations, away from the pupils and unable to establish a visible contact with them, since it may be possible to increase the level of awareness. Informal chats were also part of my data collection methods alongside the observations. I occasionally had the opportunity to chat with the students by providing opportunities for informal chats. I tried to keep my interaction with students and teachers to a maximum to build relationships with the participants. I did not take part in the lessons but I did become part of their group during their break times. I often had the chance to chat with the participants who preferred to stay in class during break times or with those who were spending time in the hallways. In this case, my identity was fully developed and negotiated and I was more likely to construct roles which involved better participation. Participation opened up the possibility of getting better picture of the group. The questions of the participants were usually on whether I was an assistant teacher or not. I presented myself as a researcher and I told them that what I was doing at their school had nothing to do with them and it was all about my own research. The participants did not pay

attention to what they were saying during our informal chats since we were having mutual chats. Some participants got a bit nervous when they heard that that they were going to be interviewed but I told them that there was nothing to worry about and their names were not going to be mentioned anywhere. I also told them that the interviews had nothing to do with them and they were about my research. Most of the participant got so excited when they heard about the interviews and kept asking me if they were also going to be interviewed as their friends. At the start of each interview, I told students that the interview would be in Turkish thinking that they would feel more comfortable. As expected, this made them take a deep breath. At this point, the fact that my mother tongue was Turkish provided an opportunity for me in data collection. My being a non-native speaker of English provided an opportunity for students to express themselves more comfortably and was of great importance in collecting more efficient data.

CHAPTER IV

Language, Capitals and Interaction: The Case of a Private EMI SCHOOL

Introduction

This chapter will report the findings of the analysis of data collected in Englefield House (EH) where English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI). The selected EMI school had the highest number of English students among the EMI schools in northern Cyprus at the time of data collection. As the review of the current literature in relation to Bourdieu's capitals and schooling has demonstrated, EMI schools are significant spaces where cultural capital is both developed and utilised. They also play an important role in shaping the interactions among young people as acquisition of certain linguistic skills and knowledge takes place here. These patterns usually mirror social class positions which are projected onto their lives after graduation. Thus, EMI schools are important contexts to investigate how different linguistic codes are utilised while young people socialise in and outside the classroom. This chapter aims to explore how English language, both as cultural capital and linguistic capital, is perceived and used among young people in such a context. It also aims to understand how such perceptions and practices are reflected on their interactions with each other in their English language classes. In the following sections, themes that were identified as a result of the analysis will be presented. These themes appeared to describe the attitudes and interactional patterns among specifically two groups of students: students from Turkish language backgrounds (STBs) and students from non-Turkish (English) language backgrounds (SEBs). It was apparent in my initial analysis that these students were further divided into two different groups as early and late comers. Students with high proficiency levels in English were defined as early comers because they had started attending this private EMI school earlier than the rest, hence their higher proficiency in English. Those who did not have the ability to speak in English with ease, on the other hand, were defined as late comers because they had started attending the school later than high proficiency students. The findings in this chapter presented the nature of interactional patterns among young people. Yet, the results of the analysis demonstrated that linguistic and cultural capitals and the dominant patterns they imply were highly context-bound. The following themes were identified as significant in understanding the relationships among these groups of students.

Being, Becoming and Staying Dominant: Possessing the Cultural Capital

Cultural capital was an important factor that influenced students' status within their peer groups and those who possessed the cultural capital appeared to be advantaged as the cultural capital of the 'dominant' was promoted by the school through its EMI nature. As I will illustrate in this section, students from Turkish language backgrounds who possessed the necessary amount of cultural capital of the perceived dominant group, i.e. those who started attending this school earlier than the rest, used this possession to protect their perceived places in the social hierarchy. They admired SEBs and saw them at the top of the social hierarchy within the school. In most of the classes I observed, these students sought to identify themselves with the SEBs because they had the ability to speak the target language with ease. For example, when observing the class taught by Sarah, an English language teacher from London, I noted that "students with high proficiency level displayed spoiled attitudes during the lesson, i.e. non-stop talking and pattering as they wanted to attract attention. They were as active as the SEBs. Those who could reproduce English close to the British accent were as comfortable as the SEBs when they spoke the language" (Observations, 8 April 2015). This was a classroom where the majority of students were from English-speaking backgrounds. High proficiency level STBs also imitated the British accent in this class. They wanted to show their English language abilities by being active and asking questions all the time. This was a common characteristic of STBs with higher linguistic abilities in English in many of the classes I observed. They wanted to demonstrate their confidence in their English language ability. To strengthen their place high up in the hierarchy, they wanted to act and sound like the perceived popular group. They saw students who did not possess the cultural capital of the dominant below them. Therefore, they wanted to demonstrate their differences from other students who lacked similar levels of cultural capital by using English language as much as possible in the classroom context.

The capacity of STBs who had more cultural capital to engage with the dominant and their cultural knowledge or cultural productions provided an opportunity for them to reproduce the social structures of SEBs. They saw themselves as members of the desired group or at least similar to them. Here is an example:

EXTRACT 1 (Personal communication, 8 April 2015)

1The Turkish-speaking students with high proficiency level who also 2 possessed the cultural capital of the dominant thought that 3 their English was better than their Turkish. Mert (a Turkish 4 Cypriot boy) said, "My English is better than my Turkish" even 5 though they were conversing in Turkish among themselves. Mert 6 also said, "My native language is both Turkish and English". 7 Metilda (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "My native language is both 8 Turkish and English because my mum is an English teacher and 9 speaks to me both in Turkish and English" even though her first 10language was Turkish. Sarp (another Turkish Cypriot boy) said, 11 "My English is as good as my Turkish or I wouldn't be here".

The above quotes demonstrate how STBs try to claim a position among SEBs by putting forward their linguistic capitals. In Metilda's case, this goes as far as bringing her mother's profession into play to prove that she is surrounded by people who also possess similar cultural and linguistic capitals as herself. This strengthens her position within the school context, where English is the primary medium of instruction and is the desired practice.

The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that STBs believed that SEBs were more popular than STBs because they 'owned' the language. This was a significant discourse among the young people when they commented on the interaction among their peer group(s). The following exchange occurred during one of our informal chats with one of the participants at the break time:

EXTRACT 2 (Fieldnotes, 3 May 2015)

1 Begum said, "English-speaking students are popular at this school 2 and high proficiency students are trying to enter their circles as they 3 want to be as popular as English-speaking students." She also said 4 that "high proficiency students who know more about the culture 5 and have experience in it don't want to feel excluded as other 6 Turkish-speaking students like me so they tend to enter English-7 speaking students' circles"

As can be seen in Begum's explanation, SEBs were considered by STBs to be at the top of the social hierarchy within the school (lines 1-2) and STBs believed that in reaching higher up the social ladder to become more popular, what you knew was also as important as who you knew. Begum's words in lines 3-6 bring out the significant role of cultural knowledge and how it created a distinction when it was brought into play in this context. Students who possessed the cultural capital of the dominant, i.e. the popular group who are the owners of the target language in this case, did not want to feel excluded as the other STBs. Therefore, they actively played the game of cultural capital by utilising their cultural capital. Kyratzis (2004) explains that "a central value of children's peer cultures is 'doing things together,' and 'the protection of interactive space'" (p. 627). He goes on to argue that "once children share an activity and bond with a peer, they seek to protect it against intrusion from others.

Uninvolved children seek to gain entry, developing a complex set of 'access strategies'" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). By utilising their cultural knowledge in the target field, STBs with better English language proficiency managed to enter the popular group. This was their

access strategy. In other words, knowing and being able to use English language well was the cultural capital utilised by STBs to access the popular group. Extract 2 also revealed that SEBs made sure that their spheres remained exclusive. STBs were not able to enter their circles except when they had the capacity to use their cultural productions or their cultural knowledge with regard to English (lines 4-7). Therefore, students with high proficiency levels were trying to identify themselves with the perceived higher strata (lines 2-3) by speaking the accent and by claiming ownership of the language.

Accent: A Gatekeeper

STBs believed that if they had had the ability to speak English with ease and spoken with a British accent, they could become close friends with SEBs and enter their popular circles. The following exchange occurred during one of the interviews with one of the participants at the break time:

EXTRACT 3 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1Yurdakul (a Turkish Cypriot boy) said, "I wish I spoke with a British accent 2 because I don't want people to understand that I am a foreigner. From the 3 accent, people can understand that you are foreign. If I had spoken like a 4 native speaker, my English friends and I would have understood each other 5 better and I would have been closer to them. This way, they would have 6 accepted me and we would have been closer friends".

The result of the analysis revealed that Yurdakul, indeed, was exhibiting a positive attitude towards English language. However, because "accent perception does affect individual behaviour" (Heblich, Lameli, & Riener, 2015, p. 2) and Yurdakul believed that he did not possess the perceived accent of the dominant, his attitude was influenced negatively so that he distinguished himself from SEBs. This is the gap between accent perception and individual action that the analysis of the fieldnotes revealed. It seemed that the perceived accent of the dominant group in this school was considered to be a more relevant dimension

of social preferences than the regional accent which was considered both by STBs and SEBs to be a foreign accent. The perceived accent of the dominant distinguished social groups that differed in acceptance. There is evidence in Extract 3 that the use of an accent implies strategic disadvantages such as in social interactions and acceptance (lines 3-6). The data suggested that the way that the target language community positions or marginalizes the nonnative group will affect students' motivation and their attitudes. Probably, STBs would gain motivation and have positive attitudes if they were encouraged and accepted by SEBs. Extract 3 also demonstrates that there was a distinction between STBs and SEBs. Within a Turkish speaking society, a student from a Turkish Cypriot background labelled himself as a foreigner (lines 1-2). This is a significant identification and an important implication in terms of how the EMI nature of the school affected their social and linguistic positioning. It can be speculated that the British/native-like accents determined the boundaries around linguistic identification within the context of this school and non-native accents received negative attitudes. Yurdakul evaluated foreign accents' intelligibility and said that he could have been better understood if he had sounded as a native speaker of English (lines 3-5). It seemed that the student's attitudes were influenced by the entrenched native models in his learning environment so that he wanted to sound like them. Extract 3 has shown that SEBs also considered non-native speakers of English as foreigners. Yurdakul's words in Extract 3 (lines 3-6) bring out the significant role of the accent spoken and how it created a distinction when it was brought into play.

The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that SEBs thought that they were more knowledgeable and powerful than STBs as they owned the language. Within the EMI context of the school, SEBs considered themselves to be more knowledgeable and powerful because their first language was English. The following example occurred during an in-class observation taught by Sarah:

EXTRACT 4 (Fieldnotes, 8 April 2015)

1 When observing the class I heard one of the English-

2 speaking students saying "how come a Turkish Cypriot gets

3 a higher mark than me?"

Within the EMI context of the school, SEBs appeared to purposefully dominate the academic arena as well as the social one. Extract 4 shows a student verbally expressing this domination and her unwillingness to accept that a STB can also be as successful as her academically. This position, however, is a very context-bound one: English is a foreign language in Cyprus and due to people's positive attitudes and the prestigious position of this language here, speakers of this language appear to be privileged. As an extension of that, SEBs expect to perform better in academic tasks because they possess the necessary linguistic capital to complete them in the EMI context of this particular school. It can be argued that if the same scenario was played in an English-speaking country, SEBs would not have felt as powerful and knowledgeable as they feel in Cyprus. Thus, claiming ownership of the language in this context allows them to also claim the top position in terms of academic success as a natural outcome of their linguistic capitals. Furthermore, it brings out the observed differentiation among these groups of students in their self-perceptions. Extract 4 suggests that SEBs were motivated to maintain positive distinctiveness between the groups that they belonged to and the groups that STBs belonged to. As the extract above demonstrates this differentiation that lead to a boost to positive self-perceptions was accomplished.

Linguistic Capital and Peer Support

A significant amount of our data suggested that there appeared to be quite a distinction between STBs who tried to position themselves with the perceived dominant

group by utilising their linguistic capital and those who did not possess this cultural capital. However, this did not mean that STBs with different linguistic abilities in English language did not interact in the classroom context. On the contrary, I observed several cases where those with higher levels of linguistic capital in English assisted those with lower levels of this capital to achieve certain academic tasks in class.

The school where the data was collected for the purposes of the current study can be identified as a linguistic market due to its EMI nature. Linguistic capital is created, adapted, asserted and re-evaluated through such linguistic markets. Therefore, the more experience and knowledge students store throughout their education at this linguistic market, the more linguistic capital they have (Bourdieu, 1991). As I will illustrate below, linguistic capital was utilised as "access to a network of same-language speakers upon whom one can rely for academic support" (Straubhaar, 2014, p. 100). In all of the classes that were observed, students with high linguistic capital were early comers, i.e., those students who started attending this school earlier than the rest of their peers. They had the advantage because they possessed a considerable amount of linguistic capital, which conferred distinction and privilege to them. They had more experience and knowledge, therefore, they showed more confidence in their use of English language. In one particular classroom especially, these students assisted the remaining STBs through their common linguistic capital. Although this capital was not privileged or desired in this EMI context, it proved to be very beneficial in aiding lower proficiency students academically. STBs did not speak in English to each other. Conversing in Turkish, however, seemed to be an important factor that influenced their academic achievements as they used this capital to support each other in understanding the tasks assigned by their teachers in English. In other words, STBs used each other's linguistic capital as a tool to achieve better academically. As the extract below demonstrates, students depended on this support to do well in their classes:

EXTRACT 5 (Fieldnotes, 10 June 2015)

1Melis, a Turkish Cypriot girl, did not understand the teacher's 2instruction but instead of asking the class teacher's help, she asked 3Sezgin (another Turkish Cypriot girl) to help her and explain the 4 task in Turkish. Melis showed no confidence in her English 5 language ability since she was one of those late comers who did not 6 have enough *linguistic capital*. Melis managed to complete the task 7successfully with the help of Sezgin (The girl who spoke the same 8language as Melis).

Melis was one of those late comers who had not yet stored as much experience and knowledge as the early comers. Melis, therefore, did not have as much fluency in English language as Sezgin, who was an early comer. Since she did not have comfort with the language, she tended to ask Sezgin to explain her the instructions in Turkish (lines 1-4). Since Sezgin had a high proficiency level, Melis reckoned that she understood the instructions given by the teacher (lines 1-3). Sezgin's help enabled her to complete the task although they were conversing in Turkish, which was against the desired learning outcome. In this context, Sezgin appeared to be advantaged as she possessed the necessary amount of linguistic capital and Melis depended on Sezgin's linguistic capital to achieve better.

Another example of this sort of support was observed in an English language class taught by Zeynep, a Turkish-speaking teacher from Cyprus. I observed that "all the conversations of the students with each other were in Turkish and the only time they used English was when they needed to respond to the teacher during whole group instruction and ask questions to the teacher" (Observations, 10 June 2015). This was the only class whose teacher was a Turkish Cypriot. When observing this class, I also noted that although English was the only medium that students were expected to communicate in, "the teacher did not remind students to use English" (Observations, 10 June 2015) when they conversed in Turkish. It could be that the teacher was also aware of the positive outcomes of this

interaction between the students and thus did not want to break the communication channels, which helped them achieve better in this case. In most of the classes I observed, students with lower linguistic abilities got such social and academic support from higher proficiency level STBs. Therefore, students were able to function socially and academically with the help of their peers.

Social Capital, Superiority, Power and Ownership

In the context of the school, the world of students appeared to be divided into fields². The differentiation of social activities led to the constitution of various, autonomous, social spaces in which competition centred around particular species of capital. These fields were treated on a hierarchical basis wherein the dynamics of fields arouse out of the struggle of STBs, who met the requirements of the school's educational system, for trying to occupy the dominant position within the field. In the classes I observed in this study, STBs with less cultural capital faced the cold realities of social inequality. These students appeared to feel inferiority resulting in shyness in classroom contexts, while SEBs had the exaggerated feeling of being superior to STBs. For example:

EXTRACT 6 (Personal communication, 6 May 2015)

- 1 when talking to Suzan (a Turkish Cypriot girl) in the class
- 2 taught by Zeynep, she said, "English-speaking students from
- 3 England think that Turkish-speaking students know
- 4 nothing". The student, therefore, feared of failure. She also
- $5\ \mathrm{said},$ "I don't interact with English-speaking students that
- 6 often because I fear of making mistakes."

²A field, in Bourdieu's theorisation of social class and interaction, is a structural social space with its own rules, schemes of domination (Bourdieu, 1991)

The Bourdieusian perspective sees "cultural accessibility and capital (a power dimension) as an antecedent of self-efficacy" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 9). Since Suzan was not positioned to meet the requirements of the school's educational system, she was culturally distanced from the target language community (lines 2-4). When observing Suzan, I noticed that "her fear negatively affected her interactions with SEBs" (Observations, 6 May 2015). This observation supports what Suzan said in lines 4 and 5, which negatively affected her success in class as she was perceived as a passive student by her teachers. STBs' perceived lack of knowledge (lines 3-4) frustrated her efforts of practicing English since her fear of failure and making mistakes inhibited her from interacting with the target group (lines 4-6). What Kaan as a high proficiency level student said below supports Suzan's claim:

EXTRACT 7 (Personal communication, 27 May 2015)

1Kaan said, "Most of Turkish Cypriots have their own group independent from 2the British group but the other students with better English say that they want 3to be like English students and be with them. Those who don't have 4confidence in their English are friends with Turkish students and they are in 5their own group all the time. This is because they have started attending the 6school late and so their English is not as good as ours. Those, however, who 7have started attending the school earlier the rest are friends with both 8Turkish and English students.

The above quote demonstrated that students who improved their language abilities through their education in the linguistic market were more motivated to use the English language and interact with those who were perceived to be the 'owners' of the language since they did not have any worries related to their English language abilities. Kaan's extract also signals how linguistic competence is an important factor for increasing or reducing motivational attitudes towards the use of English. My observations of students' interactions, in many of the classes, revealed that the feeling of impotence negatively affected lower proficiency students' interactions with SEBs (Lueg & Lueg, 2015).

As Kyratzis (2004) notes down, "peer status comes into play during adolescence" (p. 627). Moreover, "power and hierarchy [are] central concerns of children's peer cultures across many cultures of the world and cross many ages" (Kyratzis, 2004, p. 627). In the EMI context of the focal school, students appeared to create such peer groups where linguistic abilities determined the access rights. For example, Mehmet, a Turkish Cypriot boy, said "if English-speaking students are to share their personal experiences or problems, they share them with students with high proficiency level students like themselves." In other words, they distinguish between those with high linguistic capital and low linguistic capital, creating unequal social discourses for interaction and peer grouping. This is similar to Kyratzis' (2004) arguments, who points out that "peer exclusion is observable in many contexts" (p. 627). This "exclusion" is mobilised through the use of the "accent" pointed out by Suzan in Extract 6 below:

EXTRACT 8 (Personal communication, 13 May 2015)

- 1 Suzan said, "I feel myself unequal as I cannot speak a dialect
- 2 close to the English." She continued by saying, "English-
- 3 speaking students stand much closer to high proficiency
- 4 students because they are able to speak with the accent.
- 5 They can have deep conversations with them."

Suzan's extract signals that she has a positive perception of the British English, which places the users of this accent in the higher, more popular group with the power and ownership of the language. As the extract demonstrates, linguistic competence is such an important factor for the sense of the value of the speakers' own status as the value of the linguistic production depends on the symbolic power relation between the two speakers. Suzan's words in lines 1-2 denotes such a power struggle between those who are considered "equal" to the ones with the ownership of the language and those who are

"unequal," i.e. herself as a STB. This sense of equality comes from their ability to speak
"a dialect close to the English" (lines 1-2). The significance of this "ability" in Suzan's
words, however, is not only to do with the sort of linguistic production they are capable of.

It is further extended to the content and perhaps the nature of the conversation, i.e. "deep
conversations" (line 5). Suzan's words indicate the critical connections between linguistic
capital and social capital: Those who possess the necessary linguistic skills to converse
"deeply" in English are able to share more and strengthen their social bonds with SEBs.

Students' Attitudes towards English Language

The desire of people to learn languages that they believe will bring them sort of advantage in the future is closely linked with their attitudes towards the target language. People with more positive and favourable attitudes are believed to be more successful than those with negative and less favourable attitudes, especially when learning new languages (Gardner, 1985). Yet, Gardner (1985) indicates that it is the *integrative* reasons or motivation as well as positive attitudes that lead an individual to achievement. According to Gardner (1985), achievement obtained through instrumental reasons may be limited. Therefore, to be able to learn more efficiently, one must be interested in learning the target language in order to meet and communicate with the target language community (Gardner, 1985). In this respect, STBs and SEBs appeared to have different attitudes towards the English language. The results of the analysis demonstrated that those STBs with high language performances had more confidence in their language skills which increased their motivational attitudes toward English language. Lack of confidence, the data presented, played a significant role in motivational attitudes because it increased students' anxiety levels, which discouraged them from interacting with SEBs. Students with low proficiency level in English demonstrated a higher level of anxiety, nervousness and shyness compared to the ones who had better

English language abilities. The data also suggested that what students felt about the speakers of the target language played a significant role in shaping their attitudes. As hinted in some of the extracts presented earlier in this chapter, due to STBs' perception of SEBs' attitudes towards them being negative, STBs have developed fear and have lost confidence in using the English language, especially in their interactions with SEBs. The data in the current study presented that in the cases of inclusion and exclusion among the participants based on language attitudes in this EMI school, those who did not possess the necessary amount of linguistic capital were negatively affected in their language performances because of their fear of making mistakes and hence exclusion. This exclusion was not only due to students' attitudes towards the English language but also to do with the fact that the context of this school prioritised English language over any other. The following themes were identified as significant reasons in understanding the attitudes among these groups of students.

Desire for academic success, resistance towards integration. STBs desired to learn the English language because they believed that it would bring them sort of advantage in the future. They saw it as economic capital. For example, on several occasions, they raised that English language was necessary for future employment. STBs did not only highlight the significance of studying English for their future career but also believed that the English language learning was necessary for communication purposes and for building linkages with English speaking peers. They were highly willing to integrate with the target group. STBs have shown their high motivation by arguing that the knowledge of English language provides better job opportunities for their future careers, education and job opportunities:

EXTRACT 9 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1 Sertap, Yurdakul and Filiz, for example, believed that studying English 2 would make them better educated people and help them to get good jobs in

3 the future. Sertap said, "we came to study at this school because we want to 4 go to England. Those who go to England get better education because if you 5 know English, you can get better jobs".

It seemed that STBs were interested in the English language learning as they aspired instrumental rewards in the form of academic achievements and good future jobs. The result of the analysis indicated similar levels of agreement among students highlighting the importance of studying English to enable them to participate in the activities of the target language group. The analysis of the fieldnotes revealed that there was a genuine desire to become part of the target language community and identify with the dominant group. In all of the classes I observed, STBs did not have negative attitudes towards SEBs. These positive attitudes towards the target culture and people made STBs motivated to learn the language, not only for educational or future economic goals, but also for integration with the target community by "making friends" and "learning about the culture:"

EXTRACT 10 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1 Yurdakul said, "I prefer English as a language of instruction because it 2 helps in understanding the culture. I also want to have more fluent and 3 accurate English speaking skills so that I can make English friends". Sertap 4 said, "I am happy to have English friends around me because we learn more 5 with English students and widen our circle of friends"

Yurdakul, as the data demonstrates, was motivated to learn the English language and, therefore, had positive language attitudes. The fact that he wanted to have more fluent and accurate English speaking skills (lines 2-3) demonstrated that he had high motivation to learn the language. The fact that this student had many foreign people around him could be seen as an important factor for his motivation. Probably, he wanted to have English friends (line 3) because he was willing to take on features of the target language group and this played a significant role on his motivation towards language learning (lines 2-3). Learners in multiethnic settings try to identify themselves with the target language community and this

powerful process affects a person's motivation in a positive way since it encourages individuals to learn and use the language of the target group (Dörnyei, 1998). He desired to learn English because he believed that it would bring him sort of advantage in terms of making English friends (lines 2-3). This class was dominated by SEBs and was a classroom where almost all students were from English-speaking backgrounds. Probably, the fact that STBs were surrounded by SEBs played a significant role in terms of the formation of positive attitudes towards students from English-speaking backgrounds. It could be said that the students at this EMI school, had many motivational advantages because they were in the environment where the language was used and live. The result of the analysis indicated that STBs wished strongly that they were able to speak the English language perfectly well (lines 2-3). Students have shown awareness towards English language learning as means for communication because they believed that the English language was necessary for building linkages with English speaking students (lines 1-3).

The EMI nature of this school could be motivational for STBs in terms of learning English for integrating with SEBs but was not so motivational for them in terms of practicing their English with the target language community. STBs seemed to have positive language attitudes and be motivated to learn the target language for integrating with the target community. However, students missed out on opportunities for practice because their lack of self-confidence with their English reduced their motivation to use English for communication with students from English-speaking backgrounds. The analysis of the data revealed that self-confidence played a significant role in the formation of students' motivational attitudes towards the use of English. Therefore, English was not necessarily integrative as the data demonstrated in Extract 10. In all of the classes that were observed, STBs did not have the motivation to interact with SEBs and use the target language since their lack of language

gave rise to low motivation. As the extract below demonstrated, there was no interest in using the target language and interacting with the target language group:

EXTRACT 11 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1Yurdakul pointed out, "I prefer my friends to be Turkish. I speak Turkish 2 with my friends because it's easier for me to speak Turkish and also I feel 3 more relax with the Turkish language. If I speak with my English friends, we 4 talk about academic issues or we just say "Hi" to each other".

In Extract 10, Yurdakul mentioned that he preferred English as a language of instruction and to learn about the culture (lines 1-2). In Extract 11, however, it was significant that he denied the idea of having SEBs as his friends (line 1). The fact that Yurdakul was not motivated to use English for communication with SEBs (lines 3-4) showed that STBs saw English as an instrument, it was not necessarily integrative as demonstrated in Extract 10. Probably, Yurdakul had language anxiety which was negatively related to his self-confidence with his English. Possibly, Yurdakul had self-awareness of his language proficiency and a high level of language anxiety, and therefore, he had no desire to use English for communication with students from English-speaking backgrounds. I observed that STBs, in general, missed out on the opportunity for practice. I observed that "Turkish students speak to each other in Turkish. They prefer their own language to English" (Observations, 8 April 2015). In most of the classes I observed, most of the students did not seem to show confidence in their English language ability as they never attempted to communicate in the target language. I heard STBs and SEBs discussing academic matters rather than carrying on social conversations. This observation supports what Yurdakul said in lines 3 and 4. When observing the class taught by Sarah, an English teacher from London, I noted that "when STBs are around SEBs, STBs withdraw themselves and sit quietly. They seemed to be afraid that they will make mistakes when they speak English" (Observations, 8 April 2015). When observing this class, I also noted that "the fear of making mistakes negatively affected students' interactions with SEBs"

(Observations, 8 April 2015). During another English language lesson in the same classroom, students were reminded a few times to complete tasks together with their partners and then share ideas by talking to each other. Nobody, however, attempted to share ideas or talk to each other. I noticed that if STBs had sat together with other Turkish students, there would have been more interaction in the classroom because this would have provided them the opportunity to speak to each other in Turkish. However, in this particular time, STBs were paired with SEBs, which could be a possible reason for the lack of interaction in the desired way/amount. Another example of this sort of act was observed in an English language class taught by Zeynep, a Turkish-speaking teacher from Cyprus. I observed that "whenever students had the opportunity to speak to each other in their native language, i.e. Turkish, they got more involved and engaged in the lesson" (Observations, 10 June 2015). For example, in this lesson I observed, "when students were left alone by the teacher to work on their articles that they were expected to write individually, those passive students, who seemed to feel less confidence in their English language ability, appeared as more active and engaged than they were observed to be before because they had the opportunity to speak to each other in Turkish" (Observations, 10 June 2015). The above observations showed that STBs lacked self-confidence with the English language which played a significant role on their motivation to use English.

Anxiety, fear and perceived language abilities. The analysis of the fieldnotes presented many cases where a specific group of STBs (late comers) had language anxiety which was related to their self-confidence with their English. I will be talking about the other group (early comers) later in the section. This specific group of STBs lacked self-confidence because they feared of making mistakes. They looked nervous whenever they had to speak in English with SEBs. Anxiety about a language is thought to be an important factor that

influences students' language attitudes (Johnson & Johnson, 1999). The results of my analysis revealed that there was a strong relationship between anxiety and perceived language abilities of students. The data suggested that STBs feared using the target language because they believed that they were incapable of using the English language as efficiently as SEBs. Students' attitudes were influenced by these factors because, as suggested by Muthanna and Miao (2015), lack of ability plays a significant role on the attitude of an individual towards the target language. The following exchange, for example, occurred during one of the interviews with one of the participants at the break time:

EXTRACT 12 (Personal communication, 13 May 2015)

1 Sertap (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "I envy English students' talk. I get 2 anxious whenever I need to talk to them because I fear of making mistakes. I 3 am afraid that other students will laugh at me when I speak English".

Sertap's extract signals that her perceived lack of language skills frustrated the student's efforts of practicing the target language and this anxiety inhibited her from interacting with the community of the target language, which is readily available to her within the school context. In other words, she was afraid because she thought she was not good enough. Therefore, she missed out on opportunities for practice because of fear of making mistakes. It was not that she had negative attitudes towards the English language or the target language group. It was that she was afraid of losing face. This supports Hashemi's (2011) claim that language anxiety is a concern of face in different cultures. Fear of losing face between students play a significant role communications (Hashemi, 2011). The analysis of the data showed that language anxiety, was an important issue in the development of these fearful attitudes because saving face was considered to be an important issue by STBs. As the extract demonstrates, STBs' sense of inferiority while interacting with SEBs caused stress and anxiety for them (lines 1-3). Students' fear and lack of confidence in using the target

language appeared to be an important factor that influenced students' effort of practicing for the development of their interactional patterns. It could, therefore, be said that students' "lack of [effort] for follow-up improvement indicates failure to fulfil their role in dealing with the challenges" (Kyeyune, 2003, p. 176). When observing Sertap, I noticed that "she was not keen on communication in L2 situations" (Observations, 6 May 2015). This observation supports what Sertap said in Extract 12, which negatively affected her language performance as well as her class performance, as she did not seem to be involved in the lesson. My observations of students' language attitudes, in many of the classes, revealed that anxiety and fear of making mistakes made STBs feel uneasy and anxious which harmed their language performances by reducing their participation both in social and academic contexts.

A significant amount of data suggested that one of the possible reasons for STBs' fear of making mistakes and loss of confidence in using the English language was due to SEBs negative attitudes towards STBs (or STBs' perception of SEBs attitudes towards them as negative). Accent and ability to reproduce the perceived "accepted accent" seemed to be important issues in the development of these fearful attitudes. Saving or keeping face also appeared to be important issues for STBs in such cases. As the extract below shows, STBs believed that they were marginalised by SEBs:

EXTRACT 13 (Personal communication, 13 May 2015)

1 Filiz (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "English students don't like Turkish 2 students. Whenever we have to speak in English, they have this strange look 3 in their eyes. Whenever I don't understand the meaning of words, they 4 exhibit surprised attitudes such as "don't you know the meaning". I feel 5 humiliated. It is, therefore, I fear of structuring wrong sentences. Some 6 English students want to be the British group and don't want to engage with 7 us. English students have Turkish friends but they accept the ones whose 8 English is very good". Sueda (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "I wish I could 9 sound like English students because unless you speak smoothly, they don't 10 want to talk to you. They prefer the ones whose English is very good. If 11 you are not able to answer their questions, they ignore you. Accent and 12 how you speak, at this school, are important factors for establishing a 13 good relationship".

The extract above shows that the way STBs thought SEBs perceived them was an important factor that negatively influenced their attitudes. Filiz thought that SEBs had negative attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots (lines 1-2). She thought lexical competence, communicative competence and also knowledge of the right structures were important for the target group and she was talking about STBs' perceived lack of these areas of competence (lines 2-5). Filiz' perception of SEBs attitudes towards STBs as negative played a significant role on her attitudes towards English. For example, she feared of making mistakes (line 5) due to her perceived lack of language skills. This perceived lack of language skills frustrated her efforts of practicing English and possibly it inhibited her from interacting with the target group. Both Filiz and Sueda claimed that English students despised and excluded STBs because they could not speak as fluently as SEBs (lines 6-8 & lines 9-10). It seems that these behaviours of SEBs influenced STBs negatively and gave rise to anxiety and fear (line 5). The way that they thought SEBs perceived them, seemed to be the main factor which formed their attitudes. They were also talking about "sounding" like the target group. Along a strong usthem discourse, they were talking about accent, which appeared to be a gate to membership (lines 8-13). Accent was considered by STBs to be an important factor for building strong relationships with SEBs (lines 11-13) but they also thought that SEBs saw them as inferior (lines 2-3). Probably, within the context of this school, because English was the primary medium of instruction and English was their native language, SEBs had high self-confidence and saw Turkish Cypriots below them. Because STBs had language anxiety and feared of making mistakes, they avoided using the English language. What Kaan said below supports that the negative attitudes of SEBs towards mistakes made by STBs caused feelings of anxiety and fear:

EXTRACT 14 (Personal communication, 27 May 2015)

1 Most of the students are shy. They think before they speak. Because most of 2 the class is British, they think that all English students have similar thoughts 3 on their personalities. They think that the things that they might say will be 4awkward to English students so they don't want to say anything. This is an 5 English school and most of the students are English so they fear of making 6 mistakes".

It was clear that how STBs were perceived by SEBs played a significant role on individual behaviour (lines 2-3)). The feelings of fear of making mistakes (lines 5-6) and being judged by the dominant group (lines 3-4) made STBs avoid using the English language (line 4), which impacted their academic performances and caused them to be perceived as low ability or passive in class (line 1). The attitudes of SEBs towards STBs, for example, appeared to make them feel inadequate and incomplete (line 1). Yurdakul (a Turkish Cypriot boy) further elaborates on the issue:

EXTRACT 15 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1 "I don't feel nervous with my English teachers but when I have to speak with 2 my English friends I feel nervous. This is because my teachers know that I 3 am not able to use English language well". Sertap said, "I feel Ok with my 4 English teachers because they correct me when I make mistakes but with my 5 English friends I feel nervous as they exclude us".

The extract above shows that Yurdakul felt safer with his teachers because he knew that he would not be excluded or humiliated by his teachers. It could be argued these negative language attitudes of STBs would disappeared if there was a more supportive atmosphere. It could also be argued that STBs cared about these attitudes of SEBs so that they did not want to feel excluded, and therefore, their actions affected their language attitudes negatively and reduced their motivation.

The quotes presented in the earlier sections indicate that the attitudes of the speakers of the target language and friendship groups are important factors that influenced STBs'

language attitudes. The attitudes of SEBs towards STBs, as demonstrated in Extract 5, were mostly determined by STBs' abilities to produce the desired "accent". Thus, when they were unable to do so, SEBs presented negative attitudes towards them. It seemed that the lack of confidence in relation to using the English language was the result of these negative attitudes of the target language group towards STBs rather than their attitudes towards English language per se. The above quotes also demonstrate how exclusion and rejection within the school setting had a direct impact on the way STBs avoided using the English language. It could, therefore, be argued that inclusion and power relations in the peer group are important factors that impact language attitudes of young people, even in a setting where using English is the desired behaviour.

The analysis of the fieldnotes and the observational data revealed that students have different anxiety levels towards the use of English language. In all of the classes I observed, I noticed that students with better English language ability seemed to be more confident of themselves when speaking English in comparison to those with lower proficiency levels. I want to expand on the conclusion that students can feel alert or uneasy, anxious or worried depending on their language abilities or performances. The fact that the anxiety level of students is low facilitates their language performances or harms the performances when the anxiety level is high. This may have a positive or negative effect on their class participation because the better their language performances, the higher their participation rates are. (McIntyre & Gardner, 1991; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). These feelings of fear were not present amongst the other group of STBs who had started school earlier and therefore, had higher linguistic competencies. Therefore, their attitudes towards the English language were more positive than late comers. When observing the class taught by Zeynep, a Turkish-speaking teacher from Cyprus, I noted that "students with better English language ability demonstrated more confidence than the students with lower proficiency level" (Observations,

10 June 2015). I also observed that those who seemed to feel more confidence in their English language ability interacted more with SEBs. They were more engaged, active and involved in the lesson as well. This was a common act of STBs with higher linguistic abilities in English in all of the classes I observed. Perhaps because those who did not have as much fluency in English language as others were more conscious of their mistakes in spoken performance, and as a result they were viewed negatively by SEBs, they felt uneasy using the target language (Brown, 2004). Dominguen (as cited in Hashwani, 2008) claims that "also low accomplishments, unsound learning environment, lower self-esteem, disrespect and offensive behaviour of others cause high anxiety levels and de-motivate students" (p.137). These claims support what the data revealed in this current study along with the claim made by STBs, in Extract 15. STBs claimed that SEBs exhibited some negative attitudes towards them regarding their English language ability which made them feel uneasy whenever they needed to use the target language. Maybe, students with better linguistic abilities were more motivated and active in the classroom context compared to the ones who lacked similar levels of competence in English because they wanted to show their English language abilities and prove their confidence in their English. It could also be that they wanted to demonstrate their differences from others who were excluded by SEBs. Maybe they saw themselves as equal to the members or as members of the desired group and wanted to position themselves among SEBs by putting forward their English language abilities. Here is an example:

EXTRACT 16 (Personal communication, 13 May 2015)

¹ Sueda said, "those Turkish Cypriots who come from England or those whose 2 English is better than us are more motivated. Both English students and 3 those with better English think that they know everything. Those who are

⁴ always active in the classroom want to prove their English. They want show

⁵ English speaking students their knowledge so that they are not excluded by 6 them".

Sueda claimed that STBs with better English language abilities wanted to identify themselves with the perceived dominant group so that they were not excluded by SEBs. They were more active compared to late comers in class (lines 3-4) and were accepted by the perceived dominant group (lines 5-6).

EXTRACT 17 (Personal communication, 27 May 2015)

1 In an interview with one the higher proficiency level students, it has been 2 revealed that what Kaan said supported Sueda's claim that those with better 3 abilities were more motivated. Kaan (a Turkish Cypriot boy with high 4 proficiency level) said, "Turkish Cypriots whose English is good are more 5 motivated than English students because we need to prove our English and 6 knowledge. English students, however, don't want to bother because they 7 are English and English is their native language so they don't need to prove 8 anything to anybody". Kaan continued by saying, "my English is very good 9 so I am very happy in my English classes because I love my English 10 lessons".

Kaan admits that STBs needed to prove their confidence in his English (line 5). What Kaan was saying was very important in terms of STBs' positioning, not only within their peer groups but also as students in the same classroom. It almost sounded like SEBs did not need to prove anything but they, as students from Turkish-speaking backgrounds, did. Because they needed to prove their knowledge, there seemed to be two extreme ends in this continuum of performance: those with lower levels of competence in English were not only excluded socially but also were afraid of making mistakes, so that they did not actively participate in class. On the other hand, those with higher competence levels, who still had to prove themselves but were more confident to try and claim that position of "good students". It seemed clear that Kaan wanted to show the English students he was different from others who lacked similar level of language ability so that he could be accepted by English students and included in the target language group. Kaan also admitted that STBs were excluded by SEBs:

EXTRACT 18 (Personal communication, 27 May 2015)

1Kaan said, "English students exclude Turkish Cypriots because their self-2confidence is high".

This attitude of SEBs towards STBs (line 1) seemed to be the reason STBs needed to prove their English and claim that position of "good student", so that they were not excluded socially by SEB. Sueda, a lower proficiency level student, in Extract 18, claimed that some STBs with better language abilities tried to act and sound like the perceived popular group not only because they wanted to be members of the desired group but also needed to prove their English and knowledge. Also, they were more confident to try and claim that position of "good students than those with lower levels of competence in English.

The extract below has shown that fear of not being understood affected the interactional patterns of those with lower levels of competence in English. They were not willing to integrate with the target group but this was not because they had negative attitudes towards the target language community. Due to their lack of motivation in English language use, they have developed fear and lost confidence in using the language. The fear of not being able to use the language efficiently made them avoid using the English language:

EXTRACT 19 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

1Yurdakul said, "I prefer Turkish teachers to English teachers. When I need to 2 speak English with Turkish teachers, I feel more relax because I know that 3 the teacher is Turkish and knows Turkish. When I will have more fluent 4 English, my thoughts will be changed".

The extract above revealed that the fear of not being understood and the influence of self-evaluation of language skills (lines 3-4) reduced the language usage, which impacted their interactions even with their teachers within the classroom setting. Yurdakul avoided using the language may be because he feared of being judged by teachers from English language

backgrounds. The result of the analysis also suggested that due to the lack of ability, STB have developed fear and the fear of making mistakes caused them to be perceived as low motivated students. We can see this when Yurdakul says:

EXTRACT 20 (Personal communication, 11 May 2015)

- 1 "English students have higher motivation. Because English is their own
- 2 language and culture, they are likely to be able to understand more easily
- 3 and comfortably". Filiz said, "English students are more motivated than
- 4 Turkish students because English is their own language and so they are not
- 5 afraid of making mistakes".

The fact that STBs avoided using the target language impacted their academic performance and caused them to be perceived as passive in class. The result of analysis revealed that there was a relationship between the students' motivation and how well they were able to integrate themselves into social networks that included members of the dominant (target) culture. The data suggested that the target language group and the non-native group need to be equal in terms of linguistic capital and cultural status since equal positions may higher up their motivation. Otherwise, the groups are less likely to develop interest in each other or mutual friendship. It could be argued that the actual actions of students also affect each other as much as their attitudes since the attitudes towards each other may shift or the motivation may higher itself up depending on the actions of students. The actions of SEBs, therefore, played a significant role on the non-native students' motivation. It seemed that STBs were marginalised by SEBs so that STBs wished they sounded as the native English speakers. This has been highlighted in many interviews with the participants. In other words, the actions of SEBs affected the attitudes of STBs negatively and so, they felt nervous whenever they needed to speak English with SEBs.

Conclusion

The data in this chapter presented how different linguistic codes are utilised while young people socialise in and outside the classroom, how English language, both as cultural capital and linguistic capital, is perceived and used among young people, and how such perceptions and practices are reflected on their interactions with each other in their English language classes. The results of the analysis showed that those students who stored more knowledge and experience through their education in the linguistic market, had more linguistic capital as well as cultural capital, both of which enabled them to interact with those who were perceived to be the 'owners' of the language. These were also perceived as popular and academically superior by all of the participants. Students perceived knowledge of English in general and the ability to reproduce the British accent in particular, as important markers of social positions. They were also important elements for building social capitals. Moreover, students tended to form their peer groups and socialise based on these perceptions. The differentiation of social activities led to the constitution of various, autonomous, social spaces in which competition centred around particular types of capital. These fields, as the data presented, were served on a hierarchical basis wherein the dynamics of fields arised out of the struggle of the perceived non-native speakers of English who tried to occupy the dominant position within the field. The British accent was associated with popularity, power and the higher strata. Nagme (2007) and Ryan, Carranza and Moffie (1977) had similar findings in their studies where they pointed out that the 'Received Pronunciation' (RP) was associated with the upper socio-economic classes by their participants. As Bourdieu (1977a) also states, the sense of the value of one's own linguistic products is one of the factors that may influence one's interactional process as well as one's attitudes. In the current study, STBs who were successful at acquiring the British accent, therefore, were not only perceived

by others as "owning" the language but also had access to the perceived popular group through this linguistic capital.

The data presented in the current study also showed that inclusion and exclusion were observable among the participants based on language attitudes in this EMI school. Similar to Ryan, Carranza and Moffie's (1977) study, the current study showed that those who could not acquire the perceived "accent" of the popular group were negatively affected in their peer relationships. It is worth noting that this positioning was not only due to the participants' perceptions of and attitudes towards languages that they knew but also to do with the fact that the context of the school prioritised English language over any other. Thus, students with higher linguistic abilities in English, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds, formed the perceived popular groups, shared more socially and were expected to out-perform the rest academically. Despite this apparent domination and differentiation among the students, the data significantly showed that STBs with higher linguistic abilities in English were able to utilise their linguistic capitals in their native languages, i.e. Turkish, to support each other academically.

Linguistic competence also played a significant role in strengthening the relation between STBs and SEBs. The data highlighted how environment plays a significant role in facilitating students' language performances which increase or reduce their motivational attitudes and anxiety level. Effectual language learning, the data suggested, requires optimistic experience and supportive atmosphere. The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes indicated that STBs had negative motivational attitudes and high anxiety levels. Furthermore, students with better language abilities showed a higher level of confidence comparable to the ones who lacked similar levels of English language ability. In contrast, students with lower proficiency level demonstrated a higher level of anxiety, nervousness and shyness comparable to the ones who owned better English language ability.

The findings presented in this chapter shed light on the nature of interactional patterns among young people in this private EMI school in northern Cyprus. Yet, linguistic and cultural capitals and the domination patterns they imply are highly context-bound. Therefore, the next chapter will examine similar concepts of linguistic and cultural capital and their impact on young people's interactions in a public EMI school context.

CHAPTER V

Language, Capitals and Interaction in a Public EMI School

Introduction

People usually desire to learn languages because they believe that they will bring them some sort of advantage in the future. These beliefs are closely linked with their attitudes towards the target language. The attitude "deals with the way one behaves and reacts in particular situations" (Abidin, Pour-Mohammadi, & Alzari, 2012, p. 121). Language attitudes play a significant role both on the process of learning and for the social positions of the learners. Gardner (1985) suggests that those with positive attitudes towards English language are more rewarded than those with negative and less favourable attitudes but these positive attitudes might not always bring achievement. Dörnyei (1998) has recognised the important role that motivation plays in language learning and suggested that learners with integrative motivation have proven to be more successful than those with instrumental motivation. Integratively motivated learners have more interest in the target language because they want to learn it in order to better understand and get to know the target language community, both in terms of its culture and its members. Learners with instrumental motivation want to learn the language because of academic or economic reasons, such as getting a good job or getting further education. The themes in this chapter demonstrate the attitudes of students from Turkish language backgrounds (STBs) towards English language, their instrumental motivation in English language learning, and their attitudes towards the use of regional accents. In this chapter, the attitudes of STBs towards the use of the English-medium instruction (EMI) strategy at their school in northern Cyprus were the primary point of investigation as well as how students' attitudes play an important role on their motivation.

The analysis of the data collected from the public EMI school in northern Cyprus appeared to reveal interactional patters among specifically two groups of students in this context: and foreign students. The English language was used to teach academic subjects in the focal public school, where the first language of the majority of the population was not English. Since the majority of the students was from Turkish language backgrounds and there was no need to communicate with the target language community, students did not appear to be interested in using the English language for communicative or socialisation purposes. Similar to the STBs in the private EMI school, in the context of this school, STBs recognised the importance of English language as an instrument to get a better job and have a higher status in the society. This, however, lead students to lose their interest in taking active steps at the expected level (using the English language for communicative or socialisation purposes) in order to learn the English language. They were not willing to use English among each other because they wanted to obtain achievement for instrumental reasons rather than integrative reasons. The academic qualifications given by an EMI school were considered by students as an academic investment. Therefore, the market value of the English language was measured as an academic capital rather than social capital; it was not something necessary to access a social group or move up in a social hierarchy within the school's context. The major themes that were identified to be significant across the data in relation to their attitudes towards learning and using English language as well as their interactional patterns will also be discussed in detail in the following sections.

English as Academic and Economic Capital

There is no doubt about the state of English as an international language and the use of it as a medium of instruction in many schools worldwide. English is considered as "a symbol of modernization" (Kachru, 1985, p. 16) and is used as a medium of instruction

particularly in non-native speaking countries with a thought that English education is a door opening to the future and is perceived as a chance to further education in developed countries such as England. The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that, "EMI signals distinction and a strong position in the educational and economic fields" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 11). They also revealed that STBs viewed English language positively, evaluated the social value of English instrumentally and orientation towards English only on the basis of scoring high marks. The following exchange occurred during one of the interviews with two of the participants at the break time:

EXTRACT 21 (Personal communication 12 May 2015)

- 1 Semra (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "I love English more than I love
- 2 Turkish. I prefer English as a medium of instruction to Turkish education.
- 3 When I am in a different country, people won't understand me because
- 4 nobody knows Turkish". Serenay (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "To be able
- 5 to study in a better university it is important that we know English".

They see English as an alternative to Turkish and the reason for this was that they thought that Turkish was not well known or a lingua franca in the world (lines 2-4). It seemed that regarding the attitudes towards learning the language, Semra and Serenay were aware of the fact that the proficiency level in English played an important role in understanding other people (line 3). They desired to have more fluent and accurate English speaking skills with this instrumental motivation (line 5). They desired to learn English language because they believed that English would bring them some sort of advantage in the future (line 5). Semra and Serenay preferred to be instructed in English (line 2) also because they believed that EMI would lead them to better and further education (line 5). These two students' words were representative of the STBs in general as many students appeared to be aware of the importance of the English language and considered English as an instrument to get further education. The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that students'

language ability also depended on their instrumental motivation. They did not expend enough effort to use English in the school context for socialisation purposes for example; they were interested in using it but not in this school context. They were not attentive and persistent in using the English language for daily communication or for communication with their teachers. The extract below demonstrates this juxtaposition:

EXTRACT 22 (Personal communication 12 May 2015)

1Semra (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, "I want to have a level of English to 2carry me to university. I would not want have a higher level of English. I am 3happy with the level of my English. Therefore, I am not willing to speak 4English in class.

It seems that the English language was considered as a necessity for academic reasons but was not perceived as an interaction tool. Semra had positive attitudes towards English but wanted to learn the language for instrumental reasons (1-2). She was not interested in English for daily communication or for chat situations (lines 3-4). Although she had orientation towards English in terms of getting into university and having a higher status in the society, she was not so willing to take further steps at the expected level in order to use the English language for communication with her teachers or in class. The extract below also demonstrates that students did not have high expectations of English as the working language in the classroom. Language was considered as a necessity for academic achievement. The example below comes from the interviews that took place during the break time. Aleyna (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said:

EXTRACT 23 (Personal communication, 15 May 2015)

1 I would like to have the level of English proficiency that would be enough to 2 carry me to higher education. So, I don't have as much ambition that would 3 push me to use the English language in the classroom setting.

The analysis of Extract 23 revealed that students expected academic advantages out of their experiences as learners of English. Her reference to English as a "carrier" is significant and indicates that her main reason for learning English is instrumental. As Lueg and Lueg (2015)

point out, students sometimes attempt "to acquire more valuable institutionalised cultural capital, which can take the form of a degree from an EMI program" (p. 11). The above extract from Aleyna's interview shows that students had long-term rather than immediate goals in terms of their reasons for choosing an EMI setting to study. The data also indicates that students were instrumentally motivated to learn English where their only goal was to enter a higher education institution (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991). In other words, English was learnt for academic purposes rather than communicative "ambitions" (line 2). These students with an instrumental motivation wanted to learn a language for a practical reason such as getting into a university.

Motivation played a significant role in the formation of students' language attitudes. Students had instrumental motivation and wanted to learn English because of academic and economic reasons such as getting a better job or further education. For this reason, they were not willing to use the English language in the classroom context. On the other hand, some students were not willing to speak in English in the classroom because they have developed fear, they have lost confidence, they were afraid of making mistakes and they thought that they were not good enough. Thus, they missed out on opportunities for practice because of their fear. Accent, also, was the important issue in the development of these fearful attitudes since saving face was considered to be an important issue by STBs. For example:

EXTRACT 24 (Personal communication 12 May 2015)

- 1 Serenay (a Turkish Cypriot girl) said, I speak Turkish. I don't want to speak
- 2 English. We fear of speaking English. When I speak English, it feels
- 3 strange". Mehmet (a Turkish Cypriot boy) said, I don't feel like speaking
- 5 Strange . Telemete (a Falkish Cypriot boy) said, Falsi feet time specialists
- 4 English. Those who are able to speak with the British accent have self-
- 5 confidence with the language, therefore, they don't fear of using the
- 6 language. They want to show their English. Others don't speak the language
- 7 because they fear of making mistakes and they think that if they make
- 8 mistakes everybody will laugh at them".

The above quotes demonstrate how these students lacked self-confidence in their abilities to use the English language and how this lack of confidence reduced their motivation to learn and use the English language. It was clear that language anxiety played a significant role in language learning. "Anxiety can have motivational properties suggesting that it might well facilitate achievement" (Gardner, 2005, p. 8). It also influences learning and production since language anxiety is generally negatively related to achievement and self-confidence. High levels of language anxiety influence language performance because individuals get anxious in situations whenever they need to use the English language (Gardner, 2005).

Dörnyei (1998) sates that "self-confidence in general refers to the belief that a person has the ability to produce results, accomplish goals or perform tasks competently" (p.123). Self-confidence, therefore, can be described as self-awareness of language proficiency and low levels of language anxiety (Dörnyei, 1998). This kind of language related self-confidence is generally seen in multi-ethnic settings because learners in such settings try to identify themselves with the target language community and this powerful process affects a person's motivation in a positive way since it encourages individuals to learn and use the language of the target group (Dörnyei, 1998). "In contexts where different language communities live together, the quality and quantity of the contact between the members will be a major motivational factor, determining future desire for intercultural communication and the extent of identification with the L2 group" (Dörnyei, 1998, p. 123). Gardner (1985) believes learners' motivation to learn a foreign language is related to the attitudes of learners towards foreign people in general. Gardner (1985) also considers the target group and language to be important factors that motivate learning. In the EMI context of this school, however, the lack of another language community and the contact between speakers of different languages appeared to be the reason for students' lack of motivation. In other words, the absence of students from different social backgrounds and diversity, and the absence of English-oriented

elite groups could be seen as a reason for lack of motivation because there was no direct contact with the target language community within the school setting. If there had been more foreign students or students from English language backgrounds (SEBs) in the school, may be students would have had higher motivation to learn and use the language because they would have felt the need to demonstrate their English language ability to claim a position among SEBs by putting forward their linguistic abilities and their differences from other students who lacked similar levels of English by using English language in the classroom context. The overwhelming existence of teachers from Turkish language backgrounds could also been seen as an important factor that have influenced students' motivation negatively. While there were some native-speakers of English, majority of the content teachers were non-native speakers of English and almost all the teachers were from Turkish language backgrounds.

On one hand, if we take Abidin, Pour-Mohammadi and Alzari's (2012) arguments into account, who point out that "the successful language learning enhances the learners to identify themselves with the native speakers of that language and acquire or adopt various aspects of behaviours which characterise the members of the target language community" (p. 121), it can be said that the STBs in this public EMI school were not very successful language learners. The overwhelming existence of students from Turkish language backgrounds, and the absence of students from different social backgrounds and diversity played a significant role in their motivational attitudes towards speaking in English in class. It could be argued that if the students had been high in both self-confidence and integrative motivation, they would have been more successful in learning the English language. So, it could be said that achievement in language learning does not only rely on ability but also on the integrative motivation of students in language learning. Students had positive attitudes but even so, as Gardner (1985) indicates, it is with positive attitudes and with the *integrative*

reasons or motivation that an individual can learn a language more efficiently. If one is not interested in learning the English language in order to meet and communicate with members of the second language community and only is with positive attitudes, achievement may be limited (Gardner, 1985).

On the other hand, the participants' English language learning was academically at the desired level because they were doing well in exams. For example, when observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that "students did not face any difficulties understanding what their teacher was trying to get across" (Observations, 5 March 2015). The quote below demonstrates that positive language attitudes enhance positive orientation towards learning English. When observing the class taught by Melek, I also noted that:

EXTRACT 25 (Observations, 5 March 2015)

- 1 students participated in classroom group activities and appeared to
- 2 enjoy group time but the language they were using was Turkish.
- 3 They were doing their best to complete the tasks. They were
- 4 fighting with each other to give correct answers. The answers the
- 5 teacher was getting were in English but in any other cases students
- 6 were using their native language.

The fact that the students were eager to complete the tasks showed that they were academically motivated to achieve higher and perform well in the classroom setting. It also demonstrated that they had positive attitudes towards learning English and these attitudes enhanced positive behaviours towards their academic studies. This was observable in their "fighting with each other to give correct answers" (lines 3-4). Kara's (2009) study found the following:

Positive attitudes lead to the exhibition of positive behaviours toward courses of study, with participants absorbing themselves in courses and striving to learn more. Such students are also observed to be more eager to solve problems, to acquire the information and skills useful for daily life and to engage themselves emotionally.

Thus, the students' attempts to complete tasks eagerly in my observations can be considered as a sign of their positive attitudes towards learning in general. However, the fact that students instrumentilised Turkish to do this showed that the development of their linguistic capital was influenced negatively because they were not willing to speak in English in class. Because they did not desire to use English for daily communication, they could reach the desired level academically but they could not reach the level of proficiency in English for daily communication. Hence, their level of anxiety mentioned in Extract 24. The following example occurred during an in-class observation taught by Melek:

EXTRACT 26 (Observations, 3 March 2015)

1When observing the class, I noticed that none of the Turkish Cypriots were 2interested in practicing their English. They had high motivation to give 3correct answers. In other words, they were exhibiting a motivation that was 4focused on responding correctly rather than practicing their English. It 5seemed that answering the task related questions correctly was their desired 6level in English.

The above quote demonstrated that students were not willing to use English outside of the task-oriented interactions. They were only using it to provide answers. When observing this class, I also noted that "none of the STBs show confidence in their English. The only time they use English is when they answer task-based questions such as comprehension questions. They respond to the teacher's questions in Turkish unless the questions are task-based" (Observations, 21 May 2015). Within the EMI context of this school, these negative motivational attitudes towards the active use of the English language could lead students not to work towards improving their English language competencies communicatively. My observations of students' language usage in class revealed that students were not willing to use English as a means of communication in class. For example, when observing the class, I noted that:

EXTRACT 27 (Observations, 28 April 2015)

1The teacher did not answer students' questions as they were asking

2 the questions using their own language. One of the students I was

3 observing, then, decided not to ask the question as he was unable to

4 ask the questions in English. The student was unable to ask the

5 question successfully.

The fact that the observed student was not willing to use English with the teacher showed that English was considered by this student as a necessity for academic purposes only, which negatively affected the development of his linguistic capital. The behaviour of the student also demonstrated that the student was more interested in learning the content rather than the language. When observing the same class, I noticed that:

EXTRACT 28 (Observations, 28 April 2015)

1 the aim of the students was not to learn the language for chat purposes. Their

2 aim was to pass their exams. It seemed that it was not important for them to

3 use English to interact or socialise with others. They rather wanted to learn

4 English for academic purposes only. Successful interactions in English

5 classes were not significant for STBs.

The lack of motivation in speaking the English language may cause this kind of behaviour of the student. The analysis of my observations suggests that because STBs in this school had no desire for integration and they had no immediate communicative community around them, they were not willing to use the English language, which impacted their achievement in learning the language more efficiently. Melek (an English teacher from Cyprus) claimed that "students see everything as a grade. They are used to the system that 'if I speak English, I will score high marks'. The perception of 'if I speak English, I score high marks' demotivates students in terms of the interaction process" (Fieldnotes, 18 May 2015). The above quote showed that the recognition of the importance of English as a medium of instruction in the context of this school did not lead students to take active steps in interaction process because they did not have

favourable attitudes towards the active use of English in the context of this school. This school context, despite being EMI, did not motivate students to speak in English in class. The analysis of the fieldnotes above revealed that the school system, rather, enhanced positive orientation towards using English in order to score higher grades. Students' effort, therefore, was to score higher grades on their academic studies. Students were demotivated to speak in English and only were with positive attitudes but it seemed that full achievement was not possible to be obtained only through instrumental motivation.

It seems that if students at this school had had higher motivation and in addition to their positive attitudes towards the use of English for daily communication, they would have expended more effort to use English and achieved higher levels of communicative competence based on their ability and motivation. "If a learner does not have the interest and tendency in acquiring the target language to communicate with others, this learner will possess a negative attitude and will not be motivated and enthusiastic in language learning" (Abidin, Pour-Mohammadi, & Alzari, 2012, p. 121). Therefore, it could be said that students' attitudes could be related to their interactions because their language performance in acquiring the English language may be influenced by these attitudes. Although a huge amount of time had been spent, students could not have gone beyond the basics and they had experienced difficulty in developing their level of communicative competence because they were not individually motivated to the use of English language.

The analysis of the fieldnotes revealed that academic qualifications gained from this school were considered as a necessity for graduate employability. Bourdieu (2011) suggests that the value of academic qualifications held by students who possess more cultural capital is considered more significant than the value of qualifications held by students who do not have the sense of the value of cultural capital. This is because "academic qualifications are a weak currency and possess all their value only within the limits of the academic market" (Bourdieu,

1977b, p. 507). He claims that the more cultural capital students have, the higher value their academic capital receives. The academic credentials of students in the economic market, for example, after graduation, gain value when students' cultural capital is high. Academic credentials gain value with cultural capital but in the case of this school, academic credentials could gain value without the need of cultural capital since they were grade-oriented. On the contrary, in the context of this school, cultural capital was not perceived as a necessity. According to Bourdieu, the class position of students depends on their cultural capital. The more cultural capital they have, the higher their class position is (Bourdieu, 1977b). Bourdieu also claims that the more cultural capital students have, the higher academic credentials they gain (Bourdieu, 1977b). In the context of the school, however, the possession of English language as cultural capital was not necessary in order to legitimate the transmission of power and privileges. Therefore, they felt the need of holding the most prestigious academic qualifications. In the case of this school, students believed that their academic capital, after graduation, could be converted into economic capital. The monetary value of a given academic capital, however, is guaranteed only through cultural capital. Academic capital helps cultural capital to be turned into economic capital. In other words, it is very difficult to demonstrate cultural capital that you have but academic capital sometimes institutionalises this and works as a proof of cultural capital and hence you can turn cultural capital into economic capital. In this case, "one sees clearly the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 88). The students are using this power to make their cultural capital (however limited it is) tangible so that they can receive economic gains from it. Thereby, the academic qualification provides an opportunity to compare qualification holders and "even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession)" (Bourdieu, 2011, p. 88). In the context of this school, it seems that because the academic capital possessed by students is not given recognition through cultural capital, the possibility of converting their academic capital into economic capital is low. Although Bourdieu sees cultural capital as an integral part of turning academic capital into economic capital, these students have the intention of not doing so: they do not see the need for cultural capital in this context. They believe that academic capital will result in economic capital later. Within the EMI context of this school, the cultural capital students possessed was limited as the possession of cultural capital was not necessary in order to legitimate the transmission of power and privileges. However, the investments made on students were profitable because their limited cultural capital was institutionalised by the academic capital that they had and they could receive economic gains from it. The data demonstrated that these students had a strong sense of linguistic capital within the confines of academic and economic capital. They see it as something that can be converted into economic capital later. Therefore, they do possess this profitableness. Even though they do not perceive it as cultural capital, they have a very strong sense of English as academic and economic capital.

English as "not Social" Capital

The result of the analysis reported that language in this public EMI school was not necessary in terms of socialisation. Most of the participants in the current study showed positive attitudes towards English. They were willing to learn and they were aware that they needed this language for later. On the other hand, because they had instrumental motivation to learn English, they were not willing to use English for daily communication. Therefore, they had negative motivational attitudes towards speaking in English in class and the reason of such negative attitudes might have been that this school did not have the necessary amount of students from different linguistic backgrounds around them that would encourage STBs to see English language as a tool for socialisation. For example:

EXTRACT 29 (Personal communication 14 May 2015)

1Melek (an English teacher from Cyprus) said, "Turkish Cypriots are in the 2leader position. Because the school only consists of Turkish Cypriots, the 3school context leads them to speak Turkish. Their perception is everybody 4speaks Turkish, and therefore, there is no need to use English. They are not 5tolerant to Turkish students speaking English among themselves".

The above quote demonstrated that STBs were not willing to speak in English with each other because their friends and teachers were from Turkish language backgrounds and therefore, in this EMI school, these were working against the nature of the EMI. The result of analysis revealed that students' attitudes towards the English language in general were positive but their attitudes towards the use of English in the context of this school were negative. It was found that although these students were exposed to English within the school setting where English is the primary medium of instruction and they recognised the importance of the English language, they did not reveal high level of orientation towards learning the language for daily communication or for chat situations. Within the context of this school, students did not seem to have the fear of exclusion since they were the popular group and they did not feel the need to expend effort to strengthen their place high up in the hierarchy by putting forward their ability. They were already at the top of the social hierarchy within the school setting since the majority of students were STBs and they were in the dominant position. Some personal characteristic of students affected their self-confidence in using the English language during class hours and their opportunities in engaging in real communications. The fact that students were not trying to use the target language did not affect their interactional process in the sense that the majority of students spoke the same language and came from similar linguistic backgrounds. In other words, unlike the private EMI school, where there were clear distinctions between STBs and students from English language backgrounds, in the public EMI school, language background was not a variable that manipulated students' social interactional patterns. The EMI nature of the school

appeared as symbolic in the sense that the value of the linguistic competence at this EMI school did not affect students interactions within the school setting.

The EMI nature of the school also appeared as a factor, which positioned English language as a tool for future goals. The analysis of the interview data and the fieldnotes revealed that the relationship between their choice of this EMI school and the expected employment advantages of English was strong. EMI was considered as a necessity because it provided better job opportunities for them later on. Therefore, as the data suggested, EMI was considered by STBs as a necessity for graduate employability as well as for academic purposes. The following exchange occurred during one of the interviews with one of the participants at a break time. Melek (an English teacher from Cyprus) said:

EXTRACT 30 (Personal communication, 9 May 2015)

1STBs rather give importance to study in a better university than practice

2their English. English for STBs, in terms socialisation, is not as significant

3as it is for employment in foreign countries. Further education, getting better

4jobs, desire to find a job in foreign countries are important factors that

5influence students' interaction. English language both for families and

6students plays an important role in terms of academic purposes and

graduate7employability.

The fact that STBs did not have many foreign students around them in this context manifested itself in forming different attitudes towards English and their purposes for learning it in an EMI school. As Melek also pointed out, these students did not consider English as a communication or socialisation tool (line 2). English proficiency for graduate employability is considered as a necessity by the government in northern Cyprus because EMI, as mentioned earlier, is seen to be a significant strategy to develop a modernised education system, which is oriented toward the world and the future. In this context, there appears to be a growing demand in the number of EMI schools and the parents' desire for their children to be component in English as an important skill for future employability is seen as one of the reasons why there has been a steady increase in the number of these schools. Consequently, EMI is considered as an

investment by families (lines 5-6). Students are aware that EMI leads to higher possibilities for employability. Therefore, they consider EMI as a step to better career opportunities in the long run (Lueg & Lueg, 2015). Although in other contexts, the choice of EMI may reflect "the desire for status and access to a network rather than the desire for knowledge" (Lueg & Lueg, 2015, p. 6), the choice of STBs from this public EMI school was rather career oriented. The domain (impact and importance) loss of the local language and culture was out of question because the school did not have English-oriented elite groups. Since the school did not have students from different sociolinguistic backgrounds and diversity, it was not a crucial setting for social positioning. Therefore, the academic success or failure of students was not dependent on their cultural distance from the educational system. Students were with a limited sense of cultural capital because the academic language was distant from the language spoken by the students in their everyday lives.

Although the school where the data was collected for the purposes of the current study can be identified as a linguistic market due to its EMI nature, the analysis of this data revealed that STBs did not store much experience and knowledge throughout their education at this linguistic market that could be labelled as cultural capital. Knowledge of English language was associated with academic performance rather than a socialisation tool and therefore cultural capital did not present itself as an immediate reality. For example, during one of my interviews with one of the participants, the following explanation was provided by Serenay (a Turkish Cypriot girl):

EXTRACT 31 (Personal communication, 26 May 2015)

1 I don't need to speak English because we have had Turkish teachers all the 2time and all of my friends are Turkish. I speak Turkish all the time with my 3friends. We have never had English teachers.

When observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that "the language students were using was Turkish. They were speaking to each other in their native language. STBs were asking questions to the teacher in Turkish" (Observations, 28 April 2015). This observation supports what Serenay said in lines 1-3. STBs at this EMI school not only had peers but also teachers who did not speak the English language as a means of everyday communication. English was not considered as a necessity for student-teacher relations. It is significant to note here that Serenay's awareness of her teachers' linguistic (and ethnic) backgrounds was an important issue in the process through which she formed her attitudes towards English and Turkish. The fact that she raises the issue of not having any "English teachers" (line 3) is important. It could be argued that if Serenay had teachers whose first language was English, then she would feel obliged to speak in English to communicate with her teachers. Therefore, the lack of contact with native speakers in this EMI context appears to be a significant issue. I also noted that "STBs, at this school, were allowed to use their native language during lessons" (Observations, 28 April 2015). In other words, from a methodological point of view, these teachers were not applying the prominent principles of EMI in their classes. These students, thus, did not have the opportunities to communicate and develop linguistic capital in English for socialisation purposes. The data revealed that the shared linguistic background of the teacher and students works against them in terms of developing linguistic and cultural capital and English becomes nothing more than an academic subject.

When students do not discover the products of linguistic competence offered by the education system, linguistic capital cannot be developed through the market (Bourdieu, 1977). When the students are aware of the opportunities linguistic competence brings and discover the ways of utilizing these benefits, linguistic capital can be developed through the education system. It is in this case that EMI schools provide opportunities for students to communicate and develop linguistic and cultural capital in English. The case, however, at this public EMI

school was different since these students were not aware of the importance of the benefits communicative competence brought. Students felt comfortable with the rules and symbolic values of the field. Some personal characteristics of students, such as nationality and academic activity, seemed to be invested with symbolic values by students. These values determined the esteem that students received from others as well as their self-esteem. Those values are symbolic in the sense that they do not affect the students' interactions within the school context: they affect the opportunities of the students to practice and learn the language, the student's self-confidence in learning the language, his opportunities in engaging in real communications and in the long run, his linguistic capital – so they are values – but without affecting the students' interactions within the school setting. Hence, they are symbolic. They play a significant role in students' interactions but mostly from an academic point of view. Based on the observational data represented above (Extract 31, lines 1-3), the value of the student's linguistic capital was not symbolic in the sense that it affected the opportunities of the student to practice and speak the language and the student's self confidence in speaking the language during class hours.

Language Practices and Peer Relations: Simon's Case

The findings suggested that for some students, British English had a higher status compared to the other varieties of accents while for some, this was not the case. For example:

EXTRACT 32 (Personal communication 18 May 2015)

1Semra said, "I would like to speak in the same way that English people do. I 2would like to sound like English speakers when I speak English. I don't like 3my accent but I know that I will never sound like them". Serenay said "I 4cannot talk like English people. I wish I could talk like them but it does not 5affect me". Mehmet said "I don't want to sound like English people. I like 6my accent".

Semra had a positive perception of the British accent. On the one hand, she was more likely to choose British accent against her Cypriot accent because she thought British accent was better. On the other hand, she believed that she would never sound like British people. In contrast with Semra, Mehmet had a positive perception of regional accent and preferred his regional accent to the British accent. The result of the analysis demonstrated that while the British accent was a preferred accent for some students, the regional accent indicated an equal likelihood in the case of some students. These attitudes of students towards the British accent may reflect students' attitudes towards the English language in general. Extract 32 shows that Semra seemed to accept the fact that she was inadequate in English and could never speak or sound like English people. It is possible to say that that Mehmet compared to Semra was a student who did not want to admit that he was inadequate. It could, therefore, be said that these different attitudes of the students towards accent may be related to their attitudes towards language skills.

The result of the analysis also revealed that accent perception played a significant role on student behaviour. In this school, there was only one foreign student around the STBs who participated in this study. There were many instances during the study, where Simon from Tswana, the only foreign student in the focal classroom, was observed to be excluded by his peers both within the classroom context and in the playground. For example, when observing the class taught by Melek, I noticed that "none of the students chose Simon either to sit with or to work with in the classroom" (Observations, 5March 2015). His peers denied any possibility of marginalisation but in practice, this particular student was being excluded socially and was marginalised because of his linguistic capitals or lack of them. It would also be possible to say that these students were avoiding social interaction with Simon because they believed that they themselves lacked both linguistic and cultural capitals that Simon may have possessed.

Accent and language appeared to be important issues in the formation of STBs attitudes towards Simon. Due to STBs' negative attitudes towards Simon's foreign accent, he was being excluded and socially marginalised by STBs. These attitudes of STBs did not only influence peer interactions but also caused this foreign student to be perceived as low ability or passive in class. The following example comes from the fieldnotes taken during one of the interviews with two participants during the break time:

EXTRACT 33 (Personal communication, 26 May 2015)

1Mehmet (a Turkish Cypriot boy) said, "I didn't want to develop intimacy

2with Simon. This wasn't because he didn't know any Turkish. It was more to

3 do with cultural differences. Also, his language and accent make me stay

4away from him. I just talk to him to say hello and for academic reasons but

5this is not because I fear of not understanding him". Serenay (a Turkish

6Cypriot girl) said, "we were unable to blend. We don't understand him so we

7don't want to talk to Simon. Simon is not excluded or marginalised. It's just

8that he cannot keep up with us and we cannot keep up with him. Therefore, I

9prefer to be with my Turkish friends.

The above quotes demonstrate that both linguistic and cultural capital play a significant role in social interaction. When observing Simon, for example, I noticed that "there was no interaction between STBs and Simon. He sat quietly and did not speak to any STBs. STBs, as well, were not speaking to him" (Observations, 21 May 2015). This observation supports what Mehmet and Serenay said in lines 1-9 in Extract 33. As they said, they never tended to interact with Simon in lessons (lines 1-9). These negative attitudes of STBs towards Simon in return negatively affected his interactions with STBs. It was clear that this one foreign student was being excluded and socially marginalised although STBs openly denied any possibility of marginalisation (line 7). This "exclusion" was mobilised through the use of the "accent" pointed out by Mehmet (lines 3-4). The extract demonstrates that STBs did not have a positive perception of Simon's foreign accent, which placed Simon as the user of foreign

accent in the lower, less popular group. As the extract reveals, accent was such an important factor that influenced students' interactions.

STBs appeared to create peer groups where language determined the access rights (lines 8-9). When observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that "STBs were having difficulties understanding Simon". I also noted that "this could be the reason STBs did not prefer to work and sit together with him. STBs, more than once, could not understand what Simon was saying and misunderstood him with his accent and language based on communications in the classroom" (Observations, 8 April 2015). This observation supports what Serenay and Mehmet said in Extract 33 (lines 3-4 & lines 6-7). As they said, STBs did not understand Simon with his accent during interactions (Extract 33, lines 1-3). This attitude of the students could be regarded as a failure to understand Simon but the data also suggested that these attitudes were more to do with Simon's particular accent. Chambers and Trudgill (as cited in Heblich, Lameli & Riener, 2015) state, "regional accents typically originate in local dialects" (p.2). It seemed that STBs had more positive attitudes towards those who spoke with the regional accent because "regional accents still reflect historic variation in norms, habits, and conventions that emerged over generations within dialect regions" (Heblich, Lameli, & Riener, 2015, p. 2). It is a common attitude that individuals prefer regional accents to foreign accents, and this attitude usually emerges in the childhood (Heblich, Lameli, & Riener, 2015). This is why regional accents cause discrimination between social groups that differ in acceptance, popularity and loyalty (Thorne, 2005). A significant amount of data revealed that the higher the number of students who come from similar cultural backgrounds, the more dominant these students are. Serenay and Mehmet's extract signaled that they had a negative perception of different accents, which placed the users of these accents in the less popular group with the powerless of the language. Seranay's and other students' attitudes showed that students' familiarity with accents played an

important role in their acceptance of varieties of accents. We can also see this from the observational data. Features such as disdain in students' attitudes were observed. They were exhibiting scoffing behaviours. For example, when observing this particular class, I noticed that STBs seemed to see Simon as inferior because of his accent:

EXTRACT 34 (Observations, 8 April 2015)

1 I observed that when Simon was talking, the atmosphere in the classroom 2changed. STBs watched him with negative attitudes. I for example, heard 3whisperings among themselves such as 'what is he saying?" and they were 4laughing as they were saying this, as they were making a joke of him. Also, 5STBsdemonstrated inappropriate gestures and responses when they 6interacted with Simon. They demonstrated inappropriate gestures when 7Simon responded to the teacher's question. They, for example, were laughing 8and giggling. They, more than once, made inappropriate jokes when he 9responded to the teacher. They were saying things such as "what language 10does he speak? Chinese or what?". They said that they did not understand 11Simon's English.

The data revealed that it was the attitudes again that developed exclusion in the peer group. We can see the exclusion embodied in laughs and giggles. The fact that they were laughing and giggling showed how students marginalised Simon. It seemed that Simon felt rejected by his peers so that he began to withdraw in order to escape further hampering his social development and levels of comfort with interaction. STBs did not even try to utilise Simon's linguistic capital. Therefore, the data again supported that there was a linguistic divide in the classroom which negatively affected Simon's interaction with STBs.

The result of analysis suggested that linguistic background played a significant role in peer relationships. Conversing in Turkish, all the time, seemed to be an important factor that influenced peer interactions. The school setting did not provide opportunities for students to develop their linguistic capital in English as discussed earlier. STBs, therefore, differed in the span of their social networks to cultural institutions when compared to students in the private EMI setting discussed in Chapter IV. As the extract below demonstrates, differentiation was considered as a concern of students' culture and exclusion was observable among STBs and

foreigners. The example occurred during my interview with the class teacher during the break time:

EXTRACT 35 (Personal communication, 9 May 2015)

1The teacher believed that since STBs were the dominant in the school and the 2school was dominated by the Turkish culture, it was very difficult for STBs to 3cope with diversity. It was for this reason that STBs did not want to have 4many foreign students around them. The teacher said, "they are with Turks all 5the time. They are disadvantaged in this sense because they don't get the 6chance to learn about different cultures. These students only have Simon 7around them from a different social and cultural background. It is, therefore, 8STBs do not feel close to Simon. They rather stay away from Simon. If they 9had had more foreigners around them from different cultures, they would have 10interacted and socialised more with Simon".

The above quotation demonstrates that STBs were the majority and hence the dominant group in the school. The school was dominated by the Turkish language and culture. Therefore, STBs did not want to socialise or interact with that one foreign student. The fact that STBs avoided contact with Simon, who was a minority in the group, demonstrates that these students were comfortable with their own social groups. The sense of the value of one's linguistic power is related to the social background categories discussed earlier. In relation to Bourdieu's theory, as discussed earlier, the relationship between linguistic capital and habitus is strong. Linguistic capital plays a vital role in helping students create a 'habitus' that they feel comfortable in (Bourdieu, 1977). The case for this school, however, was different from what Bourdieu argues. In the classroom I observed, although these students had negative motivational attitudes towards the active use of English for daily conversations, they had a habitus. They will always have a habitus but it will not always include English. The role of English language in their habitus was to succeed an academic subject. This was because the students were not divided into the social background categories such as lower and higher strata students, as was the case with the private EMI presented in Chapter IV. For example, when observing the class taught by Melek, a Turkish speaking teacher from Cyprus, I noted that "students perceived a positive school environment" (Observations, 3 March 2015). It seemed that students did not portray

any negative attitudes towards the school environment per se because all students were from similar social backgrounds. I found that there was a strong relationship among their sense of place and the language spoken by these students. Students did not feel pressure from teachers and peers since they did not have to speak in English with teachers and among themselves and low proficiency level students were not considered as lower strata students. In other words, because English was only considered as an academic subject and not something they needed to build social relationships, this linguistic capital did not lead to the formation of any class positions among the students. Unlike the other EMI school, where students from English language backgrounds were elite because of the EMI context, Simon was losing out on being in the dominant group in this EMI school. This could be because the EMI context was not so EMI in this school. This school was not creating a proper EMI context for these students, where being able to speak English fluently was a capital to be utilised in a positive social context, a separate field, and meant privileges. The number of foreign students and teachers being low could be another factor but if this school followed the principles of EMI strictly, Simon possibly would have been a popular student and English would then have social value as well. In the context of this EMI school, however, English did not have social value and this could be because STBs were very comfortable in their own zones.

The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that STBs were not interested in learning about different cultures and did not want to have many people around them from different social and cultural backgrounds. Yet, this could be due to the fact that Simon was only one person and not a group. Nevertheless, there seemed to be a divide in the classroom and a very strong feeling of dominance and social segregation:

EXTRACT 36 (Personal communication, 18 May 2015)
1Serenay said (a Turkish Cypriot girl) "I didn't want to have any students
2around me from different cultural backgrounds. I could not keep up. Having
3many people around would cause us a lot of trouble, I think. Because our
4cultures would be different, we wouldn't be able to understand each other. I
5would have people who I would disagree with around me".

The analysis of Extract 36 revealed that STBs believed that culture would bring disadvantages for them in terms of interaction since they thought that the possible conflict of culture would occur. Serenay believed that having a lot of foreigners around could create "problems" (lines 2-3). She was drawing on a discourse of cultural capital and differences (lines 3-4), which was if there were "a lot of foreigners" around, like the case with the private EMI school. She was making assumptions. However, the fact that they were excluding Simon, who was only one student, was contradicting with what she said in Extract 36. Serenay referred to an imaginary "foreign group of students" as possible causes of problems in cultural integration. However, having only one foreign person, where social interaction would have been hypothetically easier, did not change the actual situation. Simon is still being excluded and interaction between him and the rest of the class is scarce.

Inclusion, exclusion and elements of racism

The concerns of students' peer cultures included exclusion and power relations within the peer group. When interviewing one of the participants during the break time, Serenay said:

EXTRACT 37 (Personal communication, 28 May 2015)
1"Simon is not excluded or marginalised. Simon is shy and does not want to 2interact with us. He always keeps himself in the background. Simon is shy. 3He doesn't talk to us during group activities. He doesn't share his ideas 4with us. He remains in the background. He falls behind and he is slow".

Simon appeared to feel marginalised resulting in shyness in classroom context even though Serenay claimed that she did not have exaggerated feelings of being superior to Simon (line 1). She was saying that they were not marginalising Simon or excluding him but the observational data proved the opposite. For example, there was an incident when the teacher asked the class to sit in pairs for a particular activity and I noted that "nobody wanted to sit next to Simon. In the end, the teacher asked a boy to go and sit next to Simon" (Observations, 24 April 2015).

They were not hostile but they were not accepting either. It could be said that the attitudes of STBs contributed to elements of racism appearing but without openly advocating violence or oppression. It can, however, be argued that the conscious and unconscious maintenance of these attitudes supported a system of passive racism and exclusion. Extract 37 also revealed that Simon was perceived as passive in class. Serenay claimed that she had no desire for integration because Simon was a shy and slow learner and falling behind (lines 1-4). For example,

EXTRACT 38 (Observations, 28 April 2015).

1when observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that "students did not 2show an interest in Simon. There was no talking or interaction between them. 3During group activities, STBs were acting as Simon was not included in the 4group. STBs were in control and the work was done in accordance with their 5ideas. STBs ideas had stronger influence on tasks"

May be the feelings of fear or fear of being judged by the dominant impacted Simon's academic performances and caused him to be perceived as low ability or passive in class. For example, when observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that "STBs worked together with other STBs during group activities" (Observations, 21 May 2015). STBs acted as Simon was not there. Nobody was interacting with Simon during group activities but Simon as well did not participate in classroom activities. He was passive during the lesson. I also noted that "Simon did not act as if he belonged there. STBs were in control and the work was done in accordance with their ideas. The arbiter was the STBs. The ideas of STBs had stronger influence on the task. Simon remained in the background" which negatively affected his interaction with STBs not only during lessons but also during group activities (Observations, 21 May 2015). A significant factor that caused this was the fact that STBs used Turkish most of the time, even with their teachers. This observation demonstrates that language was not utilised for academically supporting each other. This lack of interaction among students may not only be due to the lack of Simon's linguistic capital but maybe STBs were avoiding

social interaction with Simon because they believed that they themselves lacked both linguistic and cultural capital that Simon possessed.

There seemed to be a divide in the classroom and a very strong feeling of dominance and social segregation. Here is an example, which comes from the fieldnotes taken during the break time:

EXTRACT 39 (Fieldnotes, 28 May 2015)

1The teacher said, "STBs were helpful and sympathetic towards Simon at the 2very first time When Simon arrived at the school. STBs were not opinionated 3towards him. Therefore, Simon was not excluded. As the time went on, 4however, when STBs realised that Simon stayed away from them and never 5wanted to be part of their community, STBs, as well, started to stay away from 6him and maybe exclude him. He has his limits and he is a mysterious boy. 7Simon acts cautiously. Therefore, he likes to be on his own during breaks and 8he always expects STBs to take the first step".

Simon's attitudes towards STBs negatively affected his interaction with STBs. These attitudes of Simon, later on, began to be considered as an indication of differentiation which was considered as concerns of students' peer cultures. The analysis of the observational data and the fieldnotes revealed that there was a lack of connectedness and participation within the peer groups at this school. It seemed that this divide in the classroom developed peer exclusion and its negative effects on students. The fact that Simon "always expects STBs to take the first step" (Extract 39, line 8) may be due to loss of confidence or he could be feeling that he was experiencing some kind of marginalisation. May be due to STBs attitudes towards Simon, he has developed fear and has lost confidence in using the language or may be his perception of STBs attitudes towards him made him avoid interacting with STBs, which caused him to be perceived as passive and shy. The above quotes demonstrate that STBs seemed to have negative attitudes towards Simon and his culture (Extract 39, lines 1-3). These attitudes may have been developed because of Simon's behaviours but at the time of these observations, they were already negative. The analysis of Extract 39 suggested that differentiation began to be considered as a concern of students' culture after STBs explored Simon's attitudes towards

them, and separation among STBs and Simon began to show itself after this discovery (lines 3-6) but there definitely was a linguistic and cultural divide in the classroom. This could be considered as a pattern in both EMI schools (although in different ways) that linguistic and cultural capitals are working against students' social interactional patterns. In other words, having different linguistic capitals divides the students, no matter what sort of EMI context it is. In the case of the private EMI school discussed in the previous chapter, SEBs were the dominant and the elite, while in the case of this EMI school, STBs were the elites. But in both cases, there is a cleavage- a division based on linguistic capitals.

Peer exclusion, as Kyratzis points out, develops in many contexts(Kyratzis, 2004). The data I have presented, however, suggests that exclusion in this case generated from a linguistic divide in the classroom. Marginalisation, as experienced by Simon in this study, could be viewed as a label attached by others. The analysis of the data revealed a pattern in the teacher's responses to Simon as well. Melek seemed to see him excluded but she was not doing anything about it because she accepted this claim that "Turkish culture is the dominant here". She claimed that Simon's attitudes strengthened power relations and exclusion in the peer group. It was at this point that differentiation was to be considered as a source of concern. For example:

EXTRACT 40 (Personal communication, 28 May 2015)

1When interviewing the teacher during the break time, she said, "the dominant 2is TSSs during group activities. Simon is the one who is abstainer. This is 3because the dominant is the Turkish culture".

This "exclusion" is mobilised through the attitudes of Simon pointed out by Serenay in Extract 37 (lines 1-2) and the class teacher in Extract 40 (lines 1-8). Extract 39 signaled that exclusion depended on attitudes of the individual and the dominant culture. It seems that it was again the division based on linguistic capitals and differentiation which was considered as concerns of students' peer cultures that developed exclusion in the peer group. It could be

argued that understanding exclusion has great potential in terms of improving children's education, on the one hand, and developing teachers' understanding of their students, on the other hand.

Accent, language attitudes and marginalisation

Therefore, going back to accent, it could be an important factor after all in terms of the formation of attitudes towards the desired forms of language. This class was dominated by STBs and was a classroom where almost all of students were STBs and the fact that students focused on their own linguistic community and they were not willing and able to take on features of another language group could also be an important factor in terms of the formation of attitudes towards that one foreign students. The classes that I observed, in the private EMI school, were dominated by foreign students and teachers, unlike the case with this public EMI school but STBs were still not integrating. Therefore, accent and ability to reproduce the perceived "accepted" accent could be important issues in the formation of students' attitudes towards the perceived accepted accent. STBs attitudes towards Simon, the only foreign student, were mostly determined by Simon's ability to produce the desired "accent". Therefore, because he was unable to do so, STBs developed negative attitudes towards him. STBs' negative attitudes towards Simon influenced their interactional process.

EXTRACT 41 (Personal communication 18 May 2015)

1Serenay said, "I don't want to be close friends with Simon. This is not 2because he doesn't know Turkish. His accent makes me stay away from him". 3Lerzan said, "I don't want to get together with Simon. I never wanted to get 4close to him".

Regarding the attitudes towards foreign people, the findings show that the student did not have positive attitudes towards that one foreign student. Serenay did not want a close

relationship with Simon because of his accent (lines 1-2). Another example of this sort of negative attitude was observed in the same classroom.

EXTRACT 42 (Fieldnotes, 3 March 2015)

1When observing the class taught by Melek, I noticed that Turkish Cypriots 2had a negative attitude towards Simon. They showed no interested in him. 3They were staying away from him. During my observations, for example, 4none of the students had chosen Simon to sit together or chosen him as a 5partner".

Serenay seemed not to have positive attitudes towards Simon's accent. Her attitudes towards that one foreign student could be considered as discrimination that differ in acceptance and popularity. Because of her negative attitudes towards Simon's accent, her interactional patterns with him were affected negatively.

Within the school, STBs were not divided as elite and marginal students although the case of Simon, that one foreign student represented marginality. Except Simon, for the case of STBs there was not a split between them as elite and marginal to dominate the cultural fields. To be more precise, within the school setting, there were not any differences in cultural capital to separate high and low culture in terms of English language or accent use. The sense of the value of English as cultural capital and cultural knowledge did not play a significant role within the school context. Since the cultural capital of the 'dominant' (English) was not promoted by the school, those who possessed this specific cultural capital were not advantaged. Unlike the students observed in the private EMI school, students were not assumed to compete for social positions along cultural or linguistic lines in this school. For example, when observing the class taught by Melek, I noted that:

EXTRACT 43 (Observations, 5 March 2015)

1Social positioning and status did not play a significant role in the school 2context as the amount of the cultural capital students possessed was the same. 3Students did not stay away from each other. The interaction among themselves 4was strong. They carried on nonstop social conversations in Turkish. All 5students were joking and interacting with each other at equal rates.

There were no students who wanted to demonstrate their differences from other students in English as cultural capital because there were no students, in the school, who lacked similar levels of cultural capital. Hence, with the exception of one foreign student in the focal classroom, the students in this EMI school appeared to form one monolithic social group and English language did not act as a social capital in this context.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis of the data gathered in a public EMI school presented. Because the context of this public EMI school appeared as a factor, which positioned English language as a tool for future goals, STBs had no desire for integration and were not willing to speak in English in class and with their teacher. The current study recognised that future employment and further education were the factors which led students conceiving positive attitudes towards English language in general. STBs saw English language as academic and economic capital rather than social capital. They were not willing to integrate with one foreign student, who was from a different cultural and racial background. Simon, the only foreign student in the focal classroom, was observed to be excluded by his peers both within the classroom context and in the playground. Accent and ability to reproduce the perceived accepted accent in English were seen to be important issues in the formation of these attitudes, which also caused Simon to be perceived as low ability or passive in class. Peculiar discourses of racism could be observed in the way that some STBs described their interactions with Simon. In this particular school, there might have been other students experiencing marginalisation whose stories had not been heard through the research process. In this particular study, however, it was certainly only that one foreign student with lack of linguistic capital(s) who was identified as experiencing marginalisation. The result of the

analysis, furthermore, identified that STBs had positive attitudes towards received pronunciation and their own regional accent. Students had no significant negative attitudes toward their own accent while learning or speaking English.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In trying to understand how young people's interactions are shaped by their attitudes towards each other as well as the language they use, the current study has shed light on how different linguistic codes are utilized while young people socialize in and outside the classroom in schools where English is used as the medium of instruction and communication. This is significant in understanding the way the school culture is affected by such relationships. The current study also showed how English language, as cultural capital, is perceived and used among young people in northern Cyprus and how such perceptions and practices are reflected on their interactions with each other in their English language classes. In the context of the private EMI school, the results of the analysis showed that the majority of students were perceived as the "owners" of English and students from Turkish language backgrounds were in the minority position, which has brought out the theme of popularity. This theme, in turn, led to the desire to have English as linguistic and cultural capital, so that Turkish speaking students would also be in the popular group. Therefore, the students were divided into groups as popular and non-popular. Because the majority of the pupils were rich in linguistic and cultural capital, it has been perceived as a prestige to have these capitals. This perception of the participants was not only valid for linguistic capital, but also for accent. Since the students who caused the formation of the concept of popularity had the British accent, those who could not speak with that accent were not included in the popular group. Hence, Turkish Cypriots perceived the ability to reproduce the British accent as important markers of social positioning. It was also perceived as an important element for building social capitals because students tended to form their peer groups and socialise based

on these perceptions. This differentiation among students lead to competition, which centered around particular types of capital.

In the context of the public EMI school, learning English was considered as a tool for future professional and economic goals. Since students from Turkish language backgrounds were the majority in this school, the desire to have English as cultural and linguistic capital was at the minimal level. Because Turkish Cypriots had no desire for integration and popularity, they were not willing to speak in English. They saw English language as academic and economic capital rather than social capital. The data revealed that even though these students did not desire to use English for integration, they had positive attitudes towards the British accent. This raises questions around the popularity and preferences as well as attitudes towards specific accents within the community. Although this was not in the scope of the current study, it can be speculated that the reasons behind these positive attitudes towards this specific accent can range from the teaching materials used in the schools to general attitudes of the community towards British accent. The students in the public EMI school had observable negative attitudes towards one specific foreign student, who failed to produce the British accent in any of the interactions I have observed. When asked about their reasons for these negative attitudes, the participants raised this student's accent as a negative factor for interaction. Linguistic discrimination could also be observed in the way that some participants described their interactions with that particular foreign student, which is a very serious issue to be considered among young people in schools.

The results of the analysis showed that inclusion and exclusion were observable among the participants based on language attitudes in both EMI schools. The data also showed that those who could not acquire the perceived popular accent were negatively affected in their peer relationships. It is worth noting that this positioning was not only due to the participants' perceptions of and attitudes towards languages that they knew but also to do

with the fact that the context of the schools prioritized English language over any other. In the context of the private EMI school, Turkish Cypriots with higher linguistic abilities in English, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds, formed the perceived popular groups, shared more socially and were expected to out-perform the rest.

In the context of the current study, language seemed to be a tool for struggle to achieve power instead of being a unifier in the environment where participants from different linguistic backgrounds existed. Hence, it appeared to hamper practices of building a positive school culture as it divided young people into groups. This is a significant finding for school administrators to take into account when building a positive school culture and respect for individual and group differences as a means of preventing inclusion and exclusion. Teachers also need to be aware of such interactional patterns within their classrooms. For the case of the private EMI school, when teachers approach students with higher linguistic abilities with a more positive attitude, the division among student groups are supported. It is also significant that English language teachers from English language backgrounds approach students from Turkish and English language backgrounds with similar attitudes so as to remove the power of language as a dividing factor among student groups. If students feel that they are positioned similarly by their teachers, regardless of their linguistic backgrounds, then a culture of unity is more likely to flourish. For the case of the public EMI school, it is significant that the teachers have the same attitudes towards different groups in order to remove linguistic discrimination. Like in the other EMI school, language was seen as a dividing factor among different groups. For the case of both schools, effective and wellplanned orientation programs for new students may also help to eliminate the factors that prevent students from interacting. These effective orientation programs may help to get rid of the division that occurs with the influence of linguistic and cultural capital.

The findings presented in this thesis shed light on the nature of interactional patterns among young people in two different EMI schools in northern Cyprus. Yet, an investigation of the impact of such perceived hierarchies among young people on their actual academic performances may help to better understand the interplay between linguistic capital and academic performance in EMI schools. Also, an investigation of the impact of the teaching materials used in the schools and the attitudes of the community on accent perception may provide us with a better understanding of the effect of language discrimination on attitudes and interaction. The investigation of the attitudes of the teachers towards different groups specifically, will make a great contribution to the field.

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APPENDIX A

Observation form

Social Interaction Observation Form

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks. What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during lessons. Are they discussing non-academic or academic matters? What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	
Certain students interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners	
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in their first language	
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in English	
How many times do they speak to the teacher in their first language	
How many times do they speak to the teacher in English	
Turkish Cypriots sit together with English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	

Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	
Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	
Turkish Cypriots seem to accept English native speakers or other foreigners	
English native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	
Turkish Cypriots carry on social conversations.	
Turkish Cypriots interact with native speakers or with other foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	
Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or other foreigners	
Those who are confident with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language ability	
Those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions	

Those who show less confidence	
in their English only respond to	
questions asked either by their	
teacher or colleques	

Behavior	Observation
<u>Benavior</u>	Observation
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities. what percentage of the time do they participate?	
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	
Turkish Cypriots respond to the teacher during whole group instruction	
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged.	
Were Turkish Cypriots involved in the lesson? If Yes, how?	
If No, what could be the reason?	
Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	
If No? What could be the reason?	
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way.	
Turkish Cypriots ask and answer questions during group activities	
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to each other in English / Turkish	
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to the teacher in English / Turkish	

Turkish Cypriots asked questions by raising their hands / interrupting / other	
Turkish learners initiate conversations	
Turkish learners raise new topics	
Turkish learners challenge their teachers	
How do Turkish learners consider their role to be in language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	
Any traits in Turkish culture that are considered to be positive	
Any traits in Turkish culture that are detrimental to the realization of successful interactions in language classrooms	
Turkish learners' idea of willingness to communicate in L2 situations	
Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices	
Other observations	

APPENDIX B

Sample class observations: Private EMI school

Social Interaction Observation Form 1

Class observation 1

<u>Teacher:</u> (Turkish Cypriot-native like-uses the target language only, except some expressions such as "gecmis olsun"

<u>Year: 8</u>

13 students: Turkish Cypriots (6); Turkish (4); English native speaker (1); English native speakers but also Turkish speakers (1: He and his parents live in Cyprus but his parents are from England. He speaks Turkish perfectly well but he is English native speaker); other foreigners but also Turkish speakers (1: from a different country but he and his parents live in Cyprus so he speaks Turkish very well).

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks.	OUTSIDE CLASS
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during lessons	Only one Turkish student interact with one English native speaker but the English native speaker that the Turkish student sits with speaks both Turkish and English although he is an English native speaker. The interaction between them is good but because the language that they use among themselves is Turkish.

Turkish Cypriots sit together with English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	Only one Turkish student sit together with an English native speaker. The native English speaker that the Turkish student sits with speaks both English and Turkish. The language that they use to communicate with each other is Turkish
Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	Only one Turkish student work together with an English native speaker but the language that they use is Turkish because the English native speaker speaks both English and Turkish
Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	NOT TRUE
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	YES
Turkish Cypriots seem to accept native speakers or other foreigners	YES
Native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	YES
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	YES
Turkish Cypriots carrie on social conversations. Turkish Cypriots interact with	NO
native speakers or with other foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	OUTSIDE CLASS

Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or	
other foreigners	

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities.	YES
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	A majority of Turkish students work with other Turkish students so they appear to enjoy group time
Turkish Cypriots respond to teacher during whole group instruction.	YES AND THE LANGUAGE THAT THAY USE IS ENGLISH
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	YES OTHER TURKISH STUDENTS ARE THEIR FAVOURITE PEERS
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged	A MAJORITY OF TURKISH STUDENTS WERE GENERALLY ENGAGED
Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	YES
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way.	YES

Turkish Cypriots ask and answer questions during group activities	YES BUT THE LANGUAGE THAY THEY USE IS TURKISH AMONG THEMSELVES. IT IS ONY WHEN THEY ASKS QUESTIONS TO THEIR TEACHER THAT THEY USE ENGLISH
Turkish Cypriots asked questions	YES
Turkish learners initiate conversations	WITH OTHER TURKISH STUDENTS
Turkish learners raise new topics	No. I have not seen them raising any new topics
Turkish learners challenge their teachers	NO
How do Turkish learners consider their role to be in language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	Obedient.
Any traits in Turkish culture that are consider to be positive	Not sure.
Any traits in Turkish culture that are detrimental to the realization of successful interactions in	THEY PREFER STAND CLOSE TO OTHER TURKISH
language classrooms	STUDENTS
Turkish learners' idea of willingness to communicate in L2 situations	ONLY WHEN THEY HAVE TO
Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices	THEY SEEM THEY ARE ADAPTED
Other observations	The English native speaker who does not speak any Turkish sits together with the other foreigner who speaks both English and Turkish. He speaks but languages but he is not from Cyprus or Turkey.
	The other English native speaker who speaks both English and Turkish sits together with a Turkish student and they speak Turkish among themselves.
	The English native speakers and the other foreigner involve themselves in the activities.
	The English native speaker who speaks English only raises his hand all the time and he is active all the time. He often asks for permission to respond to the teacher's questions. He is confident enough to express his thought and believes.

The only language used in class discussions is **English** Turkish students report back their answers in English. Turkish students do not have negative attitudes towards English native speakers or other foreigners. I have not seen any negative attitudes or any attitude problems in my first observation Those who are confident enough with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language. I have seen that those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions. Those whose English is not native like only respond to questions asked either by the teacher

Social Interaction Observation Form 2

Class observation 2

Teacher: (Turkish Cypriot)

<u>Year: 8</u>

13 students: Turkish Cypriots (6); Turkish (4); English native speaker (1); English native speakers but also Turkish speakers (1: He and his parents live in Cyprus but his parents are from England. He speaks Turkish perfectly well but he is English native speaker); other foreigners but also Turkish speakers (1: from a different country but he and his parents live in Cyprus so he speaks Turkish very well).

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks. What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	

Turkish Cypriots interact with	Only one Turkish Cypriot interacted with the
English native speakers or with	English native speaker. The English native
other foreigners during lessons.	speaker asked a question to the student sitting
What percentage of the time do	next to him. This how they started interaction
they interact with them?	with each other but this was not a real
	interaction because they were only asking and
	answering questions. They did not carry on a social conversation. The Turkish student made
	a mistake and the English native speaker
	corrected her. She seemed ok with this. She
	laughed.
Certain students interact with	Yes. Only one student interacted with the
English native speakers or with	English native speaker who speaks no Turkish
other foreigners	at all but no real interaction was observed.
	They said only a few words to each other.
	There was no interaction between the rest and
	the English native speaker
How many times do Turkish	Cypriots all the time used their first language
Cypriots speak to each other in	among themselves but during whole class
their first language	interaction some Turkish Cypriots spoke to the
H Comp. In T. 1201	teacher in English
How many times do Turkish	I did not hear them speaking to each other in
Cypriots speak to each other in	English. I only heard some students speaking
English	in English during whole class interaction
How many times do they speak	Two of the Turkish Cypriots more than once
to the teacher in their first	spoke to the teacher in Turkish. The only word
language	that one student said in English was "bye".
	While the teacher responded to one of the
	students in English, the answer that the other
	student received from the teacher was in
	Turkish. The teacher responded to the
	student's question in Turkish but only once.
	The teacher did not ignore these students
	when she heard them speaking to her in their
	first language. They were allowed to use
	Turkish.
How many times do they speak	Some students spoke to the teacher in English
to the teacher in English	but only during whole class interaction. Not all
	students spoke to the teacher. Some students
	were not involved. One student asked a
	LALIBETIAN IN ENAUGH LULBETIANG WATA SCRAA IN
	question in English. Questions were asked in
	English most of the time except some students'
	English most of the time except some students' questions. Certain students spoke to the
	English most of the time except some students' questions. Certain students spoke to the teacher in English during whole class
	English most of the time except some students' questions. Certain students spoke to the

Turkish Cypriots sit together with	Cypriots switched to Turkish. Among themselves they always use Turkish during lessons but when the teacher left the classroom for a moment the whole class interaction turned to Turkish. Only one student sat together with an English
English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	native speaker but he also speaks Turkish so they spoke to each other in Turkish. The rest sat together with other Cypriots. The English native speaker who speaks no Turkish sat together with the other foreigner who is not a Cypriot but can speak Turkish perfectly well. They talked to each other time but I never say them carrying on a social conversation.
Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	Only one student worked together with an English native speaker during group activities but they spoke to each other in Turkish as he speaks Turkish as well as English.
Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	Yes. Always.
Turkish Cypriots seem to accept native speakers or other foreigners	Yes.
Native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	Only one Turkish Cypriot responded to the native English speaker's questions. This was the only time they interacted with each other
Turkish Cypriots carry on social conversations.	They did not carry on social conversations
Turkish Cypriots interact with native speakers or with other foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	
	Yes.

Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or other foreigners	
Those who are confident with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language ability	Those who feel more confidence in their English ability ask more questions and speak to the teacher more often during whole class interaction
Those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions	Yes. They were the ones who asked questions and spoke to the teacher during whole class interaction
English native speakers or other foreigners are more active than Turkish speakers	Yes. The English native speaker who speaks no Turkish at all was more active than the rest. He was more active than everyone else
Those who show less confidence in their English only respond to questions asked either by their teacher or colleques	Yes.

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities. what percentage of the time do they participate?	The teacher made them work individually instead
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	The teacher prepared activities that needed to be completed individually
Turkish Cypriots respond to the teacher during whole group instruction	Some Turkish students responded to the teacher during whole class interaction. Those who feel more confidence in their English language ability
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged.	They were generally not engaged
Were Turkish Cypriots involved in the lesson? If Yes, how?	Some students were involved in the lesson. They spoke to the teacher during whole class interaction and also asked a few questions to the teacher.
If No, what could be the reason?	leacher.

Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	They did but they had difficulties completing the tasks
If No? What could be the reason?	
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way. Turkish Cypriots ask and answer	They do not to seem to have problems with English native speakers but they stay away from each other most of the time and stand closer to other Cypriots.
questions during group activities	The teacher did not prepare group activities but I saw them asking questions to each other and sometimes to the teacher related to the assigned tasks. They asked the questions to each other in Turkish while the questions to the teacher were asked in English most of the time except some students (2 students) questions
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to each other in English / Turkish	In Turkish
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to the teacher in English / Turkish	Some Cypriots asked questions to the teacher in English. Some students (2 students) asked questions to the teacher in Turkish. The teacher responded to one of the student's questions in Turkish while she answered the other student's questions in English.
Turkish Cypriots asked questions by raising their hands / interrupting / other	By raising their hands.
Turkish learners initiate conversations	No.
Turkish learners raise new topics	No.
Turkish learners challenge their teachers	No.
How do Turkish learners consider their role to be in language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	Passive, quiet and obedient learners
Any traits in Turkish culture that are consider to be positive	Being quite
Any traits in Turkish culture that are detrimental to the realization	Being quite and passive learners

of successful interactions in language classrooms	
Turkish learners' idea of willingness to communicate in L2 situations	They are not keen on communicating in L2 situations
Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices	It seems that some Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices as they were not involved in the lesson
Other observations	Certain Cypriots (only two) interacted with the English native speaker who can also speak Turkish.
	During whole class interaction when the teacher herself got herself involved in the activities and time to time when the English native speaker got himself involved in the activities, Turkish Cypriots spoke to the teacher and to each other in English.
	One of the Turkish Cypriots spoke to the other Turkish Cypriot in English during whole class interaction but he suddenly switched to Turkish
	I heard some Turkish students speaking to each other in Turkish but when the teacher came and joined them they suddenly switched to English.

Social Interaction Observation Form 2

Class observation: 2nd

Teacher: (Nationality: English)

Class: Year 8

Number of Turkish native speakers: 3

Number of English native speakers: The rest are English native speakers

Number of other foreigners:

The class with the most English native speakers

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks. What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during lessons. What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	One of the Turkish Cypriots interacted with English native speakers time to time but he was more interested in asking questions to the teacher and responding to the teacher's questions.
Certain students interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners	Only one Turkish Cypriot interacted with English native speakers. He was the only one who I saw interacting with English native speakers. However, there was no real interaction between him and the English native speakers. I, for example, never saw him carrying on a social conversation during the lesson.
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in their first language	Among themselves when there was no whole class interaction I heard them speaking to each other in their first language. During whole class interactions when they had something to say they said it in English
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in English	I did not see them speaking to each other in English.
How many times do they speak to the teacher in their first language	They never spoke to the teacher in Turkish because their teacher is English
How many times do they speak to the teacher in English	To ask and answer questions they spoke to the teacher in English.
Turkish Cypriots sit together with English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	Not in this class. They sit together with other Turkish Cypriots
Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	The teacher did not prepare any group activities

Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	No misunderstanding in this lesson
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots seem to accept native speakers or other foreigners	
Native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	They seem to accept Turkish Cypriots.
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	Yes, they do.
Turkish Cypriots carry on social conversations.	No.
Turkish Cypriots interact with native speakers or with other foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	
Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or other foreigners	Yes, they do.
Those who are confident with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language ability	One of the Turkish Cypriots shows confidence in his English language ability. He thinks his English is better than his Turkish so he is the most active of all. He raises his hand all the time to either ask questions or answer questions to the teacher.
Those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions	One of the Turkish Cypriots is native like and he was more active than the others who show less confidence in their English language ability. The one whose English is native like often asked questions by raising his hand and sometimes by interrupting. He talks a lot and fast.

Those who show less confidence		
in their English only respond to		
questions asked either by their		
teacher or colleques		

The other two Cypriots who show less confidence in their English only responded to the teacher's questions. They were not active during the lesson. One of them sat quietly and hardly ever talked to the other Turkish speaking student sitting next to her.

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities. what percentage of the time do they participate?	The teacher did not use any group activities. I observed them during whole class interactions. One of the Cypriots was very active.
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	Not relevant for this lesson
Turkish Cypriots respond to the teacher during whole group instruction	Two of them did
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged.	Two of them were generally engaged
Were Turkish Cypriots involved in the lesson? If Yes, how?	Two of them were involved in the lesson.
If No, what could be the reason?	One was not involved. The teacher says she does not seem adapted
Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	Yes, they did.
If No? What could be the reason?	The same student did not perform the assigned tasks as it seems she has adaptation problems.
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way.	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots ask and answer questions during group activities	During whole class interactions two of them asked and answered questions. They responded to the teacher's questions and I also saw them asking questions by raising their hands. One of them, the most active one, asked questions all the time while the other one did not

Turkish Cypriots asked questions to each other in English / Turkish	ask questions as many as the other one. He speaks a dialect close to the English and it seems that he wants to show this. I assume he wants to show that he sounds like the English. Not to each other
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to the teacher in English / Turkish	In English
Turkish Cypriots asked questions by raising their hands / interrupting / other	One of the Cypriots asked questions both by raising his hand and interrupting while the other student asked question by raising his hand only.
Turkish learners initiate conversations	I did not see them initiation conversations
Turkish learners raise new topics	No
Turkish learners challenge their teachers	No
How do Turkish learners consider their role to be in language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	Quiet, obedient, passive. One of the Cypriots consider his role to be a very active learner while the others are quiet, obedient and passive learners.
Any traits in Turkish culture that are consider to be positive	
Any traits in Turkish culture that are detrimental to the realization of successful interactions in language classrooms	They have favorite peers. They stand much closer to other Turkish Cypriots.
Turkish learners' idea of willingness to communicate in L2 situations	
Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices	One of the students stayed away from everybody. She was sitting together with other Turkish native speakers during the lesson. The reason could be that she is not adapted to the teaching practices
Other observations	Turkish speaking students were sitting together with other Turkish Cypriots. One of them shows confidence in his English language ability and he considers his role to be an active learner while the others consider their roles to be rather passive learners. One of the Turkish students were not involved and engaged. She never

asked questions and were quiet and passive
during the lesson. The reason could be she feels
less confidence in her English language ability
or she is not adapted to the teaching practices.

APPENDIX C

Sample class observations: Public EMI school

Social Interaction Observation Form 2

Class observation: 2nd

Year: 7B

Nationality: Turkish Cypriot

Number of other foreigner: 1 (Black; South Africa); Number of English native speakers: 0; the rest is Turkish native speakers

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks.	OUTSIDE CLASS
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during lessons	No interaction between them
Turkish Cypriots sit together with English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	They sit together with other Turkish native speakers
Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	<u>No</u>
Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	They have difficulties with understanding his English
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	Yes.

Turkish Cypriots seem to accept native speakers or other foreigners	They seem not to accept
Native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	The other foreigner not seem to accept Turkish Cypriots
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	I have never heard him asking questions
Turkish Cypriots carry on social conversations.	No.
Turkish Cypriots interact with native speakers or with other foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	OUTSIDE CLASS
Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or other foreigners	There is no interaction.
Those who are confident with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language ability	None of the students show confidence in their English. Cypriots are not confident enough to use the target language
Those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions	None of the students are native like
Those who show less confidence in their English only respond to questions asked either by their teacher or colleques	The only time they respond to the teacher's question in English is when they answer questions related to tasks such as comprehension questions related to reading

tasks. They respond to the teacher's questions in their native language unless the questions are related to the tasks that they are expected to complete.
Only one student responded to the teacher's question in the target language when the question was not related to a task

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities.	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	No.
Turkish Cypriots respond to teacher during whole group instruction.	
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	Yes.
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged	No.
Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	Some students performed assigned tasks. Problematic students were generally not engaged
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way.	No interaction.

Turkish Cypriots ask and answer questions during group activities	In Turkish.
Turkish Cypriots asked questions	Sometimes. The language they used was Turkish.
Turkish learners initiate	No.
conversations	140.
Turkish learners raise new topics	
Turkish learners challenge their	No.
teachers	
How do Turkish learners	
consider their role to be in	Passive learners. They talk a lot but do not communicate in L2 situations
language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	Communicate in L2 situations
Any traits in Turkish culture that	
are consider to be positive	
Any traits in Turkish culture that	They stay away from other foreigners
are detrimental to the realization	
of successful interactions in	
language classrooms Turkish learners' idea of	They are not interested in communicating in L2
willingness to communicate in L2 situations	situations
Turkish learners are not adapted	adapted
to the teaching practices Other observations	They are not interested in doing their homework.
Other observations	They are not interested in doing their nomework.
	Turkish Cypriots raised their hands to answer some questions related to certain tasks
	The other foreigner never raised his hand to answer any of the questions
	The teacher elicit answers only from those who raise their hands
	The non-native English speaker who is also non- native Turkish speaker is not confident enough to communicate in English. He considers his role to be quiet; obedient; passive learner. He sits quietly during lessons
	One of the Turkish Cypriots asked to respond to the teacher's question in his native language

Social Interaction Observation Form 4

Class observation: 4th

Year: 7B

Nationality: Turkish Cypriot

Number of other foreigner: 1 (Black; South Africa); Number of English native speakers: 0; the rest is Turkish native speakers

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during breaks. What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	
Turkish Cypriots interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners during lessons. Are they discussing non-academic or academic matters? What percentage of the time do they interact with them?	There was no interaction between Turkish speaking students and Simon. He sat quietly and did not speak to any Turkish speaking students in his group. The Turkish speaking students as well were not speaking to him.
Certain students interact with English native speakers or with other foreigners	
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in their first language	All the time
How many times do Turkish Cypriots speak to each other in English	Never
How many times do they speak to the teacher in their first language	All the time

How many times do they speak to the teacher in English	<u>Never</u>
Turkish Cypriots sit together with English native speakers or other foreigners during lessons	No.
Turkish Cypriots work together with English native speakers or other foreigners during group activities	Students were expected to work together during a group activity but Turkish speaking students were working together with other Turkish speaking students.
	Simon was not as if he belonged there. Turkish speaking students were in control and the work was done in accordance with their ideas. The arbiter was the Turkish speaking students.
	Turkish speaking students' ideas had stronger influence on the task. Simon remained in the background.
Turkish Cypriots misunderstand English native speakers or other foreigners with their language based communications in the classroom	There was no talking between the Turkish speaking students and Simon.
Turkish Cypriots stand much closer to Turkish students during interaction	Yes. 100%
Turkish Cypriots seem to accept English native speakers or other foreigners	They seem to accept each other but they do not socialize or interact with each other. Simon keeps himself away from Turkish speaking students and it seems that it is not that important for the Turkish speaking students to interact with him
English native speakers or other foreigners seem to accept Turkish Cypriots	
Turkish Cypriots respond to native speakers or other foreigners' questions.	
Turkish Cypriots carry on social conversations.	
Turkish Cypriots interact with native speakers or with other	

foreigners and participate in their games during breaks.	
Turkish Cypriots demonstrate appropriate gestures and responses when they interact with English native speakers or other foreigners	
Those who are confident with their English are more active than those who feel less confidence in their English language ability	They are more concerned with their studies but they avoid using the target language
Those whose English is native like are more active and often ask questions	
Those who show less confidence in their English only respond to questions asked either by their teacher or colleagues	

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Observation</u>
Turkish Cypriots participate in classroom group activities. What percentage of the time do they participate?	They participated in activities but the language that they were using was Turkish. They were speaking to each other in their native language
Turkish Cypriots appear to enjoy group time.	Yes
Turkish Cypriots respond to the teacher during whole group instruction	In their native language
Turkish Cypriots appear to have favorite peers.	Yes
Turkish Cypriots were generally engaged.	Yes. They were generally engaged in this lesson.
Were Turkish Cypriots involved in the lesson? If Yes, how?	They did their best to complete the task. They were fighting with each other to give correct answers as they were working a competition

If No, what could be the reason?	game. They were going to gain points and only one group was going to win the game.
Turkish Cypriots performed assigned tasks	Yes.
If No? What could be the reason?	
Interact with native speakers or other foreigners in a positive way.	
Turkish Cypriots ask and answer questions during group activities	They were but in their first language
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to each other in English / Turkish	Turkish
Turkish Cypriots asked questions to the teacher in English / Turkish	Turkish
Turkish Cypriots asked questions by raising their hands / interrupting / other	
Turkish learners initiate conversations	
Turkish learners raise new topics	
Turkish learners challenge their teachers	
How do Turkish learners consider their role to be in language classrooms? Quiet, obedient, passive learner etc.	They are passive learners and good listeners. Their aim is not to learn the language their aim is to pass their exams. It seems that it is not important for them to use English to interact with others successfully
Any traits in Turkish culture that are considered to be positive	
Any traits in Turkish culture that are detrimental to the realization of successful interactions in language classrooms	It seems that they want to learn English for academic purposes only. Successful interactions in English classes are not significant for Turkish speaking students
Turkish learners' idea of willingness to communicate in L2 situations	
Turkish learners are not adapted to the teaching practices	

Other observations	The teacher was walking around the classroom to help the students and she was speaking to them in their native language.
	Simon never raised his hand to answer any of the questions.
	The teacher said she could not answer the students' questions as they were asking the questions using their native language. One of the students then decided not to ask the question as he was unable to ask the question in English. Turkish speaking students at this school are more active than the ones at the English School of Kyrenia as in this school Turkish speaking students are allowed to use their native language during lessons

APPENDIX D

Semi-structured interview questions for students in the private EMI school

Semi-Structured Interview Questions (Students)

The aim of this interview is to collect data about your attitude towards English language and culture. Please note that **this is not a test** and your responses will not affect your grades in any course. They will be used for research purposes only.

Part I: Students' attitudes towards English language and culture

N	Questions
0	
1	Do you see English as the world's number one language? Ingiliz dilini tanimla diye bir soru ile karsilassaniz nasil tanimlardiniz?
	a. Ingiliz dilini dunyanin bir numara dili olarak goruyormusunuz?
2	A majority of people think that knowing English is important for understanding people from other countries. Do you agree with this? Bir cok insan diger ulkelerdeki insanlari anlayabilmek icin Ingilizce bilmenin onemli oldugunu dusunur. Siz ne soylemek isterdiniz bu konu ile ilgili?
3	Knowing English is important for understanding the culture of English-speaking countries, like USA or UK. Do you agree? Ingilizce bilmenin Ingilizlerin kulturunu anlayabilme acisindan onemli oldugunu dusunuyormusunuz?
	Neden?
4	When you speak English, do you want to sound like a native speaker? Do you prefer to speak English with a British accent? Ingilizce konusurken bir Ingiliz gibi konusmak istermiydiniz? Ingilizceyi Ingiliz sivesiyle konusmayi
	tercih edermiydiniz? Neden?
5	Is it important for you to make friends with English native speakers or other foreigners? Ingilizlerle veya Ingiltereden gelmis Inlizceyi ana dili gibi konusan veya diger yabancilarla arkadaslik kurmak sizin icin bir onem tasiyormu? Istermiydiniz bunu? Neden?

- Would you prefer studying in your mother tongue rather than any other foreign language?
 Kendi dilinde egitim gormeyi Ingilizce egitim gormeye tercih edermiydin?

 In your experience of learning English at school, are
- 8 In your experience of learning English at school, are you motivated to the same as everyone else or others? Why?

Bu okuldaki ingilizce derslerinizi dusunerek, Ingilizce derlerindeki motivasyonunuzun diger kisilerle ayni oldugunu dusunuyormusunuz yoksa sizden daha fazla veya daha az motive olan kisiler varmidir? Bunun sebebi nedir sizce peki?

9 In which language do you chat with your friends outside the class hours? Sinif disinda, ders aralarinda hangi dilde arkadaslarinla sohbet ediyorsun? Neden?

Part II: Students' interaction with each other

- 1. In what situations do you usually feel the need to come together and communicate with British students?
- 2. Do you feel comfortable when British students ask you questions, or do you prefer to stay away from communicating with them?
- 3. How often do you converse with British students? Why?
- 4. Who do you prefer to socialize with at the school? Who do you prefer to make friends with?
- a. Why do you prefer Turkish students to British? What are the factors that make you feel uncomfortable with them, what are the factors that prevent you from establishing your closeness, what are the reasons?
- 5. I think I saw a division between Cypriots and British students. Turks prefer to sit in the classroom with the other Turks? Why do you think is this?
- a. How does this split reflect on group work? While working as a group, is there a grouping between you and British students?
- b. Who do you prefer to work with? Do you prefer to work with Cypriots?

c. How do you feel during group work when you have to work with British students?

Part III: Students' perception of other foreigners

- 1. What differences have you noticed in the behaviors of the British? How are they different from you?
- 2. When you come together with British students, do you have the strength to keep up with them? In which situations do you have difficulties in understanding them? Can you give me an example?

Part IV: Students' perception of their teachers

- 1. As a Turkish Cypriot, how would you describe your relationship with your teachers? Would a Turkish teacher make you feel more comfortable in the classroom?
- 2. How would you describe a British teacher?
- 3. What are the main differences between a Turkish and British teacher?
- 4. Do you feel comfortable when you communicate with your British teachers?

APPENDIX E

Semi-structured interview questions for students in the public EMI school

Semi-Structured Interview Questions (Students)

The aim of this interview is to collect data about your attitude towards English language and culture. Please note that **this is not a test** and your responses will not affect your grades in any course. They will be used for research purposes only.

Part I: Students' attitudes towards English language and culture

N	Questions
0	
1	Do you see English as the world's number one language? Ingiliz dilini tanimla diye bir soru ile karsilassaniz nasil tanimlardiniz?
	b. Ingiliz dilini dunyanin bir numara dili olarak goruyormusunuz?
2	A majority of people think that knowing English is important for understanding people from other countries. Do you agree with this? Bir cok insan diger ulkelerdeki insanlari anlayabilmek icin Ingilizce bilmenin onemli oldugunu dusunur. Siz ne
	soylemek isterdiniz bu konu ile ilgili?
3	Knowing English is important for understanding the culture of English-speaking countries, like USA or UK. Do you agree?
	Ingilizce bilmenin Ingilizlerin kulturunu anlayabilme acisindan onemli oldugunu dusunuyormusunuz? Neden?
4	When you speak English, do you want to sound like a native speaker? Do you prefer to speak English with a British accent? Ingilizce konusurken bir Ingiliz gibi konusmak istermiydiniz? Ingilizceyi Ingiliz sivesiyle konusmayi tercih edermiydiniz? Neden?
5	Is it important for you to make friends with English native speakers or other foreigners? Ingilizlerle veya Ingiltereden gelmis Inlizceyi ana dili gibi konusan veya diger yabancilarla arkadaslik kurmak sizin icin bir onem tasiyormu? Istermiydiniz bunu? Neden?

Would you prefer studying in your mother tongue rather than any other foreign language?

Kendi dilinde egitim gormeyi Ingilizce egitim gormeye tercih edermiydin?
In your experience of learning English at school, are you motivated to the same as everyone else or others? Why?

Bu okuldaki ingilizce derslerinizi dusunerek, Ingilizce derlerindeki motivasyonunuzun diger kisilerle ayni oldugunu dusunuyormusunuz yoksa sizden daha fazla veya daha az motive olan kisiler varmidir? Bunun sebebi nedir sizce peki?
In which language do you chat with your friends

outside the class hours? Sinif disinda, ders aralarinda hangi dilde arkadaslarinla sohbet ediyorsun? Neden?

Part II: Students' interaction with each other

- 1. In what situations do you usually feel the need to meet and communicate with Simon?
- a. Do you have friends who are native English speakers or have friends from other countries around you? Or, do you have friends who speak English as the first language but can talk to Turkish at the same time? If so, are you communicating with these people?
- 2. Do you feel comfortable when you ask Simon questions, or do you prefer to stay away from communicating with him?
- 3. Based on my observations, I can say that you avoid chatting with Simon? Why?
- a. Why do you prefer Turkish Cypriots to Simon? What are the factors that make you feel uncomfortable with him, what are the factors that prevent you from establishing a friendship with him, what are the reasons?
- 4. I observed a split between you and Simon. Turkish students prefer to sit in the classroom with the other Turkish students? What is the reason of this?
- a. How does this split reflect on your group works? Is there a grouping when you work in the same group with Simon?
- b. Who do you prefer to work with? Do you prefer to work with Simon or you prefer Turkish Cypriots to Simon?
- c. How do you feel when you come together with Simon in group works?

Part III: Students' perception of other foreigners

- 1. What differences have you noticed in Simon's behavior? How do you differ from each other?
- 2. When you meet with Simon, do you have the strength to keep up with him? In which situations do you have difficulties in understanding him? Can you give me an example?

Part IV: Students' perception of their teachers

- 1. Did you have any language teachers from English language backgrounds or teachers who speak English like the native language but speak Turkish at the same time? If yes,
- a. Did you feel relaxed or do you feel relaxed when you communicate with your English teachers who speak English as their first language?
- b. Do you prefer teachers from English or Turkish language backgrounds? Who makes you feel more comfortable in the classroom? Why?
- 2. How would you describe a teacher who speaks English like a native English speaker from the UK?
- 3. What are the main differences between a Turkish teacher and a teacher who speaks English as a first language?
- 4. As a Turkish Cypriot, what do you want to say about the relationship between you and our English teachers? Your English teacher speaks English during class hours. How does this affect you? Does it affect you negativity or positively? Why?

APPENDIX F

Interview questions for teachers: Private EMI school

Interview Questions (Teachers)

Students' interaction with each other

1. Who do Turkish speaking students like to interact with during group activities? Do they like to interact with other Cypriots or with other foreigners?

Kimlerle sosyallesmeyi tercih ediyorlar okulda daha fazla Kibrisli ogrencilerlemi yoksa Ingiliz veya diger yabancilarlami?

2. I observed that Turkish students prefer other Turks to other foreigners? What do you think the reason could be? What do you think the factors that affect their choices in interactions are?

Turk ogrencilerin cogunun diger Turkleri Ingiliz veya diger yabanci uyruklu ogrencilere tercih ettigini gozledim. Sinif icinde Turkler genelde diger Turklerle oturmayi tercih ediyor. Sizce sebebi nedir? Yabancilarla etkilesmelerinde Turk ogrencilerin secimlerini etkileyen faktorler neler olabilir sizce?

3. How is this division reflected on group work? Is there a division between Turkish students and other foreigners during group activities?

Bu bolunme grup calismasina nasil yansimiztir? Grup calismasi yaparken bir gruplasma oluyormu Kibrisli ve yabanci ogrenciler arasinda?

Effect of Turkish Culture / the effect of students' cultural and linguistic background

1. Have you ever seen them having difficulties understanding other foreigners or English native speakers?

Turk ogrencilerin Ingiliz ogrencileri veya diger yabancıları anlamakta gucluk cektigine hic sahit oldunuzmu?

2. Do Turkish native speakers prefer their first language to English when they speak to each other or when they speak to you? If yes, what could be the reason?

English Ingilizce sohbet etme istegi hep varmidir Turk ogrencilerde? Yoksa, Ingilizce sohbet etmekten hep kaciyorlar ve gerekmedikce kullanmiyorlarmi? Peki, bunun sebebi tam olarak nedir sizce? Neden Ingilizce sohbet etmekten kaciniyorlar?

- 3. What do you think the effect of English language ability is on students'
 - a. Engagement
 - b. Confidence
 - c. Being active in class?

Dil yeteneginin veya dil farkliliginin ogrenciler uzerindeki etkisi nedir sizce? Ogrencinin kendine olan guvenini veya derse katilim oranini etkiliyormu sizce dil yetenegi veya dil fatkliligi?

4. If you know, which language do Turkish speaking students use to communicate with each other during breaks?

Turk ogrenciler bildiginiz kadariyla kendi aralarinda sinif disinda, ders aralarinda hangi dilde sohbet ediyorlar?

5. What do you think the effect of culture is on language learning in class?

Kulturun siniftaki dil ogrenimi uzerindeki etkisi nedir sizce?

a. Any traits in Turkish culture that are considered to be positive or negative in language learning?

Turk kulturunde dil ogrenimi icin olumlu veya olumsuz algilanan ozellikler nelerdir?

Effect of Teacher's cultural and linguistic background

1. How could a foreign teacher affect Turkish students' learning process, achievement, and psychological adaptation?

Yabanci bir ogretmen ogrencinin ogrenme surecini, basari oranini ve adapte olma surecini nasil etkiler sizce?

2. Do you think Turkish teachers increase the success rate of Turkish students? Turk ogretmen Turk ogrencilerin basari oranini artirirmi sizce?

Teacher's perception of their students

1. In your experience, what are their attitudes towards speakers of other languages?

Sizin gozlemlerinize gore, Turk ogrencilerin yabancilara yaklasimini nasil degerlendiriyorsunuz?

2. What are the attitudes of foreigners towards speakers of Turkish in class?

Peki, yabaci ogrencilerin Turk ogrencilere yaklasimi ile ilgili neler soyleyebilirsiniz?

3. How would you define your Turkish speaking students? Why?

Turk ogrencilerinizi nasil tanimlardiniz? Neden?

4. Do you think Turkish students are adapted to the teaching practices?

Turk ogrencilerin bu ogretim sistemine adapte oldugunu dusunuyormusunuz?

APPENDIX G

Interview questions for teachers: Public EMI school

Interview Questions (Teachers)

Students' interaction with each other

- 1. I have observed that there is no union between the Turkish students and Simon. I saw that there was no union in the classroom. Simon is always alone, preferring to sit alone. Why do you think is this?
- 2. What are the factors that influence the selection of Turkish students in their interaction with foreigners?
- 3. Does this division reflect their group work? Is there a grouping between the students and Simon when they work in groups?

Teacher's perception of their students

- 1. Based on your observations, how do you evaluate the approach of Turkish students to foreigners?
- 2. So, what can you say about the approach of Simon to other students?
- 3. How would you describe your Turkish students in their English language classes? Why?
- a. What do you think their attitudes are towards English language and culture?

Effect of Turkish Culture / the effect of students' cultural and linguistic background

- 1. Have you ever witnessed the fact that the pupils were going to take on the burden of understanding Simon?
- 2. Do Turkish students always desire to chat in English? If not, are they always away from chatting in English and do not use them unless it is necessary? Well, what exactly is the reason for this? Why are they avoiding chatting in English?

- 3. What is the effect of language ability on students? Do you feel that the student is influenced by his or her self-confidence or attendance rate?
- 4. What is the impact of culture on language learning?
- a. What are the characteristics that are perceived positively or negatively for language learning in Turkish culture (language lessons)?

Effect of Teacher's cultural and linguistic background

- 1. How do you think a teacher from English language background affects the learning process, the success rate of the foreign teacher, and the process of adapting?
- 2. Do you think a Turkish teacher can increase the success rate of Turkish students?

APPENDIX H

Sample interview transcripts

- Q: When you speak English, do you want to sound like a native speaker? Do you prefer to speak English with the British accent?
- A: I would like to talk like them. If you cannot talk like them, they will not talk to you. If you cannot answer their questions, you are excluded. How you speak and accent are important at this school in terms of establishing good relationships.
- Q: In your experience of learning English at school, are you motivated to the same as everyone else or others? Why?
- A: British students are more motivated as they think they know everything and are the best. Turkish Cypriots who are good friends with them are also more motivated. In order to promote themselves, they are always active in the classroom. They don't want to be excluded by the British students so they show off.
- Q: How would you describe British people? How different they are from Turkish people? A: They are culturally different. They do thinks that I wouldn't do. They drink alcohol, for example.
- Q: Do you feel comfortable when British students ask you questions? Or, do you prefer to stay away from communicating with them because you get nervous?
- A: I don't get nervous but most of people have fears. They think before they speak. Because most of the class is British, they think that the things that they might say will be awkward to the British. So, they don't say anything. They believe that all British people have similar things in their personalities.
- Q: Who do you prefer to socialize with at school? Who do you prefer to make friends with more? Turkish or British students?
- A: Those who have been at this school for a long time are my friends. I am friends with British students too but I feel more comfortable with Turkish students. Late comers have their own group.
- Q: Why do you prefer Turkish Cypriots to British people? What are the factors that make you feel uncomfortable with them, what are the factors that prevent you from establishing your closeness, what are the reasons?
- A: Cultural difference. British students sometimes exclude Turks. They have self-confidence.
- Q: How different are British students? How do they differ from Turkish Cypriots? How would you describe them?
- A: Turkish students are more relaxed while chatting. British students are more formal. I feel more comfortable with Turkish students.
- Q: What do you want to say about the relationship between you and your teachers? Would you prefer a British or Turkish teacher?
- A: I would prefer the Turkish teacher to the British. I feel more comfortable with Turkish teachers because we speak the same language. I know that if I make a mistake, the teacher

knows Turkish. However, when my English will be improve and I will be able to speak better English, this thought can change.

Q: What are the main differences between Turkish and British teachers?

A: They are no differences. I don't get nervous when I speak with the British teachers but I do when I am around British students. I know that British teachers will correct my mistakes because they are teachers. However, British students will laugh at my mistakes.

APPENDIX I

Permission Letters



KUZEY KIBRIS TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ MİLLİ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI GENEL ORTAÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Sayı: GOO.0.00.200/14/15- 7/8

02 Mart 2015

The English School of Kyrenia Müdürlüğü,

İlgi: Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi'nin ELT 009/2015 sayı ve 25.02.2015 tarihli yazısı.

llgi yazıda konu edilen İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Doktora programına kayıtlı Öğrenci Ulviye Soysev İngiliz dili ve kültürüne bakış açısı inceleyen araştırmayı okulunuzda 02.03.2015-30.06.2015 tarihleri arasında uygulama yapması müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgi ve gereğini saygı ile rica ederim.

Mustafa Borataş Müdür

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Lefkoşa-KIBRIS



KUZEY KIBRIS TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ MİLLİ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI GENEL ORTAÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Sayı: GOÖ.0.00.200/14/15- 718 ·

02 Mart 2015

Türk Maarif Koleji Müdürlüğü, Lefkoşa.

İlgi: Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi'nin ELT 009/2015 sayı ve 25.02.2015 tarihli yazısı.

İlgi yazıda konu edilen İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Doktora programına kayıtlı Öğrenciniz Ulviye Soysev İngiliz dili ve kültürüne bakış açısı inceleyen araştırmayı okulunuzda 02.03.2015-30.06.2015 tarihleri arasında uygulama yapması müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüştür.

Bilgi ve gereğini saygı ile rica ederim.

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Lefkoşa-KIBRIS



KUZEY KIBRIS TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ MİLLİ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI GENEL ORTAÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Sayı: GOÖ.0.00.200/14/15-718

02 Mart 2015

Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi Müdürlüğü, Lefkoşa.

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APPENDIX J

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