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Faculty of Humanities

Modern Languages

German Language Learning in England

Understanding the Enthusiasts

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Modern Languages

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**GERMAN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ENGLAND
UNDERSTANDING THE ENTHUSIASTS**

by Rosemarie Stolte

This study explores the motivation of English undergraduates to study German. In a context focused approach the history of German language learning in England is reviewed first. The historical findings in combination with a review of L2 motivation research lead to the empirical work. Inspired by Ushioda's (2009) person-in-context relational view of motivation I have conducted cross-sectional qualitative interview research with groups of British undergraduates who study German at two different English universities. The data collected gives an insight into language learning motivation in general and shows what is specific to Anglophone learners and to German language learning. Through qualitative data analysis relating to different language learning motivation models I test the relevance of the concepts of integrativeness, instrumental orientation and the L2 motivational self system, to the learning of a high status 'niche' language which is often a third language for Anglophone students.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, Rosemarie Stolte, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

German Language Learning in England – Understanding the Enthusiasts

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date: 22.09.2015

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Abbreviations used

A-level	School examination taken at the end of secondary school, entry requirement for studying at British universities
AS-level	Advanced Subsidiary Level, first part of A-level
BA	Bachelor, first university degree
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education, secondary school examination used in the past
EU	European Union
FL	Foreign language
GCE	General Certificate of Education, secondary school examination used in the past
GCSE	Current secondary school examination in the UK, General Certificate of Secondary Education
GFL	German as a Foreign Language
HE	Higher Education
L2	Second Language
L3	Third Language
MFL	Modern Foreign Language
O-Level	Ordinary Level, secondary school examination used in the past
SLA	Second language acquisition
UK	United Kingdom
YA	Year Abroad, refers to the year British students spent abroad as part of their degree

1 Introduction and Background

Most languages educators in the United Kingdom (UK) know the facts: Student numbers in German are declining. Some university German departments have been closed (Shepherd 2009). Both French and German have a long standing tradition as languages learnt and taught in the UK, yet in 2011 Spanish took over as second modern foreign language (MFL) after French at GCSE level (a secondary school examination sat at the end of year 11) (Board and Tinsley 2014: p. 28). While Spanish is one of the few growing languages, French is in decline as well. It seems that as Europe has grown much closer over the past two decades, increased integration has not brought more people that study different languages, but more people that study English. The rise of English is a world-wide phenomenon, in the same way as the decline of German (Ammon 2001). The importance of English is one of the main issues of MFL teaching in England: "Against a backdrop of worldwide spread of English and its increasing adoption as international lingua franca foreign language education in England has had to struggle against public indifference for much of the 20th century and the picture remains similar in the 21st century" (Mitchell 2011: p. 49).

Regarding universities, MFL education in the UK has recently had to face another obstacle: Following implementation of the Brown Review (www.independent.gov.uk/browne-report) that proposed to remove the cap on tuition fees, more than half of the British universities decided to almost triple their tuition fees to £9000 for students starting in 2012 or later. This was concerning for Humanities subjects and other degree programmes not thought to lead to employment with high salaries. Against the backdrop of already falling learner numbers in MFL, it was devastating news for already struggling languages departments in British universities.

German holds a special position within MFL. It is still being described by British public bodies as one of the most useful languages (Confederation of British Industry 2012: p. 57), especially for economic reasons. Germany currently holds the strongest economy in Europe, but that does not seem to convince young British learners to pursue German. In contrast to that we seem to be moving back in time and German language learning is something that is more and more only available to an elite. This is illustrated by the decline in numbers of comprehensive schools offering German, by the closure of German departments in smaller, less prestigious universities and by the fact that most independent schools still hold on to offering German (see chapter 2.0).

In schools German is an unpopular subject (Coleman, Galaczi et al. 2007, Pachler 2007, Dewaele and Thirtle 2009, Mitchell 2011). "Regarding attitudes towards German in particular, and the reason for the particularly sharp decline in numbers taking

German to examination level, there are many expressions of opinion, but more limited research evidence. The two reasons generally suggested are a) that German is perceived as linguistically 'difficult' and challenging to learn; and b) that German is less attractive as a target language than other European languages for sociohistorical reasons" (Mitchell 2011: p. 58). I experienced this personally for the first time as a young teaching assistant in two secondary schools in London. In contrast to that I met highly motivated and very capable students during my time as a German language tutor at a British university.

The contrast of unmotivated pupils in German classes at secondary school and highly motivated students of German at university inspired my research project. As illustrated in figure 5 in section 2.4, the decline in numbers of young people studying German at university level in the UK was less pronounced than the decrease in pupils taking school examination at the end of year 11 (figure 4, p. 35). Since the implementation of increased tuition fees, however, the numbers of young people studying German has dropped more rapidly with only 610 first year students enrolling for a degree including German in 2013/14, for example (Higher Education Statistics <http://www.hesa.ac.uk/content/view/1897/239/>). This is a drop of about 20% in comparison to the previous years.

Despite this national trend there are still some enthusiasts who study German, even though schools do not offer it as much as in the past and despite the fact that most of their peers do not study it (Board and Tinsley 2014). It is vital to discover in how far these young people and their lives are different, and to find out what motivates them to study German in order to be able to encourage future students to take up or keep learning the language. This knowledge about motivation to learn German might help universities recruiting future students. Moreover, gaining "a better understanding of what learners want to achieve by learning a particular language for their 'selves', might assist educational practitioners in providing a learning environment that better supports learners in developing themselves into the kind of person they wish to become and designing a life they regard meaningful" (Hennig 2013: p. 933).

1.1 Attitudes Towards German

German has held its image of a 'difficult language' ever since Marc Twain's *The Awful German Language* (2015). His words "A person who has not studied German can form no idea of what a perplexing language it is. Surely there is not another language that is so slipshod and systemless, and so slippery and elusive to grasp." (Twain and Brock 2015: p. 6) have been quoted in numerous publications dealing with the German language in various ways (Mills 1986: p. 12, Andrews 1995: p. 78, Menzel 2005: p. 52,

Jaworska 2009: p. 1, Salmons 2012: p. 2). The stereotype of the 'difficult language' with its alleged harshness and lack of positive associations such as holidays, sun, and romance is made responsible for sinking learner numbers (Shepherd 2009).

It has been shown that the views of parents, relatives, neighbours and family friends influence pupils' attitudes towards language learning, the UK is 62% monolingual, second only to the Republic of Ireland with 66% (Coleman, Galaczi et al. 2007: p. 251). The English public show negative attitudes towards languages and language learning, and there is a link between the motivation of language learners and the national mood of the public (Coleman, Galaczi et al. 2007: p. 251). It seems that public opinions such as 'we English are just bad at learning languages' are self-reinforcing, in an age of global English.

When talking about the specifics of German language learning one should not forget the German past. Especially in the UK the present image of anything German is shaped by historical events. Reports on political events or football often use war metaphors relating to World War II and stereotypes when referring to Germany even though there are various organisations trying to improve Anglo-German relations. In her article Perceptions of Germany and the Germans in Post-War Britain Ruth Wittlinger, a specialist on post-unification Germany's national identity and a German living in Great Britain, states that popular culture and "the British post-war folklore rely heavily on stereotypical representations of Germany and the Germans as well as Germany's National Socialist past and World War II to provide material for films, jokes, newspaper columns and commentaries, commercial adverts and TV comedies" (Wittlinger 2004: p. 257).

It seems that German dominance in Europe, not only economical but also political, could counterintuitively have had a negative effect on the public perception of Germany. One problem is the anti-German mood of the 1980s. Margaret Thatcher was the most outspoken opponent of German re-unification and made statements about her fear of a unified Germany. "Her frantic if unsuccessful efforts to stop German unification from happening (...) not only damaged the Anglo-German relationship but also contributed to an atmosphere in which references to Germany's Nazi past and alleged traits of 'the German national character' were freely aired in the public discourse thus reinforcing these images to the collective consciousness" (Wittlinger 2004: p. 254-255).

Moreover, it is generally acknowledged that both history and German language teaching in Britain are influenced by the emphasis on Nazi Germany in a history curriculum that ends with 1945, and a lack of cultural context in German textbooks (Wittlinger 2004: p. 463). Additionally there is more emphasis on linguistic skills at the

expense of cultural learning in the GCSEs. A survey by the *Goethe Institut* found that “those young people who have some knowledge of Germany also hold more positive perceptions” (Wittlinger 2004: p. 263). This means that education could ease a perception of Germany that is shaped by stereotypes and ignorant jokes; however, the present curriculum offers little opportunity to do so.

1.2 Organisation of the Thesis

When I began this project of investigating the motivation to study German in England, my first step was to look back and to start analysing the context of German language learning. Chapter 2 investigates closely how MFL learning, especially German language learning, evolved in England. To understand today’s situation it is essential to learn how it developed. Additionally today’s learners are influenced by their parents and teachers who were educated under different circumstances. The attitudes towards a school subject, a language or an entire language culture lie much deeper than recent political or societal developments. As my main focus lies with higher education (HE), my review concentrates on the evolution of German language learning in the 20th and early 21st century. German only became an independent subject in British universities in the early 20th century (Reershemius 2010: p. 1676).

To explore the large area of motivation, chapter three concentrates on the field of motivation to learn a language, i.e. German. This chapter presents a review of the significant literature on motivation and second language (L2) learning. It introduces current approaches in motivation theory as well as a selection of empirical studies relevant for my own research design. It is vital to test current motivational theories for German, because it is not enough to find a theoretical framework that works for L2 motivation; it has to be specific for English users who learn German as L2 or L3. The chapter includes an excursus on the role of identity and culture in SLA (second language acquisition) and concludes with my research questions.

In chapter four I bring the two parts of my literature review together in order to investigate these research questions. I present the methodology for the empirical investigation which results in my research design and the rationale behind it. I also describe my role as a researcher, the ethical considerations attaching to the research project, and the two research sites.

The largest part of this thesis describes the qualitative study for which I interviewed twenty-five undergraduates in two Russell Group universities in England (a group of the most prestigious universities in the UK) who were enrolled in a BA (Bachelor degree) programme that included German. The findings chapter (chapter 5) investigates in detail the influences on the students’ motivation to study German by looking at their

personal accounts of their language learning history, at their perceptions of external influences such as the media and the family, and at their reported experiences at university. This qualitative interview study gives a deep insight into the students' opinions and experiences. It also provides an opportunity to see which of the current models of L2 motivation are most applicable for German (which is a third language for most of these Anglophone learners).

The concluding chapter (chapter 6) provides the answers to my research questions and it links the context of German language learning in England with the empirical data. It also presents theoretical implications, i.e. how the different motivation theories can be applied to the data. The Appendix includes the interview guide, sample transcripts, codes used for data analysis, and additional documentation.

2 A Short History of German Language Learning in the 20th Century and beyond

2.1 Literature on the History of German Language Learning

When looking at the motivation to study German today, it is vital to review why and how German has been studied in England in the past. In order to find the link between the perception of German and language learning one needs to look into the history of language learning, particularly German, in England.

Until recently the two most comprehensive studies about the history of German language teaching and learning in England were published in German in the 1990s. The first one by Ortmanns (1993) looks at German as a foreign language (GFL) in schools and universities in England and links this with developments in Wales and Scotland. The second study by Wegner (1999) compares German language learning in England and France through an analysis of school textbooks. In both works young German academics studied the development of GFL from a German point of view and published their findings as PhD dissertations in Germany. Recently Nicola McLelland (2015) contributed greatly to the field of history of German language teaching and learning through her work.

Ortmanns characterizes his work as a case study in which he investigates the development of GFL from a historical perspective. He looks at different hypotheses about German language learning that he tries to prove or falsify through a historical analysis by comparing the following hypotheses with his findings:

- economic reasons for the distribution of German;
- the importance of being enemies at war for learning a language;
- distribution of German language due to cultural importance of German speaking countries;
- the grammatical complexity of German as a reason for its limited distribution;
- the recession of German as a result of general educational decline (Ortmanns 1993: p. 215-230; my translation).

According to his study the positive influence of, for example, economic factors on German language learning was so strong in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries, that the two world wars could only influence the development slightly negatively, but not significantly. The cultural importance of German speaking countries on the other hand did not appear to be as influential as previously assumed by German scholars. According to Ortmanns his contemporaries (Compare: Ross 1972, Witte 1987)

emphasized how the cultural importance of the German speaking area was a cause for the spread of the German language. With cultural importance they refer to the prestige of the language, authors, the quality of texts, and technological productivity of the language area (Ortmanns 1993: p. 227). Additionally the alleged grammatical complexity of German could not be proven to have a restricting effect on German language learning. According to Ortmanns educators and German specialists claimed that British people believed German was more difficult to learn than other languages like French (Ortmanns 1993: p. 229). Lastly, Margaret Stone's (1978) assumption that a general decline in education lead to less German learning between the 1960s and the 1980s can be doubted as well (Ortmanns 1993: p. 230).

Interestingly Ortmanns does not investigate the rise of English as a lingua franca which has influenced foreign and L2 learning world-wide. However, he explains the stagnation of the number of learners in the 1970s and 1980s with economic factors. He claims that Germany's scientific-technological importance declined at least relatively after World War II and that the dominance of the USA led to a drop in the use of German as a publishing language in science (Ortmanns 1993: p. 223). This suggests that economic factors are strongly linked to the spread of a language, and its popularity as an educational target. And of course, with the rise of the USA as an economic superpower we have also seen an exponential rise of English learners world-wide (Crystal 2012: p. 56-69).

Following his title Ortmanns (1993) gives a comprehensive overview of German language teaching from the beginning in the middle ages to 1985. His historical analysis is structured by historic events like education reforms, to introduce and establish secondary schools in the mid-19th century and the governmental reform of the school system in 1902, and World War II. In contrast to that, Wegner (1999) picks 1900 as her starting point and divides the 20th century up into the time before and after the 1960s. Although her work is historic as well it is structured by shifts in the method of language teaching and by changes in educational policies, like the Reform Movement.

While examining German language teaching in the UK Ortmanns also looks at the other languages that are taught (Ortmanns 1993: p. 12) though less comprehensively than Howatt (1991). His approach of looking at the other foreign languages (FL) in order to determine the relative status of German in the UK through the years can only be supported. German language learning cannot be viewed as a single subject in isolation, but must be understood as part of language learning in the UK more generally, because whatever decisions were made regarding modern languages in schools had an influence on German language learning as well.

Drawing on the analyses of Ortmanns and Wegner, and extending these, German language learning is influenced by numerous factors that are linked to more issues than German alone (figure 1: Influences on German language learning). First of all the educational system and the development in school policies influence where and to whom German is taught. This includes school curriculum, student numbers and examinations. Secondly teaching methods determine how German is learned. Of course these methods are never developed for German only, but for language learning in general. Thirdly the status of modern languages within the UK impacts on reasons why German is studied. For the more recent period the role of English has obviously influenced ideas about MFL as well. Universities have an influence on schools, because they gave certain subjects more prestige than others. Additionally the school language examinations have traditionally been developed in the universities (McLelland 2015: p. 97).

In the following chronological overview I will investigate the status of languages in general, and German in particular, as a subject in British schools and in universities. This review spans the 20th century in detail to illustrate how the subject German evolved in England and find out what motivated English learners to study MFLs, and German in particular. I will only mention the role of English as it influences the position of German and other languages. In addition to the afore mentioned works by Ortmanns (1993) and Wegener (1999) I will draw on Hawkins (1996), McLelland (2015), and various other sources regarding universities (Kolinsky 1993, Tenberg 1993, Reeves 2000, Klaus and Reimann 2002, Kelly and Jones 2003, Watts 2003, Coleman 2004, Jaworska 2009, Reershemius 2010) and more recent developments in language learning (Moys 1996, Mitchell 2003, Coleman, Galaczi et al. 2007, Pachler 2007, Mitchell 2011).

The chronological overview is divided by educational reforms, which is why the 20th century is split into the time before and after 1960. The 1960s brought considerable change in education and more opportunities for everybody. The time after 2000 was marked by the National Curriculum (NC) and its quick abandonment. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the reasons for the decline in German language learning.

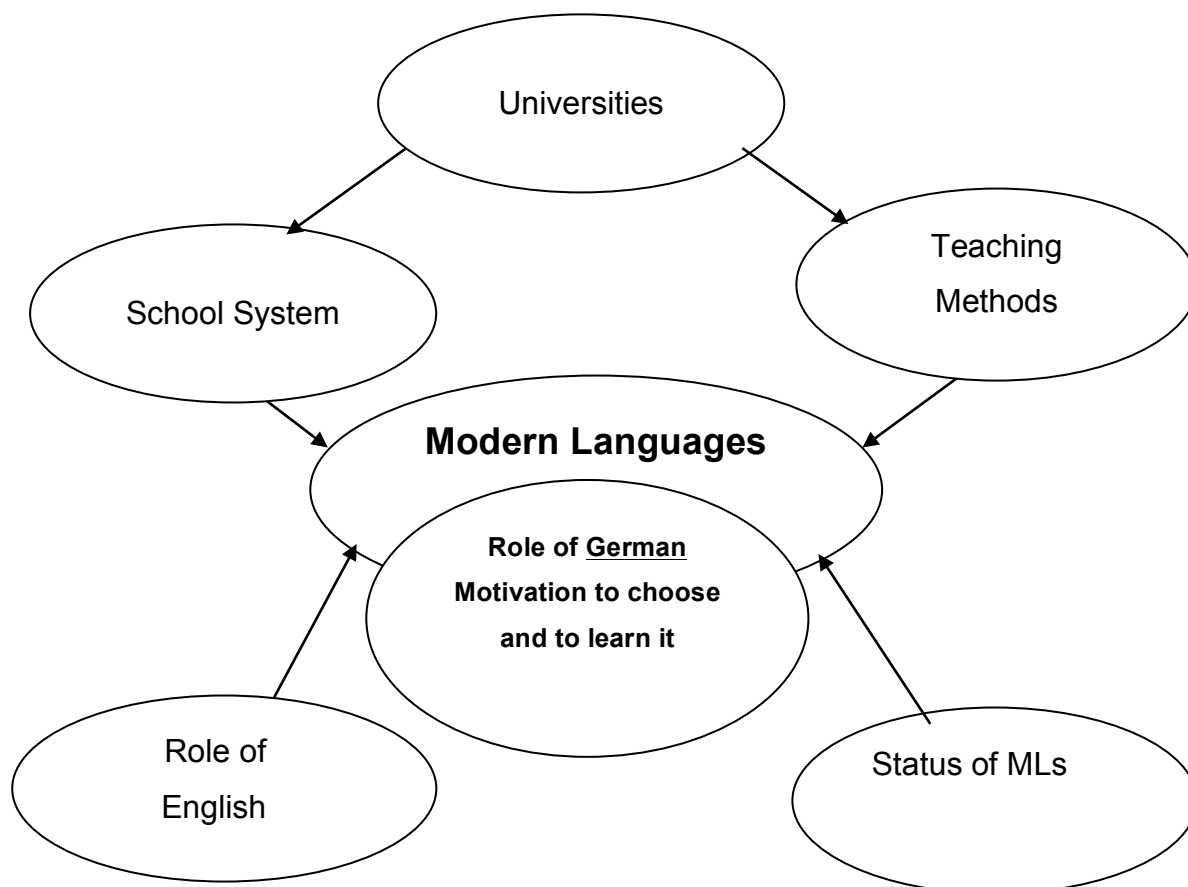


Figure 1: Influences on German language learning

2. 2 The First Half of the 20th Century (1900-1960s)

2.2.1 Status of MFLs up to the First Half of the 20th Century

Foreign language learning has been an important practical concern throughout history. People have always had the need to communicate with others who spoke different languages (Richards and Rodgers 2001: p. 3). Up to the industrial revolution formal education was only available to a small elite, and much foreign language (FL) learning among communities in contact must have been oral and informal, though this learning is poorly documented. Educated people with high levels of literacy were needed in religion, law, and in grammar schools. That is why Latin could dominate education for such a long time; it was used in all three areas (Richards and Rodgers 2001: p. 3).

Due to its link to aristocracy and its increasingly widespread use among European elites from the Renaissance onward, especially following the rise of France as the strongest European power in the 17th century, French was regarded as a high status language with affinities to sophisticated culture. Studying French and sometimes Italian therefore meant showing others how well mannered, educated, and established one was. Only merchants needed applicable language learning of other European languages and they managed to teach themselves with the help of phrase books and

the exposure to other language cultures. Consequently people mostly learned German for economic reasons up to 1800.

In the 19th century there were three major strands in the development of language teaching. Firstly there was a gradual integration of FL teaching into a modernized secondary school curriculum. During the 19th century Germany as a country and modern languages as a subject gained importance. Thirdly, as a result of the industrial revolution there was more trade and consequently more contact between European countries. This resulted in a higher demand for FLs in general and in particular for German:

When the modern language breakthrough came it was German that led the way, thanks partly to the prestige of German thought (Humboldt's psychology, Kant's and Hegel's philosophy, Froebel's educational ideas) and German science and technology, not to speak of the reputes of literary giants, Schiller and Goethe, and the impact of such great musicians as Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. (Hawkins 1987: p. 111)

However, the low status of modern languages in the public schools in particular still hindered reform. Modern languages were new subjects and it took time for these to develop their own professional standards, organization and journals (Hawkins 1987: p. 124).

After the Board of Education was founded by the Education Act in 1899, a second act in 1902 formed the basis for the foundation of local education authorities. These supported existing secondary schools financially and they founded new state schools. The support was linked to inspections by the local education authorities every five years. This way there were state-supported secondary schools and private ones (Ortmanns 1993: p. 88-89). In addition to financially supporting state school, the state provided funding for church-run schools; elite public schools continued without any state support Generally MFLs like French and German were mostly taught in secondary schools and universities. With state regulation French became the first FL to be taught and Latin continued as the second one as universities demanded it for entrance examinations for certain subjects (Ortmanns 1993: p. 97).

2.2.2 German Language Learning in Secondary Schools

German language learning had been influenced by changing methods and also by the demands of assessments. Influential external school examinations were initiated by the leading universities Oxford and Cambridge in the mid-19th century. Until the School Certificate and Higher School Certificate (see below) were introduced in 1918, these

were run by the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Boards, and reflected historic practices in the teaching of classical languages. So, during following decades, examinations focussed on grammar and translation, on literature such as Goethe and Schiller, and literary history. Literature was seen as bringing educational value, as a way of expanding one's horizons. Through the study of literature, English students were supposed to reflect upon their own culture. Additionally, literature as a part of language and the study of it were supposed to improve speaking by providing a good example of language use (Wegner 1999: p. 121-122).

In 1904 the Board of Education undertook a curriculum reform that abolished curricular overlap between secondary schools, and higher grade elementary or science schools. This meant that the majority of school children whose education ceased at elementary level had no access to modern languages (Whitehead 1996: p. 179). The Board also defined a four year secondary school course that included one modern language for secondary schools (Williams 1961: p. 139).

Nine years later the Board made plans to introduce a new national examination system. When a system of modern language tests was set up in 1918 (School Certificate taken at age 16 and Higher School Certificate usually taken at 18), it reflected "a more cautious, university-dominated view than might have prevailed in the climate of 1913 when minds were more open to international dialogue about language teaching" (Hawkins 1987: p. 138).

The number of schools offering German as a School Certificate subject was 40.4% in 1908. However this number fell to 27.3% in 1929 (Ortmanns 1993: p. 91-94). MFL as a whole was strongly affected by the outbreak of war in 1914 when language teachers joined the army and Great Britain and Germany became enemies in war. Consequently there were prejudices against anything German (Hawkins 1987: p. 137-138). It can be safely assumed that German language learning became less attractive because of that.

Nevertheless, German remained the third FL after French and Latin throughout the first half of the 20th century (Ortmanns 1993: p. 98). Statistics illustrate that after the immediate effects of World War I subsided, German remained a main language especially for the School Certificates. From the 1920s onwards more students started to take School Certificate Examinations in German with the numbers rising until 1939 (Ortmanns 1993: p. 97). The figures for the School Certificate taken in 1938 were: French 72,466, Latin: 28,735, German 9,935 and Spanish 1,388 (Hawkins 1987: p. 66).

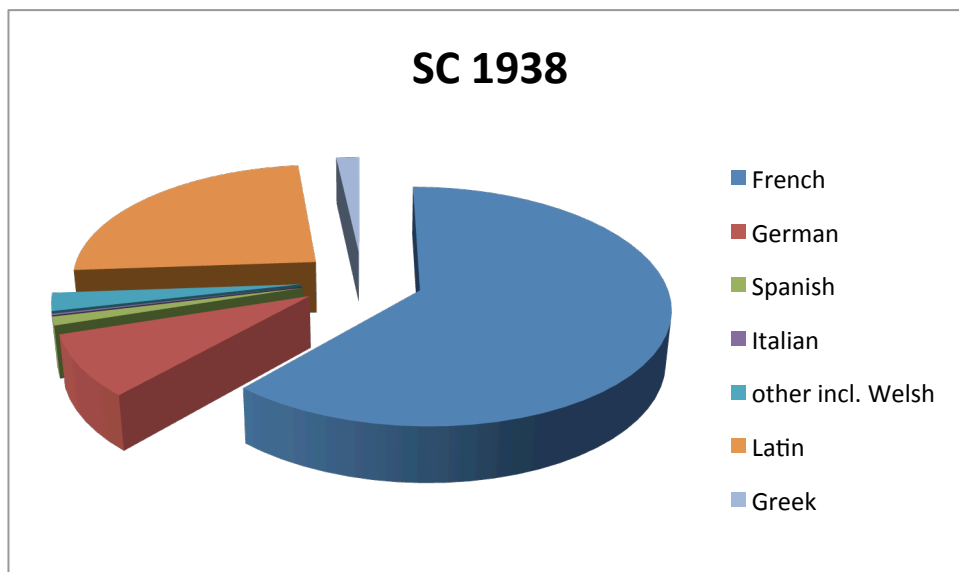


Figure 2: Languages examinations taken for the School Certificate 1938

Considerably fewer students took Higher School Certificate examinations. The entries for Higher School Certificate in 1938 were: French: 4,752, Latin 2,589, German 899 and Spanish 138 (Hawkins 1987: p. 66).

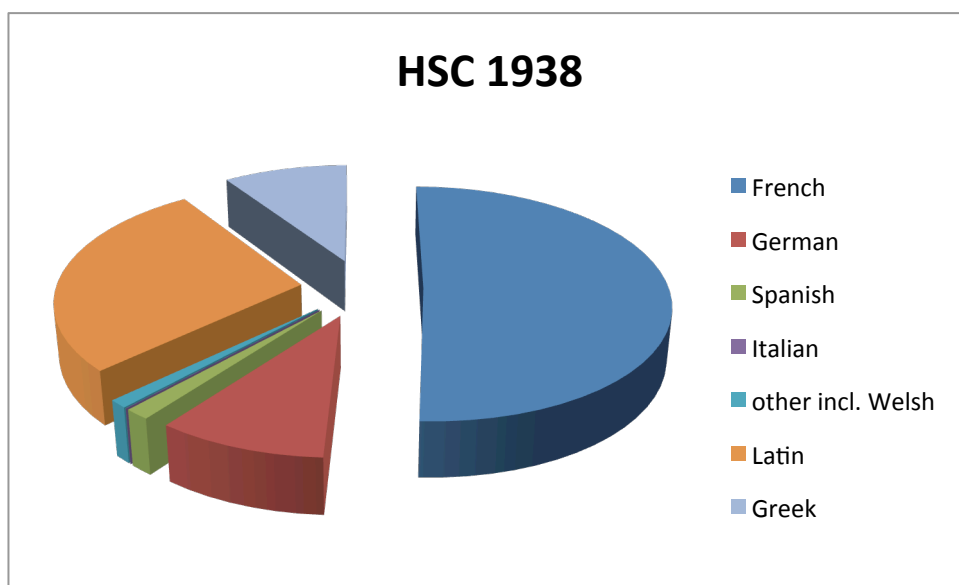


Figure 3: Languages examinations taken for the Higher School Certificate in 1938

Discussions about teaching goals influenced the content and context of language teaching. In the late 19th and early 20th century people considered that teaching a language involved teaching about the country, its culture and its people as well, after both wars this led to a more political focus in German language classes (Wegner 1999: p. 117-118). From 1918 onwards the school certificates covered translations of literature in both directions, a dictation and a free composition. Here an influence of the Reform Movements is visible as grammar was not assessed separately and the free

composition was linked to real life experiences (Howatt 1991: 169-170). For the Higher School Certificate the essay tasks became more historical, political and social after both world wars. It also examined 18th and 19th century literature (Wegner 1999: p. 122-123). The influence of World War II is very evident in composition titles of 1940 and 1945 (compare: Wegner 1999: p. 122-123).

The next major reform of the British school system took place in 1944, reflecting major social changes arising from World War II. The educational system was clearly divided into primary and secondary schools, further and higher education. Primary education ended at eleven and secondary education was provided for everyone for the first time. Secondary schooling was supposed to be divided into vocational, grammar and secondary modern schools. These different institutions reflected the class system of society: In practice they provided different kinds of education for different classes. Additionally the network of private education that consisted of preparatory and public schools remained separate (Williams 1961: p. 144-145). Modern languages were mostly taught in grammar and in private schools. Since French remained the dominant MFL in England this meant that only a select few school students actually had the option to study German.

After World War II, German as a school subject not only had to survive the re-organisation of secondary schools, it also had to deal with the effect of the war. Interestingly World War II influenced German language learning less negatively than World War I. This is illustrated by the fact that learner numbers in German dropped less than those in French or Latin between 1938 and 1950 (Ortmanns 1993: p. 164). Although Ortmanns concludes that languages lost importance after World War II in general (Ortmanns 1993: p. 164-182), Hawkins states that the war highlighted the need for linguists, especially in the United States and the UK (Hawkins 1987: p. 154). Here learner numbers might not be a clear indicator for the actual status of languages. Even though linguists were needed, German was taught in a smaller proportion of secondary schools due to the large expansion of secondary education and especially the development of new school types (secondary moderns etc.).

After the 1944 reform the examination process in schools did not change much until the 1950s. In 1951 the General Certificate of Education (GCE), was introduced, at Ordinary Level (age 16) and Advanced Level (age 18). This examination “allowed subjects to be taken separately at O-Level (whereas the School Certificate was a ‘block’ examination in which the main subjects all had to be passed)” (Goodson and Marsh 2005: p. 44). A-level examinations replaced the Higher School Certificate in 1950. This increased subject specialization in an academic manner (Goodson and Marsh 2005: p. 44). The exams were offered by the Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge.

Discussions about the legitimization of MFL teaching were linked to the teaching of classical languages in the 19th and early 20th century. FL teaching was always seen as “a means to higher ends” (Board of Education, Modern Studies. The Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain (Leathes), London 1918, p. 88, in: Wegner 1999: p. 120). Methodological discussions of the Reform Movement had however since the latter part of the 19th century stressed the ability to communicate (Howatt 1991: 169-171), and that began to be reflected by textbooks of the late 1920s to the 1950s (McLelland 2015: p. 164f). German language learning declined after World War I and gained importance after World War II. While the reasons for learning German were questioned after World War I (McLelland 2015: p. 149f) new teaching methods that were first used in the American army helped make Modern Languages learning easier (McLelland 2015: p. 155f). Even though German and Germany might have had a negative image as the enemy during war times, understanding this (former) enemy was considered a vital part of education.

2.2.3 German as a University Subject

At the beginning of the 20th century the proportion of society attending university was still extremely low. In 1900 just 1.2% of young people over 19 enrolled for full-time HE, 0.8% at universities and 0.4% for teacher training. Only a very small proportion of those studied MFL, which only became autonomous subjects in universities at the beginning of the 20th century (Ortmanns 1993: p. 67). Similar to the situation in schools, German as a university subject was initially seen as an alternative to Latin (Reeves 2000: p. 1). Student numbers did not change much until the 1920s and 1930s. The majority of MFL students during that time studied to become MFL teachers and languages students who were awarded a Honours Degree taught in secondary schools while those with a “Pass Graduate” worked in elementary schools (Ortmanns 1993: p. 123f).

Consequently universities had a strong influence on schools as they produced prospective languages teachers and provided examination boards (see above). In the early 19th century they, especially Oxford and Cambridge, still defended the central position of ancient languages in HE. Oxford only abolished ancient Greek as an obligatory subject in entrance examinations in 1919. Sciences and MFL, however became increasingly more important and student numbers in these entrance examinations rose continuously from the turn of the century onwards (Ortmanns 1993: p. 123-126).

Teacher training was professionalized around 1900 (McLelland 2015: p. 141) and various organised methods were introduced (Richards and Rodgers 2001: p. 11-16). Around 1900 the Direct Method promoted by academies like Sweet, Jespersen and von

Glehn became accepted in England so that it was used in schools before World War I. Even though the main Reform Movement actually had little long term effect on MFL teaching in schools in England, the 'newer methods' had "vivified the whole study of French and German in the schools" and they "have been largely instrumental in raising modern languages to a position of dignity in the curriculum" (Hawkins 1987: p. 130-134).

Universities caused stagnation in the reformation process because they regarded language learning less practically than schools. Universities still demanded rote learning and grammatical analysis alongside literary study in order to establish and defend MFLs against the classics. Additionally the influence of the universities on teaching in schools meant that school examinations were structured like the ones in universities. When academics from leading universities introduced the School Certificate Examinations and Higher Certificate Examinations in 1918, they secured the significance of grammar, translation and literature until the 1960s. Speaking was not practised or examined to a greater extent (Wegner 1999: p. 113-114).

While classic languages lost importance, MFL gained in prestige towards the end of the 19th century (McLelland 2015: p. 140-143). Cambridge had introduced an undergraduate degree including modern languages, the 'Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos' in 1886. This programme was reformed in the late 19th and again in the early 20th centuries. In 1909 it started to include Italian, Spanish and Russian in addition to French and German. The Tripos was reformed a third time in 1917 to reduce its philological demands and to strengthen oral and written communication as well as knowledge about the country (Ortmanns 1993: p. 126f).

Germany as a country was founded in 1871 and it gained in international standing afterwards. German in Great Britain earned more prestige due to Queen Victoria, whose children were brought up speaking German (McLelland 2015: p. 78). Regarding high culture (music, philosophy, literature) the German speaking area was prolific and there was an increasing interest to read texts in German (McLelland 2015: p. 136). Additionally Germany made technological and scientific advancements which increased the importance of the language (McLelland 2015: p. 150). More and more was published in German from 1880 onwards and it was the biggest publishing language in science between 1910 and 1929, but Germany was banned from all scientific conferences following World War I and the status of the language could never recover to the level of the early 1900s (Ammon 2001: p. 344-345).

Oxford developed its 'Honours School of Medieval and Modern Languages' in 1903. They nominated their first Professor for German languages and literature in 1907. London University had two professors in German before they introduced a Professor in

French. Other universities orientated themselves on the two leading universities, especially Oxford, which also founded 'Honours School of Modern Languages' in 1905. French and German were the leading MFLs in HE until shortly before World War I. Student numbers in German rose steadily until 1914, but fell back to the numbers of around 1900 in 1915/16 (Ortmanns 1993: p. 127f).

World War I had a significant impact on German as a university subject. One reason for declining student numbers was the fact that students and tutors had to serve in the army. Tutors who were German nationals left the universities; some were detained, some were forced to abandon their position and some had to serve in the German army (Ortmanns 1993: p. 130). Departments and student numbers recovered slowly after the war and in 1927 most universities had as many German students as before the war. The position of German improved steadily during the 1930s (Ortmanns 1993: p. 131f).

Regarding the university curriculum for modern languages, the subject was dominated by historical linguistics and "a positivistic approach to literary history and research" (Reeves 2000: p. 1). As a consequence the curriculum concentrated on Medieval German and a narrow literary canon, rarely teaching 20th century literature. The subject was modelled on German in German universities (*Germanistik*) and on classical languages in English universities. Many lecturers in German were German nationals who had studied *Germanistik*; as a consequence they did not pay much attention to the fact that German was an FL for their students. In order to establish MFL as HE disciplines and to gain prestige the living languages were treated like the ancient ones, especially regarding study techniques and topics (Ortmanns 1993: p. 134).

The way languages were studied and the topics covered in class changed after World War I. Students had to show language competence and more literature was included in the curriculum. Some lectures were held in German and it became obligatory to spend some time abroad (Ortmanns 1993: p. 134f). "The reform of MFL was the result of a partial emancipation from the classical languages" (Ortmanns 1993: p. 136, my translation). World War I was a significant impulse to make people understand the importance of MFL; it was accepted that it was essential to get to know European people and their languages (Ortmanns 1993: p. 136).

Germany as a country developed rapidly from becoming a nation state in 1870 to an industrialised nation that was in the centre of conflicts for much of the 20th century; with those events German literature changed, but not the British curriculum (Reeves 2000: p. 2). Having been modelled on German *Germanistik* German as a British university subject remained quite unchanged until the mid-20th century. It was elitist and homogeneous, and focussed on the German literary canon; language learning

remained secondary. After World War II however, the expansion of the university system began. More students were eligible to study and new universities and polytechnics were founded in the 1960s (Jaworska 2009: p. 71).

2.2.4 To the 1960s: Overview and Summing up

During the 19th century MFLs, especially German, gained importance. As a result of the industrial revolution there was more trade and consequently more contact between European countries. This resulted in a higher demand for FLs in general. French had already been more established as a language of high culture and diplomacy, and therefore became the first MFL to be learned in schools. In contrast to that German language teaching had little history in England. Additionally the entire nature of the German language is different. German had never been a court language; that is why there was no standardized language.

When Germany finally came together with the foundation of a single German state in 1871, modern ideas developed in this young country. Additionally it became a competitor in trade. There were two main reasons for learning German in England in the mid to late 19th century: economic and cultural reasons. An indicator for growing cultural interest in Germany and the German language is the fact that Brontë's Jane Eyre learns German as a pastime (Brontë 1847: p. 457-458).

Generally the scope of MFL learning developed from 1900 to the 1960s. At first aims like 'mental discipline', 'exact scholarship' (Board of Education, *Report on the Committee on Secondary Education* (Spens), London 1938, p. 175, in: Wegner 1999: p. 126), and a better understanding of one's own language and the foreign culture that were prescribed for the study of classical languages, were transferred onto 20th century modern language learning (Wegner 1999: p. 126).

Until 1918 there were various examining bodies. In 1917 "universities were recognised as responsible bodies for the conduct of new School Certificate and Higher School Certificate examinations" which were sat from 1918 onwards (Hawkins 1987: p. 149). These examinations logically had significant influence on language teaching. Most of the more forward thinking implications of the Leathes committee and ideas of the Reform Movement were not realized, and instead schools settled to concentrate on reading and writing in examinations. They created the Secondary Schools Examination Council (SSEC) that monitored written language examinations. Translation into the FL was central in these examinations until 1964 (Hawkins 1987: p. 148). Although some progress was made and language classes were more enjoyable the period can be regarded as a counter-reform as far as schools are concerned (Hawkins 1987: p. 151).

German became an independent university discipline in the early 20th century (Reershemius 2010: p. 1676). However, MFLs were modelled on classic languages and in the case of German on *Germanistik*. Consequently, German as a university subject was foremost the study of German literature and also older versions of German. It remained elitist and only available to a select few.

Surprisingly, German established its status as second MFL after French in both schools and universities in the first half of the 20th century (McLelland 2015: p. 193). Whereas France was an ally and the British fought with the French in both world wars, Germany was the enemy. World War I impacted on learner numbers, but World War II did not influence figures that much. People knew Germany as an opponent in war and had learned the language anyway by that time. Moreover people with language skills were needed in and after the wars. Those who spoke an FL also gained better and safer positions in the army.

Germany recovered well after both wars, trying to maintain its position within Europe. Therefore German was still needed for economic reasons. Regarding high culture and German as a publishing language however, Germany and the German language lost their standing. After World War I international dialogues with reformers were cut (Hawkins 1987p.: 138). Additionally English rose as a global language and scientific research was increasingly available in English (Ammon 2001).

2.3 The Second Half of the 20th Century and Beyond (1960s to 2010s)

2.3.1 Status of MFLs in the Second Half of the 20th Century

The 1960s brought considerable change: with the overall aim of enhancing educational opportunities, comprehensive schools and the Certificate of Secondary Education were introduced (the latter targeting less academic students, alongside the still-continuing GCE). According to examination numbers (GCE and CSE) German became the second FL after French in the 1960s and early 1970s when Latin lost its status (Ortmanns 1993: p. 166-181). From the later 1980s, the introduction of the merged General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and the NC which applied up to age 16 increased the status of modern languages, but when languages became optional from age 14 in 2004 everything changed again. With the data available today we can conclude that German remained the second most commonly taught language in the UK until recently when Spanish overtook German as second MFL in England (Board and Tinsley 2014: p. 24). As an overall backdrop to those developments, however, English rose to be the

most powerful language world-wide, with significant consequences for the status of languages in the school curriculum in England, and for learner motivation.

2.3.2 German Language Learning in Secondary Schools

Before the introduction of the NC in the 1980s, the only formal external curricula influencing language teaching in British schools were those of the external public examinations taken at ages 16 and 18. These examinations were standardized after the 1960s. The CSE was first sat in 1965, but it was designed to meet the needs of less academically inclined pupils and thus had a lower status than the more academic GCE 'O' Levels (Goodson and Marsh 2005: p. 44). In addition to the prestige conventional GCE-O-Level the CSE in German was offered by 14 regional examination boards. It examined reading, often as a multiple choice exercise, composition and elements of translation or cultural studies. An aural/oral examination counted for 50% towards the grade and consisted of a dictation, reading aloud and a conversation with the examiner. The GCE also began to change in the 70s, with a greater focus on language skills, so that reading and listening comprehension were added to translation, a written dialogue or an essay and reading aloud (Wegner 1999: p. 281-282).

Organisationally, the 1960s brought another very significant change for secondary education. In 1963, 90 Local Education Authorities had plans to re-organize secondary schooling to create comprehensive schools open to all children, in order to replace the post-war selective system of grammar and secondary modern schools. The change was rapid: while in 1965 12% of children were in comprehensive schools, over 70% of all secondary pupils attended comprehensive schools by 1978 (Hawkins 1996: p. 82). This re-organisation of the school system from graded secondary schools into comprehensive schools "was especially challenging for foreign language teaching because throughout history languages had never been offered to more than a small and carefully chosen elite of learners" (Hawkins 1996: p. 5). Only a quarter of pupils over the age of eleven were offered an FL in 1965 (Whitehead 1996: p. 180).

The re-organisation of the secondary school system was conducted without coordinated research into its implications and without systematic retraining of the former grammar and secondary modern teachers. This had a significant effect on MFL teaching, because it was initially mostly taught in grammar schools. Teachers did not know how to adapt to the new context and often transferred the grammar school approach to the comprehensive school; less able pupils were either excluded or received a 'diluted diet'. Many schools offered one MFL (mostly French) to all pupils from the age of eleven for three years; after that the subject was optional. In most cases a second MFL (usually German) was made available to selected pupils at the age of twelve or thirteen (Moys 1996: p. 83-84).

As a result the majority of pupils did not continue learning a MFL past the age of fourteen: 70% of all pupils dropped out of studying a modern language after the compulsory period and only very few schools made MFL compulsory till age 16. In 1977, MFL teaching reached a low point, reflected in critical inspection reports. One result was the locally initiated Graded Objectives in Modern Languages movement which involved groups of teachers creating language learning programmes broken into a series of very short steps, and celebrating success at short intervals with tests and certificates; these programmes were supposedly tailored to the abilities of all learners. As teachers and schools became more flexible and adept at dealing with their new public, students started to continue languages beyond the age of 14 (Moys 1996: p. 84-85).

In 1985 the GCSE replaced the O-Level examinations, with the aim of unifying the educational experience of all secondary school students, and linked to the upcoming introduction of a NC which followed in 1990. Different examination boards like the ORC (Oxford Cambridge and RSA examination board) offer GCSEs which are examined externally. Probably because the GCSE was the first centralized national examination, it had a bigger impact in unifying syllabus design than GCE and CSE. In addition, in line with evolving international ideas about the goals of language education, the discussion about a proposed NC supported functional goals of 'real communication' and 'as much authenticity as possible'; in order to accommodate the complete school population, it demanded interactive processes, partner and group work to support different learner needs, and the reduction of grammatical exercises and omission of translation (HMI, *HMI Series. Modern Foreign Languages to 16*, Curriculum Matters 8, London 1987, p. 10-24, in: Wegner 1999: p. 254).

The newly established National Curriculum Council published a NC for MFL for the first time in 1991 that was revised in 1995 (Wegner 1999: p. 255). Following the model established for all school subjects, this included detailed attainment targets and programmes of study that reflected central aspects of communicative language teaching. The attainment targets were conceptualised as the four skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking), with progress defined as a ladder of ten levels. The programmes of study defined curriculum content, including language awareness and language learning skills (Wegner 1999: p. 255-258).

When the NC was introduced in 1991, it was decided that MFL was a foundation subject to be studied from age 11 until the age of sixteen. This meant that for the first time, languages were widely compulsory till sixteen and consequently considerably more students took MFL GCSEs. However, the NC ceased at age 16, and the 16-19 age group still were not obliged to continue MFL. This meant that students did not drop

out at fourteen as before, but at sixteen, after the compulsory course ended. The decline of post-16 language study continued and the introduction of AS-Levels did not help (Moys 1996: p. 85-87).

The influence of the introduction of the NC on German was quite positive (Bell 2001: p. 207). The NC listed a total of 19 languages that could be taught in schools, mainly but not exclusively the national languages of the European Union, which gave these languages 'legal' status in case a school wanted to introduce any of these languages. The idea that secondary schools should offer more than one MFL has also existed since the 1960s. A second MFL was commonly available as an optional subject from the age of twelve to fourteen and most pupils selected an additional language on the basis of their performance in the first one. From the 1980s onwards schools were encouraged to offer more than one first MFL or one other MFL with French; German and Spanish were most frequently introduced as an alternative first MFL. This might have helped German as learner numbers rose steadily from 1965 to 1985 (Moys 1996: p. 90-93).

Goals of German language teaching continued to reflect English language education tradition. When comprehensive schools were introduced in the 1960s, MFL was finally separated from classics. Languages were taught to less able pupils and the core of language teaching was practical communication, rather than earlier goals of accessing high culture and language registers through the study of literature, or the development of analytic skills. After 1970 language awareness emerged as a further a goal of MFL learning. In the didactic discussions about modern languages it was stressed that learning a language can help to reflect on one's own culture. With Europe gaining importance, English pupils were supposed to think in a less insular way (Hawkins 1996: p. 21-22).

The communicative and interactive teaching of the 1980s and 1990s claimed to favour the use of authentic material. Cultural studies (*Landeskunde*) however were mostly taught in English and literature was marginalized. The aim of cultural studies remained to foster positive attitudes towards foreign countries and to reduce prejudices (Wegner 1999: p. 259-268). Byram's work on culture and language learning argued for change and for a progression of cultural awareness from knowledge of other cultures towards comparing different ways of life (Byram 1997).

As explained above in section 2.2.2, the GCE and A-level exams were first introduced in 1950. They replaced the former Higher School Certificate and remained more traditional in form, for example including German-English translation and tasks relating to literature. In the 90s however the A-levels followed the GCSE practice and incorporated the above mentioned elements of intercultural communication as well as

listening and reading comprehension and an oral examination (Wegner 1999: p. 285-287). A-levels continued to include substantial literature and a cultural or social studies element alongside language skill training.

By 1989 German had lost its relative importance as an A-level subject, partly due to the fact that the former grammar schools had been integrated into a system of comprehensive schools, and partly because of the great expansion of 16-19 participation in education. In the British 16-19 curriculum, which lacked (and still lacks) any compulsory core, German and all other modern languages had to compete against many other subjects as optional subjects. Even though the number of German learners had risen over all, the number of students taking German A-level was significantly less (-25%) than in 1979 although the total number of A-levels taken in all subjects had increased by 58% (Kolinsky 1989: p. 304).

Another reason for the decrease in students taking German A-levels in the 1980s could have been the discrepancy between the student's interests and the A-level curriculum which was more literature centred than based on real life experiences like travelling to Germany. Other changes such as the introduction of the one year AS-Levels courses, and the shortened amount of years that pupils spend studying their third language, if German was introduced after French, did not really work in favour of German as a subject either (Kolinsky 1989: p. 304-306).

By the early 2000s, after considerable experimentation and debate, a national consensus emerged that the original NC model with a common set of core and foundation subjects up to age 16 was too rigid. Along with some other 'foundation' subjects, the decision was taken to end compulsory study of MFL at age 14. The 'language for all' policy had failed: From 2003 onwards MFL were optional for pupils aged 15 to 16, because there were concerns about poor motivation and achievement of lower attaining students in particular. In 2003-2004 therefore, the first group of pupils who had a choice of whether to take an MFL as a subject or not took their GCSEs.

This decision led to an unexpectedly rapid decline in language study in the 15-16 age group, reflected by large falls in GCSE entries. While in 2001 (...) 78 per cent of the age cohort was entered for at least one GCSE language examination, only 50 per cent took any language in GCSE in 2006, and 43 per cent in 2010. (Mitchell 2011: p. 53)

The effects this had on learner numbers can be seen in figure 4. Since MFL have become an optional subject again, the number of students sitting a GCSE in any MFL and especially in German has decreased dramatically. Numbers in German and French

almost halved since the 1990s, and only Spanish and heritage languages actually increased over the period. The reasons for this will be reviewed later in this study.

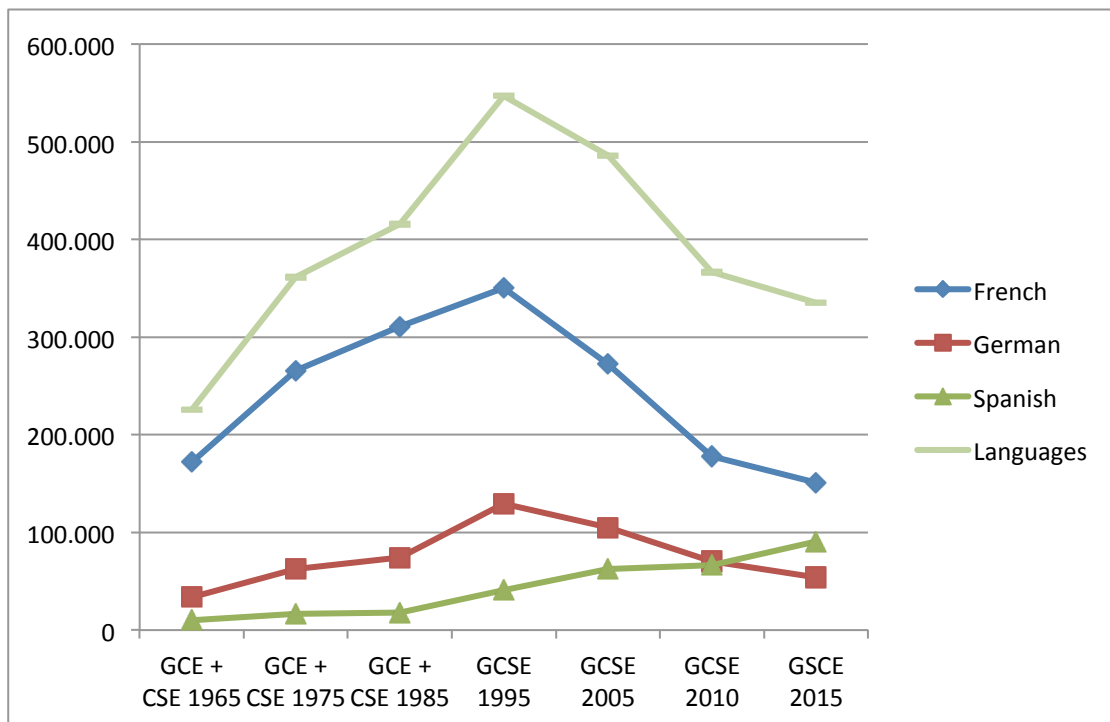


Figure 4: GCSEs (GCE + CSE) taken in MFL (Ortmanns 1993, Association for Languages Learning 2015)

Early language learning was seen as one way out of the perceived motivation crisis, and following a programme of voluntary development promoted and funded by the Department for Education (Hunt, Barnes et al. 2005), by 2008 90% of primary schools were offering a MFL at primary level to some and 70% to all pupils. Ten per cent of these schools were offering German, while 90% were offering French and 25% were offering Spanish (Mitchell 2011: p. 56-57). Connected reasons for the dominance of French were the availability of primary school teachers that could teach French, and more generally the longstanding tradition of French language teaching.

2.3.3 German as a University Subject

“In retrospect the sixties and early seventies can be regarded as the era of plenty for universities. New institutions were founded, new subjects introduced and new courses offered” (Kolinsky 1993: p. 81). As described above in section 2.3.2, HE expanded in the 1960s. As a result of better schooling more students had access to universities and more vocationally oriented ‘polytechnics’ were founded alongside a number of new universities (Jaworska 2009: p. 71). Together, “These acted as the catalyst for change” (Reeves 2000: p. 2). The aim for the polytechnics was to provide HE for the

underprivileged and to be more vocationally oriented (Tenberg 1993: p. 135). There was a move away from literature and towards Area Studies and European Studies in the polytechnics and also in the 'new' universities (Coleman 2004p. 152f). In the 'traditional' universities the focus and teaching approach in German, however, remained mostly unchanged until the 1980s (Kolinsky 1993: p. 83f).

While German departments at traditional universities stuck to their tradition, 'newer' universities introduced new more vocationally oriented German Studies, and an increased emphasis on languages skills (Jaworska 2009: p. 72). In the following decades, the international transition from *Germanistik* (see section 2.2.3) to German Studies was reinforced by political and economic changes affecting the industrialised nations, and particularly by the shift from the liberal towards more career-orientated, vocational education. The HE sector, seen as an engine for economic growth, has undergone a strong politicising and marketization, underpinned by societal demands to gear HE towards industry and services (Jaworska 2009: p. 72). This meant that instead of studying purely German literature in traditional universities, students had the opportunity to study various aspects of 'German', like linguistics, cultural studies, economics and social studies in 'newer' universities.

UK university student numbers in German increased steadily until the 1970s when for a short period more students chose Spanish than German. Outside of the traditional universities, but also increasingly within these, German was learned for career purposes (Ortmanns 1993f). After the university expansion in the 1960s and 1970s, development slowed, because spending on HE in the 1980s had not risen proportionally to the number of students and institutions. German as a subject declined at this time, partly because it was perceived as difficult, and also because it did not lead to an obvious career and high salaries (Reeves 2000: p. 4-5).

In the late 1980s there came a significant change for German Studies in the UK due to financial cut in HE. Universities were encouraged to adopt an enterprise culture which meant that they adapted to the needs of economy: in their management structure, university departments became more like businesses. Additionally quality control in form of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) and Teaching Quality Assessment was introduced (Klaus and Reimann 2002: p. 23f). German was severely affected by cuts in funding and declining student numbers. "German departments came under dual pressure: the pressure to cope with the imposing shortage of resources and also the pressure to change their programmes and develop a new profile for the study of contemporary language and society" (Kolinsky 1993: p. 86f). In several institutions, German departments merged with other languages to Schools of Modern Languages and no new professors were appointed (Kolinsky 1993: p. 86).

This negative development came to a sudden halt and was more than reversed when the Single European Market was introduced and Germany's reunification was the centre of the Iron Curtain coming down. During the 80s and early 90s MFL in universities boomed; German peaked in 1992. Modularization helped new combinations with German to become possible. The positioning of German studies changed; in particular, the language teaching side was undertaken by language centres, and became less research oriented (Klaus and Reimann 2002: p. 25).

A combination of several factors helped the rise in popularity of German: European Union (EU) membership, reunification, mobility programmes like ERASMUS, and of course the NC that had made language learning obligatory. English pupils had more often been exposed to more than just French in schools. Through the new universities students who might not have had access to German Studies before gained the opportunity to study German in a less traditional way (Klaus and Reimann 2002: p. 26). However, while the Single European Market might have affected the interest in learning languages positively, German reunification also sparked fear in the UK. The rise of the Conservatives and the fact that the media concentrated on the Nazi era and football rivalry worsened the mood (Reeves 2000: p. 9). In 1992 Britain was still enthusiastic about Europe, but thereafter the public atmosphere quickly became more xenophobic. The negative mood of the media influenced students so that applications fell again. Only six years later languages, especially German and French, were in crisis and departments closed (Coleman 2004: p. 153).

Following this, the development appears rather negative: After student numbers rose significantly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, university spending did not rise proportionally, it went down slightly (Klaus and Reimann 2002: p. 24). The impact of the perception of 'English is enough' in combination with the removal of MFL from the list of compulsory subjects from age 14-16 was not yet fully felt in the universities in the early 2000s (Coleman 2004: p. 154). Nevertheless applications for languages degrees fell steadily by 4-5% per year between the early 1990s and early 2000s (Kelly and Jones 2003: p. 10). "This pattern of decline in the uptake of modern languages at degree level is in stark contrast to the substantial rise in the overall numbers of students entering degree-level courses at UK institutions over a similar period of time" (Watts 2003: p. 2). This development has its roots in schools to a considerable extent, with numbers falling for GCSEs and for A-level (Watts 2003: p. 2). "A general climate of negativity surrounding perceptions of (degree-level) MFL study and a negative A-level experience combine to act as disincentives to the students to study foreign languages at degree level" (Watts 2003: p. 13).

However, the “number of students admitted has declined less sharply than applications. The number of applicants is now close to the number of admissions, which means that almost everyone who wants a place to study languages can find one” (Kelly and Jones 2003: p. 1). Around the turn of the millennium while students admitted to languages departments declined by a quarter, the overall number of students going to university had risen by 9%. In 2001, just 2.4% of undergraduates were languages students, which meant that MFL had lost one third of their market share (Kelly and Jones 2003: p. 11).

Since the late 90s languages departments have been closing, especially in post 1992 universities. In addition to declining student numbers degree combinations with languages became more popular than single honours (Kelly and Jones 2003: p.11). Languages undergraduates were consequently concentrated at a smaller number of institutions between 1998 and 2001 (Kelly and Jones 2003: p. 23). The ‘new’ universities lost more students in comparison with traditional universities; almost half experienced a drop of at least 30% between 1998/99 and 2001/02, so that these institutions had a 22% share of undergraduates in 2001/02 (Footitt 2005: p. 10). From 2000 to 2006 the number of German degree programmes at British universities declined by 48% (from 126 British universities offering German as a degree to 65). Again, especially ‘new’ universities had to give up German departments due to lack of student demand and difficulties in sustaining small programmes. Traditional universities see German as part of their academic humanities profile and do their best to sustain the language (Reershemius 2010: p. 1677).

This whole development led to increasing elitism in MFL within HE, in two main ways. On the one hand “language students come from a more comfortable background than students of any other discipline except Medicine” (Coleman 2004: p. 155) They also have higher A-level grades, so that in turn they apply to the more prestigious traditional universities (Coleman 2004: p. 155). On the other hand these more elitist universities still focus on literature, especially in research. For example, most Russell Group members also have literary research profiles in ML. “The departments which, in the late 1960s and 1970s, innovated through the introduction of Area Studies and Cultural Studies, are now vanishing as their more traditional but more prestigious competitors scoop up the remaining fish in a shrinking supply” (Coleman 2004: p. 156).

Another issue in the early 2000s was the widening gap between research and teaching fuelled by formal research assessment processes. As explained above the decline in student numbers in MFL led to department closures especially in the ‘new’ universities that offered more innovative degrees. Only the most prestigious departments in

research terms survive. Paradoxically those focus on literature which is not necessary where the students' interests lie as Rodgers et al. found for French students (Rodgers, Jacobs et al. 2002). While teaching is a main function of universities, especially in public opinion, a main source of income and reputation for the universities is research. There is a resulting gap between research and teaching, and many world class researchers have little contact with undergraduates who are taught by teaching fellows in non-research posts and PhD students (Coleman 2004: p. 158-160).

By the mid-2000s languages were perceived as being in major difficulty by all universities, and departments/schools of languages tried to change to meet the problems. "The broad consensus was that universities were fast approaching the limits of what they could do themselves to maintain languages provision" (Footitt 2005). Student numbers in German went down by 33% between 1997 and 2006/07. Additionally university staff complain about the languages skills of students (Reershemius 2010: p. 1678).

2.3.4 From the 1960s: Overview and Summing up

Regarding the status and the legitimization of German language teaching, pragmatic reasoning was still evident in the 1960s; languages were seen as a tool to communicate. More cognitive goals like language awareness and verbal education were discussed in the 1970s and 1980s; these debates also included increased attention to language learning skills and strategies as well as concern for the reduction of linguistic prejudice and parochialism. The goal of cultural awareness discussed above in section 2.3.2 was another reason for learning languages. Moreover practical goals like access to information, travelling and professional perspectives were pursued in language teaching.

The introduction of the NC that made languages obligatory for all students until the age of sixteen had a very positive effect on numbers of schoolchildren studying MFL in England. For almost ten years every English teenager had to take a GCSE in a MFL. German was established as the second MFL after French and learner numbers rose steadily. However, the upward trend was short: "The 11-16 National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages (NCMFL), introduced with such fanfare in the early 1990s, has lasted in meaningful form for just over a decade" (Mitchell 2003: p. 15).

The NC did little to increase motivation to learn MFL. During the NCMFL decade, the 1990s student attitudes and L2 motivations have been studied to a satisfying degree with interesting results: Even though Year 7 learners generally started to learn a MFL with a positive attitude their motivation declined over the following years. Instrumental orientation for studying a language did not seem to be very strong with pupils who

saw some connection between learning a MFL and career prospects, but languages themselves as lacking vocational worth. Languages were seen as difficult and not particularly enjoyable to learn. There were negative comments about the language learning experience and the topics covered in class (Mitchell 2003: p. 20).

Universities were severely hit by funding cuts at certain moments. Today, in principle universities can cover teaching costs effectively from high fees combined with student loans (for example £9000 per year from British and European undergraduates). However, this contemporary method of HE funding is more volatile and very dependent on actual student recruitment from year to year. Thus in subjects with recruitment challenges such as MFL, financial uncertainty is very immediate.

German was in a crisis when the reviewed above articles were written. Reershemius found several reasons for this: German is seen as difficult, Germany does not have a good image in the UK, there are not enough German teachers, and language policies in the UK do not combat the downward trend (Reershemius 2010: p. 1678). All this is happening this despite the fact that Germany is Europe's strongest economy and had been in the centre of many major historic developments in the 20th century. One can argue that Germany's economy has become globalized with multi-national English speaking companies (Daimler Chrysler) (Reeves 2000: p. 13) and that German might not be necessary to communicate with Germans. However, without "knowledge of the language no businessman, no politician, no diplomat, no social scientist has authentic access to the original texts and information and no sound or immediate insight into what is happening in Europe's largest nation and largest economy" (Reeves 2000: p. 14).

British universities are still regarded as amongst the best world-wide and the standing of English as the world language attracts students from around the world to study in the UK. However, they are less interested in studying languages other than English. British students are often not eligible for a languages degree, because they dropped out of languages classes in school and do not possess the necessary entry qualifications (still typically, the – optional – A-level examination). As has been argued before, languages do not stand out from other Humanities degrees by leading to obvious careers and a good income, and languages degrees also typically take one year longer than other courses. All of this has contributed to a sharp decline in student numbers. The fewer young people study German today; the fewer will be able to pass it on to the next generation in the future.

2.4 Discussion: Possible Reasons for the Decline of German Language Learning

The German perspective on GFL in the UK is characterized by constant worry about the lack of importance of German as a subject. This is not necessarily linked to the actual status of German as a subject in the UK, but maybe also by the idea of German scholars that German should be more important to the English. 25 years ago Eva Kolinsky Kolinsky (1989) expressed a similar fear to the one conveyed in introductions about German studies today: The Conservative government had changed the regulations for universities and consequently smaller departments, like the German ones feared closure (Kolinsky 1989: p. 302). Kolinsky's text already mentioned financial pressure on German Studies as a subject in universities and the threat of English as a world language (*Weltsprache*) that makes learning other languages for instrumental reasons questionable. She pointed out that English had become the biggest publishing language and that German was only the second language in schools after French, followed by Spanish (Kolinsky 1989: p. 303).

Today universities are in a comparable situation, though with arguably more acute financial pressures. As shown the government has changed university funding so that fees of up to £9.000 can be charged per student per year, and these fees are the sole financial support for undergraduate places in the Humanities. A modern language degree usually takes four years instead of three and even though fewer fees have to be paid during the Year Abroad (YA) this makes studying languages more expensive. Additionally the 2000s recession makes people more aware about debt and their potential career after university. Finally, Spanish has overtaken German as the second language studied in HE.

Several hypotheses have been proposed as to why German lost its status in the British education system. Speculations still take place today; the Guardian for example commented on the fact that for the first time more secondary schools were teaching Spanish than German with the headline *Auf Wiedersehen German, Hola Spanish* and referred to the assumed sexiness of Spanish with a picture of Shakira (Shepherd 2010). Of course, problem did not exist when Ortmanns researched his topic. He discarded some similar ideas as too speculative and compared the following hypotheses with his findings (Ortmanns 1993: p. 215-230; my translation):

- economic reasons for the distribution of German
- the importance of being enemies at war for learning a language
- distribution of German language due to cultural importance of German speaking countries

- the grammatical complexity of German as a reason for its limited distribution
- the recession of German as a result of general educational decline

According to Ammon (1991) economic factors caused the decline of classical languages in education, and the rise of MFL. However French firstly gained importance in the UK in the 16th century because it was linked to aristocracy. While Latin was a sign of education, by the renaissance period "French was seen as a prestigious accomplishment necessary for anyone with ambition towards culture or advancement in higher places" (Howatt 1991: p. 4). Economic reasons for language learning were more influential later. According to Ortmanns German was almost exclusively learned for economic reasons. In the second half of the 19th century knowledge of German was increasingly essential for trade and to access science and knowledge of advanced technologies.

Ortmanns concludes that the number of students learning both German and French rose in the second half of the 19th century because both nation states were important economically and scientifically. French was also studied for non-economic reasons and German was economically more important than French because of its use in Russia and the Baltic states. Moreover from 1871 the newly founded German state was politically of more value than the various German states that preceded it (Ortmanns 1993: p. 218).

In fact it was the demand for German rather than the extent of German language teaching that increased due to Germany's international rank. This lack of language knowledge was compensated for by employing German immigrants. During the last quarter of the 19th century women who learned modern languages more often than men were employed as well to meet this need for German (Ortmanns 1993: p. 219-220).

As the UK was one of the leading trading nations, English was also widely learned in Germany: At the turn of the 19th century it was studied as a second FL after French and in the 1930s it replaced French as first FL in schools (Ortmanns 1993: p. 222). After World War II the English-speaking USA emerged as the world's leading military and economic power. This in combination with the decline of the scientific and technological importance of Germany after World War II might have led to stagnation in German learner numbers in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s (Ortmanns 1993: p. 222-223).

Although Ortmanns follows Ammon's argumentation about economic factors in language learning his findings are not convincing. French always remained the second MFL in school although France was economically not predominantly important for the

UK. Moreover German was learnt for cultural reasons as well. If international ranking was as important as he claims then Japanese or other Asian languages should have been more popular as well.

If economic reasons were the most influential factor, more people would learn German over Spanish, as generally speaking German speaking countries are technologically and economically more advanced than Spanish speaking countries. Moreover a language can be spoken in more than one nation, therefore is it not the UK's economic and technological position that make English a world language, but the USA's dominance in the world. Today globalization and tradition seem to be more important than the status of the country in which a language is spoken. Even though France ranks behind Germany economically, French is the first FL in the UK due to tradition (arguably including both continuing cultural and touristic appeal).

The second hypothesis the text explores is "Die Bedeutung von Kriegsgegnerschaft für das Erlernen einer Fremdsprache" (The importance of being enemies at war for learning a language) (Ortmanns 1993: p. 224; my translation). According to Ortmanns, Kloss (1974) developed the idea that resentment could hinder the spread of a language. The findings indicate that this is only partly the case for German in the UK. While learner numbers declined after World War I, they had been declining for a while previously. Latin was still considered to be more valuable than German (Ortmanns 1993: p. 224-225).

Because of the scale of World War II and Germany's role in it, learner numbers should have dropped significantly if Kloss' thesis was valid. The opposite was the case, the numbers of students learning German increased. Only the number of candidates sitting examinations decreased, but not as significantly as in other modern languages, apart from Spanish. Ortmanns concludes this was because of the economic and scientific-technological reasons mentioned above (Ortmanns 1993: p. 226-227).

The third hypothesis "Die kulturelle Bedeutung der deutschsprachigen Länder für die Verbreitung der deutschen Sprache" (Distribution of German language due to cultural importance of German speaking countries) (Ortmanns 1993: p. 227) is one of the main reasons given for the spread of the German language by contemporaries of Ortmanns. They do not give much evidence for this claim and Ortmanns argues that Italian should be learned more if cultural value was a leading factor for studying languages. Instead, his data showed that French and Italian were both studied for cultural reasons (Ortmanns 1993: p. 227-229). However, the rise of German in the UK in the 19th century can be explained by the fact that Germany also became culturally more influential in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century (Compare: Hawkins 1987: p. 111).

The fourth hypothesis is “Die grammatische Komplexität des Deutschen als Ursache für dessen begrenzte Verbreitung” (The grammatical complexity of German as reason for its limited distribution) (Ortmanns 1993: p. 229). The reasons for studying Latin actually contradict this thesis, as Latin sustained its place in schools well into the 20th century partly because – it was claimed – study of complex grammar provided beneficial exercise for the intellect (Richards and Rodgers 2001: p. 5). As the numbers of English pupils learning German did not decline as much as for other languages in the 1980s, Ortmanns argues that German could not have been too difficult, comparatively speaking. Without stating his sources the author then claims that a report from 1947 named French to be more difficult, and that in the 1960s pupils made fast progress in German because of the similarities between German and English (Ortmanns 1993: p. 229-230). It could be possible that not all teaching methods are suitable for all languages and this might be a reason for the increased perceptions of German as ‘difficult’ in the 1970s and 1980s. There is no conclusive answer as to whether German is more complex and harder to acquire for English native speakers.

Last Ortmanns examines “Der Rückgang des Deutschen als Ergebniss des allgemeinen Bildungverfalls” (The recession of German as a result of general educational decline) (Ortmanns 1993: p. 230). This seems to be repetition of a claim that had been made before when classic languages were replaced by modern ones. Ortmanns acknowledges curriculum change, which meant that there were new subjects on the curriculum that might have been more immediately suitable for future jobs, and argues that the overall decline of modern languages cannot be linked to an alleged decline in education (Ortmanns 1993: p. 230).

The overall conclusion of Ortmanns’ study of German in the UK is that economic factors were most influential for the changing popularity of the German language (Ortmanns 1993: p. 231). However, this cannot be supported with today’s knowledge. Although Germany is still one of the leading nations in the world and the strongest economy in Europe, learner numbers for German have been steadily declining. This decrease influences the status of German as a subject in schools and universities and causes many specialists in German studies to worry about the future of German. It can be explained in large parts by the rise of English as a world language, and the main medium of international trade, technological development and science, including trade etc. involving Germany. If everything is available in English there is no apparent instrumental need to study German. This can also partly explain the fact that Spanish is the only language that more and more students learn. Spanish is regarded as a world language and it is spoken by almost a whole continent, Central and South America in addition to Spain.

Moreover France and Spain are prime holiday destination for British families. The influence of actual contact with the language, enjoyable lifestyle and holidays could be stronger than economic power. Germany is not a holiday destination and it is not linked to positive stereotypes such as sunny weather or good food. Tradition also seems to play an important role in British education. The question 'why French' is answered by tradition which equals more available teachers and a geographical and linguistic closeness (Hawkins 1987: p. 61-65).

Language policies and policy makers have considerable influence on learner numbers and the status of modern languages (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009: p. 5-6). However, English pupils have always opted out of studying a MFL after their obligatory period. Today all modern languages are optional in secondary schools from age 14 and learner numbers have declined significantly following this change. If we compare GCSE (CSE and GCE) numbers in the three main MFL in secondary schools with all languages and all other languages for the past 50 years a certain trend becomes apparent (see figure 4).

Since the introduction of comprehensive schools, learner numbers taking 16+ national examinations in all languages and in French in particular rose steadily till 1995. From 1975 to 1985 German increased less than French, whereas Spanish and other languages declined. After the implementation of the NC, all languages went up until 1995. Never before or after have as many English pupils studied a language. A change of policy led to a steep decline in French and a more moderate one in German. Still more students decided to take a GCSE in Spanish or another 'minor' language. In 2010 numbers for French were almost level with 1965 and for German close to 1975; overall, French learner numbers declined the sharpest. Spanish, however, had managed to overtake German as second MFL. This shows that Spanish and some other non-traditional languages, like community languages, are studied despite change in policies. For the past few years we can observe a much flatter decline than previously.

German in universities (figure 5) illustrates a steady, but slow decline in student numbers for ten years. The apparent spike in student numbers from 2001/02 to 2002/03 seen in figure 5 is only due to different counting techniques. While only active British students were counted by HESA before, they later counted all nationalities whether they are actively enrolled or on leave. It is remarkable how German as a university subject managed to keep student numbers to some degree despite rapidly falling learner numbers in schools (see figure 4).

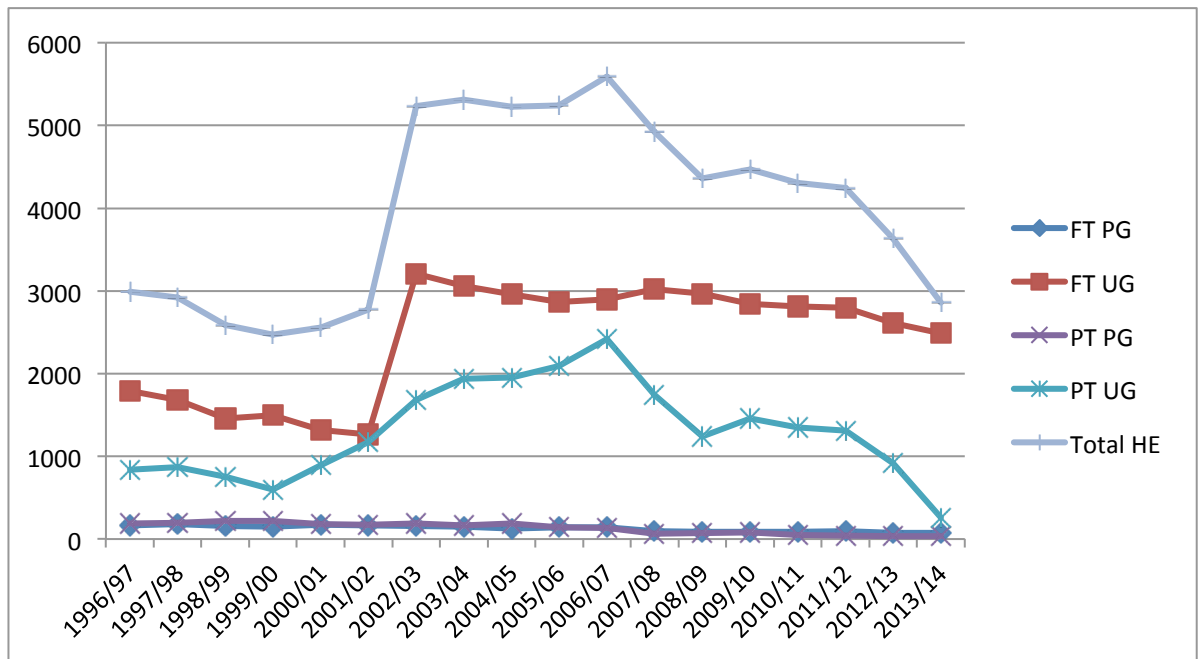


Figure 5: Students of German in HE (<http://www.hesa.ac.uk/content/view/1897/239/>)

Numerous studies have looked into the reasons for the decline in language learning, especially in the past 20 years. The results and theories concerning the relative unpopularity of German as a school subject, against a background of general decline for languages overall, are varied and inconclusive. It is interesting to approach this question from the other angle and to look at motivated students to find out why they study German. The question that emerges, and which fundamentally drives the research reported in this thesis, is why those young people decide to study German at all and how they manage to maintain their motivation. In order to refine this question, and design an appropriate study, it is first of all necessary to review relevant recent theory and research concerning motivation and language learning, and this is the focus of the literature review presented in chapter 3.

3 Language Learning Motivation - Theories and Empirical Research

3.1 Overview of Chapter 3

The previous chapter illustrated that German has neither been a very popular subject in British schools, nor a very important subject in universities. 25 years ago researchers believed that more advances in media and technology, a unified Europe, plus globalisation would lead to more motivation to study MFL, so that more people would be able to speak more than one language. This belief is manifested in the 'one plus two' policy adopted by the EU for language education in 1992, for example (though the UK government never signed up to this particular aspiration). Due to migration this is also actually the case for an increasing proportion of British (and European) society. Yet, it seems that people who grow up speaking English as their first and only language do not feel the need to learn other languages as much as the speakers of other languages feel the need to acquire English.

Growing mobility and exposure to other cultures seem to have resulted in English being more established as *the* world language, and in particular the dominant lingua franca (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009: p. 1). Of course this changes the outlook on motivation: If most people can communicate in English, what motivates English students to learn a second language? And if English students decide to do so, why should they study a language like German that is perceived to be linguistically complex and that is 'only' spoken in a few countries in Europe whose citizens are commonly capable of speaking English quite well?

To investigate this topic, a closer look at motivation to learn languages is needed first. Motivation is a highly complex concept that involves psychology, sociology, pedagogy and philosophy amongst others. A preliminary, non-academic definition for motivation is:

The (conscious or unconscious) stimulus for action towards a desired goal, esp. as resulting from psychological or social factors; the factors giving purpose or direction to human or animal behaviour. Now also more generally (as a count noun): the reason a person has for acting in a particular way, a motive (OED 2002).

This everyday definition illustrates that motivation is the key factor to achieving a goal. When it comes to studying motivation, however, the definition needs to be more specific, because the researcher needs to know what exactly s/he is looking for. Different ideas of motivation are also valid for different kinds of research. In section

3.2.2 I will explain some key terms of motivation before moving on to conceptualisations more specific to L2 research.

The most influential models that theorize the concept of L2 motivation will be presented in Sections 3.2.3 to 3.2.5. The field of L2 motivation has been shaped significantly by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and also by Gardner (1985). The key to his motivation theory is integrative orientation, whereby a second language learner identifies with another ethno-linguistic group and imitates their behaviour including their language practices (Gardner and Lambert 1972: p. 135).

However, more recent research has started to move away from Gardner's *socio-educational model* and quantitative research approach (Compare Ushioda 2001, Dörnyei 2009, Ushioda 2009, Busse and Williams 2010). After following Gardner's theories for a while, Dörnyei developed his own model, the *L2 Motivational Self System* (Dörnyei 2009). According to him, there is no specific target reference group of English speakers in the field of World English today; therefore integrative attitudes are no longer the core issue when researching motivation related to English (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009: p. 2-3).

In Dörnyei's theory of the *ideal-* and *ought-to self* of language learners, the *L2 Motivational Self System* (Dörnyei 2009), the learner is the focus of motivation research rather than the target language speaking reference group. L2 motivation and a poststructuralist perspective on identity are at the centre of more recent research which has led to a re-theorising of the L2 motivation field with a contemporary notion of self and identity (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2009: p. 4-5); this will be explained in section 3.2.4. Following this focus on the learner Ushioda (2009) suggests a person-in-context relational view of motivation that supports Dörnyei's Motivational Self-System, but that also allows for the integration of different theoretical perspectives (see 3.2.5).

Regarding L2 motivation for languages other than English however, it could be argued that there is still a fixed target language culture that the learner might want to communicate with. In the case of German, the language is spoken almost exclusively by people who are from or live in those countries where German is a first language, or in countries with recognised regional German-speaking minorities. German is the only official language in Germany, Austria, and Liechtenstein. It is one of the official languages in Switzerland and Luxemburg. In parts of Northern Italy and Belgium German is a regional official language (Ammon 1995: p. 12).

Thus, when it comes to studying German, it seems that positive feelings about the 'self' may not be enough. Gardner's key terms integrativeness and instrumentality, which will be discussed in more detail in 3.2.3, may still be relevant, because German

is mostly used to communicate with German native speakers who can be argued to have a clearer cultural identity than English users. In order to acquire the language in such cases, it seems likely that students will also learn about German speaking cultures and they may identify or sympathise with these during the language learning process. As illustrated in chapter 2, instrumental reasons like Germany's strong economy are often also proposed for learning German. However, unlike English, German is rarely spoken as a lingua franca by speakers with different native languages. Overall, section 3.2 will review current competing theories of motivation and assess their likely relevance to the learning of German.

In 3.3 a number of empirical studies undertaken in the area of GFL at university level will be reviewed to show how language learning motivation has been explored. This section compares the results of studies undertaken in Anglophone and non-English speaking countries. Some of the later studies also try to investigate motivation theories.

In order to understand the implications of motivation theories today it is essential to look at the concepts of identity and culture in relation to language. Section 3.4 briefly explains these concepts as they are used in this study. The close look at practical research (3.3) in combination with the theoretical discussion in 3.2 and the concepts explained in 3.4 lead to a conclusion and my resulting research questions, which are presented in 3.5.

3.2 Motivation in Language Learning Research

3.2.1 Introduction

This section reviews the field of motivation as it has been theorised for L2 research. It has to be noted though that German is often an L3 for Anglophone learners. Certain terms like extrinsic and intrinsic motivation appear in almost all studies related to L2 learning. The same can be said for internal and external motivational factors like success, talent, perceived value of the task, stimulation, learners' beliefs about themselves, and the environment. This is why these general terms will be reviewed first in 3.2.2.

Afterwards I will compare the most influential models that try to explain motivation to learn a language, because the theoretical focus of this study is to identify which models can best explain motivation to learn German. Robert Gardner is one of the leading researchers in the area of L2 motivation and he focussed on attitudes. Most later studies have been shaped by his motivation theory (Dörnyei 2001: p. 46-47). His

socio-educational model (Gardner 1985) (reviewed in 3.2.3) is the starting point for most researchers in L2 motivation.

Still, research in L2 motivation has come a long way since Gardner's first work in the 1960s. Researchers have addressed how motivation influences the acquisition of different linguistic competencies, how motivation interacts with other factors influencing FL learning, which components make up L2 specific motivation to learn, which of those are especially relevant and how they interact (Riemer 2005: p. 35). The L2 Motivational Self-System proposed by Dörnyei (2009) will be reviewed in 3.2.4.

3.2.2 Key Terms in Motivation Theory

Both *extrinsic* and *intrinsic motivations* strongly influence learning: *Extrinsic motivation* describes attractions outside of the activity itself, like praise, rewards, high grades, or good job prospects. *Intrinsic motivation* is developed out of interest in the activity itself, and it is connected to task difficulty, intellectual curiosity, chances for success and enjoyment of the task (See: Williams and Burden 1997: p. 123, Riemer 2005: p. 45-46). Generally the two types of motivation do not exclude each other; they are not two opposite ends of a continuum, but they influence each other and interact with each other (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 123-124)

Motivation, whether to learn an FL, a new skill or to perform a certain task is therefore influenced by various factors, such as success, perceived value of the task, arousal, learners' beliefs about themselves, and the environment. These factors can also be divided into *internal factors* that relate to the learner as an individual, and *external factors* that concern the learner's context. All factors influence each other and interact dynamically (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 137-140). Success for example can be a cause for motivation in FL learning; vice versa motivation itself can be reason for success. Especially if a learners sees the reason for success in themselves, it motivates the learner to carry on studying (Riemer 2005: p. 45).

Logically one of the main factors regarding motivation is the learner. All the beliefs and perceptions about oneself are referred to as *self-concept* which is often studied in the different aspects "*self-image* (the particular view that we have of ourselves), *self-esteem* (the evaluative feelings associated with our self-image), and *self-efficacy* (our beliefs about our capabilities in certain areas or related to certain tasks)" (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 97). The self-concept is influenced by one's social relationships, learners are most likely to be influenced by their parents, teachers, and peers (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 97f). One of these aspects that affect motivation to learn is self-efficacy. The learners need to believe that they are capable of performing a task and this influences the effort they put into it; "learners with high self-efficacy may well

perform better on achievement tasks than some apparently more capable peers” (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 129).

Attribution theory describes how learners view themselves. Their belief in their own ability to either influence success or to find the cause for success or failure can be divided into *internal* (situational) and *external* (dispositional) *attribution*. *Internal location* means that the subjects find the cause for success or failure in themselves, and in personal characteristics like talent and effort. For *external location*, the individual sees reasons for the outcome in factors outside their control, like difficulty of the task or luck (Riemer 2006: p. 38-39). How learners view themselves and their own control over their actions affects their motivation (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 127-128, 137).

3.2.3 The Socio-Educational Model of second language learning

The components of motivation described in 3.2.2 apply to many types of learning. However, Gardner’s socio-educational model describes components that are more specific to FL learning. Gardner studied SLA in Canada. He constructed the most widely empirically tested model of L2 learning in which motivation is a major component, the socio-educational model (SE model), and the related measuring instrument the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (Gardner 1985).

The groundwork for Gardner’s socio-educational model (figure 6) had been Gardner and Lamberts’ earlier work (1972). Since then the model has been re-worked by Gardner and others several times (Gardner 2006), and it has been criticised and discussed from various angles; however, it is still one of the most widely used models. External factors represented in this model are social milieu (cultural beliefs) and SLA contexts (formal language training and informal language experience). Intelligence, language aptitude, motivation and situational anxiety are the internal factors or individual differences seen as influential for each learner.

Gardner defines that motivation itself “involves four aspects, a goal, effortful behaviour, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes toward the activity in question” (Gardner 1985: p. 50). In the socio-educational model, motivation is one of four internal factors (intelligence, aptitude, motivation, and anxiety) influencing language achievement. Gardner strongly links motivation with attitudes: “When the desire to achieve the goal and favourable attitudes toward the goal are linked with the effort or the drive, then we have a motivated organism” (Gardner 1985: p. 10-11).

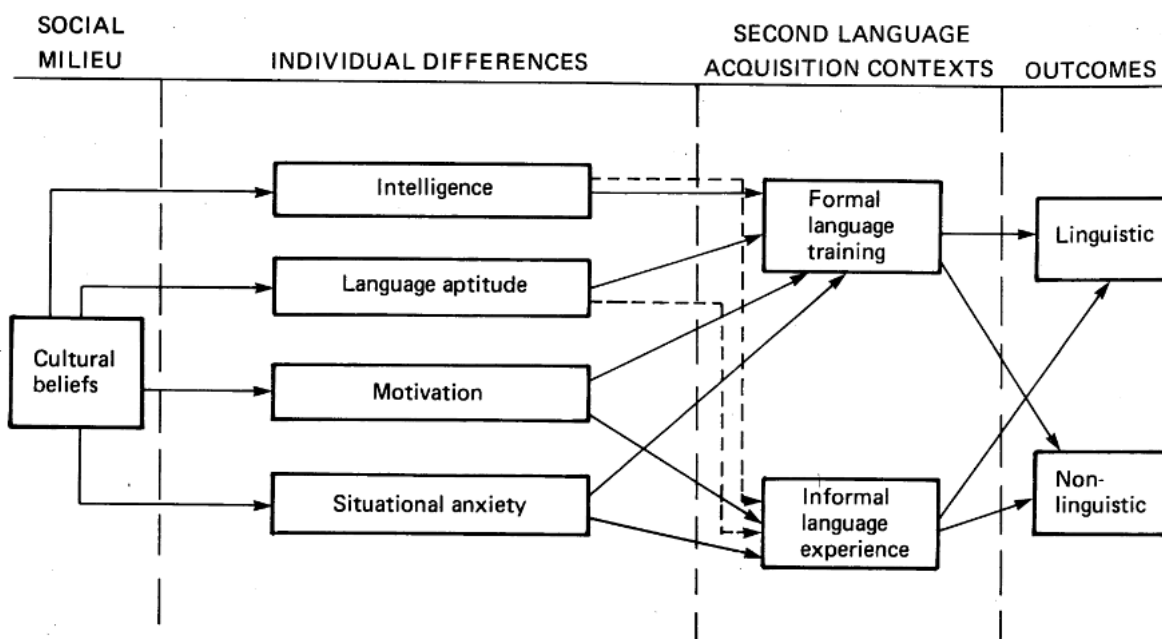


Figure 6: Gardner's socio-educational model of language acquisition (Gardner 1985: p. 147)

Integrative and instrumental orientations are key concepts in Gardner's work.

Integrative orientation is linked to social-emotional purposes of interaction with the target culture and an underlying aim for learning the target language that involves communication with that community. Instrumental orientation means an emphasis on professional or educational reasons for learning the target language. These reasons are more pragmatic and not linked to a social-emotional contact with the target language culture (Gardner 1985: p. 11). Therefore integrativeness or integrative orientation is closely linked with motivation, but they are not the same. Even instrumental motivation requires an integrative element (Gardner 1985: p. 168).

Gardner et al. have continuously refined the concept of L2 motivation, especially regarding orientation towards the target language and its culture, i.e. the reasons for learning the language. According to this concept, central aspects are the attitudes towards the target language's country and people, which are connected with both instrumental and integrative orientation. Orientations are the motifs and reasons connected to learning the language. Learners are instrumentally orientated if they see a practical purpose in learning the language, like an improvement of career prospects. They have integrative orientation when they learn the language out of a specific interest or openness towards foreign cultures, especially the target language's culture towards which they feel positively.

Integrativeness reflects an interest in learning the L2 in order to come closer to the L2 community. At one level, this implies an openness to, and respect for other cultural

groups and ways of life. In extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one's original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities (Gardner 2001: p. 5. In: Dörnyei 2009). However, how far 'integrativeness' can be interpreted with reference to particular cultural groups has been somewhat unclear. In the most cited publication, Gardner and Lambert made a strong early statement: "In contrast, the orientation is integrative if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group" (Gardner and Lambert 1972: p. 3). However in 2005, partly in response to criticisms of scholars such as Dörnyei, Gardner clarifies: "We never meant integrativeness (or integrative orientation) to mean one wanted to become a member of the other cultural community, but rather an individual's openness to taking on characteristics of another cultural/linguistic group" (Gardner 2005b. In: Riemer 2005).

Integrativeness and instrumentality do not exclude one another: "individuals who are high in integrativeness would also be expected to be high in instrumentality" (Gardner 2005a. In: Riemer 2005: p. 41). However, these two orientations are not the only parts of Gardner's model; he also acknowledges external influences and motivation. Overall Gardner's focus is on the outcome, the level of achievement and how these four individual differences influence it, not on the concept of motivation itself. The model is presented as efficient and applicable to different socio-cultural contexts, capable of integrating other components like further motives, teaching or learning factors, and it has been widely tested empirically. Still it has been criticised from different perspectives.

3.2.4 The L2 Motivational Self System

The psychological idea of possible selves where a person imagines what they could or would like to be like in the future is generally linked to motivated behaviour and to L2 motivation in particular (MacIntyre, MacKinnon et al. 2009: p. 47-48). Zoltán Dörnyei developed the concept of the 'L2 Motivational Self System' on the basis of his longitudinal research in Hungary (Dörnyei 2009). The model consists of three components:

- (1) *Ideal L2 Self*, which is the L2 specific facet of one's 'ideal self', i.e. the person we would like to become: if that person speaks an L2, the *ideal L2 self* is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves. Traditional integrative and internalised instrumental motives would typically both contribute to this component.

(2) *Ought-to L2 Self*, which concerns the attributes that one believes one *ought to* possess to meet the expectations of others and to *avoid* possible negative outcomes. This dimension corresponds (...) to the more extrinsic (i.e. less internalised) types of instrumental motives.

(3) *L2 Learning Experience*, which concerns situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience (for example the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, the classroom experience of success). This component is conceptualised at a different level from the two self-guides, it is situation specific and not related directly to the learner (Dörnyei 2009: p. 29).

The idea of the different selves comes once again from psychology, where the notion of 'self' is one of the most frequently used concepts (Dörnyei 2009: p. 10). The theory states that people create a vision of their possible selves, ideas of who they wish to, do not want to or could be. These images are also called future selves. The *ideal self* is such a possible future self that a person imagines for themselves, someone they strive to be, whereas an *ought-to self* is what society (parents, teachers) expects the person to become (Dörnyei 2009: p. 10-15). These psychological concepts could enable a re-interpretation of the concepts of integrativeness/ integrative motivation.

In order for these positive future selves to have an impact on the motivation of someone, the person has to use their imagination to create a vision of an ideal self that they work towards becoming (Dörnyei 2009: p. 16-19). Dörnyei claims that the *ideal* and *ought-to selves* can only have motivating capacity if the following factors are fulfilled: "(1) availability of an elaborate and vivid future self image, (2) perceived plausibility, (3) harmony between the ideal and ought-to selves, (4) necessary activation/priming, (5) accompanying procedural strategies, and (6) the offsetting impact of a feared self" (Dörnyei 2009: p. 18).

Before conceptualising his L2 Motivational Self-System, Dörnyei undertook longitudinal studies in Hungary in 1993, 1999 and 2004 (Dörnyei, Csizér et al. 2006). He identified a number of key dimensions in the motivation to learn an L2 which correspond with the socio-educational model reviewed in 3.2.3. These dimensions could be applied to German in an Anglophone setting:

- Instrumentality (i.e. the pragmatic utility of learning the L2)
- Direct contact with L2 speakers (i.e. attitudes towards actually meeting L2 speakers and travelling to their country)
- Cultural interest (i.e. the appreciation of cultural products associated with the particular L2 and conveyed by the media, i.e. film, TV programmes, magazines and pop music)
- Vitality of L2 community (i.e. the perceived importance and wealth of the L2 communities in question)

- Milieu (i.e. the general perception of the importance of the foreign languages in the learners' school context and in friends' and parents' views)
- Linguistic self-confidence (i.e. a confident, anxiety-free belief that the mastery of an L2 is well within the learners' means) (Dörnyei 2009: p. 26).

In this article from 2009 however, he re-interprets his findings with the concept of the *ideal self*:

Looking at 'integrativeness' from a self perspective, the concept can be conceived as the L2-specific facet of one's ideal self: if our ideal self is associated with the mastery of an L2, that is, if the person that we would like to become is proficient in the L2, we can be described in Gardner's (1985) terminology as having an integrative disposition. Thus the central theme of the emerging new theory was the equation of the motivational dimension that has traditionally been interpreted as 'integrativeness/integrative motivation' with the *Ideal L2 Self* (Dörnyei 2009: p. 27).

According to MacIntyre et al. (2009) there are certain benefits to using the idea of possible selves for L2 motivation research. Firstly, the approach could be more educator-friendly than the SE model. With this psychological concept the focus moves from the target language group to the learner. Secondly, as mentioned above, the idea of possible selves includes language learning situations outside Canada's unique sociocultural milieu for which the SE model was developed. Regarding motivation in the area of World Englishes, for example, there is often no fixed target language community, so that the concept of integrativeness becomes problematic. Thirdly, the issue of multiple motivations might be more easily approached from a possible selves perspective. Adolescent learners might have different, sometimes competing, motives for learning a language. Additionally their language acquisition is only one of many activities they are involved in (MacIntyre, MacKinnon et al. 2009: p. 51-52).

Alongside these benefits however, MacIntyre et al. list six cautions for future research on the *ideal self*. According to the authors, the measurement of possible selves is difficult: Research on possible selves can only be qualitative and the data can sometimes be hard to interpret. Existing studies vary greatly in data collection and analysis methods. In contrast to that the Attitude and Motivation Test Battery which is a high quality measurement tool. The majority of research in that area uses consistent, quantitative measurement methods (MacIntyre, MacKinnon et al. 2009: p. 53-54).

Naming the new approach is also problematic, because the concept of 'self' is so vast and varied in psychology that creating one coherent definition for the self-system in language learning could prove extremely challenging. Additionally the cultural variation of the concept of self can prove to be a complication for researchers. Depending on cultural backgrounds learners might have different ideas about their selves. For these commentators, there is a stark contrast between Eastern and Western

cultures, one being more socially interdependent and the other being more individualistic/ independent (MacIntyre, MacKinnon et al. 2009: p. 54-55).

Another issue is the motivational quality of possible selves as goals. The fact that learners set themselves a goal does not necessarily mean that this will influence their behaviour. Furthermore, possible selves change over time. Depending on the fact whether an *ideal self* is a short term or a long term goal, it carries different motivational qualities. Lastly, the terms identity and social identity need to be integrated into the L2 motivational self-system, because language learning relates to group membership and interaction (MacIntyre, MacKinnon et al. 2009: p. 56-58).

Regarding this critical review of the possible selves model, it becomes evident that it might not be the best approach to investigate motivation to study German. The fact that it requires a qualitative approach makes the model more interesting and more appealing to current ideas in L2 motivation research. However, the other advantages of the model work best for English as a lingua franca, where learners do not have a fixed target culture. For German as a second or third language the target culture is too important to be disregarded. Moreover, most German learners in the UK chose to study German, at least beyond the most elementary stages; this makes the concept of ought-to self difficult to accommodate. Overall, the model seems a little too general to be incorporated into the interpretation of the very specific case of motivation of English students to learn German.

3.2.5 A Person-In-Context Approach

In a 2009 article Ushioda (2009) adopts an ontological position that understands motivation as developing “from relations between real persons, with particular social identities, and the unfolding cultural context of activity” (Ushioda 2009: p. 215). This is a significant development, because there was little focus on the social identities of the learners in Ushioda’s earlier work. This re-focusing leads Ushioda toward a qualitative research approach, since research that focuses on averages and that groups people together based on characteristics they share conveys very little about languages learners as individuals, about how they are motivated or not motivated and why (Ushioda 2009: p. 215-216). Ushioda suggests concentrating on the individual; if we want to explore “how L2 motivation relates to self and identity” (p 216). She also comments that a broader approach is required:

(...) we should not position the central participants in our research simply as language learners, since this is just one aspect of their identity, (...) we need to understand second language learners as people, and as people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts”. (Ushioda 2009: p. 216)

This approach to language learning motivation is quite different from the earlier ones that were shaped by psychology and sociology. Research shaped by socio-psychological theories has defined context as an “independent background variable (...) over which learners have no control” (Ushioda 2009: p. 216). It is only reflected “through the individual’s attitudes, measured through self-reported instruments” (Ushioda 2009: p. 216). In contrast to this approach to motivation research, where context or culture is located externally, as something pre-existing, a stable independent background variable, outside the individual, Ushioda suggests a focus on ‘person-in-context’, “to capture the mutually constitutive relationship between persons and the context in which they act – a relationship that is dynamic, complex and non-linear” (Ushioda 2001: p. 218). This person-in-context relational view should focus on learners as real individuals and their contextual elements as influencing each other continuously to understand motivation as an *organic process* (Ushioda 2009: p. 220). Again this focus on language learners as individuals suggests a qualitative research approach.

A “person-in-context relational view of motivation need not privilege any particular theoretical framework over another, but may usefully build on different theoretical perspectives in an integrated though not indiscriminate way” (Ushioda 2009: p. 221). Dörnyei’s possible selves are one way of exploring this specific view of motivation. However, different approaches are possible (Ushioda 2009: p. 224-225). They might “enrich and diversify our understanding of how motivation shapes and is shaped through engagement in L2-related activity and the engagement of identities and engagement with possible selves” (Ushioda 2009: p. 225). This approach views motivation as dynamic, changing and individually specific to each learner. Something that motivates learner A might not necessary be motivating for learner B. And at the same moment in time learner A might not be motivated whereas learner B might be highly motivated.

3.3 Empirical Studies at University Level

For obvious reasons, less research has been undertaken on motivation to study German than on motivation to learn English. Even smaller is the number of studies that investigate the motivation to learn German at universities in an English speaking context. German is mostly a third language for these learners, while it is L2s which have been the main focus of motivational research. Yet, there have been numerous enlightening empirical studies undertaken in secondary school (see Mitchell 2011). In most cases those studies examine the lack of motivation documented in the historical investigation presented in section 2.4. In contrast, UK university students are a highly motivated group of Anglophone learners who chose to study languages despite

apparently unfavourable circumstances. Some studies concentrating on this specific group investigate and/or challenge recent L2 motivation research.

3.3.1 Studies in English Speaking Countries

In a 2001 article Ushioda (2001) discusses one of her earlier small scale qualitative studies to illustrate how a more qualitative ethnographic approach can complement research on language learning motivation that is dominantly quantitative. The investigation

chose to set aside the traditional view of motivation as a measurable affective variable implicated in second or foreign language (L2) achievement, in favor of a focus on the qualitative content of language learners' motivational thinking: specifically, (a) their own working conception the factors shaping their motivation, and (b) their perspectives on aspects of motivational experience over time. (Ushioda 2001: p. 94)

For the study Ushioda interviewed 20 Anglophone students on a French course at Trinity College Dublin. The number was small enough for a qualitative investigation and large enough for the exploration of some quantitative patterns. The data was collected in two stages separated by 15-16 months. In the first round participants were not primed with motivational concepts. The interview questions for the second round of interviews were open ended as well, but the interviews were more structured to investigate the participants thinking (Ushioda 2001: p. 97-99).

A detailed analysis of the first round interview data showed eight descriptive dimensions, which were ranked hierarchically for each individual learner with the most dominant factors, those that the participants named without prompting, at the top, and the less important factors, those they only mentioned after prompting, lower down. These factors were:

1. Academic interest
2. Language related enjoyment/liking
3. Desired levels of L2 competence
4. Personal goals
5. Positive learning history
6. Personal satisfaction
7. Feelings about French-speaking countries or people
8. External pressure/incentives (Ushioda 2001: p. 101-105)

Two main motivational dimensions named by 16 participants were language related enjoyment/liking and the impact of a positive learning history. Only 11 participants named personal goals relating to the future use of French as a motivating factor, and

this figure was lower than expected. However, 14 students wanted to live in France or a Francophone country short term. A desired level of L2 competence was given motivational emphasis by 11 interviewees (Ushioda 2001: p. 106)

Thus in contrast to the common perception of language learning as a mainly goal oriented activity, the students' initial motivation to study languages at university was influenced by language learning and language related experience rather than by specific goals, future purposes, or applications (Ushioda 2001: p. 107). Ushioda found that the participants who were more proficient in French gave greater motivational value to perceptions of L2 ability and to a positive learning history. They also gave less motivational value to long-term and vocational goals (Ushioda 2001: p. 108).

Participants' language learning history also turned out to have distinct motivational consequences. Whereas subjects with a positive language learning history

tended to emphasize intrinsic motivational factors relating to perceptions of L2 ability and the personal desire to master the language and achieve a high level of L2 competence (...) those with less positive language learning experiences to date were able to compensate motivationally by focusing on particular goals and incentives channelling their desire to learn the language (Ushioda 2001: p. 109).

Interestingly the less successful learners were not less motivated than the successful ones, they were qualitatively differently motivated. These findings "suggested that effective motivational thinking might entail filtering experience and focusing on the positive elements or on positive incentives, while de-emphasizing the negative" (Ushioda 2001: p. 109). Ushioda's findings relating to patterns of motivational thinking provide a way out of the circular concept of success and motivation, whereby an unsuccessful, unmotivated learner is trapped in a vicious circle. If the relation between motivation and language learning experience is shaped by what the learner chooses to think and believe, then there is potential for the learner to break out of the negative pattern and to create positive motivation out of or in spite of negative experience (Ushioda 2001: p. 119).

The second round of interviews in this study concentrated on four aspects of motivation as a dynamic phenomenon:

1. Motivational evolution over time
2. Motivational perspectives on L2 development over time
3. Factors negatively affecting L2 motivation
4. Motivational strategies (Ushioda 2001: p. 109-117)

The temporal perspectives shaping the students' thinking later in their studies varied. For some students motivation still derived from L2 learning and L2 related experiences

while for others it was more directed towards short term or long term goals and future perspectives. Goal orientation might be an evolving dimension that needs time to develop and to gain motivational importance and clarity (Ushioda 2001: p. 117). Students initially “may feel motivated to pursue language study because they perceive that is what they are good at, or what they like best, and where therefore their future potential must lie” (Ushioda 2001: p. 118)

The effectiveness of motivational thinking cannot or should not be measured only for its influence on success in L2 learning; it rather shows how language learning can be sustained despite some of the negative experiences that all language learners are faced with at some point. Through filtering their language learning experience, by emphasising the positive and linking it to themselves, learners managed to maintain a positive view of themselves and a motivational independence from negative external influences. This was further illustrated in the follow up interviews where participants were prompted with the value of success in language learning (Ushioda 2001: p. 120-121).

UK students of German are the focus of Busse’s research (2010, Busse and Williams 2010, 2013, Busse and Walter 2013). Busse states that her questionnaire participants had studied German for an average of 6.46 years, but does not clarify whether German was their L2 or third L3 (Busse 2010: p. 101). With their motivation studies Busse explores “students’ motivation for studying German at university level, the changes in students’ motivation over the course of the first year at university, and the interplay between students’ motivation and the learning environment” (Busse 2010: p. 8). Busse and Williams claim that this is a relatively new field, because although “motivational research has been booming in recent years, students’ motivation to pursue a modern foreign language beyond school level has not received much attention in the UK” (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 67).

In her PhD Busse (2010) investigated whether Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System framework can explain the motivation of German learners better than Gardner’s concepts of instrumentality and integrativeness, and also focussed on the influence of self-determination and self-efficacy on motivation. The study adopted mixed method approach, using questionnaires and interviews (Busse 2010: p. 14-17). Some of her results were published in articles (Busse and Williams 2010, Busse 2013, Busse and Walter 2013), others are summarized from her unpublished PhD (Busse 2010).

Busse and Williams define motivation “as a dynamic state of arousal which manifest itself in motivated engagement in (language learning) activity” (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 67-68). They investigated opinions and experiences of 94 undergraduates of German in two comparable English universities (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 70; 72).

Preliminary interviews with ten students suggested that students chose German because they enjoyed the language and wanted to become proficient. This was linked to Dörnyei's concept of the *ideal self*, which the researchers wanted to explore further later in the study (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 70-71). As most research on the *ideal self* was conducted for English as an FL the authors aimed at exploring this concept for an FL other than English (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 69).

The questionnaire, based on the interviews, was made up of six categories of items: wish for language proficiency, intrinsic reasons, *ideal self*, instrumental reasons, integrative reasons, and *ought-to self* (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 71). For this quantitative investigation students answered closed questions about their language learning experiences, rating statements on a scale from one to five (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73). As Grotjahn (Grotjahn 2004: p. 6) has pointed out this can be problematic, because there is a tendency to answer in the middle category if participants are unsure. Especially the mean values for instrumental reasons (2.14) and integrative reasons (2.38) indicate this tendency, whereas the *ought-to self* clearly shows a negative value (4.14) (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73).

An one hour semi-structured follow-up interview of selected students, who were representative by gender, perceived levels of motivation, and schools visited, aimed at a more in-depth understanding of the findings from the questionnaires (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 72). These interviews showed that enjoyment of the language was one of the main reasons for studying German. However, the students did not say that they enjoyed specifics of the language itself like sound or rhythm (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 76). This contrasts with Ushioda's findings that the students enjoyed the way French sounds (Ushioda 2001: p. 106). Yet this fits in with the stereotype of German as a harsh language.

The data obtained supported the researchers' hypothesis "that the traditional concept of integrativeness is on average less important than instrumental reasons for students' motivation to study German" (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 74). The wish for language proficiency could however be linked to the *ideal self* and to intrinsic reasons which in turn influenced it. The *ideal self* was interpreted as the students imagining themselves using German later in their professional career. There was no statistical evidence for a link between the wish for language proficiency and the *ideal self* nor for a link between integrative reasons for studying German and the wish for language proficiency (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 74-75). Overall integrative orientation was seen as less important than instrumental orientation and the ideal self (Busse 2013: p. 385)

It seemed that as with Ushioda's participants in the earlier stages of university study, the students' enjoyment of the language was closely linked with their language

learning experience at school with admired teachers playing an important role. Other classroom-related motivating factors were experience of teaching assistants, small classes, specific language activities and a certain level of autonomy (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 76-77). Even though success was a motivating factor, “it seemed that success at German itself was not seen as decisive for students’ decision to study German” (Busse and Williams 2010: p.77). Prior success in German was only given as a reason for studying German by 5/12 interviewees. Generally most of the interview participants needed to have high grades in order to study at the universities that were chosen as research sites. “In all cases, however, primary emphasis was given to their enjoyment of the language, while success was mentioned secondarily” (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 78). This differs slightly from Ushioda’s findings for French that suggested a positive learning history was linked to success or ease at learning the language (Ushioda 2001: p. 106).

The qualitative and the quantitative data indicated that students used future visions of themselves (*ideal selves*) to motivate themselves to study. Being fluent in spoken German in particular was important to the students. This was linked to experience in a German speaking context and to role models, for example teachers (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73; 78-79). The *ideal self* was a consistent motivational factor over the course of the first year at university (Busse 2013: p. 385). The *ideal self* was also linked to effort and therefore seen as a “substantial component in these students’ motivation to study German and their continued motivation to engage with German over the course of the academic year” (Busse 2013: p. 396). According to the quantitative data the main motivational factor was language proficiency, with the aspiration for speaking proficiency being specifically high as well. This was regarded as more important than reading, listening and writing (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73). Grammar and accuracy which are particularly important challenges when learning German were not investigated by the questionnaire.

The students felt no external pressure to study German, though they were encouraged by their parents to learn German at school (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 79). The *ought-to self* was thus found to be not relevant to the learners (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73). This is unsurprising if we consider the fact that German is an optional subject in schools and the undergraduates chose to study it at university level. Surprising is, however, that no student “mentioned their parents, other relatives or even heritage as a reason for studying German at university level” (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 79).

Generally having language skills was seen as an advantage, because not many English people have them and because it gave the students a sense of doing something

'special'. Here, Busse and Williams concluded that instrumental reasons like job prospects were secondary for the students. (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 80-81). The students might not have had a clear sense of what they wanted to do with their language skills professionally, but they were instrumentally motivated on a secondary level, because they knew they were acquiring a special skill. Busse investigates this further in a later article and comes to a slightly different conclusion, arguing that instrumental orientation was consistent motivational factor over the course of the first year for the participants (Busse 2013: p. 385). Even though instrumental orientation was not a strong motivating factor, the students used instrumental reasons to motivate themselves in case they had a motivational dip (Busse 2013: p. 386).

In her PhD, though, Busse argued that the traditional idea of instrumental motivation might not be helpful to explain motivation (Busse 2010: p. 257). For her the *ideal self* is more helpful to explain the motivation to learn German:

To sum up, the study is pioneering in that the results imply that the *ideal L2 self* is a useful and versatile concept not restricted to the foreign language learning context of English. By using the concept of the *ideal L2 self*, a better picture of students' motivation for studying German and their sustained motivation to continue to engage with German has been gained (Busse 2010: p. 258).

Busse and Williams (2010) come to a similar conclusion: The "quantitative data suggest that the concept of the *ideal self* is better able to capture these students' motivation for studying German than either *integrative* or *instrumental* reasons for studying" (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 81). However, this interpretation could be biased through the type of questions asked. According to Gardner (Gardner 2001: p. 5) "the variable *Integrativeness* reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to become closer to the other language community". Busse and Williams found positive responses to the items 'travelling to German-speaking countries' and 'meeting people from German-speaking countries'. Yet their other items intending to investigate integrativeness that were answered negatively could be considered problematic.

Do students understand the phrase 'I feel an affinity with the people who live in German speaking countries' (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 80)? Such an item might be rather abstract for first year undergraduates who might not have had many experiences with the German speaking cultural group. The phrasing of a further item, 'I would like to become more like people from German-speaking countries' (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 80), is also problematic. It seems to reflect Gardner's initial concept, but not his later (2001) interpretation of integrativeness, which does not equal a wish to become like people who live in the target language's country. Phrasing such as 'I can identify with/ I am interested in people from German speaking countries', reflecting Gardner's later interpretation, could elicit a rather different response.

Overall, the fact that the participants desired a high level of proficiency and the ability to speak German could imply becoming closer to the community. However it could also refer to instrumental reasons, if learning German is seen as the acquisition of a niche skill. The findings are thus somewhat more ambiguous than the writers suggest.

Turning to the concept of the *ideal self* (Busse 2010: p. 312), the larger scale study confirmed that the *ideal self* envisioned by the participants was not actually linked to German in particular, but to being multilingual:

The qualitative data supported and enriched this interpretation confirming that students' *ideal L2 selves* were not linked to a sense of identification with German speaking people. Their *ideal L2 selves* did not even appear to be particularly tied to German as a language. Rather, these students pictured themselves as future multilinguals (Busse 2010: p. 256).

Therefore it seems that the concept of the *ideal self* might help to explain why English native speakers want to learn languages, but not why they study German in particular.

Busse and Walter (2013) later explored the the relationship between enjoyment and language learning, as well as perceived self-efficacy. Enjoying German at school was a great motivation for the students. Particularly their German school teachers inspired them, more so than their German tutors at university. On the one hand the students had become more independent at university and did not rely on a role model as much. On the other hand they perceived the language tutor and subsequently and the language classes as less important, partly because language tutors are often non-permanent staff (Busse and Walter 2013: p. 446-447). There was also evidence for a link between progress and enjoyment. While the participants wished for language proficiency, they were demotivated by the language instruction they received at university (Busse and Walter 2013: p. 448-449)

Schmidt investigated the motivation of Australian students to learn German in two studies. While her large scale quantitative study is based on questionnaires (Schmidt 2011), her later work is a more small scale qualitative interview study (Schmidt 2014a, Schmidt 2014b). German studies in Australia is in a situation comparable to the UK; it is in decline. The main differences are the geographical distance of Australia to Germany on the one hand and the influence of neighbouring Asian countries on the other hand. In Australia, German is not only competing with other European languages as in the UK, but also with Asian languages like Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian. German is more commonly taught at ab initio level to students enrolled in various degrees than as a main subject (German studies) (Schmidt 2011: p. 19-21).

Schmidt identified three fundamental reasons for studying German: "a general interest in the German language and culture paired with a joy and an appreciation of learning

languages”, “the wish to communicate in a German-speaking country while working, studying or travelling”, and “German being considered as an important (business) language that could bring professional advantages” (Schmidt 2011: p. 110). It has to be noted that, even though these three factors are the ones the students agreed with most, “the first factor is very dominant and explains a total of 27.66% of the variance. In contrast, the second factor explains only 8.21% of the variance and the third only 7.41%” (Schmidt 2011: p. 110). Through the existence of these three factors and their correlation Schmidt argues that there are more motivational factors than “the Gardnerian dichotomy of integrative and instrumental motivation” (Schmidt 2011: p. 127-128). However, Gardner’s orientations were never exclusive of each other (see 3.2.3).

Additionally her 2011 findings indicate the necessity for qualitative research. She listed 26 items to investigate the students’ motivation to learn German. Yet, the three motivational factors covered by these items only explained 43.28% of the variance; 15% of students gave additional reasons (Schmidt 2011: p. 126). Through one open ended question, she found five new factors that her questionnaire had not listed. First, there appeared to be a strong feeling about not losing language skills acquired earlier, secondly the students wanted “to do something different”; thirdly they liked the opportunity to meet people from other areas. The interactive and communicative character of the language classroom seemed to be appealing to students as well. Postgraduate students from other disciplines in particular wanted to gain reading skills for their research (Schmidt 2011: p. 128). Overall, the reasons for learning German were much more varied than the study had anticipated (Schmidt 2011: p. 152)

Like Busse, Schmidt’s findings show that there is a strong level of support for reasons such as ‘I enjoy learning languages’ and ‘learning German is fun’, further supporting Ushioda’s emphasis that the immediate language learning experience prevails over more distant benefits. In contrast to Busse, Schmidt also found a strong correlation between an interest in German language and German culture, showing that these two cannot be separated for Australian students (Schmidt 2011: p. 153-154).

In a qualitative study Schmidt (2014a) explored her finding further. She took the three motivational factors from the 2005 questionnaire survey and investigated them qualitatively through interviews with sixteen Australian students of German. The aspects of learning German that the students enjoyed were more varied, and could be grouped as social aspects or linguistic ones (Schmidt 2014a: p. 11). The interview data also confirmed the 2005 results “that a positive attitude towards learning German at university often relates to a positive experience at school” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 12). In contrast to Busse she also identified a strong touristic motive (Schmidt 2014a: p. 13).

Those students interviewed in 2013 “expressed high expectations that a knowledge of German might be beneficial for their future career in general” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 14). This opposition to the 2005 results might be due to Germany’s recent role in the EU (Schmidt 2014a: p. 15). Another new factor was that students thought learning German would add value to their degree (Schmidt 2014a: p. 20). These new motives that emerged in the study related to the students’ ideal selves; they “appear to be rather personal and rooted in the students’ vision of themselves” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 19).

Schmidt also confirms Riemer’s findings that people who live geographically more remote from Germany show a greater interest in German culture and literature than those in closer proximity, and that they have more positive attitudes towards Germany (Schmidt 2014a: p. 18). (For a review of Riemer’s work, see next section.) The Australian students “expressed a high level of awareness with regard to the relationship between language and culture” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 19). Additionally Schmidt confirms Riemer’s *Exotenmotiv* (Schmidt 2014a: p.19). In connection with Busse and Williams’ (2010) findings, Schmidt suggests “that intrinsic motivation plays a major role in countries with English as the dominant language.” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 19). The “new data suggest that personal growth is a strong element in students’ motivation” (Schmidt 2014a: p. 20).

This element of personal growth Schmidt found in her interview study was explained more in another article: “students consider being able to speak German as part of the vision they have of themselves (Ideal L2 Self)” and “students see learning another language as an important exercise to broaden their horizons” (Schmidt 2014b: p. 11). The Australian students see learning German “as an important part of their personal development”. On the one hand they look inside, towards themselves and their development, on the other hand learning German helps them to look outside, to better understand the world (Schmidt 2014b: p. 13).

3.3.2 Studies that Include Non-English Speaking Countries

Riemer (2005) researched GFL at university level world-wide. (Unfortunately the UK was not a part of the study and specific Anglophone issues were not addressed in this article.) Groups of varying sizes studying German in ten different countries (five geographically closer to Germany and five further away: Greece: 29, Portugal: 66, Lithuania: 8, Sweden: 8, Spain: 69, Kenya: 25, Cuba: 32, Madagascar: 50, Russia: 67, Taiwan: 152 (Riemer 2005: p. 48)) were asked to write an open essay about their German language learning experience and motivation. One goal of the study was to find out whether concepts of motivation that had been used in standardized, quantitative research would come up in data collected openly and qualitatively (Riemer

2005: p. 47-48). Similar to the studies reviewed above, Riemer collected data from language students, i.e. people who were so motivated to learn German that they chose it as a main subject in university. One of the main differences of this study is the fact that Riemer's participants had various mother tongues and only one of the countries in focus was Anglophone.

The students' essays were coded and data relevant to the motivational factors that Riemer collected from L2 motivation literature and that she found in the data were collated. Some motivational factors discussed in the published literature, especially those concerning self-evaluation and autonomy, could not be found in the data, so they might not be measurable in individual motivational profiles. Nevertheless, it was possible to make generalized statements about motivational factors of German language learners for different countries as well as for all learners (Riemer 2005: p. 54).

The most language-specific findings were that learners study German in countries where German is part of the school curriculum and they continue to study German if they have had previous success. Generally, such students had an overall positive attitude towards FLs and language learning, and they were more instrumentally motivated regarding professions where German is used, for example teaching or tourism (Riemer 2005: p. 54)..

Two further findings related to German in particular: The students valued German as a distinctive addition to their language learning profile. German is something distinctive that turns the learners into specialists in a specific area. This illustrates the motivation to learn something exotic. Additionally German was described to be a difficult language. Even though some said it was not as hard as people claim, German's reputation of being a hard language led to the opinion that it is an intellectual challenge and especially attractive because of that. Riemer calls this *Exotenmotiv* (Riemer 2005: p. 54-55). Other results were more general and could probably be found for learners of most languages: participants often have motives relating to education, travel and contact and they often report on FL anxiety, especially in speaking the language (Riemer 2005: p. 54-55)

Riemer found it more difficult to come to conclusions about opinions towards Germany/ German culture and interests regarding German culture. Remarkably there were very few statements about cultural interests from learners living geographically closer, whereas those from further away were motivated by a positive image of Germany, and an interest in German culture, literature and history (Riemer 2005: p. 55).

In her PhD King (2009) compared German studies in Ukraine with Australia in a mixed method study. The reasons for studying German were investigated through a questionnaire. Overall, the motives of Ukrainian and Australian students were similar: enjoyment, to travel, to work in a German speaking country, to study abroad and to get to know German culture. Yet, the Australian students put more emphasis on enjoyment +29% than on work in a German speaking country (+25%), while instrumental motivation was more prevalent in the non-Anglophone context. A career that involved teaching for example was more popular with the Ukrainians (55%). Most Australians studied German as an option rather than as a full degree, so that careers such as teaching were a prospect for only 17% (King 2009: p. 264-265).

In contrast to other studies exploring learner identities and the role language learning plays in their construction, Hennig (2010a, 2010b, 2013) used Foucault's concept of ethical self-formation in a qualitative study with Hong Kong Chinese learners who chose to learn German. She investigated German as a third or fourth language for learners who were already fluent in English, Cantonese and Mandarin. Her PhD focused on students' motivation to study German (Hennig 2010a). Similarly to the Australian students the Hong Kong Chinese learners began learning German at university level. German was learned voluntarily and it was considered difficult (Hennig 2010a: p. 1-3; 9).

In accordance with Riemer's concept of geographical distance and increased cultural interest, the Hong Kong Chinese learners were motivated by Germany's culture and history (Hennig 2010b: p. 91-92). The positive attributes they assigned to Germany appealed to them and matched "their personal ethical values and parts of their 'selves'" (Hennig 2010b: p. 91). The reasons for studying German were in fact mostly cultural (music, literature, science, history, politics), but three out of twelve students also named economic reasons. These learners also assigned attributes such as strong, tough and powerful to German and wanted to apply these attributes to themselves (Hennig 2010b: p. 311-312).

The students were attracted to the German language because it is perceived as difficult. It gave them the feeling of undertaking something special (Hennig 2010a: p. 96), confirming Riemer's *Exotenmotiv* once more. The learners saw themselves as academically able and they wanted to challenge themselves by learning German. They also assigned other positive attributes to themselves, because they learned this 'difficult' language (Hennig 2010b: p. 312). For these participants, learning and using German distinguished them from their peers as someone different and unique (Hennig 2013: p. 929). German was more than a study subject for some of the learners, it was also a free time activity that gave them personal pleasure, enjoyment and satisfaction

(Hennig 2010a: p. 99). The learners created their own ideal version of themselves or of who they wanted to be through their autonomous study. This was not reflected or taken up in their formal language classes, but it was what motivated them most (Hennig 2010b: p. 315-317).

Hennig critiques Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System because it is outcome oriented and does not regard the "learners' selves as the source from which their desire and commitment to language learning derives". In contrast to that her findings "indicate that the learners' selves served as the very source which their learning activities were grounded in and emanated from" (Hennig 2010a: p. 206). These students motivated themselves by reflecting on their initial reason for learning German and by thinking about what they want to achieve for themselves. The learners used their German learning to construct their own identity. This served as a source of motivation, in combination with their ethical beliefs and values (Hennig 2013: p. 932).

Learning German was part of the participants' self-formation, and instrumental reasons did not play a great role in their motivation (Hennig 2010a: p. 210). Similar to Schmidt, Hennig points out that the learners had very personal goals for learning a language. These goals were more than instrumental or integrative orientations, as they aim at developing their selves. Yet these selves were more elaborate than Dörnyei's L2 motivational self system. These selves that the learners imagined or aimed at improving by learning a language form an integral part of their identity (Hennig 2013: p. 933).

3.4 Excursus: Identity and Culture

As the previous section illustrated, identity is at the core of language learning. Language learning involves interplay between the learner's identity and culture and culture(s) associated with the target language. Dörnyei's selves are part of the learner's identity and Gardner's integrative orientation describes a strong affinity towards the other culture, sometimes being interpreted as taking on the other culture as one's own, i.e. changing one's identity. It has been argued that learners of German will mostly use their language skills to communicate with German native speakers (see 3.1). Additionally, the term 'culture' has been used differently in the past than it is today. It has to be defined in order to acknowledge the various aspects of 'culture' this study deals with. That is why it is necessary to explain the relation between language, culture, and identity in FL learning.

Historically culture had been viewed as philosophy, literature, (classical) music (Ortmanns 1993: p. 227). When referring to historical reasons for studying German, the cultural reasons for learning German refer to 'high culture'. Some learners in the

present study referred to this aspect of culture when elaborating on their own motivation to learn German. In contrast to that Kramersch states that “culture can be defined as membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings” (Kramersch 1998: p. 10). Culture shapes who we are and how we see the world. This understanding of culture is shared by the participants of this study; therefore it is defined as ‘everyday culture’.

Culture is also a part of the learner’s context, and consequently the learner needs to be viewed as a person-in-context and not in isolation. This is one of the reasons behind the decision to conduct this research qualitatively instead of quantitatively. Language and culture are inseparable, because language

is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways (...) *language expresses cultural reality (...) language embodies cultural reality (...) language symbolized cultural reality* (Kramersch 1998: p. 3; emphasis by author).

This connection between culture and language goes so far that Sapir and Whorf claimed that our language shapes our mind (Sapir and Whorf 1956). Even though the strong version of Whorf’s hypothesis of linguistic relativity has been abandoned, people today generally accept that language is influenced by culture and shapes people’s thoughts to some degree (Kramersch 1998: p. 14). In fact most people believe “that there is a natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group’s identity” (Kramersch 1998: p. 65). Today these beliefs about the connection between culture and language are used to distinguish between ourselves and others. “What we perceive about a person’s culture and language is what we have been conditioned by our own culture to see, and the stereotypical models already build around our own” (Kramersch 1998: p. 67). Most nation states define themselves by their national language and culture and most learners aspire to the native speaker ideal:

with the creation of standard languages nation states have promoted a standardized notion of cultural authenticity that has served to rally emotional identification both at home and abroad. Stereotypes (...) help draw cultural boundaries between Us and Other in order to appreciate the uniqueness of both. Language learners keen on slipping into someone else’s shoes by learning their language, attach great importance to the cultural authenticity of French bread, German train schedules and the cultural appropriateness of Japanese salutations or Chinese greeting ceremonies. Their desire to learn the language of others is often coupled with a desire to behave and think like them, in order to ultimately be recognized and validated by them. (Kramersch 1998: p. 80-81)

With the last sentence Kramersch describes what Gardner called integrativeness. Despite the fact that globalization blurs these lines, most FL teaching still orientates itself on

the notion of nation states with a national culture and language (see Kramsch 2014). For the interviewees of this study this aspect of culture was often connected to German history. Where participants elaborated on their interest in German culture as an interest in history (which in most cases was an interest in Third Reich history and the consequences like the separation of Germany) this aspect of culture is defined as ‘cultural history’.

This excursus illustrates how language and culture influence the identity of learners. While Kramsch, Dörnyei and others explore the learners’ selves it is important to distinguish between the self and the identity. According to Kramsch “identity refers to the identification with a social or cultural group” (Kramsch 2009: p. 25) whereas “the *self* is a psychological entity that is given to each human being at birth and is to be discovered, respected and maintained” (Kramsch 2009: p. 17). According to this definition Gardner’s concept of integrativeness should not be incorporated in the *ideal self*, because the self and the identity are separate entities.

3.5 Conclusion and Research Questions

A main conclusion from prolific debates on language learning motivation is that motivation is multi-dimensional and dynamic. Language learning motivation is made up of different, overlapping components that complement each other and that are interdependent. Such motivational components are grounded in the personality and the biography of learners, in their opinions and orientations towards the L2 and its culture, as well as the learning environment and the socio-cultural milieu (Riemer 2005: p. 36). It has become evident from the empirical studies presented in 3.3, that there are valid qualitative approaches to exploring language learning motivation. Through qualitative and mixed method research the different studies succeeded in shedding new light on the concept of language learning motivation. As the following conclusion will demonstrate, whether we investigate motivation, qualitatively, quantitatively or via a mixed method approach changes the definition of motivation.

Ushioda’s view of motivation as a dynamic and multidimensional concept is attractive, because it looks at the student as an individual and not as a member of a bigger group. From this point of view, motivation cannot be measured at one point only, it is constantly changing. Additionally learners can have very individual reasons for choosing to study a language, for example German, that could get lost if we try to categorize and classify their motivation so as to concentrate on group trends. A person-in-context approach to motivation could reveal new ideas about motivation and individual differences between the learners. This focus on the learners’ identity seems to be lacking in the empirical studies concerning German which I discussed earlier.

None of these studies explored learner biographies apart from participants' school learning experiences, and there were no comments on parental or peer group (non)influence. This is a gap which my own interview study could fill to some degree. As pointed out in 3.2.5, a person-in-context approach to motivation can incorporate different theoretical perspectives (Ushioda 2009: p. 221). Dörnyei's possible selves are one way of exploring this specific view of motivation. However, earlier distinctions in motivational studies like those between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation or instrumental and integrative orientation could still apply.

There is no single convincing model that outshines the other models significantly. Gardner's model includes the factors of instrumentality and integrativeness which are still regularly used to explain language learning motivation. However, the SE model of language learning has been criticised especially by researchers studying English as a lingua franca, where they find the integrative motive problematic. Dörnyei (2009) then suggested the motivational self-system, which might work for English but is more difficult to apply for German. As Busse and Williams have shown, there is an absence of *ought-to self* in German learners (Busse and Williams 2010). Additionally, there is a clear group of target language speakers and not a real international context. Still the concept of an *ideal self* might be applicable to explain motivation to study German.

For this research project looking into sustained motivation of English language learners to study German, motivation will be defined as a dynamic, multidimensional concept as illustrated in Ushioda's diagram. Here the same learner is portrayed at two different points, and how his or her motivation changes over time (figure 7).

Here, motivation is

viewed not simply as a cause or product of particular learning experiences, but as a process – in effect, the ongoing process of how the learner thinks about and interprets events in relevant L2-learning and L2-related experience and how such cognitions and beliefs then shape subsequent involvement in learning (Ushioda 2001: p. 122).

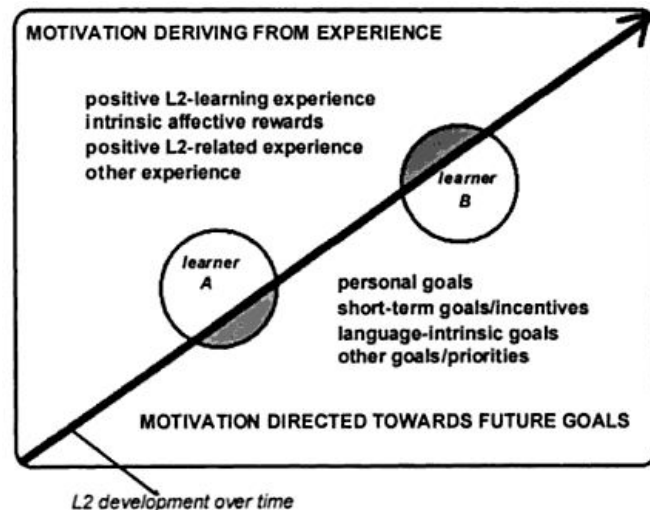


Figure 7: Motivation as a dynamic concept (Ushioda 2001: p. 119)

This project aims at investigating learners' beliefs and sustained involvement in German language learning, therefore this idea of motivation is very relevant. Even though Ushioda's study concentrates on Anglophone students of French in Ireland, most of the underlying theoretical ideas are very relevant for ML studies in the UK. The work of Ushioda also suggests a methodological direction; this dynamic definition of motivation can best be explored through qualitative study, because the learner can explain their own thought processes and experiences in responding to open ended questions.

The empirical studies reviewed above have explored university students' motivation to study languages. For German one of the most interesting results was that the language is seen as something exotic, that German is a 'niche' specialism and that learners follow through because it is 'different'. Additionally the motives for studying German depended on the learner's mother tongue and the culture they grew up in. English speaking learners were motivated strongly by intrinsic reasons like enjoyment. Extrinsic reasons like an *ought-to self* or instrumental orientation played a less important role for such learners which stands in contrast to the Ukrainian students studied by King (2009). Learners who lived geographically closer to Germany seemed less motivated by an interest in German speaking cultures.

These results suggest that the motivation to study German differs from the motivation to study other languages or languages in general. As some people choose to study German despite negative circumstances their motivation might be rooted within their social identities and their immediate cultural contexts. This is how I have come to the following research questions:

1. What motivates English speakers to learn foreign languages, particularly German?
2. How does their motivation develop over a four year programme at university level?
3. What influences do the learners' local contexts vs larger historical factors have on English students' identity and motivation to study German?

Together, these questions offer a starting point for two interesting angles that my study can investigate. Firstly, there might be a need to critique motivation theory, because most recent theories look at motivation to learn English. As I am looking at the motivation to learn German, Dörnyei's *L2 motivational self system* for example might not apply fully. Busse and Williams found no empirical evidence for the *ought-to self*, but on the other hand they say that their data "suggest that the concept of the *ideal self* is better able to capture these students' motivation for studying German than either integrative or instrumental reasons for studying" (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 81). In order to explore whether possible selves can explain the motivation to learn German better than Gardner's socio-educational model, it will be useful to create a comparable interview study. However to investigate integrative and instrumental orientation, it will be necessary to phrase the questions carefully, taking account of the problems identified in the instruments of Busse and Williams (2010) (see 3.3). Additionally, I look at the learner as an individual, following Ushioda's suggestion of a person-in-context approach.

English students learning an FL might not necessarily imagine an *ideal self* talking to native speakers of the target language in a professional context, because they expect most people in such contexts to speak English. This might explain why the empirical studies found little evidence for instrumental orientation. However, Busse and Williams (2010) found that many of the participants still wanted to become fluent speakers of German. This stands in contrast to the general understanding that English native speakers feel little need to study an FL as long as most foreigners they meet can speak at least a little English.

Still the educational value of learning a language goes beyond mere communication. Through the study of languages students learn about the target language's culture, history and country. This can help them to develop more informed ideas about foreign countries and also about their own. There seems to be a difference between countries that are geographically closer to Germany and those that are further away in so far as learners from the latter show more interest in German culture (compare: Riemer 2005, King 2009, Hennig 2010a, Schmidt 2011), while none of the studies in British settings revealed a specific cultural interest among learners of German. This means that the

educators' ideas about why people should learn German might be quite different from the students' reality, why they want to learn German.

Secondly, I would like to go deep into the question why some British people chose German in particular, despite the unreceptive climate towards FLs and the Germans as a cultural group. For this it is essential to investigate the development of their motivation from the start of their German learning to them being German undergraduates at university. Additionally the changes in motivation over a four year degree program shall be considered. Are these students motivated because they are already good language learners, because they have good experiences learning German, because German is an extension of their language learning profile or because German is a challenge? Do people actually learn German for cultural reasons like most German scholars assume?

Because of the close links between language and culture the learners' personal contexts need to be considered when studying the motivation to learn language. A person-in-context approach to motivation can best be incorporated into an exploratory qualitative study. The element of dynamism and sustained involvement in language learning can be investigated by retrospective biographical interviews and through a cross-sectional study as explained in chapter 4. Other factors relating to social identity and the cultural context can be addressed indirectly through interview questions. The data collected can reveal whether a model of motivation centring on possible selves and on social identity actually explains the concept of motivation to study German better than a more traditional approach following Gardner's SE model.

In order to focus my study on the particular case of German, it will be sensible to study enthusiasts, who chose German despite the unfavourable circumstances, for example English undergraduates studying towards a degree in German. This would be a target group that is very similar to the one Busse and Williams (2010) investigated and as they said: "This is an avenue worth exploring, as much insight can be gained from students who actually manage to sustain their motivation all the way through school to university level" (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 67). However, Busse investigated the motivation of first year students only. Following Ushioda's view of motivation as a dynamic phenomenon, it will be interesting to see how the motivation of German learners develops over the course of a four year degree.

4 Methodology for the Empirical Investigation

4.1 Overview of Chapter 4

After an investigation into the history of German language learning in England in chapter 2, chapter 3 gave an overview into language learning motivation. Chapter 4 brings together the two previous parts by explaining the methodology that is used to answer my empirical research questions (see Section 3.4). Whereas the first question has already been addressed by the historical chapter, question two has to be researched through data collection. Question three brings the two parts, the historical one and the contemporary data collection, together by drawing a comparison between the two.

My data collection aimed at answering my research questions explores why English students chose to study German, what motivates them to continue studying it, and how their motivation develops over time. In addition to being a dynamic and multidimensional concept, motivation should here be seen as the thought patterns and beliefs that support their drive, desire and attitudes to learn a language that is considered by many to be difficult. Qualitative data collection is more beneficial for my interest in a dynamic and developmental model of motivation, following Ushioda and Dörnyei. A mixed method approach would be favourable, as themes that emerge from the interview stage could be explored more widely with questionnaires. This, however, was beyond the scope of this PhD research and could be done as a follow up study.

The motives that have emerged from the historic investigation inspired some of the themes that the qualitative data collection explored:

- German has been studied for economic reasons
- There is a negative image connected with German due to the two world wars
- Learning German was elitist in the past and seems to become that again today
- German is considered to be a difficult language
- Especially from a German point of view the language is seen as one embodying high culture (*Sprache der Dichter und Denker*)

However, it is vital not to let historically acknowledged motives alone guide the research, but to find out what Anglophone students today actually think, what drives them to continue studying German despite unfavourable circumstances in an environment of globalisation (see 2.4).

There have been extensive debates about the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches over the past decades (see: Dörnyei 2007: p. 24-47). One result is the conclusion that the two approaches are not automatically exclusive and that they do not necessarily reflect a different view of the world (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: p. 10-14). However, one approach might be more suitable than the other, depending on the research questions asked. It “should not be a case of choosing between the qualitative and quantitative paradigms nor among extant methodologies, but rather designing a research methodology which possesses the optimal combination of attributes to address the research question under investigation” (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: p. 45).

My main questions are what motivates Anglophone learners to study languages, particularly German, and how their motivation develops while studying at university. If we view the learner as an individual with changing attitudes and motivations, following Ushioda’s person-in-context approach, this ‘why’ can best be examined through an exploratory qualitative research design. The underlying idea is that individuals interpret reality in a subjective manner which may result in multiple meanings. I am aiming to explore and document the complexity of views rather than into categorizing ideas. Through interaction and listening to the participants answering open ended questions, I can learn about their view of their language learning experience. Their subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically and I want to interpret their world view, their personal narratives and their accounts of their identities/ *ideal selves*.

Section 4.2 introduces approaches in motivational studies first. Afterwards the research design is explained in detail in Section 4.3. The role of the researcher, the participants and the research sites are portrayed. Section 4.3.3 describes the interview guide. Finally in Section 4.4 the procedures for data analysis are summarized.

4.2 Approaches in Motivational Studies

Traditionally, motivational research has used quantitative research methods. As illustrated in chapter 3, research in the area of language learning motivation has mainly been shaped by Gardner and Lambert’s (1972) by Gardner’s (1985) work. Their affiliation to mainstream social psychology meant that learners were viewed as a bundle of quantifiable and assessable characteristics. Motivation has been handled “as a measurable individual difference variable implicated in second language learning” (Ushioda 2001: p. 95). With this idea of motivation as something that can be modelled formally and measured at one point in time, a mainly quantitative research paradigm developed (Ushioda 2001: p. 95).

Gardner's and Lambert's initial question "How is it that some people can learn a second or foreign language so easily and do it so well while others, given what seems to be the same opportunities to learn find it almost impossible?" (Gardner and Lambert 1972: p. 130) concerns itself with performance. Consequently much of the research interest into language learning motivation was linked to supporting language achievement. A quantitative approach makes it possible to compare for example questionnaire results with proficiency as measured through language test results. The aim of this study is not to investigate a connection between motivation and performance or a way to improve motivation or performance, but to explore the thought processes behind the learners' decision to choose and to continue German. As my research has no direct link to promoting success, my choice of research approach was not limited to a Gardner inspired quantitative approach.

Where quantitative research mostly investigates the measurable and generalizable, qualitative research explores context- and time specific individual cases (Lapan, Quartaroli et al. 2011: p. 4-5). Quantitative approaches in motivational studies mostly use closed-ended questionnaires and analyse these using statistics. Such "questionnaires are often used to get language learners to self-report their attitudes or personal characteristics" (Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991: p. 35). However, if we present learners with pre-formulated attitudes and a Likert scale, we cannot be sure in how far these attitudes reflect what individual students actually think. Especially in less explored areas we have to be careful not to make assumptions about learners' motivations, which may lead to problems of construct validity. More qualitative approaches in motivational studies like the ones by Ushioda (2001) and Norton (2000, Norton and Toohey 2001) use interviews and "open ended, emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data" (Creswell 2003: p. 18). This was done not only to develop new theories but also to give the participants an individual voice. Finally, a mixed method approach to studying motivation like the one undertaken by Busse (2010, Busse and Williams 2010, 2013, Busse and Walter 2013) uses interviews as well as coding and questionnaires. (But see discussion of validity issues also attaching to qualitative methods, in Section 4.3.1 below.)

The concept of motivation itself is defined differently in a qualitative research approach and cannot be straightforwardly explored with a quantitative research paradigm, where language learning motivation is defined as a measurable activity including the three components effort, desire and attitudes (Ushioda 2009: p. 216). Motivation as a qualitative variable may be defined more fluidly by what thought patterns and beliefs underlie "shape students' engagement in the learning process" (Ushioda 2001: p. 96):

The focus of interest is not whether the more motivated students prove to be the more successful, but on how students differ in the way they value and interpret goals and how such differences in motivational thinking may affect their involvement in learning” (Ushioda 2001: p. 97).

More broadly, language learning motivation as a dynamic concept can best be studied through collecting and analysing the subjective views of learners, because it is “unobservable, multifaceted and dynamically changing” (Dörnyei 2001: p. 185-186).

4.3 Research Design

4.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews are the most used method in qualitative studies (Dörnyei 2007: p. 134). An interview can be open, semi-structured or structured. In an open interview very few questions are prepared and the researcher acts as a responsive listener, while the topics discussed are largely determined by the interviewee. For a semi-structured interview, the researcher prepares some questions and an interview guide identifying a set of target themes to be discussed, still the planned themes are pursued flexibly. A structured interview contains a more elaborate interview guide and there is little room for flexibility; it resembles a spoken questionnaire (Dörnyei 2007: p. 135-136).

There are questions about how reliable and valid qualitative data resulting from interviews can be (Silverman 1993: p. 145-152). Interview data is valid as long as we believe the participants tell the truth or what they believe to be true. In qualitative interview studies there can be a risk of interviewees being selective, giving opinions which they think the interviewer will approve of, or which they think to be socially acceptable. However, it would be counterproductive to structure the interviews more in order to increase reliability, because then the data would only provide what we assume instead of offering new information. To validate the data one should look into methods of generalizing to a larger population, i.e. German students in general and one should use simple counting procedures, for example how many times students talked about improved career options because they are learning German instead of concentrating on the unusual cases (Silverman 1993: p. 160-166).

Even though interviews are commonly known and accepted as interactive events, creating informative data through interviews is a sensitive process that has to be planned well. “Qualitative interviewing requires great sensitivity to the ways in which the interview process shapes the data made” (Richards 2005: p. 38). The interview technique used in this study has largely been inspired by Holstein’s and Gubrium’s work *The Active Interview* (Holstein and Gubrium 1995); according to them we create

meaning through an active interview, we being the researcher=interviewer and the participant=interviewee.

This research interest has grown out of my personal experience and curiosity. In order to explore students' motivation to study German and their opinions of 'German' and their thought processes, a semi-structured interview seemed most suitable. I have had the experience that British students are rather shy and I believe that an open interview format where the students are encouraged to 'just talk' would be more difficult to achieve. Additionally motivational theories should be explored through the interviews. (For the interview guide view Appendix A.)

Interviews are most suitable for the questions I am asking, because "it is in fact the strength of the interview conversation to capture the multitude of subjects' views of a theme and to picture a manifold and controversial human world" (Kvale 1996: p. 7). This approach will allow me to see if ideas about motivation, the lack of it and reasons for (not) studying German as represented in literature are actually present in the students' minds, and will also allow scope to explore conceptualisations not already documented in the literature. Once that is achieved one can also see which motivational theory (*ideal self* or integrativeness and instrumentality or individual differences, i.e. person-in-context) best could apply to learners of German.

It is important to take the participants and participant selection seriously, because the interviewees are more than vessels filled with information that the researcher needs to tap into, they are the narrator of their story (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 27-29). We tend to assign different kinds of competences to different types of people; for example we usually call a child (as a source of information) unreliable or incompetent. When selecting participants for an interview we need to be careful not to let those ideas guide our participant selection, it would for example be a mistake to prioritise only high-achieving students of German (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 19-27). If we see the interviewees' knowledge as diverse, multifaceted and emerging, "the respondent acts as a *narrator* of experiential knowledge" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 30). "The active respondent constructs his or her experiential history as the interview unfolds, in collaboration with the active interviewer" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 32).

As I was concerned to explore the development of motivation and as I view motivation as dynamic, but only conducted one interview with each participant, I had to encourage the respondent to recall different points in their language learning history. I also had to be open to adjusting my questions to each participant's answers:

Treating the interview as active allows the interviewer to encourage the respondent to shift position in the interview so as to explore alternate perspectives and stocks of knowledge. Rather than searching for the best or

most authentic answer, the aim is to systematically activate applicable ways of knowing – the possible answers – that respondents can reveal, as diverse and contradictory as they might be (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 37).

Even though some interview guidelines request the interviewer to be neutral, objective and passive, an active approach can be helpful if the aim is to make the interviewees feel comfortable and to encourage them to elaborate on their experiences. Sometimes shared knowledge can make it difficult for the interviewer to be entirely neutral. This kind of knowledge can also be helpful: “Background knowledge in *any* research circumstance involving *all types* of interviewers and respondents, provides direction and precedent, connecting the researcher’s interest to the respondent’s experience, bridging the concrete and the abstract” (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 46). If the interviewer is familiar with the circumstances relevant to the research topic, this can help the interview conversation because the interviewer knows what the respondent is talking about and can ask relevant questions (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 77). The interviewer should, however, be very careful not to put his or her own opinion into the participant’s mouth by asking over-suggestive questions. That is why it is better to remain neutral and to listen most of the time without commenting on the interviewee’s answers.

As I taught undergraduates in German for four years, I felt I had enough experience with the students to know how to approach them. I believed I could make them feel comfortable in an interview situation and could create a relaxed, intimate, and informal atmosphere while remaining respectable and professional. The semi-structured design of the interview was necessary due to my own knowledge of teaching German in England. I already had an idea about the students’ opinions and thought processes; however, I did not want to jump to conclusions. Instead I aimed to let the students elaborate about their past experiences. (See Section 4.3.3 below, for discussion of how the influence of my own ‘German tutor’ identity was managed during the data collection process.)

To test my interview guide and technique I interviewed two international students on a German Masters degree at the Freie Universität Berlin. I was surprised at how openly and fully these students talked about their learning experience and motivation. From these pilot exercises I learnt that the questions were adequate to prompt participants to speak freely about their experiences. However, I felt that conducting the interviews in my office gave them an official character and I felt meeting in a neutral place might help the students to view me as an equal and to speak even more openly. Afterwards, as a further pilot exercise, I interviewed two British students on their YA, one in person and one via skype. This way I could also compare the differences between face to face and video chat conversations. Probably due to that fact that these young people are

very accustomed to different types of communication there were no notable differences.

Following the experience gained in the pilot interviews, for the main study I made the participant feel comfortable with a little small talk and some explanations about my research first. Then I started recording and I asked a few background questions, like 'How old are you?', 'What degree do you study?' etc. in the beginning. This background information was necessary for interpretation of the motivation-related data, but by putting those questions at the beginning of each interview I also made the interviewees feel relaxed, because I asked them simple questions that they could answer and that they felt comfortable answering. The other background information I was interested in were A-level grades. I believed that could make the participants feel uncomfortable, and therefore I put those questions last and presented them as an afterthought. The interview proper began with the prompt: 'Please tell me about your motivation to study German.' Most students had quite a good idea about what they wanted to tell me and they were very happy that I was interested in their reasons for studying German. Generally all interviewees were very open and friendly, and they gladly answered all questions I asked.

In order to enrich the data collected and to have some background information on the universities the participants attended, and the tutors who taught them, I also followed the participants' university life to some extent while I was visiting the two universities to conduct the interviews. I talked to the heads of German at both universities as well as to other tutors teaching German. Where the universities organised activities involving German, I participated to see who took part in those activities. While I was on campus I kept a research diary and took field notes that influenced my interviews. One tutor for example introduced me to her group and asked me to help out during her lesson. This influenced the students' behaviour towards me later on. That is why I made sure to introduce myself as a student in English to all groups and not to take on any other responsibilities during my stay at the research sites. The field notes also helped me to portray the two research sites in 4.3.5.

4.3.2 Longitudinal vs. Cross-Sectional Research

Longitudinal research examines people or phenomena over a longer period of time to investigate development or change. In a cross-sectional study, data is collected from people at different stages of development at the same time. Although longitudinal research designs can offer meaningful results for applied linguists who are interested in development of phenomena, most research is cross-sectional. This is mostly due to practical and economic reasons (Dörnyei 2007: p. 88). Cross sectional research can explore variables and patterns of relationship and it can compare various groups of

people (Dörnyei 2007: p. 89). Yet, cross-sectional research can limit our understanding of individuals, because we only meet them at one point in time and we do not follow their individual development. I tried to overcome this particular limitation by encouraging the students to tell me their entire language learning history retrospectively. This way I could record changes in the students' language learning motivation.

Because of the limited time available for this study (it being a PhD), the data has been collected as a cross-section, exploring individual students' motivation at particular stages of their degree (that is, participants were drawn from first, second and fourth=final year). Student on different degree programmes (BA single honours, German as one of two or three languages or as an optional module, German for continuers (people who have learnt German in school), and ab initio German) had been encouraged to participate in order to find out the fullest possible range of German learner identities and motivations. Thus the research questions (see 3.5) can be answered as fully as possible using a cross-sectional design. These interviews that explore and compare learners' motivation on different stages of a BA degree including German can generate new information about why students enjoy learning German, how they are influenced, and how their motivation changes and develops over the course of an undergraduate degree programme.

4.3.3 Interview Guide

An interview guide functions as a key research instrument. It can help to ensure that the domain is properly covered, suggest appropriate questions, offer probes and templates for opening questions and it can list comments to keep in mind (Dörnyei 2007: p. 137). As elaborated on in 4.3.1 my choice of interview style was inspired by Holstein and Gubrium (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). I kept that in mind when I designed my interview guide (see Appendix A for the full Guide). I wanted to have more than a list of questions that I worked through during each interview. The interviewer can also give narrative guidance encouraging the respondent to share their story, to structure it and to focus it to the topics relevant for the research (compare: Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 46-51)

Through the interview process we create meaning, and the respondent can shift perspective or reflect on his or her answers. For this the interview guide should be flexible so that the interviewer can react to the interview taking a different course or to the interviewee answering in an unexpected way. The respondents can be asked what kind of questions they think they should be asked (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 56). The interview guide can be seen as a conversational agenda (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 76).

To ensure this I took my inspiration from the history of German language learning; themes that emerged there were taken up by questions that I asked. I also looked at other qualitative studies like Ushioda's unpublished PhD from 1995 (Ushioda 1995) and Jaworska's published PhD (2009) to get an idea about questions asked in semi structured interviews.

If we view meaning as dynamic and as "actively assembled from complex resources in relation to narrative contexts and circumstances" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 78), then the interviewer's responsibilities

extend far beyond asking a list of questions. It involves encouraging subjective relevancies, prompting interpretive possibilities, facilitating narrative linkage, suggesting alternative perspectives, and appreciating diverse horizons of meaning (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 78).

I was particularly concerned to document the students' own language learning history. After factual background questions, the main interview began with a very open ended prompt: 'Please tell me about your motivation to study German.' After this I guided the students through their language learning history, starting with the first encounter with German, going over their experiences with GCSE and A-level German, and ending with their present as a university student.

After this I asked thematically grouped questions that sometimes picked up or elaborated on some of the things mentioned in the earlier stages of the interview. I wanted to learn about the participants' beliefs and attitudes towards German and Germany to compare their answers with the results from chapter 2, including other researchers' suggested reasons for the decline in German language learning and the stereotypical opinions about Germany held in Britain.

To learn about the participants' view of and interests in German speaking countries I asked about their 'cultural interests'. This question also helped me to explore which interests were fostered by educational institutions. One of the issues was that 'cultural interests' is a very wide term; consequently the answers were quite varied (for the definition of culture see 3.4). I did not want to put anything into the participants' mouths by asking about German literature, classical music, history, society or everyday life. I wanted to leave this question open, to find out what the students perception of 'culture' was.

The interviewees were subtly prompted with the motivational factors and ideas resulting from the research examined in chapter 3, to explore their motivation to study. To investigate their instrumental orientation I inquired about their awareness of career opportunities. For integrative orientation I asked several questions about

Germany and 'the Germans' to find out in how far the students identified with them. To explore the *ideal self* I included questions about the future, their possible career and about how they feel or present themselves as German students.

For first year students I included questions about their attitudes towards tuition fees, because starting in 2012 they had been the first cohort that had been affected by increased fees. For the second year students I added questions about their experiences at university, and for fourth year students about their experiences with their YA. At the end of each interview I gave each student the opportunity to tell me about things they considered important related to their language learning motivation that I might not have asked about. They were also encouraged to ask me anything they would like to know. Generally I let the interview come to an end when I felt I had asked all relevant questions. Then I started talking more instead of just listening to allow the interview to come to a more natural end. Finally, I let the interviewee know that I had asked enough and that they could comment or ask questions if they wanted to.

4.3.4 The Role of the Researcher

As a researcher I am not an insider, neither, however, can I describe myself as an outsider. I had worked as a German tutor at a Russell Group university, teaching undergraduates for four years. Consequently I know the institutions and the type of student it attracts very well. However as I was not teaching in England while I collected my data, even though I returned to this particular university as one of my data collection sites, most of the participating students did not know me as a tutor and they did not have to worry about either upsetting me or about their answers influencing their grades.

Another risk however was that there was an asymmetric relationship between the interviewer (myself, a postgraduate researcher, a former language tutor and a German) and the interviewees (undergraduate English students of German).

The research interview is not a conversation between equal partners, because the researcher defines and controls the situation. The topic of the interview is introduced by the researcher, who also critically follows up on the subjects' answers to his or her questions (Kvale 1996: p. 6).

An interview and what course it will take is already influenced by how an interviewer approaches a respondent and by how s/he introduces him/herself and his/her topic. "Introduction and request to participate should strategically convey the topic areas to be explored and the positions from which the exploration might embark" (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: p. 76). By introducing myself as a student and by solely speaking in

English, I tried to make the students feel comfortable and make them understand that they could speak openly with me.

Additionally I met all participants in cafes on each campus, so that they would be in a known and trusted environment. Contextual sensitivity is vital in research; “understanding that participants in social life actively produce a context for what they do and that social researchers should not simply import their own assumptions of what context is relevant in any situation” (Silverman 1993: p. 8)

The fact that I am German presented a small issue, because students might have tried to please me and they might have tried not to offend me for example by expressing any negative opinions they might hold about German language, culture or people. However, after having living in the UK for a total of five years I am quite culturally adapted, and I felt I could probe appropriately. Over the course of a conversation my own nationality played only a minor role, because participants referred to ‘German’ as a third party during the interviews; they neither treated the nation or language group as one that I belonged to, nor did they refer to me as German (with one or two exceptions). It has to be noted though that students of German are likely to be aware of all issues related to German and they would wish to avoid sounding too clichéd by avoiding to talk about stereotypes.

Of course there is a possible problem of bias, because I am a German and I interview students of German to explore their motivation to study German. Due to my experience described above I believe that there was little bias. Additionally I believe that I had the necessary knowledge and the expertise to conduct the study and that this was or more importance than my own nationality. In addition my own management of the interviews can be influenced by my background, my personal, cultural, and historical experiences (Compare: Creswell 2003: p. 8-9). I had to be aware of those issues surrounding my role as a researcher while interpreting the data. Ultimately I aimed at documenting personal accounts and subjective views on the students’ side. Consequently I interpreted the interview data with the knowledge I had acquired from the literature and I treated the students’ accounts according to their British background.

4.3.5 Ethical Considerations

At the beginning of each interview the student was informed about the procedures, the purpose of the research, and the confidentiality of their identity. All interviews were recorded but the participants were assured they will remain anonymous in all analysis and presentations of the data. (In the data analysis which follows, participants are identified by individual codes comprising a letter and a number; the letters A and B

indicate participants from universities A and B.) The data collection and management plan was reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Southampton. All participants received an information sheet outlining the research, and they signed an individual consent form. Both were purposely designed for this study and had been approved by the Faculty of Humanities Ethics Committee (see Appendix C for these forms). I informed all participants that I would follow up the interview stage with brief feedback after the research project was concluded as recommended in (Dörnyei 2007), which would give the participants a chance to respond again. They all appreciated being included in the research.

4.3.6 Participants and Research Sites

The aim was to interview 20 - 30 individual students in two different research sites, chosen to represent four different groups. The participants were homogeneous in that they were all living in England and spoke fluent English, they were between 18-23 years old, and studying German at a British university. There was a variation between the four groups to enable comparing different types of German students and to find out similarities and commonalities between these students. I aimed at having 3-5 students in each group. The four groups were

1. First year students with an A-level in German before university entry: They had influence from teachers, trips to Germany etc. and they could give an insight into their language learning history.
2. First year students without prior knowledge of German, i.e. *ab initio* students: In contrast to the first group, participants with this background make it possible to explore how far German lessons in schools influence opinions about 'German', because these students have never had German in school.
3. Second year students: After one year at university, these learners might have had more contact with the language and with native speakers than before. They could give some insight into whether the experience of learning German at university level is different to German in schools.
4. Finalists, after their YA: These students provide an opportunity to investigate the influence of spending a year in Germany or another country, the resulting development of their motivation, and influences through studying German at university level for an extended period. They could also provide more information on future plans and career prospects.

To recruit participants I contacted several university departments of German in England and was invited by the two universities portrayed below. I negotiated dates that would be convenient for both students and staff. February 2013 was most convenient for everyone. Several weeks before I arrived, all students of German

received an email from me in which I explained my research and I asked students to contact me if they were willing to participate. This way I could arrange some interviews before arriving at the research sites. I offered no compensation, because I wanted to be sure that I interviewed genuinely motivated undergraduates.

Thanks to that email I managed to arrange some interview dates before I arrived at the research sites. After my arrival, I visited all German language courses that were held during my stay. I introduced myself and my project to every group I met. Afterwards I passed around a list for the students to sign up for interviews. I did not try to persuade anyone to participate and unfortunately that meant that certain groups of students were poorly represented in the study. The German *ab initio* groups for example were rather reluctant. It could be possible that they did not feel like they had much to say about their German language learning, because they had just started. I also emphasized that I would like to interview English speakers who had had a British education. This was important to me so that I could see the influence of the education system. In the end I interviewed all students that volunteered. The main resulting compromise was that I ended up with a single Year 1 group rather than the two groups I had hoped for (post A-level and *ab initio*). Full details of the participant numbers and degree programmes are provided in Figure 8 below.

University A

The first site, University A, is a member of the Russell Group and it continuously achieves high ranking in modern languages and in German in all relevant ranking tables, both for teaching and research. The Modern Languages Department also scores high in student satisfaction. As a consequence the university attracts high achieving students from the UK and abroad. The entrance requirement for a degree in German is a A-level profile of A/A/B, which means that the undergraduates are not only good at studying German, but generally high achieving young people, who would have had the opportunity to study a variety of subjects.

In comparison to other German departments across the UK, German at University A is doing reasonably well with consistent student numbers (30-50 per year and a total of 200 studying towards a degree in German) and excellent results in degrees. One can assume that almost all students who chose German at this university are generally well motivated and that they decided to study German for a positive reason and not because they have no other choice. Additionally the first year students are paying £9000 tuition fees per year, which suggests positive motivation to study German.

University A provides a model for language degrees where the teaching of language and content (literature and linguistics) is separated and delivered by two different

teaching teams. Unlike the content courses that are taught in English, language skills are taught according to level of proficiency rather than year of study. In comparison to other languages degrees available in England, University A is also one of the few where you can study three languages at the same time. Despite being very demanding in terms of workload, this degree is quite popular. Generally students studying towards a degree in German at this university show less interest in literature than in linguistics.

Interestingly student numbers in German at University A have been increasing between 2009 and 2012. Especially a recently introduced accelerated German degree for students with no prior knowledge of German has found a lot of interest. Still, with a university wide decline in new applicants of 7-8% in 2012, after the introduction of the higher tuition fees, there was a 15% decline in languages overall in the 2012 entry.

It has to be noted however that the increase in tuition fees did not equal in increase in staff salaries. According to my discussions with staff during my research visit, after recent cutbacks, most members of staff at University A could feel the squeeze. Most of the language tutors that are required to provide high standard language classes are employed on a part-time and often non-permanent basis. In addition their work load has steadily been increased, both in teaching hours and admin tasks.

University B

The second site, University B, has more recently become a member of the Russell Group as well. As a result of this change, the entry requirements for German were increased to A/B/B. This in combination with the rise in tuition fees made student recruitment more difficult. However, University B also scores high in student satisfaction and employability. With about 80 students studying towards a degree in German the German department is smaller than at University A.

Due to its location in a major city, University B attracts a more diverse student population than University A. Not only do many students have a migration background and/or a more international upbringing, many of the students studying German at University B have a family connection to Germany as well. They either lived there as a child, and/or one of their parents or both spoke German or they were German native speakers themselves. I tried to interview students with a migration background and/or international upbringing, so that I could find out whether this influenced their motivation to study German. Unfortunately I found it hard to get access to this group, and only a few of them signed up for an interview. During the classes I visited I could see a clear divide between the different student groups as well.

German language classes at University B are taught by year group. In addition to literature or linguistics the students attend oral and grammar classes. Unlike University A, responsibility for those classes is spread between all members of staff. Generally everyone teaches language as well as ‘their subject’. The German staff regularly meet for lunch and they organize activities for their students such as a German film club. In contrast to University A which has recently cut its connection with both the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) and the Austrian equivalent ÖAD, University B employ both a lecturer from the DAAD and one from Austria.

The student body at University B is very active as well. They meet regularly for a German *Stammtisch* where members of staff are welcome too. Younger tutors or German students temporarily in the city attend these informal meetings with English undergraduates studying German, where German is spoken most of the time. Additionally the students attend a university organized film club to watch films in German. They also organize a grammar S.O.S. group where more advanced years help younger years with grammatical questions.

The university offers a range of combinations with German, including German and drama, which cannot be studied at many other institutions. Generally the emphasis lies more with literature than linguistics, which can be seen both in students’ interest and in the language classes. The students appreciate the opportunity to study a wide range of authors and they enjoy reading German. In language classes there is more emphasis on writing formal German texts than at University A, which concentrates more on grammar.

4.4 Data Analysis

For analysis I transcribed 25 interviews with 10 male and 15 female students from the two research sites:

University A: Total 12, 6 male, 6 female		
Year One	1 male	2 female
Year Two	2 male, 1 male (accelerated)	1 female
Finalists	2 male	3 female
University B: Total 13, 4 male, 9 female		
Year One	1 male	2 female

Year Two	2 male	4 female, 1 female (ab initio)
Finalists	1 male	2 female

Figure 8: Participants of interview study

For each interview there is a transcript provided in Appendix E, sample transcripts are provided in transcript B. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on average, though very few interviews lasted 30 or 60 minutes. The reasons were that the interviewees either had no more to say, that they needed more time feeling comfortable in the interview situation, or that they had a lot more to say than other students. All interviews were largely retrospective narratives (see 4.3.1).

Over the course of the two weeks that I spent at the two interview sites talking to staff and students, I noticed some themes and patterns that related to my research questions (see below). I made notes and adjusted the interview guide where necessary. After I recorded some background information on paper before starting the interview I noticed that this interrupts the flow of the interview and that some participants were so eager to talk to me that they it was better to switch the audio recorder on right away. Additionally I noticed that interviewees did not respond well to my question regarding jokes about Germany. Instead I asked them how the British media portrays Germany and if they have a different view. My interview guide was structured by topics, yet I let each interview evolve individually.

For data analysis I took the interview guide and my research questions as an indicator for the topics to be explored. I combined Radnor's step by step guide to analysis (2001: p. 71-90) with a more bottom-up approach. For the step by step guide one orders the topics first, which I had done through the interview guide. However, all interviews evolved differently, so I coded the transcripts in NVivo according to the topics covered (for all NVivo codes see Appendix B.4). With this, I created a list to structure the information gathered (see 5.1.1). During the second step, constructing categories, I created sub-headings for the different topics (see figure 9). For the next step, reading for content, I read through the data organized by topics and sub heading to identify other relevant topics that emerged from the data and that might not have been intended by the interview guide. I coded all transcript in the qualitative data analysis software package NVivo using codes that emerged from the data. Step four completing coded sheets and generating coded transcripts could be done in NVivo. To interpret the interviews I grouped them by academic year. There were no obvious differences between the genders which could have justified a separation of male and female interviewees. Secondly, the aim of the study was to make a cross-sectional

comparison (see 4.3.2). By interpreting each year group separately I could explore the development of motivation over the course of a degree programme.

4.5 Conclusion

For the empirical part of my study I undertook qualitative interviews at two different universities in England. These oral interviews were semi-structured with an interview guide (see Appendix A). A qualitative approach was appropriate to study students' motivation to learn German, because it is a less explored language, and motivation for learning it may have distinctive characteristics. "Qualitative research is exploratory and is useful when the researcher does not know the important variables to examine" (Creswell 2003: p. 22). Generally I asked open questions that enabled the students to elaborate on their opinions. I audio-recorded all interviews and I transcribed them after I had finished interviewing. Transcripts are provided in the Appendix B and E.

I chose a cross-sectional research design, because time constraints meant that I could not track the same group of students over their four year degree in order to learn about their development in motivation. Instead I encouraged the students to narrate their language learning history retrospectively. Additionally I interviewed a group of students from each academic year (apart from those on their YA). In this way I could compare the motivation of each year group to find out if there were general changes throughout a degree programme, in addition to exploring individual motivations.

For data analysis I combined a top-down with a more bottom-up approach. Firstly, I used Radnor's step by step guide to analysis (Radnor 2001: p. 71-90) to organize my data. For a more bottom-up approach I coded the interview data with NVivo. I marked each utterance with codes that were linked to the content of each utterance. Afterwards I compared all codes and grouped them to detect similarities (for all codes see Appendix B.4). This process helped me to identify more themes and patterns. The following chapter details the results of the data analysis.

5 Findings from Interview Study: Reasons for Studying German

5.1 Overview of Chapter 5

After transcription, organisation and coding, the data was interpreted in three sets: Year one, year two and final year. The first two years showed a lot of overlap. That is why the section on year one goes into more detail than year two. Additionally it was only the first year students that had to pay the recently introduced higher tuition fees. This was of particular interest for the motivation to study languages in general. While section 5.2 on year one participants includes quotes from the transcript to support the analysis and the arguments made, quotes are omitted from 5.3 on year two students to make the text more readable. For the final year group the influence of the YA on their motivation to learn German and their thoughts about their career after graduation are of particular interest. Through their experiences abroad these students have had more experience with other cultures and they have also become more independent. It is of particular interest to see how far their YA has impacted on their motivation to learn German. For this section (5.4) quotes have been included again. On the one hand these students have spent more time learning German; their whole retrospective narrative is of interest. On the other hand they can interpret their language learning history differently having lived abroad. They may also be thinking about their future and their career after university.

The aim of the data interpretation is to find answers to the following research questions:

1. What motivates English speakers to learn foreign languages, particularly German?
2. How does their motivation develop over a four year programme at university level?
3. What influence do the learners' local contexts vs larger historical factors have on English students' identity and motivation to study German??

The presentation of each year group is divided into sub-sections (5.2-5.4). After the participants are portrayed, their initial autobiographical narratives are interpreted, on the assumption that what comes to mind first when the participants speak about their motivation to learn German is most relevant. Following this section, the language learning history of the interviewees is interpreted chronologically in more detail: How they started German, why they did a GCSE in German, why they chose to do an A-level

in the language, and why they study it at university. The next part concentrates on interests regarding and opinions about Germany. The final section investigates the students' ideas and views on motivational factors from the literature, for example success. In each section the interviews from University A are interpreted first and those from University B second.

5.1.1 Topics and Themes that Emerged from the Interviews

After I had transcribed all interviews I went over the transcripts again to correct them. During this stage I also noted down themes that emerged for each topic. After this correction phase was complete, I worked through them once again to refine the list of themes. Following Radnor's approach (2001: p. 71-90) I created the list below to structure the information gathered in the interviews. For this list I used my interview guide and my research questions as preliminary guidance. The table also functions as a guideline for the individual data interpretation sections 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4.

Language learning history	Reasons for starting German Reasons for doing a GCSE in German Reasons for taking an A-level in German Topics studied at school Reasons for aiming for a degree in German
Beliefs and attitudes towards German/Germany	Cultural interests Trips to Germany Impression of Germany/German society Presentation of Germany in the media Stereotypes/Typically German
Staying motivated	Independent study Success Competition Career options
Experiences at university	Influence of the peer group Tuition fees (only for first year students) New topics Expectations
Year abroad (only for final year students)	Experiences Expectations Changes in perception

	Changes in motivation
Academic interests	A-levels Mathematics Music

Figure 9: Overview of topics and themes covered by the interviews

Firstly, I organized the data in larger chunks in NVivo following this list. For a more bottom-up approach I coded these thematically organized interview chunks with different codes in NVivo referring to smaller parts of the interview. I created the additional codes by relating them to what the students actually said and by grouping them later (see Appendix C.4 for NVivo codes). First, I compared all quotes linked with each theme/topic from figure 9 to interpret the findings. This first step was guided by what I expected to find. Secondly, I compared all additional codes in NVivo to identify similarities and patterns. The second step helped me to find unexpected or new aspects in the interview data.

5.2 Motivation of First Year Students

5.2.1 The First Year Participants

As the study failed to attract first year volunteers studying German ab initio (see Section 4.3.6), all of the first year participants had successfully achieved an A-level in German in order to study it at university. They were experienced language learners and in many cases multilinguals, with most of them having started German as an L3 in year seven or eight of secondary school. The main difference between this group and the other two groups is simply that they had spent less time at university. They had just finished their first semester when I interviewed them. Consequently they could already formulate opinions about studying German at university level, yet their accounts were still strongly influenced by lately having committed to studying German as a degree. These students had recently gone through interviews at their prospective universities in order to be accepted as candidates; a wish to perform well could still be sensed during the research interviews. The other factor that makes this group unique is the increased tuition fees, and I addressed this issue with a specific question.

In order to find out if there was anything that distinguishes somebody who chooses to do a degree in German, I asked all students about their A-levels and about their academic talents or interests. The overview (figure 10) shows that all first year students did German, another language (English or French), and a third subject for A-level. Apart from one student this third subject was a social science. Participant A2's third subject was music, and two of the other interviewees mentioned an interest in

music as well. All of the students said that they were good at languages, but most of them presented themselves as good school students over all. However, in the other years there seemed to be more ‘excellent’ students.

Regarding the historic development (chapter 2) of German from being an elitist subject, to being available to the majority of pupils, and back to becoming more elitist, I asked all participants about their parents’ profession. Even if this is not a clear indicator for social class, a look at the parents’ professions still suggests upper middle class for all year one participants apart from participant B1. Figure 10 gives an overview of all first year participants by university, gender, degree, languages learnt, type of school attended, A-levels taken, and parents’ profession. All these first year students were either 18 or 19 years old.

number	gender	degree	type of school visited	languages learnt	A-levels taken	parents profession
University A						
A1	f	ML and Contemp. European Studies	state comprehensive, different sixth form college	English native, German and French	French A, German A*, economics A, geography A*	Mother accountant, father banker
A2	f	German and French	state comprehensive with focus on language, changed to academy	English native, German, interest in Swedish	French B, German B, music B	Father ‘had always been very secretive about his job’, mother PA for patent agent
A3	m	French and German	state grammar school	English native, German, French	French B, German A, history A	mother teaching assistant, father statistician
University B						
B1	f	German and Spanish	state comprehensive, different sixth form college	English native, German, Spanish since university, French briefly in school	English B, German B, geography B,	father in the army, mother used to work ‘on the camp’
B2	f	German and French	state high school with IB	English and German native,	IB with French,	mother GP, father farmer

				French, Japanese and Spanish in school	German maths, science and art	
B3	m	German and English	state comprehensive	English native, German, French in school	English A, German B, history A	mother teacher, father works for Rolls Royce

Figure 10: Overview of first year participants

5.2.2 First Narrative

To start the interview I prompted all participants with the request: "Please tell me about your motivation to study German." Most first year students interpreted this as their motivation to enrol for a degree in German. Nevertheless, the very first thoughts the interviewees had about their motivation to study German illustrated their personal view on this topic without being prompted further. I coded the narratives of all first year students in NVivo by reading through the transcripts and giving each utterance a code that emerged from what they actually said. Then I looked at the codes and grouped them by similarity. I noted down all codes and looked at the transcripts again, this time counting how many of the six students had brought up each topic.

The answers were quite varied, still certain themes clearly arose, and these are summarised in Figure 11. This graph illustrates that the students defined themselves as languages people, and as people interested in communication with others. They did not describe themselves as German specialists or as people who are interested in German language and culture.

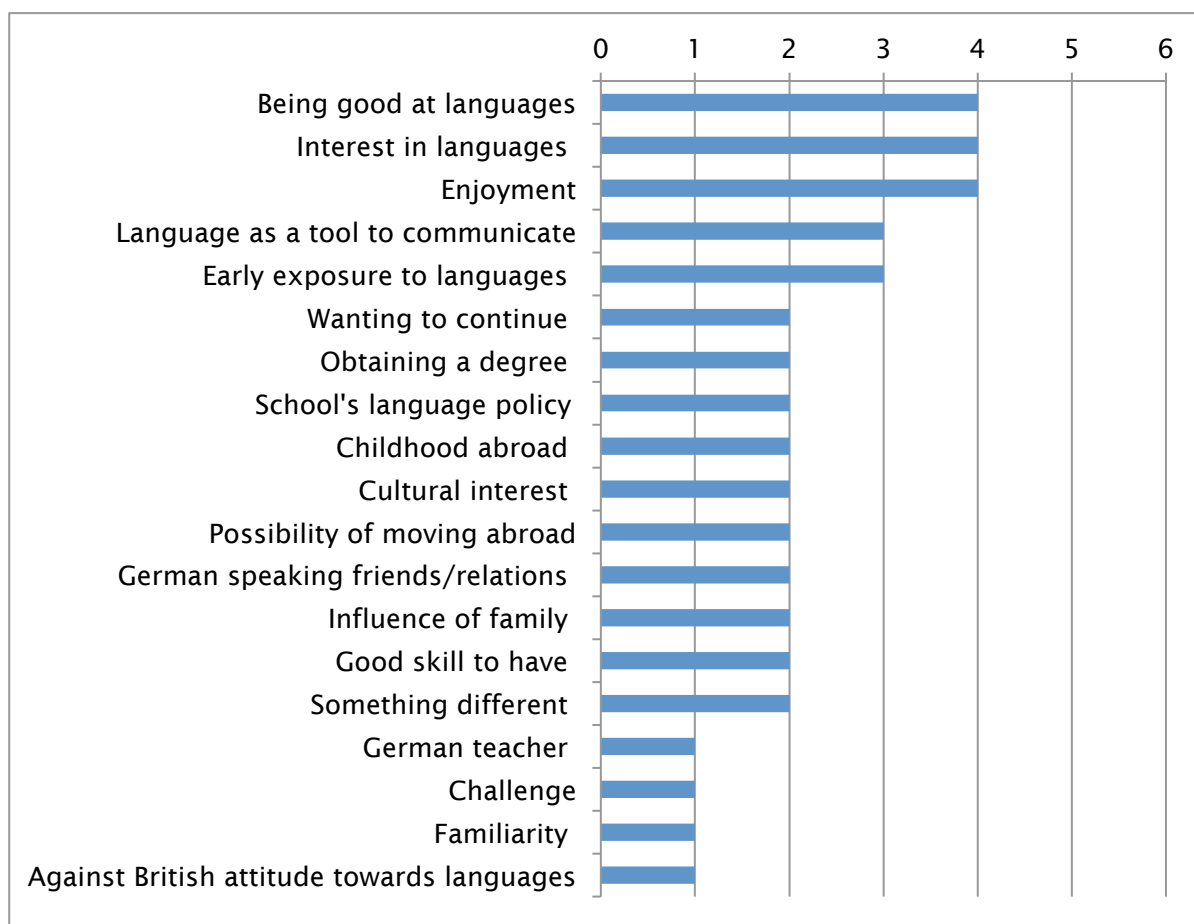


Figure 11: Main motivating factors during first narrative - first year participants

Most interviewees talked about the language, not high- or everyday culture, or history. They had an intrinsic interest in languages and they enjoyed learning German. This might already go against what most young people experience in school, where they do not find languages relevant and they do not enjoy learning them (compare: Coleman 1996). Additionally these students said that they were good at learning languages, which motivated them to pursue languages further. Reasons for German that have been given in the literature were not the first things these students thought of. Only one mentioned the influence of a good teacher, and only two said that knowing German is a useful skill.

An interesting fact that emerges from this list is that reasons connected with intrinsic motivation that were mentioned by most students. 3/6 students mentioned early exposure to languages as their motivation to study German. This early exposure to an FL was German for two out of the three students and French for the other one. Stereotypically you would not expect white upper middle class students like this particular group to have been exposed to any language other than English in their childhood, but this early exposure is something we can find with several participants of the study.

A closer look at the whole transcript, especially the language learning history part, shows that most of the themes that emerged from this first narrative are taken up later on in the interview.

5.2.3 Language Learning History

Figure 12 shows how much of each interview was spent by each first year participant on talking about their language learning history, which involved formal and instructed language learning for all but one of the interviewees. Only B2 had learned German at home, because she grew up bilingually with a German mother and an English father. An average of 24.40% indicates how influential the time spent in school has been for their motivation to study German.

Student	References throughout the interview	Percentage of the whole interview
A1	8	33.13%
A2	5	29.29%
A3	3	25.20%
B1	2	23.10%
B2	5	19.53%
B3	5	16.19%

Figure 12: Amount of interview spent talking about language learning history - first year participants

Beginning to learn German

Overall group A was more homogenous than group B. All participants from University A had been required to learn German as an L3 in school. They had learned French first and were later assigned to German classes, because they had achieved good grades in French. Thus, A1 started with French as her first FL in secondary school. She had to learn German, because she was a good student:

They were compulsory up to the age of 14, both of them for me, cause I was – everyone started doing French at age 11 and the top set got taught German as well. That was how it worked; not everyone studied German. (A1, ll. 34-36)

Similarly, A2 and A3 both had to take German because of their school's language policies. Every pupil in their school started with French and was allocated a second FL.

For B1, German was the only language her school offered. (B2 is a special case, because she grew up bilingually: B2, ll. 45-46).

Interestingly, only 1/6 first year students I interviewed had actually chosen to learn German over other languages on offer. The reason for German was that it was the only European language on offer. Had the school offered Spanish, he might not have started with German:

I chose German. It was at that stage they hadn't introduced Spanish just then, so it was a choice of German, Punjabi or Urdu, and I wanted to keep a European language up. So German was the only option. (B3, ll. 60-63)

The next question is why these students continued to learn German from this starting point of having to learn German in school, up until the point when I interviewed them, unlike many young people who drop out of languages after the compulsory period.

Reasons for Doing German at GCSE Level

No one out of the first year group felt they had started German voluntarily; still all of them chose to do it for GCSE, even though it was optional for all of them. As explained in chapter 2, the GCSE is a public examination taken at the end of year 11 by all pupils in England. The GCSE is centralized and designed by exam boards. The students have to cover different areas of their education, yet since 2004 Modern Languages are not an obligatory subject for GCSE any more.

A1 felt she had not “learned much at that point”; she “wanted to learn more” (A1, l. 49-50). Like participant A3, she found the grammar interesting and she saw this as a positive challenge (A1, l. 50). Additionally she mentioned the distinctive attitudes towards language learning in her family. She pointed out herself that this is not the case in other families:

I suppose, I was aware that especially in England it is a very highly regarded skill. To be able to speak anything other than English is pretty impressive in England. And also I don't ever remember my parents pressuring me to do it, but I suppose in my family it is respected, you know, highly regarded. Languages aren't seen as a waste of time in my family, whereas I think in other English families it is seen as a bit of a waste of time. (A1, ll. 50-56)

This student also showed a lot of initiative in order to be able to sit a GCSE examination in both German and French. Her school had timetabled the languages at the same time, which meant that the pupils could only learn one or the other. However, A1 attended the German classes and had the French teacher tutor her privately for one hour a week (A1, ll. 36-46).

For participant A2 it was a mixture of success and enjoyment that motivated her to take a German GCSE:

Because it the thing that I understood most and the thing that I enjoyed working for the most (...) it's easier, in comparison it's then easier than most other things. And it sounds a little bit vain, but it was because I was pretty much the best one doing it. So, I don't know, you feel a little bit more – I think it was, because of my kind of level in the class in comparison to other people and if you're good at something and you're better than other people you'll feel more like you want to do it more; so I think that's the reason why. (A2, ll. 183-191)

It was optional to do a language at GCSE for most participants, but two students (A3 and B3) stated they had to do one language for GCSE and they had picked German:

And then at GCSE because my school was, it like has the language specialism and when you had to do one. And so what happened was, I think I carried on with both French and German, but quite a lot of people just in my German class just stuck with the German instead the French, because they thought it was a bit more, like, fun and approachable, I think, or something; or it might be the fact that you know you have to think about it more to do it as similar – like, with the word order and stuff – so because of the fact that you're having to think about it more, makes it more kind of fun in a way and different, I suppose. So that might be why I chose it as well. (A3, ll. 46-54)

A3 saw German as a positive challenge. Comparing French and German, he felt the latter was “more fun and approachable”, a view that could be linked to the teaching styles that he mentioned later. B3 simply stated: “I had to pick a language for GCSE, and I picked German” (B3, l. 7) at first. When asked again, he elaborated. Like some other interviewees, he felt he had to justify choosing German for GCSE, especially if chosen instead of French:

Yeah, I kept German at GCSE. So I had like a good year of it and like the problem is in my year nine, so the year around picking my options, my French teacher wasn't that great, she couldn't control the class. I don't feel, I learned much, I feel like I – also going into the year I had one extra year of it, so my French was far superior to my German. I just stagnated in that year and my German got past it. So in two years German I got better than I could in three years French. [Oh, okay.] It just went stagnant. It was a tough year for French. It was not a good year. I mean I was still doing good at it. I mean I was still at the better end of the class for it. And I just didn't feel like it progressed like it should have done. And I feel – well, it just seemed like the best option to get rid of it, and keep on the one that I'm doing well in and progressing it well to the level that I wanted to be progressing it, which was German. Now I am still here. (B3, ll. 65-77)

From his first simple statement, that he had to pick a language and he picked German, B3 elaborated a lot more when prompted. In contrast to A3 there was nothing specific about German that made him want to continue with the language. It was the quality of teaching and the resulting fact that he was good at it that influenced his decision. With

his last sentence he made a connection to the present hinting at the fact that the decision to continue with German in year nine, the better German teacher that he referred to a couple of times throughout the interview, were significant for his later decision to study German at university level.

B3 also described his wish to continue with German: “progressing it to the level that I wanted to be progressing” as a further reason for choosing German as a GCSE subject. This came up in quite a few interviews at different stages of the language learning history.

B1 had learned no other language than German at school. Like many other pupils in her school she had an army background and she had already had contact with the German language when her family were based in Germany. After the interview she revealed that that was the main reason her school offered German. She really enjoyed the subject and she found it fairly easy:

It was when I was 'Yeah, I'll do German', because we had been given GCSE papers when we were in year eight. So I had been given that as material for quite a while. (B1, ll. 113-115)

I think it was always my favourite subject. My teacher was really good. You always want to try for that to not be an influence, but it's always going to be a little bit helpful if you like the person that is teaching. (...) It sounds such a cliché, (...) it was my favourite subject, but it generally was. (B1, ll. 122-129)

The secondary school that B2 visited up to GCSE did not offer German. She met the teacher “a couple of times” to prepare for the GCSE (B2, ll. 79-83). Even though she grew up with German, she wanted to take the GCSE exams in order to be able to prove to others that she actually spoke German and to what level she did:

I did it because I knew that, or my parents told me, I can't remember. In this country you have to prove that you are good at anything so taking the exam is like playing an instrument. You can say: “Oh, I play such and such!”, but if you can't tell them the grade that you are then they've got no idea how good you are because you could lie that you're good in what you do. (B2, ll. 110-114)

Although some students had to show more own initiative in order to be able to take a GCSE in German, the German teacher, the fact that the student was good at German, and a general sense of enjoying the language were the main reasons for progressing to GCSE level for most of the first year students.

None of the students mentioned a cultural interest by referring to one of the three aspects of culture explained in section 3.4 up to this point (but see discussion of participant B3 below). It was not German high or everyday culture, or history that normally made them want to continue learning German in the earlier stages of their

education. Cultural interests and the topics that they studied at various stages of their language learning history were interview questions and the responses will be analysed in a different section. It is interesting to note though, that, up to this point, the students did not approach those themes themselves.

Reasons for Choosing A-level German

As explained in chapter 2, the academic curriculum from age 16-18 in England (Years 12-13) is more specialised than in most countries. At GCSE students have to cover certain areas (for example Maths and English), but at A-level they can usually select the subjects they are good at and/or enjoy. Normally they choose four subjects for AS-Level in year 12 and cut this down to only three subjects in their final year. A-level grades are the main entrance criteria for British university placements and most young people study a subject at university which they had taken successfully at A-level. The decision to pursue an A-level in German is therefore much more significant for future academic studies than doing German at GCSE. That is why some already think about what they want to study at university when they make their subject choices at A-level. Most interviewees followed this thought process:

I: And why did you then carry it through to A-level?

A1: Again I knew I liked foreign languages and I guess I had it in my mind that I liked them both. And if I was to pursue a career in languages I would probably need two foreign languages. So I suppose that was in the back of my mind, but that really wasn't my main motivation for studying languages at that point or now. It's just 'cause I like learning them really, but I do know that it is a highly regarded skill and it will be – make me more employable and stuff – and German especially. (A 1, ll. 108/120)

The student (A1) said she believed that knowing German would make her more employable and that there are certain career options linked with languages. However, these were not the main reasons for pursuing an A-level in German. Her main reason was the fact that she liked learning languages and desired a career with languages. She makes this clear by using more vague language when referring to employability and by uttering it as an afterthought. To emphasise the fact that enjoyment was her main motivation she uses *really*: career options concerning languages weren't *really* her “main motivation” and she “liked learning them *really*”.

A3 enjoyed learning German and he felt he was less suited for other subjects. However, he mentioned being interested in current affairs and the applicability of languages in order to connect with people:

It sounds a bit lame but I think it's really cool to have like friends from different parts of the world and stuff and to see what's going on and stuff and to feel that

you've got kind of a contact point in that country and stuff. I've got like a pen friend in Germany now, (...) and it's really cool to find out their stories and stuff and different views and kind of stuff. So I think that's kind of another motivation and stuff. (A3, ll. 249-255)

For B2, despite her naturally acquired bilingualism, it was also the option of studying German at university that made her take German A-level:

It gives I suppose a universal kind of level where if you say "I've got an A-level in so and so"; they know what standard you are. Having said that, if I say it's my second mother tongue that's also believable, and because I wasn't doing it for IB but I wanted to do it for university; you have to do some A-levels to get in. (B2, ll. 114-118)

She also picked up her argumentation from earlier and said that an A-level in German made other people understand to what standard you know the language. B1 found the prospect of doing a degree in German very appealing too. She changed to a different school for sixth form. It was only there that she found out about the possibility to study German at university. She had little guidance about her academic options before and only gradually built up her confidence as a talented student. As no one in her family had gone to university, the prospect of doing a degree in German became very attractive (B1, ll. 286-289):

It almost felt like a natural progression if I am honest. I never ever, up until to the point I got to [sixth form] college, I never thought I'd ever do a degree in German, because I misunderstood - there wasn't guidance about university when I was in school, as in loads of people at my school have not gone to university. There wasn't really a big [noise] so I didn't think I was good enough to go, because I thought you'd have to - "you can't get a degree in it - I'm not fluent! I can't do a degree in German!" That was my idea, but then someone said: "Of course you can do an A-level." Because I got an A in my GCSE, so they was like "Of course you can do an A-level in German!" So it was a natural progression. (B1, ll. 142-15)*

She also stated the fact that she still enjoyed the subject and built on perceived success in what she called a 'natural progression'. The wish to continue with German, and wanting to get better at it, was also mentioned by B3:

A-level in German, I was happy with how I progressed with it and I thought ... I just felt I could still take it. I hadn't felt like I have reached my peak with the language, that I could take it a bit further, and I knew at A-level there is a somewhat cultural side of it, and I had sort of an interest in it, and I wanted to keep that going. (B3, ll. 108-112)

B3 was the only year one participant to express proactively an interest in the cultural side of language learning, which made him want to continue studying German at school. He enjoyed it and was good at it; these were the same reasons he had for

choosing it at GCSE, but he also felt he could get better in the language than he was at that point. Additionally he wanted to learn more about the German speaking culture at this stage.

Topics Studied at School and at Sixth Form College

After talking about the reasons for continuing to study German, I asked questions about the topics the interviewees had covered at school. I wanted to find out if there was any content that especially motivated the students to carry on learning German or whether anything they learnt at school fostered a cultural interest. Speaking about their GCSEs all students pointed out how basic the topics were. They learned little about the culture and not enough of the language to express their own thoughts:

I thought that in GCSE you could kind of just kind of bluff your way through a bit, kind of with the articles and stuff. We didn't really, we just had to kind of know this was this and not kind of why. And there was less kind of scope for creating new stuff (A3, ll. 116-119)

Over the next three years the German classes changed for them and they studied more sociocultural topics, though apparently not in great depth:

I guess we studied more relevant issues, kind of relevant. We did things about the media, about advertising (A1, ll. 123-124)

then when we moved on to sixth form we had, there was a little bit of German history. And there was just a small sprinkling if you will, but a little bit about politics, small bit about economy (A2, ll. 189-191)

then at A-level, at AS-Level it was kind of the same, but it was kind of more deeper and less kind of superficial. And then at A-level we were looking at more kind of German history and kind of literature and stuff but not like in loads of detail and, yeah, stuff like that. (A3, ll. 126-129)

The interviewees remembered topics in literature, film, history, economy, politics, and the environment. Not many felt inspired to learn more about German culture though. In most cases the curriculum did not satisfy their interests. A1 pointed out how interested she was in politics and history, but that she had not been able to study these in German. She pursued her interests in German society outside of the language classes:

I really like the politics and history, social side of learning about a country. So I am really interested in Germany in the context of Europe. And just Germany's history is obviously really interesting. So much has happened that I don't feel really that I have studied those things – I have studied those things in English, but I have not studied those things in German - I think I get a bit frustrated [with] the topics we study in German (A1, ll. 137-141)

For A2 a trip to Berlin with her father motivated her to learn more about Germany (A2, ll. 201-208). For most interviewees trips to Germany with their family or school exchanges made a major difference (see 5.4.3). A strong motivating factor was a link between what happens in the lives of the students and the things they learned in school.

Most of the participants remembered GCSE topics, such as holidays, family, introducing yourself, sport and healthy eating, but they did not feel that these had much relevance or that they had something to do with their own lives:

I'm afraid to say I don't think the content of any of the exams I did was very inspiring (B2, l. 116)

There wasn't too much thought in it at that age, (...) I think more that it was the case of conversation and just getting to the level where it looked good (...) I think it's the low years of this case of, I think, ticking boxes and making sure when you went there you didn't make an idiot of yourself (...) (B3, ll. 90-98)

For one student (B1), the change from GCSE to A-level meant a lot. She could connect the topics she studied at A-level with her own family history and she felt she finally understood why she grew up in Germany and why she had to move back to England:

But then when it got to [sixth form] college there was a bit more - there was literature involved, there was - we learned about Die Wende - no one had told me about this! And I was like 'Why has no one told me?!' So it was really the culture, this was what I really wanted to understand, because I, you know, I was there and the way I feel - although I am not German I always feel part of that history and the military and us being there. It is kind of a sentimental element to it. So learning about that, what kind of made Germany what it is, because I never really asked questions about why I was there. We just were there. And it seems a funny thing now to look back and to say: Why didn't I actually say: 'Why are we here?' We just went. 'I love it here let's just stay!' you know. So that's what I liked about that A-level especially. (B1, ll. 144-150)

This is probably one of the most moving narratives of all participants. Through learning about *Die Wende* at school B1 realized to what extent her own life was affected by German re-unification. There is a clear link between the topics covered at school and the personal motivation of a student. Yet, this is a very special case, because out of all the German students I encountered this was the only one with a military background.

At GCSE level, it was not the topics or anything specific about German language or German culture that motivated the students to continue learning German. It has to be noted that most interviewees started German in year seven or eight. That means that the first three or four years of German classes at school involved basic language training, and the topics were not very relevant to them. Regarding this it is

understandable that most pupils drop out of learning languages. Still this group decided to pursue an A-level. In many cases good teaching helped the students to continue learning German; additionally they seemed to have experienced success and enjoyment in mastering the language itself. Some were already developing self images as prospective language specialists. Due to these experience the limited topics studied at GCSE did not make them discontinue their language learning. Their intrinsic motivation carried them through. Chapter 5.5 explains in more detail what differentiates these enthusiasts from their peers.

Reasons for Studying German at University Level

From the reasons the interviewees gave for taking an A-level in German we can conclude that the prospect of studying German at university was the one of the main deciding factor. The question that remains is why did these learners want to obtain a degree in German? A1 mentions 'enjoyment' as her main motivation. She wanted to combine her interest in linguistic proficiency and the sociocultural topics she enjoyed while avoiding the topics she did not like as much (i.e. literary study):

Well, I actually - I am very indecisive and was really indecisive about what to study, because - like I said - I realized during my A-levels that I wasn't that keen on the literature. We studied a play by Dürrenmatt and we studied Molière in French and I thought: 'Oh heavens, I don't want to do this!' And so I spent a long time looking around at different degrees that would combine the part of language learning that I really enjoy: The learning the grammar and being able to speak and write with the contemporary politics and stuff that I enjoy, so this degree is perfect for me. (A1, ll. 168-175)

For A2 it was more difficult to pinpoint why she chose to go to university to study languages. Career options were one point where she revealed why she was studying languages. She said she knew she was not going to have a career in a different field, though she did not know what exactly she wanted to pursue in the languages field:

... but obviously I know there was no way I was going to have a career in anything else so I just - like I said earlier I know I want to end up in the field of languages but that field of languages is so wide ... (A2, ll. 400-402)

From what she said earlier in the interview I conclude that going to university was essential for her:

... there was no way that I wasn't going to come to university because that was just the way I was going to go in life ... (A2, ll. 372-374)

Yet career options were important enough that she had decided not study music, because it was "just a hobby more than anything else" (A2, ll.414-415), which did not offer her career prospects (A2, ll. 415-416). When asked about the reasons for

studying German and French she talked about a boy who speaks about eleven languages (A2, ll. 417-440). She also mentioned her general interest in languages and linguistics (A2, ll. 442-459). This showed that she had a strong wish to become fluent. Like A1 she also generally enjoyed languages and chose to study them because of that.

A3 found it somewhat easier to reflect on why he decided to go to university for German. He picked up his previous account about the applicability of languages, about the link between learning languages and being informed about everyday topics:

Just because I thought I wanted to have more possibilities of looking into it and seeing, kind of opening up things more, if you know what I mean, like you know, like wanting to understand stuff, it's like understanding stuff that's actually happening at the moment, I think, like a different view and stuff; but also kind of having - being able to interact with more people and like have more friends and stuff. (...) I've got like pen friend in Germany now, I've also got one like in Tunisia and stuff and that's really exciting because of like the revolution and stuff. And he actually took part a bit in the final demonstrations and stuff. And it's really cool to find out their stories and stuff and different views and kind of stuff. So I think that's kind of another motivation and stuff. (A3, ll. 244-254)

This student was not only interested in the language and in current affairs; he also liked to have personal contact with people from different cultures. The fact that he could get first-hand information about current affairs and that he could broaden his horizon by communicating with people from other cultures motivated him to learn languages. This student had already formed an image of himself as a global citizen, and saw languages as a way to develop this *ideal self* further.

While A3 described his *ideal self* as being a well-connected global citizen, B1 mentioned in her prior statement that the option of studying German at university level was very motivating at A-level:

That was probably what motivated me most: Knowing that it was an option available to me in terms of carrying on German. (B1, ll.172-173)

One of her main reasons for wanting to obtain a degree in German was becoming fluent in the language:

Yeah, I think when you get to a certain point you think 'if I stop now I'm never going to - I have to keep going in order to get the fluency'. I think there is something quite fascinating for English people in general about being fluent in a language. I find myself doing it today with a girl who speaks almost five languages. And I'm asking her questions like 'what do you think in?'. Because we don't really - we say we are rubbish at learning languages in general in the UK as a whole. So there is something very fascinating about people who can speak two languages. I always wanted to be - You know I would like to be confident enough

to talk in German and to speak. And I think it is quite fun to say that you are bilingual. It is very rare for native English speakers, unless their parents - And I feel like I'm doing this on my own and I'm going to be fluent in this language. It is quite good. But knowing it was open, knowing that it was an option was - when I found that out: 'I do a degree in German' and then that was that. (B1, ll. 297-309)

B1 viewed fluency as the deciding factor. She had thought she would have to be fluent in German, in order to go to university. And when she found out she did not have to be, it motivated her to go to university to become fluent. Similar to A2 she talked about somebody else who is fluent in other languages and how fascinating that is. She also mentioned the negative attitude of English speakers towards languages and hinted at something A1 mentioned when asked about her reasons for doing a GCSE in German. On the one hand English speakers are not very good at learning languages; on the other hand this means that if you can speak another language as an English speaker it is something extra special. Firstly, B1 is motivated by being fluent, and secondly by the goal of obtaining a degree; thirdly, she characterizes her *ideal self* as someone who is bilingual and in her case had worked towards this and achieved this goal by herself.

For B2 the reasons for going to university to study German were similar. She wanted to study the language she had learned growing up. She had connected the importance of her bilingualism with formal qualification early on and she had taken school examinations. Her main motivation for studying German was to obtain a degree:

Partly because of the study. It's a chance to properly study it, but it's not what your parents showed you. I don't really know, and partly because that's just what people do, they take degrees. I didn't know what to do, there wasn't any job that I thought I'd do instead of going to university. I like reading books and studying things so it was just a natural sort of thing. I don't know if I'm particularly academic but yes. (B2, ll. 122-126)

Similarly to the other students' reasons she felt she had to go to university and get a degree. When I asked her why she chose languages, she claimed she had 'cheated':

Why languages? I cheated. I know German and I know a bit of French so I thought why not. I really do like the culture and the culture of different societies because I've grown up pretty much in two countries. I'm not in that sense English like I've got kind of more of an international kind of sense of being and I wanted to just open the German side of it more by learning about it and studying the literature a bit more and the history and so on and so forth. (...) I wanted to get fluent in German and French, properly fluent. You can go to language school for that but I thought why not study at the same time. (B2, ll. 143-155)

The motivations of B2 for studying German sound quite individual at first. After all this student grew up bilingually and she wanted to study her mother's language. After

being prompted further however, she revealed the same wish for fluency that many of the other interviewees had expressed. Additionally she chose what she was good at and what she was interested in. She said she knew German and she had a cultural interest that stems from her upbringing. Similar to A3's account earlier, there is a 'global citizen' element as well, when she described herself as 'not in that sense English' and 'more international'. B2 expressed a complex combination of motivations including fluency, enjoyment, historical/cultural interest, and an *ideal self* as 'global citizen'.

Motivating Factors for Continued Effort to Learn German

The reasons for choosing German and a look at the language learning history of the first year students revealed some the individual differences between the interviewees. Yet some themes clearly emerged. Using the same coding procedure I applied to the first narrative about the interviewees' motivation to study German; I identified and quantified the following themes:

1. The school's language policy (A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3) 6
2. Enjoyment, liking the language (A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3) 6
3. Academic talent; being good at languages, being good at German (A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3) 6
4. Good experiences at school (teacher, class size) (A1, A2, A3, B1, B3) 5
5. Language as a tool to communicate, as a tool for in/exclusion (A1, A2, A3, B1, B3) 5
6. Wanting to obtain a degree (in German) (A1, A2, B1, B2, B3) 5
7. Wanting to continue and progress in German (A1, A3, B1, B2, B3) 5
8. Positive influence of family (A1, A2, A3, B2, B3) 5
9. Taking initiative to learn languages (A1, A2, A3, B1, B2) 5
10. German is different, new or special, a positive challenge (A1, A3, B1, B2) 4
11. Early exposure to foreign languages (A1, A2, B1, B2) 4
12. Negative attitude towards German by others (A1, A2, B1, B2) 4
13. Interests in German culture (B1, B2, B3) 3
14. Having German speaking friends or relatives (A3, B1, B2) 3
15. Low quality of languages classes at school (A1, A2, B3) 3
16. Wish to become fluent in German (B1, B2) 2
17. Career prospects linked with learning German (A1, A2) 2
18. Interest in current affairs (A1, A3) 2

This list of language learning history themes supports what the close analysis of the first narrative had indicated. Five of the six students talked about the importance of

their school's language policies, because it was only due to the language policies that they had started to learn German.

All interviewees stated they liked the language and that they enjoyed learning it. They also all said that they were good at it. Enjoyment is an internal factor and enjoying the language is intrinsic motivation. Success, however, is both an internal and an external factor. (As explained in the literature review, good grades are a part of extrinsic motivation.) If the learners see the reason for their success in themselves it motivates them to continue learning German. This is the case with these enthusiasts: They showed high self-efficacy: They believed they were good at learning languages.

Every student who took German at school had a positive experience there. Most students saw languages as something they could apply to everyday life; they could communicate with people. B2 does not mention this aspect, but that might be because she grew up bilingually. For her it was normal to speak German with her mother and her relatives in Germany.

The majority of the first year students said that obtaining a degree in German was important for them and most also uttered a wish to progress further in the language. For four students these two themes were linked. Five students also reported their own efforts to learn German; they attended extracurricular activities offered by the school or found ways to improve their German outside of school. There was a general sense that going to university and obtaining a degree is something desirable and/or something that everyone does. There were instrumental reasons for studying at university. However, these had only a secondary influence on the choice of German, as the students did not really consider career options that are linked with studying German when they chose it as a university subjects. They chose it because they liked it at school and because they were good at it.

As expected, a positive influence by the family motivated almost all of the students to learn German. In the case of B1 we can suspect that the family influenced her to learn German, because she lived in Germany as a child, but her parents could not speak any German. Therefore she had felt excluded from the German society.

An unexpected theme is the frequency of early exposure to languages. Two students had grown up outside of the UK, one in Germany and one in Canada. One student grew up bilingually and another one said that her family visits France regularly. It might be just a coincidence that all four of these students are female. Remarkable is also the fact, that all students from University B mentioned an interest in German high culture without being prompted, but none from University A brought up this theme. Instead two of University A's students talked about an interest in general current affairs.

Reportedly in contrast to their peers, all of these interviewees enjoyed their German classes in school. As explained above, this enjoyment was paired with success. Many of these participants learnt German, because they were good in their first FL, French. This paired with their success in German installed in them the belief that they were good at languages. Success and enjoyment can influence each other: The students enjoy their German class, so they have success and vice versa, they have success and this makes them enjoy their classes even more.

Additionally, these students could see the importance of an FL for their own lives, for intercultural communication, and to pursue their personal interests; for them English was not enough. They were also supported by their families. On the one hand there was an expectation that they should obtain a degree and on the other hand their parents fostered their interest in languages, for example by taking them on trips to Germany and/or France. This group was so motivated, they took their own initiatives to learn German, and they pursued their interests in German outside the classroom.

5.2.4 Beliefs and Attitudes Towards German or Germany

By asking more indirect questions, for example about visits to a German speaking country or contacts with German speakers, I tried to find out what the interviewees thought about the German language, the German speaking culture or countries, and in how far they were integratively motivated.

Cultural Interests

As the previous section revealed, only the three students of University B mentioned an interest in German high culture without being prompted. University A's students stressed current issues more, especially A1 and A3. When asked about their interests in German culture they referred back to an interest in politics and current affairs:

Yes, I am more interested in the contemporary stuff; history aside, because history is so important in terms of how we are, how it is today. I mean I do enjoy going to the theatre here. So I really shouldn't be too against German theatre and German cinema, but no I'm definitely - I would rather listen to German news on the radio than German music, but I am the same in English. I'd rather listen to English news than English music, so I guess it translates. (A1, ll. 144-149)

... just kind of discovering more and kind of opening up these different options and stuff. And I like that idea that there's this kind of its happening now, and somewhere else, and something that's happening, and something that's changing. And I wanted to feel like that I could access that and stuff, and find stuff that kind of other people didn't know about. Like none of my family really know about that kind of stuff that was going on and stuff. So it's kind of finding something for myself a bit you know something different that I could like show them or get involved in and stuff, if you know what I mean. (A3, ll. 117-124)

In this quote A3 also mentioned that he likes being an expert in something his family did not know much about. Again he took up his thought from earlier and said German is 'something different'. When talking about his trips to Germany he explained his interest in more detail:

And yeah it was cool because we went with like people who weren't studying German as well. It felt quite empowering to be able to know it and stuff, if you know what I mean. People were like asking me what stuff meant and stuff, and that felt quite cool and ... but it was also cool to find that it was somewhere where it actually happens if you know what I mean, it wasn't just like in textbooks and stuff; and somewhere where it's actually like used and stuff. (A3, ll. 137-142)

Similar to A1, This participant named history as a part of the area he is interested in. When he visited Berlin with his history class he could also enjoy being an expert on German. He mentioned this positive mix of his interest in current affairs and the possibility to talk to people about it or to experience it on two other occasions during the interview (A3, ll. 168-171; ll. 194-196).

Another student who started talking about trips to Germany when asked about her cultural interests was A2. She stated that school did not actually foster any cultural interests, but that a trip to Germany with her father did that:

There wasn't too much as part of the syllabus that made me what to do it, but my dad took me to Berlin, (...) I really enjoyed it because I went and saw the Checkpoint Charlie Museum. And when you're a bit younger you don't understand the kind of, not massiveness, but the size or the importance of what you see in front of you; so like in my mind I just saw this wall and people knocked it down. and then I came here and I studied history, politics and society last semester; I mean you saw all the implications. And so it's doing small stuff like that which kind of not plants a seed but it just kind of gets something going. And then when you're obviously older you can comprehend larger histories and stories better then, I think it's easier to get into something a bit more, so. (A2, ll. 201-212)

She also appreciated the fact that she was exposed to more historical and socio-political topics at university, and could connect this knowledge with her earlier travel experience with her father. Similarly B3 enjoyed the mix of current issues and 'real world German':

I mean it's how Germany works as a country. And we read a German novel in second, in A2 year. It was just the case of - It was doing more topics, more real world topics, which I had an interest in, just doing real world German as opposed to conversational German. (B3, ll. 105-107)

As this was all he said, when I asked him about his cultural interests, I tried again later in the interview. Interestingly he started talking about the times he visited Germany:

My interest? I suppose just being out in Berlin and just seeing and like going to museums, and how the past is dealt with were - and like structures and like that really raised cultural interest in regards to: It's hands on, you've seen it. I mean there is only so much that a textbook at school can do. Like the same when we were in Munich, like just being around and seeing. It's just, it's seeing things that raise your interest further in you are like well I've seen two cities, I can compare them, and I went to different parts of the country but about, elsewhere. I guess it's living it that makes you want to understand more of it. I think, it's the same for England that wherever - if you live it - it's like there's only so much textbook can teach you. (B3, ll. 271-279)

The interviewee stated the reason for the link between his cultural history interest and the trips to Germany himself: "there's only so much a textbook can teach you". He named his interest in German history as one of the main motivating factors for learning German earlier in the interview (B3, ll. 191-197). For these young people it was the experience of being in Germany, actually seeing the history, and living the everyday culture and cultural history that fostered their cultural interests. It was something the classroom could not do for them. The same can be said for B2:

I'm afraid to say, I don't think the content of any of the exams I did was very inspiring, but I have been from home. And I suppose I've seen some things at school, there's a book that I like - or my next door neighbour is also German, and she sometimes gives me a book to read and so on. And it's just these little bits and I go, I'd like to know more about that. And obviously when you come to university that's what you concentrate on. (B2, ll. 116-120)

Similar to the other participants B2 started to develop her cultural interests outside of school. She got information at home or from her neighbour, but she also mentioned the fact that one concentrates on these interests at university. During the interview she mentioned her interest in German culture six other times. She mostly spoke of the two everyday cultures she grew up in and the differences between them (B2, ll. 344-346; 474-475). During her first narrative she talked about culture (B2, ll. 31-34), and she also mentioned it at the end again, when I asked her whether I left anything out. Her interest in history was closely linked to her cultural interest (B2, ll. 130-135; 341-346; 464-467). To learn more about German culture (both everyday and high culture) and history was one of her main motivations to study German, alongside her goals for fluency discussed earlier.

Similarly to B2, B1 had a more personal connection to German everyday culture and Germany's cultural history. Having lived in Germany as a child, she discovered later in school how her own life story is connected to German history (see above B1, ll. 137-144)

All the former East, GDR stuff, oh my goodness, that's one of the most interesting areas of history that I found. (...) kind of realizing how little you actually get

taught about the place in schools and you realize: So why did we spend all that time learning about this when this only happened - when I went to school it was only what? 15 years of history. So I went to school in 2005, so it was only - and you'd think: 'Why would I not learn about this? This is really big stuff that happened!' So that was good. (B1, ll. 154-162)

B1 had moved to Germany with her family as a child, so all her childhood memories were linked to Germany. When she started secondary school her family moved back. She never knew why this happened until she found out that the British military had been moved out of Germany following re-unification. For B1 learning German meant making sense of her own life story. It also empowered her. By learning German she would be able to move back to Germany; she could prevent the country from being “shut off” (B1, ll. 172-175), and could keep her connection to Germany and to her childhood.

Trips to Germany

All first year students had been to Germany. As illustrated above the trips to Germany were closely linked to the participants’ interests in Germany’s cultural history and everyday culture. It was also these visits to Germany that shaped their early ideas about the country and the culture. In addition to school trips which three first year students took, all of the interviewees visited Germany privately, four with their families and three by themselves. Out of this group no one attended a school exchange.

A1 was the only student who did not express a link between her cultural interests and her family holidays in Germany.

My Mum and I went to the Christmas Markets in Cologne and Dusseldorf, when I was about 14, and we really loved it. And we went back a few years ago: We went on a summer holiday to Berlin. We took my dad with us. He wasn't very keen to go, because he speaks absolutely no German. I think he was a bit reluctant to go, but we dragged him over there, and we all loved it. We had a really nice holiday in Berlin. (A1, ll. 208-213)

There are two factors that could have hindered her experiencing German culture: this was a holiday, and her father was reluctant, so they kept more of a distance to German life while they were in Berlin:

I: And when you were there, did you interact with Germans at all?

A1: Not a lot really. I guess we were just on holiday. (A1, ll. 215f)

During the interview it also became apparent that A1 was francophone. She visited France a lot with her family and would have studied only French if she had to choose between French and German. She was less confident in German and that kept her from going to Germany on her own:

but I've got a pen pal – a pen friend who lives in Germany, somewhere in West Germany, so not very far from the French border and I have never – she's been to stay with me, but I haven't been to stay with her yet. But I'm sure I could do that. She's always told me that her door is always open, if I want to go. So I would like to go one day, because I have that option and that would obviously be more interaction. I guess, I have not felt confident enough in my German to go and stay with a family and have to speak German all the time yet, but I'm getting there. (A1, ll. 218-224)

This was different for A2. In addition to the trip to Berlin with her father which left a lasting impression, she also took a school trip that she indicated with only one line (A2, l. 226). A more significant event for her was a trip she took by herself. Being involved with scouts, she had the opportunity to stay with Germans in Germany. Thus she used her hobby to get more involved with Germany:

I went to Tübingen and that's because I was doing World Scout Jamboree and that was in Sweden in 2011, it's where I still have my bracelet from. But you did something called HoHo, which is called home hospitality either before or afterwards, and we did ours afterwards. And we got sent to Germany and 36 of us in our unit got split up, and we went and stayed with like families. And so I stayed with a pair of students in Tübingen, who were both doing I think sciences is the specialty of Tübingen University. (A2, ll. 228-233)

At this time however she did not feel confident enough to start conversations:

I was staying with a couple of Germans but I'm not very confident so I'm not going to go up and start speaking. Sometimes I feel like I have to have a bit of an invitation, because I'm not a very confident person anyway; and I think languages help with that a little bit because you kind of have to make yourself get over that kind of fence or limitation that you feel you have; so I think it helps a little but with confidence. But I didn't use it much (A2, ll. 238-242)

A lack of confidence might also have hindered A3 from taking part in a school exchange his school organised:

There was an exchange in my year 9, but I didn't go on that because I was a bit scared, but when I went it wasn't much of a problem now. But in the last year we went to Berlin for a history trip because we were doing about like Nazi Germany and stuff so we went to Berlin, and we visited like all the history stuff, all the museums and stuff and it was really cool. And we went to the football stadium as well which was cool. (A3, ll. 131-135)

When he visited Germany later, he enjoyed the trip a lot. As mentioned above he felt empowered because he knew German. This trip to Berlin motivated him to pursue his German further and to stay in Germany again. With the help of his mother and her university friend he organized a private exchange:

I did an exchange with - my mom has a friend from university, who was German but she was doing like a year in Aberystwyth in Wales yeah. And she teaches at

the, at a school. So she set up an exchange with one of the students there. And I went there for a week and he came here for a week (A3, ll. 154-157)

This private exchange left a lasting impression and it helped him to form his own opinion about Germany. He generally seemed very impressed by it and by the level of education he experienced in a German school (A3, ll. 159-174).

B3's impressions are similar to A3's. He also went on a school trip during his last year in school, and he was surprised by the way languages are learnt in Germany:

in year 13 we went out to Munich for a span of like five days there; and for one of them days we had a partner school (...) The way the schools worked - they were different. And then we went into a first year English and that was brilliant just like hearing them trying to - at their age their English is far superior to what our first year German would ever be. I know it's all 'cause like the subjects is taught to you properly, culturally. They also get to use English quite a lot, but it's incredible to see how well their English was (B3, ll. 115-124)

Even though this was the first trip he mentioned and he claimed that this was his "only trip to Germany" (B3, l. 135), he revealed two more visits after being asked twice (B3, l. 134, l. 136). He took another excursion with his school in year eight, his first year of learning German (B3, ll. 137-143; ll. 172-176) and his family took him to Berlin before he started learning German (B3, l. 137: 145-155). Despite the fact that he forgot about this trip at first, it was as important to him as the trips to Berlin were for A3 and A2:

My family took me to Berlin (...) I don't even know why we went really. So I hadn't started learning German at that point. It was in like that gap between year seven and eight. And I think mom just wanted to go and see those sites, because it is quite a nice city, and the history side to it. I think I having been there - and I think that helped having been there showed just kind of how cool a place it is, and how different and varied it is. It made me realize that I, the language, learning the language is cool, but I mean I always liked the place; like I'm going to live there and that's what made me want to move there for the future. Having been there for a short while; and it's picking up on like having been there realizing, you just realize how much different it is to England. And at the same time obviously it's got a similar architecture to it and it's quite an exciting place to be. (B3, ll. 145-155)

The interesting thing here was that he experienced Berlin before he learnt the language and that learning German related to things he was exposed to previously, during this holiday. Due to this journey he was motivated to learn German and was excited about Germany even before he started learning it in school. This trip was so significant that B3 talked about it later in the interview when I asked him about his 'key moment' in learning German:

the trip to Berlin was, like put me onto thinking 'yeah okay' so obviously putting it like that, I put ten per cent more into it (B3, ll. 534f)

Similar to A2, B1 travelled to Germany by herself. She did not use opportunities to visit Germany, she created them:

I went to Düsseldorf when I was, first time when I was sixteen, seventeen, I went on my own. Well not really on my own, without parents, with a friend. I went to a hostel and bunk beds and ten people sharing a room which is fantastic. And we visited friends, and we went to a wedding. And it was in the mess, it's in the camp. So it's a bar set up for soldiers to go in. So they had the reception in the mess. And it was those places that I played in when I was like eight, nine and ten. And I was like 'Oh my goodness!' It was absolutely amazing. Yeah I went back. And I went back to do - I managed to find a guy that I know who was driving back to Germany to help out with the moving out of GHQ. General Head Quarters, yeah, it's the one near M. And he was driving there to help. So I jumped in a military car with him and went and did some research and spoke to some people there. So I've been back a few times, but always in that region. (B1, ll. 179-190)

Yet, when she had the chance to take a school trip to Germany, she declined:

There was a trip to Cologne when I was in year eight in secondary school. There was a trip that was booked and it was to go back to Cologne; and everyone was asking me: 'Are you going to go to the Germany trip? And I was: 'No, no way, because I was there a year, two years ago, I visited there. I went to all the places you are going to see. I'd only take up a space. You go see it, because I have already been.' (B1, ll. 193-198)

So learning German in school was one thing for her, but experiencing life in Germany was more personal. After learning more about Germany in school, B1 went back to Germany by herself to visit the places of her upbringing. She even undertook a research project in which she investigated the story of her childhood:

There was - we did a project (...) It was about the impact of the moving out of Germany, the British military moving out. And that was one of the most interesting things that I did. So I became very interested in my personal background. It felt really like my personal background. And I got to talk to people who shared my views completely. You talked to them and they'd go: 'I love Germany, I love everything here' And I was like: 'Yeah that is exactly what I felt too.' (B1, ll. 162-170)

This indicates again how personal learning German and making that connection was for her. B2 told a comparable story. For her, Germany was the place of her childhood as well, but more so the place of her childhood holidays and her German family (B2, ll. 199-208). She said, she went 'to keep it going', so she visited Germany as often as possible; largely to maintain her language skills. For her Germany is closely linked to childhood and holidays:

I think the childhood, that's what I know most about (B2, l. 227)

I think what's dangerous about the fact that I've been to Germany every once, at least once a year, all of my life is that when I go to Germany it's always like a holiday. (B2, ll. 287f)

Consequently her view of German society was shaped by feelings about childhood and holidays. There was no broader cultural element to it, which was something she was keen to learn more about.

Overall, the way the interviewees talked about their experiences in Germany clearly illustrates that their trips to Germany were a main motivating factor to continue studying German. That is to say, they showed strong integrative reasons for studying German (see also section below).

Impressions of Germany/German Society

Logically the impression of Germany and its society was shaped by the students' experiences in Germany. All of them had positive impressions. When they talked about their view of Germany, there were some influences of stereotypes and also an effort to avoid stereotypes. The interviewees also tended to compare England and Germany to work out differences or similarities. A1's impressions were shaped by family holidays in Germany and France:

I really liked it. It didn't seem that different from here, from England to me. I have visited France a lot more and that seems a lot more different. And yeah I really liked it. Obviously I've seen a few different cities. We went to one in the middle of winter and it was freezing cold and very Christmassy. We went to Berlin in the middle of a heat wave in July and it was boiling and it was nice; really different, but it seemed nice; really clean, and lots of recycling. That's the cliché but it's true. Everything was on time. It is a cliché but it's true, it seemed true to me compared to here. No, I liked it. (A1, ll. 226-232)

Here it becomes evident how the ideas she had of Germany before she went shaped her opinion, even though she preferred not to talk about clichés. Having been both to Berlin and to Southern Germany A2's account varies a little more:

I think it depends on where you go, because obviously Berlin it's just stacked in history. And obviously the further away you go from Berlin like through the country, I think, you obviously get a different impression (...) so I think it's nice that depending on where you go you could have a different point of view, which I think is the same with any country, but to do it in a different country than your own, I think, you see more of the difference than in our own country. (A2, ll. 256-258; ll. 263-266)

A2 picked up on the regional differences and reflected on her outsider perspective. Still she generalized her personal experience for the whole of Germany:

I don't know, the thing, the thing that struck me as quite universal about Germany is that it is the kind of common - like in England you could go up to someone, if you walk past someone and you have to get a little close to them on the pavement, then you can smile at them or if you walk past someone, just in a village, you could say hello and just that kind of thing. But I don't think that's done so much in Germany, it's not just a done thing. But at the same time if you needed any help or you needed anything most people would be open to do that. So even though there's not this face of, or you know the appearance of being helpful, if you needed it, it is there, whereas I think it's kind of the opposite way around with the English. We are much more happier to be kind of very happy and friendly and helpful on the outside, and then the moment it comes down to it, I think we're a little bit kind of, we recoil much more quickly than Germans, but I think they're much keener to get stuck into things so yeah. (A2, ll. 269-280)

A3 came to almost the opposite conclusion:

it just seemed like everyone was like really open and stuff. And you know like they speak like loads more English than we do German. So it was like that there was no pressure and everyone is quite open and approachable generally. because I thought that was quite cool, where you know British people can be quite like moody and stuff, and it depends I think, but you know... (A3, ll. 148-152)

To him German people appeared open and approachable, whereas they seemed to be less friendly on the outside to A2. This might be due to different levels of confidence or even language skills. A3 was generally impressed by the openness of the German society and by how easy going people were. He even stated that this and an interest in current affairs are typically German things for him (A3, ll. 198-200). B3 compared the English to the German society as well, and also concluded that Germany was more relaxed and more educated. The biggest contrast between the two societies for him was that Britain seemed more restricted and governed whereas Germany felt more at ease and more self-reliant (B3, ll. 178-184; 187-191). Even before being asked about German society he pointed out differences between London and Berlin and how it was more relaxed:

I think it's just the whole style of life I think, even though Berlin is like one of the biggest cities out there, like the capital I think. If you compare it London, it is so relaxed there like, even though, like arguably, after everything that it's gone through, it still hasn't realized a re-unified Germany to its full potential. It should, in theory it should have more going on in it than London. Somehow it's more relaxed. And like public transport and just - is just standard; like the way they treat cyclists there. It just is a whole city itself differently to London. (B3, ll. 157-163)

Having visited Germany three times, B3 talked a lot about the differences and the similarities of both countries, while pointing out Germany's advantages (see also B3, ll. 208-223). He reflected on these and stated that he was not yet in the position to compare all areas of life (B3, ll. 194-201). As B1 actually lived in Germany for some

years, her account is detailed too, even though her first utterance sounded clichéd to her:

I always found it, it was very clean, it's really clichéd. And because we had to follow the German laws; we couldn't mow our lawns on Sunday and hang our washing out or we recycled everything. We used Euros. It was always just friendly. Now I have a concern almost that I don't want to mention where it was in Germany, because it is a bit of an issue, that I don't want to bring up too much when I'm speaking to some people. You know 'I lived in Germany' and they'd go 'Oh where?' And you're like 'With the military in the camp that shouldn't be there, because it is about 60 years out of date or something' you know you don't really want to bring it up. But impression? Just a really nice place. (B1, ll. 200-207)

She mentioned some of the things the other students said as well, for example cleanliness and recycling. However, she did not feel comfortable with why and how she lived in Germany. Overall she had a very positive view of Germany, but living on an army base meant not actually being a part of German society:

So yeah, the impression has always been positive because it is such a fun place. But then there is always that distance because you were in Germany, but you weren't IN Germany. You know what I mean? You were never really there. I mean I lived there a long time and I know so many people who do. (B1, ll. 214-217)

Generally the interviewees saw Germany as not significantly different from England. Their opinions were always linked to personal experiences and some of them mentioned positive stereotypes. Some seemed to think that Germany was in some ways better or even superior to England, showing strong integrative orientation. B1 ended her last narrative with a very clear statement:

I always lose a little bit of pride in my own country and then you look at Germans and they - that is probably another thing that I liked about Germans; to go and look at them and to look at our country and think 'we're nowhere near, nowhere near as developed', that it what it feels like. (B1, ll. 467-471)

Only B2 had a problem comparing the two cultures. This might be because she felt both German and English, so she probably found it more difficult to look at Germany as an outsider. Her utterances above illustrate the close link between her childhood, holidays and Germany. Therefore she also spoke about upbringing when she was asked about her impression of Germany:

I think it's different from English society certainly. And possibly some of the ideas and the views that they have, maybe their outlook in life is a bit different. The way they bring up their children. But then it depends because, you know, you get some people in different situations, they do different things. (B2, ll. 221-224)

Stereotypes/what is Typically German

My questions about media and about stereotypes were intended to answer a part of my third research question, in how far external influences (for example peers, parents and media) influenced the students' identity and motivation to study German. Overall the first year group wanted to avoid mentioning stereotypes or difficult issues. They preferred talking about things they knew more about. However, stereotypes were a topic in the first year language classes at University A:

We studied this a lot; the clichés and the stereotypes about Germany. For me: everything in order, everything in place, very clean, well thought out, well designed, polite, but friendly and welcoming, beer, cars, football – football. I really like Formula 1 racing. I'm really into cars and such. So I used to love Michael Schumacher. So I say a lot about cars and stuff with Germany, but football - but I guess that in terms of being similar to England. Football is taken so seriously in Germany and so seriously here. I guess that's a similarity. (A1, ll. 250-255)

A1 happily named all the stereotypes, because they were something she had studied and she felt at ease with. In contrast to that A2 did not mention that she studied stereotypes, but instead she made a connection with her personal experience in Germany:

I don't want to say Wurst, I really don't, but that was the one thing that the students gave us when we there, they just said: 'Ha, this is German you'll like it' (A2, ll. 268f)

A3 reflected on his visit to Germany and the German people he knew:

I don't know it depends, I think kind of quite open and stuff, and quite kind of social and interacting and stuff. And they're quite kind of into like things that are going on like music and current affairs and stuff, because yeah - and really nice basically. (A3, ll. 198-200)

B1 referred to the people she knew as a child as well:

You don't really want to hear about stereotypes, but there were - typically German? Beer? The Germans I knew were all 60s men with beards and eccentric. Yeah, a little bit eccentric, yeah they were, the Germans that I knew, very friendly. I always liked the accent, especially as a child listening in. But now typically German? I don't know. I really don't know. (B1, ll. 219-220)

B1 was aware of the negative stereotypes and believed that I as a German might be offended. When I asked B3 the question about stereotypes he wanted to know about my own experiences. Without waiting for my answer he talked about the German people he knew, like A3, B1 and B2 (see next section) did:

Why don't you give me the kind of stereotype you just get faced with over here - as soon as you go out there, you're sort of like 'Well, that's not really that true'. So I don't really think that, obviously, people don't wear Lederhosen or that, but I feel like any other stereotype, like I know German people that come two minutes late they're not all efficient you know, the German department. I probably can't say, but the German department here isn't exactly most efficient thing ever, they are known for making mistakes. So I don't think any stereotypes really exist in regards to German, Germany and German people I mean ... the trains are on time I give them that, but that's the good thing, but on the whole it's just (difficult) to say. (B3, ll. 226-243)

He also admitted that it was a difficult subject. Finally, B2 also talked about differences in humour in some detail (B2, ll. 256-261, 263-269).

Presentation of Germany in the Media

During my data collection I changed my approach to find out about the influence of the media. At first I specifically asked about jokes about Germans, but as the interviewees felt they should avoid stereotypes they did not feel comfortable talking about them. That is why I specifically asked them about the differences between their own impressions and how Germany is portrayed in the media. At the time I was conducting the interviews there was widespread news coverage on the EU, concerning Germany's role during the financial crisis and the British government wanting a different approach. Various European countries including the UK have had financial difficulties since 2007, but Germany managed to stay on top economically. I interviewed all participants early in 2013; consequently their responses were strongly influenced by those events:

I think we're just because you know like Germany is like the centre of Europe now, basically or at least that's how we see it I think that's the reality of it anyway. We are quite reliant, we see, we're looking out basically, I think we're an outsider looking in especially with trying to cut ourselves off. We're going to have like this referendum later on [about J. Cameron and the EU] and I think we may be seeing, like, Germany as the people who are really believing in European projects and stuff and interacting and getting involved and stuff and kind of like, almost like they're a sensible person who is taking a reasonable view, whereas we're kind of silly to be doubling on it and just trying to get what we want out of it or what we don't out of it; whereas they're really committed and it's kind of a first port of call for when discussing stuff about Europe and stuff, I think. (A3, ll. 213-222)

Throughout the interview A3 stressed his interest in current affairs. He knew exactly what was going on and he was very happy to talk about it. Like A3, A1 had a good idea about the events, but found it difficult to give her own opinion on the situation:

Well, it's - I'm not sure, the English/British media is quite, I guess, sceptical of Europe as a whole, but Germany are definitely seen as bullies wielding their

power and making the poor Greeks do this and that. But then at the same time, I think there's quite a lot of respect for the German work ethic. And the Germans are good, because they pay their taxes and they go to work and they don't expect to retire at the age of 50. So I think there is respect. And in terms of culture as I said: I think that side, the Germans are far harder working than Brits, but I think the Brits can relate to that. So I think there is respect. I certainly see Germany within of what I studied of Europe which isn't that much yet, but it seems to me that Germany is obviously doing well and a lot of other countries aren't. So they must be doing something right. But no, I don't really know. That's a hard question. (A1, ll. 260-269)

In the end she said that it was a hard question. Some of the interviewees felt they did not know enough to make statements about how Germany is portrayed in the media:

obviously I haven't the greatest knowledge and so I can't make too many judgments. If like for anything if you don't know something well enough and you start judging it then I think it's quite easy to become prejudiced. but I think, no I don't think anything like in the media or that plays anything too much like, doesn't paint too much of a bad kind of portrait of Germany but I'm not sure ... (A2, ll. 283-288)

It seemed that the students at University B felt more comfortable talking about Germany in the media. At this point I did not specifically ask about jokes anymore, so it was less obvious what the intentions of my questions were. Additionally B1 and B2 have a little more distance to the UK. However B2 felt it was difficult for her to answer the question:

I know the stereotype thing is definitely false. Some of it is false. I mean there is the German precision and being on time and so on, that's mainly true. However my mother is the most least on time person in the world, but she's very, very German. She's very particular, but she's never on time. So some of them are right some of them aren't. Some of the stereotyping about the language that it's quite harsh and so on, I've never found, because I've never heard it as foreign language. I don't really know, because I've never seen them as outsiders. I've never seen them as foreigners, so I couldn't say what English people think they are like. This is really hard. (B2, ll. 238-245)

Just like A1, A3 and B3 she answered the question by referring to something she knew more about, her mother and the German language. B1 on the other hand answered very confidently, as if this was something she had thought about before:

Germany is very rarely portrayed over here. It seems really - it's always with the schooling and what we were learning was about The Wars. And I think there is still a tendency to - that is kind of what you think of - some people do it automatically, go down that route, that German history. Angela Merkel is kind of - she always looks very stern and very serious. But I find it, they are not very - the way they are portrayed now, especially with the economy and stuff as like they have got all the money. 'Look Germany is the place with all the money!' So

now it is probably that, but in school it was like 'Germany is the place where The Wars happened.' which is a shame. (B1, ll. 225-232)

B1 described how the view of Germany had changed over past years. She also referred to the Germans as 'they' rather than 'you' which would have included me. That shows why she did not mind saying those things; in that moment she seemed no longer aware of the fact that I was part of that culture too. B3 used this opportunity to talk about something he knew more about as well: Sports.

I'm not sure, I think at the minute the British media give it a better picture than they did a few years ago. I think basically British media up until the world cup 2006 were like, there's a place scary with the past and all that, but I feel like the world cup 2006 was a big turning point for the Anglo-German relations. I feel like having – I mean I wasn't there – but having watched it and seeing fans go out there and hearing about it, British people finally began to realize that Germany, it wasn't, it's not what it was, it's a unified country, it's a safe place to be around, there's no trouble. And I think from then on Anglo German relations have been fine ever since... (B3, ll. 237-244)

B3 was the only one in that group that referred to football in the media. His description of how the FIFA World Cup in Germany in 2006 changed the British view of Germany was very accurate.

This was an uncomfortable subject to talk about. I believe that the students knew where I was heading with my questions about the media, about humour and about stereotypes. As they had been learning German for some years they were aware of the delicacy of the topic and they did not want to talk about Nazis, World War II or other negative issues.

Overall the interviewees saw contemporary Germany as not much different to England. Their impressions were primarily linked to personal experiences; rather than, for example, to their A-level studies or the academic studies of German culture and society they were pursuing at university.

5.2.5 Tuition Fees and First Experiences at University

At the time of the interview the participants had just started their second semester. However the short amount of time spent at university meant that their motivation was still mainly influenced by their experiences in school and, as the previous section showed, their experiences outside of school.

A major contextual issue however that distinguished the first year group was the level of tuition fees. In 2011 the British government decided to cut central funding for universities and to allow the universities to charge up to £9000 per academic year, financed through a student loan scheme, to be repaid in later life if and when a salary

threshold was passed. Against expectations most universities started charging the highest amount possible, and this was also the sum that was charged at both research sites for all students starting in 2012. There was consequently considerable concern especially in university Humanities departments (including Modern Languages departments), as to whether students would be deterred from attending university altogether, or diverted to more vocational and career-related disciplines.

My goal was to find out in how far the increased tuition fees had influenced the participants' decision to study German and what impact it had had on their motivation. Obviously it had not kept any of them from pursuing a degree in German. A1 could even have started university a year earlier, but decided to take a gap year and consequently faced higher tuition fees:

Well, actually it's funny, because I ended up and took a gap year. So if I had gone to university straight away I would have paid the cheaper fees. So it was more that I wasn't ready to come to - I wasn't sure what I wanted to study. I hadn't found the right degree. So for me personally it is fantastic that I waited, because I have come here and I found this contemporary Europe degree, which covers everything that I am interested in. So I definitely think it is worth the money. I would have been paying a lot of money before, maybe doing a degree, studying a lot of German literature, and I'd have been miserable. So my parents were supportive, completely. I think they did a lot of research into the fees. Into how it's best - you know what loan to take and how much I'd be entitled to. So they did a lot of that practical thinking, but I don't think - they never for one second said: 'We don't think you should bother to get a degree.' like 'save the money and just work.' They would have never said that to me, but I knew I was going to go to university somewhere and do something. I just didn't know what. (A1, ll. 194-206)

A1 did not worry about the financial side of things. For her it was more important to obtain a degree and to find a one that suited her interests. Here University A could be benefitting from closures of German departments in 'younger' universities. While University A has an outstanding reputation and was 8th in the Time HE university rankings in ML in 2015, it does not concentrate on literature like other more traditional universities. A1 was happy with her experience at university and that was worth paying more money for. Her parents supported her throughout and made sure the financial side was taken care of. This was also the case for A3:

I think it was just like, they kind of said that university is a great opportunity whatever you do. It opens more possibilities and stuff. And it's the fact that kind of - like everyone's going to have to pay it, so it's just something you have to accept and also the fact that I kind of - my mom really said that university is quite the place to practice living alone anyway without studying; and kind of like a good place to practice, because you've got sport and stuff and it's not threatening too. (A3, ll. 259-264)

Going to university felt almost obligatory for A3. His parents did not only want him to obtain a degree, they also wanted to give him the chance to 'practice' life in a safe environment. That is why he had no other option than to accept the increased fees. He recognised the problems that resulted from this though and pointed out the fact that this was not the case in other countries apart from the USA (A3, ll. 264-271). Furthermore he knew about the politics behind the events and did not think it was fair for his generation to shoulder the financial burden:

it's just the politicians really, and the fact that you know they're trying to cut the cost. It's not their generation that is affected, it's not the generation who can vote, we couldn't vote and yeah so it's unfair really (A3, ll. 271-273).

In contrast to A1, A2 did not have such a positive experience in her first semester. That is why she viewed paying £9000 a little more critically. She saw it as a necessary inconvenience like A1 and A3, but she felt more frustrated by it:

obviously languages is a much more self-motivated kind of topic. People, like two boys in my flat are doing electronic engineering, they have about 30 hours of lectures a week so for them it's obvious they're, you know, getting their time and things; but I don't know, I just don't see why it had to be 9 grand. There was no way that I wasn't going to come to university, because that was just the way I was going to go in life, but it felt like a bit of a deterrent really, but at the same time it, as my mom would say, it's just something you have to do. So unfortunately you have to pay 9 grand a year. And it does make me worry, because well this year, it doesn't count to the final year. So it's a bit frustrating really, when like for instance, when one of my marks wasn't as high as I wanted it to be; and I'm sat there going, oh that cost me about like couple of hundred quid. And to not do very well on and then that's kind of a joke. I mean we kind of ignore it and we make a bit of a joke about it, like amongst my friends here, well if you don't make a joke about it most of us want to sit there and feel like crying. So that's I just don't see the point in 9 grand a year. (A2, ll. 136-148)

Paying £9000 seemed like a necessary inconvenience before she came to university. However, when she found out how little contact hours she had, that her first year did not count towards her final grade and when she was not doing very well, she felt frustrated. She also thought she could work in Germany to pay off her debt faster (A2, ll. 324-332). For her studying German was still worth it, because she imagined having a more interesting job later in life than people who study other subjects (A2, ll. 350-360).

B1 tried to justify tuition fees and to make sense of the situation (B1, ll. 274-280). For her it seemed like a lot of money, but a degree is priceless. Yet like A2 she felt that what she received at university was not worth the money:

A degree is sort of something that you can pertain. That is something to be really proud of. And I'm the first person in my family to go to university. It was always

like, if I'm clever enough - I mean it is a horrible price to pay - but hopefully it will do me well in the future. And also this is probably the only way that I could go forward in the language. I could have gone to Germany, but then I wouldn't have a formal qualification, so that was probably it. Also there's no real option. There's no way around it. I wish there was, but it was less infuriating then, before I came to university, than it is now. Because when you apply to university, you don't know what you get at university. You don't know how many hours you get in a week. But then you get here and you count how many hours you get and you think if you worked that?! I wouldn't get paid £9000, if I worked what I get taught. So when I was at college you think: 'I've got all these lectures...' When you're there you think: 'Well, it must be worth £9000, if they gonna justify charging that.' That was kind of the mind-set that I had at the time. Then you get here and you think: 'I might as well carry on now.' sort of one year in. (B1, ll. 279- 292)

Her main reason for studying German was to become fluent and to move to Germany if possible. She wanted a formal qualification as well. As the first person in her family to go to university, she felt that it was unavoidable to pay that much money in order to study. After her first semester at university she was angrier about the fees though; like A2 she felt she was not getting enough for her money. Still, after having studied for almost one year she did not want to drop out.

For B2 the financial side did not seem as important. She stated she could have avoided the fees by moving to a different country. However her grades were not excellent and she felt that the British system was easier and more convenient for her:

I did look at French and German universities. I got a really poor grade in sixth form at the end, so I realized that I couldn't go to Germany, because of the Durchschnitt and so on, not any really good, not any decent universities. I was lucky to get accepted here actually, but I would have gone somewhere in Germany or possibly France, because it's cheaper. But I did want to study her, because the system is different, and I think it's slightly easier here. You get a bit more guidance, and it's a bit smaller, and obviously everything is in English; so it's just really easy and it's not too far away from home. (B2, ll. 141-148)

B3 is actually the student I borrowed the term 'necessary inconvenience' from. He summed up perfectly what the other interviewees expressed as well. Having been asked in how far tuition fees influenced his decision, he claimed it did not make a difference:

Nah, it didn't make a change to it. So it's what I wanted to do and it's an inconvenience having to spend so much more money for it, but I think it's a necessary inconvenience. (B3, ll. 317f)

He also emphasized how much his parents supported his decision. It seemed like there was more of a question whether he would study German than whether he would go to university at all (B3, ll. 320-326).

Transitioning from school to university, the biggest change was the number of students in a class or on the course. At school all interviewees were in the small minority of pupils who took languages. In their A-level class there were never more than four students, therefore most of them were used to a lot of attention from the teacher and to a lot of speaking time in class. A2 was even the only one who took German A-levels at her school:

I got used to speaking just myself and the teacher and that's a much different kind of speaking environment than for example in my [university oral class] ... it's a much different environment than speaking in there when there's like ten other people in there (A2, ll. 446-448)

She got quite demotivated after receiving a bad grade for her speaking examination at the end of the first semester, but she tried to get over that (A2, ll. 448-459). Other participants commented on peoples' reactions when they told them that they were studying German:

actually I had quite a lot of people saying to me: 'Why are you studying German? Why are you studying French? You should be doing Mandarin, you should be doing Arabic. You should be doing all of these ... you could at least be doing Spanish so that you could go to South America'. But I'm - personally I don't really like travelling that much, which is a bit weird for someone who is doing languages. And I have never been outside of Europe. And I can't ever see myself going to work in China or Saudi Arabia. And as I've said I'm just so interested in Britain in Europe, Germany in Europe. And I just knew that there was no - that I wanted to stay within Europe. (...) So I guess, I had to just ignore some people and just go with what I wanted. I hope it is the right thing. (A1, ll. 158-167)

A1 received negative comments about the fact that she chose German. However at university she found out, that there was a difference between British people and international students. She used these comments to justify for herself that she made the right choice:

And maybe, maybe British people are a bit dismissive of Europe, 'cause I found that especially the ERASMUS students and foreign students studying in Southampton, that I have met, hold German in very high regards. And everyone I have spoken to, they have all said: 'Yeah, I'm learning German, because it has got such a strong economy.' And I have never met any English person that would say that, that has said that, no one said: 'Oh yeah, you should carry on German, because of the economy.' No English person has ever said that to me, but they've said: 'You should learn Arabic', because that's where the world is going and Chinese. (A1, ll. 173-180)

Even though A1 and A2 talked about different things regarding their experiences at university and the influence of their peer group, they both used strategies to overcome negative comments or setbacks. They were motivated to study German and they were not willing to allow other people to take that away from them. For A3 it was also the

reactions of people outside the languages department that startled him, but again he stated that he knew what he was doing:

it's always when you say like you're studying French and German, they always say like 'are you fluent?' and then you have to say 'no' or they expect that because you do that, you are fluent or something. Well then I think like, if you were fluent, you wouldn't really be studying it (A3, ll. 237-241).

Regarding the experiences at university, B1 was bothered by the attitude of the other students on her course:

I gotta be honest, I was expecting to be - Oh, this is gonna sound dreadful. - I expected to be in a much more academic environment. I expected everyone to be very studious and head down, and lessons about German, and the things that I have always really liked and most people in German. If I could just sit down and ...chat ... I love it. But always, it doesn't always feel like - everyone is expected to do a degree and they just picked the wrong subject. Sometimes, some people around [noise] but you do find some people will chat to you. Everyone wants to do their own thing. People do joint honours and different things, you can just tell that they are gonna go into a different area. They're doing languages and they might not be using German ever again. And then there is less competition for me to get into the job I want to do. (B1, ll. 350-359)

Even though B1 was disappointed by her year group, she found a way to see something positive. In the end she would have less competition, because she actually wanted to do German and the others might decide to do different things once they graduate. B2 had similar feelings regarding their fellow students, but enjoyed watching the other students:

They make me think. I'm a bit of a people watcher like I see how people interact and behave; and some of their questions obviously in discussions that they bring up are quite interesting. Things I wouldn't have thought off. I think people just generally help you learn. You've got even - I can't really define it, but it's just them being there, makes you think a different way; it makes you think of different angles and different points of views as well. Some of them are very useless, because they don't know anything, they don't contribute to the class. And some of them they ask really stupid questions - a waste of time. But it's all part of it, and it's not necessarily just learning the language, but it's the human understanding that you gain from being with other people. So they are quite important yes. Having said that I do love having a one to one sessions, because that way I myself benefit from the learning side of things. A bit of both really. (B2, ll. 368-378)

Despite the fact that she found some of her peer group 'useless' she managed to put a positive spin on it, because she could learn about human interaction. For her it was also the first time she was interacting with English native speaker who learn German (B2, ll. 382-388). B3 went even further than the other two interviewees from his university; he avoided socializing with the students who study German with him:

They're there. At the end - it sounds harsh but I might, I'll go and speak to some, but I'm my own person and I'll go in there and, I do work then I go. I don't socialize with them away from the subject, to put it that way. (B3, ll. 328-330)

Because of his sport he had enough opportunity to meet other students (B3, ll. 332-337). He also stated that his other subject took up a lot of time and that was why he did not have enough time to meet up with the German students (B3, ll. 332-339). However, when it came to interaction in class he appreciated his course. In his A-level class there were only four students and at university there were a lot more; some of them even with an international background, which he appreciated. He also enjoyed the fact that all of them are interested in learning German (B3, ll. 344-357).

5.2.6 Staying Motivated

A large amount of the first year students' interviews was spent talking about the past; about their language learning history, about their visits to Germany and about how these things influenced their initial motivation. In order to pick up topics from the motivation literature (see chapter 3.0), I asked additional, specific questions about their ongoing motivation; how they stayed motivated and what motivated them. If I felt I was missing something, I asked about career plans to investigate instrumental motivation, and about the importance of success or whether the interviewee was competitive for external motivation.

Overall the participants had a very positive attitude. They all said they were motivated to study German and they all had strategies to maintain this motivation. Only two students mentioned set-backs. After taking a gap year, A1 felt she was behind. She was also a little disappointed by the number of contact hours in University A and by how much studying she had to do independently:

I'm not sure how motivated - no I am motivated. As I said I had a gap year and I didn't do much to keep my languages up at all over that year. So when I first got to [University A], it was a bit of a shock. I think I also struggled, because we only have one lesson a week here and we are expected to do a lot on our own. I found that a struggle to start with, but I said I listen to German news. I've watched a few programmes. (A1, ll. 299-304)

Yet through her independent study and by doing things she enjoyed in German, she managed to keep her motivation up (A1, ll. 303-307). In the end pursuing her interests outside of university and socializing with other people who study German was motivating:

Yeah, but I think now that I've been here 4 or 5 months I've got to know a lot more of the people on my course. And that makes me more motivated, spending time with the people who are also studying German or at least languages, that motivates you. And we go for lunch after a seminar on Monday. We go for lunch

and we try and speak French and then we switch and we try and speak German all together. Stuff like that; I think that is what being at university is about really, finding other people, being in that environment (A1, ll. 307-313)

The previous sections pointed out how a low grade made A2 feel so hopeless about studying German she even wanted to give up on it. Yet she managed to overcome that (A2, ll. 448-462):

There was a week when I just sat there just in my room thinking why am I here? But then I get, I don't know a piece of writing back or something and then it has less re-marking on it than the one before and less corrections. Then in my head you know, sometimes I'm like, yeah it's okay you can do this (A2, ll. 464-467)

She interpreted the feedback she received in such a way that she could see something positive in it. Success was a main motivating factor for her and motivation came step by step. She needed to see that she was good at learning German and that she progressed in order to stay motivated:

I think motivation comes in like small bits; so it's not like wake up, have a good breakfast and then feel in the mood to do some work for the day. But it's when like, if you're in a class or there's something, and it's when you just remember like offhand or something really easily or you feel like the work that you've put in has resulted in you actually knowing more. So it's not, it's a big kind of a push, it's just all these tiny little things that just keep you going. (A2, ll. 422-427)

When asked about maintaining his motivation A3 gave a longer monologue that covers 7.69% of the whole interview (A3, ll. 305-330). Like A1 it had to do with following his own interests in German (A3, ll. 315-330) and like A2 he enjoyed the small steps of success:

I don't know it's hard to say, just kind of like discovering more how it works, more understanding, making more connections between things you know. Like the more times you look at constructions, more links you make and the more you can understand how it works and then it gets easier. And it's the fact that you can kind of, you get these moments where you just think, oh that's why it's like that (A3, ll. 303-309)

B3 also explained that progress in German and learning more about Germany' cultural history helped him to stay motivated:

To get better at it as a language. To have that. To learn more about it as a country and that's really it, to learn more about it. Obviously the first and foremost is to get better at the language, to be able, to speak much better. But it's to learn about the country and to learn more about how it is in, like, in its distant past. Like, when it wasn't Germany, when it was lots of little states, innit? How they transitioned from that to where we are today. It's just like to piece your judgment, finally to work out how things worked (B3, ll. 291-297).

To become a better German speaker motivated B3, but he also wanted to understand the country and its history more. As we have seen above, he showed a strong cultural interest. Success was a strong motivator too:

I want to be successful, like at the end of the day it's not that I am going to say I'm here for that, but I'm here to be successful. It's that's, like, the end goal is to be successful. Like learning all those years has built up to success. So as long as I put in the hours now, I'll get success for all I want. (B3, ll. 301-304)

B3 showed great confidence; he did not doubt the fact that he would be successful as long as he worked for it. He did not say what success exactly meant for him though, whether a good career, a good degree or the ability to speak German fluently in the end. Yet one can assume that being fluent was one of the main factors, because he emphasised this earlier.

Success was also motivating for B1; it equalled getting a good degree for her (B1, l. 322). Still she pointed out that she valued the experience more than the grades:

I mean, I am never really bothered about the grade in the end. I'm trying to do my best and almost out of pride I try to do it - I mean I do try and get good marks, because I have put effort into something and think 'Well, if I'm gonna do this, I'm gonna do it well!' But all the time throughout my education, it has never been about a stepping stone. That is the problem I think with education, is that it becomes - you do GCSEs to get into your A-level, and then you do A-levels to get into university. And I was like: 'Well I am actually really enjoying doing my A-levels.' So I just enjoy the experience, I think. And I think it is actually really a kind of tragedy of the education system, where you are not allowed to just sit back and go 'I'm really enjoying being in this class and learning what I'm learning and having a broader view of the world.' So yeah, I think success in the sense of 'I've learned something and I am now a bit more knowledgeable about life'. I mean I only got three Bs at A-level. I didn't do especially, especially well, but I'm here and I enjoy it, every second of it. Yeah I would definitely put the experience above the mark in the end (B1, ll. 325-338).

B1 said she was generally motivated (B1, l. 307) and she watched German films in her free time (B1, ll. 308-310). What distinguished her from the rest of the group, though, was the fact that her main motivation for studying German was the possibility of moving to Germany. That is why she talked about preparing for her YA when asked about her current motivation:

I think knowing that you've gotta go away for a year is probably quite motivating, 'cause you know you're going to be away in this world, in this bubble of German and there's nothing else. If I can't speak German, I'm ... you know. And it would be a waste of my effort almost to go to Germany and not have studied enough for the year abroad and to find that no one understands me. And that is probably one of the most scary things: speaking to someone and they'd go: 'What? What are you saying?' I would just go red in the face and be in the

corner somewhere just crying 'Can't speak German'. Yeah, knowing that we're gonna be just chucked into the deep end, makes you wanna prepare for the deep end. (B1, ll. 310-318)

She imagined herself being in Germany and not being able to speak German and this motivated her to study. This tactic is not quite the Ideal L2 Self Dörnyei described (see chapter 3.2.5), neither is it the *ought-to self*, because her motives were not extrinsic, they were intrinsic. She imagined an 'un-ideal self'. In contrast to that, B2 imagined an *ideal self* that might not be an ideal version of herself as a German speaker, but as a German person. She imagined being culturally adapted:

I already call myself bilingual, but I would really like to be entirely German. Almost to the extent that I could be a spy and no one would know I was English. I really want to get in there and know it, because some people know seven languages but they don't really, they can get by, but they don't know the philosophy, the thinking, the cultural history, the way of behaving as you said, the subtleties between the different cultures, different people, even the politics and just the ... I'd really like to be two, not just the language just the whole thing because I am half German after all and I've got the blood sort of. (B2, ll. 440-446)

Showing strong integrative orientation, B2 felt a need to become culturally German, because she was already 'biologically' German. Speaking the language was not enough for her; she wanted to appear German as well. Other motivating factors for her were competitiveness and success, i.e. receiving good grades (B2, l. 358). Just like B1 however, she emphasised that the experience was more important than the final marks:

I myself find the experience as having - being more important than the actual grade. But I know that sadly most people look at your grade and so I have to get a good grade. Otherwise people don't take me seriously. And not everyone can sit down and have a conversation before they know who you are, they look at your papers and that's who you are. So I know I have to get a good grade. But if I don't end up making or being as successful as I wished I could be, I'll have definitely enjoyed just the experience of having being here, learned the language, and done that. (B2, ll. 360-366)

The element of competitiveness was a little stronger in French, because B2 knew she was the best student in German. B2 showed great confidence in her language skills here as well as in other parts of the interview:

I like beating people in tests and things like that. Although it's not too much fun when, if you're the best in the class like for grammar, some of the easier exercises, I'm just not boasting, I just am, I know it all anyway so it doesn't really matter. So I don't really tell other people. I think it's more in French that I'm more competitive. I think it's embarrassing when you get really low grades because after all, you know, a test is to show how much you can and if you just don't care then it's ... (B2, ll. 390-395)

What the participants described as success is both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (see 3.2.2). It is intrinsic when they talk about the small steps, about progressing in the language and learning more about the culture. Extrinsic motivation are the grades and the prospect of a good degree in the end. Career opportunities can be interpreted as extrinsic motivators and related to one of Gardner's main motivational factors, instrumental orientation (see 3.3). However, only A1 and A2 brought up Germany's economic power as a reason for learning German. I asked all students about the role career options played in their decision to study German. Most of them did not know what they wanted to do after their degree. That is why career prospects did not really influence their decision, even though most of them were aware of the fact that knowing German might help them to find a job:

because I'm not specifically sure of what I'm going to do. But obviously I know there was no way, I was going to have a career in anything else so I just – like I said earlier, I know I want to end up in the field of languages, but that field of languages is so wide that I think it's useful, if you know exactly what you want to do at the end of it. So like if you want to teach that's useful, because you know kind of what direction to take. But I could not say, I, originally I wanted to do more kind of translation so be a translator for someone; so like travel with businesses and stuff like that, but I think right now I haven't got enough confidence, or at least right now I don't feel like I'd be good enough for it. (A2, ll. 363-371)

A1 mentioned the positive influence knowing German would have on her career prospects three times during the interview. Yet, she thought she would have to move abroad to follow a career in German and she did not want to do that.

I: *So did career options play a role in your decision?*

A1: *Maybe at the back of my mind, yes they did, but it wasn't the most important thing, though, but it did. Yeah, I did bear it in mind when deciding. But I'm not sure if I'll end up in a career directly with languages. Like I said, at this stage I am not that keen to work abroad on a permanent basis. So I'm not sure, we'll see what happens with that; but it did, it was in my mind that especially with - as I said English people speak so few languages, and as you mentioned earlier I am paying so much money for this education [yeah], so I will need something that will get me a job at the end of it. I think it will. (A1, ll. 184-191)*

For A3 and A2 moving abroad was a more appealing prospect (A2, ll. 315-321).

At the moment I think it would be really cool to like be somewhere, if you know what I mean, to be, to feel like, to find somewhere new and do something exciting and stuff. And the fact that doing languages kind of has more kind of - I think you know there's an international point of view (...) so that's why it might be quite good and also kind of opening more opportunities; even just like working in a shop or whatever. And that's why I think maybe doing two languages is good, because it's just more opportunities and hopefully you can find something that

you really like (...) and also the fact that I haven't really decided what kind of a career, I have no idea. So just kind of keeping things open I think. (A3, ll. 275-292)

He did not know yet, what he wanted to do later in life, but he was excited by the opportunities his languages degree offered him. Going abroad and experiencing a more international point of view were strong motivators for him. He also compared studying medicine with studying German (A3, ll. 283-290) and he believed that languages gave him more flexibility. Some interviewees also mentioned careers that were typically linked with studying languages:

Yeah, I mean I would love to be an interpreter at some point in my life. And I am fully aware that I would need a degree to do that. But then also there is the possibility that, if I discover that by some crazy miracle that I want to teach - I don't think it is likely, but it might happen - the option is there for me. I couldn't teach if I just had an A-level. I couldn't do that. (B1, ll. 295-299)

A2, B1, and B2 mentioned translation and teaching as career options. Whereas B1 said that being an interpreter was her goal, A2 did not feel confident enough to say the same. She wanted to be one, but her low marks in her first semester made her feel insecure. B2 knew about those options, but she did not want to be a translator or a teacher. She studied German because of her interest in it.

I've got no idea what I want to do. I honestly have no idea. I know there are several options for someone who has studied languages, translator, teacher, I don't know what the options are. But I haven't got any aim in mind. I'm just doing it, because I'm interested in it. And I hope something will come along; otherwise I'm just stuck with it. (B2, ll. 150-154)

Like A3 she appreciates the opportunities that a languages degree offers, and wanted a career that is not monotonous (B2, ll. 156-163).

That's like having a degree with a language in, it helps. Obviously it looks good to impress your employers, but that wasn't the fact, that I was thinking 'Oh, I'll do German.' It just still is like a happy coincidence, that I, if I get the degree in Germany at the end of four years, it will look bit more employable. (B3, ll. 306-309)

Like some of the other students B3 was fully aware of the fact that a degree in German could be helpful for his career. In contrast to most other first year participants, B3 knew exactly what he wanted to become: A journalist. He was not studying German because, it would help him to be more employable, but he thought language skills could be useful for a journalist (B3, ll. 395-307).

Another extrinsic motivator is the possibility of moving abroad. For these students it was quite imminent, because a YA was part of their degree. However, not all of them were sure about what they would do during their YA:

I: Yeah. Well you got to go on your year abroad, like the next, the year after that. Do you have any idea about where you want to go?

A2: I have not got a clue, because I think the decision is going to be I think, because you get send off to do, you send off forms and finalize things like kind of by the end of semester one next year I think. And I think it's the weaker language that I think I then choose to go to the country of, so if French is weaker I'll get France and if German is weaker then I'll go to Germany. (A2, ll. 300-306)

Some of them also thought about moving to Germany after they would have finished university (see above). A2 believed she might get a better job in Germany (A2, ll. 311-321), A1 thought that the German culture was close to her own (A1, ll. 239-247), and A3 generally believed moving abroad was an exciting prospect (A3, ll. 357-362). However, the YA or the possibility of living in Germany was not a strong motivating factor for the first year participants of University A. In contrast to that it was the motivating factor for B1:

But my year abroad will be good, because I will be almost automatically in a place where I can integrate. So I'll be the right place with the university, where there is people around to integrate with (B1, ll. 249-251).

Another motivation is: I always want to go back. I'm very aware that I can't really go back unless I would get a job in that environment, in that same camp, because I won't speak the language. But because they're shutting everything down now, it makes it even more important. Because they would shut off that whole country - that was what it feel like - that it'd shut off that whole country, if I stopped learning German at any point. I would never go back; I could never go back, because I'd be stuck like a rabbit in headlights with all this German I wouldn't understand. So that is probably quite a big part of it that I'd always want to go back (B1, ll. 170-177).

Even though the YA can be seen as an extrinsic motivator, moving to Germany was a strong intrinsic motivator for B1; it was what she wanted to do. She used her 'un-ideal self' again to point out how hard she believed it would be living in Germany without speaking the language. B2 found the YA as motivating as B1 did; she brought up the thought of living in Germany in her first narrative (B2, ll. 31-33) and talked about it on two other occasions during the interview (B2, ll. 281-283; 287-293). Her ideas about the YA were also more confident:

So I don't know where I'll go. I know I will be going to both countries. I think I'd like to go somewhere that's not my grandmother's place because I would like to see something new. I might go to Hamburg. (B2, ll. 307-309)

and I think what I might do is spend nine months in France and three in Germany, do a Praktikum or something, because my French is not fluent, as fluent as it should be, could be, will be hopefully, you know. And the German - just go there, because it does take me about a week to get fully into the swing of things, when I go there (B2, ll. 313-316).

There is a therefore a difference between the universities, with University B's participants being more confident about the YA. They also saw moving to Germany as a stronger motivating factor. Like B2, B3 mentioned his YA in the first narrative (B3, ll. 40-42) and he brought it up again (B3, ll. 204f) and again:

I could imagine living there later, for like, I feel like after my degree, if it works out, I would go for a bit, but I feel I - once I would start family that would probably be back in England, but I can't foresee that. I mean I don't know Obviously Germany is probably the more peaceful place, it's probably a more peaceful place since - and yeah the hectic nature of British life. (B3, ll. 207-211)

He had a clear version of his future in his head and he knew he wanted to live in Germany. The YA was motivating for him (see also B3, ll. 383-386), but again more as an intrinsic factor, because he had known that he wanted to live in Germany for a while and he was working towards this goal.

Overall it can be concluded that this group did not show strong instrumental or extrinsic motivation; they were more intrinsically motivated. They knew that a degree in German could make them more employable, but they were not studying the language because of that. Good marks and a good degree were important for the students, but they put the experience first. Another intrinsic motivation was the wish to become fluent. A2 mentioned she hoped to be fluent by the end of his degree (A2, l. 318) and A3 also talked about it (A3, ll. 237-241). A1 enjoyed talking German and French with other students (A1, ll. 310-313). B3 was more concerned about the overall progress he made (B3, l. 291). B1 and B2 specifically said they wished to become fluent German speakers:

I think when you get to a certain point you think 'if I stop now I'm never going to - I have to keep going in order to get the fluency'. I think there is something quite fascinating for English people in general about being fluent in a language. (B1, ll. 260-262)

I wanted to get fluent in German and French, properly fluent. (B2, ll. 137)

5.2.7 First Year Participants' Motivation to Learn German

The motivation of the first year participants was still strongly affected by their time in school. Most of them had had to take German as a school subject at first, but once they started learning German they had good experiences, made strong progress, and

enjoyed it so much, they wanted to continue. The only exception was B2 who grew up bilingually and chose to sit exams in order to have a formal qualification.

Even though the topics at school were not very inspiring, most of the interviewees continued learning German, because they felt that they wanted to develop their language skills further. They also chose the GCSE subjects they were good at and the ones they enjoyed to pursue at A-level. Most of them knew at that point that they wanted to pursue a degree including German, as part of a wider interest in languages and communication.

The first year group participants all went privately to Germany instead of taking part in organized school exchanges. A2, A3 and B3 took additional school trips. This might be one of the things that distinguished these German enthusiasts from their peers. Germany is not a prime holiday destination for British tourists and it is imaginable that only few pupils visit Germany before or while they also learn German in school.

Formal education by itself was thus not enough to spark the desire to continue learning German and to get to know more about the culture. The visits to Germany showed the students things that they had not or could not learn in class. It was the positive experiences in Germany that motivated the students to continue learning German and to become interested in aspects of German culture. For most of them these trips also helped them to overcome stereotypes and clichés they encountered in the media or within their family. The trips also helped them to recognise significant commonalities between German and British culture and society, which they generally found appealing. Their more specific motivation to study German (either alongside or instead of other languages) was fostered outside of school.

There was a general sense that going to university and obtaining a degree is something desirable and/or something that everyone does. This represents instrumental reasons for studying German, to some extent. However, the students did not really consider career options that are linked with studying German when they chose it as a university subject. This is a stark contrast to Busse and Walter's findings (Busse and Walter 2013) who state that career prospects should 'not be underestimated as a motivator for first-year students' (Busse and Walter 2013: p. 392). These first year students wanted to obtain a degree in the general area of languages/Humanities, and they chose German in particular because they liked it at school, had become interested in the culture outside school, and because they were good at it.

For this group the motivation to obtain a degree was so high, that the increased tuition fees and associated requirement to take out a substantial loan became secondary.

However, some students were disappointed by their experiences during their first semester at university. Paying as much as they did, 3/6 expected more; especially more contact time. A degree was important to all of the participants, but they did not choose to study German, because it offers them more job prospects. Most of them found the prospect of being fluent in German very motivating. Some of them described knowing German as a special skill that distinguished them from other British people, but there was no sense of German being something exotic that Riemer (Riemer 2005) found, rather a reverse sense that German society and culture were similar to Britain and easy to access.

The close analysis clearly shows that the students of University B thought more about German culture and went into more detail in discussing this; for example, B3 and B2 mentioned German books. University A's students emphasized current affairs. Especially, A1 and A3 pointed out their political interests and they stated that these did not concern German only.

Remarkable for this group also was their ability to overcome disappointments and setbacks they experienced, as the examples of A1, A2 and B1 illustrate. Ushioda (2001) already found this with French students in Ireland (see 3.2.2). In contrast to Busse and Williams' findings (2010) intrinsic motivation can be put above wish for language proficiency for this group, because enjoyment was the main motivating factor.

Integrative reasons were quite strong for this group. They were more important than instrumental reasons and the *ideal self* did not really play an important role regarding the motivation to learn German. The *ideal self* helps the learners to motivate themselves to learn German, yet there is little evidence for anything German specific regarding the *ideal self*.

5.3 Motivation of Second Year Students

5.3.1 Second Year Participants

The first and the second year group participants showed similar language learning motivation and language learning history. One additional year at university did not seem to have changed the students' accounts much. That is why the following section does not include many direct quotes from the interviews. The previous section showed the handling of the data in detail and this section has been made easier to read by omitting longer quotes.

Even though I interviewed more people in their second year, it seemed difficult to find students in this year group who had attended school in the British system (see Figure 13 for details). This was particularly true for University B. At University A only one of the students (A5) had spent some time abroad as a child. At University B both male participants B9 and B10 had attended school outside of the UK and had only come England to for their HE. Even though they were both British nationals, I had to exclude them from the study because they had spent most or all of their lives abroad. B6 was born in Russia and she spent one year in Germany, but she was educated in England for most of her life (B6, ll. 11-15). B7 spent some time in Germany as a child as well (B7, ll. 30-33). B4 grew up in Wales, and B8 in Northern Ireland.

Number	gender	degree	type of school visited	languages learnt	A-levels taken	parents profession
University A						
A4	m	German and mathematics	state comprehensive	English native, German, French, Esperanto	maths A*, further maths A, German A	data missing
A5	f	German and Spanish with linguistic studies	private school, did IB	English native, German, Spanish, beginners Russian	Chemistry C, German A, Spanish A, English A*	father works in marketing, mother is a therapist
A6	m	German and history	grammar school	English native, German, French, beginners Russian	French B, German A, history A	mother civil servant, father delivery man
A7	m	French and Spanish	state comprehensive	English native, French, beginners German, Spanish & Japanese GCSE	French A*, Spanish A, chemistry B	father lecturer in law, mother veterinarian
University B						
B4	f	German	Catholic school, different private school for A-level	English native, French, and German	geography A, English B, German C	parents are medical doctors
B5	f	German and comparative literature	state comprehensive, different	English native, German	history B, German B, law A, English	mother town clerk, father owns a business

			college for sixth form		literature A*	
B6	f	German linguistics	state comprehensive	English and Russian native, German	maths B, English literature B, German A	mother is doing a PhD in linguistics, father musician
B7	f	German and Politics	state comprehensive (school with language focus)	English native, German, Latin & French GCSE	German B, history B, politics B	mother nurse, father engineer
B8	f	Hispanic studies and Portuguese	grammar school	English native, Spanish & Portuguese, beginners German, a little French & Irish	drama A, Spanish A, politics B	mother home maker, father engineer

Figure 13: Overview of second year participants

Participants A7 and B8 are special cases, because they were not studying German as a degree subject. They had both enrolled in a German ab initio course in their first year and they planned to continue studying German alongside their degree. A7 studied German on an accelerated course and would have been able to do so as part of his degree, but he chose not to include German in his degree. I visited various ab initio courses at both research sites, but as explained above, I had difficulties recruiting participants. Possibly, ab initio students felt they could not tell me much, because they had less experience with German.

Looking at the A-levels the year two participants had taken (Figure 13), there seems to be a divide between Universities A and B. Whereas University A's second year students had A-levels in German and/or another languages and science or mathematics, University B participants showed a focus on humanities subjects like history. Only one student at University B had an A-level in Mathematics. German literature was more of a focus in courses at University B whereas University A offered more combinations with other subjects (for example mathematics) and a less literature centered degree in German. In line with the statements from the history chapter that students interests and universities research focuses have moved further apart, we can also find causes for the fact that University A had less problems attracting students than University B.

A4 was studying mathematics and German, and was also a member of an orchestra that travels in Europe. According to his own explanations he was an excellent student

all round (A4, ll. 368-377), suggesting that the three academic talents of German, mathematics, and music go well together. A5 had also studied mathematics and said she missed it (A5, ll. 413-418), but she claimed she was not very good at music (A5, ll. 424-432). In contrast A7 stated he found mathematics difficult, but he was good at music (A7, ll. 97-100). A6 saw himself as particularly good at writing (academic) essays (A6, ll. 365-367). He also said he was good at mathematics (A6, ll. 474-480), but not particularly good at music (A6, ll. 482-487).

B4 stated without being prompted that she did not do well in mathematics (B4, ll.420). B5, B6 and B7 said they were good at it, but did not all enjoy it (B5, ll. 309-314; B6, ll. 498-501; B7, ll. 378-381). B8 was very good at mathematics as well (B8, ll. 359). B4 and B5 were also musical (B4, ll. 421f; B5 l. 316) and B6 and B7 had played an instrument. While B6 did not get very far with it (B6, ll. 507-513), B7 still played the piano and took up playing the guitar (B7, ll. 316-320). B8 claimed she was bad at music (B8, ll. 363).

More generally B4 described herself an all-rounder (B4, ll.420). B5 saw her academic talent to lie in English (B5, ll. 301-302) and B6 in languages in general (B6, ll. 497; 501-505). Like A6, B7 said she is good at writing essays (B7, ll. 371-373). B8 believed she was good in Spanish because it “comes naturally” to her, but felt she could not rote learn (B8, ll. 376-384).

5.3.2 First Narrative

Similar to the first year group, the second year group partly interpreted the prompt “Please tell me about your motivation to study German” as a question about why they had chosen German as a university subject. Some of the participants asked me to clarify my request.

Following the same strategy as with year one (n = 6) and year four (n = 8), I coded the ‘first narrative’ in NVivo using a bottom up approach. With 34 different codes I received the most varied answers from the second year group (n=9).

Figure 14 illustrates the reasons that were given by more than one participant in their first narrative. In accordance with the aforementioned more internationally influenced character of this group, early exposure to FLs, specifically German, was the main motivator for half of the second year group. Yet similarly to participants from other groups, early exposure to languages did not equal a childhood abroad. For example, A7 learned French as a baby from his mother even though they lived in England and even though she was not French.

The second biggest motivator mentioned initially was enjoyment or liking the language, which was also the main motivator for the other groups. Overall the factors listed for the year two group in Figure 14 broadly reflect the answers by the other two groups. One new factor, adding to linguistic repertoire, comes into play because there were two ab initio students in this group. This factor is different from ‘continue and progress in German’, because it does not relate to German specifically. These students wanted to learn an additional language; it could have been a language other than German. Both named this as one of five reasons for studying German.

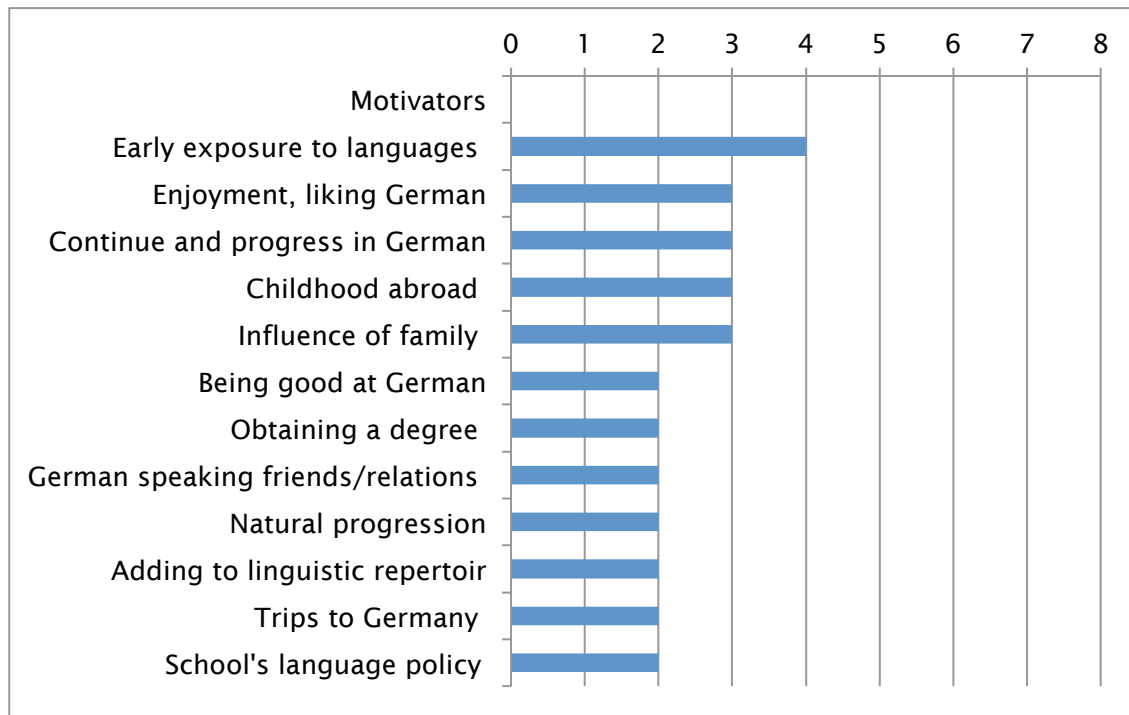


Figure 14: Main motivating factors during first narrative - second year participants

5.3.3 Language Learning History

As described for year one, most of the second year students did not choose to learn German in school, but had been obliged to learn German for at least half a year as a compulsory subject. A4, A5, B5 and B7 had to start German (A4, ll. 56f; A5, ll. 95-98; B5, ll. 40-45; B7, ll. 44f); B4 and B6 had to do half a year of German, but decided to continue after that (B4, ll. 71-72; B6, ll. 97-101). A6 was the only one who actually chose to learn German (A6, ll. 38-42). In secondary school he decided to study German over Spanish, because it appealed more to him. He had done Spanish as an after school activity in primary school, so German was new. He also had an uncle who had studied German (A6, ll. 70-80). Over the course of the whole interview it turned out that the influence of the family on the participants' decision and motivation to learn languages was quite strong for some, even if they had not mentioned it in their first narrative.

Ab initio students A7 and B8 had not learned German at school. Due to language policies A7 did not have the option to start learning German in secondary school it (A7, ll. 53-56; 60-63). B8 on the other hand had been obliged to start with French and decided on Spanish over German as her second MFL, because she had been to Spain on holidays (B8, ll. 62-64).

Reasons for Doing German at GCSE Level

A4 chose a German GCSE because of the teacher, and because he had enjoyed his work experience in Germany in year 10 (A4, ll.58-70, 119f). Wanting to learn as many languages as possible, because she found them easy and she enjoyed them, A5 chose both GCSE German and Spanish (A5, ll. 117-119). A6 had to take one language. Yet he decided to do German and French, because he enjoyed both (A6, ll. 49-51), and he felt that they were useful, recognized, and 'strong' subjects (A6, ll. 119-129). He described an *ideal self* as a well-qualified, interdisciplinary person. B6 similarly enjoyed German more than French, but did both German and French for GCSE (B6, ll. 106-117).

B4 also wanted to have a variety of GCSEs. She did two languages, because she had good experiences in school, especially in speaking classes with a languages assistant (B4, ll. 83-94). B5 preferred German over French; additionally she had a German grandmother and wanted to be able to communicate with her German relatives in German (B5, ll. 52-56). For B7 two languages were obligatory for GCSE if you had previously studied two languages (B7, ll. 52f). She was the only student I interviewed who had been obliged by her school to take two languages for GCSE.

Reasons for Choosing A-level German

A4 really enjoyed German at GCSE and had a very positive experience in Germany during his work experience; he "wanted to keep going and see how it went" (A4, ll. 122-124). A5 opted for the International Baccalaureate (IB) rather than A-level, because it gave her the opportunity to cover more subjects. She knew she wanted to take German and Spanish at university, so the A-level route would have obliged her to study both and left her with only one other subject. With the IB one language was compulsory, but she was the only one who studied two languages at IB higher level at her school (A5, ll. 123-129). Describing herself as coming from a family of linguists, she presented herself as a culturally open person who was 'keen' to learn FLs.

A6 also continued with two languages. One reason was that he received good grades at GCSE. Additionally he had never doubted he would continue learning German. He enjoyed it and he thought it would be useful for the future (A6, ll. 132-139). Becoming a qualified person motivated him. Like A6, B5 received excellent marks for GCSE and

she had heard that studying German at A-level would be good for job prospects (B5, ll. 103-105). The *ideal self* of a qualified person applies to her as well.

Similar to A6, B4 could never see herself not learning German. She wanted to be able to express herself more in German, which is why she continued learning it. She showed a strong *ideal self* as a competent German speaker throughout the entire interview. At A-level, B4 found there was more freedom and the classes were smaller. She got to know her teacher better and enjoyed the topics (B4, ll. 116-131).

B6 was influenced by her good experience in school as well. She really enjoyed German and she liked the teachers. She also said her mother had positively influenced her (B6, ll. 124-129). B7 also gave enjoyment as the main reason. She was good at German, and with only three students her A-level class was small; this paired with high contact time led to good progress (B7, ll. 75-78). Although the interviewees found it difficult to clarify their sense of 'enjoyment', the cases of A4, A6, and B6 show that a combination of good experiences at school, a sense of progress, and receiving high marks, made learning German enjoyable.

Topics Studied at School

This group talked about the topics studied at school similarly to the year one participants. Most of them found the topics at GCSE to be very basic, some even called them 'pointless' (A6, ll. 99-101; also B5, ll. 47-49). Some also mentioned the motivation of their fellow students during GCSE; A6 said the classes were quite disruptive and that the teaching was not as good as it could have been due to the lack of interest among the other students (A6, ll. 111-117). They enjoyed the A-level programme more, especially because of the small classes and more varied topics.

A4 commented on how the A-level teacher only taught them for the exams, how they were able to learn things off by heart and how negatively that influenced his start at university (A4, ll. 70-84). In contrast to that A5 claimed that her IB was much more challenging than her first year at university (A5, ll. 134-138; 155-161).

B4 thought that learning more grammar at a lower level might have put more people off learning German (B4, ll. 109-114). B5 described similar problems to A4. Having not studied grammar systematically at school she felt she was still trying to catch up with the other students in her year (B5, ll. 124-128).

B7 also commented on the teachers having to find a balance between teaching grammar and having enjoyable lessons (B7, ll. 58f). She was the only one of the year two group that stated studying German literature and culture was the most interesting aspect of her A-level (B7, ll. 80-90).

Reasons for Studying German at University Level

Whereas enjoyment was a decisive factor for A4 when he chose to do an A-level in German, career opportunities were more important when he picked his university options. He knew he wanted to study mathematics and he believed that German would help him in his career. He also thought it would be “a bit of a waste not to do German” (A4, ll. 323f). Once he had learned the language to A-level, he wanted to keep it up.

A5 was always good at languages and she always enjoyed them. Another reason for her decision to study German was the fact that she would like to live abroad again. Having lived in Germany for a brief period as a child she felt that studying German was a ‘natural choice’ (A5, ll. 171-184). She clearly saw herself as a global citizen.

The only student who studied two languages at A-level, but did not continue with both of them at university, is A6. He knew that he wanted to study history early on. His family supported and encouraged him in this decision. However, similar to A4, he felt it would be a waste not to carry on with at least one language. He also thought studying a language with history would “help with employability” (A6, l. 317). Having studied both French and German to A-level, he chose German because he enjoyed it more than French, he preferred the German teachers, and he felt he was better at German (A6, ll. 309-335). Throughout, the *ideal self* of becoming a well-qualified person motivated him to pursue German.

B4 stated she studied German, because she wanted “to be able to have another string to (her) bow” (B4, ll. 231). She saw German as a skill and she wanted to be fluent (B4, ll.242). Studying a language offered her a wide variety of content areas, like linguistics, literature and culture. She also felt that studying German was something special because not many people do it (B4, ll. 244-249). She repeated this five times throughout the interview. She clearly had an *ideal self* of a linguist, an exceptional person who in contrast to others can speak German. Even though she was one of the few participants who were studying German single honours, she did not state anything specific about the language or the German speaking culture that motivated her to study German at this stage of the interview.

B5 had not actually wanted to study German; she gained the place through clearing. Originally she had wanted to study English:

I didn't originally plan to. I was... basically wanted to go to Oxford to do English, and I got an interview and everything, but then didn't get an offer. So then now I was going to go to Cardiff to do English. And I got in and then I thought, actually I don't want to go all the way to Cardiff. I didn't want to go that far from home. And I think it would be interesting to - like so many people study English; I'd like to do something a bit different. And I got this place through clearing. I wanted to

do English and German, but they didn't have any places. So then I did comparative literature and German, but I'm actually glad I am doing that instead of ... and so many people who graduate from uni with a degree in English and they can't get a job, but then if you have a language, then you probably got more chances, standing out a bit more. (B5, ll. 136-145)

Without her chosen subject and university, B5 was willing “to do something a bit different”, though still involving literature. Having made this decision, she pointed out that many people graduate in English, and that she might stand out more with a degree in German. Even though she wanted to study English she later thought that a degree including German could be better for her future career prospects. She used instrumental career motivation, linked to the idea of distinctive qualifications, to justify her decision.

For B6 the main reason why she opted for a degree in German was her interest in German high and everyday culture and literature (B6, ll. 166-171). She presented herself as a cultural and as a German enthusiast. At some point during her A-levels (which included mathematics) she wanted to study astrophysics, but she felt that German came more naturally to her, a feeling perhaps linked to her A-level grades (B6, ll. 124-132; 174-195).

Similar to B5 B7 was studying German, because of university entry requirements. The entry requirements for German with politics were lower than for politics only. This knowledge even influenced her decision to pursue an A-level in German. She also knew that German could be useful for a career in politics or business (B7, ll. 107-116). She was the only student in the entire cohort who showed only instrumental motivation when asked about her motivation to do a degree in German. In contrast to that she showed strong integrative motivation when she talked about her motivation to learn German itself. For her, obtaining a degree in German and learning and using the language in her everyday life were two completely different things.

Neither A7 nor B8 were studying German to degree level, but were doing so as an optional course, complementing a degree majoring in other languages. Both of them felt that German will be a good addition to their linguistic repertoire (A7, ll. 137-139; B8, ll. 212-127), showing that they were strongly motivated by an *ideal self* as a multilingual person. However, A7 had a longstanding interest in German (A7, ll. 130-135; 139-144) whereas B8 only took German as an option at university because she was not allowed to take French (B8, ll. 121-123).

Motivating Factors for Continued Effort to Learn German

As mentioned earlier, there was only one participant in this group who had chosen to study German at school. The interviewees studying German as a degree subject had

been obliged to learn German for at least half a year in secondary school, and at least part of their original motivation had developed out of this experience. The graph presented in Figure 15 illustrates what influenced these young people to continue with German at university, whereas most of their peers had decided against it. (A7 and B8 have not been taken into consideration for this, because they never studied German at school.)

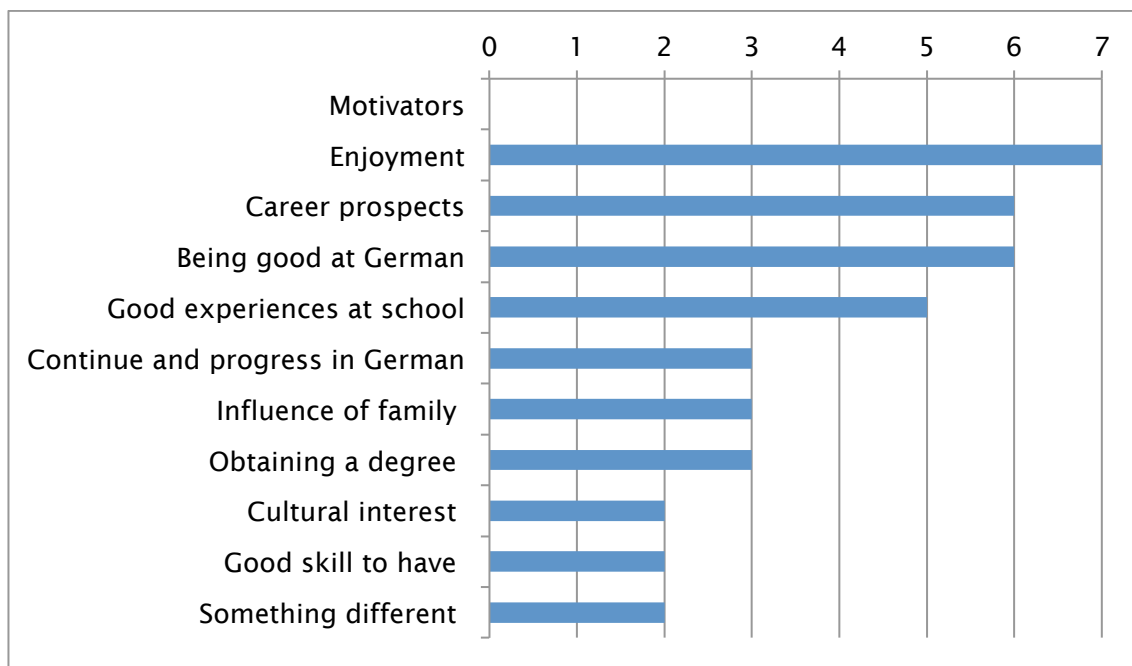


Figure 15: Main motivating factors for continuing to study German - second year participants

The main reason why these students decided to continue with German was enjoyment; almost all of them said they enjoyed learning the language. Being good at German and having had good experiences at school were part of this enjoyment. Five students pointed out that they were good at German and that this motivated them to continue learning the language. When asked about her academic talents, B6 answered “languages, definitely, cause I feel like I can pick them up quite easily” (B6, l. 497).

Here, external factors had influenced their internal motivation. High grades and good teaching are external factors, but if the learners find the reason for these high grades within themselves, i.e. have feelings of self-efficacy, than they feel more motivated than if they believe they have no influence on the learning outcome (see 3.2.2).

Enjoyment itself is internal motivation. Only B4 did not talk about enjoying the language or langue learning itself. She enjoyed her German exchange and interaction with Germans, so that similar to B7, using the language and studying it were two separate things for her.

It is also only B4 who did not express that she was good at languages or at German. One reason for this might have been her A-level grade. Having received only a C in German, it was her worst mark in her A-level. This supports the point made in the history chapter, that there is only limited competition for places to study German. B4 was studying the subject she received her worst A-level mark for, and B5 gained a place to study German through clearing. B7 even took German for A-level because she knew opting for a German degree would equal lower entry requirements. She wanted to study politics, but she knew it would be more difficult to get a placement for politics than for politics and German.

In contrast to the other year groups, all participants in this group also gave career prospects as a reason for studying German. Even though all participants enrolled on a German degree apart from B6 said career opportunities played a role in their decision to study German, their answers differed qualitatively. Only A4 and B4 brought up instrumental, career-related reasons for studying German without being prompted. For A4 the combination of mathematics and German made sense, because he “would like to go out into the big wide world” (A4, II. 309f). He chose German because of the international opportunities it could lead to, not because he aimed at a career with German. B4 was the only German single honours student in this year group. She already talked about careers with languages in her first narrative, so for her there were primary instrumental reasons for studying German.

Once having started to learn the language, two felt that not continuing with German would be ‘a waste’. Two only studied German at university, because it helped them to secure a place in a degree course. The influence of the family is also a factor that should not be underestimated. For some students like B6 and B4 it was a direct influence, for others it was more indirect; A6 had his uncle as a role model, who had gone to university and who had increased opportunities because he knew German. Family influence came up in other year groups also in different forms, like taking trips abroad with the family.

This group proved that they understood the tactical game behind meeting entry requirements very well. Enrolling for German single honours does not mean that the student was excellent in German. Opting for German and politics does not make a student more interested in German. Especially at University B, participants made smart choices to ensure they studied at a Russell group university. Interestingly the same *ideal self* of a global citizen found among people who study several languages, could be found for somebody who combined German with mathematics. Similarly the vision of being multilingual could be found for someone who combined German with history. A6 decided to pick up Russian at university to add to his linguistic repertoire.

5.3.4 Beliefs and Attitudes Towards German or Germany

Cultural Interests

Regarding cultural interests the answers of the second year group were closer to those of the first year than to the finalists. As seen in Figure 14, only two students had volunteered cultural interest as a motivation for continuing to learn German. A7 and B8 were not included in Figure 14, because they had only started learning German at university. B8 could not say much about cultural interests, even when prompted (B8, ll. 152-159). In contrast, A7 reported an interest in German culture from a young age. He had always been interested in German history and folklore and he also associated German with classical music (A7, ll. 146-150; 152-154; 191-195).

Being a very musical person, A4 also had personal interest in German music, especially German classical composers and their history (A4, ll. 244-246). Additionally he voiced an interest in current affairs (A4, ll. 337-340). The cultural interests of A6 and A5 lay more within German current affairs (A5, ll. 164-168; 216-218), but A6 (a history student) also showed an interest in German history (A6, ll. 174-177). At University A, participants' interests in general lay more within current affairs and history.

Due to her own family history B6 was mostly interested in the history of Germany's separation and reunification (B6, ll. 146-164). She also showed enthusiasm for literature and linguistics. B4 claimed a strong interest in everything German from history through linguistics to literature (B4, ll. 135-140; 341-353). After her experience at University B, B7's interest in German literature was strengthened (B7, ll. 128-135). Overall there was a stronger interest in German literary culture at University B; all of these participants presented themselves as literature enthusiasts, apparently influenced by this bias in the programmes on offer. As mentioned in the history chapter, most remaining universities that offer German concentrate on literature. It is a particular feature of University A that it offers a wider range of combinations with German, and that the students can focus on linguistics or transnational studies while they are enrolled for a German degree.

Trips to Germany

In the year two group, four students had taken part in a school exchanges. A4 said her family "always had German exchange students at (their) house" (A4, l. 127). A6 attended a school exchange three times (A6, ll. 191-209), and A5 twice (A5, ll. 296-298). B7 formed such a strong bond with her exchange partner that she visited her regularly (B7, ll. 34-41; 183-201).

A4 had visited Germany several times with his school, with his orchestra and with his family (A4, ll. 58-62; 132-141; 167-194). There was strong evidence that these trips to Germany and his experiences there were his main motivators for continuing to learn German. The positive experiences on his school exchanges motivated A6 as well. However it was the influence of his uncle that inspired him to learn German. This uncle was the only other person in his family that went to university, and had studied German there (A6, ll. 16-18).

A5 did not go into much detail regarding her school exchanges, but she stated that she had relatives and friends who live in Germany; she had always been keen to go to see Germany and her father had wanted her to visit as often as possible (A5, ll. 296-303). This was linked to the fact that she had spent one year in Hamburg as a child. Her main impressions of Germany led back to that period. This childhood experience of living in a different country was also her main motivation for learning German. She wanted to be able to live abroad again.

While B7 only took part in one school exchange this was the major influence on her motivation (B7, ll. 34-38). Even though she had spent time in Germany as a child, she called the schools exchange “the real turning point” (B7, l. 34). On her school exchange with Germany she met a German who became her boyfriend. After the exchange she visited Germany up to five times a year. She usually stayed with her former exchange partner and her exchange family became her second home. At some point she and her German boyfriend had broken up, but she still spent two months doing a work experience in Munich, while living with her former exchange family, before she started university. Her personal relationships with German speaking people were her main motivation to learn German (B7, ll. 36-41). She talked about all of this in her first narrative.

B4 also experienced the combined influence of the family and a trip to a German speaking country. When she was skiing in Austria with her family, her mother’s failed attempt to communicate in German raised her wish to be able to communicate “in a situation where English is not used” (B4, ll. 96-104). She found travelling and experiencing German in Germany generally very motivating (B4, ll. 409-419).

It was a similar story for B6: Having been born in Russia she moved to England with her Russian parents when she was two years old (B6, ll. 11-15). Her mother also had a German grandfather and she spoke to her in German sometimes when she was very young (B6, ll. 29-38). Later her mother started studying languages, and she took her daughter with her when she went on her YA (B6, ll. 61-70). This year in Potsdam when she was ten influenced B6 intensely. She reported visiting Germany regularly and feeling at home there. All three, B4, A5 and B6 viewed themselves as global citizens.

B5 started learning German because she had a German grandmother (B5, ll. 30). With her she took trips to Germany subsequently, and realized that learning German would give her an advantage during these visits with her German family (B5, ll. 54-56). For her it was the influence of her family that motivated her, rather than an *ideal self* of a global citizen.

As A7 had not learned German at school, he did not take part in any school trips or exchanges. However, he had visited Germany once, on a trip organized and paid for by his university. As part of his accelerated German course, he stayed in a host family, took lessons in a language school and participated in excursion in Berlin. He did not feel that this trip or his short visits to Austria were representative enough to form an opinion about the countries (A7, ll. 300; 302-313), nor did these excursions influence his motivation much. B8 had never been to a German speaking country (B8, ll. 116-119). While A7 showed a general interest in German, B8 just wanted to add another language to her linguistic repertoire. As mentioned above, she would have chosen French, but was only allowed to take German by her university.

Impressions of Germany/German Society

Almost all the participants' visits to German speaking countries had a significant positive effect on their motivation to learn German. Reversing the argument, B8 had never been to Germany and showed rather low motivation to study German. The impressions the students had of the German speaking countries they visited played an important motivating role.

The two things that made the biggest impression on A4 were how friendly and environmentally conscious the Germans were (A4, ll. 132-134). Similarly to the other year groups he also enjoyed the food and the different make-up of the school days experienced on school exchanges. Additionally he commented on the "still old, not old-fashioned, but quite villagey" feel of Germany (A4, ll. 134f). A6 noted differences in food and school culture as well. He also spoke about German "directness" (A6, ll. 213-230). A5 made a similar observation to A4, calling Germany "idyllic". She also claimed that "Germans do everything better", for example commenting on general cleanliness, the education system and transport (A5, ll. 315-320). Even though A7 had only been to Germany once, he was impressed by the transport system as well (A7, ll. 304-307). He also found the ski resort feeling of Austria appealing, but did not think that that was representative of Austria as a whole country or culture (A7, ll. 307-313).

B4 reported mixed impressions of Germany. On the one hand she found German people open, friendly, family orientated, driven, and organized (B4, ll. 154; 158-164). On the other hand she says she "didn't really like German people" (B4, ll. 160) and that

the school system was stricter than the UK. This, however, she preferred over the English attitude, which she calls “sloppyish” (B4, ll. 178-289). Having attended school in Germany B6’s main impression of Germany was “very (...) strict” (B6, ll. 380). She found the stereotype of the efficient and strict German to be true (B6, ll. 381-385). She believed Germans did not understand sarcasm, and that they plan ahead more (B6, ll. 413-417; 419f).

B5’s grandmother had formed her impression of German people before they started visiting Germany together. Afterwards B5 found Germans to be welcoming and organized (B5, ll. 66-72). Out of this group B7 had spent the most time in Germany. She noticed a different attitude regarding time and organization, but she also commented that that did not apply to every person. Like some of the other participants she observed different practices surrounding meal times and family life (B7, ll. 204-215). In contrast to her, B8 had no experience in Germany and little with German speakers (B8, ll. 186-189); nonetheless she commented on a formal and somehow strict work atmosphere (B8, ll. 175-178). While or maybe even because she had stereotypical ideas of a ‘strict’ German personality and a German accent in her head, it seemed she could not identify a German. She claimed she did not meet German people on campus; when asked about her (German) language tutors, however, she explained how one met her ideas of a German person while the other did not. She did not realize she was interviewed by a German researcher.

Stereotypes/Typically German

Resembling the first year group, the year two participants’ impressions of Germany strongly influenced their opinion of what was typically German. Otherwise they rejected the idea of stereotypes like the finalists did (see 5.4.3). They did mention beer, organisation, seriousness, and a family oriented life style as typically German. However, some noted that stereotypes like Lederhosen were more Bavarian than German. B8 was an exception again, because she uncritically named several popular stereotypes (beer, *Oktoberfest*, *Lederhosen*, *Wurst*, etc.), when she talked about Germany (B8, ll. 299-305). This shows that more contact and more language learning can help to overcome stereotypes like the *Goethe Institut* survey indicated (Wittlinger 2004: p. 263).

B6 was the only student who answered my question about stereotypes by commenting critically on popular British perceptions. She talked about examples such as the Fawlty Towers sketch, puns about the German accent, and about Lederhosen (B6, ll. 463-475). She said: “I feel like the British people who know Germany best are the people who’ve spent a lengthy amount of time there and who have visited the cities and things and tried out the culture” (B6, ll. 476-478). It is possible that she had more of an outsider

view on British society, and was more interculturally aware, because of her own mobile background.

Presentation of Germany in the Media

Participants' views of the presentation of Germany in the media tied in with their perspectives on stereotypes. Some of the interviewees commented on how the coverage of Germany had changed. Similar to the first year group, most of the second year students were aware of David Cameron's anticipated speech about the future of the EU and Britain (to be delivered on January 23rd 2013) and the general financial crisis within the EU at the time of the interviews (Cameron 2013).

The second year students at University A were more comfortable with the media question than the finalists (see section 5.4.3) and as interested as the first years. They were well informed and elaborated on their opinions. A4, A5 and A6 commented on how the presentation of Germany in the media had recently become more positive (A4, Il. 289-296; A5, Il. 339-348; 245-266). As mentioned above, Germany was one of the few countries that remained relatively strong economically during the financial crisis that had started in 2007. Consequently Germany helped bail out a few less fortunate EU states. Many interviewees were impressed with Germany's strong economic and political standing.

A6 and A4 directly talked about the history and the 'horror story' the media usually covers, probably referring to the ever present World War II in the media (A4, Il. 294f; 245-257). A5 hinted at more negative coverage and said that there was misunderstanding and envy (A5, Il. 342-346). Both she and A6 discarded the stereotypes as wrong. A7 felt that the media exaggerated stereotypes, but he also felt he was not informed well enough to know whether they were right (A7, Il. 372; 376-380).

B4 also mentioned reports about the EU and Angela Merkel as examples of cases where the media is less negative, but she said that information about Germany or media in German were not easily available in England (B4, Il. 212-228). She believed she did not know enough about Germany to form an opinion about it (B4, Il. 228-236). Similarly B5 stated that the German perspective on issues presented in British media would probably be different (B5, Il. 91-93) and B7 said, "if you speak German you have a different experience of German life" (B7, Il. 218). Both of them illustrated relativistic perspectives on media coverage, and were able to acknowledge the fact that the story changes depending on who is reporting. Similarly B8 commented on American TV making fun of German history and "just sort of treating them as if they are Nazi" (B8, Il. 311-316).

A few of the students commented on the media stereotype of the supposed German lack of humour. Having her German grandmother as an example B5 felt that this stereotype was true (B5, ll. 82-84). B6 also believed that Germans in general lack a certain sense of humour.

5.3.5 Experiences at University

The second year group gave the most detailed view of what it is like to be an undergraduate on a degree course in or with German. At the time of the interview they had already completed the first half of their degree. The grades they were receiving counted towards their final marks and they were preparing for their YA. They had been at university long enough to build an informed opinion. Unlike the final year students, who had recently returned from their YA and were already thinking of what might happen after graduation, their opinion of the university experience was not overshadowed by other events.

A4 talked a lot about his experiences at university and came back to them in many of his answers. His mathematics tutor, who was German, for example embodied “typically German” behaviour for him (A4, ll. 207-225). He also enjoyed talking about what, how much, and in what way he had learned. The fact that his German tutors spoke only German in class overwhelmed him in the beginning (A4, ll. 381-391), but he appreciated this retrospectively, because he was able to hold conversations in German later (A4, ll. 393-395), and did so regularly with German ERASMUS students (A4, ll. 402-410; 413-423). Overall his experience appeared to be positive. His success in acquiring German seemed to motivate him a lot; and he presented himself as good student, i.e. as a quick learner showing strong self-efficacy.

In contrast to that A5 gave the impression of someone who was less motivated and possibly a little disillusioned. In opposition to A4 she felt her sixth form was more challenging than her first year at university. She thought the topics in her language classes could have been more interesting. However she enjoyed her content modules (A5, ll. 213-218). Despite not finding the language classes in German interesting, she stated she preferred the teaching style over her Spanish classes (A5, ll. 359-364). A6 agreed with A5 regarding the fact that the first year was not particularly difficult. In contrast to her he appreciated this, because the gradual increase of difficulty suited him better (A6, ll. 351-362). He did enjoy his content classes as well; especially the ones in history and the ones that were German specific (A6, ll. 382-386).

As A7 had started studying German at university, his main experience with German had been through university. He found it a lot harder than he had expected it to be (A7, ll. 328). This was the same for B8 who was studying Spanish and Portuguese for

her degree, and had chosen German as an optional module. She found it very difficult and quite different from both Spanish and Portuguese (B8, ll. 318-323; 375-385). Additionally, like A5, she noted differences in teaching styles.

At University B all of the second year interviewees commented very positively on their content classes. They really enjoyed these classes, especially the literature course, and they gave very detailed accounts of the things they had learned. B6 and B7 even stated that the course had exceeded their expectations (B6, ll. 252-264; B7, ll. 138f). Some of the students also commented positively on their tutors. Overall the language tutors played a more significant role for the second year group than for the other two groups.

In contrast to the first year participants from University B, the second year students also commented positively on their peer group. They found their fellow students very supportive and they appreciated the fact that they all shared an interest in German while coming from such different backgrounds. In addition to a regular German *Stammtisch* they all attended a film club and they had even formed an SOS Grammar group that brought together students from all years.

5.3.6 Staying Motivated

Motivation among the second year students was generally high. Even though A4 claimed he put the minimum amount of work in to get through his German course, he said he really enjoyed it. This conflict might be due to the subjects he was studying:

there is a banner that says, 'Humanities and arts are not something that you do after a long day of partial differential equations.' And this semester I'm studying partial differential equations and I'm afraid to say when it gets too difficult, I do German. So that banner is totally wrong and I don't do ... I do the ... how to phrase it? I'm trying to phrase this in a way that looks nice for me. I don't do ... I do the minimum amount of work for stage 5 to get through but I do lots of ... I read loads of magazines. (A4, ll. 327-333)

A6 felt he did not need to motivate himself because he enjoyed what he was doing (A6, ll. 415-423). A7 felt similarly: Because he chose to learn German he was motivated and he found it interesting (A7, ll. 254-257).

B4 found the prospect of becoming fluent very motivating (B4, ll. 278-289). She also enjoyed studying a rare subject, something special (B4, ll. 256-268). As described earlier, her *ideal self* was to be an exceptional person who has a skill that others do not possess, speaking German. Like A4 and A6 she enjoyed reading articles online in German. B5 tried to speak to her grandmother in German (B5, ll. 185-187). For her it was the wish to become fluent that drove her on. It was the same for B7, who wanted to be mistaken for a German native speaker (B7, ll. 284-291); her *ideal self* was to

become a perfect, accent free German speaker. Her main motivators were her German speaking friends (B7, ll. 406f). B8 knew she would not be fluent after one year of German, but she wanted to be able to say, she knew “a little bit of German” (B8, ll. 207-217). Again this shows her *ideal self* as a multilingual person.

As mentioned above A5 did not appear to be strongly motivated (A5, ll. 220-225). She claimed that though she was motivated, she just did not find the particular tasks set by her course motivating. In order to be able to work abroad she wanted to do well and achieve a good degree (A5, ll. 237-246). Her *ideal self* was a global citizen, someone who lives and works abroad. However, it seemed that lacking an external challenge (from her classes), she did not really know how to motivate herself. B6 said she did not struggle with motivation, though she felt she was too lazy sometimes and had to force herself to get started.

When I asked the participants whether they found success motivating, it startled three of the interviewees (B7, ll. 294-297):

I: What about success? Does that play a role?

A4: Yeah, it does. I suppose being successful is important. That's thrown me a bit that question, I don't really know. (A4, ll. 346-348)

Success is a rather strong word and they might associate it with someone who only looks at the grades they achieve.

I: How important is success for you?

A6: Success in terms of exam results or just in general? (A6, ll. 424f)

However, apart from B6 and B8 (B6, ll. 279; B8, l. 221f) all participants said they found success motivating. B8 pointed out that she did not find success motivating for German, because she knew she would not achieve a high level (B8, ll. 221f). Most of the participants viewed a good degree and high grades as success; they also saw a good degree as necessary for a good career.

Regarding competition, half of University A's participants said that they were competitive. A5 for example said she was naturally competitive when it comes to academic results (A5, ll. 272-274; 285f). A7, however, felt he was too far behind to compete (A7, ll. 289-292). B5 and B7 felt they were more competitive with themselves than with others (B5, ll. 307; B7, ll. 332).

B6 explained she became very competitive, because she wanted to go to Berlin for her YA for personal reasons, rather than out of competition with others (B6, ll. 311-320). In contrast to the rest of the group B4 did not see competitiveness as something

negative; she felt that being in London has made her more competitive and outgoing (B4, ll. 319-333).

5.3.7 Second Year Participants' Motivation to Learn German

While the first year group illustrated a strong positive influence of privately organized trips to Germany, the second year was influenced more strongly by their upbringing and their families. There were also three students who had spent a part of their childhood abroad. A5 had lived in Poland for the first six years of her life and had moved to Hamburg for a year before returning to England (A5, ll. 30-32). B5 had a German grandmother and this influenced her motivation to learn German strongly (B5, ll. 30-35). B6 had spent one year in Germany, when she was ten, because her mother was on her YA. B7 also lived in Germany between the ages of two and five with her whole family, because her father worked for a German company (B7, ll. 30-33).

The fact that they lived in abroad for a time during their childhood distinguishes these three (A5, B6, B7) students from other British people their age. This may explain why they clearly saw themselves as global citizens and why they wanted to be exceptional by continuing to learn a language that not many people learn, building on early familiarity with the language and culture. Although the other participants had not lived abroad, they were aware that the fact that they were learning German distinguished them from their peers; they also strove to be exceptional and well qualified.

For this year group their families were a significant influence, whether because they had made the decision to move abroad with their children, or as supporters and role models. A6 had not lived abroad, but his uncle was going to. A4 even described his father as xenophobic, but his grandfather went on a holiday to Germany with him. B5 had a German grandmother and B7 found a second family in Germany through her school exchange.

For B4 it was the lack of languages in her family that inspired her to learn German. Her parents supported her to become anything she desired (B4, ll. 297-299). Languages were her passion and she made a strong case for languages in general in her first narrative (B7, ll. 36-55). When asked why German in particular she explained how much she liked the language and that she could have continued with French after AS Level, but decided to concentrate on German. Being one of the few single honours German students I interviewed (which is representative of their proportion in the total student body), she was one of the few who were more interested in German in particular before their YA:

Because not many people do it, I love the culture of it so much and as much as people say, "Oh, it's such a harsh language" but I think it's really soft and it's

different and also German's spoken so widely, especially within business and commerce and things like that so I love German. (B4, ll. 57-60)

Six out of the seven participants, who were studying German to degree level, mentioned career opportunities as a motivating factor for studying German. Yet, career prospects or instrumental motivation can only be characterized as secondary. The interviewees did not choose German, primarily because they thought it would improve their career opportunities. They were already good at German and believed that building on this skill could give them a distinctive career edge, especially if they were studying German with a subject other than languages.

However, these participants would not be studying German if they had not been given the opportunity in school. As illustrated in the analysis of the other year groups, the schools' language policies of including an element of compulsory German, and also the quality of school language classes, influenced the students' motivation strongly. It is striking how closely the students followed their A-level course in their degree choices. With the narrow specialization of three subjects the British system almost obliges young people to do this. That is why some already thought about possible degree choices when they decided on their A-level options. Additionally an A-level in German almost guarantees a university applicant a place in a German degree course. In contrast to the other groups this one showed stronger secondary instrumental motivation. They all considered their career opportunities when they decided to study German at university.

Most second year interviewees showed a clear *ideal self*. These ideal selves however were varied: Two saw themselves as well-qualified people (A6 & B5), A6 also saw himself as an interdisciplinary person and B5 wanted to be a global citizen. As ab initio students of German A7 and B8 aimed at becoming multilingual people. While the *ideal self* was not specific to German for most students, two showed an *ideal self* that was very specific to German: B4 wanted to become a competent German speaker, a linguist and therefore an exceptional person, B7 intended to become a perfect, accent free German speaker. The *ideal self* was not linked to the subjects the interviewees studied.

5.4 Motivation of Finalists

5.4.1 Final Year Participants

All fourth year students were in their final year of HE. They had returned from their YA in either Germany or another country that was linked with their degree. These participants were 21 or 22 years old with the exception of B13 who was 23.

number	gender	degree	type of school visited	languages learnt	A-levels taken	parents profession
University A						
A8	f	German and French	state comprehensive	English native, German, and French	French A, German A, economics A	used to run their own business
A9	f	German with linguistic studies	state comprehensive, had to change schools for A-levels	English native, German, Spanish	chemistry A, German A, maths A, psychology A	father works for an airline, mother is a florist
A10	f	German and French	state comprehensive became specialist languages college	English native, German, French, a little Swedish	French A, German A, maths A, music B	missing data
A11	m	BA ML German, French, Spanish	state comprehensive	English native, French, German, Spanish	French A, German A, physics A	missing data
A12	m	German with linguistic studies	state comprehensive (sports college)	English native, ancient Greek, Italian, French, German, a little Spanish	German B, maths A, music C	project managers, corporate relocation of people
University B						
B11	f	German and French	girls school, changed for boys/mixed school for A-level	English native, French, German, a little Dutch, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish	French A, German B, maths B	both work in IT, father project manager, mother programmer
B12	f	German and Drama	state comprehensive	English native, German	drama A, German A, media studies A, psychology A	mother teacher, father social worker
B13	m	German and Drama	grammar school changed to specialist languages college	English native, Italian, French, German, some Spanish and Swedish	drama C, French A, German A	mother used to work in a library (retired), father social worker

Figure 16: Overview of fourth year participants

The overview provided in Figure 16 shows that this was a quite homogeneous fourth year group. All finalists who provided data were state educated and of middle class

background. Most were multilinguals, with only one student stating she 'just' spoke German apart from English (B12, ll.13f). Only 3/8 students had not taken an A-level in both French and German. Very interesting is also that half of the group took an A-level in mathematics. There was a higher interest to be interviewed among final year students at University A. This gave me the opportunity to talk to students who had been to Germany as well as to those who had been to another country on their YA, where they worked or studied as part of their course. The YA, the upcoming final examinations, and having to consider life after university distinguished this group from the previous two.

In contrast to the second year group all final year participants studied exclusively humanities subjects. Interestingly there were two students enrolled in a German and linguistic studies degree at University A and two who did German and drama at University B, combinations not found in the other year groups. It seemed that the finalists had felt freer regarding their university options, when starting their course. Even though they would be leaving university within half a year they were also not very concerned with their career.

After having attended university for over three years and after having lived abroad for one year, the final year group was more confident in speaking about their own academic talents than the other year groups: A8 "got great marks in everything" (A8, l. 439f), A10 "was quite good at a lot of things" (A10, l. 434).

Objective measures suggested that there were indeed more outstanding students in this group this might be linked to the fact that recruiting undergraduates in German is an increasing struggle for the universities (see chapter 2.3.3). There were three final year students at University A, who had achieved straight As at A-level. One student had gotten a B in her fourth A-level and the other one had to his own surprise received a B in German and a C in music. From the background information I collected I know that this student was nonetheless allowed to skip the first year in German, because his proficiency was higher than other students in his year. At University B there was one further straight A student.

Five of the students in this this group had taken A-level French, half of them A-level mathematics, and two others A-level music. From what I learned in the other interviews I also asked all of these students whether they were good at maths or music. A9, A10, A11, and A12 specifically said they were good at mathematics. B11 had also done an A-level in mathematics and A8 did her AS in mathematics. She claimed she could have done science or maths for which she received an A. In contrast to that B12 and B13 stated that they were not good at maths. Despite this exception the data indicates a continuing strong link between mathematics and German.

Another subject or academic talent that came up quite often was music. Out of this group, A10, B11, B12 and B13 also said they were musical and A12 did an A-level in music. Interesting is the difference in the universities. For University A which has a more linguistic focus we have more students who are mathematical and for University B which focuses more on literature we have more musical students.

5.4.2 First Narrative

In contrast to the first year group, the finalists did not interpret the prompt “Please tell me about your motivation to study German” as their motivation for doing a degree in German. Most recounted their changing motivation to learn German over the past years. Half of the group even mentioned explicitly that their motivation had been changing. A comparison of the individual answers also indicates that the reported motivating factors remained quite varied. In addition to the factors shown in Figure 17 below, the participants named ten other individual factors. While enjoyment ranks highest as in the other year groups, this group also mentioned German culture as a motivator in their first narrative. Overall there is more focus on German specifically than languages in general.

The main motivation mentioned by 5/8 participants was the fact that these interviewees enjoyed learning German, and liked the language. Half of the group also said they started learning German, because of their schools’ policy. Three also said that they were interested in German and in the German culture. However, contrary to the main trend in the group, one student pointed out that their motivation was not about German, but about languages in general:

I studied German because it's a language, I don't have a motivation to study German, I have a motivation to study languages, and it's like I said. Because it is, it enables you to go places, enables you to - perhaps more opportunities that other people don't. (B 13, ll. 44-48)

In contrast to the other year groups, a prior history of ‘being good at German’ was not as important for the finalists. Some also brought up the YA which the university beginners had not experienced. Overall it is a more varied picture, as seen in the length of the answers. Where some students gave a longer account, one student only said three sentences (A11). It tended to be the ones who had been to Germany and who had made a connection there that talked more in this first narrative.

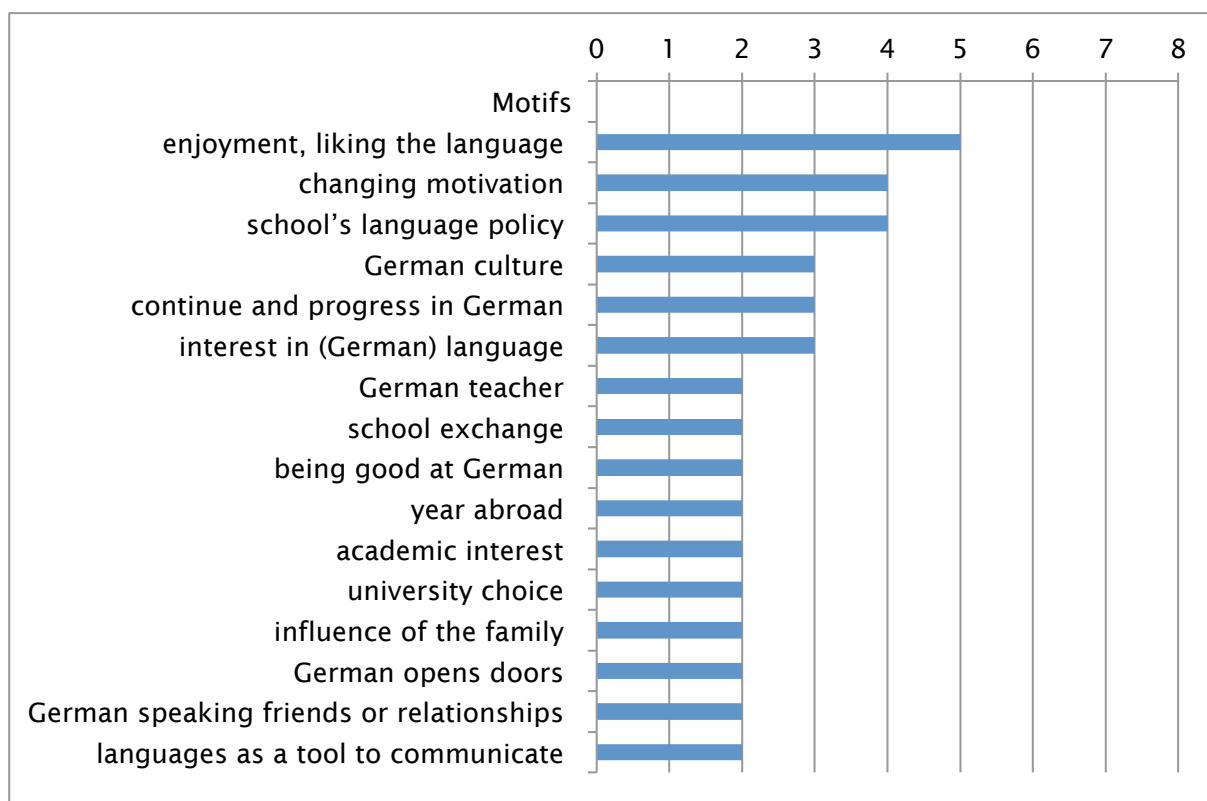


Figure 17: Main motivating factors during first narrative - fourth year participants

5.4.3 Language Learning History

Even though the YA was the most recent factor that influenced this group's motivation to learn German, their earlier language learning history tells the story of how the interviewees became finalists on a German degree course.

All participants in the fourth year group started secondary school with French as their first MFL. A9 also had had French from year five (primary) onwards, and B11 was exposed to French as a child, because her grandmother decided to speak French to her:

My mom had me, had to go back to work. And then when my, the eldest of my two younger brothers was born, 18 months later she then stopped working. But during the 18 month period my grandmother used to look after me during the day. And she used to speak to me in French an awful lot. So when I was then picking up English later, I then started doing the whole blue dark instead of dark blue, because that's the French word order. So I would do funny things like that. But it wasn't that I would ever grow up French native, but I was accustomed to the sounds and the grammar from quite an early age. (B11, ll. 68-74)

As in the other groups, it was due to their schools' language policies that these students began to learn German as well as French. They were all good at French and that was why they had either the opportunity ($n = 3$) or the obligation ($n = 5$) to learn German as well. At A12's school the top half of the French class was put into German

class whereas the bottom half learnt Spanish. A9 got the opportunity to learn both French and German because of good SATs results in year six. At A10's school one year cohort started with French and the next one with German. Her year started with French and the better students had to take German accelerated. A11 could decide whether he wanted to take up German as well and he did so because his family influenced him:

I think it was students who'd done better in French in year seven who were given the opportunity, or were given the choice to take up German as well. I think there was a slight pressure from my family as well to take every opportunity to learn. Obviously I'm very glad that there was that pressure. And yes it was completely optional from the beginning, German. (A11, ll. 47-50)

B11 and B13 were also given a choice, however this was not whether to take up a second language, but which one to take. B11 chose German instead of Latin, because it seemed more practical to her and because she knew her grandmother could help her with it. B13 did not mind if he learnt German or Spanish, so he was put into German class:

So I literally had no strong desire to study German, no strong desire to study Spanish. But on the other hand I had no strong desire not to study German, or no strong desire not to study Spanish. So I was literarily just like, I don't mind. They also said that you had to give a reason, especially if you want to study one or the other, you had to give a reason, and I didn't have any particular reason either way, so I just put, I don't mind, so yeah. (B13, ll. 94-100)

B12 started with French in year 7 as well. She had to start German in year eight, because she did well in French, but she also had to drop one of the two languages after year 9. She was the only one that claimed German was her only FL. When the something similar happened to B11 and she was faced with having to drop German or French, her family prevented that from happening:

So then French was the first foreign language and then there were 12 of us in my school that wanted to do French and German together at GCSE and they'd timetabled those two subjects at exactly the same time. So they turned around and said "you can't do it" and we said "that's ridiculous. You let people do Latin and French but you don't let us do French and German". "So she could do it but she'd have to do it after school as an extra GCSE." And we were like, "Well, that's not good enough." They talked seven people out of that and in the end someone who had - who was well connected with sort of several journalists said "well if you don't we're going to say something because this is ridiculous, it's such an important language". So then in the end there were five of us who wanted to do German in GCSE class and later at A-level at one point it was only two of us. (B11, 90-100)

This illustrates once again how crucial the language policy of the schools was for the students to become undergraduates in German. Like the other participants, most of

the finalists would probably have never chosen to learn German, but they had to start learning it and in contrast to their peers they enjoyed it.

Reasons for Doing German at GCSE Level

For GCSE most of the participants had more choice. For some, however, a GCSE in German was obligatory. A10 had to take a GCSE in German because of the accelerated course she was put on. B13 also had no choice; he had to do a GCSE in German (B13, l. 128).

For A11 one language was compulsory at GCSE, but he decided to do both German and French, because he had “enjoyed them so much” (A11, l. 42) and he did not really like the other humanities subjects available (A11, ll. 73-76). For A12 it was also enjoying languages that made him sit a GCSE in German. Additionally he said it was because he thought languages “would be useful” and due to good marks (A12, ll. 72-74). A8 also gave enjoyment as her main reason, as well as being good at German and having become more interested in Germany due to a school exchange. A9 chose German over French as well, but for her German “made a lot more sense than French” (A9, l. 97). She found it easier and more logical (A9, ll. 88-97), so she decided to keep it instead of French.

As mentioned above B11 was told she could not take German, but this made her want to learn it even more (B11, ll. 70-79). When B12 had to choose between French and German, she took outside factors into consideration. Her father said he could help her with German, and she liked the German teacher more than the French teacher. It was not down to the language per se. She could only do one of the two languages and she had decided she wanted to be fluent in an FL. Being inspired by a girl in school, her *ideal self* was to become a fluent speaker of another language:

I think when I saw that girl in year eight; I was like: I definitely wanted to, like, speak a really good language and, like, learn how to speak another language. And then when it came to picking that probably was quite a big decision, like it was the teacher. I thought I don't like my French teacher, so I am going to have to go down the German route. And also my dad was really like... my dad - could at GCSE level my dad was like, “Oh, maybe I can help you. Like I remember some German”, but French he was like “I have no idea.” And I am quite used to - like my dad used to be a math teacher and my mom's an English teacher, so I like I don't know they were always quite supportive with my work. My dad was like “If you do German I might be able to help, like, I really like it if you do German.” So I think that maybe influenced it. (B12, ll. 60-69)

Overall, it seemed that perceptions of success and enjoyment led to GCSE uptake. As explained earlier these two factors were closely linked. Few students could explain what in particular they enjoyed about learning German, but those who tried stated that

they enjoyed the way languages were taught, and the fact that you access various subjects (history, literature, linguistics) through languages.

Reasons for Choosing A-level German

Due to the accelerated course she was on, A10 could take her A-level in German earlier; the reasons for continuing with German were being good at it and enjoyment (A10, ll. 127-132). Her school was quite accommodating and offered varied opportunities to study languages. Similarly A12 chose German A-levels because he enjoyed the language and the grammar in particular (A12, ll. 81-83). A9 enjoyed German more than French, but she also appreciated learning languages in general:

On the one hand, because I really, really liked German. It was one of my favourite subjects all the way through and I also 'cause I thought it's important to have a language; a second language. I think it opens up a lot of doors, both career wise as well as learning about a different culture and a different way of living. It's like a second culture; no, not a culture, it's like a second social competence as well. Because we learn how to interact with people that have different backgrounds to you, so yeah this influenced me to keep going with another language. (A9, ll. 129-135)

Here A9 hinted at her *ideal self* as a global citizen. She aimed at having competencies that go beyond being a monolingual English speaker. Using a door metaphor that other students (for example B1 and B11) used as well, she explained she wanted to have access to other cultures and people. In contrast to that it was more the linguistic side that defined A8's *ideal self* as a gifted linguist. A8 liked languages in general as well and she loved French, so she carried on with German as well. She also had some good experiences on school exchanges with Germany (A8, ll. 66-71):

I think in general I persuaded myself that languages is my thing and really from quite early on. And especially because I really loved French, my other language, that kind of pushed me to just carry on with both of them. And for A-level again I mean I knew the stuff, I knew that I really enjoyed languages, that I was good at languages, so it was never a question of "should I carry on with languages"? It was just sort of a natural for me to carry on. (A8, ll. 94-99)

For A11 it was actually future plans that made him decide to take German A-levels. He showed instrumental motivation because he chose German A-level in order to be able to study languages at university. This linked in with his *ideal self* as a qualified person, someone who has a degree in languages:

I think with A-level also the idea - the thought of my future played into it a bit more. And studying at university, I sort of knew I wanted to study languages at that point. So I knew that having an A-level in German would be beneficial to getting on to a language degree, even if I didn't know what language degree it was going to be. (A11, ll. 86-89)

He knew he wanted to study languages and he knew he needed A-levels in languages for that, but he did not have a specific idea about what he wanted to do with a languages degree. Neither did he want to study German specifically.

B11 had taken part in school exchanges, and that gave her the boost to continue with German. She experienced a real sense of achievement by advancing in German through this school exchange (B11, ll. 193-203). For B12 a trip to Germany was an important stimulus, in combination with her general wish to become fluent in an FL. Doing an A-level in German was her 'project':

My mom and my dad have always been really supportive of it. And also we have like family friends that live in Germany who are really like just really great. Like I was able to go and stay with them and they were really nice and yeah. And then it became like a little project doing that at A-level. And then it just got to the point where I just thought "I don't want to give it up". (B12, ll. 43-47)

For her it was the mix of acquiring cultural competence and of good experiences at school that made her keep learning German. Additionally the support of her family and existing family links with Germany enabled her to pursue her goal outside of school.

At A-level, B13 could choose for the first time whether he wanted to study German or not. He thought languages were special and useful. He was also good at them and he enjoyed learning them, which was why he continued (B13, ll. 132-157). Here he hinted at his *ideal self* of someone who is able to speak another language, someone exceptional:

that was the first time I actually choose to do a language, where I had a choice in the matter, and I studied French and German for my A-levels and theatre and music. I thought it's good, it's like not everyone does speak in another language, in England at least. It would be good for me like in future whatever I might be doing, it could help. (B13, ll. 29-34)

Topics Studied at School

When recounting their time at school, like other groups, most fourth year participants used the word 'basic' to describe the classes up to GCSE:

I remember learning the conversational phrases to start off with and doing a lot of repetition in class out loud with pictures and then repeating out loud. (A8, ll. 48-49)

It was more sort of the teacher talking and then asking questions and stuff and - but then in year 10 and 11 there was a lot more talking and we had interactive whiteboards and things like that where they'd be games and things like that, so it got better in the later years. (A9, ll. 124-127)

To start with, it was pretty basic things (A10, l. 83)

I don't think there was a lot of development up to GCSE to be honest. It was very basic. (A11, ll. 71-72)

I think it was a pretty standard school, things about the home, pets, town, typical what you do at the beginning of any language things, how to introduce yourself things like that. (A12, ll. 63-64)

Set phrases. It was a lot of things sort of the kind of they assumed you've learnt by rote. and I had a lot of trouble with that because I've worked out now that if I learn a language I kind of build myself a template of the grammar, learn that and then I can kind of fiddle about the phrases and construct them. (B11, ll. 155-158)

I remembered in GCSE it was really like superficial things like the weather and things you pack in your bag and the school day and things like that. (B12, ll. 133-135)

You start with the basics like, your name, age, how to talk about yourself, family, colours, you know, all the basics numbers, letters, sports, hobbies, what you do in you free time, what I did... (B13, ll. 101-103)

The students judged their first years of learning German as 'basic', because they were fluent in German at the time of the interview, and no one I interviewed found the topics up to GCSE very inspiring. As mentioned in the previous section it was not the topics they studied that motivated the students to continue with German; it was more internal motivation and the *ideal self* that inspired these participants to continue learning German.

For some students it was also external reasons like the teacher and the good experiences they had in school that motivated them to take German to the next level. The quotes below illustrate how important a 'fun' teacher at that level is, especially when the topics are not that interesting.

And I had a quite fun teacher in my first year at secondary school so I liked it. (A10, ll. 57-58)

I really enjoyed my German teacher's style, so of course good teachers make it much more easy and fun to learn a language. So I picked it up with my German teacher much better than my French. (A12, ll. 54-56)

I was put in the German group and the group was fairly small and I must say they have the most amazing teacher. I had brilliant interesting quirky teachers all through school and I think we learned quite a lot because of the small groups (A8, ll. 20-21)

A8's comment is taken from the first narrative, so for her the teachers played a remarkable role for her motivation to study German. Other students also pointed out how good certain teachers were at either A-level or even at university. "When I was doing GCSE, I really loved my teacher. She was so nice, I loved her and I still do" (B12,

I. 75). B12 goes on to explain that her mother was a teacher at the same school she visited. She used to babysit for her German teacher and she wanted to be better than the other uninterested students. At that point her *ideal self* was 'a good student':

When I was doing my GCSEs I just remembered everyone in the class hated it, everyone was bored and just played up all the time. And I just remembered being like, I want to be the good girl. (B12, ll. 79-81)

Moving up to A-level the class size was reduced considerably and the topics as well as the language became more demanding (compare: A10, ll. 89-92; B13, ll. 136-142).

However, more complex topics did not necessarily mean more interesting ones:

I don't know I think I just find it all... there wasn't anything that really particularly grabbed me, I just liked learning it, and all of it, and being able to expand my vocabulary and so to be able to say more things and... (A10, ll. 95-97)

I remember I was always and I think even to an extent up to now, disappointed at how little sort of a little culture and history is covered. And I'm not so interested in sort of contemporary German life and what it's like to live in Germany and things like that. It is not what's sort of my main interest. (A11, ll. 101-104)

A10 emphasised her *ideal self* as a multilingual person again while A11 saw himself more as a cultural enthusiast. Both had in common that the school did not meet their expectations for an A-level. B12 described the same problem:

B12: (...) And then when you do A-level it was quite like, "Oh, you have to know about history and"... Although I remember in the exam the kind of exam things we had to do was nothing like what we had to do with the topics over here. Like the topics over here we had to do like presentations on German history and just like... things like the environment and things like that. Whereas in the exam I can't really remember what the exams and things were. They were ... I mean they must have been linked, but I don't remember. I remember thinking the exams was more like a vocab test or like a grammar test.

I: And did anything you did at school raise a cultural interest, so that you thought this is something I want to know more about or I want to find out more about?

B12: Not really. (B12, ll. 135-145)

The fact that all of these participants were studying German at a Russell group university indicates that they are intelligent young people. Rote learning and talking about themselves did not excite them at GCSE and discussing euthanasia or everyday life in Germany could only grab the attention of some. Still they found ways to motivate themselves outside of school and they continued learning German.

A11: (...) Then it wasn't so a lot about, I think I remember debating about abortion and I can't think of the English term Gnadentod?

I: *Euthanasia?*

A11: *Euthanasia that's the word, in A-level but they weren't my main interest but I think the idea of being able to study something a bit more creative always tempted me. I did I think for a piece of course work actually at A-level I studied, I tried to study Traumnovelle (A11, ll. 105-110)*

A11 picked a difficult piece of literature to study, because the other topics disappointed him. Again, he presented himself as a high culture enthusiast, and also an autonomous learner. For A12 these discussion topics were more interesting because of the person he was discussing them with. He presented himself as very competitive and shows strong self-efficacy:

At A-level is when it'd gone to more interesting things, for example, well actually my German class was, I think this is what probably made it really interesting for me in German is that in my class there was two of us at A-level, at A2 at least. And we were discussing topics like euthanasia or, what else did we do, abortion, you know big moral topics and he was incredibly conservative and I'm much more liberal in my views on these sorts of things. So we had these really good debates about things and we were both very competitive about it, so we both wanted to be able to out speak the other so we both learnt a lot. (A12, ll. 64.71)

Other students stated that the topics were more interesting at A-level. Like A11, A8 presented herself as a culture enthusiast:

Yes, the topics are much more interesting at A-level and I suppose that was why I carried onto university because we started reading so we did some Brecht and we did film analysis. (A8, ll. 106-107)

The more interesting topics at A-level, reading Brecht and analysing a Fatih Akin film, motivated A8 to study German at university. For A9 the topics were also more interesting (A9 ll. 153-159) and she appreciated learning more about German culture (A9, l. 154). Yet, smaller classes, more interactive lessons and a good teacher were the things she mentioned first when I asked her what changed at A-level:

The classes were a lot smaller, at sixth form. I think there was only 10 of us in a class or something like that, so fairly small. Yeah it was also a lot more interactive I think because we were in smaller groups so there was more one on one interaction with the teacher. But because it was a smaller group there was also more interaction between us, and then we got introduced obviously to the more difficult grammar, so that was fun. But no the teachers were really, really good and explained it really well. I think A-level was the first time that I really properly learned adjective endings and things like that. (A9, ll. 140-146)

A9 also pointed out how learning an FL opened a lot of doors both for careers and culturally (A9, ll. 130-135). She saw herself as a learner who likes to be challenged and she showed self-efficacy. Additionally she said that learning more difficult grammar

was fun for her. It was the same for B11 who showed self-efficacy; understanding adjective endings meant a lot for her:

It was such an achievement the first time I said a sentence with adjectives and everything in it and I got it all right and no one corrected me. I was like "Yes, I can do it!" (B11, ll. 199-201)

However, she managed this after she had been on a German exchange (B11, ll. 196-199), so the visit to Germany had more impact on her motivation to learn German than changing schools for A-level and having a different teacher (B11, ll. 235-241). Still, learning German grammar from a Latin teacher was something she enjoyed:

So I changed to my brother's school because they had a better reputation for languages and the woman who taught grammar, she actually taught Latin. So the woman, one of my main German teachers, she taught Latin as well. So we would have two hours of grammar with her every week and my brother, he'd been there for three years by that point already, or four years, he'd gotten on really well with her and she was really good, we had really good feedback. (B11, ll. 237-242)

Even though the topics at A-level were more complex, the classes were smaller and the lessons were more interactive for many of the interviewees, the students were nonetheless mainly motivated by activities outside their classroom, like school exchanges (See 5.5.3 Beliefs and attitudes towards German or Germany - Trips to Germany)

Reasons for Studying German at University Level

The reasons for choosing to study German as a university degree were almost the same for this group as the reasons for continuing German to GCSE or to A-level. Most students 'enjoyed' German. In most cases they were still not very specific about what they enjoyed exactly. A11 knew he wanted to study languages at university and he described his *ideal self* as a multilingual/ qualified person. That is why he chose to do an A-level in German (A11, ll. 98-92), and applying for a German course at university was a logical consequence:

I liked, what I liked about it is that the way it has, because I enjoyed science and I enjoyed some arts subjects as well, I did art and drama at GCSE too. I like the way it was kind of combination of the two, because you have the literature side of it you have to be creative. Obviously, it's a really rich cultural history of German speaking countries. But it is also the very mathematical and ordered side of German grammar and sort of the idea of decoding that was sort of a nice; I felt it complemented the two sides of academia. (A11, ll. 80-85)

He liked how learning German combined creativity with ordered mathematics-like grammar. Showing self-efficacy again, he also had an *ideal self* as an interdisciplinary

person. He had, however, no idea what career he wanted to get into (A11, ll. 95-97). A12 is a similar case; he studied German because he enjoyed it and that had always been the case (A12, ll. 76-78; 86-88). Even the reasons he gave sounded similar to A11's reasons. Here he exhibited intrinsic motivation that is related to metalinguistic awareness:

I like the way it fits together and the rules have to be applied to make a nice string of sentences it sounded like, I like Maths as well and I know often they're like hand and hand together like they say. Trying to make the rules fit to things and come up with a complete sentence, like finishing an equation in Maths is like coming up with a good sentence in German. (A12, ll. 80-84)

As mentioned above there is a link between maths and German for this group. A lot of the participants said they were good at maths and at German. High marks were an additional reason for A12 to continue learning German (A12, ll. 76-77). Just like A11, A12 did not think about career prospects when he decided to study languages at university. The lack of instrumental motivation is surprising considering that these participants could already be applying for jobs. He enjoyed learning German and the challenge it presented; he wanted to become fluent in another language:

I carried it on because I was still thoroughly enjoying it, and the challenge. And I've always admired the fact that some other people can speak another language so I wanted to do it for that reason. I didn't think about jobs at all until afterwards. (A12, ll. 90-93)

Here A12 showed self-efficacy, enjoying the challenge German presented for him. Like A11 he also has an *ideal self* of a multilingual person.

Fluency and aiming to be a multilingual person were also the deciding factors for A10. She wanted to become fluent in another language and she wanted to go to university, which was why she chose to study German. Showing strong intrinsic motivation, she pointed out that career options did not play a role in her decision making:

I wanted to become fluent in German. I can't really remember why that was what I wanted to do but I didn't know what else to do and I wanted to go to university. So it wasn't a case of "I want to teach languages or I want to be a translator and so I need a languages degree." It was more, I want to learn languages so I need to go and study them. And French was always a sort of extra because I didn't want to study single honours German, because I thought maybe it maybe wouldn't be quite so useful for getting a job, I thought two languages is always better than one, and also I didn't want to take literature modules which I would have to do if I had done single honours. So that was the main reason I picked it, just because I still really enjoyed it and I wanted to get better. (A10, ll. 157-165)

French was part of her degree choice, because she believed two languages to be better than one and because it meant she would not have to study literature. Towards the

end of her statement she also repeated the above mentioned reasons: enjoyment and progress in German.

A8 also believed that one language is not enough. Yet in contrast to A10, she chose German only because she wanted to study French. This interviewee aimed to be a multilingual person as well:

I wanted to study French and then I wasn't just going to study French, because one language is no use. I was already aware of that like you need multiple so German sort of naturally fit in alongside it. And combined with the fact that I enjoyed it and I got good grades and it had really good teaching, that's why I decided to do it for university. (A8, ll. 129-133)

Even though French was the "driving factor" (A8, l- 126), she also named enjoyment, good grades and good teaching as reasons for studying German. Like the others she did not consider career options (A8, ll. 343-351).

In contrast to the other students from her university A9 did initially think about career options. She actually wanted to become a German teacher and that was why she chose German as a degree. She also picked up Spanish at university because she knew she needed two languages in order to be a teacher (A9, ll. 213-219). A school exchange with Germany gave her the confidence to take German further. And she thought she would become a teacher when she started university:

Originally when I came to university I wanted to be a teacher and I could see myself teaching German. So that was probably one of the main reasons erm that's changed now but... No I think definitely the fact that it made me a lot more confident speaking German and knowing that I could go to Germany and I would be okay and that I could communicate my feelings and I get what I needed if I needed to go to the supermarket whatever. That made me a lot more confident, it was the first real time I'd had to properly speak German outside of the classroom so yeah in a way it made me feel a lot more sort of secure in to know that I could take it further and I would be confident in taking it further so... Yeah, in a way it did have an effect. I came back feeling more confident. But I think the main reasons was that I really enjoyed learning German and I thought I wanted to teach it so, that was probably the main motivation but indirectly yeah it must have had an effect. (A9, ll. 199-210)

By the time of the interview her motivation had however changed. Starting with strong intrinsic motivation, she showed some instrumental motivation, thinking about a career as a teacher. Yet when her self-efficacy was heightened through the experiences on her YA, believing in her skills more she aimed for a more academic career (A9, ll. 264-286). Towards the end she named her main motivators as: Enjoyment and the wish to teach German. For B11 the reasons were very similar: She had good experiences both in Germany and in France which gave her more confidence in the languages. She also wanted to teach French and German:

Originally I wanted to teach then and then in sixth form I helped out with classes in French and German (...) That was a really good experience and I really enjoyed it, but at the same time I saw how much gibe the teachers were getting from the students and how uninterested students were and how much paperwork was involved. and now when you look at the salary you sort of sit there and think, well I'd like to teach, just you know, people who are actually interested and not people who are just going to sit around and go "Oh, but Miss ..." the whole time. So it was kind of a natural for me to go "well a degree would be a good idea" (B11, ll. 272-281)

Before she got to university she changed her mind, because she experienced what teaching was like when she helped out in a school. Yet she thought a degree “would be a good idea”, so it seems motivation was to obtain a qualification in languages. She thought she needed the qualification, if she wanted to work with languages later on (B11, ll. 286-292). Career options still influenced her when she made her university choice:

I did sit there and think "well actually out of all of them that is kind of an invaluable skill". There weren't that many people who I knew outside of those who were teaching me at the time, who spoke other languages. My grandmother it turns out was quite unusual. Certainly amongst all of my school friends as well, none of them were half German, half French or whatever, everyone was - sort of, grew up monolingual pretty much in sort of our area. So it was quite an unusual thing to be able to speak a different language and then I sat and said, okay well that would then open up possibilities of your going and working in Germany or anywhere in the German-speaking world or the French-speaking world also. (B11, ll. 297-305)

The only people she knew that spoke other languages were teachers and her grandmother. Consequently she considered languages to be a special skill and wished to be distinctive by following in her grandmothers footsteps and becoming a multilingual person. This would enable her to become a global citizen. Also after having visited her uncle who works in France she was able to see what living abroad could be like.

For both B12 and B13, career options influenced their decision to study German as well. The both studied German and drama and they both felt that drama by itself was not enough. B12 thought she had to decide between studying German or studying drama:

I was like "oh my god I have got to pick German or drama, what am I going to do?", and then I typed in like degrees with German or jobs with German and I found like this advertising job and it said like you must have a German degree or something like that. And like at the time I thought I really wanted to go into advertising. So I was like "Mum, I am definitely going to do German for my degree, I am definitely going to do German because that's the job I want, and I

want", but then I found out you could joint honours and I was like "oh I'll do that". (B12, ll. 356-362)

B12 demonstrated instrumental motivation, because she considered her career when she made her university choice. Yet she was also intrinsically motivated, because the career was the one she 'wanted', she was not motivated only by a high salary or job security. When she found out what jobs you can do with German she decided to study German, but when she found out she could study both drama and German she preferred that (B12, ll. 348-362). The main reason for wanting to study German, however, was the wish to become fluent in another language (B12, ll. 365-371). Similar to University A's finalists, she was motivated by the *ideal self* of a multilingual person.

For B13 it was more the case of knowing less about German and Germany than about French or the French culture that made him decide to study it at university. He wanted to know more about the language and culture:

But in terms of choosing it for university like I said it was basically a coin toss. It was everything but a coin toss, it was 50-50. But I suppose retrospectively looking at it, I probably decided German, because I knew less about the German culture, knew less about German language and German people and I wanted to find out more. (B13, ll. 184-188)

There was nothing about German in particular that motivated him to study it. He wanted to study drama and go into acting; studying a language was a 'backup'. This is secondary instrumental motivation. Even though he wanted to have a career in acting he knew that this could be difficult. That was why he studied German, it could secure his future:

Not specifically German, a language. Like I said, I wanted to... I thought I should probably have something as backup, so I chose a language. But I didn't want to spend three, four years just learning the language. I thought I want to do something theatrical as well, so I chose drama. I do drama as well; because like I say what I want to be able to do is acting so. (B13, ll. 440-444)

Overall this indicates a difference between the two universities: Whereas University A's students mainly spoke about enjoyment and said that they did not think about career opportunities, University B's participants all thought about their career as well when they decided to study German.

Deciding Motivators for German

Throughout their language learning history it was enjoyment that motivated most of the final year participants to continue learning German. They liked their teachers on the whole, but they did not find the GCSE program very inspiring. It was more the prospect of being fluent in an FL and the success they had in school that motivated

them. Enjoyment was the strongest motivating factor and this was shared with the other two year groups. The other main factors, however, differ for the fourth year. After having been abroad, 6/8 felt a stronger connection to Germany. They were motivated by their cultural interest, their peer group and the friends they had found in German speaking countries. The finalists showed strong integrative motivation.

Similar to the other groups the finalists were also positively influenced by their experience in school as an external factor and their perceived academic talent and personal development as internal factors and internal motivation. Instrumental motivation or a future career played a role for University B's students and for A9 at the beginning, because she thought she would go into teaching. The other four interviewees did not think about job prospects when they decided to study German at university.

These participants talked a lot more about the person they wanted to be than the career they aimed for. They had a more defined *ideal self* than the other year groups. The majority, 6/8, saw their *ideal self* as a multilingual person, a gifted linguist or a fluent speaker of another language. They knew that language(s) as a skill distinguished them from their peers. They were confident in their skills and they did not worry about life after university.

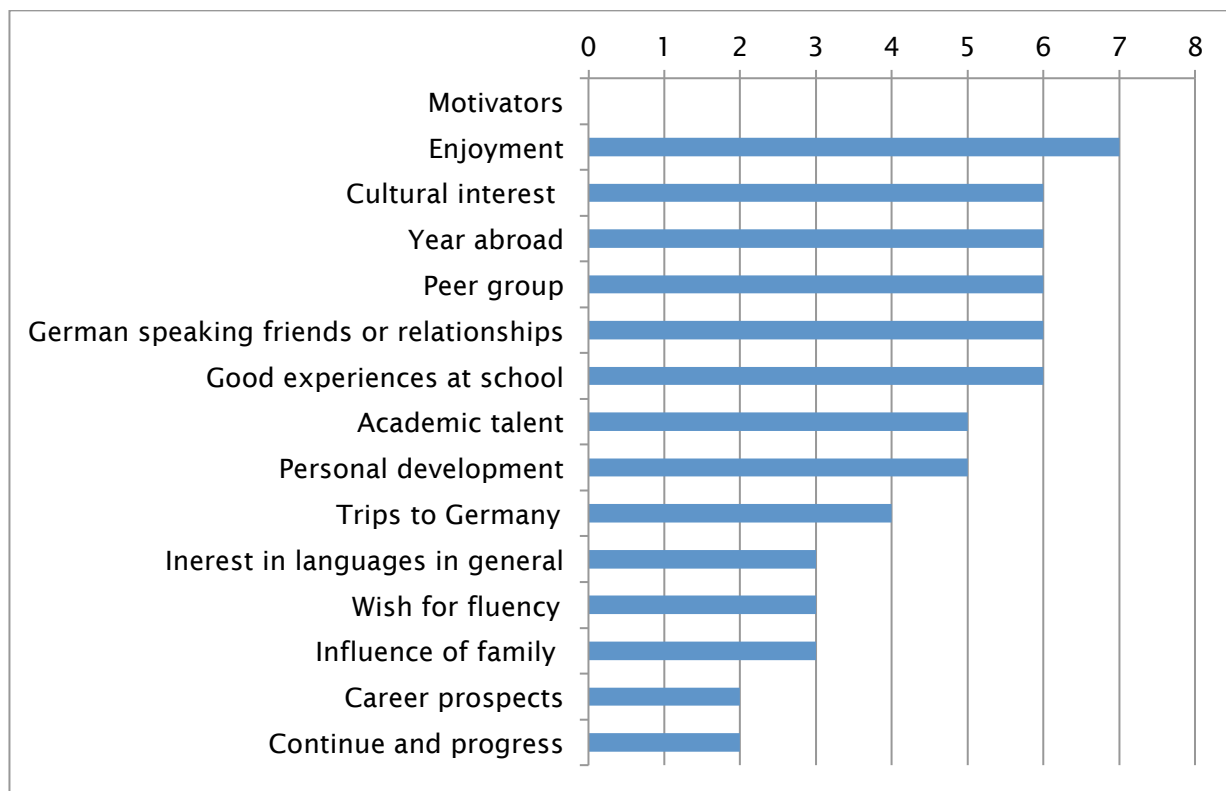


Figure 18: Main motivating factors for continuing to study German - fourth year participants

Trips to Germany played a significant role for some of the students. This will be analysed in the next section. Only few of the students said that they were interested in any aspect German culture without being prompted. For A9 however, German culture was a motivating factor from the start. A11 mentioned Germany's culture and history, but he did not say that this motivated him to take German further. B13 said he knew less about German and that is why he chose to study it over French. The next section shows what the students answered when they were prompted with cultural interests.

5.4.4 Beliefs and Attitudes Towards German or Germany

Cultural Interests

As only very few of the interviewees mentioned cultural interests when they talked about their motivation to learn German I asked all of them 'Did that foster any cultural interest on your side?' as a follow up question to the topics they had studied at school. One of the cultural interests that many participants shared was German film. Some also talked about history or politics following this prompt:

I suppose so. I mean I knew that reading and watching films were good for me, good for improving my knowledge and my learning. so I think I may have bought some books off from Amazon, I can't really remember if I did or what they were called, but I definitely wanted to watch more films, read more books in German. As for culturally, yes I suppose I didn't really know at that time I was just starting to learn about some more German history and German politics and I felt that that was interesting to me, the history and politics and I wanted to learn a bit more about that as well. (A8, ll. 117-123)

A8's response demonstrates that she did not really know what to make of the question. She said she watched some films and bought books in German. However, she mentioned Brecht three times in the interview, because she studied him in school and again at university (A8, ll. 106-107; 113-114; 142). She says she enjoyed the module at university, but it did not sound like the topics at university changed her interests:

so films and books as it was at A-level that's still kind of my key area of interest that's what I really enjoy learning about. (A8, ll. 159-160)

A8 went to France during her YA and she can be characterized as Francophile, even though that changed a little after her year in France. She had always considered German of secondary importance, yet she showed an interest in German film and literature.

In contrast, A9 had an interest in German specifically. She mentioned culture in her first narrative, and also talked about it when discussing her decision to do an A-level in German. Thus her answer was a lot more specific:

Yeah I mean learning about the history, the modern history and the Berlin Wall and things like that; I found really interesting, and learning about sort of multicultural Germany was really, really interesting. That got me really excited. The other topics, I mean the things that were specific to Germany or Austria, Switzerland wherever. I found really interesting; so when we were talking about the environment and things like that, if it was specific to Germany and their strategies of dealing with the environment, then I found that interesting. I found it less interesting when it was kind of like a general thing, I don't know, the death penalty or something, because it doesn't really relate specifically to a German speaking country. I didn't find that as interesting, but when it was properly, something that was debated in the country or... or something like that then I found it more interesting and could relate to it a lot better. Yeah. (A9, ll. 161-171)

A9 found topics specific to German speaking culture interesting, and she got excited about multicultural Germany. In fact it interested her so much that she did a project on her YA about a related topic and she decided to pursue her masters investigating this further (A9, ll. 264-286). In her case some of the topics she covered in school fostered a cultural interest that she got more and more involved in.

For A10 however, there was nothing at school that raised her interest in German culture:

I don't know I think I just find it all... there wasn't anything that really particularly grabbed me, I just liked learning it and all of it and being able to expand my vocabulary and so to be able to say more things (A10, ll. 95-97)

At university she avoided studying literature by studying two languages, even though German interested her more than French (A10, ll. 160-164). Then she concentrated more on linguistics: "I mainly did the linguistics side so I didn't really pick up the cultural sides." (A10, l. 184, also: A10, ll. 178-181). However she stated that trips to Germany and Austria fostered an interest in German speaking culture both at university (A10, ll. 186-191) and at school (A10, ll. 64-66). This also influenced her decision for her YA:

I never really thought that hard about which country I'd go to, I just decided Germany. I wanted to go to Germany just because I've always been more interested in German and German culture. (A10, ll. 202-204)

She did not specify this cultural interest, but it can be inferred that she meant everyday culture, life in Germany and the cultural differences between Germany and England.

A12 also pointed out that he did not learn much about everyday culture at school, but that he did so outside school:

No, the only stuff I learnt from Germany is just from going there and also I learnt more about it through things outside of school. For example after I finished, I made friends with a German girl and we spoke a good two hours every day on MSN for most of the year in fact and then it ended up with a trip; she came to visit me and I went to visit her at the end of the year. And I learnt more speaking to her than I did with the school, because it just didn't come up in conversation in the school. You learn the vocabulary, you learn how to say stuff, you never actually learn anything about the culture. (A12, ll. 141-147)

He got more interested in German film and everyday life (A12, ll. 158-170), and even though he was exposed to a wide range of topics at university, he was not stimulated to learn more about German culture (A12, ll. 175-182).

While A9, A10, and A12 spoke about everyday culture, A11 equalled culture with literature. He chose to read *Die Traumnovelle* for his A-level and he regretted not having had more chances to study more 'culture' (A11, ll. 101-104). When he did have the opportunity he enjoyed it:

I did two literature modules in the first and second year so with (xy) yeah, and I found that really interesting. I didn't always do - the best essay or so, but I really enjoyed sort of learning about that, because it was something that I was interested in before sort of - to finally have an opportunity to explore it, that was really good. And I wish that I sort of would have had the opportunity to do it just a little bit in language classes as well, that would have been nice. (A11, ll. 223-228)

B11 interpreted the concept as everyday culture, like A9, A10, and A12 did (B11, ll. 213-233). She got more interested in German culture through a school exchange. Regarding topics to study at university, though, she got more interested in linguistics (B11, ll. 343-352). Still she appreciated how learning German had opened doors into another formerly unknown culture, including the literary canon:

So there was that side of things and also there's a general cultural history that you're introduced to as well. So some of it is key - there is the canon literature as well, that's quite an eye opener, the influences that it's had, as well that's quite, that's quite interesting. I think it just opened my eyes to a whole different side of things and a whole different world. So I had no idea about it, we were not taught about it in the school, because it was just not enough time. (B11, ll. 353-358)

This was something she only realized at university. She justified not having learnt more about German culture at school with time restrictions. On her YA she was exposed to more aspects of German life and culture and she took an interest in that (B11, ll. 432-453; 526-532).

During her time at school there was nothing that raised a cultural curiosity with B12:

I: And did anything you did at school raise the cultural interest, so that you thought "this is something I want to know more about, or I want to find out more about"?

B12: Not really. To be honest I've always thought I probably would never like to go back to Germany or like I always thought that it was a great thing to have to be able to speak another language, but I never thought that I would want to leave England and go there. So I just thought it was an interesting... like the language side of it was interesting, but since going on my year abroad I have changed a bit and have been like, oh it's actually quite like an interesting thing to live in another country and like just to see things differently. It's quite interesting. You see England differently when you... and it's funny how I look at other people who like maybe have never lived abroad or never like they've gone abroad but they've never actually like done things differently. They've just been English people abroad. And it's quite interesting how I think they don't realize how English they are. They don't realize how like psychologically they're just so like... not aware of their own culture and not aware of other people's culture.

Here the development of B12's cultural interest becomes evident. Originally she was not interested in anything related to German culture; she only wanted to learn the language. The time she spent in Germany during her YA changed her mind though, and led to development of an intercultural perspective on her own 'home' culture.

Not having learnt much about German culture at school was actually a motivating reason for B13 to study German at university (B13, II. 38-40; 186-196). One of the topics he wanted to learn more about was German history. Having watched a film at school he started to be fascinated by the division of Germany:

looking at that film Das Leben der Anderen, Lives of Others. Looking at that film made me, I really...because I didn't do history after I was 14. So I didn't really know much about the war time and the post war time, the division of Germany. Specifically the division of Berlin as well and that really fascinated me. It still does, it's still one of my favourite topics to look at and look into. (B13, II. 163-167)

To sum up, most of the participants interpreted the term culture as everyday culture and some show an interest in cultural history. Only a few talked about high culture. The interviewees were exposed to few cultural topics during their time at school, but some had a chance to learn more at university. Overall it was trips to Germany and their YA that really motivated the interviewees to learn more about German everyday culture.

Trips to Germany

The fourth year group had had more chances to take part in school exchanges than the other groups. Apart from B12 all of the final year participants had been on a school exchange with Germany at least once. B12 had family friends in Germany and visited by herself a few times. A10 enjoyed her school exchange with Germany so much that she took part four times:

There was a really good German exchange that my school ran. So to start with they didn't have one in France, but in Germany they've been running it for quite a few years, so a few of my friends we all decided that we wanted to go and had a really good time. And then I went again; I went four times, four years in a row on the German exchange and I just really liked it. I didn't really learn much German, because all of the German kids were really good at English. But I just really liked it, I liked the place we went to, we went to Koblenz and I liked the people that I met and yeah, it just kind of carried on. It's fun I really liked it and I liked the culture as well, which is probably why I'm more interested in German than in French. I've been to Germany more times. (A10, ll. 58-66)

This excerpt is most of A10's first narrative. Her school exchanges made such an impression on her that they were the main motivating factor for her to continue to learn German. She really enjoyed life in Germany and felt comfortable there. It was especially the social aspect of her visits that made her feel comfortable (A10, ll. 105-111). She went in year eight the first time (A10, l. 100) and she stayed with a different family each time (A10, ll. 104f). A12 also liked the school exchanges so much he went four times. The last time he actually went as a teaching volunteer while he was at university:

I've been on a school exchange four times, I think when I was 14, 16, and then in the last year at 18. They asked me to go back as a teaching volunteer, that was in 2010 so I accompanied the school as a teacher. And we went to Stuttgart or near a place called W. That was one of the best bits about learning it, when you can go over there and speak German and realize, yeah it's all making sense now, you feel proud about that, when you can do that. (A12, ll. 118-123)

He said that the best thing about learning German was being able to go to Germany and to use the language, but another reason why he went again and again was because he got an extra holiday during school time (A12, ll. 134f), with enjoyable activities and food (A12, ll. 135-138)

Another participant who took the opportunity to visit Germany through her school more than once is A8. These exchanges had a significant impact on her motivation, seen in her first narrative (A8, ll. 24f). She went to Germany for the first time in year nine (A8, l. 66), and this influenced her decision to take German as a GCSE subject (A8, ll. 59f). The second school exchange was in year 11 before she took her GCSE and she again had a good time (A8, ll. 66-71). Interestingly she interacted more with the mothers or younger siblings than with her exchange partners during those visits:

I: *Did you interact a lot with German people when you were there?*

A8: *Not really, mainly only with the mothers; moms are really good at making people feel comfortable and at home and they know what to say and how to make you talk; so I think I spoke quite a lot to the mothers of the two girls I stayed with. With the two girls themselves it was always a bit awkward, because we were just sort of matched together and you're supposed to be really good friends, but it was never really quite like that. And then sometimes they had younger siblings, I liked to talk to them, because I suppose I felt maybe a bit more comfortable, but with older siblings I wouldn't say anything at all. So yeah I think mostly with the parents, I spoke to them. (A8, ll. 73-80)*

Another interviewee who visited Germany through school twice is A11. Similarly to the other participants he enjoyed getting to know another culture from the inside, raising his cultural awareness:

That was at - I must have been 14 I think when I went there so it was a long time ago. I can't really remember much, but that was the first time I've sort of lived - it was only for a week - but in sort of a different country and in a non sort of holiday context. And that was really interesting as well, I think, to see how the people live and see that, you know, people who aren't English, they're still you know people just like you. I think that was an eye opener at the age of 14, it sounds strange but yeah that was really interesting as well. (A11, ll. 129-135)

The visit was so interesting that he decided to go again, even though his social experience was not very good (A11, ll. 147-150). The interaction with the German pupils was not too easy for some of the participants. A9 found the prospect of staying with somebody she had never met "quite scary" (A9, ll. 177-178), though her experience turned out well:

Didn't really know how exactly it was going to work and whether we were going to get on or what, so it was quite daunting in that respect. But we got on really well and there was lots to do, there was lots of trips organized and things like that. It was fine and I managed to speak German as well. I came home with a real headache, because I had been speaking so much German, but no that was really good, and that was yeah the first time I'd been. (A9, ll. 178-183)

B13 found the experience "very scary" and he was still concerned about his level of German at that time:

And spent like - we were with a host family, so that was very scary. It was...we were 14 years old me and my friend with this couple that didn't really speak that much English and we hadn't really - We had some German but we hadn't gotten loads. So if I were to look back on me talking to them now I would probably cringe. Because I'd make stupid mistakes like I'd say, du instead of Sie or for example, etcetera. (B13, ll. 156-160)

The social part of the school exchange worked out for B11; she had “gotten on really well with” her exchange partner (B11, ll. 249f). Additionally the exchange helped her to further her language skills considerably:

I came back from the German exchange and suddenly I could hear the differences between the Ü and the U and that had clicked and I was like, “I get it, okay this is wonderful”. (B11 ll. 197-199)

Here she displayed strong intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy. The fact that she had success with learning German motivated her to do an A-level (B11, l. 196f).

Furthermore the exchange fostered a cultural interest, because she found out how many things she had not learnt in school. On the one hand she suffered a ‘culture shock’, because of the differences between Germany and England in everyday culture. On the other hand she learned German history first hand, staying with a family that had fled the GDR and learning about the 1970s German RAF, where the letters stand for a terrorist organisation and not for the air force (B11, ll. 213-231).

In contrast to the other interviewees B12 visited Germany privately. She found out that her father knew somebody who had moved to Germany and she decided to visit them (B12, ll. 88-114). These family friends were so influential on her motivation to learn German that she had already mentioned them in her first narrative (B12, ll. 44-46). Her trips to Germany helped and motivated her for her A-level:

I went the summer and then I went again in the Easter holidays and yeah so that really helped. Like doing the A-level wasn't as hard then, because it was like no one else doing A-levels really had any connections with Germany, or like actually went in the holidays, actually went there. But for me it was like exciting, so I wanted to do it. (B12, ll. 110-114)

She contrasted her insights into life in Germany to a trip she took with her school when she was younger:

I think I went on a school trip, when I was maybe in year eight, but that was kind of like you know you stay in your English bubble of like schoolmates and you don't actually talk to anyone German. (B12, ll. 116-118)

Staying with a German/English family in Germany helped her improve her language skills and it showed her what life can be like when you speak more than one language (B12, ll. 370-387). B12 had made that decision to learn another language quite early in her life when she saw a girl in school speak German to her teacher (B12, ll. 36-43). When she found the option to visit Germany she took the initiative and went to Germany by herself (B12, ll. 98-110). These visits strengthened her wish to become fluent in German and even to have a relationship with somebody who speaks another language so that she would have bilingual children (B12, ll. 365-387). Staying with an

German/ English family, these visits impacted on her linguistic knowledge more than on her intercultural understanding.

Most of the final year participants at University A had had several opportunities to visit Germany or a German speaking country during their course. Apart from A8 and A11 everyone had also been to Germany or Austria on their YA (see 5.4.6 Year Abroad). As A8 felt her German was weaker than her French and as she had been to France on her YA, she took other opportunities to visit Germany. After her first year for example she went to Germany as an Au Pair:

because I felt that German was my weaker subject and I wanted to improve it so I worked, it wasn't really work, I helped out for three months in L. which is in Bayern and it was an interesting experience, I don't think I'd do it again. It definitely helped my German, because the family didn't speak any English, only the dad and he was only there at the weekends. And unfortunately I didn't get on with the children very well, so therefore it was always a bit difficult. But when I came back I'd had a real boost, my German was much better. (A8, II. 232-238)

The three months in Germany helped her to improve her language skills, but similar to her school exchange she did not have a great social experience. She did not interact with the children well and being in a small place in Bavaria meant that there was not much for her to do. She felt lonely and isolated (A8, II. 240-246). Still her intrinsic motivation for language learning was strong enough to carry her through. Additionally her wish to become a multilingual person was so strong that she persisted with learning German and visiting Germany.

Loneliness is a theme that also came up in some interviews when the students talked about their experiences during their YA and other sojourns abroad. A8 spent her YA in France, reflecting her preferred language option, but it was not easy for her. She went because she felt "more of a connection" with France (A8, I. 250), however, she felt not integrated (A8, II. 258-279). Answering my question in how far she felt integrated into German society during her 3-month stay, A8 also answered: "no I wasn't part of society" (A8, I. 246). Afterwards however, A8 finally had a better experience in Germany, having successfully applied for a scholarship to take a summer course in Germany:

So that was the most amazing month ever. It was brilliant; I absolutely loved it at the university in Stuttgart. I did what would be considered here really pretty basic German, I mean technically I should be at like a C level and I did the B1 or like B2 something, but I really needed it, because I've always found grammar difficult and I just needed that repetition to get me back and with a friend of mine. I mean the first three days I couldn't speak German, like I just had this complete mental block, I was French all the time in my head and a lot of other people there - I mean it was a very international course with like 60 nationalities, it was brilliant - we were in very similar situations. We were all pretty rusty on

our German. Some people were beginners, some people were medium like I was, some people were very good, but maybe needed a bit of repetition and we were in separated classes, we were streamed and everything. But I just found that that month just after maybe three days of finding it really difficult, everything just came back, and then I found the grammar and everything pretty easy after that. But I mean I was talking German all day and I think it really helped (A8, ll. 278-301)

After having lived in France A8 struggled with her German, and this summer school helped her to get back into it. The international character of the course also meant that it was easier for her socially. From her experiences we can conclude though, that she found it difficult to integrate herself into a foreign culture. Her *ideal self* as a multilingual person meant she evaluated the month in Stuttgart very positively, because of her linguistic achievement and integration with an international group, not because of how well she was integrated into German society.

The other participant who had not been to Germany on his YA was A11, who lived in Mexico for that year. He generated a chance to stay in Germany after his first year at university as well:

And then in, after my first year at university, I went to work in an office in Germany for a month, it was in Aachen and that was a completely different experience again, but I think because I was in the office the whole time I didn't have much of a social life there. I didn't experience so much of Germany, my language improved a lot from working but I wasn't exposed to the sort of Germany that much anyway. (A11, ll. 154-158)

Just like A8, this time in Germany helped him to improve his language skills, but he did not interact much with Germans outside of work.

A10 also created and took opportunities to visit Germany and Austria during her time at university:

Towards the end of my second year, I joined in with the German society so I was in the committee for my second year and we organized a trip to Vienna. Oh, and I went on a trip to Berlin in my first year with the German society, which was really interesting, and it got me more interested in the history, because I didn't really know anything about that. I never really studied it at school and it was quite interesting to learn it in a kind of hands-on way. We went there and went on a tour where they told us all kinds of stuff about history. So that was interesting. And then I got more interested in, maybe not more interested but stayed interested (A10, ll. 184-191)

A10 engaged in extracurricular activities through the German society at university. The trips they organized raised her interest in German (speaking) culture more than the topics she studied.

Impressions of Germany/German Society

As illustrated above, A8 had initial difficulties integrating into German and French society (A8, ll. 240-248; 258-279). Overall she had been to France on family holidays regularly and she can be described as Francophile even though that changed after her YA (compare A8, ll. 250-255). Her first impression of Germany when she went on her school exchange was: "Cold. Not particularly different" (A8, l. 82). The differences she noticed were the food and the way schools are run (A8, ll. 83-89). She also said she did not know much about Germany then and that she could only assess her immediate surroundings (A8, ll. 88-90). Having visited several parts of Germany at the time of the interview, however, A8 felt she had a more informed impression than when she was younger:

I would say Berlin was very cool, very - like nightlife is amazing and I loved the architecture so that was really kind of a bit - what's the word in English? Branché in French like trendy, cool. I don't know and then the south was more traditional sort of like maybe more stereotypical German as the English would see it but just so beautiful. and I will say, comparing - I don't know, this is completely on a tangent, but German people I found very friendly and open and easy to talk to as a foreigner and even though my German may not have been brilliant at all times, whereas in France that's not the case. I felt not so warmly received in France (A8, ll. 222-229)

Remarkably A8 started off loving French, having touristic perceptions of both countries; she felt a connection with France and only continued German as her secondary subject. Once A8 went beyond touristic impressions, her opinion about Germany changed (see 5.4.6).

Starting off with her impressions of Germany during her school exchanges, A9 noted differences in the school day and the life of German teenagers as well. She also found out how important organisation and time were for the people she stayed with (A9, ll. 185-194). She could relate positively to all of these 'qualities' though (A9, ll. 193f). This integrative attitude was strengthened by her YA in Germany:

I think I do sort of talk about Germany a lot. Yeah. Like very positively. It's always something good. The way the politics and the way things get dealt with very quickly and efficiently, there might be something going on here and I think, oh if we were in Germany we wouldn't be having these problems. Yeah. I do have a very positive attitude towards Germany. Yeah, definitely! (A9, ll. 424-429)

Through her experience in Berlin her attitude towards Germany had become even more positive; she even saw the society as functioning better than England in some ways.

As the analysis so far showed A10 can be described as a 'Germanophil' (A10, ll. 68-71); she had been to Germany numerous times and started dating a German in her

second year at university (A10, ll. 192-194). Like the others A10 noticed differences in school and food during her exchanges, but overall she found Germany and England to be rather similar (A10, ll. 114-118); especially in contrast to France where she felt more like a foreigner:

I just felt so like I sort of fit in into German culture. I've been to... I spent a few weeks as an Au Pair near Paris and I felt that in Paris like I stuck out as a foreigner. Or maybe not foreigner but someone who didn't belong there, I just couldn't feel like I really fitted in, everyone was sort of walking around in high heels and full make up and stuff and I felt really out of place. But in Germany I feel more like I'm kind of suited to German lifestyle. Like getting up earlier in the morning and having more of the day, that sort of fits me, and being a bit more casual I think. (A10, ll. 118-124)

She identified with German culture and life in Germany, so much so that she said she almost preferred it to England and she would like to move back to Germany after she graduated (A10, ll. 267-276). All in all the time she spent in Germany promoted her integrative motivation to learn German, feeling like German life suited her better than life in England.

Three final year students described Germany as cold regarding the weather (A8, l. 82; A10, l. 269; A11, ll. 137f). For A11 the "cold" in the winter was his main impression of Germany. He also spoke about the food and schools in Germany (A11, ll. 138-144); he was impressed with the more academic system of the German *Gymnasium* and with how smart the students were (A11, ll. 139-141). Like the others he saw more similarities between Germany and England than between France and England (A11, ll. 167-172), especially after spending his YA in Mexico (A11, ll. 202-208).

A12 had visited Germany on school exchanges, but spent his YA in Austria, so he described his impressions of both countries. He found Germany very welcoming (A12, ll. 128-131). In contrast to that he found the Viennese rude (A12, ll. 247-253), which he saw as a particularly Viennese trait not an Austrian one (A12, ll. 256-261). He also enjoyed German food (A12, ll. 137f) and he described the differences in school days, courtesy and food (A12, ll. 151-156), but he stated that Germany and England were not particularly different (A12, l. 151).

Comparing England and Germany, B11 found that Germany today is how England used to be (B11, l. 411-417). She spent her YA in Munich and felt so integrated into German society that it felt "like a second home" (B11, l. 499). During her school exchange however she had experienced some culture shock:

It was interesting, it was quite unusual. We were in - I forget exactly where but we were in Rheinland Pfalz, we'd flown to Frankfurt am Main with Ryanair, suddenly we were in the middle of nowhere. And the family I was with, they'd

done several things before, but it was complete culture shock for me and as it turns out they'd fled from East Germany and moved over to the West. And their - the house, everything was so completely different, the way - it was like, the house that I grew up in, you kind of hang around downstairs and you kind of just chat with people all the time, whereas there it was kind of, you're in your room and if you come down, it's because you want something or there's something's wrong. It was completely different - sort of culture shock - it was really at the same time I was sitting there and thinking, what am I doing?! This is complete madness! At the same time I really quite enjoyed it (B11, ll. 213-223)

From being shocked by small differences as a teenager B11 changed her attitude considerably into managing to become a part of German society while she was on her YA. Both experiences had a vast impact on her motivation to learn German, and during her year in Germany she felt she completely mastered the language (B11, ll. 500-505).

B12 had very positive impressions on her YA as well. She stayed in Cologne as a teaching assistant and felt that young people in Germany had more time to grow up (B12, ll. 217-235) and that life in Germany was more relaxed than life in England (B12, ll. 236-244). Still, getting up early was something she adopted from her time in Germany and Austria (B12, ll. 244-256). Overall her impressions did not influence her reported motivation to learn German (see 5.5.5).

Even though B13 experienced a difficult YA in Berlin, for reasons he did not want to elaborate, he found Germany and England to be rather similar (B13, ll. 261-268). Still, his difficult time there meant that he could not look back at it in a positive way (B13, ll. 239-244). In fact, he appreciated the German directness (B13, ll. 274-287) and the fact that the people were more open:

I mean, Berlin as a city is very much open and you talk about... there are a lot of things that I've talked about over a beer sometimes with people that in England you wouldn't necessarily talk about with someone that you've, you only met a week ago or something. I mean that said, it depends how many beers you've had. But you may talk about some things with someone you've met only five minutes ago if you've had about ten beers. But there was a lot more of an openness there, there's a lot more of a, kind of, "I don't care what that person does". Yeah, I found it quite refreshing actually. (B13, ll. 298-305)

To sum up this section, all final year interviewees described positive impressions of Germany. Even the ones who felt more Francophile in the beginning, A8 and B11, felt that Germany was very welcoming and rather similar to England. Interestingly most of the participants commented on German everyday culture, like food, especially cheese and ham for breakfast and on the fact the people in Germany get up earlier. Recounting experiences before their YA, the students seemed to have been quite unsophisticated in their perceptions and accounts of German society and culture; it seems they felt generally comfortable and at home and so they did not question things

much. Still, there is evidence of growing intercultural awareness for at least some, and a minority also enjoyed learning about history, literature and/or film. For all of the finalists at least one of their trips to Germany had a significantly positive impact on their motivation to learn German.

Stereotypes/Typically German

When talking about their impressions of Germany some of the students brought up stereotypes or things they thought were typically German. If they did not talk about it I asked them what they thought was typically German. As illustrated above, food, time and organisation were three of the things that came up quite often. However, the students' view of German speaking culture was quite differentiated and hardly influenced by stereotypes. They rather used their experience to compare their perceived reality of German speaking culture with common (British) beliefs, for example about dress, punctuality, order, lack of humour and tidiness. The following quotes provide some evidence of intercultural awareness and the ability to reflect on own culture, as well as on the nature of stereotypes:

And I found that a lot of my friends, my German friends sort of think if you're not punctual then there must be something wrong. If you're literally a couple of minutes late they'll be like, "oh what's going on?" So, I've come to expect that, of all Germans now, I know it's not true of everybody. Like I have a couple of German friends here now who are doing ERASMUS and I was meant to be going over to their house and I was late. Not by long, maybe like five, 10 minutes. But I literally thought, I've got to get there on time so I ran to the house. And then I got there and there was only two of them there and they were still waiting for like five other German people that were coming. I was thinking: "Oh my God, I'm such an idiot." Just expecting that everybody, that all Germans think, that yeah you've got to be punctual all the time, but it's not true of everybody obviously. (A9, ll. 370-380)

I did find that the whole thing about German organization is maybe a bit of a myth, in some cases. Like I found that the schools that I worked at really weren't organized. (A10, ll. 315-317)

See now then, the typical English stereotype of Lederhosen I don't associate with Germany now, I think of Austria and just Bavaria. If I think of Berlin a Lederhosen just wouldn't fit there, because there it is just not suitable anymore. Now I know that. (A12, ll. 272f)

the English people think that all Germany is like a robot and, like they're all machines and working like they're that but then... and they got no humour, but actually I find them quite funny you know, they've got just as much sense of humour as us. The comedy, I prefer English comedy in general, it's funnier I would say, objectively of course. But then that's probably because I'm more used to it. German people would say German humour is just as funny (A12, ll. 393-398)

There is a lot of "us and them" in terms of English, England and Germany; the way the English people think about German and Germany. And obviously there are differences, but I find a lot, there are a lot more similarities between the English and the Germans than there are between English and the French. A lot, we have a very similar sense of humour which is hilarious considering the fact that most English people would say that Germans have no sense of humour. Actually I've heard a lot of Germans say the same about the English. The fact - I find that the sense of humour is very similar. I - also - I very much see the perception of organization and order be very much in effect, very much true. But then again I also see things that contradict it all the time. Having to wait three and a half hours at the Bürgeramt for example. That wasn't something that I just thought of as very efficient and not very German. (B13, ll. 261-272)

In contrast to the well-known stereotypes, some of the interviewees explained what they personally perceived as typically German due to their own experiences.

my typical German attribute if I was said to pick one would be the friendliness, talking to people yeah (A8, l. 229f)

everywhere it was quite a lot more relaxed, in the sense that here people can be quite judgmental about appearances, and I got the impression even, even in Munich, much more in the area where I was living, I was living opposite a university, so it was kind of like students central. But nobody really cared (B11, ll. 433-436)

I think Germans, I know this is a huge generalization, but I don't think Germans are very shy, like on the whole. (B12, l. 259f)

Friendliness, openness or a more relaxed atmosphere are not part of typically British stereotypes of Germany. These answers therefore illustrated that the students were able to form their own ideas about Germany while they were abroad and could let go of common beliefs.

Presentation of Germany in the Media

Similarly to their critique of British stereotypes, the finalists saw a difference between how they saw Germany and how it was presented in the British media. They themselves pointed out how much better informed they were:

I mean we have a much more in depth knowledge I would like to think and a much more rounded view. I'm trying to think about Germany in English speaking media, immediately I think of football and politics and that's they're the only two themes, which I think tend to come up (A8, ll. 189-192)

I find it interesting to see how it's portrayed here. In the sense that I look at it now a lot more critically, because now I've been there, I've experience it, I know people there and I feel I have more of a connection, more of a link to the country. Because sometimes I feel myself being more critical of the portrayal and also I find it quite interesting to compare (B11, ll. 595-509)

B11's statement again provides good evidence for growth in intercultural awareness. Similar to the other year groups some of the fourth years discussed the power struggle within the EU at the time of the interviews, with some empathy toward a German point of view:

Yeah I know Germany sometimes gets bad press about the whole EU stuff with the Greeks and stuff like that, but I quite kind of admire the fact that they just want to get stuff sorted out and that they – it's very kind of practical people (A9, ll. 504-506)

I guess in the media you see like Germany as being one of the key figures in the EU, with Angela Merkel and making decisions and being I guess a fairly powerful economic country. And obviously there is like the history side that people learn, although I think most people these days aren't as sort of closed minded on that. (...) I've travelled quite a lot in Germany, mainly in the south, in the west. Southwestish, but yeah it's quite varied and it's got a lot to offer I think. And I just think that it's not really shown very much in Britain. (A10, ll. 407-428)

World War II is a topic all interviewees generally tiptoed around. Having learnt German for a long time and having been to Germany they knew it was a sensitive topic and they did not really want to discuss it even though it is heavily featured in British media:

I think the war is a big focus for a lot of English people, when you speak about Germany most people will actually think about the war. Whereas that seems bizarre to me after studying German, because it's such a small, almost non-existent part of everything I've learnt about Germany. It's just, obviously its present, but it's not as sort of omnipresent as a lot of English people believe. (A11, ll. 353-358)

One student felt comfortable enough to explain how Anglo-German relations are influenced historically by telling a story about his grandfather. Still he pointed out that I should not talk about what he told me. This shows the sensitivity of the subject. Still not all participants were sure about how Germany is presented:

I don't really know how Germany is portrayed in the media to be honest. I don't... I feel... I think like people do have quite negative association though with Germany still, which I think is just crazy. (B12, ll. 281-283)

B12 knew that there are negative associations, but she either did not want to mention them or she was not sure what the media reported.

5.4.5 Experiences at University

Overall the fourth year group reported positive experiences at university and had enjoyed their studies (A8, ll. 134-148; A9, ll. 224-232): However, like the first year group, some mentioned expectations that had not been met. A9 for example expected

more contact hours and she thought she would be exposed to more German during her degree:

I didn't know exactly how many hours we'd have, I thought maybe we'd have a couple of more of hours in German, and because most of the content, well, all of the content modules get taught in English. So I did think it would be a little bit more German based, so in that respect it was a bit different to my expectations (...) I did think that there'd be a bit more German involved in the content of modules which there is, I mean some of the readings are in German, but I thought maybe in the classes we would talk German as well a bit. (A9, ll. 221-224; 229-231)

For most of the finalists the peer group played an important role. They felt they could relate to the other students on their course:

actually having got here I couldn't have found a better place. I finally sort of feel like I've met people who are on the same wavelength as me and people who are interested in the same things. (B11, ll. 280-282)

For one student these relationships were so important she would have liked to stay at university, just because of the place and the people:

like I love [Uni B] so-so much and if someone said like "you could just carry on your degree for another year" I'll do it. (B12, ll. 191-193)

B12 enjoyed her experience at university so much, she felt it was interrupted by her YA. All her friends had graduated one year earlier and she had to go abroad only to come back and spend another year in university with her friends either gone or in Germany (the ones she made on her YA). As a consequence she would have liked to see the degree structured differently (B12, ll. 424-454).

Some final year participants experienced similar reactions to the fact that they were studying German to those reported by years one and two. They had to justify themselves to other students and explain why they studied German instead of another language that was perceived as more useful (A10, ll. 386-404). Or they found studying German is "not taken too seriously" (A12, ll. 435-441). On the other hand people commented positively on the fact that languages were difficult and German specifically was a hard language (A8, l. 175; A10, ll. 382-384)

5.4.6 Year Abroad

The YA obviously distinguishes this group from the other two. A year in another country is believed to have a great impact not only on language learning, but also on personal development (Murphy-Lejeune 2002). Before the students went abroad the majority of them tried not to have too many expectations:

I didn't really know what my expectations were, looking back on it there were some really, really good times and I did have some really good experiences. (A10, ll. 241f)

It was, well I didn't have expectations, I mean I didn't really know what to do. I know everyone said it was the best year of your life, but you can't really picture what it's going to be like until it happens to you. So yes I guess it exceeded the image I had of it in my mind already. (A12, ll. 232-235)

I think I tried to go in without too many expectations because I had no idea what it was going to be like, but it was definitely all the things that they said that it was going to be beforehand, the best year of your life, the most interesting. (A11, ll. 360-362)

Both A11 and A12 say they did not have many expectations, but others told them it would be the best year of their life. It is possible that not trying to form too many expectations was a strategy to avoid disappointment. In contrast to the rest of the group A9 had clear expectations regarding her language development:

Well in a way before went, I thought maybe that I would be speaking Germany literally all the time, every day, 24/7. That wasn't always the case. (A9, ll. 432f)

Improving their language skills was probably what both the students and the universities expected from the YA. However, at University A the students had to pick one country where they were going to spend their YA, even if they were studying two or three languages. At University B the students had the opportunity to split the year between the languages they were studying. Yet none of my interviewees did that. For those who studied more than one language, spending the YA in one country had a perceived negative effect on the other language(s). This was particularly evident for A11 who studied three languages (French, German and Spanish ab initio) and who spent his YA in Mexico. The second half of his statement above is “but my German went downhill” (A11, l. 363; see also 280-284). A8 had spent her YA in France and she also reported a negative impact on her German (A8, ll. 303-314). She expected this and applied for a scholarship to take a German summer course which helped her to get back into German (A8, ll. 287-301). Still she felt less comfortable with German after starting university again:

I: Yeah. Has your attitude towards learning German changed by being in France?

A8: Yes. It's painful, it's more painful than it was before. And like I said, because I find French easier, and because it's quicker for me to work in French I tend to focus more on my French studies, which is the wrong way around. Technically I should spend more time on the German, but yeah, a part of me just really doesn't want to, which is a shame, because I get on well in say my oral classes, but it's just when it comes to writing, I have more of a reluctance to write than ever before in German, and I never really felt that. (A8, ll. 387-393)

For the other six finalists their YA in a German speaking country had a positive effect on their language competence (A9, ll. 243-245):

also from a social perspective say having German friends that I can talk to and that is, it's not like work. It's like sitting there, having a conversation with your friends. It's nice, you're doing that anyway, and yeah like I said with the reading, I really, really enjoy reading these books and so I can sit at home for an hour just reading and not really feeling like I'm doing work. (A9, ll. 470-474; also 474-488)

Interestingly the two factors 'improved language competence' and 'higher motivation' do not always correlate. Some participants reported they were less motivated to study German, because they feel like they have mastered it:

I think my language improved quite a lot over last year so maybe I've started, maybe I've gotten a little bit lazy, not trying as hard because I feel that I can already do it; whereas in French I feel like I really have to work at it, probably because I didn't spend a year there, so yeah maybe I'm probably a bit lazy. (A10, ll. 346-349)

Still the same, still enjoy it still as much as ever. But actually maybe I'd say I don't put as much effort in (A12, ll. 367f)

For others achieving fluency in German was a strong confidence booster. They emphasized how competent in German they were and they were very happy about this accomplishment:

I can say what I want to say and usually in quite a good way, I don't find myself struggling for words as much as I used to do. And I'm perfectly confident in it, because I've spend so much time doing it. (A12, ll. 472-474)

B11 stated she did not know what to expect from her YA, but she was told by a tutor what they hoped would happen:

I wasn't quite sure what to expect from my year abroad. I think I was expecting it to be scary, which it was. I was hoping it was going to somehow bring me out of my shell as my advisor puts it, develop as a person. Which I thought was a beautiful phrase. But she kind of said it, it's like "deine Persönlichkeit entfalten" (unfurl your personality), which I thought was quite a nice way of saying it, even if it was basically saying, "go away and grow up". But that was quite - I'd like to say that I did. (B11, ll. 468-473)

This illustrates the impact on the personal development that the student elaborated on in more detail (B11, ll. 473-480). She also mentioned she expected the YA to be 'scary'. Her linguistic development however was significant:

Germany feels to me now like a second home. I would feel quite comfortable going back there and feel that I can make myself understood. Towards the end I kind of lost any form of accent whatsoever and the phrases, because I was in Germany. And speaking on such a daily basis, I wasn't really making any

mistakes anymore; which kind of made it worse when I did make a mistake, because everyone just sat there and they were like "I thought you were German", and I just will have to sit there and say "I'm sorry. English person, I'm learning, be nice". (B11, ll. 499-505)

B12 give a good summary of her YA in terms of personal development, how she was scared before, how she went through with it anyway with the help of her parents and how it turned out to be a fantastic experience in the end:

Yeah it went far beyond my expectations. My second year I spent as a nervous wreck, things like "I can't go on my year abroad". And I had a bit of a hard time in the first three months. I didn't really enjoy in the first three months and I think one thing went wrong and then another thing went wrong and then like I was when I came back for Christmas I was like, "I can't go back, I don't want to go back, please I don't want to go back". And thank god my parents were like "you are getting back on that plane and you are going back and you will have a good time" and they were right. And then one thing went right and then I moved into a really great flat with really great friends and then like the next thing I know I was like crying because I had to leave and I was like "how did this happen", yeah. (B12, ll. 407-15)

It did, however not help her motivation to study German. B12's motivation to improve her language skills were lower, because of the advanced level of English that most Germans have:

I mean in some ways it made me feel like you don't need to really learn German. I think when I move back to Germany I'll probably end up being quite like "whatever, we can speak English, we can go German, whatever you want". Because I've realized that so many Germans talk English very well. (B12, ll. 303-306)

Unfortunately, the YA triggered some issues with B13 so that he was very uncomfortable talking about it (B13, ll. 328-331):

I actually, my year abroad was varied because, I went to Berlin, I went with the intention to study there for two semesters. Unfortunately I had some things going on in my personal life at that point. (B13, ll. 226-228)

Despite the difficulties in his personal life, B13 managed to improve his language skills considerably:

My German is still, despite various factors which otherwise would have affected it negatively, my German actually did go from, like increase very - really a lot... Very really a lot, that's not very.... my English obviously suffered as you can tell. My German increased a huge amount whilst I was there. The level of my German increased fantastically. (B13, ll. 236-240)

During their interviews the most confident students sprinkled their English sentence with German words or phrases. This was especially the case for A12, B11 and B13. B11 explained how and why this happens:

But you get used to that kind of thing and then I'd sort of come back here and I'd go to a bakery and I'd sort of say "Servus" and everyone would look at me, and be like, "what?" "Oh sorry, English". I'm still trying to make the transition where I try not to pepper my sentences with German words. So that was quite bad when I first came back, it would be German word order, English words and my parents would be just sitting there and go, "no that makes no sense". But words like anstrengend, which we don't really have a nice translation for, so it's just so much easier to slightly throw it in there. Or doch, I really miss doch or naja. I still say that in French, also naja, and every time I sort of get, "no don't do it". (B11, ll. 422-430)

She and B13 felt that German had even influenced their English.

In addition to the impact living abroad had on their other languages and their motivation to study German, all of the fourth year participants went through an exciting personal journey, similar to those discussed in the study abroad literature mentioned above (Murphy-Lejeune 2002). This personal growth has been discussed here, only as it is related to their motivation to learn German. However a few quotations give the flavour:

I think you see it in certain people, I think, when they come back. And I feel like it really changed me as a person, it made me a lot more confident, it made me happier I think, because just seeing the world from a different perspective. And may be living in the sun for a whole year as well, just does something to your attitude.

I think it; really, yeah it made a huge positive difference to my life, yeah. (A11, ll. 372-376)

5.4.7 Staying Motivated

As mentioned above, for A8 and A11 the YA had a negative influence on their motivation to study German, because they had not lived in Germany and they found it hard to get back into German after not speaking it for over a year. At the point of the interview both participants still had problems with their German language classes. For A10, A12 and B12, the feeling of having mastered the language meant that they were less motivated to study the language formally during their final year (though other types of motivation persisted, see below).

For A9, in general the confidence she gained because of her YA, both personally and linguistically, meant that she was very motivated, in complex ways. She saw both her

social connections with Germany and the upcoming examinations as motivational factors, integrative on the one hand and instrumental on the other:

Obviously my exam is also quite a big motivation, but also from a social perspective say having German friends that I can talk to and that is, it's not like work. It's like sitting there, having a conversation with your friends. (A9, ll. 470-472)

She also found an author she enjoys reading, so that independent study did not feel like work for her anymore (A9, ll. 234-250). For A10 it was also the social aspect of learning German that kept her motivated. She had had a German boyfriend for a couple of years and she planned to move to Germany after she had finished her degree:

I guess motivation in German has never really been a problem for me, especially now with my boyfriend, that is a motivation to speak German I guess, to get on with, you know, not just him because he speaks perfect English, but like his family and his friends, and when I go and visit him. And also yeah because I'm planning to move there next year, if I can, that's a motivation. (A10, ll. 352-356)

This was the same for A12, who made a lasting contact on his YA in Austria:

I have got J. who I chat to anyways. So I don't need to make as much effort outside of that to learn, 'cause I'm picking up new words from her anyway, practicing with her anyway, so it's kind of learning on the job. (A12, ll. 368-370)

A12 also felt confident because he had mastered the language:

You're bound to be confident by this point, and in stage seven people generally are, and it's good as well, because all the people in my class now are much more willing to talk than they ever have been before. (A12, ll. 474-476)

Success was a strong motivating factor for him and it impacted on his intrinsic motivation:

But with the German, yes I would say, I'd try to be successful with - that does motivate me. It is more than just wanting to do well because I enjoy it; I just wanted to do well because I want to be the best at it that I can. (A12, ll. 380-382)

Similarly for A11, his success in German made it easier for him to continue with the subject:

I think because I've sort of generally done quite well in German. It helps to, just the - the sort of reaffirmation that you're doing okay makes it easier to carry on. (A11, ll. 255-257)

Another motivating factor is the peer group. As A12's quote earlier showed he was glad that his fellow students were more talkative after their YA. For some participants

the social aspect of their degree felt quite motivating; being around other languages students and hearing the languages they were studying kept them motivated (A8, ll. 316-322). Having quiet students on the course could be de-motivating:

But they're definitely motivating, I mean the other students on the course, but not everyone on the course is motivating. A lot of times, the times I've noticed with German classes, which is different - happens to some extent in French but not as much - German students tend to be quite shy and they don't want to speak out in class. (A8, ll. 322-326)

A10 also talked about the differing language loyalties which had emerged within her year group:

I live with four other languages students and three of those do French and German as well. And they went to France last year and they were much more interested in French. So with them I feel like I'm the enthusiastic one and no one else really cares. But in language classes I'm with everyone else in stage seven. So there were a lot of people who went to Germany and some of them only study German, so they are all much more enthusiastic and I think that's a nice environment to be in, everyone is. Maybe sometimes in first and second year, I felt like there was a lot of people in the class because, I mean I'm just saying in French classes, I'm less enthusiastic so I felt like the sort of a, I'm one of the people who is so annoyingly enthusiastic. Whereas in, now because I'm in a class where everyone else whose probably main interest is German. I feel like that's not an issue anymore. Because everyone is enthusiastic and that makes the classes run better and more interesting. (A10, ll. 359-369)

Like A12, A10 commented on the fact that more enthusiastic classmates meant that the classes were more enjoyable. It made her feel better about being motivated and it made the classes run more smoothly. In this case the peers mutually reinforced each other's motivation. A10 also explained the social aspect of her degree, and how organizing events for the German society, meeting up with German enthusiasts and German native speakers were all very motivating activities for her (A10, ll. 370-377). The same can be said for A9 who found not only the students on her course motivating (A9, ll. 491-498), but also the German ERASMUS students she was meeting at her university (A9, ll. 247-250). Regarding fellow students, A11 was a bit of an exception, he did not find them "essential" (A11, ll. 259-263). The competition with them was something he uncomfortably admitted though:

I think personally I like to try and stay on top if possible of sort of my classmates however bad that seems; but I don't - I wouldn't sort of discuss that with them (A11, ll. 266f)

A12 on the other hand felt more comfortable mentioning competitiveness as a motivational factor:

I'm quite competitive, because I've got two brothers and we have always been quite competitive, ever so. I'm always trying to like be a better writer than other people. So I would learn more words to try and do - show that I can be the best. (A12, ll. 372-374)

University B's participants also felt that their fellow students were a strong motivating factor (B13, ll. 385-392). Yet again the fact that the others besides themselves were motivated was important:

So there are those who really do learn it and are really good at it and they, personally they motivate me to improve myself. (B13, ll. 392-394)

It also came to light that there was a slight competition amongst the students that motivated them to study harder:

Since third year everyone is kind of like really sizing each other up like "Oh did you go out last night, oh did you go out last night, oh how much work have you done, how much work have you done, what made you do that, what made you do that?" So I think everyone kind of puts pressure on themselves, (...) yeah I think it's just pressure that makes you work a bit harder this year. (B12, ll. 319-323)

With some of them it's quite competitive; (B13) is quite competitive. (B11, ll. 586)

Interestingly according to B13 himself, mastering the language was his main motivator; his motivation was intrinsic and individual, not linked to competition:

I: Are you competitive?

B13: No, not really, no. No, no I'm not competitive. I am... if there is a word that I can think of though. I do try and think, "Maybe I can do this, maybe I can think of it", and then suddenly think, "No I can't." It's more very much to do with like trying to, just say trying to get it right; trying to master it is my main motivation like I said. (B13, ll. 395-399)

In addition to the competition, it was peer support that motivated B11: "But some of them it's more, we kind of band together and kind of help each other out" (B11, ll. 586f). At University B the students organized meetings across the years where they helped each other with grammatical questions (B11, ll. 587-596). Additionally they were brought closer together as a group through a film club, a German society and other social events (B11, ll. 596-607).

German speakers outside of university motivated the learners as well. B11 had a boyfriend during her time in Germany, though the relationship ended when she came back to the UK. She still kept in touch with German speakers and she used German for work:

The only work I've ever got is because I speak German. (...) The people I know over there, it still feels wrong to speak to them in English, people I've met through the German Society sort of real native speakers or ERASMUS students, I tend to speak German more with them. I genuinely enjoy the language, the language I like the sound of it a lot more, it's nice to speak. Like I said, it's kind of replacing English. Also if I don't use it I'll lose it and then - [...] shuts the doorway which - so many possibilities and sort of completely different way of thinking, a different way of life on some levels and also a whole world of literature and ideas. It just seems like a crying shame not to continue with it. (B11, ll. 559.575)

An interesting metaphor here is the door to a new world that German opened for her (one also used by participant B1, when she described why she wanted to become fluent in German: B1, ll. 400f).

B12 had “felt determined to speak German” during her YA, despite the option of speaking English being generally available:

In many ways it made me really determined to speak German, because when I was there I felt like... when I was there I felt really like everyone wanted to talk English to me and it really annoyed me. (B12, ll. 294-296)

She positively enjoyed using German for social interaction:

But it did make me... it made me want to like use it and actually enjoy using it like I really... I'd send postcards quite a lot because I find like it's just nicer than writing emails. And also I know some old people in Germany now who, I don't know their email address but I just know their address, and so I quite like sending postcards and saying like “I'm fine. I hope you're well.” And I would have never really done that before. Like I actually enjoyed writing German and just checking the grammar for fun. I would never have done that before. So I think maybe just having like the social contacts kind of, maybe you want to use it a bit more. But it means you study a bit more. (B12, ll. 306-314)

For B13 it was more the necessity of having to ‘survive’ in German that motivated him during his YA:

Okay, let's say during it was based on the necessity, afterwards I feel a lot more comfortable with my German now, I mean I was fairly comfortable beforehand (...) but since then I'm really comfortable with my German for the most part. (B13, ll. 353-360)

Since his return to university it was the confidence he gained in German, the self-efficacy interacting with proficiency that motivated him despite the fact that his YA was very difficult for him in personal terms.

Confidence is linked to success for some interviewees. B12 interpreted success as receiving good marks. She found that important, though she tried not to care about it too much, possibly to avoid disappointment:

I: *How important is success?*

B12: *Quite important. Yeah, well it depends how you define success really, but I don't know, I am trying to like tell myself it doesn't matter what I get. It will be fine.*
(B12, ll. 333-335)

In contrast to that B11 claimed she did not “care about success” (B11, l. 580). Instead her main motivator was to enjoy what she did (B11, ll. 580f). B13 also claimed success was just a ‘by-product’ of wanting to learn German; his intrinsic motivation was more important than the desire for a qualification:

No, I mean I like it, but it's not my main motivator. It's because... okay, I suppose it is. But I don't learn German to pass my degree. I learn German because I want to learn German. I mean obviously I do learn it in some extent to pass my degree, but that's just a by-product. (B13, ll. 378-381)

A final factor that distinguished this group from the other two was that they were already thinking about their life after university at the time of the interview. Out of the eight finalists I interviewed, two wanted to move back to Germany (A10 & B12) and one to Austria (A12). As illustrated above this upcoming move was a strong motivating factor for A10. Out of those three A12 had the most concrete plans. He had applied for a British Council placement in Austria, and he turned down a PGCE placement in England, because it would require him to teach French, which is not something he wanted to do. He would have liked to teach and he wanted to use his language degree, but he did not want to teach French as well (A12, ll. 310-326).

Some other fourth year students were considering continuing their education, though only A9 had made a concrete decision, and the others were very vague. These students were re-integrating in England and preparing for their final exams. Applying for jobs and masters degrees was still taking second place. For A9 the decision was probably easier, because she already knew she was going to enter a masters program at University A (A9, ll. 457f). This meant she did not have to change her life completely again.

A11 wanted to do a masters degree in translation, however as yet he had made no concrete plans (A11, ll. 338-342). A8 had considered this as well (A8, ll. 352-356), but coming to the end of her exams, she did not feel ready to apply for a masters course immediately (A8, ll. 356-358). At the time of the interview she was applying for jobs, but she did not have concrete plans either (A8, ll. 361-364). Due to the tuition fees she “would definitely go to Germany or France” (A8, ll. 358-360) if she decided on any further study. B11 considered going to Germany for a masters as well, but she too did not have a very clear idea (B11, ll. 462-466). B13's future plans were even vaguer. He

aimed for a career in acting, but he knew that that is not a very secure career paths so he was keeping his options open (B13, ll. 444-449).

Thus, even though their graduation was only half a year away at the time of the interviews, career plans were not something that really motivated this group. The main short term motivating factors for studying German in year four were the wish to achieve well, plus the social aspects of the degree regarding both meeting German people and also their fellow students. Mastering the language or fluency and a general sense of enjoyment also motivated the students to continue learning German even after they had to find their way back into life as a British undergraduate following their YA.

5.4.8 Development of Motivation

Some of the final year interviewees also commented on how their motivation had changed over the years. For A8 the main change was realizing that she now found it easier to connect with Germany than with France where she did not feel so integrated (A8, ll. 258-279):

Maybe, as I said it made me realize that I felt more comfortable in Germany talking to other Germans, I mean I felt that there was a more friendly atmosphere and I hadn't really taken any notice of that before and I realized that that was quite important. (A8, ll. 367-369)

Linguistically however, she felt more uncomfortable with German after starting her final year:

Well, that's been really tough actually, because I think naturally I'm more inclined to want to do things to do with France just because it's easier. So in terms of time, it's quicker for me to do things which have to do with France. (A8, ll. 303-305)

A9 start her first narrative off with the words “Well it’s changed over the years” (A9, l. 21). At first she had found German logical and similar to mathematics, then at university she learned more about linguistics and gained an interest in that; her YA made her “fall in love with the language even more” (A9, l. 30f) especially regarding socio-linguistic research (A9, ll. 28-32). Like A8, A9 also felt the change arising from contact with people in Germany and the possibility of moving abroad:

Before I went abroad, I didn't think that I would want to move abroad, career wise sort of thing. But since being there I sort of realized that I could happily live there and really enjoy getting to know the social norms and the people and culture and things. So, yeah it's changed over the years. (A9, ll. 32-35)

As illustrated above, A10 and to some degree A12 changed from being very motivated students to becoming “a little lazy” (A10, I. 347). A11 was an exception in two ways. Firstly, for him there was no change evident regarding his motivation. He had had to work hard to get back into the language (A11, II. 296-300). Secondly, he was the only one that still depended on his teacher for motivation. Having mentioned earlier in the interview that teachers motivated him (A11, II. 230-241), he then stated that an inspiring teacher in his final year translation module had helped him to find the motivation to do the extra work in German (A11, II. 302-308).

For B12 this change was even more evident. She started off being highly motivated, yet towards the end of her degree she looked forward to not having to study German formally any more:

It's quite low right now. It's kind of like I feel like, I spent my whole life saying, "That's good for my German, and that's good for my German" and I am looking forward to going, "I don't have to learn German anymore." Even though I do want to, like, I thought so many times about I can't imagine my last ever speaking exam or my last ever German exam and I am thinking "that's it I'm never talking German ever again, ever, ever, ever again". And obviously what's happened, I want to move back to Germany, which means I will have to speak German. But I think it will just be nice to have like the pressure away and just like speak it because I want to. (B12, II. 28-35)

B12 started her first narrative by describing how low her motivation for formal language learning was at the time of the interview. Despite this she wanted to move to Germany and use her language skills the way she wanted to without the pressure of exams.

B11 described how she has changed by living in Germany (B11, II. 36-40). Similar to A8, she was more Francophile before. On her YA she fully integrated into German society, taking on German traits and identifying with German culture. Her motivation to become a multilingual person, a fluent speaker of other languages however can be described as constantly high and stemming from enjoyment. Regarding German specifically, she found out that she received more opportunities to work, because she spoke German, so there was an instrumental element. Her integrative motivation, however, became much higher when she was living in Germany. The same can be said for B13; he had some personal setbacks during his YA, and his motivations to study the language may even have risen after his return to England. This motivation was fired by a sense of achievement, by the wish to master the language.

5.4.9 Final Year Participants' Motivation to Learn German

Analyzing the final year group by itself has confirmed the dynamic nature of motivation. Half of the participants stated explicitly that their motivation had changed and for some of the others that there were noticeable developments in their motivation to learn German.

Once again the finalists' findings show that in order for a young person to start learning German in the English school system, policies encouraging able students to study more than one language are essential. Only one of the eight interviewees reported that taking German was optional for him; he was influenced by his family though. Overall the family played an indirect role for some of the students. They helped them to visit Germany and they supported their decision to study languages.

Most of the finalists gave a general sense of enjoyment as their main motivation to study German. This enjoyment was linked to good experiences in school and at university. Most reported an enjoyment of language learning in general. These participants found the language learning process intrinsically motivating, and many of them cultivated the idea of a multilingual *ideal self*.

However, the key factors that made learning German in particular enjoyable were outside of the institutionalized learning context. The whole fourth year group had visited Germany through school exchanges. This way they had contact with German speaking people and they got to know what life in Germany is like. As naïve early visitors, they noted physical and structural differences, which they encountered directly (the food, the school system). The small differences they noted, they liked; apart from the weather. As older learners, they discovered shared values and the falsity of British stereotypes about Germany. Especially through their YA they developed more nuanced views on the role of Germany in Europe and their intercultural competence grew. Still, they did not develop very fully their accounts of the German world, and they were unable or unwilling to reflect on recent German history in any depth.

As final year students, the immediate social aspect of learning German was essential; it strongly motivated the students to engage fully with their formal studies. This involved not only contact with German speakers, but also being in a positive peer learning environment. Some students commented on how a more motivated class made the learning experience more enjoyable. All in all, contact with others who were involved with German was important. I could witness this during my time at both universities when I shadowed the students' activities. Especially at University B there was a strong sense of identity and belonging.

In addition to this positive academic environment, personal relationships played an important role. 3/8 students had a romantic relationship with a German speaking person during their YA, and some of the others formed lasting friendships. By this stage of their studies, this group showed strong integrative motivation. They could identify with German speakers and their culture; some of them felt like they had become part of that culture and three even planned to move back to Germany or Austria after graduation.

Instrumental reasons on the other hand were not a strong motivator for this group. Specific career opportunities for the future were not yet concretely motivating for the participants. They were aware of what they could do with their German degree, but even half a year before graduation few had specific future plans. Only one student out of this group said that her plans motivated her to learn German further. Yet this plan was to move to Germany to be with her boyfriend and not to starting a career specifically.

One thing all of these relatively mature interviewees had in common was a sense of strong self-efficacy. They were motivated to learn German from within; no matter what set-backs they faced, they continued on their well established paths to mastering the language. This sense of achievement or success was quite motivating for some.

5.5 Results of Interview Study and Comparison of the Three Groups

After the previous sections have illustrated the motivation of the different year groups in detail, this section compares the three groups. The main influences and motivators for these Anglophone students in learning German will be presented first to answer the research questions: *What motivates English speakers to learn foreign languages, particularly German? How does their motivation develop over a four year programme at university level? What influences do the learners' local contexts vs larger historical factors have on English students' identity and motivation to study German?*

Secondly, the differences between the years will be discussed. Thirdly, the evolution of identity and the development of motivation to learn German over a four year degree course will be worked out. Finally, the results will be compared to other similar studies.

5.5.1 The Main Influences and Motivators for Learning German

1. Enjoyment, Liking the Language

All participants of the study named enjoyment or the fact that they liked German as their main motivation to learn it at some point during the interview. Some clarified this enjoyment by saying that they liked the sound of the language, that the grammar provided a positive challenge or that it was their favourite subject at school. The fact is that all of the enthusiasts chose German despite awareness of its perceived difficulty, grammatical complexity and harsh sounds. As mentioned above, these points were a source of enjoyment for some.

Therefore, the main motivation for these specialists to continue learning German is intrinsic: The reason for learning German lies within the activity and developed out of interest in the activity itself, and is connected to task difficulty, intellectual curiosity, chances for success and enjoyment of the task (Compare: Williams and Burden 1997: p. 123, Riemer 2005: p. 45-46).

This emergence of enjoyment as the leading motivator relates to the Anglophones' setting. These learners had more choice about whether or not to learn languages than pupils in most European countries do. All pupils in Germany for example learn English as an L2 in school and they are exposed to at least one additional FL. Learners of English are unlikely to be influenced so much by enjoyment. Instrumental motives and the *ought-to self* may push them to continue, as dropping out is not really an option if they are ambitious in any field – even if they do not especially enjoy learning it.

2. The School's Language Policy

Taking German at school had been obligatory for most of the interviewees. The fact that they had to learn German in school meant that they had the opportunity to get to know the language, to start enjoying it, to experience success, and finally to want to study it at university, in stark contrast to the overall drop in MFL learner numbers.

For the first and second year there was only one student per group who stated they had some kind of choice whether to learn German or not, and in the final year it was 2/8 students. All in all only two participants stated that they made a positive decision for German and against another language. The others felt that they had no real choice, or that they were influenced by their family, or that they did not mind which language they learned. They were initially interested in languages in general and not in German specifically.

In contrast to the first factor, the second one is purely external, as the schools' language policies are a context factor, which emerges when the learner is seen as a person-in-context (Ushioda 2009). If the students' motivation to learn German was explored without questions about the learning environment, it would never have

become obvious that almost all of these participants had been obliged to learn German at some point.

3. Academic Talent

Most of the interviewees expressed the belief that they were good at learning German, or good at learning languages in general. All first years, 7/9 second years and 5/8 finalists mentioned their academic talent for German specifically, or for languages in general, at some point during the interview. This belief in their own abilities motivated the learners and made them want to continue learning the language.

The comparison between the years reveals that in contrast to participants' experience at school, the factor of external academic recognition declined in importance over the course of a four year degree. Looking at how the students presented themselves in the interviews, it becomes evident that the participants were more confident with themselves and with their language abilities in the higher years. They did not need the direct feedback of their teachers, or good grades, in order to feel smart and capable. Only one final year student still mentioned his tutor as a motivating influence.

Thus a perception of one's own academic talent for languages or for German is another internal factor reinforcing the continued study of the language in an Anglophone setting. The literature review already pointed out that learners' view of themselves and their own control over their actions affect their motivation (Williams and Burden 1997: p. 127-128, 137).

4. Good Experiences at School

School is one of the main influences on language learning motivation for young British people, especially given that schools are one of the few places where children actually experience other languages (Compare: Coleman, Galaczi et al. 2007: p. 251). Most of the interviewees (16/22 who took German in school) commented positively on their German teachers at school, the small class sizes and/or the good teaching experienced in German lessons.

This experience at school is another external factor which forms part of the learner's context. The learners in this study have been strongly influenced by their school language learning history, especially given the fact that the subjects the learners picked for their degree were almost always chosen from their A-level subjects, chosen in turn from successful subjects at GCSE. Of the participants in this study, only two students, B1 and A11, chose to study a language (Spanish) as part of their degree without having done an A-level in it. All other participants opted for one or two of their three A-level options as a degree at university.

It is also important to point out the students' resilience. Good experiences influenced them positively, yet bad experiences did not prevent these enthusiasts from continuing to learn German, as the examples of A1, A2, A8, A11, and B13 have shown. In these cases the participants overcame setbacks by concentrating on their *ideal self*. A1 received negative feedback in school and her school made it almost impossible for her to continue with both German and French. Nevertheless, she showed strong resilience, persisted, and went on to study German. A2 had to deal with negative feedback at university, but used her internal motivation to overcome her frustration. A8 had difficulties integrating in France and Germany, but never gave up studying French and German, because she wanted to be a multilingual person. Similarly, A11 had lost contact with the German language while on his YA in Mexico, yet he put a lot of work into reconnecting with the language after he returned to the UK. B13 had personal issues while he was on his YA, but he focussed on his linguistic development.

5. Influence of the Family

For this data set ten students had also been exposed to languages other than English in their family, either through a childhood abroad (five) or through relatives. In the first year group there was one student who had lived in Germany as a child, one who had lived in Canada, and one who had grown up bilingually with a German mother. For the second year group two students had to be excluded from the data analysis because they experienced their whole school education abroad. Additionally there were two participants who spent a part of their childhood in Germany and one who had a German grandmother. There was one student, A7 whose mother had learned French, and decided to speak to him in French while he was learning to speak (A7, ll. 33; 37-39). In the final year group there was one student who had a similar experience with a grandmother who spoke to her in French when she was very young.

According to the interview reports, the family had influenced the learners not only through exposure to other languages but also more indirectly through support and openness towards language learning and/or other cultures. This influence is another external factor that is part of the learners' contexts. Supportive surroundings influenced their motivation to learn German or languages in general positively.

6. Integrative Orientation

Most participants showed a strong integrative orientation. This does not mean that they wanted to be like people from German speaking countries, but that they identified with the German speaking culture (different participants emphasised different aspects of 'culture'). Those students who had visited Germany felt at home there and they did not see the German culture or society as very different from their own. Six interviewees

voiced the wish to live in a German speaking country, three of those (these being final year students) had already made concrete plans. It was the final year participants who had spent their YA in a German speaking country that showed the strongest integrative orientation, as they could clearly identify with German speakers and their culture. Regarding reasons to study German specifically, the integrative orientation was more important than instrumental reasons or the *ideal self*.

7. Instrumental Reasons

Even though instrumental reasons like career opportunities came up in many interviews, they were mostly secondary reasons for learning German. The interviewees wanted to study languages and they knew that German could be viewed positively for their career, so they saw it as a positive coincidence. Those who combined German with a subject other than languages often did this to improve their career opportunities. They enjoyed German as well as their other subject in school, and they opted for a combination with German at university because they believed it would help them later in life. One student even combined German with another subject because she knew it would help her gain a place at a respected university. Overall, instrumental reasons can be described as a minor influence on language learning motivation for these participants.

8. Possible Selves

As I did not specifically ask ‘How do you see yourself in five years?’ in order to investigate the *ideal self*, not every student presented a clear vision of themselves. For this study it was important to see what kinds of ideal selves were so motivating for the participants that they brought them up without being prompted. The *ideal self* that motivated the students most, eight in total, was that of a multilingual person. Five participants wanted to become a global citizen and four a qualified person or someone exceptional. With three different interviewees envisioning themselves as an interdisciplinary person or a competent German speaker, these ideal selves were influential as well. The ideal selves rarely related to German-specific aspects of motivation. This does not mean that the learners did not really care what languages they learned, it means that the *ideal self* was not sufficient to explain the German specific aspects of motivation. This was shown by a strong integrative orientation amongst these participants. Only four students, two first years and two second years, did not show a strong *ideal self*. Overall, the ideal selves evolved over the four years.

The finalists had strong and confident visions of self and spoke about that more than the other year groups.

Even though most participants had to start learning German in school, only one of them showed evidence for an *ought-to self* in the early stages of German language learning. For most, a GCSE, and for all, an A-level in languages was optional. They never felt that they had to continue learning German. This supports Busse's findings that an *ought-to self* is not relevant for German learners (Busse and Williams 2010: p. 73).

5.5.2 Main Differences Between the Years

Overall students in their first and second year answered the questions similarly. It was the finalists who showed different motivations and the biggest development in their motivation. Unsurprisingly, their YA had exerted a very strong influence on their motivation and on their life in general.

Comparing the first and the second year, there is a larger variety of answers in the second year. These participants gave a greater variety of factors for motivation and fewer of them mentioned the same factors. This is probably due to the fact that the students of the second year group were enrolled in a wider variety of degrees, including mathematics, history, politics and German beginners. The main difference for the second year was the importance of career opportunities, which was not emphasized by the first nor the fourth year participants.

Comparing the three different groups, there was a decline in the experience/opportunity of school exchanges. Whereas most of the fourth year students had enjoyed school exchanges, some even up to four times, none of the first year had done so. In the second year only four students had taken part in a school exchanges. Thus, the younger students were more dependent on initiatives outside school (including family encouragement) in order to gain early first hand experiences of German society and culture. Given the importance of these experiences for developing motivation, this is a significant change.

Overall the finalists' answers were more homogeneous than the answers of the other groups. All of them agreed on the fact that they enjoyed the language and that it was why they had continued to learn it. The finalists also demonstrated more pronounced ideal selves and less instrumental motivation than the other two year groups. This indicates that over a four year degree course learning German becomes more and more about the self and the development of personal identity, than about external factors such as career opportunities.

In addition, the YA influenced the fourth year students' opinion considerably. 6/8 students named the impact of the YA, cultural interest, their peer group, and German speaking friends or relationships as motivating factors. All of these factors are linked: As 5/8 had spent their YA in Germany and one other student took a summer course in Germany after her YA, most had been exposed more to German culture than the year one and year two participants and they had met more German speaking people. The courses they took at university had also influenced them to be more interested in culture.

A fairly new factor in year four is the importance of the peer group. Over the course of the degree the students reported they had formed lasting friendships with their fellow students. These friendships motivated them to do German-related activities together. For these highly motivated students, the motivating boost that the YA gave everybody around them also meant that they were surrounded by more motivated peers, which is something they appreciated. These students also became more independent. Where the family and the parents were more important in the beginning, peers and participants' own relationships and friendships were more important towards the end of the degree. One consequence that can be drawn from this is that the YA is essential for a successful languages degree. It helps to form lasting relationships and it raises cultural awareness and interest in the other culture, and in this way it reinforces and sustains long-lasting motivation.

5.5.3 Comparison to Other Studies of Anglophone Learners of German

A comparable study by Vera Busse (2010) has revealed that the wish for language proficiency was a strong motivator for students of German, because it gave them a sense of doing something 'special'. She links this wish for language proficiency to intrinsic motivation. Following Busse's concept of intrinsic motivation, Schmidt (Schmidt 2014a) discovered a similarly strong intrinsic motivation in Australian learners of German. My results confirm that among Anglophone learners, intrinsic motivation is the strongest motivating factor to learn German. However, the wish for language proficiency was not specific to German; many participants studied more than one language and wanted to become multilingual. Moreover intrinsic motivation is linked to enjoyment and success.

King (King 2009) also discovered that enjoyment was the main motive for Australian students studying German. However, at 70% this number was only slightly higher than the factors 'for travel' (68%) and 'to work in a German speaking country' (65%) (King 2009: p. 176). Interestingly the Ukrainian students in her study rated 'to get to know German culture' highest, with 65%. The other main reasons for them were 'for travel' (56%) and 'to teach German' (55%) (King 2009: p. 176). The main motivating factor of

enjoyment and high intrinsic motivation seem to be something that is specific to English native speakers. The Ukrainian participants were more instrumentally motivated. Most Ukrainians are bilingual speakers of Ukrainian and Russian, so speaking another language is not something that makes them feel special about themselves. That is why the students might not enjoy studying German as much as their Anglophone counterparts. It would be worth exploring this further in a qualitative study that concentrates on these two aspects.

Schmidt (Schmidt 2014a, Schmidt 2014b) found personal reasons, especially personal growth, as a further motivation factor for studying German in Australian participants. Similarly for Hennig's Hong Kong Chinese participants (Hennig 2010a, Hennig 2010b, Hennig 2013) learning German was linked to their personal development. They created ideal versions of themselves through their independent study and this motivated them most and they used studying German to construct their own identity. Again, for the participants of this study it is not German specifically, but languages in general that the students use to create their identity and to distinguish themselves from their peers.

6 Final Conclusion and Outlook

The introduction (chapter 1) provided possible reasons for the sharp decline in learners taking German to examination level: The perceived difficulty of German, and negative attitudes towards German due to socio-historical reasons. The historical background (chapter 2) investigated this in more detail and it illustrated the struggle of German as a school and as a university subject in England.

The literature review in chapter 3 and the methodology in chapter 4 supplied the grounds for the interview study. The oral interviews (chapter 5) explored highly motivated Anglophone students of German. It presents the results of this study that reviewed, in detail, the motivation of English speakers to learn German in HE, how motivation develops over a four year programme at university level, and the influence of the learners' contexts on their motivation. Section 5.5 presents the grounds to answer the research questions:

1. What motivates English speakers to learn foreign languages, particularly German?
2. How does their motivation develop over a four year programme at university level?
3. What influence do the learners' local contexts vs larger historical factors have on English students' identity and motivation to study German?

The evolution of German language learning in England mostly mirrors the evolution of other MFLs. Even though French has traditionally been the first FL to be learnt in schools in England, German had become an independent subject in universities at the same time. Since being replaced by Spanish as L3 in secondary schools (see section 2.3.2) however, it is gaining a more elitist status, because it is not available to every pupil. It is taught only to those students who seem to have a talent for languages and it is still taught in private schools while some state comprehensive schools stop offering German (Board and Tinsley 2014).

The historic connection of Germany and the UK make German as a subject unique. Due to the wars there has been a deep rooted resentment towards German (see chapter 1) even though the language is spoken in countries other than Germany (section 2.4). This resentment might be able to overshadow the instrumental reasons for learning German. Moreover the rise of global English has affected all languages, especially German, which lost its international status after World War I. Even though Germany is one of the UK's main trade partners, only a few British nationals study the language at university level.

These larger historical and cultural factors of German language learning in England frame and structure the language learning opportunities available to young people in England today, with German becoming less and less available to learners not seen as academically able, and/ or not attending private education. However, not all young people with continuing access to German choose to study it, so that it is still necessary to explain why the participants of this study chose to continue learning German after they had first been exposed to it in school. Following the person-in-context relational view of motivation, these young people were influenced less by their larger-historical context than by their immediate local-personal context. The historical implications did not discourage them to study German, instead their personal, social, and educational environment and language learning history motivated them to pursue a degree in German.

Their personal language learning history strongly influences young people to decide to study German at university level. The decision to opt for a degree in German builds on earlier A-level choice, and this in turn builds on a positive experience with GCSE, and an earlier introduction to German as a compulsory subject, for at least some school students. However, while schools provided an introduction and a stimulus to begin German, they were not the main influence which motivated these young people to take languages further. With these undergraduates it was trips to Germany and a supportive wider environment, paired with feelings of self-efficacy as language learners, which inspired them to take German further.

In particular, it was direct contact with German speakers and personal experiences in Germany which made these students most immune against negative media reports about Germany or comments about their language choice. They felt they were better informed than the public and they were able to reflect on stereotypes to a certain degree. However, they tended to avoid talking about negative aspects of German history and society. This shows the contrast between the larger-historical context, that did not influence the students' motivation to study German and the local-personal context that had a strong positive influence.

Historically the reasons for studying German in the UK have changed. In the 19th century, German was viewed as an important language of science, technology and philosophy. However, in these functions today it has largely been replaced by English, at least at the international level. It seems that the rise of English as the world language today makes young English speaking people think that one does not need an FL in order to conduct business with speakers of other languages. Thus, instrumental reasons for studying German including career opportunities do not influence Anglophone students' choices much. Not many British students today study German

because they want to become a German teacher or because they envision a career path using German.

Overall the participants in this study had limited starting reasons for studying German specifically; most were motivated by an *ideal self* of a multilingual person or someone who speaks more than just English. For them, knowing German added to their existing linguistic repertoire. For most, obtaining a university degree was something they felt they were expected to do. They then decided to study German because they had enjoyed it in school, and been successful in learning it.

Those who were motivated by German specific factors early on, or who became committed to German in particular later on, mostly found these outside of formal language education. They already had a connection with German and/or formed relationships with German speakers and/or felt at ease in the country. Contrary to stereotypes about the German language some interviewees commented positively on the structure and the sound of the language. It seems that more mathematical students enjoyed the analysis of German grammar. The motivating factors for German in particular were thus largely integrative and intrinsic. The contribution of formal education to developing these types of motivation was indirect – it stimulated contacts with German people and experiences of German society, during school days, and in particular during the YA, a transformative part of the HE programme.

6.1 Theoretical Implications

On a theoretical level this study has revealed how essential the context is to understanding motivation among Anglophone language learners; thus proving that a person-in-context relational view of motivation can best explain the specific motivation of English native speakers to learn German today. Their language learning history especially influenced the first and second year students strongly. Most of them would not have chosen to study German at university had they not been obliged to start learning German at some point. Once they started German, they had positive experiences both at school and in German speaking countries, discovering that they were successful learners. The learners were strongly influenced by their local-personal context that shaped their motivation positively. These intrinsically motivated learners also seemed to be relatively immune to negative influences from the outside once they had decided to study German at university. If their environment was positive and supportive they thrived; if it was negative, they persisted.

It has to be noted that German was a third language for most of the learners. Jessner had already pointed out that “third language acquisition (TLA) is not the same as second language acquisition (SLA)” (Jessner 1999: p. 201). Learners acquire all their

languages differently and under different conditions (linguistically, internally and externally). These languages learnt take on various functions and they provide the learner with new prerequisites for communication and for learning additional languages (Hufeisen 2003: p. 107). That is why some of the concepts of SLA or L2 motivation might not apply to German as an L3 for Anglophone learners. Most concepts like the SE model and the L2 Motivational self system have, however, been developed specifically for an L2. Ushioda's person in context relational view of motivation (Ushioda 2009) in contrast leaves more room for interpretation of an L3 and the multilingual character of these participants.

Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2009) includes the *L2 Learning Experience* to explore motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience (Dörnyei 2009: p. 29). Yet, this does not include external influences like school policies or the family, which were highly influential for this group of students. Even though these factors are included in the *ought-to self*, they are only included as 'obligations'. There is some evidence for an *ought-to self*, because the majority of interviewees had to learn German at an early stage in their language learning history. However, none of the learners argued that they felt a personal obligation to learn German, that they had to meet expectations or avoid negative outcomes (Dörnyei 2009: p. 29); they simply had no other choice in the beginning. The participants of this study never felt that they were obliged to continue studying German. The *ought-to self* was significantly important at the beginning of their language learning history, when the school policy made them take German classes or GCSEs. Still, the students willingly continued learning German after the obligatory period.

Gardner's socio-educational model of second language learning (Gardner 1985: p. 147) includes the second language acquisition contexts and the factor 'formal language training', yet in his model motivation also influences formal language training. In the case of these German enthusiasts it is initially the other way around (though positive motivation subsequently encouraged participants to continue with German). This is why Ushioda's (2009) approach is essential to understanding what drives young Anglophone people to learn languages. Only the investigation of learners as individuals and as people within their particular contexts (Ushioda 2009: p. 216) reveals why they chose to learn German.

Busse (2010) claims that "the concept of the *ideal L2 self* is much better able to capture these students' motivation for studying German than either *integrative* or *instrumental* reasons for studying" (Busse 2010: p. 149). However, according to the results of the present study, the *ideal self* seemed a little vague regarding German specifically. Integrative reasons on the other hand were rather pronounced. Firstly, this

shows that the *ideal self* and integrative orientation are two separate entities, as the latter concerns the identity and not the self of the learner (see 3.4). Secondly, this study illustrates that integrative orientation can be explored through oral interviews.

Naturally, young learners must see some perspective in their language learning, some link to their imagined future in order to be motivated to study a language. However, this could be true for most activities. An imagined *ideal self* is not specific to the motivation to learn German. Some of the participants, especially the final year students, had a clear sense of identity and the kind of person they wanted to be, even if this was expressed in fairly general terms. For several of them, this identity was connected to being a languages expert or a multilingual person; for others, it had to do with being a qualified person in their field with a special language talent. Interestingly, those identities did not relate specifically strongly to German, but rather to languages in general. This is very different from what students of English as an FL would be likely to say.

If not specifically prompted, the participants did not talk significantly about their imagined future or their *ideal self* as a motivating factor to learn German, but they did talk about themselves as languages specialists. It is more their enjoyment of the present activity and the external factors that influence the motivation to learn German in particular. The *ideal self* can help explain why many of these students chose to study languages, but not specifically why they were studying German. In some cases, though, the participants had a clear vision of themselves that was linked to their German learning. B4's and B7's ideal self was directly linked to being a competent German speaker. B3 and A10 for example wished to live in Germany and that is why they learned German.

A strong identification with being a linguist or a languages person is reflected in other aspects of these participants' beliefs, apart from a missing *ideal self* regarding German. These interviewees showed a rather weak interest in German speaking culture, unlike the participants in other recent studies (King 2009, Hennig 2010a, Schmidt 2011). Riemer's claim that German learners are more interested in German culture if they live further away seems to be language independent (Riemer 2005: p. 55). It is not the Anglophone setting that means the students are less interested in German speaking culture; it is rather the geographical and cultural closeness of England and Germany. The students perceived German culture to be very similar to British culture and they felt comfortable with it.

Interestingly Riemer's *Exotenmotiv*, which Hennig and Schmidt found as well, does not apply to German specifically for these British undergraduates. It is not only the prospect of communication in a language that is spoken by relatively few

Anglophones, and that is perceived as difficult, that motivated the participants. They were motivated by a strong general sense of self-efficacy, i.e. that they were able linguists, even multilingual speakers, in contrast to their monolingual peers and countrymen. Again the geographical and cultural closeness of Germany might take away the 'exotic' factor.

6.2 Evaluation of the Study

On a theoretical level this study sought to test the relevance of the concepts of integrativeness, instrumental orientation, the L2 motivational self system, and the person-in-context relational view of motivation to the learning of German in an Anglophone setting. It contributes to the field of language learning motivation since the focus was not on learning English as it is in the majority of studies that explore language learning motivation.

The motivation to learn languages other than English is different. Firstly, the Anglophone context revealed that personal-contexts, choice, and personal development are more important than instrumental reasons or historical-contexts. It is interesting from a theoretical point of view that the family's influence does not create "ought-to" feelings, it just provides a supportive but not regimented context. This shows a more nuanced view of family influence.

Secondly, regarding German specifically, integrative orientation is more important than the *ideal self* and it cannot always be included in the *ideal self*. The self and the identity are separate entities (see 3.4) therefore the learners' identity and their context need to be considered to wholly understand their motivation to learn German. That means that the motivation to learn German specifically cannot be fully explained through the L2 motivational self system. Ushioda's (2009) person-in-context relational view of motivation, which allows different theoretical perspectives, was essential for these insights.

Methodologically this qualitative study with cross-sectional interviews underlines the validity and necessity of qualitative research in language learning motivation. By focusing on the learners' perspectives and their contexts this research managed to unveil insights that would not have been possible in a quantitative questionnaire study.

One limitation of the study was the timescale; being cross-sectional it could only provide a glimpse of the learners' motivation. A longitudinal study that explored the development of students over a four year programme with one interview per year could have more clearly shown the personal journey of the participants. Future

research could track the development of individual learners' motivation to learn German this way.

The cross-sectional design still provided one advantage: It showed the influence of the changes in educational policies on the learners and their motivation to continue studying German. While all of the final year participants had an opportunity to take part in a language exchange with Germany, this was not available to everyone in the first year. Additionally the effect of the increased tuition fees could only be explored cross-sectionally.

The length of the study shows that the interview questions could have been narrower. The data collected was so rich that not everything could be included in this data analysis. While the influences of the YA are interesting, they have to be analysed in more detail in a separate study. Logically the small scale of this study presents another limitation. Generalisations across university students of German cannot be made as these participants were amongst the most highly motivated of their year group. In addition this study was conducted at two Russell group universities. Future research may want to extend the study to different kinds of universities and it could be more widely spread geographically.

There is also scope for a quantitative follow-up study. A questionnaire can be developed on the basis of the results from the interview study. This questionnaire could be used in different Anglophone countries in order to work out the influence of English as a mother tongue on the motivation to learn German on a larger scale. It would furthermore provide an opportunity to discover possible differences between Anglophone countries.

6.3 Possible Implications for Languages Education

For this group it was a mixture of good grades in German, good experiences at school, academic talent and the fact that they liked learning German, in combination with positive personal encounters, that made them want to continue with the language. One consequence policy makers, educators and schools can draw from this is that it is essential to expose young people to MFL. If these students had not been obliged to take German classes most of them would never have learned the language.

Busse doubts that "making languages compulsory would (...) lead to sustained involvement in language learning" (Busse 2010: p. 150), because of the lack of an *ought-to self* in the Anglophone context. At university level the *ought-to self* might be obsolete, because the learners are more independent and they have already chosen to study German mainly out of intrinsic motivation. This is not the case at school level,

where most of my participants had to learn German, and came to enjoy it only later. For some of these learners, being obliged to learn German at some point meant that they were exposed to and experienced a language that they might not have chosen themselves.

The results also confirm that these interviewees appreciated their German classes and their teachers in school. Teachers are a strong influence and they spark an interest for German in some young learners. One should, however, not underestimate academic talent. It seems that the strategy of exposing able learners to German classes works. Unmotivated peers disrupt the classes and make the enthusiastic learners feel uncomfortable. Additionally, the self-efficacy and confidence of academic high achievers goes a long way. The students feel that they can master the language because others told them they could. Rather than emphasising the difficulties regarding learning languages, educators should help students feel that they can learn a language. In this case the Native speaker ideal is not very helpful. Teachers who have learned FL s can inspire students because they are role models who have succeeded.

Another important factor is the influence of the family. Most participants of this study could be describes as middle class or upper middle class. Their parents were well educated and many of them had learnt MFLs as well. One aspect that distinguishes these families from the generality of Anglophone society was their mobility and/or their attitude towards FLs. Five participants had spent a part of their childhood abroad, two had German relatives, and many travelled to Germany with their family. Trips to Germany and a positive attitude towards the German speaking culture or languages in general supported the participants' ambition to become able linguists. Those who experienced being in Germany at a young age were motivated to further their language skills. This might help explain why Spanish is taken up more and more while French and German are declining; Spain is a prime holiday destination for British people. While it would be difficult to insist that parents should take their children to different countries the schools can contribute through school exchanges. There was a decline in participation in school exchanges among these undergraduates, but for those who took part the exchanges were strongly influential.

At university level, time spent abroad is essential for both linguistic and personal development. Exposure to German speakers and the German speaking culture are strong motivators. Where the students are enrolled on a two or three languages degree it would be beneficial for them to spend time in both target language cultures. It might also be helpful to encourage students to spend longer periods of time in the target languages countries earlier in their degree.

Similar to other studies, the present investigation also found a strong intrinsic motivation among Anglophone German learners, and that extrinsic motivation only motivated the learners indirectly. They saw good grades as a proof for their academic talent and also as a means to being successful; in their opinion, a good degree would get them a good career. Still, instrumental reasons did not play a vital role for many participants. They did not choose German because it offered them good career opportunities; these prospects were only a positive by-product. For schools and universities in Anglophone settings, this means that it is necessary to identify personal reasons for learning languages if they want to promote language learning. It would be more beneficial to explain to young people how learning FLs can open up one's mind and one's world. One does not have to become a fluent speaker of another language to benefit from language learning. Additionally, as shown in this study, learning languages can help students understand their own culture better. Even an intermediate level of language proficiency can already help one gain a glimpse into another culture and reflect on one's own.

Appendix

A Interview Guides

A.1 General Interview Guide

Opening statement

I would like to remind you of the purpose of this study: The questions I am asking are relevant for my own research into German language learning in the UK. I am interested in your own experiences and opinions. All you are saying will remain 100% anonymous; published excerpts will not be linked to your name and nothing you say will have impact on your performance at university. At first I will need to ask you some basic questions about you background.

Background questions (to be asked before the interview or after)

1. What is your name?
2. Gender?
3. How old are you?
4. What degree do you study and the year you are in?
5. What do your parents do?
6. Which languages do you speak?

Leading prompt

- **Please tell me why you decided to study German.**

Follow up questions

A) Students' background

1. Does anyone in your family speak German?
2. What type of school did you go to?
3. What are you good at (academically/regarding language learning, German)?

B) Experiences at school

1. Which languages did you study at school? When did you start learning languages? Which was your first, second, etc. language?
2. When did you first start to learn German?
3. Do you remember why?

4. Can you remember what you thought when you heard German for the first time?
5. What did you like about learning German then?
6. What was learning German in school like? What were the teachers/students like?
7. Why did you continue German at A-level?

C) Beliefs and attitudes towards German/Germany for students in year 1 and 2

1. When you think of German or Germany what comes into your mind?
2. What is typically German?
3. Have you ever been to Germany? When? How?
4. What did you think about German people?
5. Can you identify with that/them?
6. Can you imagine living in Germany? What would it be like?
7. Have you ever lived in Germany? What was it like?
8. (If I ask you to say something in German what are the first words, phrases you can think of?)
9. (Can you think of any jokes about Germans?)

D) Motivation

1. What are the biggest motivating factors for you in learning German?
2. How do you keep yourself motivated to learn German?
3. Do you think that learning German is different from learning other languages?
4. What career options does studying German offer for you?

E) Experiences at university

1. Why did you decide to study German at university level?
2. What advantages/disadvantages do you have being a German student?
3. How do other students react when you tell them you study German?

Additional questions for second year students

1. What is studying German at university like? In what way is it different to learning German at school?
2. What did you expect? Have your expectations been met?
3. What have you learned about German that you didn't know before?
4. What do you think of the content classes?
5. How much time do you spend studying German independently? What do you do?

Additional questions for final year students

1. Can you tell me about your experiences during your year abroad?
2. What did you expect your year abroad to be like? Have your expectations been met?
3. How do you see the Germans now?
4. What is typically German for you?
5. Have you taken on/started doing any things that you consider German? What for example?
6. How integrated do you feel into German society?
7. Has your attitude towards learning German changed? In what way/In how far?
8. How comfortable do you feel with German now?
9. Can you see yourself living in Germany in the future?

Questions to keep the conversation up

1. What else do you remember?
2. Anything else?
3. How did it continue?
4. You said, you ..., could you elaborate that point further?

Final questions

1. Is there anything I should have asked?
2. Is there anything else you would like to add?
3. Do you have any questions?

A.2 Amended Interview Guide for Ab Initio Students

Opening statement

I would like to remind you of the purpose of this study: The questions I am asking are relevant for my own research into German language learning in the UK. I am interested in your own experiences and opinions. All you are saying will remain 100% anonymous; published excerpts will not be linked to your name and nothing you say will have impact on your performance at university. At first I will need to ask you some basic questions about your background.

Background questions (to be asked before the interview or after)

1. What is your name?
2. Gender?
3. How old are you?
4. What degree do you study and the year you are in?
5. What do your parents do?
6. Which languages do you speak?

Leading prompt

- **Please tell me why you decided to study German.**

Follow up questions

A) Students' background

1. Does anyone in your family speak German?
2. What type of school did you go to?

What are you good at (academically/regarding language learning, German)?

B) Experiences at school

1. Which languages did you study at school? When did you start learning languages? Which was your first, second, etc. language?
2. Did they offer German at your school? (If yes) Why did you not do it? (If no) Where you interested in learning German at school? Why (not)?

C) Beliefs and attitudes towards German/Germany for students in year 1 and 2

1. When you think of German or Germany what comes into your mind?
2. What is typically German?

3. Have you ever been to Germany? When? How?
4. What did you think about German people?
5. Can you identify with that/them?
6. Can you imagine living in Germany? What would it be like?
7. Have you ever lived in Germany? What was it like?
8. If I ask you to say something in German what are the first words, phrases you can think of?
9. (Can you think of any jokes about Germans?)

D) Motivation

1. What are the biggest motivating factors for you in learning German?
2. How do you keep yourself motivated to learn German?
3. Do you think that learning German is different from learning other languages?
4. What career options does studying German offer for you?

E) Experiences at university

1. Why did you decide to study German at university level?
2. What advantages/disadvantages do you have being a German student?
3. How do other students react when you tell them you study German?

Additional questions for second year students

1. What is studying German at university like?
2. What did you expect? Have your expectations been met?
3. What have you learned about German that you didn't know before?
4. What do you think of the content classes?
5. How much time do you spend studying German independently? What do you do?

Additional questions for final year students

1. Can you tell me about your experiences during your year abroad?
2. What did you expect your year abroad to be like? Have your expectations been met?
3. How do you see the Germans now?
4. What is typically German for you?
5. Have you taken on/started doing any things that you consider German? What for example?
6. How integrated do you feel into German society?
7. Has your attitude towards learning German changed? In what way/In how far?

8. How comfortable do you feel with German now?
9. Can you see yourself living in Germany in the future?

Questions to keep the conversation up

1. What else do you remember?
2. Anything else?
3. How did it continue?
4. You said, you ..., could you elaborate that point further?

Final questions

1. Is there anything I should have asked?
2. Is there anything else you would like to add?
3. Do you have any questions?

B Sample Transcripts and Codes

B.1 Sample Transcript of Year One Student

University B, student 1

- 1 I: What degree do you study and what year are you in?
- 2 B1: First year joined BA German and Spanish Studies.
- 3 I: How old are you?
- 4 B1: 18.
- 5 I: Apart from German and Spanish have you learned any other languages?
- 6 B1: I did a very brief spell with French, but I didn't get on with it, so I stopped after
7 maybe 6 hours in total over 6 weeks and then I just - I learned less and then I just
8 stopped. That's all.
- 9 I: Okay. Does anyone in your family speak German?
- 10 B1: No. Very, very basic 'Hallo, Goodbye, Thank you' that's all.
- 11 I: Any other languages?
- 12 B1: Not sure ... My sister failed her German GCSE. So she does have a very basic
13 knowledge of German, but she did get an E in the end in her GCSE [poor girl], but
14 she speaks a little bit.
- 15 I: Okay, so you've seen the title of the research (project). So it is about motivation
16 to study German. So what can you tell me about your motivation to study
17 German?
- 18 B1: I lived in German. I lived in (Germany) for in total about seven years, I lived there
19 when I was - up until the age of 11. So I only really spend - up until 11 I spent
20 more time in Germany than I had in the UK, because (I was?) in the military bit of
21 Germany, so I spoke English and was sent to an English school and then outside
22 we'd go into the shops and we'd say like 'Hello, Goodbye' 'Excuse me' when I was
23 little and that was all the integration we ever had into German and the language.
24 So when I came back to the UK when I was 11 I went to secondary school over
25 here. And because the area I lived in there was loads of military people and loads
26 of sort of even half Germans from soldier dads and German mums, so it was tons.
27 So in our school we only got taught German instead of German or Spanish.
28 Because I was already ahead, because we got taught numbers and colours when I

29 was in primary school, because it was obviously in Germany that I was in primary
30 school. So I was a bit ahead, so I was always more confident so I just continued
31 on. And then there was an extra club called 'Club Prima' and they would gather
32 and talk about German. So I think it was because of being there but not being
33 able to speak it, but then hearing it. So there was a familiarity, but it was
34 something nice about it. It wasn't as foreign as it is to some people who have
35 never been or never lived there. So there are videos of us in a water/aquarium
36 park and although all the other stuff is in German I didn't recognize it when I was
37 a kid. You don't really think about it. But then you think about it afterwards and
38 you think 'I was listening to an awful lot of German, before I even knew really that
39 I was doing it. So that is probably the main background motivation.

40 [The interviewee explained afterwards that the school changed from teaching French to
41 teaching German just as she started attending it. The school was not performing very
42 well and they had realized that most of their pupils had some link to Germany through
43 their army connection. They decided to teach German, because most of their students
44 were familiar with it. However, some students would not admit that they could speak
45 German.]

46 I: But you said your parent's don't speak German even though they lived there?

47 B1: Yeah, they lived there. I think it was seven years they lived there. Because
48 obviously they didn't need German for work. My mum worked on the camp.
49 Because they moved to different areas it is around that region (?)

50 I: What town was it?

51 B1: GHQ, ... M., that sort of region. And then there was also a place called ... I don't
52 know how to say that, because we said S. don't know if that is [I think that's about
53 right], so that region, we lived in those two places. Obviously we were just in this
54 little bubble of English speakers. So it wasn't really an issue. We just moved. But
55 they made an effort. I was quite proud they made an effort, at least to know
56 'Hello' and 'Thank you'. Obviously we never - like when we went to a shop they'd
57 ask for the Euros and we would have to look at the thing to see how much it was,
58 because we couldn't understand them. But they made some effort. It was good.

59 I: You were eleven when you moved over here? [Yeah] Did you start secondary
60 school then?

61 B1: Yeah, that's right. It was the year six you went to primary school and then year
62 seven you went to secondary school. And I was ready for year seven in the UK
63 after year six.

64 I: And what type of school was it?

65 B1: Standard comprehensive.

66 I: Did it go through to sixth form as well?

67 B1: It did have a sixth form by the time I got to year eleven, but I decided to go to a
68 college away from the area. It was too small and there were all the people I had
69 been with since I was eleven and I had been around. So I wanted to get out of the
70 area.

71 I: Do you remember what languages they offered in your secondary school?

72 B1: They only offered German when I got there in year seven when I was eleven. And
73 by the time they changed to an academy. They had this academy changing they
74 were all doing. It is not as good as it sounds. So when I got to year eleven when I
75 was fifteen they changed it to an academy. And they specialized in business and
76 language. So they started offering, I think it was Spanish and German, not French.
77 But they did French as an extra bit, after school thing that you could try and learn.
78 But it wasn't successful. But they only did German and Spanish. But as I said
79 because there were so many people that I knew when I was in year eight or nine
80 who were basically fluent or at least confident enough to do a GCSE and would
81 get A*s in - when they were 12 or 13 in their GCSE, because they'd speak to their
82 mums in German and so it was always around.

83 I: So lots of people you knew from when you were little went to the same school
84 with you?

85 B1: No it was just, because everyone moves around; they had all been to different
86 places. So I didn't know anyone from my primary school in Germany that moved
87 over. But because the area was so full of people who had a military background,
88 who had a military dad there were so many people there that would have also had
89 some experience with Germany who would have either lived there or had German
90 mums. So that was why.

91 I: I see. So in your class in school you had lots of people who knew more German
92 than your average English person?

93 B1: Yeah, there'd be - in year seven there was - I'd know the odd person who'd be
94 really competent. And then there'd be those like me who had basic knowledge
95 and basic experience hearing it. And there'd be people who had never been.
96 There was civilians - I always say that - civilian kids in our school too. But the area
97 I live in is Tidworth which is a super garrison now. So it is an area where the

98 majority of the population is soldiers or soldier families. So that is why - that's
99 why when I moved there, there was such heavy German - not even - heavy moving
100 around - Most people would have had some German experience, German
101 knowledge or something like that.

102 I: Was it then compulsory for you to do a GCSE in German?

103 B1: Oh, can't remember - No. It was up - we did the first three years, so year seven,
104 eight, nine it was compulsory to study it then. But there was no gratification
105 charged for that. At the end of year nine you chose your options and then the
106 class was dramatically cut down. No one seemed to take German straight away. It
107 was when I was 'Yeah, I'll do German', because we had been given GCSE papers
108 when we were in year eight. So I had been given that as material for quite a while.
109 So I ended up in my year eleven class, my final year with three of us, which was
110 awful. And it was good because, as a class we got two A*s and a B. So the three of
111 us got good marks, but yeah it was ... In year ten I think there was more, but then
112 some people moved. So half the GCSE then moved somewhere. I'm trying to think
113 if anyone had been to Germany. One of the girls had live in Germany and me. And
114 the rest hadn't lived there.

115 I: And why did you decide to do a GCSE?

116 B1: I think it was always my favourite subject. My teacher was really good. You always
117 want to try for that to not be an influence, but it's always going to be a little bit
118 helpful if you like the person that is teaching. And it was split into three option
119 blocks. You had to pick one of each block. And in that section, not that I would
120 have taken it anyway, but there wasn't anything else that I wanted to do so much
121 that it would come above German. German was my favourite subject. It sounds
122 such a cliché, I'm sorry if it sounds really bad for your research that it was my
123 favourite subject, but it generally was.

124 I: But you picked up Spanish as well?

125 B1: I picked up Spanish at university. I am an Ab Initio Spanish student and post
126 A-level German, so I know very little Spanish. And I'm possibly going to drop it
127 and I'll be a single honours German student next year, because it feels at the
128 minute like I am going to choose between a good degree in German or a quite
129 average degree in German and Spanish. I'm not really sure which route to go
130 down with that. I'm not feeling very confident with Spanish at all. So German
131 make nice sort of - going to German class is quite nice, when you go to Spanish
132 you don't understand anything and when you go to German (hopefully all?)

133 I: So then when you moved from secondary school, you said you went to college in
 134 Basingstoke? [Yeah] You chose to do and A-level in German? [Yeah] and why did
 135 you make the choice?

136 B1: It almost felt like a natural progression if I am honest. I never ever, up until to the
 137 point I got to college I never thought I'd ever do a degree in German, because I
 138 misunderstood - there wasn't guidance about university when I was in school, as
 139 in loads of people at my school had not gone to university. There wasn't really a
 140 big (?) So I didn't think I was good enough to go because I thought you'd have to
 141 - 'you can't get a degree in it - I'm not fluent! I can't do a degree in German!' That
 142 was my idea, but then someone said 'Of course you can do an A-level.' Because I
 143 got an A* in my GCSE, so they was like 'Of course you can do an A-level in
 144 German!' So it was a natural progression. I ended up doing some of the subjects
 145 I liked at GCSE. Originally I went on a different route. I was going to do law with
 146 German law. So I originally applied to do law at college as well. But then I
 147 changed my mind completely and just went down with a random selection of
 148 humanities and maths, which I was politely stirred away from in my second year,
 149 when I did my full A-level. Yeah and then I got to apply for university. And the
 150 thing about college was that it became a bit more - obviously the GCSE up until
 151 then it was more about the language, you're learning German. But then when it
 152 got to college there was a bit more - there was literature involved, there was - we
 153 learned about *Die Wende* - no one had told me about this! And I was like 'Why has
 154 no one told me?!' So it was really the culture, this was what I really wanted to
 155 understand, because I, you know, I was there and the way I feel - although I am
 156 not German I always feel part of that history and the military and us being there.
 157 It is kind of a sentimental element to it. So learning about that, what kind of
 158 made Germany what it is, because I never really asked questions about why I was
 159 there. We just were there. And it seems a funny thing now to look back and to say:
 160 'Why didn't I actually say: "Why are we here?"' We just went. 'I love it here let's just
 161 stay!', you know. So that's what I liked about that A-level especially. And then
 162 coming to university and finding that one module is entirely based around
 163 culture and based around literature and history was good, was fun. And that I
 164 was not going to have to be fluent. That was a great relief to go. You can actually
 165 take a degree and you'll be fine. And we'll cap your B at the level you need to be
 166 at. That was probably what motivated me most: Knowing that it was an option
 167 available to me in terms of carrying on German.

168 I: Were there any areas you got particularly interested in? You mentioned culture
 169 and history and literature. Is there anything you did in your A-levels where you
 170 thought 'Yeah, that's really my thing!'?

171 B1: All the former East, GDR stuff, oh my goodness, that's one of the most
172 interesting areas of history that I found. I mean the language was always - I found
173 myself getting really interested in idiomatic stuff like using phrases and being
174 concerned that I'd sound like too - that I'd got the wrong register for the idioms I
175 was using. But that was other stuff - but the GDR really - kind of realizing how
176 little you actually get taught about the place in schools and you realize: So why
177 did we spend all that time learning about this when this only happened - when I
178 went to school it was only what? 15 years of history. So I went to school in 2005,
179 so it was only - and you'd think: 'Why would I not learn about this? This is really
180 big stuff that happened!' So that was good. There was - we did a project - oh, this
181 is relevant - the professor was saying that. It is called the EPQ. And my whole
182 research - If I could ever get the opportunity to research this in much more depth
183 than I did. It was only - I only did it at college. I would love to do it. It was about
184 the impact of the moving out of Germany, the British military moving out. And
185 that was one of the most interesting things that I did. So I became very interested
186 in my personal background. It felt really my personal background. And I got to
187 talk to people who shared my views completely. You talked to them and they'd go:
188 'I love Germany, I love everything here' And I was like: 'Yeah, that is exactly what
189 I felt too.' Another motivation is: I always want to go back. I'm very aware that I
190 can't really go back unless I would get a job in that environment, in that same
191 camp, because I won't speak the language. But because they're shutting
192 everything down now, it makes it even more important. Because they would shut
193 of that whole country - that was what it feel like - that it'd shut off that whole
194 country if I stopped learning German at any point. I would never go back; I could
195 never go back, because I'd be stuck like a rabbit in headlights with all this
196 German I wouldn't understand. So that is probably quite a big part of it that I'd
197 always want to go back.

198 I: Have you been back much since?

199 B1: Yeas, quite a lot. I went to Düsseldorf when I was, first time when I was sixteen,
200 seventeen, I went on my own. Well not really on my own, without parents, with a
201 friend. I went to a hostel and bunk beds and ten people sharing a room which is
202 fantastic. And we visited friends and we went to a wedding. And it was in the
203 mess, it's in the camp. So it's a bar set up for soldiers to go in. So they had the
204 reception in the mess. And it was those places that I played in when I was like
205 eight, nine and ten. And I was like 'Oh my goodness!' It was absolutely amazing.
206 Yeah I went back. And I went back to do - I managed to find a guy that I know who
207 was driving back to Germany to help out with the moving out of GHQ. General
208 Head Quarters, yeah, it's the one near M.. And he was driving there to help. So I

209 jumped in a military car with him and went and did some research and spoke to
 210 some people there. So I've been back a few times, but always in that region. I
 211 went to Cologne as well.

212 I: So the sort of North-West area?

213 B1: Because it was so homely. It was so - walking around Cologne, going the
 214 Chocolate museum, like the small museum. I know we've been to that with my
 215 family twice. There was a trip to Cologne when I was in year eight in secondary
 216 school. There was a trip that was booked and it was to go back to Cologne and
 217 everyone was asking me: 'Are you going to go to the Germany trip? And I was: 'No,
 218 no way, because I was there a year, two years ago, I visited there. I went to all the
 219 places you are going to see. I'd only take up a space. You go see it, because I
 220 have already been.' So that was quite fun.

221 I: What impression do you have of German society?

222 B1: ... I always found it, it was very clean, it's really clichéd. And because we had to
 223 follow the German laws, we couldn't mow our lawns on Sunday and hang our
 224 washing out or we recycled everything. We used Euros. It was always just friendly.
 225 Now I have a concern almost that I don't want to mention where it was in
 226 Germany, because it is a bit of an issue that I don't want to bring up too much
 227 when I'm speaking to some people. You know 'I lived in Germany' and they'd go
 228 'Oh where?' And you're like 'With the military in the camp that shouldn't be there,
 229 because it is about 60 years out of date or something' you know you don't really
 230 want to bring it up. But impression? Just a really nice place. A friend of mine said.
 231 She is gay. And it was like - when she was over in the UK, she always felt like she
 232 had to watch her back and be more conscious. She described it as 'live and let
 233 live'. And the older I get and the more times I go back and see her I can see where
 234 she was coming - When I go back people are friendly. I was looking at a map and
 235 this man came up and said '*Kann ich Ihnen helfen?*' and then immediately said it
 236 in English. And I was like 'I understand what you are saying but this is so sweet',
 237 so sweet of just this random stranger. So yeah, the impression is always been
 238 positive because it is such a fun place. But then there is always that distance
 239 because you were in Germany, but you weren't IN Germany. You know what I
 240 mean? You were never really there. I mean I lived there a long time and I know so
 241 many people who do.

242 I: Is there anything that you would say is typically German for you? #00:19:54-2#

243 B1: You don't really want to hear about stereotypes, but there were - typically
 244 German? Beer? The Germans I knew were all 60s men with beards and eccentric.

245 Yeah, a little bit eccentric, yeah they were, the Germans that I knew, very friendly.
 246 I always liked the accent, especially as a child listening in. But now typically
 247 German? I don't know. I really don't know.

248 I: Is there any difference between what you've experienced and what you think
 249 about Germany and how Germany is portrayed in the media over here?

250 B1: Germany is very rarely portrayed over here. It seems really - it's always with the
 251 schooling and what we were learning was about The Wars. And I think there is
 252 still a tendency to - that is kind of what you think of - some people do it
 253 automatically, go down that route, that German history. Angela Merkel is kind of
 254 - she always looks very stern and very serious. But I find it, they are not very - the
 255 way they are portrayed now, especially with the economy and stuff as like they
 256 have got all the money. 'Look Germany is the place with all the money!' So now it
 257 is probably that, but in school it was like 'Germany is the place where the Wars
 258 happened.' which is a shame.

259 I: You said you want to move back? [yeah] Are there any parts of German society
 260 that you can really identify with? Where you can think 'Yeah, I can be a part of
 261 this.'?

262 B1: In what way? In what parts of society?

263 I: Because you said, well, you lived sort of in Germany, but in your own little bubble,
 264 sort of. So do you think if you move back, is there any way that you can see
 265 yourself being integrated into society or any habits that Germans have where you
 266 think 'Oh yeah I do that. I can be a part of this' like recycling and -

267 B1: Yeah, I like all that, I really do. So I would probably stick with the laws and stuff.
 268 So I'd be on google finding out all the information - all the stuff I didn't know as a
 269 kid - that I would have to do so that I would not do anything that I am not allowed
 270 to on a Sunday and I will recycle. I think the language is probably the biggest
 271 hurdle to being there, because you don't want to stick with the people that you
 272 know who are English or speak English. You don't want to in that little group,
 273 because I do know people out there. There is a couple I know who I went see. And
 274 they live in main land area as is they don't live in the camp. And they go down the
 275 pub, but the way they've done it - language is it again - they speak fluent German,
 276 they don't, they really - I think you are always at a disadvantage when you don't
 277 speak the language. But my year abroad will be good, because I will be almost
 278 automatically in a place where I can integrate. So I'll be the right place with the
 279 university where there is people around to integrate with. ... I guess I don't have
 280 any particular German habits. I mean I like a good Bratwurst, but I don't drink

281 loads. But I like the Germans. It sounds really - but I like the efficiency. I like the
282 way that everything just works and there is no sort of - you know here it is like
283 wait for a bus ... - no I like the way that everything is just relaxed yet organized,
284 that kind of feeling. Maybe that appeals to my military side where everything is
285 just in its place and nice. The language that is probably the key I think
286 [background noises]

287 I: And was that then the main motivation why you chose to do a degree in German
288 as well? To be fluent?

289 B1: Yeah, I think when you get to a certain point you think 'if I stop now I'm never
290 going to - I have to keep going in order to get the fluency' I think there is
291 something quite fascinating for English people in general about being fluent in a
292 language. I find myself doing it today with a girl who speaks almost five
293 languages. And I'm asking her questions like 'what do you think in?' Because we
294 don't really - we say we are rubbish at learning languages in general in the UK as
295 a whole. So there is something very fascinating about people who can speak two
296 languages. I always wanted to be - You know I would to be confident enough to
297 talk in German and to speak. And I think it is quite fun to say that you are
298 bilingual. It is very rare for native English speakers, unless their parents - And I
299 feel like I'm doing this on my own and I'm going to be fluent in this language. It is
300 quite good. But knowing it was open, knowing that it was an option was - when I
301 found that out: 'I do a degree in German' And then that was that.

302 I: Of course you are the first year that has to pay £9000 [Oh my god!] I'm so sorry to
303 mention that! How do you justify paying that much to do a degree in German?

304 B1: When I applied, I don't think they had properly announced it. They hadn't
305 formally or so - don't quote me on that though. I'm pretty sure when I applied
306 they were going through that, they were talking about it and there were protests.
307 And I always thought: 'Well, they are making it a bit fairer in terms of that we
308 would have to earn £25.000 until we would have to pay it back. And then it gets
309 written off after a certain amount of time. And maybe I thought I could go off to
310 Germany and not pay it back. I don't really think that works. I don't know. A
311 degree is sort of something that you can pertain. That is something to be really
312 proud of. And I'm the first person in my family to go to university. It was always
313 like, if I'm clever enough - I mean it is a horrible price to pay - but hope fully it will
314 do me well in the future. And also this is probably the only way that I could go
315 forward in the language. I could have gone to Germany, but then I wouldn't have
316 a formal qualification, so that was probably it. Also there's no real option. There's
317 no way around it. I wish there was, but it was less infuriating then, before I came

318 to university than it is now. Because when you apply to university you don't know
319 what you get at university. You don't know how many hours you get in a week.
320 But then you get here and you count how many hours you get and you think if
321 you worked that?! I wouldn't get paid £9000 if I worked what I get taught. So
322 when I was at college you think: 'I've got all these lectures...' When you're there
323 you think: 'Well, it must be worth £9000 if they gonna justify charging that.' That
324 was kind of the mind-set that I had at the time. When you get here and you think:
325 'I might as well carry on now.' sort of one year in.

326 I: And did career option play a role at all in your decision?

327 B1: Yeah, I mean I would love to be an interpreter at some point in my life. And I am
328 fully aware that I would need a degree (?) to do that. But then also there is the
329 possibility that if I discover that by some crazy miracle that I want to teach - i
330 don't think it is likely, but it might happen - the option is there for me. I couldn't
331 teach if I just had an A-level. I couldn't do that. I think there is a lot of things if
332 you look around at people and think 'You've been to university. You've all been to
333 university. I really should go to university then.' Because just so that I can do this.
334 That's partly why I did Spanish as well. Sort of, it can't hurt to try and see if I like
335 it. This is kind of, sort of, not exactly grabbing the bull by the horns, it felt that
336 you had to sort of [grab your chance] yeah, yeah grab the opportunity; If you have
337 the opportunity now, why not? Now £9000 seems like a hell of a lot of money and
338 I'm very confused at why they justify that. I think it will do now.

339 I: And while you are here how do you motivate yourself to study, to learn German?

340 B1: Erm, I don't know. I just generally am. Sometimes with harder exercises, if they
341 are too hard or some of the exercises, they are too easy. I watch a lot of German
342 films. Most of the films I brought with me from home are German or they are
343 dubbed. So I have Trainspotting dubbed in German which is fantastic. So a lot of
344 that helps. I think knowing that you've gotta go away for a year is probably quite
345 motivating, cause you know you're going to be away in this world, in this bubble
346 of German and there's nothing else. If I can't speak German, I'm ... you know. And
347 it would be a waste of my effort almost to go to Germany and not have studied
348 enough for the year abroad and to find that no one understands me. And that is
349 probably one of the most scary things: speaking to someone and they'd go: 'What?
350 What are you saying?' I would just go red in the face and be in the corner
351 somewhere just crying 'Can't speak German'. Yeah, knowing that we're gonna be
352 just chucked into the deep end, makes you wanna prepare for the deep end.

353 I: How motivation is success for you? [background noises] Success, how motivation
354 is that?

355 B1: Motivating?

356 I: Yeah.

357 B1: I mean, yeah I'd like a good mark, a good degree. Yeah definitely. Especially -

358 I: Like if you get a good grade do you feel like 'I'm really good at this, I want to go
359 on doing this' or is more 'Yeah, fine, but it's not about the grades.'?

360 B1: To be honest in the course I am in at the moment I tried desperately hard to not
361 - I mean I am never really bothered about the grade in the end. I'm trying to do
362 my best and almost out of pride I try to do it - I mean I do try and get good marks,
363 because I have put effort into something and think 'Well, if I'm gonna do this, I'm
364 gonna do it well!' But all the time throughout my education it has never been
365 about a stepping stone. That is the problem I think with education, is that is
366 becomes - you do GCSEs to get into your A-level and then you do A-levels to get
367 into university. And I was like: 'Well I am actually really enjoying doing my
368 A-levels.' So I just enjoy the experience, I think. And I think it is actually really a
369 kind of tragedy of the education system where you are not allowed to just sit
370 back and go 'I'm really enjoying being in this class and learning what I'm learning
371 and having a broader view of the world.' So yeah, I think success in the sense of
372 'I've learned something and I am now a bit more knowledgeable about life'. I
373 mean I only got three Bs at A-level. I didn't do especially, especially well, but I'm
374 here and I enjoy it, every second of it. Yeah I would definitely put the experience
375 above the mark in the end.

376 I: Do you know what exactly you enjoy? Or is it more of a general sense?

377 B1: In what? Of in terms of just learning? [yeah] I just like learning stuff. I like
378 learning things about ... You never know what's interesting until you know it. So
379 (?) and I had no idea and you think 'Why did I not know anything about that?' and
380 you kick yourself about why and then you're 'someone has never told me and I
381 never knew about it and that is something I got to google' so then you find out
382 and you go 'that is really interesting' I think it is just good to know stuff. Good to
383 have an open mind and go 'oh, I wanna know about these things' And now I know,
384 from doing Spanish, I know a little bit more about Brazil and about how the
385 Portuguese went over and that kind of (stuff). And that is quite fascinating for
386 me.

387 I: What role do the other students play on your course?

388 B1: I gotta be honest, I was expecting to be - Oh, this is gonna sound dreadful. - I
389 expected to be in a much more academic environment. I expected everyone to be

390 very studious and head down, and lessons about German, and the thing that I
391 have always really liked and most people in German. If I could just sit down
392 and ...chat ... I love it. But always, it doesn't always feel like - everyone is
393 expected to do a degree and they just picked the wrong subject. Sometimes,
394 some people around [noise] but you do find some people will chat to you.
395 Everyone wants to do their own thing. People do joined honours and different
396 things you can just tell that they gonna go into a different area. They're doing
397 languages and they might not be using German ever again. And then there is less
398 competition for me to get into the job I want to do.

399 I: Are you competitive?

400 B1: Not really. [no?] No. No I - my motivation and my want to do well is probably more
401 from my own - I'm almost going like 'If they can .not get that quite alright, what
402 am I doing wrong?' That is probably more what's going on. And I hate feeling out
403 of my depth. I hate going 'Oh my god, what does this mean?' And earlier with the
404 *Konjunktiv* in the class it was like fine, I understood that - It would have been like
405 'oh', but I understood it, so I felt okay. So it's more that I don't wanna sink, so I try
406 and [noise]

407 I: A bit of a different question: Now that you have picked up Spanish as well. Do
408 find learning German is different than learning another language? Is there
409 anything particular about it?

410 B1: Very, very different. I do all sorts of silly things. I try to apply a German word
411 order to Spanish. I'm trying to think of *einander* in Spanish and I couldn't think of
412 it for the life of me. All I could think of was *einander*. It is bizarre. It is quite
413 strange how I didn't realize that grammar points were sort of so easily
414 exchangeable between languages. So there is stuff like the subjunctive and - how
415 do you say it in English? It is *Konjunktiv*. So we were learning about that in
416 Spanish and in German today. So just stuff like that. And that was why I knew
417 what the answer to a question was, because I thought 'Ah, we had this in Spanish
418 earlier.' Some things overlap. The accent is really difficult for me. Where when I
419 was in Germany, I had heard Germans and they hadn't really had any Spanish
420 people. To talk Spanish, yeah that became very difficult for me. I think it has
421 affected my German in the sense that I'm more confident in German now,
422 because it almost gives me something that I can do. I can DO German. When I go
423 into Spanish and I'm having a really bad day in Spanish and I go 'I don't
424 understand anything.' And then I go into German and I think 'I can do German! I
425 understand it.' I look at words on the board and I understand what that means
426 and that's quite fun. yeah I think it has had a positive effect on my German. And

427 German has not helped the slightest doing Spanish, because they are so different,
 428 so different. [yeah, they are]

429 I: Let me think if I left anything out. No, I think we pretty much covered everything.
 430 We talked a little bit about school. What you did. Is there anything you would say
 431 you're good at academically?

432 B1: In school it was German. I liked English as well, I suppose. I like writing and just
 433 gathering information doing it that way I can be quite controlling and writing
 434 paragraphs and stuff. I can say what I didn't like which was sport science and
 435 technology where we had to make stuff out of wood. I don't know what I was
 436 good at. I think stuff that I liked maths and German probably, because they rules
 437 and they had structure and there was no fluffiness about it. I mean English is a bit
 438 more fluffy. But there is still a certain structure that you apply. I like things like
 439 inversion. I like what we called ping words like 'fire'. So that way you can look at
 440 it and go 'there's a rule to that and there is a specific answer.' But you can also be
 441 creative with that and you can say things that are - you know you can express
 442 emotion through language. For me language it the most basic thing and the only
 443 way that you can communicate would be with one. And by just learning, I've now
 444 opened the door to communicate with this many people; despite the fact that
 445 most of them speak English anyway. Oh, there is a good story about this: I was in
 446 an airport and there was this old woman in a wheel chair. And it was in America
 447 and she was quite distressed, because they were going to wheel her out of the
 448 delivery thing. And this American would turn and would shout out: 'Does anyone
 449 speak German?' And my dad went: 'Yes, she does.' And - no - I had just done my
 450 GCSE I was sixteen I cannot do this, because I have just - so I went over and I said:
 451 'Well, I can speak some German, but not much.' And she was so quiet, I had to get
 452 right up - there was no initiative whatsoever - right up close and then she like - I
 453 got what she meant. She did speak really slowly. She was just waiting for a friend.
 454 She explained to me: 'I was on the left side of the plane and she was on the right
 455 side ...' And so she was waiting. And I managed to sort of stop that situation. And
 456 you think, if had lost her friend because no one spoke German, what a crazy,
 457 crazy day that would have been. So that was one of my moments where I went
 458 'Yeah, I wanna carry this on, because it is actually a really good thing to have.'
 459 [Yeah, that's really good.] So that was my, my proud moment.

460 I: Did you do music at all?

461 B1: Yes, I did. I knew there was another rule - and yes, I did music and I play the
 462 guitar and have done from about eight. I love music and I did it at GCSE again,
 463 but then I stopped. My sister is very musical. That's probably why just stuck to a

464 language, because I thought 'why keep it, it's kind of the same thing' and learn
 465 life happens (?)

466 I: So you still play the guitar?

467 B1: Yeah. I don't think you ever stop playing, if you do carry on.

468 I: What subjects did you pick for your A-levels in the end?

469 B1: I did, in my first year I did German, English, literature, geography, maths and
 470 politics. And in the second year I dropped maths and politics. So I ended up with
 471 just German, geography and English.

472 I: And you got a B in all of them?

473 B1: Yeah, I tried really hard for an A in German, and it just didn't work.

474 I: No one will ask about that later. You're doing a degree now.

475 B1: That was the fun of it. [No one cares] Yeah, I wanted to do something interesting
 476 like space travel, which is quite fun, some other random topics that you think I'm
 477 never gonna use again. But I think there is fun in just reading something and
 478 knowing that you understand what that is saying and the person next to you
 479 might not understand. So in a restaurant when I went to Düsseldorf when my
 480 friend was there. It was an Italian restaurant, so there was a guy and his second
 481 language was German as well, so he would speak much more slowly than the
 482 natives and we were having a chat and I turned to my friend and said: 'Do you
 483 understand anything at all?' 'No not a clue.' But for me it just sounded - why
 484 would you not understand that *Schule* is school. So it is quite fun in German to
 485 have a chat and have a bit of a banter. It is a novelty. It is a novelty.

486 I: Yeah I do that. [Yeah it is good fun] Is there anything that you think would be
 487 important to the whole motivation area that I didn't ask about? Anything I left
 488 out?

489 B1: Erm, anything that I'd like to mention? [Yeah] It is a great language. It is a really
 490 great language. We had to take a class and we had to talk and just the words that
 491 you can come out with in German. That you can't express yourself with in English,
 492 like - correct me if this is wrong: *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*?

493 I: Yeah that is a very good word!

494 B1: What a fantastic word that is! And you learn thing like that and you go 'That is
 495 just brilliant!' [Yeah] like that is many words, it is fantastic, absolutely fantastic
 496 word. You can't say that in English without using about five words. And stuff like

497 that. SO the more you get into it the more you're able to access these kind of
498 strange little quirky things about a language, like pressing your thumb instead of
499 crossing your finders. So yeah, the more you practise a language, the more you
500 can discover about this, the more I want to learn more about these kind of things.
501 I think 'What other ideas, what other crazy words do you have for things that I
502 haven't learned?' so that would definitely be part - it is just fun! It's really just very
503 fun learning languages. I would much rather doing thing than - I sit and listen to
504 my politics - there is a part of my house who does politics and I think 'It is really
505 dull. It is really dull!' You know. And it is, there is nothing kind of - you're learning
506 a language and you're learning about a country that played a massive role for
507 quite a few things. And that seems to be more important than most of the people
508 - these sciences and medicine - but I'm not a scientist, so I can just sit here and
509 speak German all day. Yeah it is just the basis of intercultural - if you don't know
510 that. And the amount of English people English speakers, I should say, do the
511 thing where they speak slowly and loudly and think that they will understand,
512 because everyone speaks English. The thing with that, with the woman in the
513 airport is that not everyone speaks English. They don't. And sometimes it is just
514 nicer to converse with them in their own language, because they have got a
515 language and a culture. And I think it is so bad, what we are the way we are. And
516 people are learning English, yeah I understand why. And American English, which
517 is just wrong British snobbery I really do hate it, that we don't even make an
518 effort to say the basic things. I always lose a little bit of pride in my own country
519 and then you look at Germans and they - that is probably another thing that I
520 liked about Germans to go and look at them and to look at our country and think
521 'we're nowhere near, nowhere near' it was developed, that it what it feels like.

522 I: Yeah. Do you have any questions left?

523 B1: I'm generally quite interested in the topic. I think it is really fascinating. Are you
524 expecting any results? Any particular things?

525 I: I can switch that off and then I can tell you something.

B.2 Sample Transcript of Year Two Student

University A, student 4

- 1 I: Okay, so just the basic questions, one thing I need to know is how old are you?
- 2 A4: 19.
- 3 I: 19. And what degree do you study?
- 4 A4: Mathematics with German.
- 5 I: And what year are you in?
- 6 A4: Second.
- 7 I: Second year, okay. And do you speak any other languages than German and
8 English?
- 9 A4: Not very well, those being French and Esperanto.
- 10 I: And did you do that at school?
- 11 A4: French I did at school, Esperanto I did with some friends because we had nothing
12 better to do.
- 13 I: Interesting. What type of school did you go to?
- 14 A4: Comprehensive and then I went to just a normal college, so yeah.
- 15 I: And what languages did they offer at your school?
- 16 A: French and German.
- 17 I: French and German, okay. What would you say are you good at academically?
- 18 A4: Math and German hopefully, so is my degree. I'm quite good at, academically?
19 Math, sciences, more logical kind of things. I was also quite good at drama and
20 music. And I can play the flute and the piano and I did some exams in those so.
21 So I'm quite...is that kind, it's academia...?
- 22 I: Yeah, definite subjects in school, yeah.
- 23 A4: So, yes. I don't know, I've been too vague or not.
- 24 I: No, no, no of course not. It's quite a variety.
- 25 A4: Yeah.

26 I: Yeah, from Science to languages and arts as well. Okay and the main question is
27 your motivation to study German. What can you tell me about that?

28 A4: My main motivation to study German. I'm not... I can't draw, I can't paint and so I
29 find it quite useful to be creative through language because I'm not very creative
30 through arts specifically. Music I just play what's in front of me not what... I'm not
31 great creative in music I just do what I'm told. And so I find this is my only way
32 really of being creative. I quite - German, I quite enjoy German as well and also it
33 seems a bit silly to go all the way to A-level and then stop. GCSE, not really done
34 that much German than A-level you make quite progress. So I put you know that
35 time and effort and then to stop when I've only got few years left to go seemed a
36 bit foolish. Also, I do quite like enjoy... I enjoy talking to people. I've gotten two
37 Erasmus buddies and this semester and we meet up every week for breakfast and
38 we talk in German and about all kind of things and I try out all my new vocab I've
39 learned. Some of these probably quite irrelevant but they find it quite amusing
40 but, yeah.

41 I: Okay. You said in your school they offered French and German, what was the first
42 language you started with?

43 A4: French.

44 I: And did you have to do that or was it an option you chose?

45 A4: Well, actually before I started French at Secondary school, there was a lady at my
46 church from Mauritius and she spoke French. She came from Mauritius and
47 spoke it at home and she set up a little group thing called La Jolie Ronde and we...
48 I think, it was six or seven of us. And we went... I went after school like an hour a
49 week and we did like numbers and colours and stuff like that. So that was purely
50 of my own choice. And then at school we had to study French. So I did that for
51 three years. Well, I did my GCSE in year nine, and then I started German in year
52 eight. But with French, after year 10, I had the choice actually to stop languages,
53 stop French all together or I could go and do a further course. It was called Asset
54 Languages and it was like a stepping stone between GCSE and A-level. And that
55 was really good because I had a really good teacher and there wasn't the
56 pressure of having an exam at the end of it, even though we did, we did have
57 exams at the end it. So, but it wasn't as pressured and we had lots of debates and
58 I don't know we had tea and coffee all felt quite mature, move that round and
59 that was really good and I really enjoyed that. So, which is why I took it. And then
60 with German, we had to start German in year eight, and then when we got to year
61 nine we had the options to do GCSE or not. And again I had a really good teacher,
62 so I decided to take it. And also in year 10, I did my work experience in Germany.

63 I lived with a family and worked in the school for two weeks and I look back and
64 think how did I even survive? Because I couldn't speak German at all. And ...but
65 no, that was really good and that was the moment I think, when I decided I really
66 like German. I really liked Germany. I had so much fun doing ... working in a
67 school. So, and then in year 11 ... also I had quite good friends who were good at
68 German and there was an Achievement in German Award and there was an Effort
69 in German Award. And there was lots of arguments over who would get it at the
70 end of the year. And because we both wanted to win Achievement German
71 because Effort in German, that just meant you tried really hard, but it was still
72 rubbish and in the end I ended up winning Effort and I was quite disappointed
73 with this but it was still the whole year we were desperate to win it and we used to
74 wind our teacher telling them how to do, how we'd achieved so highly. And we
75 hadn't put any effort in so we didn't need the Effort in German Award. And so...
76 and then when it got to A-level, it wasn't so good at A-level I had a teacher who -
77 we had to book and basically we just read every - there were two pages a week,
78 we just went through the book. And if you had anything else that wasn't on those
79 pages in the book then we wouldn't learn it. If you ask questions she's like well
80 that's later on in the book you can't learn it yet. So we just did the book every
81 week. And also I did have some doubts then because when we were writing
82 essays, we had to study and a film *Das Leben der Anderen*. And we had an essay
83 in the exam but because you could study any film, the essay question was very
84 general. So my teacher...this is probably terrible, but you should be ashamed of
85 this. Our teacher gave us five essays and I just learned them off by heart and I
86 just recited them in an essay. So in the exam I just recited them and so that was
87 where... the first time I had stage four in your class, that was the first time I ever
88 written an essay in German. Because I just recited it off of my heart all before. So,
89 I think that was my worst experience in German and that is because an essay, I
90 think we have any control of it hope couldn't be created in my writing.

91 I: And when you first started German was it... I heard that from other students, was
92 it because you were good at French and they put you into German or was it ... or
93 did you... were you allowed to just choose it as option?

94 A4: Yeah, there were nine sets in the score and I think the first four sets did German
95 and I was in the top set. So I did German. So, yeah. I think so.

96 I: So it wasn't that you saw it on the timetable and decided yeah.

97 A4: No, no, I just... yeah, I had to do it. It was compulsory.

98 I: And do you remember what you thought when you heard it for the first time?

99 A4: I remember my first lesson, we went in and there was a big speech bubble on the
100 board and it said *Guten Tag* and that was the only word I knew in German in year
101 eight. I remember being quite excited and I remember it being really slow
102 because I thought I was amazing at French after a year and we were doing a hallo,
103 how are you, having conversation with the person next to you, what's your
104 personality. So yeah, I remember... I just remember it being slow but then after
105 that I remember it being quicker than French because we had already done about
106 how to learn language those skills in French. So I remember it then speeding up
107 with German and that being quite good and we did load of songs and games and
108 carols. I remember singing *Oh Tannenbaum* at the Christmas Concert and know
109 kinds of things like that *Schnappie der kleine Krokodil*, all kinds of rubbish that I
110 still remember.

111 I: Do you remember what it sounded like to you?

112 A4: Sounded, I don't know. I can't I'm afraid. But now I know there is always a
113 stereotype, it sounds quite harsh which I think is true. Yeah, I don't know
114 whether that is because that is the stereotype and that's what everyone thinks or
115 that's me, I'm afraid.

116 I: And how big was your group up to GCSE?

117 A4: 30 or 28, 30...

118 I: So normal classroom size?

119 A4: Yeah.

120 I: And you said your teacher was quite good. Was she a general language teacher
121 or was she some German teaching?

122 A4: No, she was...that was my, yeah, she was English and she was just a general
123 teacher, English... German and French.

124 I: Yeah, and did you then have a choice to do GCSE? Was it...?

125 A4: Yeah.

126 I: Because you wanted to?

127 A4: Yes, it was because I wanted to just because I had such fun in that class in year
128 eight... in year nine, so.

129 I: And then afterwards why did you decide to carry it on to A-level?

130 A4: Because I had done quite well at GCSE and yeah, and I really enjoyed it. I really
 131 enjoyed it and I had such a good experience going to Germany for my work
 132 experience. So I wanted to keep going and see how it went.

133 I: Yeah, and the work experience was it something that was offered to everybody?

134 A4: Yes, if you ... yes it was offered to everyone, many of those the people who did
 135 German. My brother didn't speak German yet he still went. I'm not quite sure why.
 136 And so... and we always had Germany exchange students at my house like if
 137 there were people coming over and work experience or school exchange, then
 138 normally we'd have a German person stay with us. And so yeah, it was offered, I
 139 think so. Yeah, it was being offered to everyone.

140 I: Yeah, and what impression did you have when you went to Germany?

141 A4: I remember being really nervous and then I met my family and they were so nice
 142 and everything was really green and everything was environmentally friendly.
 143 They had like 10 bin bags one for every single different thing. I remember that
 144 quite well. And it was all little bit still old, not old-fashioned, but quite villagy and
 145 it was in a village. And I remember thinking the school day it started at half past
 146 eight and it finished at half past one. And I was like that's really good and then I
 147 came home and had a lunch made by the mother. And then I remember thinking,
 148 oh this is really good and then I remember ringing up my mother. I think it must
 149 be a few days before I came home and saying, "I can't remember how to speak
 150 English. So I just had to stay in Germany forever." So yeah, I remember it being
 151 really eco-friendly.

152 I: So did you speak in German with the people there?

153 A4: Yes, yes just.

154 I: Just?

155 A4: Yeah, I had only being learning German... that was in year 10 and I had only
 156 started in year eight. So and I really don't know how I managed it. And we ... I
 157 remember the children's English being really good and all the teachers were
 158 really nice. Really welcoming and I remember they asked us to teach some
 159 lessons. I remember it was *Nadelarbeit* and I couldn't do anything like that. So
 160 there I was standing in front of... it's been like 15 children teaching them how to
 161 sow, not knowing how to sow myself or really being able to speak German. I think
 162 it was just a disaster in general. And...but, I really enjoyed it. I remember they
 163 always asked about English culture. I remember on the last day they all brought

164 in sausages and bacon and eggs and so I was with a friend as well, so we just
 165 cooked all the 30 people English breakfast, so yeah.

166 I: And that then motivated you to go on and do an A-level?

167 A4: Yeah, it really did and I had such fun and I still speak to my - the lady where I
 168 stayed with and her friends as well. Yeah, it was really good.

169 I: Yeah, and you said your brother went as well but he didn't do German so...

170 A4: No.

171 I: So do the other people in your family speak languages?

172 A4: No, it's quite odd really. My father is xenophobic. We went to visit Paris and it was
 173 still French. And I had never been abroad until ... I remember in year seven; I
 174 went abroad on a day trip to France. That was my first time abroad and then ... so
 175 none of my parents speak any languages. I never really... I've never really been
 176 abroad. We always go on holiday in England and I remember to prepare for doing
 177 a German degree, my family - we went to Berlin for a week and my father stayed
 178 in his hotel for the first three days and he really hated it. So, yeah I have no
 179 languages, no experience in travel really. I remember, I was part of my county
 180 orchestras and I was part of two orchestras and I used to go abroad every year
 181 with them and we used to tour around places. And I remember, I always try and
 182 speak German when I'm on there because then I think they took it too seriously
 183 and on the last tour I went on, we went to Koblenz and it was we played at the
 184 *Bundesgartenschau*. And I remember them being, "It's really important, you
 185 should go and tell everyone what we're playing." So I remember having to
 186 announce and there was something like 1000 people there and I had to stand on
 187 the stage and tell them what we'd done and what we are playing. I remember
 188 using passive and being really excited it's like used the passive in front of all
 189 these people and they seemed to understand what I was saying. So that was
 190 really scary but also quite exciting.

191 I: Yeah. Were you the only one in your...?

192 A4: I was the only person who could speak German so...

193 I: That's a big deal.

194 A4: Yeah, I remember it was and we spoke to them, I can't remember who it was. It
 195 was something like some important *Bundesgartenschau* person him saying how
 196 well we've done. And then the next concert I went to, I can't remember where the
 197 place was but it was nearby. And they raised money, they were twined with

198 Chernobyl and they raise money every year for them to come... for children to
199 come over and have like a break. So we played, we were like their final act in the
200 summer and the mayor of this town came on and I was ushered out to go and
201 translate what he was saying to the orchestra and it was really, really difficult. I
202 thought it was going really well because he was saying, I think we raised like
203 1.300 Euros and then he was explaining how twined with Chernobyl and there
204 were all these children with all these deformities and I was ... I had no idea he
205 was saying but then the bus driver came to rescue me fortunately because he was
206 going about radio activity poison and all those things, I didn't know in German.
207 And I barely know in English. So, but I remember that being a really... I still
208 enjoyed it even though I didn't really understand. I still enjoyed it.

209 I: So you've seen quite a bit of Germany until you came to the university?

210 A4: Yeah, I've spent two weeks in Hessen and went to Cologne, Koblenz, Berlin and
211 then I went on holiday with my grandpa and we went on a cruise down the
212 Danube. So we went through Bavaria and I couldn't understand anyone there. I
213 think they had a man who came on the boat; we went with my grandpa, so it was
214 full of old people. So, and it had old people's entertainment and they had this
215 Bavarian man come on the boat with a huge beard and came up in two parts and
216 hat and he played the accordion and he shouted German at everyone, but it
217 wasn't German. It was funny Bavarian things. I couldn't understand what he was
218 saying. But then I went to Austria and I could... I spoke to a lady in the shop quite
219 well and I was quite pleased with that so.

220 I: Yeah. So after seeing all of these different parts of Germany, what would you say
221 is typically German?

222 A4: For me my Math tutor sums up *Typisch Deutsch* perfectly. He is very exact, quite
223 blunt, always on time and if you have a meeting with him he will say, "I'll meet
224 you at 10:00 for 15 minutes." and then at quarter past, if you are halfway through
225 a sentence he is like, "I'm sorry that's it, haven't got any more time I'm afraid. You
226 have to go." And then we had a lecture from him once. He was covering for
227 someone else and it was different equations and we sat there and there was
228 about 300 people in the lecture theatre and he asked a question and no one had
229 ever, ever asked a question before. And he... there was silence and then
230 someone answered and he just said, "No, incorrect." And then waited for
231 someone else to answer the next question. It was so awkward and yeah, and
232 every time I email him I have to email him in German. And his reply would be two
233 lines and then there will be a big paragraph about my grammar and what I've
234 done wrong and he's trying to be helpful. I know he is. He just does it in a

235 German way. And we told him ... and I told him that we are reading *Muschelessen*
 236 for stage five and he ... this was in the first week and he said, "Okay, I'll buy it."
 237 And then the next week he said, "I've read it. Let's go and discuss." So we had to
 238 go and discuss *Muschelessen* even though it was only the second week of
 239 semester and we had attempted to read it and we find it very difficult and read
 240 the first 10 pages, and he was very unimpressed by this. So he decided that it
 241 would be quite good translation practice. So he made us translate the first page.
 242 Have you ever read *Muschelessen*?

243 I: No.

244 A4: Don't, don't. It was... we did it quite badly and he said, "Well, you need to work
 245 on your translation but I don't think you are very, very good because your English
 246 isn't good enough." And so we said, "Okay, our English isn't good enough, but
 247 why are we doing German?"

248 I: Well, you are doing mathematics with him so...

249 A4: So yeah, that's *typisch Deutsch*.

250 I: It's very funny. Let me see where I was. We were talking about A-levels earlier,
 251 and do you remember anything about the topics if it changed at school, from like
 252 what you did in GCSE level to A-level?

253 A4: Some of it did and some of it didn't and I remember we had to... one of the topics
 254 was me, myself and my family or something along those lines. And I remember
 255 just using the same... we had a speaking exam, and the questions were similar
 256 for both GCSE that topic for GCSE and for A-levels so I just didn't get to rewrite
 257 my speaking revisions for that one, that was quite good. But then, some of them
 258 changed in A-level we did myself and the environment, media, integration. You
 259 know those that's all I can remember I think now.

260 I: And because you did the music thing as well did you have any sort of other
 261 interest on outside of school into, I don't know, German cultures, society,
 262 history?

263 A4: Can I say no? I don't think so. Always when I learn a piece of music I always
 264 research about the composer I think. So I know quite a bit about German, kind of
 265 history of German composers and things like that. Yeah.

266 I: Is it just something you do or something you are generally interested in?

267 A4: Something I'm generally interested in. I'm quite interested in musicology
 268 just as a thing I do aside and look as something fun.

269 I: Yeah. Did you do anything with that in Germany? Did you talk to people about it?

270 A4: When I stayed with my... when I went on my work experience and I stayed with
 271 the family. There was one boy there who was ...who played early music
 272 instruments and I remember it was really good. At the time I was bit weirded out
 273 because there were like five people who had really long curly hair playing funny
 274 instruments from the 14th century and I was like, "This is really weird." By the
 275 time... but now I'm like, why didn't I pay more attention, it was actually really
 276 good. I remember I played duets with him on the piano and then on one weekend
 277 he took me to the village church and we went up to the spire I mean at the top
 278 and I also got to play the organ that was quite good.

279 I: Yeah. So could you see yourself living in Germany?

280 A4: I don't know. I think so, yeah. I think so.

281 I: Where are you going one year abroad?

282 A4: Hamburg. And everyone says it's amazing.

283 I: It is, my grandpa is from there.

284 A4: So and I got high expectations of Hamburg. Also Berlin, I really like Berlin. It's not
 285 as busy as a big city should be. And there is another lady I know, who I used to
 286 just go and speak German with. She's friends with my grandpa and she studied
 287 German at university. So I used to go and speak to her and she recommended few
 288 things to go in Berlin and had a few stories and things and so we went and tried
 289 to learn things she said and they were really good. So especially I remember *Café*
 290 *Kranzler* is one thing and we sat outside on the balcony and it was pretty good. I
 291 would prefer to live in Vienna though - am I allowed to say it, because it is not
 292 Germany?

293 I: Yeah of course, it's part of the German language culture, yeah.

294 A4: So yeah, I went. I've always wanted to go and so all this interest in music. I tried
 295 desperately to go for my year abroad but no, K. went to Hamburg. So we have to
 296 go to Hamburg. So didn't work out very well, but I went over the summer and that
 297 was really, really good and I really enjoyed it. So I definitely want to go there.

298 I: Yeah and do you think you can be part of either German or Austrian society? Do
 299 you think you could integrate or be integrated?

300 A4: I want to think so. I hope so. Otherwise all of the teaching that has happened in
 301 the universities has been for waste. Because all the modules in the university is

302 like looking to integration, like just being a whole few weeks doing
 303 *Ruhepottdeutsch*. It's terrible - won't ever live there, yeah.

304 I: I mean you mentioned things like being so exact and the recycling, can you
 305 identify with that? Can you see yourself being like that?

306 A4: I think partly mainly because I'm mathematical and quite logical it nice to be
 307 precise and exact. So I think so.

308 I: And if you think about how Germany is presented in the media in England, what
 309 is that like?

310 A4: At the moment, probably quite powerful because with all the European Union's
 311 situation and everything like that. And I think there has been a slight the media
 312 warming to Germany slightly, especially recently when David Cameron made the
 313 speech about having an EU referendum and Germany didn't directly support it
 314 but I'm sure you read it yourself. And they ... there was lots of good... all the
 315 papers had good headlines about Angela Merkel which just surprised me.
 316 Because historically there is always the horror story - all history in Germany.
 317 There has always been portrayed in a very negative light ... but yeah I think they
 318 are warming to Germany slowly.

319 I: And what it is like for you as a student when people ask you what you studied,
 320 what are their reactions towards you studying German?

321 A4: Well, I always answer Mathematic with German and they always say "two things I
 322 hate most, languages and Math". And I've managed to combine them. So yeah,
 323 but they always think it's a good thing because a language is always useful. I
 324 spoke a professor on Tuesday and because I like to go into academia. So I spoke
 325 to him one of my Math professors about it and I said, "Do you think it would be
 326 very useful to have German?" and he said, "Yeah." Because Germany... their
 327 universities are always looking for more connections with other universities. And
 328 at the moment there is a big push for cross-disciplinary research and things. So
 329 speaking a language will be useful.

330 I: Yeah. So does that play ... did that play a role when you decided to study German,
 331 the career options?

332 A4: Yes, it did. I did Math with German because I thought I would like to go out into
 333 the big wide world. And ... but ... and I thought having a language would really
 334 help me but now I would like to go into academia and I think it's still helping me.
 335 So it's despite my lecturer, K. i says that is made up course and I should go to

336 academia because it's full of people who are scared of the real world. So that's
337 why I'm doing it, to irritate him. And I think my course is helping me a bit.

338 I: Yeah and when you decided to come to Southampton were there other reasons
339 why you thought, yeah, I want to do German?

340 A4: No. I mainly focussed on the math side of it. I mean Southampton is quite good
341 for Maths, quite good in general so.

342 I: Yeah and it was just by chance that they offer?

343 A4: Everywhere I apply to was Math with German. And but I just liked Southampton
344 most the campus that options that yeah, the university in general.

345 I: Yeah, but why did you pick German then with Math?

346 A4: Because of the career opportunities and because it seems a bit silly to waste
347 years doing GSCE and A-level. So it's a bit of a waste not to do German.

348 I: Okay. Well, with the two subjects that you do of course you have to study a lot,
349 how do you keep yourself motivated studying German?

350 A4: On the other side on this table on the other side there is a sentence, there is
351 a banner that says, 'Humanity and arts are not something that you do after a long
352 day of partial differential equations.' And this semester I'm studying partial
353 differential equations and I'm afraid to say when it gets too difficult I do German. So
354 that banner is totally wrong and I don't do ... I do the...how to phrase it? I'm
355 trying to phrase this in a way that looks nice for me. I don't do... I do them
356 minimum amount of work for stage 5 to get through but I do lots of... I read
357 loads of magazines. I get at least two magazines a week out of the languages
358 resources centre, watch German television and I read lots of German newspaper
359 online and things like that.

360 I: How do you motivate yourself to do that? Do you enjoy it?

361 A4: I'm interested in current affairs and politics in England. And then I read about
362 them in German - things that are happening in Germany - especially with the
363 *Bundestagswahl* at the moment / We had an essay in stage 5 over Christmas and
364 that was - one of the options was: 'Who will win the German elections?' So I really
365 enjoyed doing that essay, actually.

366 I: Yeah, and what are the biggest factors for you that keep you going? Where you
367 think, yeah this is why I came, what I want to continue.

368 A4: German in general or just stage 5?

369 I: German in general.

370 A4: I don't know. I just enjoy it, I really do.

371 I: What about success? Does that play a role?

372 A4: Yeah, it does. I suppose being successful is important. That's thrown me a bit
373 that question, I don't really know.

374 I: Well, before you said at school it was the competition with your friend. Is that still
375 something?

376 A4: Yeah, actually that is, because it really irritates me K. (German language tutor)
377 did this on purpose. I had to do a presentation with A. it was on *Modalsätze* and
378 I got 79% and A. 80% I think she did that on purpose just to irritate me.

379 I: So it is still a healthy competition?

380 A4: Yeah

381 I: Well, you've learned French as well and you've said you did Esperanto in your free
382 time. Is learning German different from learning other languages?

383 A4: Yes it is. I don't know if that is because I studied it more or - but German feels
384 more natural now. I think the Esperanto helps me studying German because they
385 also have a case system. So that really helped me understand cases system in
386 German. Because I think in my first year of college I did this. And i didn't really
387 get what the case system was. But then it really helped with Esperanto - learning
388 Esperanto really helped with German. Because you don't have any genders, you
389 don't really conjugate a verb - so it is impossible to know what is going on in a
390 sentence in Esperanto except you have to put an n after a subject, so then you
391 know it's the subject of the sentence and then that really helped me, that clicked
392 with the subject object bit in German.

393 I: So grammar is a bit that's different to for example French?

394 A4: Yes it is. And in - I suppose this has more to do with math, but for the exam
395 season just gone, for the stage 5 exam there was half of it was grammar and
396 there was a series of sentences it was about *Nebensätze*, so we had to learn all
397 about the *Nebensätze Konjunktionen* and apply them. And all the languages
398 students always make such a fuss about this and they were like "there's so many
399 and then oh we don't know how to do it! And then in the exam anything could
400 come up." But all the mathematicians all were "you learn them all, you apply
401 them". And then I did quite well in that section, I got 80something just because -

402 I don't know - it was just really easy just to learn - if you just learn all the
 403 conjunctions and then just apply them, to put a verb at the end of a sentence is
 404 not that difficult.

405 I: Would you say it's logic?

406 A4: Yeah, it is. And all the humanities students they were all fussing about it.

407 I: In what way is learning German at university different to learning it at school?

408 A4: Obviously independence. You have to motivate yourself, you have to do things /
 409 I've never had, at school or at college, an actual teacher who is German and we
 410 never had a class where the teacher spoke in German. So I remember, I
 411 remember the first lesson here, with S. we went into the computer lab and she
 412 started speaking all this German and I was like "Oh my god" I had no idea what
 413 was going on. and she was asking us to do all this stuff and we didn't know,
 414 because she just spoke German all the time and I remember I think it was the
 415 same feeling when I had my first lesson with you and you spoke German all the
 416 time. And I was like "Oh my goodness, everyone else is understanding this"
 417 because I've never had a teacher who spoke in German and I think now, that's
 418 really silly, because otherwise I'd never learn German; it's much more helpful to
 419 have a teacher who speaks German all the time.

420 I: Did German at university meet your expectations?

421 A4: I think more so, because at A-level I couldn't really speak German to a person, I
 422 could have a nice debate about wind energy, but I couldn't really speak to a
 423 German person. So I thought it would be more like that at university, but it isn't
 424 so I was impressed by that.

425 I: What impresses you?

426 A4: I think it is again the choice of topics. I think more so in stage 5. I have just said
 427 how much I didn't like *Ruhepottdeutsch*, but it was actually quite useful to learn,
 428 more *umgangssprachliche* things.

429 I: So is there something you've learned here at university, that you didn't know
 430 before? Apart from little things.

431 A4: I think there is more of an emphasis on it at university. I remember in school - I
 432 always try and learn a word and commit it to memory, so - and I used to do that at
 433 school, but then at university it helped me do that more and I always try and use
 434 this word on my Erasmus partner - so I feel sorry for her, because there are things
 435 like '*mach'n Kopf zu Pissgesicht*' or *Ladenhüter* I managed to say, "*Was trägst du,*

436 *einen Ladenhüter?" oder Quatsch mit Soße* so thing that aren't very useful, still
 437 one day they'll be useful. And in Stage 4 *künstlicher Darmausgang* and I even
 438 managed to use that in my essay in the final year (exam) and *Speckrollen* ... so I
 439 still remember those and I managed to use them in my essay and I've used them
 440 on my German buddies.

441 I: That is creative. Well, you've mentioned your Erasmus partner. Is that what you
 442 do independently or are there other things you do, you mentioned reading?

443 A4: So all the things that I do or try to do outside class? So my Erasmus partner - I had
 444 an Erasmus partner last semester and A. has also got one and last semester my
 445 person was a boy and we, me A. and our two Erasmus buddies we just used to
 446 meet up every week for breakfast and just talk in German and that was quite
 447 good. It was really useful, because you get to listen to German people talking.
 448 And also this semester - because A.'s Erasmus buddy does math and we have a
 449 lot of the same modules - we have two module that are the same, so we spend a
 450 lot of time in lectures talking, which we probably shouldn't be / and I also meet
 451 up with my Erasmus buddy and with A. and her Erasmus buddy for breakfast.
 452 And this semester my Erasmus buddy is Austrian so we spend a lot of time
 453 talking about the differences, trying to find out which is better. We also go to
 454 German film nights run by the German society.

455 I: I think the only question that I forgot was what subjects did you do your A-levels
 456 in?

457 A4: Math, further Math, German while A-level. My As Levels physics and critical
 458 thinking and drama and theatre studies.

459 I: And do you remember your A-level grades that you had to get in here?

460 A4: My entry requirements were A, A, B and I got A* A, A.

461 I: And this is just basically, yeah recording information, I hope it's not too
 462 uncomfortable.

463 A4: No, it's not.

464 I: Do you know what subject you got which grade in?

465 A4: Yeah. So I got A* in Math, A in further Math and A in German.

466 I: Okay. That's quite impressive. Is there anything that I didn't ask about that you
 467 thought would have been important to mention?

468 A4: I don't think so, no.

469 I: No? Any questions you have?

470 A4: No.

471 I: No? Okay. Well, then I have an additional minute, I can switch it off and ...

B.3 Sample Transcript of Final Year Student

University B, student 11

- 1 I: So, what degree do you study and what year are you in?
- 2 B11: I do French and German and I'm in my final year.
- 3 I: How old are you?
- 4 B11: I'm 21.
- 5 I: Do you speak any other languages?
- 6 B11: No, but I taught myself to read and write a couple of others, so I don't know if
7 that actually counts per se, but yes.
- 8 I: Yes, it counts. What other languages have you learned?
- 9 B11: Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and then a little bit of Dutch, a little bit of Polish and
10 a bit of Russian.
- 11 I: That's quite a number! Does anyone in your family speak any foreign languages?
- 12 B11: My grandmother studied at the French Institute and worked as a Bilingual
13 Secretary for a time, French to English and there was a time when she looked
14 after me; my mom had to go back to work, after having had me, she'd speak
15 French to me then, but apart from that, not really, no. It's kind of people learnt it
16 at school, might have done it up to A-Level but then don't use it now. So like my
17 brothers for example, they studied French and German at school, one of them
18 did Latin, he doesn't really use it now, apart from when he's drunk and thinks it's
19 a cool thing to do. But you know...
- 20 I: Your parents have they learned anything?
- 21 B11: They did French and German at school and a little bit of like ancient Greek, that
22 kind of stuff, but they don't - we don't really speak it at home, they don't really
23 use it in their jobs either. I don't know if that quite counts either. It's kind of like
24 a school boy French, school boy German.
- 25 I: Still it's something.
- 26 B11: Yes.
- 27 I: Not everybody learns a language. What do your parents do?

28 B11: They both work in IT, they both started as programmers, my mother still works
29 as a programmer at M. and my father now works in more of a project
30 management style for Invesco, one of the financial services kind of companies
31 over here in London, so he's kind of shifted a bit.

32 I: What can you tell me about your motivation to study German?

33 B11: My motivation to study German. I don't think I've ever really seriously thought
34 about it apart from the fact that I genuinely enjoy it and then I come across the
35 most fantastic-sounding words. That's what made me sort of sit there and go,
36 that's quite entertaining to say, it's like *bummeln*, *gammeln* and once I came
37 across the word *Schlabberding* as well, which I thought was absolutely fantastic.
38 I think differently when I speak German, that's it happened after a year abroad, I
39 noticed my thought process is completely different and people sort of said to me,
40 you changed ever so slightly in the way that you speak and the way that you hold
41 yourself to sort of basic body language, you change from doing that, that's like a
42 different mind-set. Also there's a whole wealth of literature for example that isn't
43 translated into English, so actually some of the stuff, it's quite worth learning
44 language even if you just want to sit there and find little bits of words, sort of
45 literature that you can't find in English. I kind of fell into it by accident, if that
46 makes sense. But, originally I wanted to do science but I wanted do science-based
47 - sort of go - my family generally is kind of everyone be doomed to do maths at
48 A-Level. My mom's brothers both did well, my grandfather came here to Queen
49 Mary actually and did his Ph.D. in art school here and he then went on to teach
50 mechanical engineering over in the States and one of my uncles went and did the
51 same thing. But the other uncle, he kind of went into doing maths but he still
52 does a lot of mechanics and stuff, like he fixes his own car all the time. So he's
53 very sort of practical, hands-on, kind of like background that I kind of grew up in
54 and I wanted to go on that path as well but I was quite ill during the sixth form
55 with glandular fever and spent loads of time out of school and I couldn't catch up
56 on all the subject matters. In the end I was made to drop those subjects. And
57 languages they felt I was doing that well in, that I could actually keep those and
58 still get the grades to get to university. So then my kind of degree changed from
59 aerospace engineering to German and History and then it changed again to
60 French and German when I couldn't keep up with all the history work. It's kind of
61 I don't know if that counts as motivation or just kind of a shove in the right
62 direction. But, no, it's something I genuinely enjoy and also I've met so many
63 people and so many of my good friends are German as well. During my year
64 abroad I ended up getting together with someone I technically worked with, but
65 kind of didn't it at the same time. But yes, so I have had a German boyfriend for a

66 good year or so and we only ever spoke German to each other because we were yet
 67 to know each other in a German speaking, sort of surrounding. So I felt really
 68 weird to not do that. So that kind of was motivation as well, civilized, calm
 69 communicating. It's also quite nice to go places to be able to understand what's
 70 being said and to buck trend of English people failing to speak languages.

71 I: So was French your first foreign language?

72 B11: Yes. My mom had me, had to go back to work and then when my, the eldest of
 73 my two younger brothers was born, 18 months later she then stopped working.
 74 But during the 18 month period my grandmother used to look after me during
 75 the day and she used to speak to me in French an awful lot. So when I was then
 76 picking up English later I then started doing the whole blue dark instead of dark
 77 blue because that's the French word order. So I would do funny things like that.
 78 But it wasn't that I would ever grow up French native, but I was accustomed to the
 79 sounds and the grammar from quite an early age and then we started learning at
 80 school, at high school. We never did anything at primary school. Then in primary,
 81 in secondary school rather, I started learning French, took home the exercise
 82 books, my mom was curious because we moved back to the catchment area
 83 where she grew up in, so I ended up actually going to the same secondary school
 84 as she did. Which back in its day had a very good reputation and that kind of
 85 changed as we found out and but the books that they'd given us, it turned out it
 86 was actually part of a pilot scheme by the government and the books had no
 87 words in there. My grandmother took one look at them and went; you're not
 88 bloody learning French with that. I'll teach you. So she would then teach me
 89 French. But because she's quite deaf, anytime I had to speak French I had to over
 90 emphasize the accent which my school like at school, like, I'd get the micky taken
 91 out of me, but actually she sat down and taught me French the way she'd learnt it.
 92 So she sat me down, taught me all the grammar, I had verb drills, I had dictations.
 93 But, by the end of it, when it got to doing GCSE level, I actually had the grammar
 94 of someone doing A-Level but because I wasn't a native speaker they wouldn't let
 95 me take it. So I used to sit there and be the kid at the back of the classroom
 96 singing Frère Jacques in the best Franglais accent. So then French was the first
 97 foreign language and then there were 12 of us in my school that wanted to do
 98 French and German together at GCSE and they'd timetabled those two subjects at
 99 exactly the same time. So they turn around and said you can't do it and we said
 100 that's ridiculous. You let people do Latin and French but you don't let us do
 101 French and German. "So she could do it but she'd have to do it after school as an
 102 extra GCSE." And we were like, "Well, that's not good enough." They talked seven
 103 people of that and in the end someone who had - who was well connected with

104 sort of several journalists said well if you don't were going to say something
105 because this is ridiculous, it's such an important language. So then in the end
106 there were five of us who wanted to do German in GCSE class and later at A level
107 at one point it was only two of us. Which is such a shame because all the work
108 that I have ever had to work, it is because I can speak German, which is quite
109 interesting. I've never been selected for a job people sort of said, oh you speak
110 French? Wonderful. That's kind of like an added bonus. But several of them said,
111 some of them have gone: "German, okay. That would be useful." Which is quite
112 interesting.

113 I: So did you have to do German in the beginning, or

114 B11: You kind of picked in, we got to the year eight or the second year of high school.
115 At the end of the first year you were given the opportunity to choose between
116 German and Latin and you had to justify it one way or another. So you couldn't do
117 German if you were already a native speaker or if you had a parent who is German,
118 on the basis that the school didn't have the capacity or didn't have the ability to
119 staff, they weren't up to having to deal with sort of such a wide range of ability in
120 one class. Although it was Latin. The way that the Latin teacher managed to get
121 people signed up for Latin, she just sat there and went, there's no oral exam
122 because it is a dead language and everyone just went, yes!. So loads of people
123 went for Latin and not many people went for German. And I went for German
124 because I knew that I could if I was stuck, I could ask - my grandmother did
125 German as well for a time, she started doing it at the French Institute and
126 stopped because she said it was too much of a strain to learn German through
127 French, because that was what she would have had to have done. And also they
128 were teaching shorthand at the time, she was doing a secretarial course and she
129 said, compound nouns in shorthand just, you can't, I can't do it. There's just so
130 many different forms and but she's very - she's now got dementia, so by that
131 point in my teens it's probably squeaking in but I wasn't aware of it. She's still
132 got all of that grammar and she can still explain to me sort of the different cases
133 when you use them. She still insists that I ought to end letters with
134 *Hochachtungsvoll* but that aside, she's actually quite reliable; her grammar is
135 sort of spot-on. I don't know. So ...

136 I: So she was sort of the decisive factor when you then said I want to do German
137 and not Latin?

138 B11: Yes, on the basis that it was practical and also the fact that I sat there and
139 thought, well actually there's a country where I can go and it will be spoken and
140 Latin is more it didn't seem kind of, German seemed more of an active language

141 to learn so to speak in that I had practical applications because I thought I can go
142 to Germany and speak it, whereas I can't go to Italy and speak Latin because
143 everyone would look at me funny and that would be awkward. Then only the
144 pope would understand me, be able to converse with me and I don't plan on
145 meeting the pope. So, you know.

146 I: Do you remember what it was like for you when you heard German for the first
147 time?

148 B11: I liked it, I didn't like French. French seemed a bit nasal and a bit all run together
149 whereas German, after a little while I found it easier to pick out where the words
150 began and ended. It's easier for me to distinguish. I still have that today; I can
151 still hear it and know how to write a word even if I've not heard it before. Whereas
152 French it's a bit hit and miss. The endings I found quite difficult but only because
153 we had not really been taught much English grammar. The primary school that I
154 went to was very sort of religious, Church of England and I remember we spent
155 hours each week doing grammar. So it's not like I didn't know any grammar but
156 at the same time they never really explained to us which words played which role
157 in a sentence. So therefore when it came to learning German grammar it was a bit
158 frightening and a bit scary until my grandmother sat me down and went, okay,
159 well get your mom's old German book out and she was taught by a wonderful
160 one called Frau Witt and they got, they had a grammar heft and they had sort of
161 the general sort of notes from like the class. There's this wonderful sentence that
162 I always end up reverting back to, which is "the mayor of the town gave or gives
163 the soldier a medal" and in that you can then sort of explain to an English
164 speaker using their own language, which part is playing which word is playing
165 which role and how that corresponds then to the Germans. So then after that,
166 working that through that home, it kind of made a lot more sense.

167 I: Do you remember what sort of - what the classes were like up to GCSE, what you
168 were learning?

169 B11: Set phrases. It was a lot of things sort of the kind of they assumed you've learnt
170 by rote and I had a lot of trouble with that because I've worked out now that if I
171 learn a language I kind of build myself a template of the grammar, learn that and
172 then I can kind of fiddle about the phrases and construct them. My mind seems
173 to work along more of those kinds of lines than let's learn a set phrase and just
174 occasionally throw a different word in there and hope it works. They had a hard
175 time explaining genders to us. It was an all-girl school, so the girls, typically it
176 was groups of 14-year-old girls and most of them were more interested in hair
177 and makeup at the time or texting people underneath the table, then actually

178 sort of sitting there going, okay that's really cool, that actually they've brought a
179 grammatical gender, that's a bit weird, but interesting. It was also kind of a
180 holiday German to sort how of have a basic conversation here, where's the train
181 station. They didn't really teach us how and why things work it was kind of this is
182 how it is, just accept it and work with it. It was a bit kind of, throw it against the
183 wall and see what sticks and what works and then just -

184 I: Then you said you weren't quite insistent on doing the GCSE in German. Why was
185 that?

186 B11: I think partly it might be reverse psychology. The fact they said that I couldn't, I
187 was like, well I want to, so no. Also my brother was at the corresponding all-boy
188 school in the town and they were literally on the other side of town, not that far
189 away and they had the opportunity to do all of that and Spanish. And then for
190 sixth form I later then went and did Italian as well. They gave you opportunities
191 to sit the exam; they didn't necessarily give you the tuition. So I was like, well if
192 he can do it, why can't I? This is ridiculous. Actually you used to offer it and you
193 used to encourage people to do two languages and it was around about the time
194 when the government removed the requirement to do one or more languages at
195 GCSE and then everybody stopped doing it and everyone went over to like art and
196 textiles or social studies and that kind of thing and, and at that point I hadn't
197 quite sort of had my, I call it flip. At one point my French was a lot stronger than
198 my German and then at some point with the German everything kept it was like
199 all the pieces in the puzzle just came together and I was like, oh my God, so
200 that's how it works? Okay, I get it now. Then at A level for example, at the end of
201 year exams in that year in the first year, I think I got 90% in German because
202 everything had clicked together and I was like, okay I get it now. Whereas French
203 it was a little bit lag because the way they'd done the classes was a bit different
204 and it sort of flipped back again.

205 I: And did you do A-level in both French and German?

206 B11: Yeah.

207 I: And why did you decide to do that?

208 B11: Because I quite enjoyed them and I thought why not? At the same time I did
209 history and I did math mechanics which is quite maths essentially. It's kind of a
210 mix between maths and physics and I was kind of going to the physics lessons on
211 the side note purely out of interest. French and German just seemed like a
212 natural progression because I've enjoyed it so much at GCSE and I hadn't found it
213 massively taxing, it was just kind of, okay so I can go watch a film in a foreign

214 language and sit there and still claim that its work because I'm listening and that
 215 kind of thing. Then the decision to take that on further was then kind of brought
 216 about by illness kind of because I genuinely enjoyed it and I came back from the
 217 German exchange and suddenly I could hear the differences between the Ü and
 218 the U and that had clicked and I was like, I get it, okay this is wonderful. It was
 219 such an achievement the first time I said a sentence with adjectives and
 220 everything in it and I got it all right and no one corrected me. I was like "Yes, I can
 221 do it!" There's some sort of sense of achievement in learning how to change how
 222 you say and rewire your brain, that was quite fun.

223 I: So what year did you do your school exchange in?

224 B11: I did it in 2008.

225 I: What school year?

226 B11: School year, I was in year 12 so that that was sixth form.

227 I: So that was already A-Level?

228 B11: Yeah.

229 I: And was that your first visit to Germany?

230 B11: Yeah.

231 I: What was it like?

232 B11: It was interesting, it was quite unusual. We were in I forget exactly where but we
 233 were in Rheinland Pfalz, we'd flown to Frankfurt am Main with Ryanair, suddenly
 234 we were in the middle of nowhere. And the family I was with, they'd done several
 235 things before but it was complete culture shock for me and as it turns out they'd
 236 fled from East Germany and moved over to the West. And their - the house,
 237 everything was so completely different, the way - it was like the house that I grew
 238 up in, you kind of hang around downstairs and you kind of just chat with people
 239 all the time, whereas there it was kind of, you're in your room and if you come
 240 down it's because you want something or there's something's wrong. It was
 241 completely different sort of culture shock, it was really at the same time I was
 242 sitting there and thinking, what am I doing?! This is complete madness! At the
 243 same time I really quite enjoyed it because it was like, well this is - and they had
 244 told me all about the sort of what it was like to have two Germanys for a start and
 245 then they asked me what my parents and my grandparents did and I didn't know
 246 how to say it in German, so I said, oh my grandfather was in the RAF and I just
 247 said RAF in German and they looked at me and I was like wow. They were like,

248 that was a terrorist group over here and I was like, oh. I'm really sorry. No, I mean
249 like air force, like army but in planes, that's no, not those guys. So that was quite
250 interesting because we don't learn anything like that in history at school. It's all
251 like Second World War and that's it. It's quite sad really, in a way. And the history
252 A-level I was doing was focusing more on Stalin and Russia and Lenin.

253 I: Were there any, I don't know, did the teaching and the lessons and stuff, does it
254 really change when you did A-Levels?

255 B11: Yes, I changed schools. So I went to the school that below sixth form it was
256 all-boys, it was boys only, but in the sixth form they allowed girls and in the girls
257 school it's the same, they allowed boys in the sixth form. So I changed to my
258 brother's school because they had a better reputation for languages and the
259 woman who taught grammar, she actually taught Latin. So the woman, one of my
260 main German teachers, she taught Latin as well. So we would have two hours of
261 grammar with her every week and my brother, he'd been there for three years by
262 that point already, or four years, he'd gotten on really well with her and she was
263 really good, we had really good feedback. And the French department actually
264 had a native speaker, which this other place didn't have. And there was the
265 opportunity to do Italian, the GCSE in Italian during the sixth form as well. So
266 there were more opportunities and they did sort of more cultural things and it
267 just seemed like it seemed to me that I would get a better immersion overall than
268 where I had been up until that point.

269 I: And did anything you did foster and encourage your interests that you got then?
270 Into Germany?

271 B11: The exchange has definitely helped because I've gotten on really well with my
272 *Schulaustausch* partner, *Austauschpartnerin*. We got on really well. And then for
273 - and then one of my teachers, she recommended the book Jakob der Lügner
274 which at that point was really, really hard for me to read but I'm doing my
275 *Fachaufsatz* partly on Jakob der Lügner even now. So it's still kind of stayed with
276 me. She then started recommending these sort of books to me, by that point I'd
277 already read *Le Petit Prince* and some other bits and bobs. So it was kind of a
278 literature thing that was quite interesting. My mom's middle brother; he lives in
279 France but works in Geneva for the UNCTAD which was kind of like the remains
280 of the computing section of the U.N., so he kind of works for the U.N. but it
281 doesn't do like political stuff. And I had been up to visit him a couple of times
282 and that was quite good fun, because that was probably why - because he kind of
283 did sort of he never - he doesn't - well he claims he doesn't really speak French.
284 So he was like, you're speaking. So when I'd go over and visit him, he like, we're

285 going to go to a café or restaurant now and you're going to speak. Which was
286 really nice actually and were going to meet some of my friends and who only are
287 going to speak French to you. And I remember going into this like workplace and
288 meeting some of his colleagues and they were under instruction to only speak
289 French to me. So that was quite nice, seeing that kind of lifestyle as well and
290 having also that opportunity of sitting there and thinking, I could have that I
291 could go and do that. That kind of gives you motivation to then kind of: that's
292 such a great lifestyle. I'm going to work towards that, so it then kind of spurred
293 me on in that sense. So I guess it's a mix of factors really.

294 I: Was that then- what was your reason when you decided to pursue a degree in
295 languages?

296 B11: Yeah. Yeah, I suppose it was. Originally I wanted to teach then and then in sixth
297 form I helped out with classes in French and German lower down at the school
298 and I worked with people, with the kids who had kind of got learning difficulties
299 or were like dyslexic or people who've been off school for quite lot as well, quite
300 a long time. That was a really good experience and I really enjoyed it, but at the
301 same time I saw how much gibe the teachers were getting from the students and
302 how uninterested students were and how much paperwork was involved and now
303 when you look at the salary you sort of sit there and think, well I'd like to teach,
304 just you know, people who are actually interested and not people who are just
305 going to sit around and go "Oh, but Miss ..." the whole time. So it was kind of a
306 natural for me to go "well a degree would be a good idea" and actually having got
307 here I couldn't have found a better place. I finally sort of feel like I've met people
308 who are on the same wavelength as me and people who are interested in the
309 same things. Then I've since discovered a real interest for linguistics and now a
310 little bit more sort of going on the translation route and that kind of stuff which
311 before I hadn't even thought of and also because I'm not a native speaker of
312 either of the two languages, I thought that I needed qualification if I want to go
313 and work with those languages it makes sense rather than just to sit there and go,
314 I've lived there for five years. Because you can go - I've seen people who've lived
315 here for several for tens of years and you still and you don't speak any English on
316 a day-to-day basis. So yes they can say they moved here but they can't
317 communicate or they can but the *Sprachgefühl*, sort of the feel for the language
318 isn't quite there or they can't express themselves quite how they intend to.

319 I: Yeah. Are career options a sort of deciding factor in the whole thing? Did that
320 ever play a role for you?

321 B11: Yeah, when it came to the point where I realized that science, sort of going down
322 that route wasn't really much more of an option, or it was but it was going to be
323 a damn sight harder than doing languages, I did sit there and think "well actually
324 out of all of them that is kind of an invaluable skill". There weren't that many
325 people who I knew outside of those who were teaching me at the time, who
326 spoke other languages. My grandmother it turns out was quite unusual. Certainly
327 amongst all of my school friends as well, none of them were half German, half
328 French or whatever, everyone was - sort of, grew up monolingual pretty much in
329 sort of our area. So it was quite an unusual thing to be able to speak a different
330 language and then I sat and said, okay well that would then open up possibilities
331 of your going and working in Germany or anywhere in the German-speaking
332 world or the French-speaking world also. It wasn't until later when I realized
333 when I sort of got to university and I was talking to my uncle one day and he was
334 like, well I've got a couple of friends who do translation and interpreting here in
335 Geneva and they're coming up to retirement age and you'd be surprised how few
336 English native speakers there are who can actually string a sentence together
337 with good grammar and who can actually who are good at working with texts and
338 good and doing proof-reading and the editing. He was like: if you wanted to look
339 at that, but actually there's a gap in the market, so that's actually not too bad an
340 idea. Then the company where my mother works, it's like an online marketplace,
341 so you've got companies all over the world and they - its subscription-based
342 website, so they pay to get access. It's kind of its not in the - what's the word for
343 it? I don't know the word for it in English, its *Antriebstechnik*. So if you've got like
344 a lift and one of like this particular bearing that goes and it's an old lift but you
345 don't really want to buy a new one, then you can log onto the website and you
346 can put like an advert on there going, has anyone got this particular bearing? And
347 chances are someone like over New Zealand will have it in their stock, like on the
348 back of a shelf and they can send it to you. So in the end you pay them for the
349 bearing and you don't have to buy a new lift. So it's translated into sort of seven
350 or eight languages now and they were needing sort of a student over the summer
351 to kind of maintain the website and correct a few things and so that's when I
352 started working for them and I worked for them a good sort of two or three years.
353 And then two years ago they went to the Hannover Messe so I ended up working
354 there for the week because nobody speaks German in the company and
355 Germanys the biggest market. So I did the marketing stuff for them, I did the
356 leaflets and built the correspondence and customer service, I've worked at the
357 Hannover Messe with some really interesting interpreting and stuff for them and
358 it was quite hard going but it was quite good fun at the same time. There was a
359 really bizarre instance where a man walked over to the stand, one of my

360 colleagues went up and said hello to him in English and asked if everything was
361 alright and he just went bland in the face and wouldn't talk to her. Which I
362 thought was quite rude but I was talking to someone else and then afterwards he
363 came over towards where I was and I said the same thing to him but in German
364 and he started talking to me. It turns out he was like the CEO of like Schaeffler
365 Group, which is like in that particular industry, it's like the biggest family-run
366 business and he was just wanting to speak German to someone and find out
367 what we were doing but in his own language and not in English. I still thought it
368 was a bit arrogance, sort of like put his hand up to someone's face and you're
369 like, talk to the hand because I'm not listening, I was like, okay if you're a CEO
370 and someone like - sort of like a company that big, I could understand why you
371 would be that big-headed to do it in the first place. But it was quite interesting to
372 see that actually it made that much of a difference there.

373 I: Yeah. At university was there anything you learned about Germany or the whole
374 German speaking culture that you didn't know of before?

375 B11: There was certainly the whole development of the German language and the
376 whole difference between the - I didn't realize that the dialects were quite so
377 different from each other. Because in England yeah we've got dialects but they're
378 not really - its more accent-based than my dad, he was born in a hospital just
379 across the road, (Mile End) Hospital, but actually he grew up in Manchester, so he
380 does speak with a normal accent. I mean he has got and he's lived there for long,
381 like when he was six. So he uses some of the words but it's not you can still work
382 out what it means, whereas I spent some time in Berlin, I can understand them
383 relatively okay, go down to Munich and it's just another world. I had- in the
384 second year we had to watch a video of- it was like a cartoon but it was done in
385 was done in *Wienerisch* and we just sat there, we were like, no this isn't German.
386 So there was that side of things and also there's a general culture history that
387 you're introduced to as well. So some of it is key - there is the canon literature as
388 well, that's quite an eye opener, the influences that it's had, as well that's quite,
389 that's quite interesting. I think it just opened my eyes to a whole different side of
390 things and a whole different world. So I had no idea about it, were not taught
391 about it in the school, because it was just not enough time.

392 I: Yeah. And did you then have the option to go to either France or Germany?

393 B11: Yes. Originally, I was going to split the year in half and do half and study for one
394 semester in France and one semester in Hildesheim. My advisor at the time,
395 (Sylvia), she turned around and was like okay I've got the perfect *Praktikum* for
396 you, it's exactly up your street; it's exactly what you've been doing. Baring in

397 mind the company where I used to work and it's basically the same thing but in
398 Munich. Because it's such a prestigious, because its technical university, it's such
399 a prestigious thing, we really want to send someone who's really sort of ready for
400 it, so I'd like you to do it, but it's a year and I said what about the French and she
401 went, don't worry, it will be fine. I come back speaking French with a German
402 accent but never mind. #00:30:13-4#

403 I: I can do that...

404 B11: So yeah that kind of made the decision for me and now I'm far more comfortable
405 speaking German than I am French. Spontaneous speech tends to be in German
406 as well. So if I stub my toe, I'll say something in German rather than in English
407 which is a bit scary.

408 I: Yeah. What was your year abroad like?

409 B11: It was a bit of a roller-coaster really. I had a housing issue when I first got out
410 there, because I didn't have anywhere to live. I had arranged for someone then it
411 fell through, I got there Sunday, the Monday it fell through, my parents were
412 there till the following Thursday, so they had to leave me in a hotel for two weeks
413 and that was a horrible goodbye at the airport. Both my parents were in tears, it
414 was really awkward. Then I was housed two weeks in the hotel and then two
415 weeks sharing with the girl- we had like - it was like a month crossover period
416 between myself and the girl who was doing the placement before me. So she said
417 you can come and kip at mine and so I was them, with her and her flat mates for
418 two weeks. So that was, from that point of view it was quite stressful. For the first
419 three months I came home in a vegetative state every day, because my mind was
420 just in melt down. That and I was apparently speaking German with a French
421 accent, so my mind was quite clearly busy, sort of rewiring itself. At the end of
422 the three months I had then moved into the flat in Central Munich where I then
423 stayed for the rest of my time there. And I dreamt for the first time in German
424 and I woke up and it I felt like my head was about to explode, I felt like my brain
425 had melted. But at the same time I was so happy. I sort of ran and woke up one of
426 my flat mates and was like, you won't believe it, but I just dreamt in German. I
427 feel like I'm going to die. This is awful. But I'm so happy. So that was really good.
428 The work, the actual work itself, I discovered that I don't like working in that big
429 an organization. So that was a bit of a downside but at the same time it was a
430 good experience to have. I'm working in a department where you've got so many
431 different nationalities, it was just a complete melting pot and the error for
432 disaster was huge or the margin of error, it was quite big. But also then I'd met
433 my then boyfriend, that was quite useful because he he's currently doing his PhD

434 at the LNU, he wants to be finished towards the end of this year but he does more
435 literature type stuff. So his German was actually of quite a high and when I say a
436 high standard I meant that he spoke quite a nice quality of German if that makes
437 sense. So it wasn't sort of the average like German equivalent of like Essex
438 dialect, it was quite - he was able to explain to me why what I was saying sounded
439 a bit weird or when I said something that was quite clearly (Becca-Deutsch) and
440 not actually German-German, which happened a lot. Actually just the German
441 experience as well and sort of the fact that it pushed me out of my comfort zone
442 and forced me to go and do these things and basically prohibited me from sort of
443 going home to my parents on a regular basis or going and seeing my
444 grandmother on a regular basis, kind of forced me to grow up quite a lot and sort
445 of mature up quite a lot as well, which was quite nice, quite scary but quite nice.
446 I'd still go and do it all again, even though there were times when I was sitting
447 there and going, what am I doing? Why? No, this is madness, go home. Just stop.
448 No. Yes and I'd definitely do it again.

449 I: What impression did you have of German society?

450 B11: It's how I imagine our society was a while ago. In the sense that - I mean
451 nowadays, particularly as it is with my brothers and I see it when I look back at
452 how I have - and how I'm treated now, it's very much, you're quite
453 institutionalized in the sense that you're very much more mollycoddled all the
454 way through the educational system for example and you're kind of mothered
455 and whereas when I was over in Germany it was very much, yeah and get on with
456 it, which is very much how things were for my parents. So I kind of feel like
457 actually it's a bit old-school, which I quite liked in a vague kind of sense. But I've
458 met some very - the people I've met were so funny, which is just totally not the
459 stereotype, ever, which is really nice. Even if it was Munich, and a like of art,
460 conservative kind of area, you did kind of get that feeling - but it got to the point
461 where eventually I got used to people walking around in lederhosen and Dirndls
462 all the time, I thought it was a bit odd when it was snowing, I'm not going to lie.
463 But you get used to that kind of thing and then I'd sort of come back here and I'd
464 go to a bakery and I'd sort of say *Servus* and everyone would look at me, and be
465 like, what? Oh sorry, English. I'm still trying to make the transition where I try not
466 to pepper my sentences with German words. So that was quite bad when I first
467 came back, it would be German words order, English words and my parents
468 would be just sitting there and go, no that makes no sense. But words like
469 *anstrengend*, which we don't really have a nice translation for, so it's just so
470 much easy to slightly throw it in there. Or *doch*, I really miss *doch* or *naja*. I still
471 say that in French, also *naja*, and every time I sort of get, no don't do it.

472 I: Were there any parts of German culture or society that you could really identify
473 with?

474 B11: That's a good question. Probably. I'm trying to think of which. I felt very
475 comfortable and very at home, overall. I didn't feel, everywhere it was quite a lot
476 more relaxed, in the sense that here people can be quite judgmental about
477 appearances, and I got the impression even, even in Munich, much more in the
478 area where I was living, I was living opposite a university, so it was kind of like
479 students central. But nobody really cared. So they were kind of like, okay if that's
480 how you dress, that's how you dress. It doesn't really matter? Whereas over here
481 it's still quite sort of superficial, I didn't like that quite so much. Also in the sense
482 the conversations I'd to have with colleagues, who weren't even necessarily
483 particularly academically qualified, we still had some very academic discussions.
484 So what they've done with their *Studium* for example, that are things that you
485 probably do for like a masters here, which I quite liked, I quite identified in the
486 sense that I could sit there and have quite a complicated philosophical debate, it
487 would inevitably happened between me and my boyfriend when I'd sit there and
488 I'd deliberately talk, like provoke him into some kind of like argument and I'd sit
489 there and go, I don't understand, it just makes no sense. Why on earth would you
490 say that? The best one was about when Nietzsche said "Sprache ist sinnlos" I was
491 just like I'm not having that, no. And he tried to argue from Nietzsche's point of
492 view and I said, it makes no sense, it's just you know, that was quite - the fact
493 that you could have conversation with - it seemed people were better equipped
494 and people could think for themselves as well which was really nice. Whereas
495 here you tend to sort of get more of us of a celebrity focus and live in a culture
496 which - It may have been just the people I sort of hang around with in Germany
497 were sort of in a different sort of sphere so to speak. I'm pretty sure there's that
498 same, sphere within German society as well.

499 I: Can you see yourself living there again?

500 B11: Yeah. It was quite nice, because over here there's - I suppose the - to put my
501 finger on it I suppose here sometimes if you're intelligent you're kind of
502 ashamed of it. I got bullied horrifically at high school and at primary school for
503 that matter, because I started and I found things interesting and I wanted to learn
504 and that was kind of a really uncool thing to do. Whereas I didn't get that
505 impression in Germany, I felt more accepted, it was like, it's okay to be a bit of a
506 geek, it is cool, it's the done thing. I'd definitely go back to Germany, it's just a
507 case of how would I finance it and what would I do? It's kind of the practical side
508 if that makes sense. I've been offered I've been given details for like a *Stipendium*
509 for studying in Berlin, but it's what I would study there is the problem. So there is

510 no option there to finance a masters in Berlin, it's just I have to find a course
 511 myself, which has proven to be slightly more difficult than I originally planned
 512 but yeah, definitely, I definitely would.

513 I: So would you say a year abroad met your expectations?

514 B11: Yes. I wasn't quite sure what to expect from my year abroad. I think I was
 515 expecting it to be scary, which it was. I was hoping it was going to somehow
 516 bring me out of my shell as my advisor puts it, develop as a person. Which I
 517 thought was a beautiful phrase. But she kind of said it, it's like "deine
 518 Persönlichkeit entfalten", which I thought was quite a nice way of saying it, even
 519 if it was basically saying, go away and grow up. But that was quite - I'd like to say
 520 that I did. So I came back and I was felt it seemed sort of more of the world, I'd
 521 sort of had those experiences, where you sit there and - you've spent that whole
 522 - you sort of missed your last train home so you'd have to work out German bus
 523 timetables at 3:00 in the morning when you've got a really grumpy Bavarian
 524 driver sitting there shouting Bavarian words at you and you don't understand, so
 525 you're just like, here's the money, there is where I want to go, thank you and sort
 526 of run off. Forced you to deal with those kind of unexpected - it taught me to let
 527 go, which was quite nice. I was a bit quite uptight before, I think.

528 I: Is there anything that you would say now that's typical German for you?

529 B11: I liked the beer; I'll only drink German beer, well *Helles* or *Weißbier* what else did
 530 I miss? There are things, that I do miss, *Schmelzkäse*. You don't get there here;
 531 it's really, really upsetting. Then some of the Penguin Bars that you keep in the
 532 fridge, they don't exist here and just it's a catastrophe however, we have Galaxy
 533 Chocolate, which my boyfriend had no idea about until he came and visited here
 534 and I was like, have you not? He was like no. The other cultural thing I noticed is
 535 Maltesers, you guys don't have Maltesers. So over here you can say, oh I'm such
 536 a more Malteser and it's basically, you're a brunette but you're having a blonde
 537 moment. Because the more Maltesers they've got sort of the white biscuit in the
 538 middle and you've chocolate around the outside. So I just said that at work when
 539 I was working in Munich, I was like, oh I'm such a Malteser then she looked at me,
 540 I was like, you know brunette on the outside, blonde on the inside, no? The whole
 541 cultural reference was lost, so distressing.

542 I: That's funny.

543 B11: There was sort of a couple of things that die *Würstchen* and *Pfannkuchen* and my
 544 flat mate's cooking, we cooked together an awful lot. That was quite nice.

545 I: Is there any difference between how you perceive Germany, after having lived
546 there and having studied at all and how Germany is presented in the media over
547 here.

548 B11: Germany feels to me now like a second home. I would feel quite comfortable
549 going back there and feel that I can make myself understood. Towards the end I
550 kind of lost any form of accent whatsoever and the phrases, because I was in?
551 And speaking on such a daily basis, I wasn't really making any mistakes anymore.
552 Which kind of made it worse when I did make a mistake, because everyone just
553 sat there and they were like: I thought you were German and I just will have to sit
554 there and say I'm sorry. English person, I'm learning, be nice. I find it interesting
555 to see how it's portrayed here. In the sense that I look at it now a lot more
556 critically because now I've been there, I've experience it, I know people there and
557 I feel I have more of a connection, more of a link to the country. Because
558 sometimes I feel myself being more critical of the portrayal and also I find it quite
559 interesting to compare, so I still read the French news on a regular basis, quite
560 interesting to see how the two are kind of portrayed. How the two different sets
561 of media portray Germany. The overall image was quite interesting so compared
562 to contrast.

563 I: What do you say what is the image of Germany in British media?

564 B11: It depends on sort of which corner of the media you're looking at, really, I
565 suppose. I mean, you clearly you've still got the - I refer to them as more of the
566 ignorant kind of form, and you kind of sit there and hark back to sort of two
567 world wars and whatever and so do the very childish, school- schoolboy kind of
568 stuff. Then you get people who still have this idea of kind of particularly with the
569 EU crisis at the moment, so the whole Euro crisis, economic problems, kind of
570 Germany can occasionally or Merkel anyway can be kind of portrayed as the more
571 dominant Member State. Which is kind of - I can kind of understand why that is.
572 To certain degree is true but I think they exaggerate it quite a lot at the same
573 time, is a bit unfair. But then again, we don't really quite know what we're doing
574 in Europe anyway. Britain never really knows if it's in or its out, can't really do the
575 halfway thing because were not Switzerland as it doesn't work. I think there's a
576 lot of unfair criticism going about, but I think it's probably the same of England in
577 Germany, I think it kind of goes both ways. But I definitely take more of
578 everything with more of a pinch of salt now than I did before. Then and I sort of
579 sit there and go, but you're missing so many other points of Germany history and
580 culture and I really I really enjoyed the *Lange Nacht der Münchener Museen*. That
581 was really good fun. We went careering around Munich all night for like nothing.
582 You can't imagine something like that happening here ever. It's such a shame,

583 it's such good fun. And October Fest as well, I don't know anywhere else in
 584 Europe where you could have a three-week beer festival where its opened for 12
 585 hours a day and nothing get ransacked or set fire to. It was fantastic. *Weißwurst*
 586 I don't miss. I don't miss the *Weißwurst* but that's just that.

587 I: Nobody needs that.

588 B11: No.

589 I: No. By being abroad has your attitude towards learning German changed?

590 B11: I felt I suppose because German began to encroach on my English quite a lot and
 591 it almost became, it almost got to the point when it tired me more mentally to
 592 talk to my parents in English than it did for me to speak German, so then almost
 593 started to sort of replace my mother-tongue if you like. So I tend to embrace it a
 594 lot more. I now find it a lot easier to read literature for example in German. Close
 595 reading is still quite difficult because I don't know, the way sort of just the
 596 general academic style is so - it varies so greatly between the two languages, and
 597 contrasts quite a lot and we were never really taught to like - we never had to
 598 write proper essays, so my housemate, she actually was having - she was on this
 599 *Ausbildung zum Steinmetz*, but actually before that she started studying law,
 600 where you write pages and pages and pages of essay each week and I would sit
 601 there and go, oh my god, I've got to try, like a four-page essay and shed be like
 602 what's wrong with you? Were never really taught how to do that kind of thing. I
 603 don't know, I suppose it has changed because I'm a lot more comfortable with it
 604 now. It feels a lot more I feel a lot more at home in it so I'm not that kind of
 605 nervous, kind of, oh my god it's going to be so hard, it's going to be so hard, that
 606 sort of anxiety is no longer there. It's kind of like, okay. Having spoken it, being
 607 forced to speak it in the office during my *Praktikum* every day, starting like 7:00
 608 in the morning then finishing like 5:00 or 6:00 at night; it's quite a long day. So
 609 kind of start speaking in whichever stage you're in, sort of tired, sort of wide
 610 awake, ready to go, or going out with flat mates and after you've had sort of
 611 several drinks. It's quite, yeah...

612 I: And what would you say is like your biggest motivating factors to keep you
 613 studying German?

614 B11: The only work I've ever got is because I speak German. So you've got the
 615 *Praktikum*. In the company that I used to work for where my mother would still
 616 works, that was pretty much because Germany is their largest customer base.
 617 They had no German speakers in the office. They had all of the larger firms as
 618 clients but wanted the smaller firms where English isn't so widely spoken

619 typically. And the cultural knowledge just wasn't there. So they would be sending
620 letters out using first names. I sat there and went absolutely mental at them
621 because in English you do the really chummy thing which personally irritates me
622 to no end. Before I went out to Germany as much as when I came back and I just
623 sat there and went no, no, no, you're going to change it and this is how, what
624 we're going to do. The people I know over there, it still feels wrong to speak to
625 them in English, people I've met through the German Society sort of real native
626 speakers or Erasmus students, I tend to speak German more with them. I
627 genuinely enjoy the language, the language I like the sound of it a lot more, it's
628 nice to speak. Like I said, it's kind of replacing English. Also if I don't use it I'll
629 lose it and then that kind of shuts off an entire shots off an entire - it shuts the
630 doorway which - so many possibilities and sort of completely different way of
631 thinking, a different way of life on some levels and also a whole world of
632 literature and ideas, it just seems like a crying shame not continue with it.

633 I: How important is success for you?

634 B11: Pardon?

635 I: How important is success?

636 B11: As long as I like what I do and I can keep a roof over my head and I can live
637 comfortably, then I don't think I really care about success to be honest. My main
638 motivation in fact is that I enjoy what I do. If I'm not engaged in some things then
639 I find it really hard to actually do a good job. Which I suppose is also to my
640 detriment as much as it's quite useful.

641 I: What role did the other students play? The other ones on your course?

642 B11: In the learning process, or

643 I: Yes, is it supportive, is it competitive?

644 B11: It depends. Some of them it's quite competitive, (Rob) is quite competitive. But
645 some of them its more, we kind of band together and kind of help each other out,
646 so it's more of - for example I've got - I got to know, this year, quite a few of the
647 second years through the German Society who may as well come to me and say,
648 what is this? Why is it that this preposition is taking this particular case or we
649 keep being told that my grammar is really bad? So tomorrow were getting
650 together to basically bounce the ideas around, okay who's finding which topics
651 hard? Then we get into like a weekly or bi-weekly thing where they'd bring
652 problems and we sit down together and I try to explain it to them or some of the
653 third years try to explain it to them. On the basis that it's also quite difficult for

654 us. If we can explain it, that means we've already got it sorted in our hands. So
655 maybe it's kind of a collaborative thing, but also the social thing with the German
656 Society, for example we get together not just to *Stammtisch* on a Tuesday with
657 the Film Club, we do different things throughout the year, so we've got the - I
658 think the DAAD is sorting out - they call it the Sauerkraut Cup, where a lot of
659 different universities in London, they want to get like a football team together
660 and they want to get sort of a good a running team together, want to sort of pitch
661 the universities against each other, that kind of thing. But it's quite good fun. But
662 also we met each other through the German Society but we hang out and we get
663 together outside of that, so I regularly sort of see people from the German
664 Society about three or four times a week outside of class, which is really nice.
665 That's native and non-native speakers as well. Then we go to the
666 *Weihnachtsmärkte* or will go to like the - you've got like mock Bavarian like beer
667 halls which are quite fun to go to. Well that's quite good fun as well.

668 I: And is learning German different for you than learning French?

669 B11: Yes. Out of the two languages I much - I'm so glad that I actually spent the year
670 abroad in Germany and not France because out of the two languages I'd rather
671 have to relearn French than German, because French kind of was there in the
672 background to begin with. The grammar is not quite as mind-bending to get your
673 head around. Word order for example is always a bit interesting. And also the
674 way they teach here at the university, the French Department has a completely
675 different tact to the German Department, which I don't know, I seem to kind of
676 click with the German Department methods a lot more than the French.

677 I: Yeah. Okay think we've overrun a little bit.

678 B11: No problem, I'm sorry.

679 I: But I still have one or two questions to wrap it up. What would you say you're that
680 academically?

681 B11: What I've got out of it academically?

682 I: What you are good at academically?

683 B11: Good at academically? Translation marks this year have been quite good I think.
684 Yeah, a translation has been all right. That's German into English. English into
685 German is all right, I find it quite a bit fun, but without a dictionary it's a pain in
686 the bum. It's really hard, trying to get the right register. But I do a lot of
687 linguistic-type stuff as well, so linguistics.

688 I: So in a general sense would you say yeah I'm a linguist or do you have a scientific
689 brain as well?

690 B11: I kind of try and put the scientific aspect into linguistics. So and those I did an
691 essay project if you like, for module. It was computers and languages, it was in
692 the second year and you had to write a website to teach a language. So I did that
693 on German and so I looked at why - particular difficulties of English speakers
694 when they learn German for example, which it then turns out my supervisor
695 actually specialized in and I had no idea until like the day after I've handed the
696 damn thing in. But that was quite interesting. So there - that kind of mixed the
697 two; that mixed the science in with - because then you kind of, and then I started
698 looking at "okay so what happens when you learn a new skill?" If language is a
699 skill then you can kind of say, yes okay I know what happens in mind when you
700 do XYZ. So I kind of mixed that in.

701 I: Yeah and you're A-levels you did in French, German?

702 B11: The ones I actually got were French, German and maths.

703 I: And math?

704 B11: Yeah.

705 I: Do you remember the grades you got?

706 B11: I got an A in French; I missed the A in German by four marks and maths I got a B.
707 But then that's completely changed since I got to university. So the second year I
708 was told I got 73% which was top of the German class.

709 I: Do you do music?

710 B11: I did when I was younger for a little bit. Kind of occasionally I'll sort of play about
711 we've got like a keyboard at home and occasionally I'd muck about on them like
712 concoct all kinds of ungodly sorts of sounds. That was quite a good fun. The cat
713 hates us when we do it. But it wasn't really a serious instrument, it was like a
714 recorder. Whereas my brothers do like violin and guitar, so it was a bit like, okay.
715 Were kind of a musical family and my father plays guitar; my mother played
716 recorder, maybe clarinet at one point. Her eldest brother, he's got pitch perfect,
717 he still plays in a band now. So he plays trumpet and guitar, bass guitar and so
718 on.

719 I: Is there anything I left out that you consider important for your motivation to
720 study German?

721 B11: I'm not sure I don't think so really, I think that's pretty much it.

722 I: Okay then I switch it off.

B.4 List of NVivo Codes

Name	Sources	Referen-ces	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
academic interest	6	14	10/06/2014 19:40	RS	30/09/2014 16:35	RS
academic talents	20	27	13/06/2014 16:52	RS	26/11/2014 14:32	RS
German only for good students	1	1	13/06/2014 14:38	RS	13/06/2014 14:38	RS
learner type	2	2	11/06/2014 11:45	RS	29/09/2014 14:35	RS
mathematics	14	22	11/06/2014 11:44	RS	26/11/2014 14:31	RS
being good at languages	5	7	12/06/2014 18:49	RS	30/09/2014 16:35	RS
Being good at German	12	32	10/06/2014 19:24	RS	20/11/2014 13:45	RS
Being ahead	2	2	13/06/2014 10:48	RS	29/09/2014 19:58	RS
confidence	8	10	11/06/2014 12:53	RS	26/11/2014 14:28	RS
academic year	11	11	10/06/2014 18:25	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
adding to linguistic repertoire	2	2	20/11/2014 13:04	RS	20/11/2014 13:51	RS
age	12	12	10/06/2014 18:24	RS	14/11/2014 16:16	RS
Attitudes towards German	10	15	26/06/2014 17:24	RS	30/09/2014 17:12	RS
advantages of being a languages student	1	1	27/06/2014 11:20	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
bad teaching	3	5	29/09/2014 20:11	RS	20/11/2014 16:57	RS
basic topics	5	9	30/06/2014 17:45	RS	30/06/2014 18:12	RS
being a different person in German	1	1	11/06/2014 17:39	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
being lazy	1	1	29/09/2014 12:53	RS	29/09/2014 12:53	RS
being lonely on YA	2	3	29/09/2014 12:47	RS	26/11/2014 13:32	RS
bilingual	2	7	11/06/2014 13:14	RS	30/09/2014 14:38	RS
Career prospects linked with learning German	23	42	11/06/2014 13:43	RS	26/11/2014 14:27	RS
Germany key player in Europe	2	2	13/06/2014 14:45	RS	13/06/2014 16:51	RS
changing motivation	6	9	10/06/2014 19:37	RS	30/09/2014 17:06	RS
class size	12	23	10/06/2014 18:27	RS	26/11/2014 13:21	RS
competitiveness	15	16	27/06/2014 14:59	RS	26/11/2014 14:14	RS
compound nouns	1	1	17/09/2014 14:43	RS	17/09/2014 14:43	RS
concentrating on language learning	1	1	30/06/2014 17:55	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
creativity	2	3	29/09/2014	RS	14/11/2014	RS

			14:14		16:21	
cultural aspects of language learning	6	6	17/09/2014 14:52	RS	25/11/2014 14:48	RS
cultural differences	4	10	30/07/2014 16:52	RS	30/09/2014 17:20	RS
cultural interests	21	48	26/06/2014 17:21	RS	26/11/2014 13:36	RS
Cultural interests not covered by language classes	2	2	26/06/2014 17:22	RS	29/09/2014 14:18	RS
current issues	7	16	13/06/2014 18:39	RS	30/09/2014 13:12	RS
decrease of German	1	2	20/11/2014 13:36	RS	20/11/2014 13:36	RS
difference between German and Spanish	4	5	30/07/2014 16:34	RS	25/11/2014 14:25	RS
differences between Austrian and German	1	2	29/09/2014 15:32	RS	29/09/2014 15:35	RS
differences in language learning	1	1	29/09/2014 15:27	RS	29/09/2014 15:27	RS
different from French	10	19	13/06/2014 14:29	RS	30/09/2014 17:11	RS
French irregularities	2	2	13/06/2014 14:32	RS	20/11/2014 16:57	RS
difficulties in German	7	15	15/09/2014 13:05	RS	26/11/2014 14:30	RS
door metaphor	1	1	30/09/2014 13:18	RS	30/09/2014 13:18	RS
dreaming in German	1	1	30/09/2014 12:58	RS	30/09/2014 12:58	RS
dropping one language	1	1	29/09/2014 15:18	RS	29/09/2014 15:18	RS
Early exposure to foreign languages	9	12	13/06/2014 14:29	RS	26/11/2014 13:31	RS
childhood abroad	5	14	11/06/2014 11:39	RS	26/11/2014 13:26	RS
early exposure to languages	4	10	11/06/2014 11:40	RS	27/06/2014 11:22	RS
familiarity	2	2	11/06/2014 12:55	RS	20/11/2014 13:42	RS
going to school in Germany	2	2	23/06/2014 17:02	RS	20/11/2014 15:42	RS
early language learning	1	1	27/06/2014 13:15	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
enthusiasm	1	2	29/09/2014 12:56	RS	29/09/2014 12:56	RS
expectations for uni	8	9	17/09/2014 16:11	RS	26/11/2014 14:30	RS
expectations YA	12	18	17/09/2014 16:36	RS	26/11/2014 14:11	RS
experiences as a student	9	9	30/07/2014 16:48	RS	26/11/2014 14:29	RS
experiences at university	15	34	15/09/2014 13:03	RS	28/11/2014 13:53	RS
experiences YA	7	16	17/09/2014 13:40	RS	30/09/2014 17:22	RS
extracurricular activities	2	3	29/09/2014 12:40	RS	30/09/2014 13:21	RS

film	3	6	29/09/2014 14:30	RS	30/09/2014 16:45	RS
fluency	6	7	29/09/2014 15:37	RS	26/11/2014 14:12	RS
food	2	4	29/09/2014 15:21	RS	30/09/2014 13:13	RS
football	1	2	27/06/2014 14:54	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
forgetting the basics	1	1	30/06/2014 18:08	RS	30/06/2014 18:08	RS
Francophile	1	2	17/09/2014 13:39	RS	17/09/2014 13:44	RS
future plans	9	17	17/09/2014 13:48	RS	26/11/2014 12:59	RS
German after YA	2	4	17/09/2014 13:42	RS	17/09/2014 16:15	RS
German and French culture	1	1	27/06/2014 11:16	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
German as a positive challenge	4	5	13/06/2014 14:30	RS	20/11/2014 12:57	RS
German as a challenge	6	8	10/06/2014 18:41	RS	15/09/2014 13:04	RS
German as something different	8	12	11/06/2014 11:29	RS	26/11/2014 13:17	RS
German folklore	1	4	20/11/2014 13:04	RS	21/11/2014 13:06	RS
German history	10	17	23/06/2014 15:59	RS	25/11/2014 14:41	RS
cultural interest	6	15	10/06/2014 19:39	RS	30/07/2014 17:07	RS
German culture	8	9	10/06/2014 19:35	RS	21/11/2014 16:33	RS
German new	1	1	29/09/2014 14:06	RS	29/09/2014 14:06	RS
Germanophil	4	6	17/09/2014 14:45	RS	20/11/2014 16:56	RS
Germany as a holiday destination	3	3	29/09/2014 13:00	RS	26/11/2014 14:11	RS
global citizen	2	3	30/07/2014 16:31	RS	30/07/2014 16:57	RS
good experiences at school	4	4	26/06/2014 14:45	RS	21/11/2014 16:14	RS
German favourite subject	2	2	23/06/2014 15:54	RS	17/09/2014 14:50	RS
good teaching	9	18	13/06/2014 14:51	RS	20/11/2014 16:44	RS
German teacher	12	18	10/06/2014 18:28	RS	26/11/2014 12:52	RS
grammar	8	11	29/09/2014 14:29	RS	26/11/2014 14:16	RS
hard language	1	1	30/09/2014 17:12	RS	04/11/2014 16:40	RS
having support	1	1	27/06/2014 15:05	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
humour	6	9	30/07/2014 16:52	RS	26/11/2014 13:09	RS
impact of YA on language learning	5	17	29/09/2014 12:53	RS	30/09/2014 17:06	RS

importance of grades	7	9	30/07/2014 17:00	RS	30/09/2014 17:09	RS
impression of Germany	23	55	27/06/2014 11:13	RS	26/11/2014 14:09	RS
identify with France	1	1	17/09/2014 13:53	RS	17/09/2014 13:53	RS
independent study	13	23	27/06/2014 15:05	RS	26/11/2014 14:31	RS
Influence of peer group	19	31	13/06/2014 14:42	RS	26/11/2014 14:28	RS
German speaking friends or relationships	13	30	11/06/2014 17:42	RS	26/11/2014 14:16	RS
other pupils	1	1	13/06/2014 14:39	RS	13/06/2014 14:39	RS
other students' performance in German	1	4	23/06/2014 15:49	RS	23/06/2014 15:53	RS
popularity of German at school	8	11	10/06/2014 18:27	RS	26/11/2014 13:21	RS
influence of the childhood	5	9	27/06/2014 13:15	RS	26/11/2014 13:33	RS
integration into German society	15	28	27/06/2014 14:04	RS	26/11/2014 13:34	RS
interaction with Germans	14	35	27/06/2014 11:09	RS	26/11/2014 14:14	RS
Interest in (German) language	4	8	13/06/2014 14:31	RS	29/09/2014 12:24	RS
dialects	2	2	11/06/2014 17:23	RS	30/09/2014 12:54	RS
enjoyment-liking the language	19	68	10/06/2014 18:38	RS	25/11/2014 14:31	RS
German vocab	1	1	13/06/2014 14:41	RS	13/06/2014 14:41	RS
German is precise	2	2	13/06/2014 16:55	RS	17/09/2014 14:43	RS
Germans sounds	6	6	13/06/2014 14:31	RS	29/09/2014 20:05	RS
interest in languages	4	5	11/06/2014 11:11	RS	30/09/2014 14:15	RS
interest in German language	8	13	11/06/2014 11:14	RS	20/11/2014 13:41	RS
irrelevant topics	1	1	30/06/2014 17:49	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
joke	1	1	29/07/2014 17:28	RS	29/07/2014 17:28	RS
keeping motivation up	19	24	27/06/2014 11:18	RS	28/11/2014 16:55	RS
key moment	6	7	11/06/2014 17:27	RS	26/11/2014 14:16	RS
language learning history	6	28	13/06/2014 14:08	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
languages assistant	2	2	29/09/2014 12:43	RS	30/09/2014 14:17	RS
languages offer a variety of subjects	1	1	20/11/2014 12:56	RS	20/11/2014 12:56	RS
languages spoken in family	22	48	10/06/2014 18:36	RS	26/11/2014 14:26	RS
influence of family	17	44	11/06/2014 11:18	RS	26/11/2014 13:25	RS

languages spoken or learnt	13	23	10/06/2014 18:26	RS	14/11/2014 16:19	RS
learning French at home	1	1	29/09/2014 19:58	RS	29/09/2014 19:58	RS
learning German at home	1	2	23/06/2014 17:04	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
took initiative to learn languages	7	9	11/06/2014 11:15	RS	25/11/2014 14:39	RS
less independent learning	1	1	15/09/2014 13:08	RS	15/09/2014 13:08	RS
less scope for creating your own phrases	3	3	30/06/2014 17:53	RS	30/06/2014 18:12	RS
lg a girls thing	1	1	20/11/2014 13:36	RS	20/11/2014 13:36	RS
linguistics	4	8	30/09/2014 12:48	RS	26/11/2014 12:58	RS
literature	4	7	29/09/2014 14:20	RS	30/09/2014 16:45	RS
logic	1	1	25/11/2014 14:41	RS	25/11/2014 14:41	RS
low confidence	2	2	27/06/2014 11:13	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
low quality of language classes at school	2	3	11/06/2014 13:30	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
low quality of languages classes at school	1	1	13/06/2014 14:36	RS	13/06/2014 14:36	RS
not enough hours spent on languages classes	1	1	13/06/2014 14:37	RS	13/06/2014 14:37	RS
mastering German	1	1	17/09/2014 16:27	RS	17/09/2014 16:27	RS
media	22	34	27/06/2014 11:17	RS	26/11/2014 14:30	RS
more complex topics at A-level	3	3	30/06/2014 18:09	RS	30/06/2014 18:12	RS
more grammar	1	2	30/06/2014 18:07	RS	30/06/2014 18:07	RS
more relevant topics	2	3	30/06/2014 18:02	RS	30/06/2014 18:10	RS
more scope for own expression	2	2	30/06/2014 18:07	RS	30/06/2014 18:12	RS
motivation to study German - first narrative	18	18	10/06/2014 18:26	RS	21/11/2014 13:11	RS
good, highly regarded skill, worthwhile	4	7	12/06/2014 19:04	RS	25/11/2014 14:20	RS
German as a widely spoken language	5	5	12/06/2014 19:04	RS	21/11/2014 16:34	RS
language as a tool to communicate	9	12	11/06/2014 13:26	RS	14/11/2014 16:23	RS
applicability of languages	4	4	11/06/2014 11:45	RS	17/09/2014 14:50	RS
language as a tool for in-exclusion	5	10	11/06/2014 12:55	RS	30/07/2014 16:20	RS
possibility of moving abroad	23	41	10/06/2014 19:41	RS	26/11/2014 14:11	RS
YA	12	28	10/06/2014 19:36	RS	30/09/2014 16:47	RS
multicultural Germany	1	1	17/09/2014 14:56	RS	17/09/2014 14:56	RS

music and German	19	28	27/06/2014 13:16	RS	26/11/2014 14:32	RS
natural progression	3	3	29/09/2014 20:15	RS	20/11/2014 13:43	RS
New topics at university	7	10	10/06/2014 19:39	RS	30/09/2014 16:43	RS
no reason why not to study languages	1	1	20/11/2014 13:06	RS	20/11/2014 13:06	RS
not being allowed another language	1	1	20/11/2014 13:47	RS	20/11/2014 13:47	RS
not belonging	1	1	30/07/2014 16:50	RS	30/07/2014 16:50	RS
other students on the course	8	8	17/09/2014 13:46	RS	25/11/2014 14:34	RS
overcoming set backs	1	1	29/09/2014 14:29	RS	29/09/2014 14:29	RS
overlap between A-level and uni	1	1	30/06/2014 18:02	RS	30/06/2014 18:02	RS
parents' profession	10	11	10/06/2014 18:25	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
personal background	1	1	30/07/2014 16:13	RS	30/07/2014 16:13	RS
personal development	5	10	29/09/2014 14:39	RS	30/09/2014 17:07	RS
preferring German	3	3	17/09/2014 14:40	RS	26/11/2014 14:15	RS
pressure	1	1	13/06/2014 14:50	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
reasons for A-Level	21	30	10/06/2014 18:30	RS	24/11/2014 13:26	RS
reasons for doing a degree in German	19	30	13/06/2014 17:13	RS	21/11/2014 16:46	RS
degree	15	16	10/06/2014 18:24	RS	26/11/2014 13:04	RS
having a degree	1	1	12/06/2014 18:51	RS	13/06/2014 11:38	RS
reasons for studying German at university	5	6	10/06/2014 18:32	RS	13/06/2014 11:38	RS
uni open day	1	1	23/06/2014 16:53	RS	23/06/2014 16:53	RS
university choice	10	14	11/06/2014 11:11	RS	25/11/2014 14:38	RS
reasons for GCSE	21	35	10/06/2014 18:45	RS	21/11/2014 16:14	RS
GCSE options	1	1	23/06/2014 15:54	RS	23/06/2014 15:54	RS
reasons for starting German	9	12	10/06/2014 19:31	RS	29/09/2014 14:06	RS
begin of learning German	3	3	13/06/2014 17:06	RS	13/06/2014 17:08	RS
set backs	1	1	29/07/2014 18:00	RS	30/07/2014 16:05	RS
siezen	1	2	17/09/2014 16:26	RS	17/09/2014 16:33	RS
similarities between German and English	7	10	13/06/2014 17:57	RS	20/11/2014 13:05	RS
social aspect of lg learning	2	4	14/11/2014 16:23	RS	26/11/2014 14:15	RS

special	3	4	26/11/2014 13:23	RS	26/11/2014 14:29	RS
starting German	14	31	15/09/2014 12:31	RS	25/11/2014 14:40	RS
stereotypes	14	33	27/06/2014 13:21	RS	26/11/2014 14:30	RS
studying in Germany	1	1	30/09/2014 16:49	RS	04/11/2014 16:40	RS
success	19	22	27/06/2014 13:27	RS	26/11/2014 14:28	RS
summer Course	1	1	17/09/2014 13:41	RS	17/09/2014 13:41	RS
switching languages	1	2	17/09/2014 16:25	RS	17/09/2014 16:26	RS
taking German exams	1	1	23/06/2014 17:03	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
taking on German habits	4	5	17/09/2014 16:29	RS	30/09/2014 17:00	RS
The English attitude towards learning languages	4	7	10/06/2014 18:31	RS	21/11/2014 13:13	RS
English attitude towards languages	5	9	11/06/2014 11:18	RS	30/07/2014 17:01	RS
languages as something special	2	2	11/06/2014 11:17	RS	11/06/2014 13:42	RS
prejudices against Germany	1	1	23/06/2014 17:11	RS	23/06/2014 17:11	RS
things learnt at uni	1	2	17/09/2014 16:12	RS	17/09/2014 16:13	RS
topic cinema	1	1	30/06/2014 17:57	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topic family	2	2	30/06/2014 17:47	RS	30/06/2014 18:11	RS
topic film	1	1	30/06/2014 18:05	RS	30/06/2014 18:05	RS
topic food	1	1	30/06/2014 17:48	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topic health	2	2	30/06/2014 17:56	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topic holidays	4	5	30/06/2014 17:46	RS	30/06/2014 18:11	RS
topic introductions	2	2	30/06/2014 17:59	RS	30/06/2014 18:11	RS
topic music	1	1	30/06/2014 17:55	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topic sports	3	3	30/06/2014 17:48	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topics adverts	2	3	30/06/2014 17:50	RS	30/06/2014 18:02	RS
topics at school	8	12	26/06/2014 14:44	RS	24/11/2014 14:02	RS
topics at A-Level	15	24	13/06/2014 14:53	RS	21/11/2014 13:18	RS
classes at A-Level	3	4	13/06/2014 14:48	RS	17/09/2014 14:53	RS
A-Level	16	38	10/06/2014 19:20	RS	20/11/2014 16:57	RS
sixth form college	3	3	13/06/2014 14:48	RS	23/06/2014 16:41	RS

topics at GCSE	14	21	13/06/2014 14:53	RS	30/09/2014 16:32	RS
topics at uni	3	5	15/09/2014 13:12	RS	30/09/2014 16:46	RS
topics book	2	2	30/06/2014 18:05	RS	30/06/2014 18:09	RS
topics chosen by teacher	1	1	30/06/2014 18:05	RS	30/06/2014 18:05	RS
topics culture	1	1	30/06/2014 18:00	RS	30/06/2014 18:00	RS
topics drama	1	1	30/06/2014 17:51	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topics economy	1	1	30/06/2014 18:03	RS	30/06/2014 18:03	RS
topics environment	1	1	30/06/2014 18:02	RS	30/06/2014 18:02	RS
topics history	3	3	30/06/2014 18:03	RS	30/06/2014 18:10	RS
topics no grammar	2	2	30/06/2014 17:46	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topics numbers	1	1	30/06/2014 17:54	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topics only linked to exams	1	1	30/06/2014 17:49	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
topics politics	1	1	30/06/2014 18:03	RS	30/06/2014 18:03	RS
topics role plays conversations	2	5	30/06/2014 17:50	RS	30/06/2014 18:01	RS
topics wealth and poverty	1	1	30/06/2014 18:06	RS	30/06/2014 18:06	RS
translation	2	3	30/09/2014 12:48	RS	30/09/2014 16:46	RS
trips in Germany	4	4	29/09/2014 12:46	RS	21/11/2014 13:24	RS
trips to France	2	2	30/09/2014 12:45	RS	30/09/2014 16:42	RS
trips to Germany	21	40	11/06/2014 13:06	RS	26/11/2014 14:27	RS
school exchanges	10	26	10/06/2014 18:31	RS	26/11/2014 13:07	RS
tuition fees	7	10	26/06/2014 17:25	RS	17/09/2014 13:50	RS
type of school visited	16	25	10/06/2014 18:40	RS	20/11/2014 16:53	RS
school's language policy	19	43	10/06/2014 18:28	RS	25/11/2014 14:37	RS
languages offered by school	8	9	10/06/2014 18:40	RS	14/11/2014 16:20	RS
typically German	20	25	27/06/2014 11:17	RS	26/11/2014 14:30	RS
voicing your opinion	1	1	30/06/2014 17:54	RS	30/06/2014 17:58	RS
wanting to continue and progress in German	5	6	13/06/2014 14:51	RS	25/11/2014 14:18	RS
doing it on your own	1	1	23/06/2014 16:04	RS	23/06/2014 16:04	RS
getting a deeper level of understanding	1	1	13/06/2014 18:39	RS	13/06/2014 18:39	RS

wanting to continue	10	17	10/06/2014 18:38	RS	20/11/2014 12:58	RS
keeping German up	3	4	11/06/2014 13:16	RS	28/11/2014 16:55	RS
living to your potential	1	1	12/06/2014 19:02	RS	12/06/2014 19:02	RS
putting effort in	2	2	12/06/2014 19:01	RS	29/09/2014 14:33	RS
wanting to prove sth	1	1	13/06/2014 14:40	RS	13/06/2014 14:40	RS
wish for another language	1	1	30/09/2014 14:42	RS	04/11/2014 16:40	RS
wish to become fluent in German	6	9	23/06/2014 16:01	RS	30/09/2014 17:08	RS
working in Germany	3	3	29/09/2014 14:22	RS	30/09/2014 14:40	RS

C Additional Documentation

C.1 Risk Assessment Form

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

To be completed in accordance with the attached guidelines

Activity:

- semi-structured interviews with undergraduates studying German
- interviews are conducted by myself (the researcher/PhD student) only
- data will be recorded, transcribed and analysed

Locations:

- University of Southampton
- Queen Mary, University of London
- Some interviews might be recorded via Skype, so both the student and myself can be at home or at university

Potential risks:

- lack of anonymity/confidentiality
- I will be meeting students on university premises, during daytime, after professional introductions, and do not anticipate any risks beyond those of everyday life

Who might be exposed/affected?

- interviewees
- researcher

How will these risks be minimised?

- audio files will be stored under codes and no names will be linked to the data
- no personal information will be discussed with a third party

Risk evaluation:

Low

Can the risk be further reduced?

No

Further controls required:

None

Date by which further controls will be implemented: --

Are the controls satisfactory:

--

Date for reassessment:

Completed by:	Rosemarie Stolte		04/02/13
	_____ Name	_____ signature	_____ date
Supervisor/manager: If applicable	_____ Name	_____ signature	_____ date

C.2 Research Protocol

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

OUTLINE OF PROPOSED RESEARCH WITH HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, TO BE SUBMITTED via ERGO FOR ETHICAL COMMITTEE APPROVAL

STUDENTS PLEASE NOTE: You will need to discuss this form with your Supervisor. In particular, you should ask him/her to advise you about all relevant ethical guidelines relating to your area of research, which you must read and understand.

ALL RESEARCHERS PLEASE NOTE: You must not begin your study until Faculty of Humanities ethical approval and Research Governance Office approval have been obtained through the ERGO system. Failure to comply with this policy could constitute a disciplinary breach.

1. **Name(s):** Rosemarie Stolte
2. **Start date:** 18/02/2013 **End date:** 01/07/2013
3. **Supervisor (student research only):** Ros Mitchell
4. **How may you be contacted (e-mail and/or phone number)?**
r.stolte@soton.ac.uk
00493053081865
5. **Into which category does your research fall? Delete or add as appropriate.**
PhD

6	Title of project German Language Learning in England – Understanding the Enthusiasts
7	Briefly describe the rationale for carrying out this project, and the specific aims and research questions Through a qualitative interview study I hope to gain insight into students' thought processes to find out why they study German and how this motivation develops over a 4 year BA degree. I want to learn about the students' language learning history, their language learning experiences and their view on everything German, and in how far these factors are linked to their motivation to study German. The two research questions linked to the interview study are: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What explains the evolution of German language learning in the UK, and how far does this (development) reflect MFL teaching in general,

	<p>how far is it distinctive to German?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. What motivates English speakers to learn foreign languages, particularly German? How does their motivation develop over a four year programme at university level? 3. What influences do the language learning history (e.g. teaching staff, contact with the language or people, and trips abroad) on the one hand and external influences (e.g. peers, parents and media) on the other hand have on English students' identity and motivation to study German? 4. How different are today's reasons to study German from the historical ones? What is the relationship between historical and contemporary motivations? Do the reasons for learning German sustain an individual character that is different from the reasons for learning other languages? <p>(note the research questions were changed subsequent to the ethical approval)</p>
8	<p>What is the overall design of the study?</p> <p>Starting in February (11th) I will contact students at the University of Southampton and Queen Mary, University of London to arrange dates for interviews. Late February and early March I will visit both universities to meet the students in person. I will conduct some interviews on site and I will arrange for more interviews to take place later via Skype. In total I will interview up to 40 students, 20 from each university, from three different years (1st, 2nd, and 4th year undergraduates).</p>
9.	<p>What research procedures will be used?</p> <p>All interviews will be digitally recorded (audio only) and they will be transcribed. The interviews will be semi-structured with the help of an interview guide.</p>
10	<p>Who are the participants?</p> <p>The participants are undergraduate students at the University of Southampton and Queen Mary, University of London, they are between the age of 18 and 25. They will be contacted via email first, then I will visit their language classes to introduce myself in person.</p>
11	<p>How will you obtain the consent of participants, and (if appropriate) that of their parents or guardians?</p> <p>The participants will sign a consent form I have designed.</p>
12	<p>Is there any reason to believe participants may not be able to give full informed consent? If yes, what steps do you propose to take to safeguard their interests?</p> <p>No</p>
13	<p>Detail any possible discomfort, inconvenience or other adverse effects the participants may experience arising from the study, and how this will be dealt with.</p> <p>None is anticipated</p>

14	<p>How will it be made clear to participants that they may withdraw consent to participate at any time without penalty?</p> <p>The participants will receive an information sheet.</p>
15	<p>How will information obtained from or about participants be protected?</p> <p>All information will be stored as coded data on a password protected computer, no names will be linked to audio files.</p>
16	<p>If this research involves work with children, has a CRB check been carried out?</p> <p>N.A.</p>
17	<p>Outline any other information you feel may be relevant to this submission.</p> <p>—</p>

C.3 Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet (Face to Face)

Study Title: German Language Learning in England – Understanding the Enthusiasts

Researcher: Rosemarie Stolte **Ethics number:**

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I'm a post graduate researcher at the University of Southampton working towards a PhD in Applied Linguistics. For my study I am looking into the motivation of English undergraduates to study German. I am interested in the students' language learning history and in the development of their motivation to study German.

Why have I been chosen?

I am looking for English undergraduates who study German and want to take part in an interview study.

What will happen to me if I take part?

The interviews can be done in person or via Skype. They usually last about 45min and they will be recorded (audio only). I will conduct all interviews personally. There will be only one interview. If you want to, you can be updated on my research to find out what the results of the interview study was.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

I as a researcher will benefit greatly from all students taking part, because I will get an insight into your thought processes. You can benefit, because you will reflect on and think about your German language learning experiences.

Are there any risks involved?

There is a very small risk of confidentiality or anonymity being breached, which I will do my very best to avoid.

Will my participation be confidential?

All data collected will be anonymous. In compliance with the Data Protection Act/University policy the information will be stored as coded data and it will be kept on a password protected computer and remain confidential. No names will be linked to files and no names will be mentioned in my research to guarantee anonymity of all participants. Some of the things you say might be quoted in my thesis.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have the right to withdraw at any time without your legal rights being affected.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, you can contact Dr Martina Prude, Head of Research Governance (02380 595058, mad4@soton.ac.uk).

Where can I get more information?

You can contact me, Rosemarie Stolte: r.stolte@soton.ac.uk

C.4 Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM (FACE TO FACE:)

Study title: German Language Learning in England – Understanding the Enthusiasts

Researcher name: Rosemarie Stolte

Staff/Student number: 24375373

ERGO reference number:

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet ()
and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my
data to be used for the purpose of this study

☐

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at
any time without my legal rights being affected

☐

Data Protection

I understand that the interview with me during my participation in this study will be recorded (audio only) and stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

D Bibliography

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