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Joshua Gray

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Joshua Gray. Developing intercultural competence in the teaching of english between educational and social settings: the role of self-regulation in intercultural telecollaboration learning environments. Literature. Université de Bordeaux, 2023. English. NNT : 2023BORD0316 . tel-04372554

HAL Id: tel-04372554

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THÈSE PRÉSENTÉE
POUR OBTENIR LE GRADE DE

**DOCTEUR DE
L'UNIVERSITE DE BORDEAUX**

ÉCOLE DOCTORALE SOCIÉTÉ, POLITIQUE, SANTÉ PUBLIQUE
ÉTUDES ANGLOPHONES

Par Joshua N W GRAY

**DÉVELOPPER LA COMPÉTENCE INTERCULTURELLE
DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ANGLAIS ENTRE MILIEU
ÉDUCATIF ET MILIEU SOCIAL**

*Le rôle de l'autorégulation dans les dispositifs de télécollaborations
interculturelles*

Sous la direction de : Martine Derivry-Plard

Soutenue le vendredi 24 novembre 2023

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Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by thanking my supervisor, Martine Derivry, for her support throughout the writing of this thesis, for her readings and comments on earlier drafts, for opportunities to work on the TeCoLa project, for early opportunities to publish, and for her help in integrating intercultural telecollaboration into my teaching practices and research.

I would also like to thank the various partner teachers with whom I was able to set up intercultural telecollaborations as part of my research: Ahmet Kaya from *Nevsehir Cemil Meric* high school, in Turkey; Daniela Gallo from *Elio Vittorini* high school in Gela, Italy; Donatella Pace from *Pietro Siliciani* high school in Lecce, Italy; Kastanka Bozhinova from the American University in Bulgaria; and Sandra Mari Kaneko Marques from the College of Letters and Science of Araraquara, Brazil. My gratitude also goes out to partners in Spain, Poland, Slovenia, India, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and the United States, whose projects were not included in this thesis, but helped me refine my understanding of intercultural telecollaboration more generally. In this context, I would like to mention TeCola and eTwinning, both of which allowed me to find partners for these projects.

I am also grateful to the students who participated in these telecollaborations, for the willingness and energy with which they undertook their projects, as well as their (and their parents') consent to anonymously use the data for my research.

I must express my gratitude to audiences at a number of workshops, symposia, and conferences, as well as editors and reviewers for their helpful feedback on papers presented or published during the writing of this thesis.

My regards also go to the University of Bordeaux, and especially to the EDSP2 graduate school and the LACES laboratory. In particular, I would like to thank the members of my annual review committee, Magdalena Kohout-Diaz and George Alao, for their help and support throughout.

Finally, a warm thank you to my friends and family, and particularly to my wife, Camille Suspène Gray, for her support and patience.

Letter of non-plagiarism

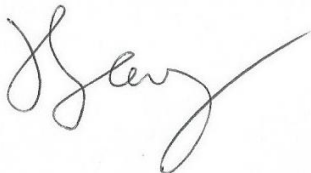
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Short abstract – English

The opportunities offered by technological advances as related to language learning are cause for little doubt. Yet the increased opportunity they offer for intercultural contact is also cause for concern. Communicating with partners whose cultures may differ from one's own is not simply a case of sharing a language of communication, but also of positioning oneself in relation to a different set of cultural and individual traditions, histories, motivations, desires. This has come to be known as intercultural competence (Byram, 1997; 2003; Deardorff, 2006; Dervin, 2010a; 2010b).

But intercultural competence is not simply a question of openness towards the other. It is also taking up a position oneself and being able to steer one's own personal development in this context (Kramsch, 1995; Kinginger, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). As is developed in this thesis, this makes research being done in the field of self-regulated learning (Zimmerman, 2000) especially relevant to the discussion of intercultural competence.

Yet, while the role of the learner as an individual is accepted in theory in intercultural approaches to language learning, questions of autonomy and self-regulation rarely feature in intercultural telecollaborations. The present thesis aims to study how students of various ages and backgrounds take up the opportunity to express their own goals and learning strategies in the context of self-directed intercultural telecollaborations, and how this can help build their intercultural competence.

Qualitative analysis of students' goals, strategies and self-reflections drawn from five self-directed intercultural telecollaborations involving middle school, high school, and university students from France, Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, and Brazil, shows that students generally have a narrow understanding of language learning essentially focused on language as an end in itself. Similarly, self-regulation seems to be limited among most of the students. However, the results also show that higher degrees of self-regulation tend to make students' answers more specific, more reflexive, and more structured, allowing them to anchor their learning in their personal experience, creating a link between educational and social settings. This serves to underline the importance of pursuing research linking self-regulation to intercultural learning in language and culture education.

Keywords: *English language teaching and learning; intercultural competence; intercultural telecollaboration; self-regulation; autonomy; intercultural capital*

Résumé court – français [Résumé long p. 385](#)

Les opportunités offertes par les avancées technologiques dans le contexte de l'apprentissage des langues ne font guère de doute. Mais l'opportunité de contact interculturel qu'elles offrent est également source d'inquiétude. Communiquer avec des partenaires dont les cultures peuvent être différentes n'est pas simplement une question de partager une langue de communication, mais aussi de se positionner soi-même en relation à des traditions, histoires, motivations et désirs qui sont eux aussi différents. C'est ce que l'on appelle la compétence interculturelle (Byram, 1997 ; 2003 ; Deardorff, 2006 ; Dervin, 2010a ; 2010b).

Mais la compétence interculturelle n'est pas simplement une question d'ouverture à l'autre. C'est aussi prendre position soi-même et être capable de diriger son propre développement personnel dans ce contexte (Kramsch, 1995 ; Kinginger, 2008 ; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Cela rend la recherche sur l'apprentissage autorégulé (Zimmerman, 2000) particulièrement pertinente pour la discussion sur la compétence interculturelle.

Pourtant, bien que le rôle de l'apprenant en tant qu'individu soit accepté dans les approches interculturelles, l'autonomie et l'autorégulation font rarement partie des questions abordées dans les dispositifs de télécollaboration interculturelle. La présente thèse étudie comment des élèves et des étudiants de différents âges et aux parcours variés exploitent l'opportunité d'exprimer leurs objectifs et stratégies d'apprentissage dans le contexte de télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées, et comment cela construit leur compétence interculturelle.

L'analyse qualitative des objectifs, stratégies et autoréflexions d'apprenants de collège, de lycée, et de l'université ayant participé à ce type de dispositif entre la France et la Turquie, l'Italie, la Bulgarie, ou le Brésil, fait ressortir une conception étroite de l'apprentissage des langues, essentiellement ciblée sur la langue comme fin en soi. De manière similaire, l'autorégulation semble limitée pour la plupart des apprenants. Cependant, les résultats montrent qu'un degré d'autorégulation plus élevé tend à permettre aux apprenants de produire des réponses plus spécifiques, plus réflexives, et plus structurées, leur permettant d'ancrer leur apprentissage dans leur expérience personnelle, faisant le lien entre milieu éducatif et milieu social. Ces résultats soulignent l'importance pour la recherche de mettre en relation l'autorégulation et l'apprentissage interculturel dans l'enseignement des langues et des cultures.

Mots Clés : *Enseignement et apprentissage de l'anglais ; compétence interculturelle ; télécollaboration interculturelle ; autorégulation ; autonomie ; capital interculturel*

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Introduction: towards autonomous intercultural learning?

The opportunities offered by technological advances as related to language learning are cause for little doubt (Kern, 2011). Online collaborations have the potential to allow students to negotiate meaning with partners, for this communication to be authentic in the sense that the target language is a useful tool for communication between them, and to discover an individual or a group of individuals with whom any contact would have been impossible even a few decades ago (Derivry-Plard, 2017). These opportunities have led to a wealth of research within the broad field of Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL), on the ways in which Web 2.0 can contribute to language learning by bringing students to meet and/or work together, under names including Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL), Online Intercultural Exchange (OIE), Intercultural Telecollaboration (IT, or ICT), and Virtual Exchange (VE). This thesis will focus on intercultural telecollaboration, not only because it has an accepted usage in language teaching and learning (O’Dowd & O’Rourke, 2019), but because the term itself involves both a concern for the intercultural, an acknowledgement of the distance between participants (tele-), and importantly because it applies to online exchanges the principles of collaborative learning which involve students working together towards a common goal (Sarré, 2012). In this sense, while some consider intercultural telecollaboration and virtual exchange to refer to the same thing (O’Dowd, 2021),¹ intercultural telecollaboration must be considered as “more than a virtual exchange; it is a way of engaging learners to complete tasks and reflect on them collaboratively with the scaffolding provided by teachers” (Salomão *et al.*, 2023, p. 127).

Yet, this very opportunity to work with students who do not share one’s cultural background is also cause for concern. Communicating with partners whose cultures may differ from one’s own is becoming increasingly ubiquitous as globalisation and hyperconnectedness are leading to a multiplication both of the number of people migrating throughout the world and of the forms this migration takes, including tourism, economic and professional mobility, climate or political refugees, but also leisure- and lifestyle-based mobility linked to new possibilities like working online. “Otherness” is no longer confined to rare travel opportunities, but is part of everyday life for an increasing number of people. Within this context, language teaching and learning need to be rethought, so as to impart ways to experience these encounters in positive and constructive ways, in the multiple social settings in which they take place beyond the school premises. Communicating is not simply a case of sharing a language of communication, be it

¹ Cf. Colpaert (2020), for an opposing view.

English or other languages (Derivry-Plard, 2019), but also of positioning oneself in relation to a different set of cultural and individual traditions, histories, motivations, desires. Understanding how one's partner lives, thinks, the importance he or she attaches to different ideas, what he or she hopes to get out of the intercultural telecollaboration, and his or her relation to the language(s) being spoken, and adapting one's behaviour in consequence is part of what has come to be known as intercultural competence (Byram, 1997; 2003; Deardorff, 2006; Dervin, 2010a; 2010b).

But intercultural competence is not simply a question of openness and benevolence towards others and how they speak. It is also taking up a position oneself, showing an awareness of what it means to expand one's cultural and linguistic repertoires through the learning of a new language, and being able to steer one's own personal development in this context. As will be developed in this thesis, this makes research being done in the field of self-regulated learning especially relevant to the discussion of intercultural competence. Yet, while the role of the learner as an individual is accepted in theory in intercultural approaches to language learning, questions of autonomy and self-regulation rarely feature in intercultural telecollaborations. Conversely, while self-regulation has been well studied in regular classroom contexts, importing it into the new pedagogical setting of intercultural telecollaboration. Thus, the present thesis aims to study how students of various ages and backgrounds take up the opportunity to express their own goals and learning strategies in the context of an intercultural telecollaboration, and how this can feed their intercultural competence. The central hypothesis is that there is a close link between self-regulation and intercultural competence.

Intercultural telecollaboration

There can be little doubt that telecollaboration offers students the possibility of interacting and negotiating meaning with people outside their everyday cultural context. It thus has a potential to help students explore different cultural perspectives, beyond the dominant linguistic and cultural context which often imposes itself as the norm in classroom-based activities (O'Dowd & Ware, 2009; Jauregi *et al.*, 2015; Whyte & Gijssen, 2016). This is especially true for "populations in which linguistic and cultural interactions outside of the classroom do not readily exist" (Ceo-DiFrancesco, 2016, p. 66).

However, telecollaboration does not guarantee that the learners will develop intercultural competence. That is to say, intercultural competence does not follow as a necessary result of

telecollaboration (Kitade, 2012; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Lawrence, 2013). This can be for a number of reasons.

Individual differences in motivation, expectations, communicative norms, mismatched expectations, and inadequate pedagogy developing intercultural competence and interpreting/relating skills have been cited as major impediments to successful online intercultural language learning (Lawrence, 2013, p. 305).

Thus, while telecollaboration provides learners the opportunity to communicate with people outside their ordinary cultural context, this communication does not, in itself, produce intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence

In order to better understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to look more closely at the very idea of intercultural competence. In recent years, the notion of intercultural competence has gained ground, and is no longer confined to academic research, but has begun to be discussed in institutional documents, such as various publications by UNESCO (UNESCO, 2013; Deardorff D. K., 2020) and the Council of Europe (Lazar *et al.*, 2007; Beacco *et al.*, 2016). Its mention in the *CEFR Companion Volume* (2018) as having not been “highly developed in the CEFR book” (p. 31), while it remains parenthetical, shows that the concept was central enough that it could not be left out. However, the criticism with which the *Companion Volume* was met shows that the notion of intercultural competence needs to be developed further, and indeed, according to many, must become the foundation of language education across Europe. The complexity of intercultural mediation (Liddicoat & Derivry-Plard, 2019; 2023), the importance of symbolic power (Kramsch, 2019), as well as the centrality of relationship building and identity (Scarino & Kohler, 2019) were either absent, downplayed or misconstrued. To this extent, a better understanding of the discussions running through the literature on intercultural competence seems to be required.

Intercultural competence has been defined in a variety of ways and taken on a number of forms. However, a general definition has emerged over the past few decades with many agreeing that intercultural competence involves “the attitudes, knowledge and skills of an individual” (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495; cf. UNESCO, 2013) when it comes to encountering others, which allow that individual to:

- understand and respect people who are perceived to have different cultural affiliations from oneself;

- respond appropriately, effectively and respectfully when interacting and communicating with such people;
- establish positive and constructive relationships with such people;
- understand oneself and one's own multiple cultural affiliations through encounters with cultural "difference". (Huber & Reynolds, 2014, p. 16-17)

Various models for itemising these attitudes, knowledge and skills have been developed, including Byram's (1997) five component model which includes *Savoir*, *Savoir être*, *Savoir comprendre*, *Savoir apprendre* and *Savoir s'engager*, briefly and respectively, knowledge including self-knowledge, attitudes towards self and other, understanding and interpreting skills, discovering and learning skills, and political and critical awareness; Deardorff's (2006) process model which views developing intercultural competence as a continuous and lifelong undertaking; and Dervin's (2010a) model of proteophilic competences which focuses on the ability to detect and avoid identification with national, stereotypical or generalized images, the ability to detect and respond to ethnocentric, xenophobic, or conversely naïve discourses, and the ability to control one's emotional response when confronted with intercultural difficulties.

More recently, some have argued that there may be no such thing as intercultural competence, or interculturality (Dervin, 2023) or that these terms may be too polysemic to be of use (Brudermann & Aguilar, 2021; Río & Brudermann, 2022). Yet it is this very polysemy which is of interest in intercultural approaches, and which is to be fostered within educational and social settings. As Dervin himself points out, "it is impossible to stop thinking about interculturality and [...] locking her up in a 'model' [...] runs against her messages of complexities, her irrationalities and instabilities" (Dervin, 2023). Furthermore, despite these "complexities, irrationalities and instabilities", a field of research has nevertheless developed, under the influence of authors such as Byram, Derivry-Plard, Kramersch, Liddicoat, Scarino, Zarate, and others, whose approaches to the intercultural do share a set of common principles: a rejection of the neutrality of language, a rejection of territorial understandings of language, a rejection of a consumer-tourist vision of language-learning, and an embracing of hybridity, plurilingualism, individual situatedness, repertoires, etc.

Some common principles of intercultural approaches

Within these approaches, intercultural competence allows a person to go beyond monocultural and monolingual settings and adapt in a variety of different cultural and linguistic contexts. Thus, far from being culturally specific, it is a general approach to communication, culture and

learning which will allow the speaker to become involved in cultural settings with which he or she was not hitherto familiar. In this sense, intercultural competence relies on at least four key ideas.

The first is the rejection of the consumer-tourist view of communication in which language is viewed as a tool for exchanging information, e.g. searching for food or accommodation, asking for directions, etc. (Byram, 2003). From an intercultural perspective, communication goes beyond this mere exchange of information towards the richer goal of creating and maintaining social relations (Liddicoat, 2009).

Secondly, an intercultural speaker will go beyond the view of culture as a mere set of facts which can be learnt from an encyclopaedia. Intercultural competence means being able to understand a culture, in the rich sense of being able to *engage* in a set of practices which are shared by a community (Zarate, 2008).

Thirdly, the community which shares these practices need not be a national community. The concept of nation often plays a major role in defining what a culture is, building intrinsic links between national culture, national language and national territory. From an intercultural perspective, however, culture can mean sharing in any number of communal practices, some of which may be best addressed at the national level of description, while others may involve “gender roles, local identity, ways of thinking determined by social class, generational identity” (Zarate, 1995, p. 24). That is to say, the national level of description should be considered as just that, *one level* of description, not as the overarching concept when it comes to understanding cultures.

Finally, the role of the individual in discussions of language and culture is essential. Since language and culture are practices in which individuals are involved, learning a language means learning how to become involved in new linguistic and cultural practices.

Viewing culture as a dynamic set of practices rather than as a body of shared information engages the idea of individual identity as a more central concept in understanding culture (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 23).

Since linguistic and cultural practices are not fixed and homogeneous, it follows that engaging in a set of practices need not mean conforming to them (Kramersch, 2008). Thus, the individual is central, in the sense that he or she need not conform to one or another culture, but will operate in what is referred to by Bhabha (1994) as a “third space” (Kramersch, 1995; cf. Kramersch, 1993).

Self-regulation and the intercultural speaker

It is the last of these four concerns which is underdeveloped in practice when it comes to intercultural telecollaborations. While the role of the individual is accepted in theory, in most cases, telecollaborations involve students with different cultural backgrounds undertaking a common task and thus trying to reach a common goal. Yet this task, the general topic of discussion, the learning goals, the strategies as to how to reach these goals, and the assessment, are all chosen and implemented to a great extent by teachers. Thus, the learners' acts of communication are not personal to them but "driven by the wishes, needs, and expectations of others" (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 452).

In this context, self-regulation, i.e. the processes which allow a student to set goals, define and implement strategies to reach those goals, and reflect on successes and failures (Zimmerman, 2000), appears as a useful tool to allow students to "take charge of [their] own learning" (Holec, 1979, p. 3).² In relation to intercultural approaches, this means that students will not approach learning as blank slates, primarily seen as deficient in their command of the target language, but as *speakers* who have something to say based on their personal, social, and cultural lives. Becoming self-regulated therefore has the potential to allow students to undertake learning which is personal to them and to their lives outside the classroom, and thus to view language learning as more than a school or academic activity, as personal experience and self-growth. This link between educational and social settings which can be built by utilising self-regulatory skills within intercultural telecollaborations is at the heart of intercultural approaches which view students not as deficient learners but as intercultural speakers with personal, social, and cultural backgrounds, desires, and wishes which language learning aims to enrich by broadening students' linguistic and cultural repertoires. Self-regulatory skills, it will therefore be argued, should be considered a crucial aspect of intercultural competence. Thus, to a certain extent, this thesis draws on two approaches to learning. The dialogue between, on the one hand, socio-constructivist or sociocultural approaches in which intercultural approaches are anchored and, on the other, the sociocognitive framework of self-regulation will allow for a deeper understanding of intercultural telecollaboration and intercultural competence, and how educational settings should allow the latter to become anchored in social settings and viewed as a lifelong self-development.

² My translation of the original French: « prendre en charge son propre apprentissage » (Holec, 1979, p. 3).

Structure of the thesis

Within this context, the present thesis will discuss the relation between intercultural competence and self-regulation, by analysing learners' self-regulatory processes in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations.

In Part 1, the theoretical background will be given, via a discussion of language and culture from an intercultural perspective, showing the importance of individual histories and linguistic and cultural backgrounds for intercultural competence. To this extent, intercultural learning must involve individuals meeting in communicative contexts which are meaningful to them. Thus, giving learners the opportunity to choose their own goals and strategies within self-directed frameworks is crucial to allowing them to develop intercultural competence, while at the same time, requiring self-regulatory skills, showing the interplay between sociocultural and sociocognitive perspectives.

In Part 2, the methodology behind the thesis will be put forward, describing five self-directed intercultural telecollaborations between French classes and Turkish, Italian, Bulgarian, or Brazilian classes, from middle school to master's level. In each case, students were asked to set their own goals and strategies regarding language and culture, complete a task which they had agreed upon as a group, and reflect on their successes or failures after the project.

In Part 3, the results will be given and analysed in order to establish how students responded to this framework, what type of goals they set, what strategies they planned to implement, whether or not they reported success in reaching their goals, what aspects they enjoyed, what frustrations they encountered, how this relates to their previous learning and intercultural background, as well as their desire to remain in contact with their partners or not.

Part 4 will interpret these findings in relation to the literature on self-regulation and intercultural competence, and show the former to be in part constitutive of the latter.

The conclusion will allow these results to be discussed further and for recommendations to be made in terms of how self-regulation and intercultural competence should be thought together in intercultural telecollaboration learning environments, in schools, universities, and teacher-training programs. On the basis of these results, future research should deepen the dialogue between sociocultural and sociocognitive approaches so as to give more evidence of the interplay between these perspectives, and bring forward the possibility of transfers between educational and social settings.

Part 1 Theoretical Background: combining self-regulation and intercultural learning

1.1 Language and cultural meanings

Understanding the possibilities offered by intercultural telecollaboration involves understanding the relationship between language and culture and the role this relationship has played in language learning and teaching.

Importantly, language teaching cannot be thought of as distinct from cultural meanings, as this leads to an impoverished understanding of language as a merely syntactic code. Indeed, in situations in which language is taught as distinct from cultural meanings, the language learner learns to express, in the target language, meanings which come from his or her native language. Thus, rather than using the target language to express new semantic meanings, the learner only broadens his or her syntactic possibilities, allowing him or her to say the same thing in several languages.

The foreign grammar is seen as a means of mapping the grammar and semantics of the native language onto the foreign language, without any fundamental change of meanings. To some extent this has been the practice within some dominant traditions of language teaching (Byram, 1988, p. 21-2).

This is problematic since language and culture cannot be separated so easily. Learning grammatical rules without learning their concrete usage in linguistic and cultural practices is not only an impoverished version of language learning, but an impossibility. Words themselves carry historical, social and cultural meanings. According to Kramsch (2002), the words “*Ausländer*” and “*foreigner*,” though one is a direct translation of the other, do not carry the same cultural connotations. (Kramsch, 2002, p. 199-200)

The pronominal second person in French, Spanish or Italian, which has singular and plural forms as well as forms indicating different levels of respect or familiarity, find only one translation in the English “you.”

In English, pronominal second person reference is done using a single pronoun form you. This use constructs the second person in a monistic way in which all potential second persons are second persons in the same way. Such a monistic category is a culturally contexted one which sets aside other ways of constructing the social world invoked by second person pronouns (Liddicoat A. J., 2009, p. 128).

This is not merely a linguistic quirk, but is deeply rooted in, and in turn deeply affects, the way English speakers view the second person. Using the second person pronoun is speaking to the Other, and thus, building one's relation to others and *in fine*, the community's social relationships on the whole. The fact that this is not done in the same way from one language to another is deeply revealing of the link between language and culture.

Once again, we see how language reflects and reinforces the speakers' view of the world. In language, we find encoded whatever speakers consider important in their culture. If a society of speakers is concerned with hierarchy, their language reveals and builds in hierarchy (e.g., tu/vous in French or tu/Lei in Italian) (Fantini, 2012, p. 267).

To this extent, one may have a good command of French grammar, but this will not suffice to determine when to use “tu” and when to use “vous.” In such cases, even “explanations that one form is more polite than another are not really helpful, because often what is involved can be a different idea of politeness” (Liddicoat A. J., 2008, p. 278).

1.2 Language and self-expression

Thus, learning a language cannot be simply a question of learning a new grammatical code to convey the meanings of the first language, it must involve expanding one's communicative repertoire. To this extent, it involves the individual creating new meanings for him or herself. Thus, the learner as an individual becomes of primary importance.

This focus on meaning requires an engagement with the processes of interpreting, negotiating, creating, and exchanging meaning and reflecting on meaning-making. Beyond attending to form and structure, language learning includes considering meanings as subjective and intersubjective, growing out of language but also from the life-worlds, experiences, memories, emotions, and perceptions of the participants in communication (Scarino, 2014, p. 389).

Thus, viewing language as the creation and transmission of meaning requires that language learning go beyond language in its structure, towards language as a vehicle for subjectivity, experience, emotions, etc. It is these which the learner must be able to convey and understand, not using language as a form of transaction merely to convey information, but as a way to create, appropriate and convey meanings.

If language is viewed as a social practice of meaning-making and interpretation, then it is not enough for language learners just to know grammar and vocabulary. They also need to know

how the language is used to create and represent meanings and how to communicate with others and to engage with the communication of others (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 15).

Thus, learners must go beyond a mere command of grammar and vocabulary towards the realisation that their new language allows them to create meanings which are new to them. They are thus not only learners (Kern & Liddicoat, 2008).

The learner cannot simply be seen as a learner, as deficient in their command of language. Learners are from the beginning of their learning users of language, in fact users of languages, through which they present themselves and construct and explore their worlds. Language is not a thing to be studied but a way of seeing, understanding, and communicating about the world and each language user uses his or her language(s) differently to do this (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14).

Thus, from an intercultural standpoint, language is not an object of study. Indeed, a learner who reifies language to the extent that it become a *thing* to be studied, is not aware of the personal dimension of this learning. The target language allows learners to speak, to find a voice which they did not previously have, because it reveals points of view which were not hitherto accessible to them. These points of view allow learners to broaden or deepen their self-expressive capabilities.

Participants in communication bring to it their own linguistic and cultural biographies, their distinctive frames of reference that come from their history of prior experiences, their meanings, and values (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 43).

To this extent, language learners are not blank pages. Individuals are, to borrow Heidegger's phrase, *always already* (Heidegger, 1962) involved in the world with others, and thus carry with them prior experiences, relationships, and points of view. Thus, learners are unique, and so must be their learning, since learning is not an accumulation of facts, but new forms of understanding and self-expression.

The language learner is also positioned as an individual with a unique personality and identity, who is engaged in the act of learning a language. In the act of language learning, the learner is always more than a generic construct. Rather, each learner brings to learning relationships with languages and cultures and a personal history formed through and in relation to languages and cultures (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 53).

Learning a new language, then, will bring the learner more than a new linguistic system. It will bring a development of his or her expressive repertoire. The possibilities that language learning

offers, to formulate and express new meanings hitherto unavailable, may represent a profound change for the individual.

Where foreign language teaching initiates such experience for learners in a new world of experience it develops their personality and contributes to their education in a unique way, unrepeatable in other subjects (Byram, 1988, p. 16).

But this profound change, as Byram points out, is unique to each individual. Thus, leaning a language is always a personal experience.

For to acquire and use a foreign language is to enter another way of life, another rationality, another mode of behaviour, however similar it may appear to that of the learner (Byram, 1988, p. 17).

Yet, this learning which is profoundly personal is also a form of participation in a community. While the individual plays a central role in language and culture, in his or her own learning, and is the central focus of this thesis, it must be remembered that language, culture, and learning being deeply rooted in communities, the individual being discussed here is the individual in his or her social being. Thus, language learners and users are to be considered as simultaneously individual and unique, and as socially and culturally anchored.

1.3 Individuals and their cultural contexts

While when discovering a new language, the learner does not arrive without a personal history, this history is also anchored in a common context and a shared history.

Although we have argued that language is personal, it is also communal. Individuals use language for social purposes within social contexts. [...] Knowing a language therefore means more than knowing a linguistic system or communicating information, it means engaging in social practices using that system in order to participate in the social life (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14).

Thus, when learners begin to learn a language “they also begin to function within a cultural context” (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 278). This is not the case merely anecdotally, as if culture were to be added to the target language, in a contingent relation to the primary focus on language.

Often culture has been considered to be some sort of fifth macro-skill, which is introduced once the skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing have been established. At its most extreme, this view considers culture as something that learners will pick up by themselves when they go to the foreign country (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 278).

On the contrary, in the same way language is never spoken in a personal void, it is never spoken in a cultural void. “Culture gives specific, local meanings to language by adding shared connotations and associations to the standard denotation of terms” (Liddicoat, 2009, p. 117-8). It is framing language learning as involving meanings which allows us to go beyond mere linguistic form towards a broader understanding of language which includes both personal histories and shared cultures.

Furthermore, learning to speak a language means becoming part of a linguistic community. Language is born from interactions between individuals, since these interactions are necessary for words to have meaning. Yet conversely, the ability to use language to communicate is the condition for such social contexts. “It is clear that language arises from interactions with others in social situations and that communication is indispensable for membership of a culture” (Fantini, 2012, p. 264). It follows from this that “the use of language, in fact, is our ticket to ‘membership’ into a cultural enclave” (Fantini, 2012, p. 264). For Fantini, then, we become part of a culture when we learn to speak, that is, to participate in the linguistic practices of the community to which we belong. Thus, learning a language, as Kramersch writes, is learning to share in modes of expressions which belong to a community.

L'apprentissage d'une langue n'est pas simplement l'acquisition d'un système linguistique autonome mais le développement d'un mode d'expression que partagent les membres d'une communauté linguistique donnée (Kramersch, 2008, p. 35).³

1.4 Language as a worldview

Being part of a linguistic community does not only mean sharing their means of expression and a sense of belonging. Beyond this, it means perceiving the world in the way others do, as shaped by the language used to describe it.

To pursue this notion further, consider that our entire view of the world is shaped in our minds, aided and influenced by the linguistic system to which we were exposed from birth. Indeed, all languages do that (Fantini, 2012, p. 264).

³ “The learning of a language is not simply the acquisition of an autonomous linguistic system but the development of a mode of expression which members of a given linguistic community share” (Kramersch, 2008, p. 35).

This is what has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, according to which “it is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language” (Sapir, 1949, p. 162), since on the contrary, “we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages” (Whorf, 1940, p. 213). Indeed, Whorf goes further than Sapir in claiming not only that language predisposes us to see the world in a certain way, but that it determines the way we see the world (Al-Sheikh-Hussein, 2012, p. 643).

Whorf insists that this worldview which is shaped by language and shared by our linguistic community is not something which is apprehended *thetically* (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Indeed, it is lived through, it shapes our involvement in the world around us, but it is not perceived by us. It is part of our “background” (Whorf, 1940, p. 211).

In short, language, culture, and the worldview they create are all parts of the same phenomenon – one that we take for granted, seldom think about, and fail to recognize; that is, until we come into contact with individuals from a different language – culture – individuals with a different worldview, one unlike our own (Fantini, 2012, p. 265).

Thus, it is our contact with a different worldview which can make us realise our own cultural anchorage. This anchorage, until this point, had served as the common context shared by all in which all communication took place. It is this anchorage which is cast into focus when we encounter a second language and culture. Yet, despite realising that we are socially anchored, we do not easily overcome our cultural situatedness.

Perceiving or constructing an image of a foreign culture is not a simple process. Two obstacles come to mind at once. The first is our naive and unquestioned adherence to a specific cultural system: our own. The second obstacle is linked to the first in that this unreflective attachment forms a screen or prism which conditions and blurs the representations one may have of other cultural realities (Murphy-Lejeune et al., 1996, p. 51).

When discovering an unknown culture, we always see it from the point of view of our own cultural background. Thus, we have a tendency to think of cultures as they relate to our own. Thus, for example, Swedish people see Americans as more outgoing than they are, and willing to speak more freely, *compared to* the Swedes who want to avoid certain subjects to avoid confrontation (Barker, 2016, pp. 19-21). Thus, there is no *view from nowhere*, no escaping our cultural situatedness to view culture from an objective point of view.

1.5 Beyond mere information toward intercultural competence

When considering classroom practices, then, this means that language learning cannot take place without some form of cultural learning. But this does not mean learning mere information about the target culture, but rather how to interact with culturally diverse interlocutors. Thus, beyond being able to speak a language, a learner must be

able to effectively exchange information with members of the target culture and does so by displaying attitudes of curiosity and openness, demonstrating the knowledge of how language and culture are related in the target culture, possessing skills of interpreting and relating, and being able to use, in real-time conversations, an appropriate combination of knowledge, skills, and attitudes to interact with speakers from a different country or culture (Chun, 2015, p. 6).

The notion of competence is described here as a combination of knowledge, skills, and attitudes (cf. Deardorff, 2006; 2020; UNESCO, 2013). This concept of competence was initially intended to shift away from forms of theoretical learning, such as “a linear progression through language structures, or a pre-determined set of notions and functions” towards “real-life tasks” focused on what learners “can do” (CEFR, 2018, p. 22), rather than what “decontextualised knowledge” they have “interiorised” (Bourguignon *et al.*, 2005, p. 461). Indeed, the CEFR allowed can-do descriptors to be established for a number of communicative situations, allowing for competences to be itemised and more easily assessed.

Yet a number of criticisms have been aimed at the *CEFR* and its *Companion Volume* beginning with the very notion of competence. The fact that the concept finds its source in professional environments before being accepted into educational matters (Gruca, 2012) and that it was developed within the field of language teaching and learning by a political body presenting it as politically neutral (Adami, 2017) has led many commentators to describe it as intrinsically linked to liberal and market driven economic considerations (Gohard-Radenkovic, 2017). Indeed, the very neutrality to which it aspires leads to the occultation of the historical and political contexts in which speakers use language, or even in which they are denied the use of language. Presenting language use as ahistorical and apolitical cannot be but a political act (Adami, 2017; Gohard-Radenkovic, 2017).

La dés-historicisation conduit à présenter les discours de politique linguistique européens comme intemporels, comme de purs discours d'expertise s'appuyant sur l'idéologie

inattaquable des droits de l'Homme, ce qui renforce leur pouvoir performatif, presque démiurgique (Adami, 2017, p. 6).⁴

The notion of competence, and in particular of *competences*, is central to this appearance of neutrality, as it isolates aspects of a speaker's ability to produce and receive meaning which cannot be separated from the contexts in which communication takes place.

This itemization of competences which Gohard-Radenkovic likens to the work of an entomologist (Gohard-Radenkovic, 2017, p. 12) tends to conceive the ability to use language as something which is fixed in the mind of the speaker, rather than dependent on contextual factors, and this despite the explicit goal of the CEFR to do the opposite. Scales describing so-called competences such as “general linguistic range”, or “vocabulary control” seem to exist independently of the context in which this range or control are deployed (Savski & Prabjandee, 2022). This occultation of context often minimises the difference in level which an individual speaker may have, depending on the context in which he or she is communicating. Blommaert (2010), for example, draws attention to the difference between speaking in an academic context, in which he assesses his English ability as C2, and speaking to a plumber, a doctor, or a financial advisor in which he believes his level is A1, showing the extent to which competence can fluctuate, from the highest to the lowest level, depending on the communicative situation.

Furthermore, the tendency to idealise the descriptors of the highest level of its scale can also serve to question the definition of competence. A highly competent speaker of a language will probably not assess him/herself as having “no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language” (CEFR, 2001, p. 27). As Anquetil *et al.* (2017) point out:

Est-on même assuré de pouvoir déclarer en toute conscience que l'on est capable d'écrire des textes « clairs et détaillés » dans sa langue maternelle, jusqu'à ce que le texte en question ne reçoive une forme de reconnaissance sociale (examen universitaire, acceptation d'article par un comité de rédaction...) ? (Anquetil *et al.*, 2017, p. 7).⁵

⁴ “Dehistoricisation leads European linguistic policy discourse to be presented as intemporal, as pure expertise based on the unattackable ideology of Human Rights, which reinforces its performative, almost demiurgic, power” (Adami, 2017, p. 6) (My translation).

⁵ “Can one even be certain to declare in good conscience that one is capable of writing ‘clear and detailed’ texts in one’s mother tongue before the text in question has received a form of social recognition (university exam, article acceptance by a writing committee...)?” (Anquetil *et al.*, 2017, p. 7) (My translation).

The term competence, therefore, must be understood in a much broader sense. Developing intercultural competence in particular need not entail the ability to itemise individual competences and place them on a scale of descriptors. Indeed, since intercultural approaches shed light on the intrinsic links between language and culture, between linguistic, social, cultural, historical, political, and economic factors of language use, it may be argued that intercultural competence *cannot* be itemised in this way. While itemising the skills and knowledge aspects of competence involved in understanding a news segment, giving a presentation, or exchanging greetings with colleagues may not seem insurmountable (though even this is highly debatable), the third component of competence involving attitudes is especially difficult to account for using precise descriptors, as attitudes such as openness and curiosity will fluctuate greatly depending on background, context, personality, or simply one's mood or the time of day, in a way in which one's ability to formulate a coherent sentence does not, or at least not to the same extent.

All this shows that intercultural competence is more than the mere ability to exchange information. This exchange must take place in a spirit of openness and curiosity, with an understanding of the intercultural context of the exchange as well as the symbolic power relations which may underpin it. In fact, this is similar to that which one may expect in any communication. Openness and curiosity, adaptability and attention to the context in which one's interlocutor is speaking, are competences which one is expected to develop even in monolingual settings. However, these social competences, even in a monolingual setting, are not developed in a cultural void. Complexifying the social context in which learners are asked to apply their social competence by adding an intercultural dimension, will require this competence to be adapted.

Teenagers' and adults' social competence is so linked to the social contexts in which they acquired their native language that we cannot expect them to be automatically socially competent in another linguistic code learned in a classroom (Kramsch, 1987, p. 244).

Thus, learners cannot be expected to adapt their social competences to a new cultural context simply by virtue of having learnt a new language. The language classroom cannot be a place where language is taught first and foremost, with culture to be added *ex post facto*.

1.6 Culture in the language classroom

Despite this, language teachers often do view their primary concern to be with language. Numerous studies have shown that while teachers are aware of the importance of cultural and intercultural questions in the language class (Larzén-Ostermark, 2008; Biebricher *et al.*, 2019), they rarely address these questions in practice (Diaz, 2013), feeling the curricula are vague or incomplete when it comes to culture (Young & Sachdev, 2011; Brunsmeier, 2017), or that culture is distinct from language learning, and thus time spent on cultural and intercultural issues is time taken from the core task of teaching language. “The focus on intercultural learning reduced her target language use and, therefore, in her view, her students’ language learning” (Biebricher *et al.*, 2019, p. 617; cf. Sercu *et al.*, 2004; Byram & Wagner, 2018).

Culture can also be viewed as problematic, and a question best avoided in the classroom. “The prospect of having to teach culture in language classes often makes language teachers nervous.” (Kramersch *et al.*, 1996, p. 99) The lack of neutrality related to this type of teaching appears to contradict the requirement in most countries that teachers be neutral, that is, do not engage in questions of politics, religion, conflict, domination, and subjugation, etc. (Kramersch, 2021). Yet, all these things contribute to the formation of the cultural contexts in which language is spoken.

*Highlighting cultural differences within the classroom raises real fears of reviving age-old ideological conflicts, whether they be wars of religion in France or Ireland, class struggle in Britain, racial and ethnic strife in the United States. Multiculturalism in education raises the spectre of a moral relativism that teachers do not feel competent to deal with (Kramersch *et al.*, 1996, p. 100)*

This lack of neutrality may indeed be problematic in the language classroom, yet language is never neutral and cannot be removed from its cultural context.

Discussions of ELT all too often assume that they know what the object of ELT is: this system of grammar and words called English. But clearly this is not adequate, since English is many things besides. The global spread of English and the materials and practices of ELT that support it cannot be removed from questions of power and politics (Pennycook, 2016, p. 34).

Language as a symbolic system is always the seat of symbolic power struggles anchored in the historical and political contexts in which language is spoken. Here, Kramersch distinguishes *la politique* and *le politique*, perhaps translatable as politics and the political. The former is “the fight among political parties for winning elections or from a leader for taking and maintaining the power to govern” (Kramersch, 2021, p. 14) The latter, by contrast:

refers to the exercise of symbolic power as the very principle that regulates the possibility of living together (vivre ensemble) in a shared community. Language educators have the responsibility of exploring the workings of le politique in the daily verbal and non-verbal transactions that their students will conduct in everyday life as soon as they leave their classroom (Kramersch, 2021, p. 14).

Engaging with the political means understanding the complexity of symbolic power struggles and their importance for meaning-making activities. This will allow students to go beyond their position as mere learners, beyond even their position as “*acteurs sociaux*” (CECRL, 2001; 2018), in order to become agents, in the sense that it will allow them to challenge or disrupt the structures and frameworks in which they are involved, through acts of participation but also of resistance or non-participation (Klemenčič, 2021; Muramatsu, 2013).

The CEFR appears to recognise the importance of social contexts in language learning. Yet, interestingly, the choice of words to define users and learners of language differs between the English and French versions of the CEFR. In the former, they are defined as “social agents” (CEFR, 2001, p. 9), while in the latter, they are defined as “*acteurs sociaux*” (CECRL, 2001, p. 14). The two are intended to be equivalent, as shown by the identical definitions that follow:

members of society who have tasks (not exclusively language-related) to accomplish in a given set of circumstances, in a specific environment and within a particular field of action. While acts of speech occur within language activities, these activities form part of a wider social context, which alone is able to give them their full meaning (CEFR, 2001, p. 9).

Nevertheless, actorhood and agency are distinct terms in both languages, and while related, differ conceptually and take a prominent place in many debates in both academic literatures. Actors are associated with individualism, and operate freely within the existing framework. Agents, on the contrary, are perceived both as constrained by the system, on the one hand, and on the other hand, as having the possibility to disrupt, challenge, and change the existing framework as agents of change (Klemenčič, 2021).

Whether using the term “agent” or the term “*acteur*”, the CEFR does not engage with the question of symbolic power as an intrinsic part of meaning-making. Thus while an *acteur social* will learn to use language within social contexts, these contexts may involve social disruption and challenges to institutional frameworks for which he or she will not be prepared. An intercultural speaker, on the other hand, will understand the complexities and contradiction often operating within social and cultural contexts, and will understand language use as intrinsically political (in the sense of *le politique*).

Language learning, on this view, can no longer only focus on linguistic form accompanied by encyclopaedic cultural facts, but must

include making the learners aware of the effects of their utterances, speech acts and politeness strategies on others; they will be made to reflect on the effects of style, register, topics and discourse strategies on the economy of symbolic power in poems, plays and prose (Kramsch, 2021, p. 203).

This means that students cannot learn culture from books as a list of more or less stereotypical facts, but must engage with otherness, questioning the foundations of cultural differences, while maintaining the conditions for successful communication.

The educational value of foreign language teaching, from elementary to advanced level, depends crucially on cultural studies, but on cultural studies which does not merely provide background information to language learning in a supposedly neutral way without comment or criticism (Byram, 1988, p. 17).

It has been shown that in all communication, interlocutors bring their own personal and cultural history to the discussion. In the language classroom, this is combined with the contribution from the language and culture being studied, also infused with social and historical significance. This meeting place is what constitutes the very richness of the language classroom.

Indeed, for several decades now, language and culture have been considered as closely linked, and educational policies have recommended or required that teaching the former must involve discussing the latter. As early as 1995, Zarate wrote “Nowadays, it is a common place to say that a foreign language course is a matter of both linguistic and cultural content” (Zarate, 1995, p. 24). Lawrence reminds us of the presence of culture and communities in the five ‘Cs’ of language learning put forth by the ACTFL.

The five Cs highlighted in the revised standards of the American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) emphasize communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities, encouraging learners to develop the ability to contrast and hypothesize about cultural systems embedded in communication processes (Lawrence, 2013, p. 304).

In Europe, the CEFR also mentions the importance of culture within language learning. Speaking of these two documents, as well as a 2007 report by the *Modern Language Association*, Chun writes that “all of these national (US) and multinational (European) guidelines indicate a shifting emphasis toward the important role of culture in the FL/SL profession” (Chun, 2015, p. 7).

However, a number of difficulties remain when it comes to integrating cultural learning into the language classroom. Early on, teacher training was not necessarily adapted to such practices, with the focus being largely on language.

While it is widely recognised that language and culture are closely bound, it is odd that European teacher training courses are still generally, if not exclusively, focused on the language component. As a result, they rarely include a component dealing explicitly with cultural representations and their relationship with the foreign languages studied in classrooms (Murphy-Lejeune *et al.*, 1996, p. 51).

But mostly, when culture is considered as a central part of language learning, it is often in the sense of high culture rather than teaching cultural competence by contextualising language. “Although language educators often refer to the cultural dimensions of language, they have been mostly concerned with big ‘C’ culture (i.e., art, music, literature, history, etc.)” (Fantini, 2012, p. 270). Indeed, the seemingly indissociable link between language and cultures appears often to understand culture as literature. Yet, as Byram writes, “the training in literary criticism which many language teachers have received is only partially adequate for the analysis of culture they ought to be promoting” (Byram, 1988, p. 24).

Yet, when asked about how they envisage culture, teachers mostly mention way of life and traditions, more so than other categories including institutions, norms and morals, and high culture (Byram *et al.*, 1995, p. 5-6). However, attempting to teach culture understood as a way or ways of life may also be problematic, in the sense that this view tends to essentialise culture as a set of national practices in which all inhabitants partake, leading to stereotypical conceptions which are reified as objects of study.

1.7 Essentialised national cultures

Indeed, historically, this conception of culture as a homogeneous national culture has carried a lot of weight and contributed much to our vision of culture today. The intimate link between language and culture appeared in the late eighteenth century, gaining momentum during the nineteenth century.

[This conception originated] in the German-speaking areas of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. This movement emphasized that language should be seen as intimately related to nation, people, and culture. During the nineteenth century, this idea gained a

National-Romantic form stressing the intimate relations between national language and national culture (Risager, 2012, p. 101).

Risager identifies Johann Gottfried von Herder as one of the first to suggest an intimate relation between language and culture. While Herder was interested in the link between language and nation, the term nation did not then have the meaning it has today.

The word nation was almost synonymous with the word people (Volk), and it did not then have the political meaning it was to acquire with the French Revolution. The population of the entire world was seen as consisting of peoples/nations. The concept of nation at the time had, then, similarities with the present concept of 'ethnic group'/'ethnie' (Risager, 2012, p. 102).

Thus, Herder developed the idea that there was an intrinsic relation between languages and the people who spoke them. This was taken up by Wilhelm von Humboldt, for whom language carries with it a particular worldview (*Weltansicht*). “There lies in every language a particular worldview” (Humboldt, 1836, p. 60). Humboldt was also one of the first to take an interest in language learning on the learner’s worldview.

Humboldt was also interested in what happens to one’s worldview when one learns a foreign language. He thought that the new language marks a new standpoint, a different approach to an understanding of the world (Risager, 2012, p. 102).

Thus, learning a language was seen as a way to gain a new point of view, to understand the world from a different perspective. The notion of a worldview would later be taken up, as discussed above, by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf to show that the way we conceptualise our environment depends on the language we speak. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the notion of an intimate relation between language and culture developed throughout Europe, gradually taking on the form of a relation between national language and national culture.

This romantic idea of a fusion between language and people/nation gained considerable support in connection with the nationalist tendencies that became increasingly strong and widespread throughout eighteenth-century Europe, first as a progressive liberal movement, and later in various right-wing nationalist and socialist versions (Risager, 2012, p. 102).

This view will be criticised in more detail in the following chapter, but for Risager, the intrinsic link between language and culture is fundamentally misunderstood.

One position maintains that language and culture are inseparable, referring to the above-mentioned traditions associated with Herder, Humboldt, Sapir, and Whorf, and especially the National-Romantic form, which stresses the intimated relationship between national language and national culture (Risager, 2012, p. 106).

This is not to say that there is no link between language and culture that language is in some way independent of cultural considerations.

The other position maintains that language is culturally neutral in the sense that it is possible to study language as a structure or a functional system without reference to cultural and historical contexts of us (Risager, 2012, p. 106).

Risager's view which is representative of an intercultural approach, is a third position, in which language cannot function in a cultural vacuum, but can be separated from any specific culture. Thus, languages do not correspond to national cultures and territories. Yet some form of context is required to produce and share meaning.

In my work, I define a third position, a position that maintains that: (1) language and culture can, in fact, be separated; and (2) language is never culturally neutral. It changes the perspective from the traditional national paradigm to a transnational view of both language and culture (linguaculture) (Risager, 2012, p. 106).

But what is especially interesting in Risager's view is an attachment to the notion of personal history, and its relation to communal conventions and practices.

Linguaculture is, as already said, both structurally constrained and socially and personally variable. It is a bridge between the structure of language and the socially constituted personal idiolect. When I speak English, I draw on the meaning structures and conventions of the English language, shared by others, and at the same time embody my personal connotations and life experiences in my speech (Risager, 2012, p. 107).

Since language and culture are products of a community, rules and conventions restrict their use. But the meanings which they allow one to share are personal, despite being socially constituted. Thus, the rules imposed by language and culture on the individual allow him or her to construct and share meaning within a community, and thus to constitute an identity within this community.

Indeed, as Kramsch also points out, the rules which govern linguistic and cultural practices are crucial, since "they are what distinguishes cultural meaningfulness from natural randomness"

(Kramersch, 1995, p. 84). Yet, attaching too much importance to rules often make a set of rules become *the* rules.

Because they allow people to anticipate events, they often acquire a moral rigidity and righteousness that engender stereotypes and even prejudices. Indeed, they tend to 'naturalise' culture and to make one's own ways of thinking, speaking and behaving seem as natural as breathing, and the ways of others seem 'unnatural.' Culture is always linked to moral values, notions of good and bad, right and wrong, beautiful and ugly (Kramersch, 1995, p. 84).

This reveals a symbolic system in which forms of violence and power are “euphemised” to become symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 210), by forging specific cultures which define themselves as the only or the best culture, introducing notions of morality to describe others. The notion of what is the norm and thus what is to be treated as abnormal is born of these conventions.

1.8 Culture as individual involvement

It is in this context that Kramersch stresses the importance of imagination as an axis for analysing culture. “Culture, then, constitutes itself along three axes: the diachronic axis of time, the synchronic axis of space, and the metaphoric axis of the imagination” (Kramersch, 1995, p. 85). As well as time which sets a culture on an axis of now versus before, and space which establishes the duality of here and there, Kramersch believes imagination should bring us to envisage the possible lives we could have had within a different culture.

Teaching culture means therefore teaching not only how things are and have been, but how they could have been or how else they could be. Neither history nor ethnography provide this imaginative leap that will enable learners to imagine cultures different from their own. Breaking down stereotypes is not just realising that people are not the way one thought they were, or that deep down 'we are all the same'. It is understanding that we are irreducibly unique and different, and that I could have been you, you could have been me, given different circumstances — in other words, that the stranger, as Kristeva says, is in us (Kramersch, 1995, p. 85).

Thus, until we consider the possibility of foreign cultures being our own culture, we can only have a list of facts about foreign culture, either stereotypes or conceptions which stand against stereotypes. Going beyond this type of analysis towards an analysis of lived experience from an internal perspective requires imagination. Imagining oneself as being part of another culture,

means viewing that culture from the point of view of one's unique subjective experience, rather than objectively, in the sense of as an object of study.

Without such subjective involvement in culture, cultures are seen from the outside as objects of study, which look to homogenise cultural groups, through both space and time. "Culture is also often depicted as though it were unchangeable and representative of all its 'members'" (Dervin, 2012, p. 182-3). But culture cannot be homogeneous since it is made up, as has been mentioned, of actions of individuals and conflicts of ideas (Abdallah-Preteille, 1998; 2017). For this reason, culture is heterogeneous and in movement, this is to say that "culture cannot be but plural, changing, adaptable, constructed" (Dervin, 2012, p. 183).

It follows from this than when speaking of languages in relation to cultures, it must be in relation to every aspect of culture, including "local and global levels, from small communities, work groups, households and so on to whole nations and even larger entities" (Holliday, 2012, p. 37). Each of these levels of culture can affect the way people talk and be affected by language itself. Each of these levels is also made up of individuals who are unique and do not conform to a homogeneous vision of these cultures. Nor are they exceptions to a norm. Holliday is critical of a neo-essentialist conception which he attributes to Durkheim (1964), which maintains an essentialist framework like Hofstede's (1980) but adds notions such as heterogeneity. But this heterogeneity is still conceived on the model of rules and exceptions. "Therefore, if a culture is deemed collectivist, 'any' behaviour within it can be explained as contributing to (or as an exception to) its collectivism" (Holliday, 2012, p. 38).

On the contrary, Holliday builds a conception of culture inspired by Weber (1947) and defends the idea that cultures are always in movement, and that it is dangerous to look for essences, or descriptions of how things *really* are. Thus, while Triandis (1994), for example, associates western cultures with autonomy and individualism, and Africans, Asians and South Europeans with family and interdependence, such categorisations are necessarily artificial and can only cause incomprehension when applied to the heterogeneous and constantly shifting reality.

Thus, generalisations about such and such a culture tend to obscure the fact that such cultures are made up of individuals. And indeed, when language learners are confronted with cultural difference it is in the form of individuals whose cultural and linguistic background is different from their own. In the following section, it will be seen that while individuals are indeed culturally situated, moving away from the conception of culture as homogeneous and fixed will

allow the individual to be placed at the centre of his or her own learning as an intercultural speaker.

Chapter 2 Intercultural approaches

2.1 A rich sense of “communication”

Intercultural competence in language learning is a notion which was born in the 1990s in reaction to the perceived failure of the communicative method. Communication, from which the communicative method gets its name, is no longer seen as a simple exchange of information. Exchanging information can only be appropriate if learners wish to acquire a consumer-tourist competence, meaning the ability to “manage” in a foreign country, without truly interaction with people other than what is needed to obtain practical information (i.e. how to obtain food, shelter, directions, etc.)

From an intercultural perspective, this does not result in communication in a rich sense, merely in an exchange. Communication, on the contrary, means living with, or in Liddicoat’s words, maintaining social relationships.

From an intercultural perspective communication comes to be seen as primarily an act of sociality: that is it is not simply the case that information is transferred from one participant to another, but rather language is used to create and maintain social relationships (Liddicoat, 2009, p. 116).

This is why intercultural competence was introduced. Far from wanting to limit students to the mere exchange of information, an intercultural approach aims to transform the notion of communication and the competence it requires.

The ‘cultural turn’ – the introduction of ‘intercultural competence’ to complement ‘communicative competence’ – has further refined the notion of what it is to be competent for communication with speakers of different languages and with speakers using a lingua franca (Byram et al., 2013, p. 251).

Thus, even if one accepts the communicative premise that the goal of language learning is to communicate, the very definition of what it means to be a competent communicator must be rethought. This is all the more important in the context of globalisation in a hyperconnected world in which we are constantly in contact with a diversity of cultures. Intercultural interactions do not only take place in foreign countries when travelling or living abroad, but for many, are part of our daily lives. To this extent, integrating an intercultural competence into language learning is essential.

As the processes of globalization, increased mobility, and technological development have come to shape ways of living and communicating, there has been a growing recognition of the fundamental importance of integrating intercultural capabilities into language teaching and learning (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 1).

Thus, cultural considerations enter into the very notion of communication, not as auxiliary items of knowledge which help interpret the words of others, but as an inherent feature of communication itself.

Communication, when viewed from the perspective of intercultural communication, involves complex interrelationships between language and culture. These interrelationships apply at all levels of language in use and they are central, not peripheral, features of the communication process (Liddicoat, 2009, p. 130).

Thus, the cultural aspect of communication cannot be added ex post facto to a linguistic system perceived as the essence of communication. “Language learners have to engage with culture as they communicate and to learn the cultural contexts which frame communication and interpretation” (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 277). Since no communication takes place in a cultural vacuum, communicating is involving oneself in a culture.

2.2 Learning as personal development

Yet, as Byram et al. write (2013), the exchange of information remains the central preoccupation for many teachers and learners.

Despite this ‘cultural turn’, for many teachers, learners and the general public, the purposes of language teaching remain the same and appear to be self-evident: to develop the ability to communicate (Byram et al., 2013, p. 251).

In this context, learning is seen as an accumulation of knowledge and skills, rather than the process of personal, emotional, intellectual, and social maturation of the learning.

*However, in addition, some language teachers have also recognised the opportunity to re-integrate the aims of the liberal educational philosophy which had been attached to language teaching in the nineteenth century, i.e. the personal development of the individual through empathetic understanding of other countries, peoples and their languages, characterised by Wilhelm von Humboldt’s notion of *Bildung* (Byram et al., 2013, p. 251).*

Humboldt's concept of *Bildung* posits that education, philosophy and personal development should be inextricably linked. The goal of education, on this view, is not limited to knowledge alone.

To this extent, Zarate regrets that the CEFR considers cultural competences as add-ons, auxiliary competences designed to assist communication. “Les compétences culturelles et interculturelles y sont donc posées comme la résultante de compétences communicatives, ce qui conduit à leur définition restrictive” (Zarate, 2008, p. 176).⁶ Yet, far from being the accumulation of cultural facts presented as optional information which may assist communication, intercultural factors are at the very core of language, and thus, as Liddicoat writes, are “something that is integral to the interactions that already and inevitably take place in the classroom and beyond” (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 282).

2.3 Beyond the encyclopaedic vision of culture

Rejecting this idea of culture as a set of objective facts that should be added on to language learning is at the very heart of intercultural approaches. The vision of culture thus presented is that of a homogeneous and fixed entity which can be analysed into its smallest parts and learned objectively.

One problem for the integration of culture into language education has been that many of the early models on which culture learning has been based present culture as unvarying and composed of discrete, concrete facts that can be taught and learned as factual information (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 22).

These early models, among which Liddicoat & Scarino cite Brooks (1975) and Nostrand (1974), attempted to accompany language learning with the learning of objective cultural facts about the culture associated with the target language.

This leads to an encyclopaedic conception of culture, which could be learnt as a set of facts and rules. “Culture is therefore reduced to information about others and is taught as if it were a set of the learnable rules that can be mastered by students” (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 22). But such an encyclopaedic conception cannot result in rich communication, in the sense discussed above, as it does not give students the opportunity to become *involved* in culture.

⁶ “Cultural and intercultural competences are therefore presented as the result of communicative competences, which leads to their restrictive definition” (Zarate, 2008, p. 176) (My translation).

Culture is not simply a body of knowledge but a framework in which people live their lives, communicate and interpret shared meanings, and select possible actions to achieve goals (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 22).

This “framework in which people live their lives” at the core of intercultural approaches as that in which learners become involved to create communication in the rich sense of *living with* the other. This *living with* was omitted from the communicative approach.

Like much of the communicative approach to teaching foreign languages, it was mostly predicated on a view of communication as the rational, dispassionate exchange of information between interlocutors who could be expected to share the same basically democratic view of the world, or at least who could be persuaded to do so because of common economic interests that required them to get things done quickly, accurately and effectively (Kramersch, 2006, p. 101).

Yet, intercultural communication does not take place in such contexts of universal values. Even if one speaks the language of the other, one cannot communicate in the rich sense if one is unaware of the cultural background, the values, and the way of life of that other. Integral to this notion of *living with* are notion of peace and equality which cannot be reached by merely learning to speak a foreign language. “Educators fear that the mere acquisition of linguistic systems is no guarantee of international peace and understanding” (Kramersch, 1995, p. 83).

Indeed, simply exchanging information with a neighbouring community cannot allow this *living with* to develop, without cultural practices and values being taken into account.

An increasingly salient justification for the study of foreign languages is the value of language learning for developing intercultural competence, and in particular for showing how interculturality meshes with widespread aims of equity and acceptance of the stranger in new contexts of global diversity (Coffey, 2013, p. 266).

This is all the more important in the modern globalised world. Thus, intercultural communication is of key importance since it allows both cultural enrichment and political and social appeasement in both domestic and international configurations.

Beyond this, however, it also allows personal development through the opportunity to decentre and view oneself and one’s community from the point of view of others.

Although some feel threatened by the contact with people whose culture is different from their own, IC [international contact] has come to be seen as an opportunity to put into question one’s own cultural assumptions and as a source of enrichment (Kramersch & Michiko, 2012, p. 211).

2.4 Practical considerations

In practice, however, intercultural communication implies the difficult transition from *living side-by-side* to *living with*. For example, despite higher education offering more and more opportunities to spend time studying abroad, such living abroad is no guarantee of intercultural communication between students from different countries.

They may form an international group and there is potential for internationalism, but unless there is a policy and practice which promotes this and the Bildung it could engender, there will be internationalisation but not internationalism (Byram, 2012a, p. 379).

Byram's distinction between internationalisation and internationalism is similar to that between *living with* and *living side-by-side*. The former supposes the creation of social relationships, whereas the latter merely requires superficial exchanges. Thus, even international travel or study does not guarantee intercultural communication. But the difficulties of implementing an intercultural approach also exist in local contexts, and specifically in language education. While researchers are aware of the need to integrate intercultural concerns in the classroom, this often remains theoretical.

One of the challenges facing this integration has been to move from recognition of the need for an intercultural focus in language education to the development of practice (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 1).

This perceived gap between theory and practice, between researchers and teachers and institutions, appears to hinder the implementation of intercultural education in the classroom. Indeed, concrete manuals about how to implement such education are lacking.

There are far fewer publications about classroom practice, which many readers of this journal will regret. The relationship between theory and practice in education is a difficult one. 'Practitioners' often feel that 'theorists' are too distant from classrooms, but 'theorists' would say that all practice embodies theory even if it is not acknowledged (Byram et al., 2013, p. 251).

For teachers, it appears difficult to go beyond the model of culture as reified, as a set of teachable, more or less stereotypical, facts and rules, and to move towards an intercultural approach. Yet, such a shift requires an understanding of a field of study which is still in construction.

Much has been made of the 'cultural turn' in the social sciences and humanities over the last three decades. One of the most interesting subsequent developments to emerge in its wake is

the – as yet unfinished – reconfiguration of cultural to intercultural contexts (Adams, 2009, p. 250).

Indeed, most manuals and textbooks still present a reified vision of culture, presenting cultures as fixed, homogeneous, and mutually exclusive. The link they establish between languages and cultures also tends to be based on a one-to-one relationship between a national language and a national culture associated with that language.

2.5 Movement between cultures

An important insight of intercultural approaches is their insistence on movement between cultures. Sociocultural competences are not, therefore, necessarily linked to specific cultures, and do not disappear to be replaced by others linked to what is construed as the target culture corresponding to the target language. On the contrary, such competences can be both multiple and transversal, allowing learners to engage in or interact with several cultures.

ICC [intercultural communicative competence] is, therefore, understood within the broader context of acculturation, which is the process of learning and adapting to a new culture. Acculturation researchers have generally shifted from a unidimensional to a bidimensional view of the process, the former assuming that host-culture adaptation only occurs to the extent that the home culture is unlearned or discarded and that complete assimilation into the host culture is the ultimate goal, and the latter recognizing the possibility of being well adjusted in either, neither, or both cultures (Barker, 2016, p. 14-15).

It is this bidimensional view which allows sociocultural competences to become intercultural competences, since the discovery of a new culture need not occur in a substitutive movement, nor only in an additive movement to one's previous culture(s), but interacts with one's personal history to expand one's cultural repertoire.

As one gains in proficiency, the more likely one will begin to transcend and transform one's native system for, as one learns to see things anew, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain a monocular vision of the world (Fantini, 2012, p. 267).

Engaging in foreign cultures is thus a manner of adding a point of anchorage to one's existing personal, social, and cultural being, multiplying perspectives and gradually enriching and transforming a monocular vision into an intercultural one.

Yet, as mentioned, adding a point of anchorage need not mean simply adding "a culture" so as to become doubly monocultural. The *inter-* in intercultural approaches is intended to distinguish

itself from the *multi-* of multiculturalism in just this sense. It is not a question of viewing cultures as units which are added or multiplied, but as practices, postures and perspectives taken up by individuals with their own personal histories.

Like other ‘-isms’, interculturalism is an ideology or belief system. It has recently, in the European context at least, been contrasted with ‘multiculturalism’, which is seen, in a negative light, as a belief in encouraging different social groups with different languages and cultures to live side by side in a spirit of mutual acceptance, each remaining within their own language and culture and essentially monolingual (Byram, 2012b, p. 86).

An intercultural speaker will thus go beyond native speakers’ monocular vision and thus be able to go between cultures or combine cultures in an interactive movement which broadens his or her cultural repertoire. This repertoire is thus intrinsically linked to the intercultural speaker’s movement between cultures. Thus, learning a language should not be seen as developing linguistic skills and intaking the cultural knowledge that goes with it, but as engaging with others by moving between linguistic and cultural areas.

Second language learning within an intercultural orientation, we argue, is best seen as a process that necessarily entails a movement between languages and cultures in communicating with others in the target language being learned and in the process of learning itself (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 43).

As such, intercultural speakers are neither native speakers nor non-native speakers. They take their place against a background built up of multiple linguacultural communities with which they engage, to which they belong, and which they carry with them to varying degrees and in different ways.

The intercultural speaker stands in a complex relationship with languages, cultures, and communities, as insider or outsider and, to varying degrees, recognized as a member of many speech communities (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 53).

They can thus identify with one culture or another, sometimes with none, blending, confronting, or reconciling elements from several cultures in their reflection, their actions, their decisions.

2.6 Culture as heterogeneous

In this sense, culture cannot be understood as fixed and homogeneous (Abdallah-Preteuille, 1998; 2017). This restrictive vision of culture cannot account for the lived experience of

intercultural speakers, as participation in the practices of one cultural community will not exclude them from participating in others, and feeling that they belong equally to both.

Practices themselves are not preconditions of membership of cultural groups as they do not exist as coherent bodies of knowledge and values which are transmitted by groups, rather they are deployed in participation in groups and every individual has access to more practices than will be required to participate in any particular group. All individuals are therefore able to participate in multiple cultures deploying practices in context-sensitive ways to construct action in different social groups. This means that cultural identities are fluid and constructed from the multiple group memberships of individuals. Cultural identities therefore are not coherent or fixed in terms of national or other affiliations, rather they grow out of participation in interaction with groups of others (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 21).

Culture thus understood must be heterogeneous, since the individuals who participate in a community' practices are themselves involved in other practices which forge them as individuals. Therefore, when considering their influences and personal histories, individuals themselves are complex and plural. "Socialisation et enculturation se déclinent au pluriel" (Abdallah-Preteille, 1998, p. 128). The existence of communal practices must not make us lose sight of the fact that the individuals participating in them do not form a homogeneous group.

Cultures are therefore dynamic and emergent – they are created through the actions of individuals and in particular through the ways in which they use language. [...] Culture in such a view is not a coherent whole but a situated process of dealing with the problems of social life. Cultures thus are open to elements that are diverse and contradictory, and different interpretations may be made of the same events by individuals who may be considered to be from the same culture (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 21).

The movement and heterogeneity of cultures allow the intercultural speaker to speak several languages and engage in several cultures. Since cultures themselves are not fixed or homogeneous, individuals need not conform to a fixed and homogeneous cultural model.

Thus, the goal of the intercultural speaker when engaging in cultural learning is not to gain the same competence as the native speaker of the target culture. Indeed, it is to dispel this vision of learning, sometimes called native-speakerism, that the term "intercultural speaker" was coined.

It was in writing for the Council of Europe in the 1990s that Zarate and I introduced the notion of the 'intercultural speaker' to contrast with the (cultural) competence of the native speaker (Byram, 2014, p. 211).

This “contrast” is not to be understood as a poor imitation. Indeed, the ideological implications of the native-speaker model are, as will be discussed in more detail below, at best anchored in a nation-state paradigm (Bouchard, 2019; Derivry-Plard, 2019), at worst a euphemised form of racism (Holliday, 2008; Holliday & Aboshiba, 2009; Rivers, 2011a; 2011b; Kubota, 2018).

Intercultural speakers, as has been mentioned, are not multiple native speakers with a less perfect command of grammar and cultural codes. They are distinct as they draw from multiple sources to build a linguistic and cultural repertoire which is richer than that of a native speaker (Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Backus, 2013).

Yet, as they draw from these sources, they also participate in creating, maintaining, challenging the cultural practices in which they engage. In this sense, while cultural practices are communal, they are not overarching rulebooks to which individuals conform, but made up of complex individuals who create and maintain them. To this extent, language learners cannot be seen as neutral visitors of a foreign culture. Since learning means engaging in cultural practices, it necessarily carries a political dimension. An intercultural approach involves learners becoming engaged in other cultures, taking up a position within those cultures, which in turn involves having an opinion, agreeing, or disagreeing, not with foreign cultures as foreign, but with aspects of those cultures which they live through as members of a linguacultural community.

This involves teachers in encouraging learners to go beyond mere acceptance of the status quo in historical and political development, to respond politically and analytically to the foreign culture. This means in turn a reflection on the learners' own culture and an analysis of, and potential reaction to, the historical situation in which learners find themselves (Byram, 1988, p. 17).

2.7 Beyond national cultures

This goes against the notion of cultures as impermeable national cultures associated with an equally immutable language, and clearly delimited by national borders. To this extent, an intercultural approach views the concept of nation as a restrictive level of description when addressing culture.

It has been shown that culture is not homogeneous but heterogeneous and in constant movement under the influence of the individuals who participate in it. However, the idea of nations, with a language, a territory, and a culture, remains in popular opinion.

As the ideology of nationalism has spread across the globe, so it has shaped contemporary common sense. Notions, which seem to us so solidly banal, turn out to be ideological constructions of nationalism. They are 'invented permanencies', which have been created historically in the age of modernity, but which feel as if they have always existed (Billig, 1995, p. 29)

Teachers more specifically have not been spared from this permeation of the concept of nation into “common sense.”

Hence, the propensity of foreign language teachers to view language as a national entity, native speakers as foreign nationals (for example, the French spoken in Quebec being seen as but a variant of the 'real' French spoken by the French-French in France), and culture also mainly in national terms (Kramersch et al., 1996, p. 100).

Thus, when culture is discussed in language teaching, it is often as the culture which is associated with the target language. “‘Culture’ in language teaching and learning is usually defined pragmatically as a/the culture associated with a language being learnt” (Byram & Grundy, 2002, p. 193). When teaching a “foreign” language, teachers and educational policies consider that there is a one-to-one correspondence between a given language and the culture which is associated with it. The term “foreign” is a natural product of this conception of culture.

Whole edifices of curriculum, teaching practices, and policies for language teaching are constructed on the assumption that entire languages can be considered foreign, with pervasive repercussions in curriculum, program design, and pedagogy (LoBianco, 2014, p. 312).

Today, there is some debate over terminology (Cunningham, 2019). Some universities in the United States, such as West Virginia University or Lafayette College in Pennsylvania, beginning to rename their foreign language departments using terms such as “world languages” or simply “languages”. Many language education researchers and professionals prefer “other” or “additional languages” to the term “foreign” in order to show the proximity of languages to each other (Kohl et al., 2020). However, the term “foreign languages” remains in general use (though often in inverted commas) and impacts how language and culture are understood. “The focus on ‘foreignness’ buys into an agenda of ‘them’ and ‘us’” (Kohl, 2018) which reduces cultures to homogeneous national entities.

Thus, culture is studied in its poorest form, as a set of characteristics, supposedly common to all speakers of the target language, and thus, to all members of the cultural community.

En effet, les manuels et les programmes d'enseignement des langues sont souvent tentés de privilégier une description centrée sur l'appartenance à une entité nationale qui rassemble les caractéristiques d'un peuple ou d'une nation, ce qui autorise une description simplifiée d'une langue et d'une culture étrangères. Cette simplification engendre des compromis didactiques qui conduisent, par exemple :

- *Soit à une vision enchantée du pays dont on enseigne la langue, en empruntant, par exemple, les procédés de la valorisation touristique qui conduisent à diffuser une approche réductrice de la réalité sociale que l'expérience vécue peut démentir au quotidien,*
- *Soit à une approche généralisante de la réalité nationale, recensant un nombre limité de caractéristiques psychologiques, sociales, historiques, qui décrivent la nation comme un ensemble de données factuelles qui figent la description et la situent hors du temps (Zarate, 2008, p. 173).⁷*

In fact, the latter vision discussed by Zarate leads naturally to the former. Indeed, the reduction of culture to a set of factual data cannot account for the lived experience of the individuals who constitute it, and can only lead to stereotypical view of culture, for better – as is the case in language classes – or for worse.

Thus, language classrooms often rely on a conception of a culture as directly corresponding to a nation, its language, and its territory, be it one's own domestic culture or a foreign culture.

Le paradigme monolingue s'inscrit dans cette puissante idéologie linguistico-nationale exemplifiée par le slogan « un peuple, une langue, une nation », le crédo des états-nations qui y puisent la fabrication de leurs identités nationales (Derivry-Plard, 2020).⁸

This monolingual ideology rests upon the correspondence between language, culture and territory conceived as national entities and gives us “an implicit view of a monolingual learner

⁷ “Indeed, language teaching textbooks and curricula are often tempted to favour a description centred around belonging to a national entity which includes the characteristics of a people or a nation, allowing a simplified description of a foreign language and culture. This simplification produces didactic compromises which lead, for example:

- Either to an enchanted vision of the country whose language is being taught, borrowing, for example, touristic valorisation techniques leading to the broadcasting of a reductive approach to social reality which lived experience can refute daily
- Or to a generalising approach of national reality, listing a limited number of psychological, social and historical characteristics which describe the nation as a set of factual data which freeze the description and set it outside of time” (Zarate 2008, p. 173) (My translation).

⁸ “The monolingual paradigm inscribes itself in that powerful linguistic-national ideology exemplified by the slogan ‘one people, one language, one nation’, the credo of nation-states which draw from it the creation of their national identities” (Derivry-Plard, 2020, p. 32) (My translation).

in a homogeneous society focused on a similar homogeneous society of native speakers” (Byram, 2002, p. 43).

2.8 A concept of nation inherited from history

This conception of culture can be traced to a specific period in history. The modern period saw European governments mount considerable efforts to unify their respective nations, forging this correspondence between a language, a culture, and a territory. According to Kramersch, language teaching has remained deeply rooted in this modern period.

Modernity, a product of the 18th-century Enlightenment, is characterized by all the features that FL teachers take for granted: the existence of nation–states, each with their national language and their national culture; the existence of standardized languages with their stable grammars and dictionaries that ensure the good usage of the language by well-educated citizens that FL learners are expected to emulate; the superiority of national languages over regional dialects and patois; the clear boundaries between native and foreign languages and among foreign languages so that one can clearly know whether someone is speaking French, German, or Chinese, standard Spanish or regional Spanish; the codified norms of correct language usage and proper language use that language learners have to abide by for fear of not being understood or not being accepted by native speakers. The language teaching profession in this sense has been a highly modernist profession (Kramersch, 2014, p. 297).

Today, according to Kramersch, this modern period is being called into question. “Today, the modern and the late modern worlds coexist with increasing unease” (Kramersch, 2014, p. 297). A number of factors, which have been mentioned above, are posing a challenge to the Modern conception of culture. Indeed, globalisation, mass migration, and global communication via internet are force into question this strict correspondence between culture, language and territory.

In our late modern era, scholars are concerned that globalization is bringing about deep changes into our ways of thinking, learning, and knowing that educational institutions are not prepared to deal with. Language and language education are at the forefront of those concerns (Kramersch, 2014, p. 297).

Thus, national structures which are rarely questioned in our daily lives face the challenge of cultural exchange, moving populations and open borders. But these structures are not natural structures: border are drawn, language is standardised. This is the product of a deliberate effort

which often goes unseen, as it is part of the dominant monolingual/monocultural paradigm (Derivry-Plard, 2016; 2019; 2020).

The lexicographic revolution in Europe, [...], created, and gradually spread, the conviction that languages (in Europe at least) were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups – their daily speakers and readers – and moreover that these groups, imagined as communities, were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals (Anderson, 1983, p. 84).

This idea that language belongs to specific groups is still present today in much popular discourse, as well as in teacher's beliefs and curricula which idealise the "native speaker" as a model insofar as belonging to a territorially constituted community grants them legitimacy over the language they speak. Yet these communities, to borrow Anderson's title phrase, are "imagined" (Anderson, 1983).

As Lo Bianco explains, nations are geopolitical spaces whose languages have often been diverse and varied. The construction of nations in today's sense required cultural and linguistic harmonisation.

A central part of the argument concerns the spatial distribution of languages, the result of centuries of effort by states, national and pre-national alike, to organize who speaks what where, conducted through overt and covert strategies of language planning (LoBianco, 2014, p. 312-13).

National languages are thus adopted by decree and standardised to create unity inside the nation and a clear opposition with foreign nations. Thus, the same process which created nations, also created foreigners.

The term foreign relativizes language and space, so that particular geopolitical spaces, constituted as national states, are dedicated exclusively or dominantly to standard forms of particular languages, and are differentiated from neighboring or distant geopolitical spaces dedicated to different languages. Language education internal to national states has aimed at reinforcing and naturalizing selected linguistic codes, so that what is constituted as foreign is counterposed to what is constituted as familiar (LoBianco, 2014, p. 313).

Thus, the creation of the nation by linguistic and cultural harmonisation also created the foreign nation. The foreign is like the domestic, but other: another language, another culture, another territory. According to Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, this linguistic harmonisation was born during the sixteenth century, but gained momentum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They quote Geeraerts to explain its two principal motivations.

The ideology that a single unified nation-state required a single language gained particular impetus with the French Revolution, during which the argument for the necessity of a single language for the state made based on two main perspectives: one pragmatic – promoting effective communication and access to state institutions and political functions – and one symbolic – creating and reinforcing a single, unified identity (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015, p. 2).

This vision of culture as associated with a language and a territory are often discussed in so-called comparative intercultural studies.

In describing communication between cultures some intercultural communication researchers characterised culture A as this and culture B as that, identifying culture types and cultural differences, with a view to facilitating negotiation between the two (Coffey, 2013, p. 268).

Comparative models identify characteristics of a culture and compare them to those of another, trying to find similitudes and differences. Hofstede (1991) is often quoted as a representative of this model.

Such research tends to characterize cultural groups, typically nations, on a limited set of dimensions pertaining to values, self-construals and so on, such as individualism/collectivism or independence/interdependence (Noels et al., 2012, p. 60).

These researchers are careful not to “essentialise” these characteristics. “Because they are tendencies, this frame of reference varies among members of a cultural group and may shift within any individual depending upon the context.” (Noels et al., 2012, p. 60) However, once a given characteristic has been identified as typical, all behaviour which goes against this typicity is characterised as an exception. In this sense, these models are sometimes called neo-essentialist.

To this extent, though exceptions are admitted, cultures are still considered as unified and homogeneous, and thus warrant comparison. “Inherent in comparative models of culture types is the naturalised assumption that cultures are in a relation of relative congruence or divergence” (Coffey, 2013, p. 268). Thus, the result is a form of stereotypical comparison, rather than an intercultural encounter, which requires a shift away from a homogeneous vision of culture towards culturally situated individuals. In this context, Abdallah-Pretceille (1998; 2017) prefers to discuss “culturality” rather than culture, which shifts the focus from stable states and structures towards complex processes (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2017).

This is not to say that culture can be understood on an individual level alone. Individuals participate in communal practices which can and do produce common traits among members of a community. But these traits should not be understood as a set of necessary and sufficient conditions for belonging to a culture. Rather, as Weber develops, they may form an ideal type, an abstract group of characteristics which may not be representative of all or even any individual in the group, but which brings together elements many of which will be shared by a significant number of group members. Indeed, Weber stresses that since the task is to understand “various irrational phenomena, as well as prophetic, mystic, and affectual modes of action [...] it is probably seldom if ever that a real phenomenon can be found which corresponds exactly to one of these ideally constructed pure types” (Weber, 1947, p. 110). Yet this ideal type may allow us to dress an overview of a phenomenon as it “both abstracts from reality and at the same time helps us to understand it” (Weber, 1947, p. 110).

Wittgenstein’s “family resemblance” metaphor may also be useful in understanding cultural similarities. For Wittgenstein, many of our concepts do not share one or a set of common characteristics, but rather overlapping characteristics which may apply to some elements in a category, but not to others. “I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than ‘family resemblances’; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way” (Wittgenstein, 1953, p. 32e). To the extent that on this view the concept of culture is not exclusive (i.e. possessing characteristics linked to one group does not exclude one from possessing characteristics linked to another), this also allows for members of a community to share in the practices of other communities as well, be they national, international, regional, local, related to social and economic backgrounds, sex, gender, ethnicity, etc. Cultures can therefore be understood as both individual and communal, as a complex interplay between individual personalities, motivations, and desires, on the one hand, and cultural practices, on the other, some of which pre-exist individuals and others which are in part created by them. This conception of culture cannot be accounted for by a view which associates a national culture with a national language and a national territory.

2.9 Education and the creation of otherness

Furthermore, this conception of national unity is not only present in research and in politics, but also, more or less openly, in educational policy. Education is a key tool in successfully

implementing national unity, but this is done at the expense of diversity and heterogeneity, which are perceived as problematic for this vision of national culture. “[...] education has often been understood as working to reduce diversity in order to promote something that is seen as preferable (better communication, national identity, etc.)” (Liddicoat *et al.*, 2014, p. 272).

Given that in many countries, national governments are responsible for education, be it to a greater or lesser degree, this vision can be all the more present in educational policy.

En effet, un système éducatif, quand il est le produit d'un état ou d'une nation, comme c'est le cas de la majorité des pays européens, a pour mission de construire une vision collectivement partagée de l'identité nationale, un sentiment commun d'appartenance qui peut a priori sembler contradictoire avec la découverte de l'altérité dont les langues étrangères sont porteuses. Une approche nationalo-centrée peut culminer avec la représentation d'une identité nationale homogène qui prend pour principe un 'vivre ensemble', soudé par le culte des ancêtres, un territoire qui résiste ou non aux invasions, la filiation endogame, le rejet de minorités religieuses, régionales, ethniques ou linguistiques, au profit d'un groupe, peut être lui-même minoritaire, mais dominant (Zarate, 2008, p. 174).⁹

Thus, once a restrictive vision of culture is adopted, culture can serve to exclude minorities and close the country upon itself, rather than opening it to otherness, both inside and outside its borders. This above-mentioned vision, Zarate calls “nation-centred” and is opposed to a national vision

qui intègre à la mémoire nationale, par le consensus démocratique, les mémoires de groupes minoritaires, les ruptures de l'histoire nationale, l'apport des diasporas à la communauté nationale (Zarate, 2008, p. 174).¹⁰

Such a model better succeeds in accounting for otherness than does the former. When considering national culture as unified, homogeneous, and immutable, stereotypes emerge as they are themselves immutable and attributable to sections of the population in their entirety.

⁹ “Indeed, an education system, when it is the product of a state or a nation, as is the case in most European countries, has as its mission the construction of a collectively shared vision of national identity, a common sense of belonging which can at first sight seem contradictory to the discovery of alterity borne by foreign languages. A nation-centred approach can culminate in the representation of a homogeneous national identity based on the principle of “living together”, united by the cult of the ancestors, a territory which resists, or doesn't resist, invasions, endogamous filiation, the rejection of religious, regional, ethnic, or linguistic minorities, in favour of a group, sometime itself a minority, but dominant” (Zarate, 2008, p. 174) (My translation).

¹⁰ “which integrates in national memory, by democratic consensus, the memories of minority groups, the ruptures in national history, the contribution of diasporas to the national community” (Zarate, 2008, p. 174) (My translation).

“The images that emerge from stereotypes are often stable and decontextualized” (Dervin, 2012, p. 186). The other is thus reduced to a set of stereotypes, the most fundamental of which is otherness itself. Considering the other as other first and foremost, that is, reducing the other to his or her very otherness, is what is called “othering.”

Othering consists of ‘objectification of another person or group’ or ‘creating the other’, which puts aside and ignores the complexity and subjectivity of the individual (Abdallah-Preteceille, 2003). In intercultural research, culturalism and essentialism, among other things, have tended towards Othering by imposing cultural elements as explanations for people’s behaviours, encounters, opinions... (Dervin, 2012, p. 187)

This process of othering is inevitable to a degree, as the other is indeed other. However, the concepts of identity and alterity which are forged when national culture is considered in a reductive manner as a unified and homogeneous identity, are not the only ways of accounting for identity and alterity. In a world defined by mass migration and worldwide communication, such binary conceptions cannot account for the reality of sociocultural relations.

When it comes to language, more specifically, Kramsch (2014) elaborates on three such binary oppositions which we have inherited from the modern period. Order and disorder underpin the idea of correct and incorrect usage, and of standardised national culture as being preferable to local dialects or regional accents. Purity and impurity mean codeswitching or translanguaging are to be avoided, and make bilingualism a double monolingualism, a mastery of two languages in their pure form. Third and finally, normality and abnormality present monolingual natives (preferably from a dominant social class) as the norm, and learner are to aim to emulate them (Kramsch, 2014, p. 298).

2.10 Challenges to territorialised models

Today, all three of these binary oppositions are challenged by globalisation and the advent of online communication. “In particular, with so much communication happening now online, global technologies compel us to review our notions of cultural authenticity” (Kramsch, 2014, p. 299). Indeed, while “standard” language is still in use, “non-standard” language is now also allowed to spread via the internet.

While many aspects of language use (e.g., academic language, high-end newspapers and TV discussions, public political speeches, canonical works of literature) abide by the norms of standard grammar and conventional genres, many uses of language in everyday life (e.g.,

online chats, marketing pitches, personal blogs and emails, conversational exchanges) are characterized by pragmatic unpredictability, semiotic uncertainty, and a commodification of language that inject additional layers of meaning into the supposedly stable signifiers of the dictionary and the predictable norms of conventional genres (Kramersch, 2014, p. 301).

To this extent, whether in language learning or cultural learning, learners are no longer only confronted to “standards.” This is not to say that such “standards” should be abandoned and replaced by other forms, but at least that approaches should be varied so as to show learners the heterogeneity of language and culture as rooted in lived experience.

The purpose is not to abandon all standard pedagogic norms of language use as the goal of instruction. It is, rather, to strive to make our students into multilingual individuals, sensitive to linguistic, cultural, and above all, semiotic diversity, and willing to engage with difference, that is, to grapple with differences in social, cultural, political, and religious worldviews (Kramersch, 2014, p. 305).

Given this complexity and diversity of language and culture, the concept of nation can only function as one level of description, and in its desire for homogeneity, cannot account for the multiple layers of linguistic and cultural that interact within what it supposes to be a linguistic or cultural sphere.

[...] the idea of nation alone is inadequate to describe a foreign culture. Belonging to a cultural community can also be expressed through gender roles, local identity, ways of thinking determined by social class, generational identity. All these criteria tend to offer a much more complex description of identity than those traditionally used, such as 'il est espagnol', 'she is English' or those related to the employment status, such as 'he is an engineer', 'elle est secrétaire'. Identity appears more as a kaleidoscope with which each individual plays, hiding some facets in some circumstances, revealing others according to his/her social interests (Zarate, 1995, p. 24).

Thus, the concept of nation, while it may usefully describe some cultural phenomena, must be understood as one of many levels of description, not enshrined as the overarching definition which all studies of culture must refer back to.

This cultural and linguistic diversity has been accelerated by globalisation and the increase in human migration. “More people are on the move today crossing cultural boundaries and national borders than ever before in the history of humankind” (Sorrels, 2012, p. 372). With these massive movements of populations come movements of ideas, customs, and languages, to the extent that multiculturalism and multilingualism have also been accelerated.

This vast population mobility has converted most countries of the world into plural societies, so that the experience of community-level multiculturalism and multilingualism is now itself universalized (LoBianco, 2014, p. 314).

Thus, societies which had long been engaged in efforts to homogenise and unify at a national level, now find themselves confronted to linguistic and cultural diversity from within. Culture can thus no longer be defined on a purely national level but must take into account the crossing of borders which is undertaken by individuals as well as their language use.

Nowadays, with the global spread of information technologies and global migrations, culture has lost much of its national moorings. It lives in the communicative practices of native and non-native speakers. In the teaching of foreign languages, and even more so in the teaching of English as an international language, culture has become the contextual foil of language practices in everyday life (Kramersch, 2011, p. 306).

This represents not only a change in the way languages are used, but also in the very identities of their users which are gradually being redefined. Almost thirty years ago, Byram was already writing that this would bring change, not only to the way people view the other, but also to people's conception of their own identity.

Young people in schools today will live in quite different political circumstances in the next few decades and will, I suspect, have quite different perceptions of themselves and their identities (Byram, 1992, p. 10).

Since cultures are no longer closed national cultures, individuals no longer have to consider themselves as belonging to fixed and impermeable cultures, but can exist at the intersection of what were once distinct cultural spheres. "Furthermore, recent demographic mixing has shown the model of discrete cultures to be inadequate" (Coffey, 2013, p. 268). The very concept of cultural spheres as separate entities is being replaced by a view in which individuals carry cultures with them, share them, modify them by their words and actions.

Culture has become deterritorialized, crystallized in the forms of memories, identifications, and projections that people carry in their heads. It is passed on in the form of stories, images, and films, multimodal creations, and multilingual speech productions that problematize the one language = one culture equation and that foster hybridity, mestizaje, and the shape-shifting avatars of the internet (Kramersch & Michiko, 2012, p. 212).

To this extent, there is a "hybridisation" of national cultures among themselves, but also with "regional and ethnic cultures" (Kramersch & Hua, 2016) and on an individual level, considerations such as professional cultures, elements of culture related to gender, sex and

sexuality, political cultures, and pop-cultural phenomena. This hybridisation is at the heart of intercultural approaches to language learning.

2.11 Individual positioning and third spaces

To this extent, understanding the cultural positioning of an individual is crucial. Since the national level of description does not account for the reality of cultural diversity, an intercultural speaker will understand the importance of asking who he or she is talking to.

Pupils should learn to establish how representative an item of information is, that is to say, linking information with its origin, estimating the quality of the sample. Is the informant in a dominant position? How marginal or prevailing is his opinion or practice? (Zarate, 1995, p. 24).

Thus, the presupposition of homogeneity must be replaced by an awareness that an individual position in a society is never neutral, nor is his or her position in relation to an intercultural interlocutor. Communication will always take place at the meeting point of individual desires, presuppositions, and interests, some of which will be linked to cultural specificities, others to individual personalities, etc.

It is this meeting point at the intersection of the personal and cultural histories of interlocutors which Bhabha (1994) refers to as a “third space” in which meanings interact and are negotiated.

Learning a language, in this context, can either mean imposing one’s own cultural bias on the language being learnt or letting the other’s cultural bias impose itself as the norm; or else it can mean attempting to position oneself in this third space, this contact zone, hoping to enrich one’s vision both of the target culture and one’s own, but furthermore, to enrich both cultures themselves by becoming engaged in both.

I would like to suggest that language teachers focus less on seemingly fixed, stable cultural entities and identities on both sides of national borders, and more on the shifting and emerging third place of the language learners themselves. Learners of a foreign language, challenged to learn a linguistic code they have not helped to shape, in social contexts they have not helped to define, are indeed poaching on the territory of others—a kind of oppositional practice, that both positions them and places them in opposition to the current practices of the discourse community that speaks that language (Kramsch, 1995, p. 90).

To this extent, learning the language should not mean embracing all aspects of the culture traditionally associated with it, nor should it mean imposing one's own cultural vision, simply translating existing meanings into another language.

Americans need to learn other people's languages, but whose meanings? In our rush to counteract English-only mindsets, let us not inadvertently replicate its colonising practices by essentialising foreign languages and cultures and, in the process, inadvertently reproduce dominant Anglo-American meanings. The role of the language teacher should be to diversify meanings, point to the meanings not chosen, and bring to light other possible meanings that have been forgotten by history or covered up by politics (Kramersch, 2006, p. 103).

By showing language learners that the target culture(s) are not homogeneous but diverse and in movement, the language teacher incites them to become involved in this third space and to call into question the notion of a unique and objective culture.

Learners can then create and share their own meanings by participating in an intercultural exchange, rather than positioning themselves as belonging to a predefined and immutable culture. In this sense, for language learners, taking part in intercultural communication and becoming involved in this third space means repositioning themselves, redefining their role, not as mere learners of cultural meanings which precede them and must be accepting as they are, but as participants in a culture which they are both discovering and helping to forge.

The meaning constructed by speaking subjects and given to events is a site of social and political difference and contestation in the margins of power structures. Difference and contestation, i.e., hybridity, is the essence of culture. In this sense, all cultures are 'hybrid'. Culture's hybridity creates the possibility of challenging, appropriating, and resignifying the meanings of a culture (Kramersch & Michiko, 2012, p. 213).

This hybridity which, as Kramersch says, is the very essence of culture seen as a place of sharing and conflict, negotiation, or agreement and disagreement, means that language learners are participating in a culture even as they discover it, a culture which is becoming their own as they learn to conform or oppose themselves to it.

The foreignness of the target culture meets its participative nature, to make this third space a zone of proximal development, at once disturbing learners and allowing them to rebuild a vision which is richer than the one they had previously.

Third spaces are, to use a Vygotskian term, new 'zones of proximal development'. They are zones of collaboration and learning or reorganized activities to accommodate different

learning styles and to transform conflict and disharmony into fruitful dialogue (Kramersch & Michiko, 2012, p. 213).

This personal growth will make intercultural learners users of language who are better able to question the cultural and linguistic borders that have been imposed on them, and thus *in fine* intercultural speakers better adapted to today's deterritorialised world than monolingual native speakers.

2.12 From native-speakerism to plurilingualism

This should lead us to question the idea of the native speaker as a model for language learners (Bouchard 2020). While this model has been questioned and attitudes have evolved in recent years, many studies have shown that native speakerism remains pervasive:

- among teachers, both “native” and “non-native”, the latter being critical of “native” teachers’ teaching skills, but framing their language skills as models (Derivry-Plard, 2006; 2013; 2016; Martel & Wang, 2015; Porto, 2020).
- among students who view “native speakers” as better models (Derivry-Plard, 2008a; Rivers, 2011b).
- among employers who often list “native speaker” as a condition for applying to teaching positions (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Derivry-Plard, 2008b; Holliday, 2008; Kubota, 2018).

Beyond the issues that it raises for language learning, presenting the native speaker as a model has an othering effect (Holliday, 2006) on those who are not native speakers of a given language, especially when that language is in a position of symbolic dominance.

However, on the part of language policy makers, certain languages, varieties or dialects were declared superior at any given time, and this move towards standardization gave preferential access and voice to speakers of the respective prestige language or variety. The resulting power differential furthermore supported an ideology of monolingual speakers of the local (and now global) language of choice (Kunschak & Kono, 2020, p. 214).

This ideological framework then impacts research into language learning. In the first half of the 20th century, bilingualism was seen as hindering language learning, since bilinguals were tested in the dominant language which were not their first language, in which they obtained lower scores than their monolingual peers. “The language handicap was understood as a form of linguistic confusion that had a negative impact on children's intellectual development and academic performance” (Liddicoat & Heugh, 2015, p. 81).

But for those who do not speak this/these language(s) of choice, problems extend beyond their command of the language, as cultural deviations from what is constructed as the norm make them appear as a “problematic generalized Other to the unproblematic Self of the ‘native speaker’” (Holliday, 2006, p. 386). Furthermore, the burden of adapting is always placed on the “non-native” speaker (Kubota, 2001), as he or she is construed as abnormal in the strict sense of being outside the norm. What is more, the term “native speaker” will often exclude people who were indeed born into the language, but who are not perceived as its most representative speakers. Native English speakers from India or the many African nations in which English is spoken will not enjoy the same privileges, for example, in terms of employment as language teachers, as middle- and upper-class speakers from Southern Britain or the East Coast of the United States (Moussu & Llorca, 2008, p. 317; cf. Llorca, 2015; Llorca, 2016). To this extent, “there is also a growing understanding that this discrimination can be racist—where the image of a ‘native speaker’ teacher is associated with Whiteness” (Holliday & Aboshiba, 2009, p. 670).

Even beyond Whiteness, a native speaker from Glasgow or Belfast would not be considered by many as a phonetic model. What is meant, therefore, by those who view the native speaker as a model, is that students should aim to emulate the dominant classes of the dominant nations in which the target language is spoken. Yet, in our daily use of the terms, “‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ take on the appearance of neutral categories” (Holliday, 2008) and the native speaker continues to represent a model for many learners.

Learners are thus construed as deficient speakers of the target language, whose goal is to become pseudo-natives.

In the past, language teaching has usually aimed at making the learner as much like a native speaker of the language as possible. This is both an unrealistic goal, in that language teaching hardly ever achieves it, and an inappropriate one. It is inappropriate because it does not reflect the social and cultural reality of using a second language (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 279).

Indeed, first, there is the impossibility of reaching this goal. Indeed, only in very rare cases will language learners be able to imitate native speakers, and even among those who do, the languages they speak will never be spoken in the same way, and their relation to each language will vary with time and depending on their interlocutors. In short, even “double native” bilinguals are not equilingual.

When referring to bilingualism (and multilingualism), we are speaking of degrees of proficiency along a continuum, not absolutes. Many types of bilingualism have been identified by linguists (e.g. simultaneous, sequential, alternating, balanced, active, passive, coordinate, compound, and so forth); however, the hypothetical bilingual as equilingual does not in fact exist. In other words, no individual, no matter the level of proficiency, commands two or more languages in identical ways – to the same degree, on all topics, and in every context (Fantini, 2012, p. 268).

From the point of view of the speaker, languages are not, therefore, on the same level, even if the degree of proficiency is the same. Thus, plurilingual cannot mean equilingual, in part because languages are not separate in plurilingual speakers' minds, but interact and co-construct meanings which allow the speaker broader expressive capacities.

Furthermore, “no one needs all the resources that a language potentially provides” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 103). Thus, partial competence is unproblematic. No one, whether monolingual or multilingual, is equally competent in all domains. Blommaert gives his own example, saying that his level of professional English is C2 without a doubt, yet in conversations with plumbers, doctors, or financial advisors, it would be no more than A1 (Blommaert, 2010, p. 104-105).

Parler de langue maternelle, première ou seconde est peut-être plus pertinent pour la catégorisation scientifique et pour le discours linguistique et institutionnel que pour un individu plurilingue qui réfléchit sur ses propres parcours linguistiques et culturels, et pour qui les différentes langues s'entremêlent au sein de sa mémoire comme dans la réalité de l'apprentissage (Cognigni & Vitrone, 2008, p. 87).¹¹

To this extent, therefore, the native speaker model is not only impossible to realise and difficult to define, but it is also undesirable. As Kramsch asks, “why should the monolingual native speaker be the target of emulation for people who are or will be, by definition, bilingual or multilingual?” (Kramsch, 2006, p. 102). Indeed, the intercultural speaker is in a privileged position which cannot and must not be reduced to a multiple monolingualism.

When someone speaks in their second language, they do not abandon their own thoughts, feelings and values and assimilate themselves to the thoughts, feelings and values of their

¹¹ “Speaking of mother tongues, of first and second languages, is perhaps more useful for scientific categorisation and for linguistic and institutional discourse than it is for plurilingual individuals thinking about their own linguistic and cultural experience and for whom different languages are intertwined in their memory as in the reality of learning” (Cognigni & Vitrone, 2008, p. 87) (My translation).

interlocutors; instead they reach an accommodation between their own culture and personality and the new culture (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 279).

Thus, their thoughts, feelings and values are not abandoned, but neither are they merely added to, with elements from the new culture being merely juxtaposed to an immutable cultural being. This would amount to the multiple monolingualism criticised above, with neither culture enriching the other.

The reality of learning is both richer and more complex than this model would allow. By definition, language learners are positioned at the meeting point of two languages and cultures, and are thus already situated in a third space. Language learners have therefore already gone beyond the sphere of monolingual native speakers towards plurilingualism.

Recognising this is among the stated goals of the CEFR, whose 2018 Companion Volume includes descriptors for plurilingual competence.

The plurilingual vision associated with the CEFR gives value to cultural and linguistic diversity at the level of the individual. It promotes the need for learners as “social agents” to draw on all their linguistic and cultural resources and experiences in order to fully participate in social and educational contexts, achieving mutual understanding, gaining access to knowledge and in turn, further developing their linguistic and cultural repertoire (CEFR, 2018, p. 123).

To this extent, the ability to draw upon all available resources to think and communicate, without limiting oneself to one or another language is seen here as having an enriching potential, as well as corresponding to the plural identities which already exist *de facto*, even when they are not recognised as such.

Le plurilinguisme favorise les transferts de compétences, les connaissances métalinguistiques et l'émergence d'une culture plurilingue et interculturelle, il permet de se construire avec l'altérité, d'augmenter son capital linguistique culturel mais aussi social, pour une identité plurielle et apaisée (Châteaureynaud, 2022, p. 94).¹²

Thus, plurilingual individuals will be able to draw upon all the linguistic at their disposal in order to create meanings which are appropriate to the intercultural contexts within which they

¹² “Plurilingualism favors transfers of competences, metalinguistic knowledge, and the **émergence** of a plurilingual and intercultural culture, it allows one to construct oneself with alterity, to increase one’s linguistic, cultural, but also social capital, for a plural and appeased identity” (Châteaureynaud, 2022, p. 94) (My translation).

find themselves. Languages will no longer be seen as closed and independent systems, but on the contrary, as permeable, and allowing speakers to move freely between them.

2.13 The notion of repertoire

In such contexts, communication will be very different from that between monolingual native speakers. Yet, since these are the communicative situations the language learner will encounter, it stands to reason that specific language skills should be required, beyond those which the native speaker requires.

Language learners are positioned between languages and cultures and have communicative needs derived from the positioning. As a result, the communicative capabilities they need to develop may be different from those required of a first language speaker (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 29).

For example, the ability to pass from one language to another is not required of the native speaker. Thus, the intercultural speaker must look for another model to satisfy this basic requirement of his or her communicative life.

The intercultural speaker needs to be able to engage with, reconcile, and reflect on multiple languages and cultures. This is not required of the monolingual, monocultural native speaker (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 53).

By definition, language learners are in contact both with a first and a second language, and should be encouraged to perceive their first language and culture as resources to draw from in the act of learning to be intercultural speakers, not as obstacles to the act of learning to imitate a native speaker of their second language. This runs contrary to the goal of many language teachers and institutional recommendations that the language class should be held only in the target language and with the goal of imitating the native speaker. “In such approaches to teaching, the students’ existing language knowledge is seen as a problem for the acquisition of the new language which must be overcome through the proscription of that language” (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 281). Yet numerous studies have shown the benefits of first language use in language learning, from cognitive benefits to identity construction (Dailey-O’Cain & Liebscher, 2015; Collins & Marsden, 2016).

This restrictive vision fundamentally misconstrues what it means to learn a language. When learning a language, speakers extend their repertoire, which is to say that they enrich their capacity for self-expression, multiply the contexts in which they will be able to communicate,

and broaden both the topics they will be able to address and the ways in which they will be able to address them. This being the case, teaching learners to speak like monolingual natives can only be seen as a restriction of their expressive capabilities.

Our focus of analysis should be the actual linguistic, communicative, semiotic resources that people have, not abstracted and idealized (or ideologized) representations of such resources. Our focus should, therefore, be on repertoires, on the complexes of resources people actually possess and deploy (Blommaert, 2010, p. 102).

Encouraging learners to “deploy” these resources is no more than encouraging them to draw upon their competence as intercultural speakers to adapt and learn in new situations. Restricting them to a single language is not only undesirable, it is impossible, in the sense that learners will always make connections with their other linguistic and cultural resources.

In reality, [...] it is never possible for a multilingual person to suspend the relevance of his/her complete language knowledge in any interaction. For multilingual people their entire linguistic repertoire is always potentially available and always affects their perceptions of the events they encounter. The monolingualism of many language classrooms is at best a fiction and at worst a denial of the identities and cultural realities of both the teachers and the learners (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 281).

The target-language-only classroom thus denies the “inter-connectedness among the languages in learners’ repertoires” (Scarino, 2016, p. 476). The different languages spoken by intercultural speakers are not separate: they always present themselves as expressive potentialities, structure their thoughts, feed communication, whatever the language used at the current instant.

La notion de ‘répertoire’ est essentielle pour répondre à cette question, impliquant un choix intelligent parmi un ensemble de possibilités historiquement déterminées. Le terme contient à la fois l’idée que ces locuteurs font des choix interprétatifs individuels et que les utilisateurs des langues construisent leurs performances à partir de la situation socio-culturelle et historique des ressources dont ils disposent (Kinging, 2008, p. 47).¹³

In reality, this is also the case of monolingual speakers, who far from resembling each other, are diverse individuals with a variety of personal histories and lived experiences in which their ways of expressing themselves are anchored. “Repertoires are individual, biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythms of actual human lives”

¹³ “The term ‘répertoire’ contains both the idea that these speakers make individual interpretive choices and that users of languages build their performances based on the socio-cultural and historical situation of the resources at their disposal” (Kinging, 2008, p. 47) (My translation).

(Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 15). Thus, linguistic repertoires, even when they belong to monolingual speakers, are nevertheless both individual and anchored in complex social realities which are not the smooth cultural homogeneity of the ideal nation.

Unique pour chaque individu, ce répertoire est élaboré grâce à des activités concrètes au sein de contextes particuliers dans le monde réel, en réponse à l'environnement et à des besoins et désirs personnels (Kinginger, 2008, p. 49).¹⁴

It is therefore not surprising that intercultural speakers should have a similarly varied and complex repertoire anchored in the social contexts in which they live. The multiplicity of these contexts is what changes, broadening their repertoire by including several languages and cultural contexts which are not available to monolingual speakers. The intercultural speaker's repertoire thus reflects "the polycentricity of the learning environments in which the speaker dwells" (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 20).

2.14 The individual learner as an intercultural speaker

This focus on specific speakers who have an individual expressive repertoire is what allows learners to be anchored in concrete contexts. That is to say, an ideal language and culture in which everyone is alike, does not admit of individuals because it cannot admit of their social situatedness or the manner in which they take up and manipulate language and culture. Reintegrating speakers, with their concrete and situated personal histories, into one's vision of language and culture is thus possible because they are seen as complex, heterogeneous, diverse, and subject to change. Once this has been established, learners may take their place, not a deficient native speaker, but as intercultural speakers bringing their personal and cultural histories and identities to the very act of language learning, now seen as a broadening of their expressive repertoires.

Thus, learning a language is not learning an immutable norm, a manner of expressing oneself which is shared by all who inhabit a nation. On the contrary, learning a language is learning the norms which will allow one as an individual speaker to express meanings to, become involved with, transform, or be transformed by, people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds

¹⁴ "Unique for each individual, this repertoire is elaborated thanks to concrete activities within particular contexts in the real world, in response to the environment and to personal needs and desires" (Kinginger, 2008, p. 49).

than one's own. Thus, the learner's point of view will shift, his or her projects, interests, and desires will be influenced by others who until this point did not enter into his or her social sphere; and *vice versa*, he or she will have an impact on others.

To this extent, the individual's identity is forged throughout his or her life, influenced by a variety of social and environmental factors. "What has become clear in terms of research and practice recently is that identity cannot be reduced to a single element; in other words, there is no such thing as a singular identity" (Dervin, 2012, p. 184). Since individuals are not fixed and immutable, they have the possibility of growing through encounters with others, of gaining a more complex identity which functions like a kaleidoscope: multifaceted, changing, and plural (Zarate, 1995; Zarate & Gohard-Radenkovic, 2004). Choosing to learn languages in order to expand one's expressive repertoire, speaking one language or another, and feeling one belongs to one culture or another, depending on the social context, one's expressive needs, or as an affective response to outside influences, will mean that the intercultural speaker evolves throughout his or her life, even as others evolve under his or her influence.

Celui qui développe consciemment un profil plurilingue et pluriculturel ressenti comme un atout social, multiplie les modes d'appartenances en s'adaptant aux contextes sociaux qu'il traverse tout au long de son parcours personnel (Zarate, 2008, p. 177).¹⁵

Learners, on this view, are not *only* learners. They are users of language, speakers trying to expand their repertoire so as to broaden the contexts in which they can adequately give voice to their personal expression. This is to say that, before becoming learners of their target language, they are individuals and speakers of at least another language. "First, the learner has been socialised in his/her own culture. A beginner in a foreign language is not an ignorant learner" (Zarate, 1995, p. 24). To use Kramsch's terms, they are not merely enunciators, but narrators.

In order to teach a foreign language as oppositional practice, learners have to be addressed not as deficient monoglossic enunciators, but as potentially heteroglossic narrators (Kramsch, 1995, p. 90).

Enunciators are able to produce sentences which are grammatically and lexically correct, or incorrect in the case of "deficient" enunciators, but which merely express meanings which are

¹⁵ "He who consciously develops a plurilingual and pluricultural profile felt as a social advantage, multiplies modes of belonging by adapting to the social contexts which he encounters throughout his personal journey" (Zarate 2008, p. 177) (My translation).

constituted by others. Narrators, on the other hand, express themselves, tell themselves (*se raconter*), and furthermore, this self-expression is always culturally situated, and as mentioned above, never neutral. This is to say that when seen as heteroglossic narrators, or as intercultural speakers, learners contribute to the creation and evolution of culture.

The texts they speak and the texts they write have to be considered not only as instances of grammatical or lexical enunciation, and not only as expressing the thoughts of their authors, but as situated utterances, contributing to the construction, perpetuation or subversion of particular cultural contexts (Kramersch, 1995, p. 90).

Thus, the present context in which learners are expressing themselves and their personal history prior to their learning come together to form the meanings they are to express. “Individual prior experience and actual situational experience are equally important in meaning construction and comprehension” (Kecskes, 2012, p. 67).

Once this conception of language has been established, it becomes clear that language learning and cultural discovery are not simply an accumulation of knowledge, nor even of skills, but a deep transformation of the individual. To this extent, it is important, when learners encounter people who do not share their cultural background, that this be a meeting of individuals, not of cultural stereotypes. “The personalisation of the given topics is important as students are seen not as representatives of a culture or broadcasters of knowledge, but as individual interlocutors” (De Martino, 2016, p. 213). It is only by meeting individuals who are different from one another that learners will be able to go beyond mere knowledge of a more or less stereotypical kind towards participation in cultural and intercultural activities.

To this extent, language learning must place individual learners at the centre of its practices, allowing them to choose the topics they wish to discuss, not imposing topics as well as the language used to discuss them. “Language should be a vehicle for the expression of the self, not a constraint on self-expression” (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14). That is, once culture is understood as heterogeneous and in movement, individuals are to be understood as what carries this culture, what transforms or upholds practices, through living together and negotiating meaning.

Viewing culture as a dynamic set of practices rather than as a body of shared information engages the idea of individual identity as a more central concept in understanding culture (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 23).

Thus, individual identities and the way they are negotiated in intercultural contexts is key to understanding language learning as it relates to culture.

3.1 Opportunities for authentic communication

In the previous chapter, it was established that learning a language meant learning to express one's own personal meanings in cultural and linguistic contexts with which one is not familiar. To this extent, intercultural contact and communication appears as a key condition for allowing learners to encounter and learn to deal with these unfamiliar cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

In this context, language learning cannot remain an activity which is confined to the classroom, especially not if such classrooms owe their existence to institutions which often construct them as monolingual and monocultural settings.

Yet, as Oxford (1997) writes, “for the L2 learner, the immediate, close-at-hand learning community is the classroom” (Oxford, 1997, p. 448). But for language learning to be meaningful, for it to allow learners to express their own meanings, the classroom should be a space in which skills used outside the classroom are honed. As Lee (2009) writes, “it is only through authentic contexts and natural discourse that classroom learned language becomes meaningful for realworld communication” (Lee, 2009, p. 440). To this extent, “the L2 learning community can and should also extend beyond the classroom. L2 learning can be a global adventure that involves learning about, understanding, and (at least to some extent) identifying with another culture in which people use a different language, possibly in a completely different part of the world” (Oxford, 1997, p. 448). This is the challenge faced by many teachers today.

Indeed, if language learning should extend beyond the classroom, it follows that teachers have a responsibility to provide learners with the opportunity to undertake such “realworld communication,” “outside the classroom.” Thus, as Hoffstaedter & Kohn (2016) write, “the traditional foreign language classroom is faced with the serious challenge of providing learners with opportunities for authentic communication” (Hoffstaedter & Kohn, 2016, p. 292). While such opportunities can be rare, difficult to come by, or involve great expenses if one wishes authentic communication to take place face to face, a growing number of teachers involve their students in online communication and collaboration with partners from schools abroad. This is what is referred to as telecollaboration.

In the context of foreign language education, ‘telecollaboration’ refers to the application of online communication tools to bring together classes of language learners in geographically

distant locations to develop their foreign language skills and intercultural competence through collaborative tasks and project work (O'Dowd, 2012, p. 340).

While the principle of having students engage with partners at a distance is not new, it has known an unprecedented acceleration since the arrival and widespread use of the internet.

Tandem exchanges have taken place over time in a number of different formats, from face-to-face, letter writing, e-mail, to videoconferencing initiatives. With the arrival of the Internet, the potential for encounters with tandem partners increased exponentially, each new technology opening up a new range of possibilities (Malerba & Appel, 2016, p. 306).

As mentioned, this offers students the possibility to engage with other students, outside their native linguistic and cultural sphere. This potential to provide students with authentic real-world communication has been generally acknowledged as a major shift in the way language can be taught. Indeed, “telecollaboration offers unique opportunities for purposeful interaction in a communicative context with interlocutors outside the classroom” (Whyte & Gigsen, 2016, p. 164). It has even been suggested that such telecollaborations could eliminate the need for students to travel.

[Telecollaboration] affords unprecedented opportunities for direct and inexpensive communication across huge distances. This leads some to think that students no longer have to go abroad to seek out the foreign language and culture, for the Internet now brings the world of the Other to their desktop (Kern, 2014).

While this is an extreme view, telecollaboration does afford students with many opportunities which even travel abroad does not necessarily guarantee, such as interaction and task-oriented collaboration with other students.

While the importance of taking learning outside the classroom and anchoring language in social contexts holds for everyone, it is particularly useful for those students from areas in which opportunities for intercultural contact are not readily available.

Telecollaboration offers the potential to develop ICC and is particularly useful for populations in which linguistic and cultural interactions outside of the classroom do not readily exist. In this context, telecollaboration becomes a viable if not a necessary strategy to develop ICC (Ceo-DiFrancesco et al., 2016, p. 66).

Thus, telecollaboration has the potential to help students develop both their language skills and their intercultural competence, by creating an intercultural third space but in a secure environment. “In contrast to regular classroom instruction, telecollaboration offers sheltered

opportunities to engage in socially consequential second language interactions and to begin crafting a foreign-language mediated identity” (Kinging, p. 27).

3.2 Targeting intercultural learning

As discussed in the previous chapter, language learners are not deficient speakers of a foreign language, but intercultural speakers who are expanding an expressive repertoire. This repertoire is built in interaction with others, and such interactions, as mentioned, can be rare for many students.

Especially in relatively isolated locales, these interactions may be the first in which students come to care sincerely for their own foreign language interactional face and for the impression they convey to their partner class (Kinging, 2016, p. 27).

When speaking another language, students will develop an additional-language persona, or “a foreign-language mediated identity.” In this sense, placing students in communicative situations in which they must interact using their target language is not simply a case of allowing them to practice their language skills, but also allowing them to discover and develop who they are when they are primarily perceived through their target language. The otherness associated with the target language is integrated into the self as it becomes a mode of expression for new meanings. Thus, the “foreign” is no longer foreign as it is taken up by the speaker and integrated into his or her identity.

Choosing to target this identity as an aspect of learning has shown interesting results in terms of investment and group cohesion.

In online intercultural language learning, actively working with learner identity, along with intellectual and cultural capital can play a key role in building identity investment in a learning community (Lawrence, 2013, p. 310).

Thus, intercultural telecollaboration allows a major shift in the way languages are taught, not only because it allows authentic communication as a motivating way for students to practice their language skills, but because this authentic communication is intercultural in nature. “Intercultural telecollaboration allows for a radical change in language education as, for once, the intercultural dimension can be seriously taken into account” (Castro & Derivry-Plard, 2016, p. 77).

Whether the telecollaboration focuses more on language skills or intercultural skills may be built into the structure of the tasks. “Some telecollaborative tasks may involve a clear focus on linguistic form, while others may lead to greater reflection on cultural aspects of the foreign language” (O’Dowd & Ware, 2009, p. 175). These tasks can in turn “be of an informal type, requiring learners to engage in general conversation with their partners about hobbies and interests, or they can be very structured in nature” (O’Dowd & Ware, 2009, p. 175).

When it comes to encouraging intercultural learning, different approaches have been used. Some prefer form over content, placing the emphasis on spontaneous conversations on topics of interest to the students.

Intercultural content is not in the foreground; it is considered a means to an end, which is the intercultural interaction. Preference is thus given to topics that are within the reach of pupils’ own experiences and opinions, and have a natural potential for triggering spontaneous conversations without the need for additional knowledge development phases. An orientation towards soft intercultural topics such as “fashion”, “eating habits” is, however, of value since it makes pupils curious about their partners and helps them to discover and become aware of interpersonal and intercultural differences and similarities (Hoffstaedter & Kohn, 2015b, p. 36).

Others prefer to give an explicitly intercultural dimension to the very content of the task.

To get to know Others, as this is one of the leading objectives of language learning in a super-diverse world, teachers need to tackle the cultural dimensions of language learning and take them earnestly. For instance, engaging learners in mini-anthropological or sociological tasks is a way to deal with the challenge of addressing cultural and intercultural objectives. In language learning, it adds an intercultural dimension to the basic negotiation of meaning-making that telecollaboration potentially provides (Castro & Derivry-Plard, 2016, p. 78).

3.3 Tandem vs lingua franca

Another difference in how telecollaborations may lead to intercultural learning is the choice between tandem and *lingua franca* modalities. In tandem exchanges, the participants from one group will be studying as their L2 the L1 of the other group and *vice versa*. Thus, students will spend some (usually half) the time speaking their first language, with their partner speaking their target language, and the rest speaking their target language with their partner speaking their first language.

In *lingua franca* exchanges, neither partner is speaking their first language, with groups being chosen as they share a target language, that is to say, they do not share their first language, but are learners of the same second (or third, etc.) language. The reality of telecollaborations can even be much more complex since many plurilingual speakers are involved in language classes, meaning that multiple languages of communication can at times be used.

Using either, or indeed both when possible, can lead to developing intercultural competence. “Either ELF or TANDEM constellations support the development of intercultural skills and this variety when on offer should help in transferring these intercultural skills” (Derivry-Plard, 2015, p. 116). However, tandem will seem more natural for those who set the native speaker as the model to be reached.

However, while for those who view the native speaker as a model, the *lingua franca* modality must be seen as an aberration, allowing students to be in contact with non-standard, possibly grammatically erroneous language, spoken with a foreign accent, from an intercultural perspective it is particularly enriching.

First of all, it creates the conditions for positive mindsets, with students feeling both more confident, and being more willing to help each other.

The lingua franca condition makes pupils feel in the same boat with their peers, which enables them to lower their communication apprehension, focus on the communicative task, and develop non-native speaker confidence. They communicate spontaneously, negotiate meaning, solve communication problems, and learn from each other (Hoffstaedter & Kohn, 2016, p. 293).

Because neither student is speaking his or her native language, students are less afraid of making mistakes. Conversely, they are more likely to accept the mistakes of others. “Students also showed awareness of attitudes such as empathy, patience, open-mindedness and confidence in relating with others through another language” (Castro & Derivry-Plard, 2016, p. 80).

But perhaps more importantly, the perceived link between national language and national culture which was discussed above is called into question as the students’ target language which is used as a means of communication is not associated to the cultural background of their interlocutors.

The direct link that traditionally binds language and culture – sometimes in a very essentialist approach – is cast aside using ELF with people from different L1s as the medium of negotiating meaning to get to know about cultural perspectives. Prioritising the intercultural

dimension allows any language to be used as a lingua franca, and be the medium of getting information, knowledge and access to other cultural environments and people (Castro & Derivry-Plard, 2016, p. 78).

For students to come to realise that the languages they are learning are not only inviting them to partake in the cultures associated with those languages, but in any interaction with an individual or group who also speaks them, as a first, second or third language, is in itself an intercultural realisation about the functioning of language and culture.

3.4 Building social relationships

Intercultural exchanges also give students the opportunity to create productive collaborative environments with their partners in order to realise the tasks that are given. Indeed, some research suggests that time spent working together reinforces collaborative attitudes.

Analyses of language uses in intercultural communication settings have shown that during interaction, participants of different cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds would increasingly constitute themselves as a community, speak in a collective voice, converge on a linguistic style and concur on topics of conversation, the goals of the group and even strategies for achieving them (Liaw & Bunn-LeMaster, 2010, p. 22-3).

To this extent, intercultural telecollaboration seems like a useful tool to develop intercultural competence. As we have seen, intercultural competence includes the ability to communicate and build social relationships with others who do not share our cultural and linguistic background. In this sense, showing that learner can not only work together effectively, but show increasing levels of converging voices and linguistic style appears to show the creation of microcultures that one would also find in friendship groups or families.

Thus, intercultural telecollaboration presents the opportunity for students to collaborate with others who do not share their linguistic and cultural background, in authentic contexts which allow language skills to be developed through practice in “real world” situations, but also a number of intercultural competences to be developed, such as building individual or communal identities and finding one’s foreign-language mediated voice.

3.5 Shortcomings of telecollaboration

However, a vast number of studies have shown that the reality of intercultural telecollaboration often falls short of its potential. Lawrence (2013) cites Belz (2002), Kramsch and Thorne (2002), Lawrence *et al.* (2009), O'Dowd (2007), O'Dowd and Ritter (2006), and Potts (2005), saying that “research suggests that the pedagogical potential of online intercultural learning communities has often not been realized” (Lawrence G. , 2013, p. 304-5).

Indeed, while telecollaboration allows students to engage with partners who do not share their linguistic and cultural background, this does not necessarily mean they will learn from the experience. “Recent studies reveal that merely communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds does not automatically lead to intercultural learning” (Kitade, 2012, p. 65). Thus, the intercultural telecollaborative modality in itself is not sufficient to lead to learners gaining intercultural competence. “Engaging language learners in online collaborative exchanges does not guarantee intercultural or language learning” (Lawrence G., 2013, p. 305).

A number of reasons have been given to explain the difficulties in developing intercultural competence which learners face in such contexts.

Individual differences in motivation, expectations, communicative norms, mismatched expectations, and inadequate pedagogy developing intercultural competence and interpreting/relating skills have been cited as major impediments to successful online intercultural language learning (Lawrence, 2013, p. 305).

Indeed, many of these difficulties could also be expected and are often observed by teachers in collaborative contexts which are not explicitly intercultural and only involve students from the same class or school. This is the case of differences in motivation and mismatched expectations, for example.

However, others are specifically linked to the fact that partners are from different countries whose school systems function in different ways.

There are numerous organizational, institutional, and curricular issues that contribute to difficulties or less successful telecollaborative projects, specifically challenges with scheduling, differences in time zones and lengths of the exchange, and differences in project goals due to curricular and institutional constraints (Chun, 2015, p. 16).

Other difficulties may emerge within the tasks themselves, and involve different attitudes towards their partners, and different mindsets when it comes to discovering cultural difference.

Challenges in telecollaborative projects that can be attributed to the learners themselves and the learning contexts and assumptions surrounding them include differences in linguistic proficiencies among the partner classes, willingness of learners to write honestly and openly, cultural differences and conflicts, and the possibility of reinforcing preconceptions and stereotypes of the learners (Chun, 2015, p. 16).

Communication can be affected by this cultural context, as well as by the students' individual language skills, communicative competence, and cognitive abilities more generally.

Many contextual factors – including social and cognitive ones – as well as interaction patterns play important roles in the process and remain to be examined to gain insights into the complexity involved (Liaw & Bunn-LeMaster, 2010, p. 22-3).

Finally, power-dynamics and hierarchies do not disappear in the digital space of intercultural telecollaborations. These power-dynamics can impact communication and learning, and need to be taken into consideration, rather than assuming telecollaborative spaces to be in some way neutral.

Although digital technology allows for greater horizontal collaboration between various actors, notably by reducing constraints related to time and location, it is still a tool used in traditional settings with pre-existing hierarchies and social relationships of power and authority (Derivry-Plard & Potolia, 2023, p. 186).

Thus, many factors can contribute to what appear to be unsuccessful telecollaborations, on institutional, pedagogical, and individual levels. Yet, analysing these factors may reveal opportunities for learning and intercultural growth, as the intercultural can be directly linked to difficulties in communication.

3.6 Harnessing communication problems

It is important for intercultural learning as a field of study to understand these factors and how they contribute to the success or failure of the collaboration. Furthermore, some of these failures may be interpreted in a positive light as opportunities for learning, others may not.

As mentioned earlier, the literature on online intercultural exchange is littered with findings which demonstrate that these practices often result in negative attitudes towards the partner group and their culture, misunderstandings and unachieved objectives. The main question that has occupied many researchers is why this is the case and whether these instances of

intercultural communication breakdown should be seen as something problematic or as opportunities for learning (O'Dowd, 2012, p. 348).

Thus, failures in communication, conflicting cultural views, or misunderstandings can be used as what Agar (2006) calls “rich points,” which reflection and teacher or peer mediation may turn into the basis for intercultural growth.

It is important to note [...] that the field of telecollaboration has moved “from the notion of ‘conflict as accidental finding of research’ to ‘conflict as object of research’” (Chun, 2015, p. 16).

This shifts the focus from why communication breaks down to how these breakdowns can be viewed as, or transformed into, learning opportunities.

The structure of the tasks themselves, and the project more generally, can play a vital role both in helping communication to be successful, but also in ensuring failures in communication lead a gain in intercultural competence. It was mentioned above that some tasks were geared directly towards intercultural content, while others believed the intercultural element to lie in the communication itself. For Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), this latter position puts students at risk of learning about culture, in the reified sense of factual information, but not developing intercultural competence.

The technologically focused tasks failed as intercultural learning because the intercultural itself was not a feature of how the tasks were planned and designed. The tasks involved students in exchanges across cultures and placed culture at the heart of these exchanges, but the intercultural learning was supposed to happen as an automatic result of communication or engagement with others. In other words, the tasks were set up as cultural tasks – that is, tasks that focused on factual information, in this case in the form of representations of cultures – rather than as intercultural tasks that involved learners in moving between cultures and reflecting on their own cultural positioning and the roles of language and culture within it (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 117).

Such formats seem not to take full advantage of the potential offered by telecollaboration, since the focus appears to be on cultural content, not on what can be exchanged or how the collaboration with students from other social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds can lead to developing intercultural competence.

3.7 Task design

Task design is often overlooked in the literature, with the focus being placed on communication, interaction, and intercultural competence, despite the importance of task design in allowing these to take place.

The choice and structure of tasks are vital issues in determining which aspects of foreign language learning will be developed in an online exchange, yet the topic of how tasks are designed has been relatively neglected to date in the literature on telecollaboration (O'Dowd & Ware, 2009, p. 173).

Indeed, this is often because the task itself is not problematised, that is to say, task design is seen as something which teachers already know how to do and which researchers view as “an unproblematic fait accompli before the main theme of the research agenda is outlined” (O'Dowd & Ware, 2009, p. 174). To this extent, in many cases, these tasks do not take into account the specificities of intercultural telecollaboration, simply modifying existing classroom activities to make them function as telecollaborative activities.

[These studies] mention task design only in passing and seem to be based on instances where activities trialled and tested in face-to-face classrooms were simply transferred to online contexts (Hauck & Youngs, 2008, p. 93).

However, several aspects of the way in which tasks are designed may have an impact on how students communicate and how successful this communication is, not least of which is the medium of communication itself.

Although email and online forums may be well suited to certain communicative purposes, they are poorly adapted to others. The idea that there is no universal medium adequate for all tasks may be obvious, but it is of key pedagogical importance, for when educators design tasks they also need to consider which of the various available mediums will be most compatible with the goals of those tasks (Kern, 2014, p. 342).

Thus, written communication may be more effective for some tasks while oral communication may work best for others, synchronous and asynchronous communication will yield different results depending in terms of how communication is viewed by learners, and these different modalities will not allow students to reach the same goals. To this extent, it is important to bring structure to the tasks, in order, not only to allow communication to take place, but also to allow students to understand what this means for their own learning. “Intercultural learning must be scaffolded and supported in these interactions to help learners develop intercultural self-

awareness and intercultural discovery, interpreting, and relating skills to build intercultural competence” (Lawrence, 2013, p. 307-8). The skills discussed here are both skills related to interacting with others and skills related to self-awareness.

3.8 Giving meaning to the tasks

The term “task” itself in language learning and teaching carries with it the notion of meaning. Foster (1999) describes tasks as “meaningful activities, such as problem-solving, discussions, or narratives” (Foster, 1999, p. 69). Rubdy (1998) defines tasks as providing “a purpose for the use and learning of language other than simply learning language items for their own sake” (Rubdy, 1998, p. 264). Hunter (2017) claims that tasks can be considered a refinement of the broader, less theorized CLT concept of ‘activity’” (Hunter, 2017, p. 517), with meaningfulness being one of the central additions.¹⁶

However, excluding learners from the task design process may limit their meaningfulness. What Lawrence (2013) suggests is to integrate learners into the process of choosing and designing the tasks.

A key part of building investment in online and hybrid intercultural language exchanges is to ensure that learners play a role in the planning and preparation for this exchange. Often learners are left out of this critical stage of the process, potentially reducing their overall investment in learning (Lawrence, 2013, p. 308).

The discussion here revolves around investment, but this is far from the only potential effect of allowing students to become involved and take charge of the learning situation. Nevertheless, Lawrence suggests a number of ways in which learners can be involved.

Investment can begin with pre-exchange activities orienting the learners to the exchange and greater involvement in the exchange planning process. If enough time allows, teachers and students can negotiate the type of exchange, the location of the partner class(es), the focus, topics, and the ICT tools used, particularly in this day of continually emerging technology where learners may have ICT knowledge teachers do not. Depending on the exchange context, educators can ask students what they would like to learn about the other classes, about other ways of communicating, about their partners’ lives, views, and cultural experiences. The unique nature of online interaction and netiquette guidelines can be discussed and reviewed

¹⁶ In this context, “projects” can be seen as longer-term engagements involving several tasks, or a so-called final task.

and can even become part of the initial discussions with partners as outlined in the following section (Lawrence, 2013, p. 308).

As mentioned, this may not only build investment but also develop skills such as self-awareness. Becoming aware of how topics can be chosen, how goals can be set, and how tasks can be conceived, will make students conscious of the learning process as a whole. Doing this in an intercultural context will force them to think of factors directly related to the cultural and linguistic background of their partners as well as their own, allowing their interactions to be more easily understood as learning opportunities.

If technologically mediated interactions are to become experiences that provide opportunities for learning, the interaction needs to be converted into learning through reflection. That is, learners need to become aware of what it is that they are experiencing and how they understand that experience, and also to be able to decenter from that experience to explore different possible understandings (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 118).

In becoming involved in goal setting, task design and post-task reflections, learners will gain a new perspective on the interactions they have with their partners, to the extent that they are no longer simply exchanges but exchanges which students constitute as learning experiences.

Indeed, this personal involvement in the different stages of the task allows the learner both to be engaged in the task, and to be reflectively aware of how it contributes to his or her learning. This places the learner at the centre of his or her learning, not simply viewing learning as an intake, but as a form of self-development.

Learning involves purposeful, active engagement in interpreting and creating meaning in interaction with others, and continuously reflecting on one's self and others in communication and meaning-making in variable contexts. For students, it is more than a process of absorption of facts; it is continuously developing as thinking, feeling, changing intercultural beings (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 283).

3.9 A social constructivist framework

As such, most researchers working within an intercultural approach frame their pedagogies within a broadly social-constructivist model.

While several authors use the term “constructivist” alone, it is often indubitably in the social sense of the term. For instance, Little (2007) sets himself within a constructivist framework in the sense “that we construct our knowledge by bringing what we already know into interaction with the new information, ideas and experiences we encounter” (Little, 2007, p. 18). However, this is immediately preceded by the imperative of acknowledging that “both dimensions of our nature, individual-cognitive and social-interactive, are always and simultaneously present.” (Little, 2007, p. 18). He then goes on to cite Vygotsky (1987) and his zone of proximal development as an example of such constructivism.

Similarly, when Liddicoat proposes a set of principles which “amount to a constructivist theory of learning applied to the context of the intercultural as manifested through language,” (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 282) this is to be understood in the sense of social-constructivist, as this framework also rests on the Vygotskian principle that

learning is developed firstly through social interactions, that is, interpersonally and then internally within the mind of the individual, that is, intrapersonally. In the interpersonal process previous knowledge is challenged and it is the challenge to initial conceptions that creates new insights through which students connect, re-organise, elaborate, extend their understanding (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 283).

Overall, then, learning is seen as a form of personal development which takes place thanks to social interaction, with cognitive processes emanating from one’s involvement in a social and cultural world.

[La perspective socioculturelle] envisage les processus cognitifs et les activités sociales comme des éléments mutuellement constitutifs, la cognition étant ancrée à la fois localement dans l’interaction sociale et globalement dans des contextes institutionnels et culturels (Griggs, 2007, p. 23).¹⁷

¹⁷ “[The sociocultural perspective] views cognitive processes and social activities as mutually constitutive elements, cognition being anchored both locally in social interaction and globally in institutional and cultural contexts” (Griggs 2007, p. 23) (My translation).

Sociocultural and social constructivist perspectives are generally grouped together as part of the same global perspective when it comes to learning. Some authors focus on the origins of the two perspectives, with the former being rooted in Vygotsky's (1987) theory of development and the latter related to Piaget's (1975) sociocognitive conflict (Palinscar, 1998).

The "cultural" in sociocultural suggests it to be less exclusively focused on the immediate social environment and more on the fact that

interaction in learning is not simply the interaction of one person with another, but of one whole history of experiences and memories interacting with another history of experiences and memories. These histories of experiences and memories constitute the foundation upon which new learning is interpreted and constructed (Scarino, 2014, p. 392).

Overall, however, both consider that, far from being developed alone and for oneself, cognition is developed on an individual level as a means of making sense of, and participating in, collective practices, including speech. But, as discussed earlier, these practices are not fixed, and are not therefore passed on to the learner positioned merely as a receiver. On the contrary, the learner participates actively in the ongoing construction of cultural practices, and learns language through its very use. Learning, therefore, is "an active social and collaborative process, through which learners use a system of symbols (e.g. language) and tools (e.g. computer) to build a system of linguistic constructs in cooperation with other speakers, to perform a task" (Lee, 2009, p. 428). On this model, in intercultural telecollaboration, the different points of view discussed by participants will lead to a sociocognitive conflict, challenging the learners previously held beliefs. It is the need to find an agreement which will bring interindividual coordination through ideas and actions which will then be interiorised by each individual creating a new cognitive organisation (Orly-Louis & Soidet, 2003; Sorsana, 2003).

3.10 The individual and the community

To this extent, while the individual is at the centre of the learning process, learning does not take place on a solely individual level. On the contrary, "the individual learns by being part of the surrounding community and the world as a whole" (Oxford, 1997, p. 447). In this sense, it is not just the teacher but the world at large, including the various speech communities in which the learner may become involved, which will allow him or her to learn through diversity. "There

exists a field of many actors and many different kinds of relationships. Many people can provide the scaffolding that the student needs” (Oxford, 1997, p. 448).

Intercultural telecollaboration allows learning to be framed not as a passive form of knowing, but as an active engagement with diversity which allows the individual to create personal meanings about this diversity, thus learning from it and developing on an individual level. (Liddicoat, 2008) The learner is thus initiated

à une lecture dynamique des réalités sociales, celles de la langue qu’il apprend, et, par effet retour, à celles de la réalité qui lui est proche, qu’il relit avec une expérience nourrie d’altérité (Zarate, 2008, p. 180).¹⁸

This emphasis on social engagement with otherness must not, however, minimise the role of the individual in the learning process. On the contrary, by showing that it is participation in a social world which allows for learning, the learning process can no longer be viewed as a top-down teacher-student relation, but must take its roots in students’ desire to engage with the world around them, thus accounting for both the individual and the social.

On the one hand each of us incorporates cognitive and affective processes to which no one else can have direct access; on the other hand we are inescapably social beings who from the moment of our birth depend on other people in an infinite variety of ways. In any adequate definition of what it is to be human, both dimensions of our nature, individual-cognitive and social-interactive, are always and simultaneously present (Little, 2007, p. 18).

As Little explains, this is built into the very structure of Vygotskian thought. His zone of proximal development (1987), defined as the distance between independent problem solving and guided or collaborative problem solving “assumes that learning is the result of doing, acknowledges the role of expertise in guiding the learning process and identifies autonomy in the sense of being able to do things for oneself (‘independent problem solving’) as the goal of learning” (Little, 2007, p. 23). While of these three assumptions, learning by doing and expert guidance are often found in telecollaborative projects, an emphasis on student autonomy is often lacking.

¹⁸ “into a dynamic reading of social realities, those of the language [he/she] is learning, and, reflexively, those of the reality which is close to [him/her], which [he/she] reads anew through an experience fed with alterity” (Zarate, 2008, p. 180) (My translation).

4.1 Autonomy

One of the cornerstones of intercultural approaches appears to be its articulation around the individual learner as engaged in social practices, firmly anchoring such approaches within a social constructivist framework.

With the beginning of constructivist learning theories, the idea that students should take responsibility for their own learning and should play an active role in the learning process replaced instructional theories, which assigned a reactive rather than a proactive role to the learner (Dignath & Büttner, 2008, p. 232).

To this extent, autonomous learning must play a central role when attempting to develop intercultural competence. Yet, such has not been the case since the beginning of telecollaborative practices, “on the contrary, the practical realisation of language learner autonomy remains elusive” (Little, 2007, p. 15). In 2003, Ellis established four criteria for Task-Based Learning and Teaching, claiming that a task must conform to these criteria if it is truly to be considered a task. The first was that the focus should be on meaning rather than linguistic form, the second was that there should be a need to communicate other than classroom participation, the fourth was there should be a clear outcome other than language use itself (Ellis, 2003). The third, which is of interest here, was that learners must rely on their own linguistic and non-linguistic resources in order to complete the task, identifying what they must learn and how to learn it in order to do so. In 2011, a study revealed that the criterion teachers had the most difficulty meeting when setting up their tasks was this third criterion linked to student autonomy (Erlam, 2016).

Little (2016), a major figure in autonomous language learning, raises the question as to the role telecollaboration can play in developing autonomy, and asks if it has the potential for a profound transformation of language teaching and learning, not insofar as it allows for authentic communication, but insofar as it offers opportunities to rethink the role of the learner as an individual.

Will emerging telecollaborative practice contribute to the evolution of a new learning-and-teaching dynamic that extends learners’ identity and their capacity for agentic behaviour, or will it simply add some extra limbs to a pedagogical tradition that has long been sclerotic? (Little, 2016, p. 54).

For Little, autonomy is not seen as an additional aspect of learning and teaching which may occasionally be added on to more traditional curricula. Autonomy is fundamental to who and what we are, and as such must be the defining characteristic of all learning and teaching.

In other words, it is in our nature to be autonomous, to be proactive in exploring and responding to our environment and to persist in following the agendas we set for ourselves. Any parent knows how difficult it can be to distract a small child from a course of action that is socially undesirable or physically dangerous (Little, 2007, p. 17).

The goal of language teaching, in this context, is to accompany the learner on a “course of action” which he or she has set, to reach a learning outcome which corresponds to a desire or need to express meaning.

Autonomy, therefore, is not limited to the ability to work alone without the help of a teacher. Rather, autonomy is the “capacity to take charge of one’s own learning.” (Holec, 1979, p. 3)¹⁹ In this simple version, this definition is widely accepted in the literature, constituting its “single common thread” (Little, 2007, p. 15) and drawing “a remarkable degree of consensus” (Benson, 2011, p. 16). However, three elements must be clarified.

The first is that autonomy must concern each stage of the learning process, from the choice of activities to self-assessment. These include goal setting, deciding on content and progression, methodological decisions, defining the timeframe and material resources required, self-monitoring, and assessing success or failure (Holec, 1979, p. 4). Taking charge of one’s learning also involves understanding one’s responsibility in the learning process (Chaplier & Crosnier, 2014).

The second point which needs to be clarified is that autonomy is a capacity, not a learning modality. “Holec’s distinction between a desirable learning situation or behaviour (‘self-directed learning’) and the capacity for such learning (‘learner autonomy’) has been generally accepted in the specialist literature” (Smith, 2008, p. 396). Thus, while self-directed learning can only take place effectively if learners have some degree of autonomy, the two are not equivalent.

The third idea is that autonomy is not limited to the classroom. “The capacity for autonomy will be displayed both in the way the learner learns and in the way he or she transfers what has been learned to wider contexts” (Little, 1991, p. 4). Too often, language learning and teaching has

¹⁹ My translation of the original French : « la capacité de prendre en charge son propre apprentissage » (Holec, 1979, p. 3).

been “cut off from the rest of learners’ lives” (Little, 2007, p. 19). As has been shown, if learning and teaching function independently of learners’ lives, the meanings expressed in the classroom cannot be the learners’ meaning, but will merely be those of the teacher or institution.

In this sense, autonomy can only function within a framework where learning and teaching are socially anchored in the learner’s outside world. For learners to become autonomous, they must be given the chance “to pursue their own interests” (Little, 2016, p. 47-48) and engage in learning which “must be real to the learners in the sense that it engages them in understanding and producing meanings that are important to them” (Little, 1991, p. 29).

This is done by transforming the role of teachers and institutions away from a role of deciding what is to be taught and transmitting a knowledge construed as “knowledge independent of individual knowers” (Little, 2007, p. 19). Thus, while in directed learning, “learning goals are determined by the institution or by the teacher” (Holec, 1979, p. 11),²⁰ developing autonomy in learners will allow them to set their own goals.

In other words, the curriculum now comes from within the learner, as a product of his past experience and present and future needs; learning is (to borrow a central concept from Ivan Illich’s writings) deinstitutionalized (Little, 1991, p. 7).

This has an important impact on the way learners are considered in the language class, i.e. no longer *only* as learners, but as social anchored speakers, allowing them to bring their own individual meanings to find new expressive and communicative outlets, rather than teaching communication in the poor sense, as transmission of information.

Present-day interest in autonomy in language learning, similarly, reflects concern with the meaning and impact of language learning on students whose individuality is suppressed in modern mass educational systems (Benson, 2011, p. 15).

Even if we do not consider that individualities are being suppressed, it is clear that self-directed modalities encouraging autonomous learning allow individuality to be developed further than in top-down forms of teaching and learning. Given the goal of intercultural approaches to allow students to bring their own individual histories and identities to their encounters with otherness, developing autonomous learning within the framework of intercultural telecollaborations seems to be a necessary starting point.

²⁰ My translation of the original French : « Les objectifs d'apprentissage sont déterminés par l'institution ou par l'enseignant » (Holec 1979, p. 11).

Indeed, since intercultural competence involves the ability to express one's own personal meanings by using a cultural and linguistic repertoire which is unique to each individual, autonomy appears to be in part constitutive of intercultural competence. To this extent, students' levels of autonomy will be intrinsically linked to their level of intercultural competence, in the sense that one cannot be interculturally competent without being autonomous.

It is within this context that allowing autonomy to play a role in intercultural telecollaborations takes on its central importance. Thus, self-directed learning will allow students to express levels of autonomy which may be discouraged in directed learning. Furthermore, it is important to understand the mechanisms of such autonomous learning. While autonomy is to be considered as a capacity and self-directed learning as a learning modality, self-regulation can be viewed as the processes which underpin autonomous learning. "For some, autonomy means becoming more self-regulated in learning a foreign language, gaining better control of one's own learning, and becoming a more autonomous language learner" (Nakata, 2014, p. 346).

While developing self-regulation may not in itself be sufficient for a learner to become autonomous, as factors such as "agency and teacher autonomy" may also come into play, nevertheless, "those learners who are more self-regulated in learning a foreign language 'skilfully' are able to utilize that skill to become more responsible and autonomous learners, and thus are likely to develop a better sense of agency as a lifelong language learner" (Nakata, 2014, p. 347). Understanding self-regulation will therefore, among other things, be central to developing intercultural competence within telecollaborative contexts.

4.2 Self-regulation

Self-regulation has attracted increased attention in the past decades as lifelong learning has developed to adapt to rapidly changing environments (Dignath & Büttner, 2008; Bardach *et al.*, 2023). "From kindergarten until retirement age self-regulation as well as self-regulated learning is necessary because the demands of the environment change rapidly in our times" (Klug *et al.*, 2011, p. 52).

Two types of models are often opposed (Winne & Perry, 2000; Klug *et al.*, 2011). On the one hand, component models, like the one described by Boekaerts (1999), focus on the different competences involved in self-regulation, while on the other hand, process models, such as Zimmerman's (2000), distinguish the different phases involved in self-regulatory activity.

However, these two models should not be opposed, merely seen as researching different aspects of self-regulation: its component parts for those who would define it as “the active, goal-directed, self-control of behavior, motivation, and cognition” (Pintrich, 1995, p. 5), or its structure, for those who focus on the fact that this self-control is “planned and cyclically adapted to the attainment of personal goals” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 14).

Thus overall, “most researchers agree that self-regulation refers to multi-component, iterative, self-steering processes that target one’s own cognitions, feelings, and actions, as well as features of the environment for modulation in the service of one’s own goals” (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006, p. 199). Furthermore, it must be understood as proactive processes used by students to acquire academic skills, like goal setting, strategic planning and deployment, or self-monitoring, not as reactive processes in response to the environment or context (Zimmerman, 2008; Bardach *et al.*, 2023).

To clarify, therefore, self-regulation occurs when students are able to establish learning goals and strategies and find the motivation to act on them without the need for external assistance. External regulation occurs when students rely heavily on e.g. teachers or parents to choose their goals and set their strategies for them, as well as providing the motivational incentive for them to pursue them.

These two extremes are not mutually exclusive. They exist on a spectrum, to the extent that “there are, of course, mixed forms of regulation, where students and teachers share the regulatory functions” (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 450). Some even dispute this distinction, claiming that self-regulation does not take place in a social void, and external regulation cannot but interact with individual motivations and capacities (Morales-Villabona, 2023). Thus, while they exist on a spectrum, there is no such thing as an entirely self-regulated or externally regulated individual.

Furthermore, everyone can be said to be self-regulated to an extent or in given contexts, and thus it may be “inaccurate to speak about un-self-regulated persons or even the absence of self-regulation. From this perspective, what distinguishes effective from ineffective forms of self-regulation is instead the quality and quantity of one’s self-regulatory processes” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 15).

Finally, self-regulation may also be heavily context dependent. Thus, “being able to regulate one's learning in a particular context (e.g., foreign language learning) does not mean that one

can regulate one's learning in other contexts as well (e.g., mathematics or statistics)” (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 450).

The importance of effective self-regulation cannot be overstated. Since “teacher-centered classrooms are the norm in much of the world” (Hawkins, 2018, p. 452), it is often overlooked in the context of the classroom, where teachers and institutions may provide a framework which enables students to give the appearance of relative success.

[Many students] expect the teacher to tell them what to do, how and when to do it, and when to stop doing it. By relying on the teacher's metacognitive guidance, many average and even below average students graduate from high school. These students may even leave school with the impression that they are capable of directing their own learning (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 450).

When external regulation comes to an end, as they leave school as must continue to learn new skills, these students are at a loss, as they have not learnt to take charge of their own learning, relying instead on others who are no longer there to help them. Highly self-regulated students, on the contrary, are able to continue to set and pursue their goals through mindful planning, monitoring, and reflection, even without the help of a parent or teacher (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004; Bransen *et al.*, 2022).

Yet, self-regulatory skills can be learnt. Indeed, “all students can learn how to be self-regulating, regardless of age, gender, ethnic background, actual ability level, prior knowledge, or motivation” (Pintrich, 1995, p. 8). In this sense, self-regulation is not only descriptive of existing learning techniques, but can be harnessed as tool for social mobility and personal fulfilment (Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Oxford, 2017; Hawkins, 2018; Xiao & Yang, 2019).

4.3 Self-regulatory processes and phases

Process models of self-regulation help establish the structure which self-regulation can take. On Zimmerman’s (2000) model, for example, self-regulation occurs in three cyclical phases. “Self-regulation is described as cyclical because the feedback from prior performance is used to make adjustments during current efforts” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 14). Thus, the first phase of each activity is influenced by the reflective final phase of the previous activity.

As previously mentioned, self-regulation on this model is seen as proactive, which means that these cycles are open feedback loops, in which goals can evolve according to previous performance.

Unlike closed-loop views, which limit self-regulation to reducing performance discrepancies reactively against an unchanging standard, open-loop perspectives include proactively increasing performance discrepancies by raising goals and seeing more challenging tasks (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 14).

Thus, the model presents us with three phases, each influencing the next in a cyclical manner, with the learner able to proactively adapt each phase according to his or her performance and goals.

The three phases are “forethought, performance or volitional control, and self-reflexion processes” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 16). The forethought phase takes place before the performance of an activity. During this phase, the learner sets his or her goals and establishes strategies to reach these goals. The performance or volitional control phase takes place during an activity and consists of the learner monitoring his or her progress and protecting his or her goals against conflicting goals. Finally, the self-reflective stage takes place at the end of the activity and allows the learner to assess to what extent his or her goals have been attained and why. This in turn will allow him or her to set goals and monitor progress more effectively during the next cycle.

4.3.1 Forethought

Forethought is thus the pre-task stage of self-regulation. It is the term given to “influential processes that precede efforts to act and set the stage for it” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 16) or to “the preparation an individual does before actually becoming involved in a learning activity” (Lan, 2005, p. 110). According to Zimmerman, this forethought phase can be divided into two categories, namely task analysis and self-motivational beliefs. The latter will be discussed when discussing the components of self-regulation.

Task analysis can in turn be divided into two processes, which are goal setting and strategic planning. “Goal setting refers to deciding upon specific outcomes of learning or performance” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 16-17). These goals can be process goals or outcome goals. The former are goals which do not initially have value in themselves, but serve as intermediate goals leading to the desired final outcome goals. “The goal systems of highly self-regulated individuals are

organized hierarchically, such that process goals operated as proximal regulators of more distal outcome goals” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 17). In this sense, effective process goals will be relatively short-term, easily attainable goals which will provide short term gratification and serve to maintain positive self-efficacy beliefs, i.e. the belief than one can reach one’s goals (Bandura, 1997) and motivation (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020).

The second process involved in task analysis is strategic planning. “Self-regulative strategies are purposive personal processes and actions directed at acquiring or displaying skill” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 17). These strategies involve understanding how one’s goals are to be reached, i.e. deciding on a course of action and being able to establish in what way it will lead to one’s process goals or outcome goals being attained (DiBenedetto & Zimmerman, 2013). Effective strategic planning will allow learners to maintain positive self-efficacy beliefs and intrinsic motivation, and endure difficulties in the learning process in order to reach their goals (Bandura, 1997; Lan, 2005; Callan *et al.*, 2022; Berger, 2023).

4.3.2 Performance or volitional control

During the task, self-regulation takes the form of performance or volitional control. These processes are various adjustments which are made and “affect attention and action” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 16). They can be divided into two main categories which are self-control and self-observation (Zimmerman, 2000)

The former kind of processes, self-control processes, “help learners and performers to focus on the task and optimize their effort” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 18). They include self-instruction such as verbalising the stages of a task or problem as one executes or resolves it, imagery, meaning the visualisation of actions before they are executed, attention focusing, used to eliminate or reduce the impact of distractions, and task strategies like the restructuring or reorganisation of a task so as to introduce meaning (Zimmerman, 2000). Self-observation processes, on the other hand, are processes intended to track aspects of students’ performance, as well as factors which may impact their performance, in order to discern causal links between these factors, or to compare performance to a previously established standard or goal (Zimmerman, 2000).

Finally, self-monitoring is the ability to monitor these processes of self-regulation during the task, in order to realise, for example, than one is not sufficiently focused and that verbalising or focusing one’s attention would be useful, and thus act accordingly. Therefore, “self-monitoring ability is the capacity to observe one’s own learning behavior on a metalevel during

the whole process of learning” (Klug *et al.*, 2011, p. 54). In this context, effective self-regulation includes students’ ability to “protect their own learning processes from distractions in the learning environment and concentrate on the task”, to “utilize effective self-instruction strategies” and to use self-monitoring strategies to adjust “learning activities to progress toward the goals of the task” (Lan, 2005, p. 110).

4.3.3 Self-reflection

Reflection is an area of study in itself, independently of self-regulation, and has produced a rich body of literature the details of which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Briefly, the origins of reflection as essential to learning are attributed to Dewey for whom reflection is an “active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusion to which it tends” (Dewey, 1933, p. 9). The sharp rise in interest in reflection as related to education follows Schön’s (1983) *The Reflective Practitioner* which establishes reflection in practice as a key element of learning and Boud *et al.*’s (1985) *Reflection*, which, as its subtitle suggests focuses on *Turning experience into learning*. Reflection also appears in discussions related to language learning, as language can be seen both as the object and the medium of reflection (Bronckart, 2009; Bronckart & Bulea-Bronckart, 2009).

This has given rise to a large amount of literature on reflective journals. Journaling is one of the key means which has been studied to promote self-reflection (Boud, 2001; Berchoud, 2002; Varner & Peck, 2003; Cadet, 2007; Pavlovich, 2007; Hume, 2009), and has been identified as having the potential to promote intercultural learning (Alaoui, 2009; Alaoui, 2018) in telecollaborative contexts (Yukawa, 2006; Derivry-Plard *et al.*, 2015; Salomão *et al.*, 2023). Here, however, reflection will be used in Zimmerman’s (2000) sense as intervening after the task as the third phase of self-regulatory cycles, which in turn feeds the first. This is Schön’s reflection-on-action. What Schön (1983) calls reflection-in-action corresponds more closely to Zimmerman’s second phase of self-regulation: performance or volitional control.

In self-regulatory accounts, self-reflection refers to the post-task processes of self-regulation which allow students to “become aware of their behavior, motivation, and cognition by reflecting on these aspects of their learning” (Pintrich, 1995, p. 9). On Zimmerman’s cyclical model, these self-reflections also allow students to adapt and adjust their goals and strategies

during the forethought phase of the following task (Zimmerman, 2000), as well as affecting motivation and self-efficacy beliefs (Schunk & Usher, 2012).

The first stage of self-reflection is self-evaluation, the second is attribution, and the third is self-reaction. The latter two will be discussed in the following section. Self-evaluation is the process of assessing one's performance against criteria for success. Four types of criteria can be used in order to assess one's performance after the task, which are mastery, previous performance, normative criteria, and collaborative criteria. The first two involve the student comparing his or her performance, either to pre-established assessment criteria, often integrated into process goals in a system of hierarchically structured goals, or to his or her own previous performance, in order to assess whether or not there has been an improvement (Zimmerman, 2000). The third type of criteria, on the other hand, involve students comparing their performance with "norms", which can take the form of classmates or adversaries, for example. These normative criteria are problematic because they "often tend to emphasize negative aspects of functioning instead of the positive ones, such as when a person loses the race despite having improved his or her time in comparison to previous efforts" (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 22). Finally, in collaborative or team performances, students will use collaborative criteria to assess whether they fulfilled their role within the team. To this extent, individual success takes the form of allowing others to function effectively to ensure collective success (Zimmerman, 2000).

4.4 Self-regulatory components

As mentioned above, component models of self-regulation focus on the different elements which make up self-regulation. Cognition and metacognition have been well established areas of study. Behavioural and environmental aspects of self-regulation are also of interest. Finally, affective or motivational processes are particularly relevant.

There are thus "three areas of psychological functioning in which self-regulated learning can appear: cognition, metacognition, and motivation/affect" (Dignath & Büttner, 2008, p.233). First of all, these may be harnessed to affect each other: for example, a good awareness of how one can learn to solve a problem (metacognition), may lead to successful problem solving (cognition) which may in turn increase the belief that one is able to solve future problems and thus impact motivation.

While directed learning, i.e. externally regulated learning, can solely be focused on cognition, self-regulation requires "the students' ability to select, combine, and coordinate cognitive

strategies in an effective way” (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 447). This ability is crucial when it comes to transferring and adapting cognitive skills to new situations. To this extent, while cognitive skills allow students to complete a given task, it is metacognitive skills which will allow them to learn from this task and to complete future tasks. “Various parameters of successful cognitive processing have been identified, including the use of metacognitive skills such as orienting, planning, executing, monitoring, evaluating, and correcting” (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 449). To this extent, metacognitive strategies not only allow the successful deployment of cognitive strategies, but allow them to be developed further insofar as they applied to new contexts. Excessive external regulation, in this context, can be seen as harmful to students’ development, since while they may develop cognitive strategies, they will be unable to transfer and adapt these strategies to unfamiliar situations.

Furthermore, as Dignath & Büttner (2008) point out, while early models such as that of Weinstein & Mayer (1986) focused primarily on cognitive and metacognitive strategies, “motivation strategies play a significant role by providing the learner with the will to use these strategies” (Dignath & Büttner, 2008, p. 236). Thus, motivational factors such as the belief one can be successful (self-efficacy) or the ability to protect against conflicting goals with shorter-term gratification must be understood and taken into account as they play a vital role in students’ self-regulatory abilities.

While cognition, metacognition, and motivation are often described in terms of their relation to students’ behaviour (Pintrich, 1995), they may also be described in their relation to their physical and social environment (Zimmerman, 2000).

Behavioral self-regulation involves self-observing and strategically adjusting performance processes, such as one’s method of learning, whereas environmental self-regulation refers to observing and adjusting environmental conditions or outcomes (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 14).

Thus, effective self-regulation will include the ability, not only to regulate one own behaviour, but the ability to make use of other people as well as one’s environment in order to help regulate learning, motivation, or behaviour. Zimmerman (2000) give the example of a family member leaving a note of the refrigerator in order to remind another family member to buy milk. In this instance, family member A has used an environmental cue in the form of the note, to activate a social resource in the form of family member B, in order to reach his or her goal (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 24). Students’ social environments may also play a critical role in motivational aspects of their self-regulatory learning, and thus acting on these social environments may prove beneficial. “Verbal self-criticism and pessimism or self-praise and optimism are often visible

to others, and these vicarious cues can convey standards for self-reaction to an observer” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 25). To this extent, environmental factors should not be neglected by self-regulated students.

4.5 Affect and motivation

The link between affect, on the one hand, and cognition and metacognition, on the other, is now well established and has made affect a central area of self-regulated learning. As Zimmerman (2000) writes, “self-regulation also depends on self-beliefs and affective reactions, such as doubts and fears” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 14). To this extent, self-regulation cannot be understood solely as a set of cognitive and metacognitive strategies, but must also integrate motivational and affective steering processes which allow students to manage their efforts and engagement in the learning process (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006; Chaplier & Crosnier, 2014). Importantly, as was said regarding self-regulatory strategies generally, motivation and affect are socially anchored, which means students can be taught to steer them in particular ways. It also means that negative beliefs may impact students’ development in self-regulated contexts.

Modelling and instruction serve as a primary vehicle through which parents, teachers, and communities socially convey self-regulatory skills, such as persistence, self-praise, and adaptive self-reactions to children. Conversely, when social models demonstrate impulsiveness, self-criticism, or defensive self-reactions, or when social groups reward or accept such actions, a wide array of personal dysfunctions often ensue (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 25-26).

The importance of teachers providing positive feedback and encouragement or rewarding perseverance cannot be understated, as these attitudes are then interiorised by the learner as self-regulation processes which allow them to put cognitive and metacognitive strategies to use.

4.5.1 Affect and forethought

Affective considerations run through all three phases discussed above, from forethought to performance control to self-reflection. As regards goal-setting processes, there are of course cognitive and metacognitive aspects, but goals by their nature are grounded in affective considerations, as they must emanate from students’ “wishes, needs, and expectancies” and be protected by students “from conflicting alternatives” (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 451). To this extent, self-initiated activities in which students set their own goals should be “powerful energizers of

behavior” in a way that teacher-initiated activities are not (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 452). Finding a goal desirable, therefore, will allow students to pursue this goal more effectively. However, it will not guarantee that conflicting alternatives will not interfere. An important aspect of the goal-setting phase of self-regulation should therefore be to set goals which are important to the learner, thus reducing the likelihood of competing goals becoming more desirable (Boekaerts, 1999, p. 452).

Self-efficacy and outcome expectations are also crucial during the goal-setting stage. Self-efficacy refers to a person’s belief that they have the means to perform a particular task (Bandura, 1997). Outcome expectations refer to the belief that a course of action will have a particular outcome (Zimmerman, 2000). Unsurprisingly, students who believe that they are likely to be able to perform a task, and that a positive outcome will result from this, are generally more effective learners than those who do not. However, self-efficacy is quite different from self-esteem. The latter is a general state, whereas the former is related to a particular task. “Self-efficacy beliefs are very task- and domain-specific and include students’ judgments of their capabilities to do a task (‘I know I can do these chemistry problems’)” (Pintrich, 1995, p. 10). Knowing one can solve a particular chemistry problem does not entail believing one can learn to play a particular sonata.

What is interesting is that the belief that one is able to succeed is likely to be maintained even in the face of failure. “When people fall short of attaining their outcome goals, those who are self-efficacious increase their efforts, whereas those who are self-doubters withdraw” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 18). Students with low self-efficacy are likely to be less persistent or attempt to avoid the task altogether, whereas students with high self-efficacy will work longer and harder to achieve their goals “even when experiencing difficulty” (Hagen & Weinstein, 1995, p. 45).

The link between goals and self-efficacy goes further than this insofar as highly self-regulated students will hierarchise their goals by setting shorter-term process goals, in part because they hold positive self-efficacy beliefs about these process goals. In turn, because their goals are hierarchised, their self-efficacy beliefs regarding outcome goals are more positive. The satisfaction they gain from their process goals does not require them “to suspend any sense of success until a final outcome goal is attained” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 18).

Another distinction which links goals and affect is between mastery goals and performance goals. Performance goals are goals related to the completion of a task, usually in terms of the

rewards that this completion brings (some form of praise, a grade, the right to do other things, etc.) Mastery goals will view the task as important in itself as it presents a learning opportunity.

The former has been shown to be less motivating for students than the latter. “Students are not likely to engage in self-regulated learning if they are focused on just completing their work to “get it done” or to get the highest grade” (Pintrich, 1995, p. 9-10). Indeed, students are more likely to have positive attitudes towards the class if they believe mastery goals are emphasised and more negative attitudes if they believe performance goals are emphasised (Hagen & Weinstein, 1995). It is important to note that while these two types of goals can be opposed, they are not mutually exclusive (Hagen & Weinstein, 1995). Thus, while encouraging mastery goals will doubtless yield positive outcomes in terms of affect and motivation, it may not be necessary, possible, nor perhaps even desirable, to eliminate performance goals altogether.

4.5.2 Affect and performance or volitional control

Negative affect and conflicting behaviours are also possible during the task. Students who are motivated by the presence of the teacher or by the desire to obtain a certificate, for example, are likely to disengage from the task when faced with an obstacle or a distraction. In such cases, obstacles and distractions require coping strategies on an affective, volitional, or environmental level, such as taking a deep breath, avoiding distracting peers, putting aside distracting materials, or deciding to get to work (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006). As above, these strategies can and should be taught in order to help students become self-regulated. Furthermore, students who are learning in order to obtain a certificate combine the cognitive goals associated with the task with affective goals such as entertainment or belonging. In this sense, the goals associated with the task which are aimed at obtaining a certificate conflict with other goals which appear as intrinsically desirable. In this configuration, when learning goals appear to be unreachable, students disengage from the task.

On the contrary, those who combine certificate goals with mastery goals are less likely to disengage from the task when they encounter difficulties, and more likely to search for the best way to reach their goals (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006). Past experience can also affect students during a task, since positive and negative feelings become associated with particular activities, and learning environments have been defined as favourable or unfavourable. To this extent, “expectations and beliefs may, quasi automatically, trigger positive or negative emotions that have become associated with the task or activity (e.g., boredom, hopelessness, anger, joy) in

the past” (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006). Once again, coping strategies can be deployed in order to address these issues.

4.5.3 Affect and self-reflection

As was mentioned earlier, two aspects of self-reflection are crucially linked to affect, namely attribution and self-reaction. Attribution is the process of determining the reasons for success or failure. Here too, self-efficacy, hierarchical goals structures and clearly defined strategies positively affect attributional judgement, as students who are self-efficacious and having clear goals and strategies “are more likely to attribute failures to that strategy rather than low ability, which can be devastating personally” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 23). These are vital elements of self-reflection, since students who attribute their failures to low ability will be more likely to disengage from similar tasks, while those who attribute them to their strategy with wish to try again. Here, negative affect leads to a loss of self-efficacy beliefs which curtails motivation. “These attributional judgements are pivotal to self-reflection, because attributions of errors to a fixed ability prompt learners to react negatively and discourage efforts to improve” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 22).

Such attributions can be fostered by intervening on goals and strategies. For example, classrooms focused on individualistic goals involving improving and mastering materials produce students who are more likely to attribute their failure to insufficient time or effort and who believe that they could succeed with more work. On the contrary, classrooms in which students are placed in competition with one another generate students who are “more likely to believe that they had been unsuccessful in solving the puzzles because they did not have the ability to succeed” (Hagen & Weinstein, 1995, p. 48).

This may in turn have an impact on self-reactions which allow students to alter their self-regulatory approach during subsequent tasks. Students who are self-efficacious and have organised their goals hierarchically, and thus who are likely to attribute failures to their strategies, tend to use adaptive inferences rather than defensive inferences. Adaptive inferences “direct people to new and potentially better forms of performance self-regulation, such as by shifting the goals hierarchically or choosing a more effective strategy” (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 23). In contrast, students who attribute failure to their lack of ability will be more likely to choose defensive inferences, which serve to protect them from future negative affect. Defensive

inferences thus lead to procrastination and task-avoidance, therefore undermining hopes of successful adaptation (Zimmerman, 2000).

4.6 Self-regulation and intercultural competence

These different self-regulatory processes should be viewed as central to intercultural competence as they underlie vital aspects of autonomy. Yet, there has been very little research linking intercultural approaches and self-regulation. While some have shown higher levels of self-regulation to be linked with higher levels of intercultural competence (Flowers et al., 2019; Zhu et al., 2023) or built self-regulatory models to measure intercultural competence (Strohmeier *et al.*, 2017), they do so using mostly quantitative methods based on standardised and itemised scales. These scales being based on psychological attitudes towards “people from other cultures”, they share a common set of problems. First of all, they presuppose both a common understanding of both the term “culture” and the term “other”, both of which are complex and unstable terms. Many participants will understand this to mean “from other countries” and will answer the questions accordingly, thus immediately anchoring their responses in a territorial understanding of language and culture. Secondly, they suppose both that attitudes towards otherness are stable, and that otherness is homogeneous. One may have very different attitudes towards others depending on the context and the stakes of the encounter. Similarly, “others” are likely to be “other” in very different ways, a diversity which is left out of standard measurement of attitudes towards a generic “other”. A final and related point is that mere psychological attitudes in a vacuum leave out the personal, emotional, social, cultural, and political contexts in which all encounters take place. Yet, a central aim of intercultural approaches is to show how all these factors structure both individuals and their encounters with diverse others.

To this extent, beyond merely linking high levels of self-regulation to high levels of intercultural competence, this thesis aims to show the ways in which self-regulation should be considered as part of intercultural competence. Being able to set goals effectively, for example, is a crucial aspect of what it means to express personal meanings in a telecollaborative context. In a telecollaboration in which the goals are chosen by a teacher or institution, so too are the meanings conveyed. To this extent, developing intercultural competence among learners requires both that they be given the opportunity to set their own goals, and that they possess the skills to do so effectively.

Similarly, the ability to prepare and monitor for difficulties which may be encountered within an intercultural telecollaboration will be key in order to adjust one's behaviour accordingly. Being able to identify situations in which communication is likely to be difficult and structure activities and discussions to overcome such difficulties is an aspect of self-regulation which is fundamental to intercultural competence in a telecollaborative context.

Post-task reflection is also of great importance. A learner's ability to understand after the fact either why communication was successful or why it was unsuccessful will allow him or her to adjust his or her behaviour in future telecollaborations in different contexts. Insofar as intercultural competence must be understood as a general competence which is not specific to communication with an individual, a community, or a culture in particular, this ability to extract and transfer skills should be considered as an integral part of what it means to be interculturally competent.

Affective considerations must also be considered as relevant when defining intercultural competence. As has been mentioned, intercultural telecollaborations often encounter difficulties involving students' frustration due to mismatched expectations or lack of engagement. The ability of each student to understand the expectations of the other, as well as remain engaged by pursuing goals which are of personal interest to him or her are therefore key competences of intercultural competence.

Thus, while understanding how individuals develop as intercultural speakers requires an anchorage in a social constructivist or sociocultural framework, the fact that intercultural competence is intrinsically linked to bringing their personal and cultural history to the encounter, to learning and transferring what has been learnt to new situations, and to managing these encounters from an affective and motivational point of view, make the social cognitive theories (Zimmerman, 2000; 2013) discussed above a useful resource. Indeed, epistemological dialogue seems to be a productive way to gain a deeper understanding of intercultural competence and the intercultural speaker. It is within this context that the following methodology was elaborated, in order to explore how self-regulatory processes were implemented by students during self-directed intercultural telecollaborations, and how these were linked to intercultural competence.

**Part 2 Methodology: self-directed
intercultural telecollaborations to understand
the relation between self-regulation and
intercultural learning**

5.1 Research questions

Intercultural telecollaboration has the potential to allow students to communicate and collaborate with other students who do not share their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, allowing them to practice their language skills in authentic communication situations, as well as gaining intercultural competence by increasing openness and curiosity, building additional-language mediated identities, or learning how to deal with difficulties.

Intercultural telecollaboration does not, however, of itself, guarantee the development of intercultural competence. On the basis of what has been said above, a working definition of intercultural competence can now be given, as the sum of “attitudes, knowledge and skills of an individual” (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495; cf. UNESCO, 2013) which allow him or her to understand others and respond to them appropriately, build relationships with them, and view him or herself through the lens of the multiple cultural affiliations which have built his or her identity (Huber & Reynolds, 2014, p. 16-17). To this should be added a view of culture as linked to practices, not itemised facts (Zarate, 2008), engaged in by multiple communities at different levels, not just at the national level (Zarate, 1995), as well as the sense of his or her own cultural positioning that follows (Byram, 2008; Kecskes, 2012; Kinginger, 2008; Kramsch, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013), and the desire and curiosity, not simply the ability, to engage with and build relationships with those who do not share his or her cultural background (Byram, 2003; Liddicoat, 2009).

While many factors can be involved in developing intercultural competence, including motivation, teacher and learner expectations, organisational and scheduling miscommunication, etc., it has been posited above that viewing the learner, not as a blank slate or as a representative of a given culture, but as an individual with a personal history, interests and motivations, may better correspond to an intercultural approach. To this extent, establishing a framework which will allow students to harness their individuality as speakers, rather than merely as learners in the sense of being defined primarily as deficient in their command of the target language (Kern

& Liddicoat, 2008),²¹ may allow for the better development of autonomy as partly constitutive of intercultural competence.

Given this, the central aspect of the intercultural approach which is to be investigated here is its link to autonomy and self-regulation within telecollaborative contexts. As discussed, “top down” approaches to language teaching and learning do not allow students to initiate their own learning, and thus, do not allow them to express aspects of their personality, personal interests, or individual and collective cultural histories. Tasks are set up by the teacher in order to reach goals which are set by the teacher or curriculum on topics which are chosen by the same teacher or curriculum, often based on their idea of what may be of interest to learners of a particular age group or enrolled on a particular course, in an effort to engage a majority of students.

Revisiting this teacher-learner hierarchy will establish the learner as the driving force behind his or her learning. In this context, learners are given the opportunity to choose their own tasks on topics which interest them and set individual goals which are suited to their needs. This should mean that learners will no longer study topics which are believed by teachers to be of interest, but topics which are indeed of interest to them. Furthermore, the goals which they set themselves can be set in order to bring them to progress with objectives which are both self-motivated and tailored to the needs of each individual. Finally, the tasks which they set up can be designed by students with these goals and topics in mind, thus appropriately responding to students’ needs.

With this in mind, a self-directed project aims to give students the opportunity to initiate their own tasks with minimal guidance from their teachers. In a telecollaborative context, these tasks had to be negotiated among students with different personal, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds leading to self-directed intercultural telecollaborations.

²¹ The dialogue between intercultural approaches anchored in social constructivist frameworks and self-regulation anchored in social cognitive frameworks means that the term “learner” will nevertheless be used as it is favoured by the latter approach. Nevertheless, participants will more often be referred to as “students” which connotes greater individuality and social anchorage.

The present research therefore aims to answer the following research questions:

Research Question 1: What forms of learner autonomy and self-regulation do students show in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations?

Research Question 2: In what ways do students display intercultural competence in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations?

Research Question 3: How do learner autonomy and self-regulation interact with intercultural competence?

To answer these questions, five self-directed intercultural telecollaborations were set up between October 2018 and May 2021 in both secondary and tertiary education. While adjustments were made for each project, the details of which will be given below, they all shared the following common principles.

1. All involved collaboration between schools or universities from two different countries whose students did not share the same language.

Intercultural telecollaboration is at the heart of this project, insofar as it provides opportunities for students to encounter other students who do not share their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and give them the chance for authentic communication and intercultural growth. As has been discussed, intercultural need not entail international. However, the international component of these telecollaborations is intended to provide opportunities to speak English as the students' target language.

2. With the exception of one bilingual project, all took place in English as a *lingua franca*, meaning English was the target language for the students involved, not their first language.

The purpose was therefore “communication in English between speakers with different first languages” (Seidlhofer, 2005, p. 339). While this was done in part for practical reasons, the choice of English as a *lingua franca* is of distinct interest from an intercultural perspective. As discussed above, for the native-speaker model, *lingua franca* exchanges appear as an aberration, as they provide non-standard models for students, including multiple errors and deviations from what is considered the “norm”. However, from an intercultural perspective, *lingua franca* communication is representative of much of the communication undertaken on a day to day basis, and embraces a deterritorialised vision of language and culture. This is not to say that the tandem modality is not of interest as it also puts students in contact with students who do not

share their first language and cultural background. Rather, *lingua franca* exchanges add an intercultural dimension to telecollaborations which is of particular relevance.

3. Students were asked to collaborate with their partners in order to realise a production (slideshow, video, text, website, etc).

Task-based learning and teaching has now become standard in many countries. The realisation of the task focuses the students' communication, avoids students feeling like they have nothing to say to each other, and makes collaboration a condition for successful task completion, thus encouraging teamwork and communication. This task was collectively chosen by the students in each group in order to respond to the individual topics of interest and goals they had previously set out.

4. The topic of this production was to be chosen and negotiated by the students of each intercultural group.

This is to fulfil the self-directed component of the telecollaboration. As discussed, the goal of this thesis is to address the role of individual's personal histories, desires, and interests in developing intercultural competence. Allowing students to choose their own topic enable them to bring their own personalities to the discussion. However, as these were group projects, topics had to be negotiated with each member of the group. To this extent, communication was from the start an encounter between individuals with their own personalities and interests, rather than a meeting between learners whose individuality comes second to the teacher-imposed task.

5. All five projects involved students setting language goals and cultural goals, explaining how they would reach these goals, and reflecting after the task about whether or not they had successfully done so.

This too belongs to the self-directed component of the telecollaboration and is based on Zimmerman's (2000) three-stage cyclical model of self-regulation. Students' self-regulatory skills are what is at stake here. Beyond the topics of interest discussed above, students will have their own motivations, desires, expectations in terms of language and culture, language abilities, etc. Allowing students to set their own learning goals and strategies as to how to reach them is intended to establish them as the driving force behind their projects and create the conditions in which they can take control of their own learning.

5.2 Finding partners

Each project paired a French class with a foreign partner class. Partners for these projects were found through the eTwinning Partner Forums and the TeCoLa Classmatch tool for secondary level partners, and word-of-mouth and existing partners for the university level partners.

In the former case, a message was posted to the forum briefly explaining the project. This was followed by email exchanges and videoconferences in order to explain what the goals of the self-directed project were from the point of view of the students' learning process, but also what the research requirements were for the students and what this involved for the teachers. This process was adapted over time as will be explained in the following sections.

In the latter case an email was sent to potential partners, similarly explaining the goals of the self-directed project, both in terms of learning and in terms of research, and what it involved for the teachers and students.

5.3 Difficulties encountered

5.3.1 *Teachers' willingness to participate*

Difficulties finding partners is a common problem when setting up intercultural telecollaborations (Furstenberg, 2016). Finding partners for *self-directed* intercultural telecollaborations presented a further challenge. Initially, responses from potential collaborators seemed to display a lack of confidence in the self-directed modality of these projects. A discussion via video chat with potential partners in Utrecht in the Netherlands, in April 2018, revealed that these partners were uncomfortable with the lack of structure of the project such as it was initially presented and were thus uncomfortable proceeding with what appeared to them to be an unpredictable process.

Indeed, one of their requests was that the “topic” of the exchange be defined more clearly, showing either that the central concept of the project was poorly communicated, or that these teachers were unable to make the shift from viewing their role as providing the topics of discussion for their students to providing a framework within which students could choose their own “topics”.

Similarly, one teacher from Limbiate, in Italy, while interested in the self-directed modality of the proposed project was not comfortable giving students complete freedom over the topics they chose. In an email dated 11th October 2019, she wrote:

I like the idea of letting students decide their topics but maybe among a choice we provide them with, suitable for their age and English levels. It might be nice to let them work on one or two macro themes, such as for example extra school activities/volunteering/environment/social life and social networks/family and friendship/empathy/life opportunities and work/European citizenship...

Thus, here too, a central concern was to narrow the scope of possible choices in an effort to keep control over the topics discussed. While the suggested categories are broad enough that students maintain a level of freedom, they nevertheless exclude some potential areas which could have been of interest. This can be explained by at least two factors. The first is institutional, as teachers' freedom to choose what and how they teach is often limited and varies from one country to another. The second is linked to individual teachers who may wish to keep control of what their students are working on. This second reason may be related to the first, as the less teachers feel free to teach what and how they choose, the less they may be comfortable giving that freedom to their students.

Such compromises were, however, necessary in order to conduct these projects, and this particular project did indeed go ahead, before being slowed and finally abandoned during the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic (cf. below).

The way in which the project was presented to potential partners gradually evolved in order to integrate or pre-empt some of these concerns. While initial posts on the eTwinning Partner Forums focused on students autonomy and explained that the students would choose their topics and create a production in an area of common interest, more details were gradually included so as to clarify how the project would be structured, with its different stages laid out and some examples of potential topics and productions given to show that the project had been elaborated and thought through rather than giving the impression that the students would be left without guidance, in what Holec calls “apprentissage autodirigé ‘sauvage’”(Holec, 1979, p. 4; cf. Little, 1991, p. 32).²²

The fact that these later posts received more favourable responses reveals that teachers may be nervous about letting their students undertake telecollaborations without an appropriate framework, and that communicating this framework effectively is crucial in establishing confidence in the initial stages of partnership-building.

²² “‘Savage’ self-directed learning” (Holec, 1979, p. 4) (My translation).

While structuring the framework of the various phases of the project was likely important for cognitive clarity and student engagement, the main compromise involved providing students with examples of possible topics. These topics were generally what Hoffstaedter & Kohn (2015a) call “soft intercultural topics” (p. 36) such as food, music, film, sports, etc. While it was clearly stated to students that this list was intended to be non-exhaustive, it is likely that it restricted the choices made by different groups.

5.3.2 Teacher and student engagement

Maintaining engagement from both teachers and students was problematic at several different levels. While student engagement will be discussed further in Part 3, it is worth noting that on all the projects which will be analysed below, a number of students reported that their partners had not communicated as regularly as they would have liked or had stopped communicating altogether mid-project. This was problematic from the point of view of the projects themselves, in terms of asking students individually to finalise productions which had been started as a group, creating frustrations among these students which will be further discussed below. On later projects, groups were formed with at least two students from each country, rather than pairs with one student from each country. This was intended to reduce the chance that any given student would lose all contact with the students from the partner-school.

This low student engagement was also problematic from a research point of view, as many students who were not engaged did not respond to the questionnaires or complete the worksheets which were to constitute the data to be analysed. This is an interesting result in itself, however, as in the context of a self-directed telecollaboration in which students are free to choose their own topics of discussion, the fact that some students were not fully engaged shows that shifting the choice of topic from the teacher to the students does not in itself constitute sufficient motivation, and thus is not the only factor at play. On the contrary, self-directed projects require the level of teacher monitoring and guidance to be adapted to the students’ self-regulatory abilities. If this was not always the case, it may have led to uncertainty and incomprehension, and ultimately to a lack of engagement from some students.

Some teachers were also more engaged than others. Communication via email was sometimes slow and limited in scope, with one partner-teacher even ceasing to respond after the project was finished. Telecollaborations can indeed be time-consuming, especially when they are viewed, either by the teacher or the institution, as “extra”, rather than as a different way of

approaching the core curriculum. Teacher falling behind on their work will in turn negatively impact students' engagement and motivation, perhaps giving negative feedback to the teacher leading to a circular loss of momentum.

Here too, regular and effective communication seemed to be crucial to maintaining contact, and strategies were adapted to take this into account. Later projects began with a meeting between teachers via video chat in order to establish "face to face" contact and an effort was made to maintain regular contact via email, including lists of students who said they had lost touch with their partners allowing teachers to keep track of how involved their students were. However, the quantity of work this required for the teachers involved meant that this remained an imperfect system, especially given the restrictions linked to the COVID-19 pandemic.

5.3.3 COVID-19

It seems reasonable to imagine that lockdowns and reduced contact hours should have little impact on intercultural telecollaborations. Indeed, from early 2020, education experienced a global and massive shift from the physical classroom towards online learning, with many students and teachers around the world having their first experiences with online learning environments and distance teaching/learning. This shift would logically appear to favour intercultural telecollaborations since they are done online and can be maintained whether students and teachers are at home or in the classroom. However, this was not how events unfolded. The pandemic caused a number of difficulties which can be attributed to several factors. First of all, while, as discussed above, student engagement was not perfect before the pandemic, the first lockdown especially impeded teachers' ability to effectively monitor students in order to keep them involved in the project.

For instance, on one telecollaboration which was abandoned close to the end and thus did not provide sufficient relevant data to be analysed in this thesis, both teachers struggled to keep their students involved during the first lockdowns which affected Italy and France. Thus, the teacher from Limbiate, in Italy, wrote in an email exchange that while she had heard from some of her students, she nevertheless had to admit that "they tend[ed] to be tired and unmotivated". The teacher from Marmande, in France, wrote that "some students/groups simply disappeared and never replied to the messages, emails, notifications..." One explanation for this may be that students view these projects as "extra", not as an integrated part of their studies. This seems

confirmed by the teacher's feeling that her students "chose the topics they wanted to keep on working on".

As the pandemic set in, and it became apparent that such disruptions would continue, students in general quickly appeared to become engaged in their schooling once more. Projects 2, 3 and 5 all took place between October 2020 and May 2021 at a time when many countries were experiencing high levels of contaminations leading to lockdowns, curfews, and other limitations, measures whose effects were exacerbated by their unpredictability. In French high schools, for instance, students attended every other day, meaning contact time was halved. While most students remained involved in the project throughout this period, it was at times difficult to manage deadlines and make sure they were met, follow up on students who did not respond, manage their frustrations at not receiving responses from their partners, etc. Students at the university level appeared to be less impacted in terms of engagement, despite universities in France being closed while high schools were open. Nevertheless, some data remains incomplete as a result of this lockdown, as face to face contact is crucial in order to stress the importance of worksheets or questionnaires, as opposed to what students appeared to view as the central element of their telecollaborations: exchanging with their partners and submitting a final production.

5.4 Projects implemented

5.4.1 Project 1: French-Turkish self-directed intercultural telecollaboration in middle school

Project 1 is a telecollaborative project which was put in place between October 2018 and May 2019. Part of the TeCoLa project,²³ this collaboration put 24 students from *Lucien Sigala* middle school, in France, in contact with 24 students, from *Nevsehir Cemil Meric* high school, in Turkey. All students were aged 13-14 years old. The goal was to help them develop a self-directed school project with a foreign partner. This was conducted in English as a lingua franca, with the levels of the students ranging from A1 to A2 on the CEFRL scale, with learners thus defined as "basic users".

²³ The TeCoLa project was funded by the European Commission within the Erasmus+ programme and explored "pedagogical differentiation through telecollaboration and gaming for intercultural and content integrated language teaching" between 2016 and 2019 (cf. teca.eu).

Self-direction was the key component of this telecollaboration. In order to allow students to harness their personal histories and linguistic and cultural identities, they were given the choice regarding the theme of their project, the goals they wanted to reach, as well as the communication and learning methods. They were given a form, which could be used to help organise their work, on which they could lay out the topic of their project, their learning goals and their preferred means of communication. They were also encouraged to find their own partner based on common interests via a forum created on the TeCoLa moodle for that purpose. They were then asked to interact in pairs in order to produce a common final project, which generally took the form of a presentation or a website. The overall aim was to encourage students to take an interest, not only in the topic they chose to discuss, but also in their own learning experience, what they hoped to learn and how they might go about achieving their goals.

Though the telecollaboration lasted approximately six months, class time dedicated to the project varied from week to week depending on responses from partners, school holidays in one country or the other, as well as other school engagement. In total, 12 hours of class time were dedicated to the project, and students' work outside of class may have represented up to six hours. Most productions took the form of a text, some including pictures, which presented topics such as important days in Turkey and France, typical food in Turkey and France, famous monuments in Turkey, France and England, different styles of music in Turkey and France, the treatment of animals, etc.

They were given a questionnaire before the project, and another once the project was over. At the request of their respective teachers, the French students received and responded to these questionnaires in French, while the Turkish students received it and responded in English. The pre-task questionnaire included two sections. The first section asked about their age, gender, socio-economic background, but also their previous experiences regarding language and culture. The second section focused on the project itself, with questions regarding goals, strategies, expectations concerning language, culture and communication. The post-task questionnaire asked about these same aspects but as related to their recent telecollaborative experience.

21 French students and 24 Turkish students responded to the pre-task questionnaire. 20 French students and 16 Turkish students responded to the post-task questionnaire. 19 French students and 16 Turkish students responded to both the pre-task and post-task questionnaires (Table 1).

	France	Turkey
Participants	24	24
Pre-task questionnaire	21	24
Post-task questionnaire	20	16
Both questionnaires	19	16

Table 1 Participants and respondents by country (Project 1)

5.4.2 Project 2: French-Italian self-directed intercultural telecollaboration in high school

Project 2 is a telecollaborative project entitled *Let's Talk!* which was implemented between January and May 2021 on the eTwinning platform²⁴. This project involved 24 French students from *Max Linder* high school in Libourne, France, and 22 students from *Elio Vittorini* high school in Gela, Italy. Participants, aged between 16 and 18 years old. The project was conducted in English as a *lingua franca* and the levels of the students ranged from A2 to B2 on the CEFRL scale.

Eight hours of class time were dedicated to this project, including three hour-long videoconferences. Students were also expected to work outside of class. Depending on their projects, motivation and work efficiency, they could have spent between one and six hours working on the project outside of class. Students were asked to conduct a self-directed project, by setting out their goals and interests before negotiating a common topic of interest with their partners and creating a common production. Final productions were almost exclusively slideshows with fairly large texts integrated into each slide. Topics included travel, cooking, fashion, art and literature, animals, sports, music, movies, television series, and nature.

All projects had to follow seven steps.

- Step 1 involved students individually responding to a worksheet in which they set out their centres of interest and their goals regarding language, culture, and personal development.
- Step 2 was a brainstorming activity in which students posted their thoughts on a forum regarding what rules should be respected when communicating, publishing, or commenting on other people's work.

²⁴ eTwinning is a European Commission initiative aimed at encouraging telecollaboration between schools in Europe. Among other things, the platform provides partner forums for teachers to meet and build collaborative projects, collaborative online space for work and publication of students' productions, and training courses to improve teachers' skills in telecollaborative contexts.

- Step 3 was the first meeting via video chat in which students were put in small groups based on their interests with the goals of getting to know each other and agreeing on a common project. The topic was free, but the following examples were given to students: music, films, politics, education, society (race, gender, etc). The format was also free, but here too, examples were given such as creating a webpage, a video, or a blog article.
- Step 4 was to complete a second worksheet relating their chosen topic to the goals they had previously set out and explaining what difficulties they expected to encounter and what strategies they would use to overcome them.
- Step 5 involved regular communication between students of each group in order to research and produce their final work. Two further video chats were organised, but students were also expected to communicate outside of class time.
- Step 6 was to publish their work on the Twinspace.
- Step 7 was to complete a post-task self-reflective questionnaire in which they were asked, among other things, whether or not they reached their goals, what they did to try to reach them, whether they enjoyed communicating with their partner, etc. These questionnaires as well as the worksheets mentioned above will be presented below.

All students had to complete the worksheets and respond to the questionnaires in English.

24 French students and 17 Italian students completed Worksheet 1 (step 1). 22 French students and only 6 Italian students completed Worksheet 2 (step 4). 21 French students and 21 Italian students completed the post-task self-reflective questionnaire (step 7). (Table 2)

	France	Italy
Participants	24	22
Worksheet 1	24	17
Worksheet 2	22	6
Post-task questionnaire	21	21

Table 2 Participants and respondents by country (Project 2)

5.4.3 Project 3: French-Italian self-directed intercultural telecollaboration in high school

Project 3 is a telecollaborative project entitled *Share your voice* which was set up between January and May 2021 on the eTwinning platform. This collaboration took place between 26 French students from *Max Linder* high school in Libourne, France, and 21 students from *Pietro Siliciani* high school in Lecce, Italy. Participants, aged between 16 and 18 years old. The project

was conducted in English as a *lingua franca* and the levels of the students ranged from A2 to B2 on the CEFRL scale.

As for the previous project, eight hours of class time were dedicated to this project, including three hour-long videoconferences. Students' work outside of class will have varied depending on their projects, motivation and work efficiency, from one or two hours for some, up to five or six hours for others. Students were asked to set up a self-directed project, following the same seven steps as described in the previous project. They thus set out their goals and topics of interest before choosing a topic with their partners and creating a production together in the form of a slideshow, a video, or an article. Here too, most chose to produce a slideshow with text in each slide. Topics included feminism, travel, video games, sports, movies, music, cinema, and television series.

26 French students and 21 Italian students completed Worksheet 1 (step 1). 22 French students and only 16 Italian students completed Worksheet 2 (step 4). 23 French students and 20 Italian students completed the post-task self-reflective questionnaire (step 7). (Table 3)

	France	Italy
Participants	26	21
Worksheet 1	26	21
Worksheet 2	22	16
Post-task questionnaire	23	20

Table 3 Participants and respondents by country (Project 3)

5.4.4 Project 4: French-Bulgarian self-directed intercultural telecollaboration at university

Project 4 is a self-directed bilingual intercultural telecollaboration between 11 students from the American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad (AUBG) and 10 students from the Higher National Institute for Teaching and Education of the University of Bordeaux (INSPE), which took place between October and December 2019. After a first phase in which students collaborated on specific icebreaking tasks given by their teachers, they were asked to undertake a self-directed task to give them the opportunity to connect their topics of interests and to reflect thoroughly on their personal goals and strategies.

Ten hours of class time were dedicated to the project, including three two-hour videoconferences, with students undertaking varying amounts of work beyond that time, up to an estimated five hours. Similarly to the Projects 2 and 3, they were asked to complete a

worksheet before engaging on this task, in order to establish for themselves what their areas of interest were, and what their goals regarding language and culture could be. After having discussed this with their partners and agreed on a common topic, they had to complete a second worksheet summarizing their project, explaining how it would allow them to meet their goals, what difficulties they expected to encounter, and what they could do to overcome them. Most projects took the form of slideshows or illustrated texts, and topics included social media, traditional food, books and authors, sustainable development, the Erasmus programme, school bullying, freedom of speech, and dance.

After having completed their common project, they were given a self-reflective questionnaire in which they discussed whether or not they had reached their goals, what they had done to reach them, whether they enjoyed communicating, whether they intended to keep in contact with their partners, etc. These questionnaires will be explained in detail below.

The bilingual modality of this project means it differs from the others conducted in English as a *lingua franca*. Here, French students used their target language, English, to communicate, while Bulgarian students used their target language, French. Thus, for the former students, some of the communication took place in their first language, while for the latter, communication alternated between two languages which were not their first language, though they mastered English better than French.

11 Bulgarian students and nine French students completed Worksheet 1, 10 Bulgarian students and nine French students completed Worksheet 2, and 11 Bulgarian students and nine French students completed the post-task self-reflective questionnaire. (Table 4)

	Bulgaria	France
Participants	11	10
Worksheet 1	11	9
Worksheet 2	10	9
Post-task questionnaire	11	9

Table 4 Participants and respondents by country (Project 4)

5.4.5 Project 5: French-Brazilian self-directed intercultural telecollaboration at university

Project 5 is a self-directed intercultural telecollaboration between 11 students from the Higher National Institute for Teaching and Education of the University of Bordeaux (INSPE), in France, and 10 students from the College of Letters and Science of Araraquara, Brazil. It took

place between October and December 2020. The exchanges took place in English as a *lingua franca*.

Here too, ten hours of class time were dedicated to the project, including two two-hour videoconferences, with work outside of class time highly variable, up to an estimated five hours. Students were given icebreaking tasks to introduce themselves and their hometowns before beginning a self-directed project based on their common interest. Once more, productions were mostly illustrated texts or text-heavy slideshows. Topics included myths and legends, culinary specialties, French and Brazilian music, education, Christmas, and a French-Brazilian movie named *Bacurau*.

As in Project 4, they had to complete a worksheet before they started regarding their interests and goals, a worksheet after having agreed a topic with their partners, and a questionnaire at the end of the project. One further point of interest is that eight of the 11 French students participating in this project had participated in Project 4 the previous year. To this extent, one aspect which will be analysed will concern whether or not repeating a similar project was useful for these students in terms of self-regulation and intercultural competence.

10 French students and eight Brazilian students completed Worksheet 1, 10 French students and five Brazilian students completed Worksheet 2, and 11 French students and seven Brazilian students completed the post-task self-reflective questionnaire. (Table 5)

	France	Brazil
Participants	11	10
Worksheet 1	10	8
Worksheet 2	10	5
Post-task questionnaire	11	7

Table 5 Participants and respondents by country (Project 5)

6.1 Pre-task and post-task questionnaires: pilot

Data collection varied between Project 1 which functioned as a pilot project and Projects 2, 3, 4 and 5 which constituted the main research. The data collected for Project 1 came from two questionnaires, a pre-task questionnaire and a post-task questionnaire completed by the students from both countries. This project functioned as a pre-test which allowed for these questionnaires to be calibrated appropriately. Indeed, as will be shown, having two questionnaires dissociated from the core work of the project seemed to place too much of a burden on students on the one hand, and to be insufficiently linked to the work they were doing on the other.

The pre-task questionnaire was divided into two parts. Part 1 included questions related to demographics, social backgrounds, and previous intercultural experience. Thus, the following eight questions were asked.

1. How old are you?
2. Are you a boy or a girl?
3. What is your father's profession?
4. What is your mother's profession?
5. What languages do you speak at home?
6. What languages do you study in school?
7. Have you ever done an online exchange before? Specify when and with what country.
8. Have you ever been to another country before? Specify when, where and for how long.

Questions 1, 7 and 8 were open-ended, while different options were given for the other questions, with an "Other" option should none suit. The goal of these questions was to establish levels of nominal intercultural capital which will be discussed below, in order to consider to what extent such factors could be related to self-regulation and intercultural competence.

Part 2 of the pre-task questionnaire was also made up of eight questions, this time focused on the intercultural telecollaboration itself.

1. Describe what you imagine your foreign partner will be like.
2. What are your learning goals regarding language?
3. What will you do to reach these goals?
4. What are your learning goals regarding culture?
5. What will you do to reach these goals?

6. Do you think it will be easy or difficult to communicate with your foreign partner?
7. In what ways will you help each other to ensure communication?
8. Do you expect you will enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)? Why?

It aimed to allow students to anticipate their telecollaboration by asking them what their goals were, what strategies they would put in place to reach these goals, what difficulties they expected and how they could help communication to take place effectively. Thus, the forethought phase of self-regulation was integrated into the pre-task questionnaire.

The post-task questionnaire was given to students after the project was completed and asked the same questions only as related to their recent experience. The goal was thus to compare students' pre-task responses and their post-task responses to the same questions.

1. Bearing in mind your recent online exchange, describe your foreign partner.
2. What were your learning goals regarding language?
3. What did you do to reach these goals? Did you reach your goals? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
4. What were your learning goals regarding culture?
5. What did you reach do to these goals? Did you reach your goals? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
6. During this exchange, was it easy or difficult to communicate with your foreign partner? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
7. During this exchange, in what ways did you help each other to ensure communication? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
8. During this exchange, did you enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)? Why? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
9. What platforms did you use to communicate? List all platforms.
10. Do you have anything else to say about this project, whether positive or negative?

All questions in Part 2 of the pre-task questionnaire and in the post-task questionnaire were open-ended, allowing students to express themselves fully and freely for each of their answers. This also allowed for varied answers regarding language goals and cultural goals, which provided a rich source of information for analysis and interpretation, helping to establish how students at this age define language and cultural learning.

6.2 Integrated questionnaires

While these questionnaires provided useful data and insights into the self-regulatory and intercultural competence of the students involved, several issues led to a change of strategy for the following projects. First of all, the difficulty in collecting the questionnaires showed that these questionnaires represented a burden for students and partner teachers who perceived them as exterior to the project itself. Secondly, because they were viewed by students as exterior to the project, the goals set out in the pre-task questionnaires seldom matched the goals given in the post-task questionnaires. Reducing the number of questions and integrating self-regulatory reflection into the project itself was seen as a possible solution to both these problems.

To this end, Projects 2, 3, 4 and 5 functioned on the basis of two worksheets and a questionnaire. Thus, the questions from Part 1 of the pre-task questionnaire shifted to the post-task questionnaire, and those from Part 2 were reduced, modified, and integrated into Worksheets 1 and 2. In each telecollaboration, all students from both countries were given the same worksheets and questionnaires at the same time. Asking students from abroad to complete the worksheets and questionnaires involved the added difficulty of relying on effective communication with partner teachers. Tables 1-5 in the previous chapter show how students from abroad were less likely to complete all documents from beginning to end.

6.2.1 Worksheet 1

For Projects 4 and 5, students were asked to give their topics of interest, their goals regarding language and their goals regarding culture. Goals regarding personal development were added in Projects 2 and 3 in an effort to help students move away from a narrow view of language learning which was discovered when analysing the responses from previous projects.

1. Topics of interest
2. Goals regarding language
3. Goals regarding culture
4. Goals regarding personal development (Projects 2 and 3 only)

6.2.2 Worksheet 2

Worksheet 2 was completed after an initial encounter with their partners in which students agreed on a topic and task to complete for their group. As opposed to being asked what they

would do to meet their goals, students on Projects 2, 3, 4 and 5 were asked how their project would help them reach their goals, in an effort to link the goals established in Worksheet 1 with the project negotiated with their partners. They were then asked to anticipate difficulties and strategies to overcome them.

1. Give a brief description of your project here
2. How will this project allow you to meet your goals?
3. Do you anticipate any difficulties? What will you do to overcome them?

6.2.3 Self-reflective questionnaire

The post-task self-reflective questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first aimed to collect data on the students' demographic, social, and intercultural backgrounds. The second asked them to consider various aspects of their recent telecollaboration. For Project 5, a third part was added, asking students who had participated in Project 4 to reflect upon their participation in both projects.

Thus, the first part asked seven questions related to students' age, their parents' profession, and their linguistic and intercultural background, in terms of what languages they speak at home and at school, and what experience with travel or intercultural telecollaboration they may have had.

1. How old are you?
2. What is your father's profession?
3. What is your mother's profession?
4. What languages do you speak at home?
5. What languages have you studied at school or university?
6. Have you ever done an online exchange before? Specify when and with what country.
7. Have you ever been to another country before? Specify when, where and for how long.

The second part focused on dimensions such as enjoyment, reflexion on whether or not they reached their goals, difficulties encountered, intercultural markers such as future contact, as well as two questions about the self-directed modality of the telecollaboration.

1. Bearing in mind your recent online exchange, describe your foreign partner.
2. Did you reach your goals regarding language? Give precise examples specifying what you did and how your language skills developed.

3. Did you reach your goals regarding culture? Give precise examples specifying what you did and how this affected your relation to culture.
4. Did you reach your goals personal development? Give precise examples specifying what you did and how this affected your relation to culture.²⁵
5. During this exchange, was it easy or difficult to communicate with your foreign partner? In what ways did you help each other to ensure communication? Give precise examples of what made communication easy or difficult, and how you overcame any difficulties.
6. During this exchange, did you enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)? Why? Give precise examples.
7. Do you think you will stay in contact with your foreign partner after the project is finished? Why?
8. Has this project made you want to improve your language skills?
9. Has this project made you want to travel or live abroad?
10. Has this project made you want to do more online collaborations with foreign partners?
11. For you, what is most important about the self-directed framework of these telecollaborations?²⁶
12. Are there any negative aspects to the self-directed framework?²⁷
13. Do you have anything else to say about this project, whether positive or negative?

For those students involved on both Project 4 and Project 5, a third part was added to the post-task questionnaire for Project 5, asking them to reflect on if and how they had improved through these projects, in terms of language, cultural, goals-setting, and autonomy.

1. Do you think you have improved your language skills since last year?
Please comment on your answer above
2. Do you think you have improved your intercultural skills since last year?
Please comment on your answer above
3. Do you think you have improved your goal-setting skills since last year?
Please comment on your answer above
4. Do you think this second telecollaboration has made you more autonomous? Why?
5. Are there any other aspects which you think have improved since last year? (eg. more confident, more organised, etc.)
6. Do you think last year's telecollaboration prepared you for this year's? If so, how? If not, why not?

²⁵ Only for Projects 2 and 3

²⁶ Only for Projects 2, 3, and 5

²⁷ Only for Projects 2, 3, and 5

7. Do you have anything else to say comparing the two telecollaborations or about your personal development through this process?

6.3 Qualitative analysis

The answers to these various questionnaires were collected and analysed using qualitative methods. This choice was motivated first and foremost by the conceptual complexity of the areas being discussed. The theoretical framework within which this study was conducted, both as related to intercultural competence and self-regulation, are subject to debate, innovation, and problems of definition which are not settled. But furthermore, many of the terms used in our everyday language to discuss these issues are used in a variety of ways. The word “culture”, for example, will be understood in different ways by different students. Quantitative studies struggle when such terms are used as it is by no means clear that they are being used in the same way by all participants.

One attempt to use quantitative methods in the field of intercultural research has been the development of the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS). The scale developed by Chen & Starosta (2000) uses 24 Likert-style questions to determine individuals’ levels of engagement, respect, understanding and appreciation when it comes to culturally diverse encounters. This scale has been widely used in a variety of cultural contexts (Tamam, 2010; Wang & Zhou, 2016; Flowers *et al.*, 2019). The first point that can be made is that this is limited to “intercultural sensitivity”, thus attempting to measure attitudes towards otherness as positive or negative. The broader “attitudes, knowledge and skills” (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495; cf. UNESCO, 2013) involved in intercultural competence require a broader framework for investigation. A deeper point, however, is that the concept of otherness which is used in this scale is what intercultural approaches aim to rethink. The 24 questions used to measure an individual’s intercultural sensitivity on this scale all use one of three terms. Most speak of “people from different cultures” (questions 1, 3-10, 12-18), two mention “other cultures” (questions 2 and 20), and six mention “culturally distinct” or “cultural different” “persons” or “counterparts” (questions 11, 19, 21-24).

When reading these questions within the framework discussed above, it is not clear how these terms are to be understood. The very notion of “other” or “different” cultures has been brought into focus above on the grounds that one may belong to several cultures and thus not consider them in any way “other”. For the same reason, “people from different cultures” may participate

in one or several cultures, which may interact in a variety of ways with the cultures in which the respondent participates. Even if both participants consider themselves as monolingual and monocultural, belonging to a national culture and territory, the questions above nevertheless presuppose that otherness is in some way homogeneous. For example, for a British person, an American and an Uzbek are likely to be considered “other” in very different ways, even before taking into consideration questions of social and economic backgrounds, political engagement, gender identity, subcultures, etc. The term “culture” itself, as the results from the present research will reveal, is not understood in the same way by everyone and can be taken in the sense of national culture, high culture, way of life, etc. Given what has been said above about the heterogeneity of culture and intercultural relations, quantitative methods lack the means to account for such complexities, without inducing responses, especially among younger students.

On the contrary, using qualitative analysis on answers to open-ended questions will allow for such complexities to be illustrated, that is to say, for different understandings of culture to appear, for different ways of framing language-learning to be established, for otherness to appear within a range and in specific contexts. In turn, it will therefore be possible to understand students’ strategies for dealing with these concepts. Attitudes towards language-learning, intercultural communication, goal-setting and strategic planning, will be categorised on the basis of students’ responses, not on the basis of predetermined categories. The goal of this categorisation is not to determine any statistically significant links or correlations, but to describe existing attitudes and understandings as well as establishing a range of possibilities within a specific context.

However, while the overall methodology is qualitative, once descriptive categories have been established, some compounded tables will count a sufficient number of students to reveal statistically significant results. χ^2 analysis will be conducted on these tables in order to strengthen some of the claims made, either by showing that the variables are not independent, when $P < .01$, or that they begin to reveal a tendency which it would be interesting to test in future research with a larger sample size, when $P \in [0.1, 0.02]$.

6.4 Calculating nominal intercultural capital

One such case may be the link between self-regulation, intercultural competence, and nominal intercultural capital. As discussed, intercultural capital is the sum of intercultural skills and experiences individuals have acquired, including speaking or learning languages, having lived

abroad or in culturally diverse communities, having worked with intercultural collaborations, at school or in the professional world, etc.

In the same way that economic capital and cultural capital can be the source of inequality, intercultural capital may be the source of inequality when it comes to developing intercultural competence among language learners in the context of telecollaboration. Students with lower intercultural capital may require specific mediation, while some with a higher intercultural capital in name, may need help drawing upon this capital to gain intercultural competence. Thus, it will be interesting to calculate the students' intercultural capital and analyse this in relation to their responses.

An indicator of intercultural capital was designed based on responses to four questions:

- What languages do you speak at home?
- What languages do you study in school?
- Have you ever done an online exchange before? Specify when and with what country.
- Have you ever been to another country before? Specify when, where and for how long.

The responses to these questions allowed various components to be considered. Language skills and time spent abroad were two components which factor into Pöllmann's (2010) calculation of intercultural capital for head teachers in London and Berlin. His third component, however – intercultural friendships – was seen as problematic since it presupposes an understanding of what constitutes interculturality. Especially if the definition of an intercultural friend is that he himself, or she herself, has intercultural friends, this component is circular. However, a third component was taken into account given the context of this study – previous experience with telecollaborations. On the basis of these various components, students were given a score from one to five, five indicating a high level of intercultural capital, and one a relatively low one. (Table 6)

Level 1	The student learns languages at school but has never travelled abroad
Level 2	The student learns languages at school and has travelled abroad only once
Level 3	The student learns languages at school and has travelled abroad several times and/or participated in online exchanges
Level 4	The student speaks a different language at home than at school and has travelled abroad
	Or the student learns languages at school and has lived abroad ²⁸
Level 5	The student speaks a different language at home than at school and has lived abroad

Table 6 Criteria for establishing levels of nominal intercultural capital

6.5 Methodological limitations

The responses to the questionnaires and worksheets provide an interesting data set, since the two complement each other, and provide viewpoints from students from several different countries and cultural contexts. However, they are also limited in their scope. In-depth interviews may have allowed for further investigation of some of the following results. However, a number of factors contributed to rendering this impossible in practice. First of all, the time limits imposed by the school year, with national exam periods varying from one country to another, meant that time for in-depth interviews was limited. In some cases, this was made more difficult by the language factor, especially for younger learners who were relative beginners in their target language. Nevertheless, the answers collected in the worksheets and questionnaires in a variety of educational contexts were useful in order to define the scope of self-regulation in intercultural telecollaborative contexts, and its role in intercultural competence. To this extent, in depth interviews will be interesting tools in future research, on the basis of the results from the present study.

As discussed above, the impact of COVID-19 also had a number of consequences, including additional pressure for students to focus on their graded work rather than on additional activities, as well as increased difficulties for teachers to involve their students and thus a need to focus this involvement on coursework.

Discourse analysis may also have provided some interesting results, especially with regards to the phase in which students negotiated the project in accordance with their previously

²⁸ For more than six months

established goals and interests. However, this phase took place in a number of different settings, sometimes at home, sometimes in class, and it would have been difficult to collect recordings of all these discussions. Most importantly, it was feared that being recorded may impact the students' interactions, not only in terms of their being more careful what they said, but in terms of shyness getting the best of their ability to communicate. On balance, therefore, it was decided that the risk outweighed the benefits, and that discourse analysis would be best viewed as a direction for future research, on the basis of the results from the analysis of the worksheets and questionnaires which allow a first description of the link between self-regulated learning and intercultural approaches.

6.6 Summary: how these protocols and research tools help answer the research questions

The research questions set out above being of an exploratory nature, so too were the tools and protocols constructed to answer them. The self-directed intercultural telecollaborations in which students decide on their own tasks and productions, set out their own goals and strategies, and then reflect on the result were indispensable for the present research as they showed how students reacted when confronted simultaneously with two unfamiliar contexts: self-direction (RQ1) and intercultural telecollaboration (RQ2). While autonomy as a “capacity” (Holec, 1979, p. 3) and self-regulation as a set of “processes” (Boekaerts & Cascallar, 2006, p. 199) are to be distinguished from the self-directed modality, it is nevertheless in the latter that the former are the most visible.

Furthermore, asking students to set out goals (Worksheet 1) and strategies (Worksheet 2) pre task and reflect on the result post task (Self-reflective questionnaire) will not only give tangible results as to how students self-regulate (RQ1), but also as to their vision of language and culture (RQ2). Indeed, asking a student to set out a language goal, for example, will not only reveal how he or she conceives of goals, but also how he or she conceives of language.

The fact that self-direction, language, and culture are intricately linked in this way, in all three of the documents students were asked to complete, shows the complex interplay that takes place between these concepts. Language goals are commonplace among teachers when preparing for their classes, yet the difficulties involved in establishing the conceptual contours of “language”, as discussed above, and the intricacies involved in goal setting seem far from teachers' daily concerns. How students understand these terms is even more crucial. Putting students in a

position where they must think about goals and strategies in a telecollaborative context will yield interesting indicators as to how students understand language learning, self-regulatory processes are related to language learning, and to what extent they shape this learning from an intercultural perspective (RQ3).

Analysis of the pre-task results will focus of Worksheets 1 & 2, more specifically on what goals and strategies were chosen by students, how they were structured, and how they interact. Analysis of the post-task results will confront the pre-task results with students' perceived levels of success, communication enjoyment, expected future contact, and nominal intercultural capital, all drawn from the post-task self-reflective questionnaire.

7.1 Pre-task results and analysis

Project 1 served as a pilot project which allowed for a research framework to be established. In this sense, as discussed in Chapter 6, it differed from the other four projects which will be discussed at length below. However, a number of results are of interest and allowed for these other projects to take a more adequate shape.

Taking place between October 2018 and May 2019, it was a self-directed telecollaboration between 24 students from *Lucien Sigala* middle school, in France, and 24 students from *Nevsehir Cemil Meric* high school, in Turkey. Students were asked to choose the theme of their project, the goals they wanted to reach, as well as the communication and learning methods. They then interacted in pairs to produce a final project, generally a presentation or website.

The pre-task questionnaire allowed them to set out their goals and strategies in relation to language and culture. The responses analysed here concern the following questions:

1. What are your learning goals regarding language?
2. What will you do to reach these goals?
3. What are your learning goals regarding culture?
4. What will you do to reach these goals?

7.1.1 *Language goals and language strategies*

The responses regarding language goals can be divided into four categories (LGOAL 1-4).

1. Goals regarding language in general (LGOAL1): these are mostly students who expressed a desire to “speak English well” (TL18)²⁹ or “improve [their] English” (FL08)³⁰
2. Goals regarding a specific aspect of language (LGOAL2): students mentioned a specific aspect of language, including oral and written language, grammar, spelling, vocabulary and fluency.
3. Goals regarding communication (LGOAL3): students who said their goal was to speak to other people or have a dialogue.

²⁹ Turkish Learner number 18

³⁰ French Learner number 8

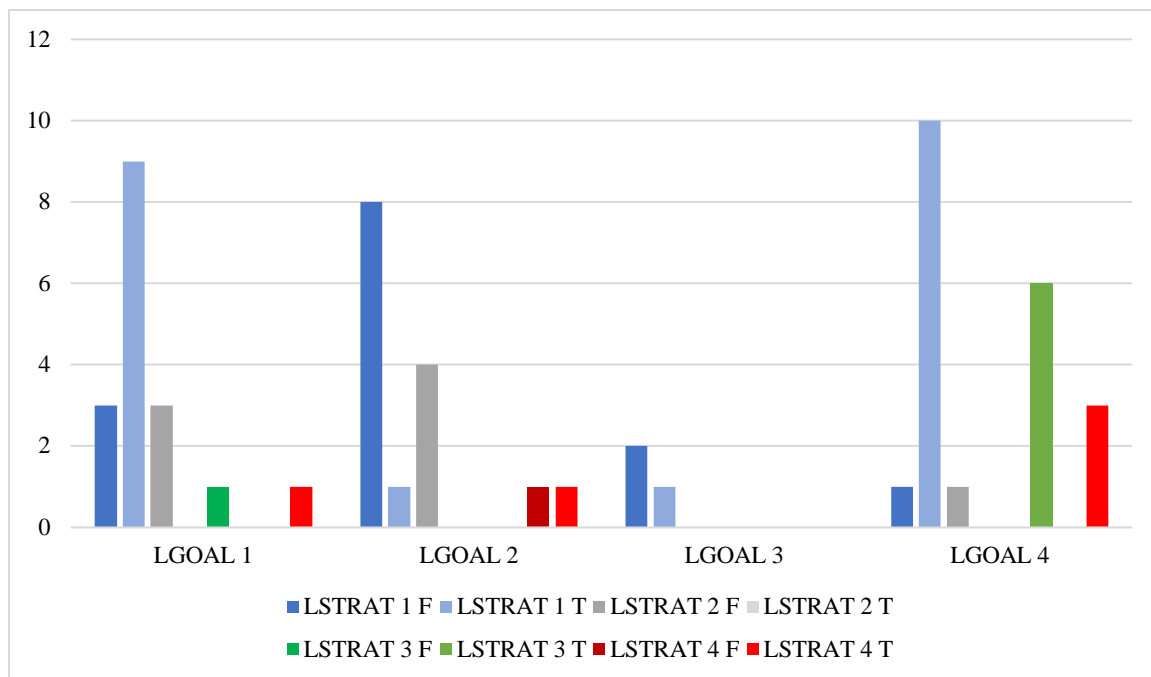
4. Goals viewing language as a means to an end (LGOAL4): these are students who wanted to learn language for a purpose considered as other than communication, including travel, academic success and future employment.

It is interesting to note that while the first category concerns French and Turkish students to a high degree, only one Turkish student mentioned a specific aspect of language compared to 12 French students. Conversely, only two French students mentioned language as a means to an end (travelling, in both cases), compared to 14 students from Turkey who referred to travel but also to their academic success and their future employment. Finally, only three students from both countries combined mentioned communication or dialogue as their language goal.

In order to reach these goals, students had various strategies which, again, can be divided into four categories (LSTRAT 1-4).

1. Work (LSTRAT1): 35 students mentioned academic work, studying, practicing, or listening in class as a way to achieve their goal.
2. A specific aspect of language (LSTRAT2): as above, nine students geared their strategies specifically towards oral or written language, or towards understanding.
3. The right attitude (LSTRAT3): seven students said they would do their best or believe in themselves in order to reach their goals.
4. Getting help (LSTRAT4): six students mentioned using human or non-human resources such as getting help from an “elder,” (TL12) watching series, reading books or using applications on their phones.

In terms of their language strategies, the majority of students mentioned working hard, studying, practicing or listening in class. This is true for both Turkish and French students. However, once again, nine French students referred to a specific aspect of language, particularly oral or written language, whereas no Turkish students included this in their strategies. On the other hand, having the right attitude appears in only one French questionnaire, whereas six Turkish students expressed this as a strategy.



Graph 1 Language strategies by number of students for each language goal for Project 1 (Pilot)

Thus, whatever the language goal, the language strategy that dominates is academic work. The distinction between learners and speakers seems to be at play here. Indeed, when asked about their goals and strategies, students appeared to think within the context of schoolwork, thus restricting themselves to the position of learner, rather than as individual speakers with ideas to share. Also unsurprisingly, for the first two language goals, language in general and a specific aspect of language, strategies including a specific aspect of language are noticeably present. Finally, when language is viewed as a means to an end (the fourth category of language goals), strategies involving having the right attitude are more strongly present than others, with strategies involving outside resources also present.

7.1.2 Cultural goals and cultural strategies

The responses regarding cultural goals can also be divided into four categories. (CGOAL 1-4).

1. Knowledge or personal progress (CGOAL 1): these are students who mentioned knowledge, learning about culture (without specifying what culture), discovering new things, improving themselves, etc.

2. My culture/our cultures (CGOAL 2): many students said they aimed to share their own culture, or enter into an exchange: “My goal is to learn their culture and teach them my own culture” (TL07).
3. The Other (CGOAL 3): this will be subcategorised further down, but it includes references to his/her/their culture without mention of the student’s own culture and references, specific or not, to another country and its culture.
4. Way of life (CGOAL 4): several students mentioned the other’s way of life, or more specifically, music, food and traditions.

Finally, four students did not respond, or answered that they did not know. This is telling and may show that the notion of a “goal regarding culture” is far from self-explanatory. That being said, “goals regarding language” could be said to be no clearer. Thus, it is the notion of culture, which seems to be problematic, which may show how language teaching and learning remains more focused on language than on culture (Zarate, 2008, p. 176).

Students in each country answered quite differently. Only one Turkish student expressed his/her goal in terms of gaining knowledge or improving himself or herself, as opposed to eight students from France. On the other hand, no French students expressed a wish to talk about their own culture, where 10 Turkish students did. Students from both countries make references to the other in terms of “his” or “her” country specifically, another country more generally, or another culture. However, only French students referred to ways of life.

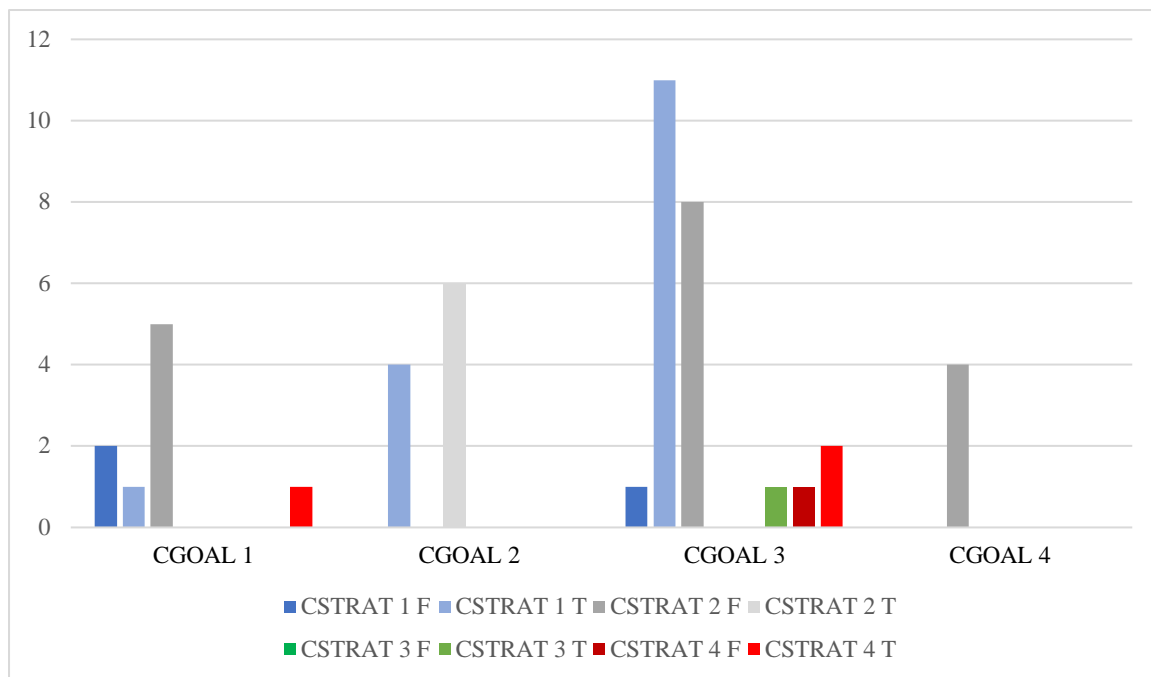
In order to reach their cultural goals, students expressed cultural strategies which fell into the following categories (CSTRAT 1-4).

1. Research or academic work (CSTRAT 1): 22 students expected to reach their goals by working hard, by doing research, by asking their teachers questions, etc.
2. Dialogue or communication (CSTRAT 2): 20 students made references to communicating with their partners as a way to reach their goal. These included talking about their cultures, listening to their partners, asking questions or more generally, communicating.
3. *Savoir-vivre* (CSTRAT 3): two students mentioned personal qualities such as respect or a willingness to help each other.
4. Unrelated to the project (CSTRAT 4): three believed travel or meeting people to be needed to meet their goals.

Three students did not express a strategy which, again, may be telling as the notions of culture, goals regarding culture, and strategies to reach these goals seem to be problematic for some students. While students from both countries referred to schoolwork as ways to reach their

goals, there were only four French students who did so, as opposed to 16 students from Turkey. Conversely, it is interesting to note that 13 French students intended to rely on communication with their partner, compared to only six of their Turkish counterparts. Most of the students' responses fell into one of the first two categories, with only five students mentioning elements from the other two.

However, there are some surprises when looking at the relation between cultural goals and cultural strategies. Of those whose goal was to gain knowledge, one may have expected research or academic work to be prominent. In fact, only three students expressed this strategy, while the others intended to speak with their partner. Among those who wished to share their own culture, one may have expected communication (CSTRAT2) to be almost exclusively mentioned. However, while it is indeed mentioned six times, more than the others, academic work is mentioned four times, which is non-negligible. Students whose goal related to *the other* mentioned a variety of strategies, with academic work being most prominent, and communication coming in second. Here, however, it is interesting to look at subcategories. Those who mentioned their partner specifically all express their strategy as one of communication with their partner. On the contrary, those who referred to the other country, continent, or less specifically to "different cultures" are more likely to view academic work as the appropriate strategy for pursuing their goals. Finally, communication was the only strategy mentioned when it came to finding out about the other's way of life. Again, this may be surprising as the music and food considered typical of a particular country may more readily be found by doing research than other elements of their culture. This seems to show that the way of life in question is not that of the country, but that of their individual partners.



Graph 2 Cultural strategies by number of students for each cultural goal for Project 1 (Pilot)

7.2 Post-task results and analysis

The post-task questionnaire asked four questions related to goals and strategies. Students were asked to restate what their goals had been and then comment on what they had done to reach those goals and whether they had succeeded.

1. What were your learning goals regarding language?
2. What did you do to reach these goals? Did you reach your goals? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.
3. What were your learning goals regarding culture?
4. What did you do to reach these goals? Did you reach your goals? Give precise examples specifying what task you were involved in.

Students' responses will be analysed in relation to the goals and strategies they set out before the task in order to see how they evolved during the telecollaboration.

7.2.1 Post-task reflection on goals

7.2.1.1 Language goals

As previously mentioned, language goals set out before the task fell into four broad categories: goals regarding language in general, goals regarding a specific aspect of language, goals

regarding communication, goals viewing language as a means to an end. When asked to restate these goals, students' responses were divided into those who broadly repeated what they had answered in the pre-task questionnaire, and those whose responses differed from what they had previously set out to achieve.

For example, TL16, who had said he wanted "to speak English very well," restated his desire to "improve [his] English". FL06's goal to focus on grammar and syntax remained unchanged, as did FL11's wish to improve his oral expression and comprehension.

On the other hand, other responses became either more specific, or less specific, often shifting from LGOAL1 (language in general) to LGOAL2 (a specific aspect of language) or *vice versa*. FL20 wanted to speak better English before the task, and restated his goal as wanting to "improve in spelling and grammar." TL23 who wanted to "speak a foreign language" specified after the task that his goal was to "learn more words." Conversely, FL17 who had expressed his goal as wanting to "learn vocabulary and sentence structures" restated this as "learning ways to speak English fluently." Similarly, students viewing language as a means to an end (LGOAL4), when restating their goals after the task, fell into other categories. TL03's goal had been to become an English teacher, whereas after the task, she expressed the desire to "improve [her] English level." TL06 wanted "to pass the English lesson," but after the task stated his goal had been to "chat with people in different languages in different countries."

Others added specific aspects of language to other aspects, thus remaining within LGOAL2, but with broader objectives than originally stated. FL15, for example, wanted to "progress in oral English" before the task, and after the task stated that his goal had been to "improve [his] English, both written and oral." Thus, a shift occurred in how students formulated their language goals before and after the task which it will be important to better understand in the discussion below.

7.2.1.2 *Cultural goals*

When it comes to cultural goals, students can also be divided into those who remained broadly consistent between the pre-task and post-task formulation of their cultural goals and those whose goals evolved.

FL03 who had mentioned wanting to learn more about “Turkish culture” restated this desire. FL12 had been interested in talking about music and confirmed this in the post-task questionnaire.

However, most students saw some evolution in how they formulated their goals after the task. Among these, some responses became less specific, or had been forgotten altogether. For example, FL05’s response evolved from wanting to “discover other cultures” to “nothing.” Interestingly, all eight Turkish students who had expressed a desire to not only learn about their partner’s culture but also talk about their own, no longer mentioned this in the post-task questionnaire.

For 12 students, cultural goals became more specifically focused on one aspect of culture. TL16 wanted to “learn French culture” before the project, and after explained that his goal had been to “learn the important places in France, especially the Eiffel Tower.” For FL15, a similar shift occurred from wishing to discover “a new culture” and “new traditions” to wanting to know more about “culture and in particular Turkish television channels.” Specific aspects of culture which appeared in the post-task questionnaires but not in the pre-task questionnaires included aviation, important days, the army, cities and schools, celebrities, food, films, Halloween, religion, as well as landmarks and television as mentioned. Thus, cultural goals as well as language goals evolved between their pre-task and post-task formulations, and thus, it will be important to understand why in the discussion below.

7.2.2 Post-task reflection on strategies

7.2.2.1 Language strategies

In terms of language strategies, an important shift occurred between the pre-task and post-task questionnaires. Indeed, before the task, language strategies had been divided into four categories: work, a specific aspect of language, the right attitude and outside help. These categories all but disappeared in the post-task questionnaires, to be replaced with references to the students’ partners.

Indeed 24 students mentioned, for better or for worse, the role that their partner played in the success or failure of the project. TL19 said he “often talked to [his] partner” as did FL01. FL03 and FL11 give examples of digital communication tools such as Whatsapp and Facetime respectively, to show how they communicated. Overall, 12 students said in some form that speaking to their partners helped them progress towards their goals. For example, FL15 wrote:

“To reach this goal I simply needed to communicate with my partner on tecola.” TL09 wrote: “We talked with my friend. I think I've reached my goals.”

However, reliance on their partners also created frustrations. 10 students mention a lack of communication with their partner, ranging from those who found communication insufficient to those who believed they could not reach their goals because of a lack of communication on their partner's behalf. For example, while FL13 said they “more or less reached their goals” despite his partner not sharing his work, others such as FL12 or TL16 said they “couldn't do anything to reach [their] goals” (FL12) or that their partner “never talked to [them]. So [they] could not reach [their] goal” (TL16).

7.2.2.2 Culture strategies

Partner-based strategies were also visible regarding cultural strategies. Here, however, these strategies were already present in the pre-task questionnaires. Three broad categories could be distinguished in the post-task questionnaires.

The first are those who did not respond or only commented on the perceived success or failure to reach their goals, without saying how or why they succeeded or failed. Thus, TL11 who had worked on Halloween, said: “Yes, I am learning about English Halloween culture.” TL09 said: “No, I think I haven't reached my goals.” Finally, FL14 wrote: “No, I didn't reach them.”

The second category are those who said they did research. While studying and doing research were apparent in the pre-task questionnaires, it was largely those students who wanted to ask their partners questions who ended up doing research. Thus, while TL03's pre-task strategy to study remained to an extent in her post-task claim “I did research”, six students followed a pattern similar to TL19 who shifted from “I will speak with my partner” pre-task, to “I did research on the French people” post-task. FL04 showed his disappointment in this regard, having said pre-task that he would ask his partner questions, but saying post-task: “I did research about Turkey so I reached [my goals] but not thanks to my partner.”

The third category relates to those who mentioned their partner. Some turned to research to make up for a lack of communication from their partner. The opposite is also true, however, with TL02 saying pre-task that she would do research, and then saying post-task that she did not reach her goals because her “partner didn't tell [her] about their culture.” TL16 fits a similar pattern wanting to do research before the task and saying after the task that his partner “never

told [him].” Thus, we can observe a shift from a research-based strategy to a partner-based strategy, despite the lack of communication from the partner in question. Finally, five students remained consistent pre- and post-task in their strategy of asking their partners questions, sometimes becoming more specific, like FL11 whose pre-task strategy was to ask questions, and whose post-task response was: “I asked him questions about the history of Turkey.”

7.2.3 Communication enjoyment

Students were also asked whether they enjoyed communicating and why. The goal of this question was to assess students’ openness and curiosity, which are considered as important aspects of intercultural, their desire to build social relationships, as well as discover what potential frustrations may have operated during the telecollaboration.

The results are clearly divided between French and Turkish students, with only 32% of the former against 94% of the latter saying they enjoyed communicating. However, the reasons given by students for not enjoying communicating almost exclusively involve a lack of communication, rather than failed or difficult communication. For example, FL01 wrote “No, as he did not speak a lot and was often inactive” while TL16 wrote “I did not enjoy because my friend [...] never talked to me.” Others simply answered “No” without further explanation. The fact that a lack of communication caused frustration is interesting for at least two reasons. The first is that it shows a desire to communicate and to engage with their foreign partners. The second is more practical, as it involves the importance of ensuring regular communication for a project to be a positive experience.

Among the reasons for enjoying communication, on the other hand, one student mentions kindness (FL08), three students mentioned politeness (TL02, TL19, TL20), two mentioned it being fun (TL05, TL22). Three mentioned “making new friends” (TL07, TL12, TL23) which is of interest as it shows a desire to build social relationships. Two mentioned that they enjoyed communicating as it allowed them to speak a foreign language (TL06, TL12). This is also of interest, as it shows a level of intrinsic motivation which can be a powerful vector for learning.

7.3 Conclusions and lessons for main research

The primary focus of this pilot project was to establish how students set out goals and strategies as related to language and culture. To this extent, it was particularly useful in allowing goals to

be categorised. While categories were added in the main research in order to account for goals which were not present here, the framework established will serve to analyse students' responses throughout this thesis. While the categories established for students' strategies were also interesting, methodological reorganisation which will be discussed below meant that only the goal categories remain throughout, while strategies are categorised in a different manner.

Many of the results are also of interest when it comes to analysing where students' focus lies. Indeed, the way in which students focus on language in the limited sense of improving their language-skills, as well as on the academic aspect of the project, shows that language is often seen as an academic concern rather than as a vehicle for personal, social, or cultural growth. Yet, linking what is learnt in school to students' personal and social life is crucial for an understanding of language as culturally anchored. Both from an intercultural perspective and from the perspective of self-regulation, this narrow understanding of language-learning warranted further exploration in the main research.

From a methodological perspective, the difficulties experienced when collecting the questionnaires revealed that students perceived them as a burden, as not pertaining to the project itself but as an extra assignment, despite the fact that they were completed in class. This is relevant, not only as data collection is concerned, but also as the goals and strategies set out before the task and the reflexion upon them after the task should be crucial to successful self-regulated learning. If these are perceived by students as extrinsic to the project, the usefulness of such questionnaires for the students is questionable. This may emphasise some of the students' tendencies to lose sight of their goals. Indeed, if goals and strategies are not integrated in the project itself, these goals can then be forgotten when it comes to reflecting on success or failure post task. To this extent, the projects implemented as part of the main research integrated many of these questions into the core of the project through the use of worksheets which will be further detailed below. Only the post-task reflexion took the form of a questionnaire.

Part 3 Results and analysis: how students self-regulate in the context of self-directed intercultural telecollaborations

8.1 Overview of the projects

8.1.1 *Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations*

Projects 2 and 3 are telecollaborative projects respectively entitled *Let's Talk!* and *Share your voice*. Both involved French high school students from *Max Linder* high school in Libourne, and Italian high school students from *Elio Vittorini* high school in Gela and *Pietro Siciliani* high school in Lecce. They took place between January and May 2021 via eTwinning, and involved a total of 50 students from France, and 43 students from Italy.

Students were asked to conduct a self-directed project, by setting out their goals and interests before negotiating a common topic of interest with their partners and creating a common production. These projects both involved eight hours of class time including three hour-long videoconferences. Students were also expected to work outside of class time. Time spent on the project outside of class is expected to have varied between one or two hours up to five or six hours depending on students' motivation, efficiency, project type (text, video, etc), group dynamic, etc. All students had to complete two worksheets and respond to a post-task self-reflective questionnaire in English.

8.1.2 *Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations*

Projects 4 and 5 were both university level self-directed telecollaborations, which took place between October and December 2019 and 2020 respectively. Project 4 involved 11 students from the American University in Bulgaria, Blagoevgrad (AUBG) and 10 students from the Higher National Institute for Teaching and Education of the University of Bordeaux (INSPE), while Project 5 involved 11 students from the Higher National Institute for Teaching and Education of the University of Bordeaux (INSPE), in France, and 10 students from the College of Letters and Science of Araraquara, Brazil.

While Project 5 was conducted in English as a *lingua franca*, as were Projects 1, 2 and 3, Project 4 was a bilingual project, with French students communicating in their target language, English, while Bulgarian students used their target language, French. To this extent, the French students communicated some of the time in their first language, whereas the Bulgarian students alternated between two language which were not their first, though they mastered English better

than French. Ten hours of class time were dedicated to these projects, including three two-hour videoconferences for Project 4, and two for Project 5. Students undertook varying amounts of work beyond that time, up to an estimated five hours. As for Projects 2 and 3, the students were given two worksheets and a post-task self-reflective questionnaire, allowing them to set their own goals, choose a common topic of discussion and, after the task, to reflect upon their learning experience.

8.2 Goal setting

8.2.1 Language goals

8.2.1.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Goals regarding language as reported in the combined pre-task questionnaires of both projects can be divided into six categories (LGOAL 1-6).

LGOALS 1-4 are the same as for Project 1, while 5 and 6 were added to account for students' responses.

1. The English language in general (LGOAL1): These are students who expressed a desire to improve their language skills, often specifying they meant their English language skills, without giving more details as to what aspects of language they wished to enhance. For example, FL26 expressed a desire to “progress in English,” just as IL15 wished to “improve [her] English” and IL25 wanted to “speak English better.”
2. A specific aspect of the English language (LGOAL2): These were students who gave details regarding a specific aspect of language in which they wished to improve, mostly oral or written English, or grammar, vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation and fluency. For example, FL49 mentioned “vocabulary and grammar,” IL06 wanted to “learn new words” and FL50 wished to “improve [her] spelling.”
3. Communication (LGOAL3): Students who said their goal was to communicate or have a dialogue with other people, or who talked about communication skills specifically. For instance, FL66 wanted to “succeed in communicating with someone not French” and IL07 says she wished to “learn to have informal conversations”. Furthermore, IL30 wished to “improve [her] communication skills.”
4. Language as a means to an end (LGOAL4): Students who wanted to learn language *in order to* be able to do something else, such as travel, live or work abroad, or succeed in school. For example, IL14 wrote “I'd like to improve my English so in the future I can travel” and FL36 explained “I need it for my studies.”

5. Reference to another country or language (LGOAL5): seven students mentioned a country or language other than English, especially French or Italian. IL01 used the plural when referring to improving in “languages.” FL27 expressed a desire not only to learn English but also to “teach French.” Finally, IL27 wished to “learn some French from our new French friends!”
6. Content (LGOAL6): Finally, two students mentioned the content of their conversations as being important to them. FL25 wanted to “have a real discussion in English on topics that interest [him]” while FL29 wanted to learn vocabulary “on a subject that fascinates [him].”

As mentioned above, the first four of these categories could already be found in Project 1. The first three were especially dominant in both eTwinning self-directed projects: students overwhelmingly mentioned LGOAL1 and LGOAL2, with LGOAL3 a clear third. LGOALS 4, 5, and 6 are marginal.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
LGOAL1	English language in general	17	17	34
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	34	15	49
LGOAL3	Communication	9	7	16
LGOAL4	Means to an end	3	3	6
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	3	4	7
LGOAL6	Content	2	0	2

Table 7 High school students' language goals by LGOAL category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

When comparing country to country, however, a noticeable difference between the French and Italian students lies in the comparison between LGOAL1 and LGOAL2, with the two being more or less equivalent for Italian students (17 LGOAL1 for 15 LGOAL2) while almost twice as many French students mentioned LGOAL2 (34) as mentioned LGOAL1 (17).

Thus, while χ^2 analysis does not reveal the result is statistically significant with this sample size, the French students in these two projects were more inclined to consider language in its specific aspects than from a more general viewpoint. $\chi^2 (2, N = 114) = 3.54, P > .01$. This was also the case for the pilot project. This will be interpreted in Part 4, as it may be seen as relating to the French education system's lingering focus on grammar, but may also be considered as a form of language awareness, or as a means of integrating goal hierarchies and strategic planning into one's approach to language learning.

8.2.1.2 *Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations*

The language goals set by university students can be divided into the same six categories given previously.

1. The target language in general (LGOAL1): Five students mentioned improving their target language in general, without giving specific aspects of language they would like to improve or presenting such specific aspects as separate goals.
2. A specific aspect of the target language (LGOAL2): This category concerns a specific aspect of language such as grammar, vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation, fluency, or written and oral language. 28 students gave a goals falling into this category an LGOAL2.
3. Communication (LGOAL3): Eight students mentioned language as a way to communicate, either to “express [their] thoughts” (FL76) or “ideas” (FL82) or focused on meeting people and talking to them (BL06).
4. Language as a means to an end (LGOAL4): Six students mentioned this last category which relates to wanting to improve language to achieve something in the future such as academic or professional success or travel.
5. Reference to another country or language (LGOAL5): One student (BL05) mentioned her language of origin, Kazakh, saying she thinks it would be for her French partners to know its origins.
6. Content (LGOAL6): Finally, two students mentioned the “subject we choose” (FL77) or the “theme we’re going to choose” (FL78) as being either useful or of importance in terms of language goals.

Thus, for the university projects, LGOAL2 largely dominates students’ responses, with 28 of the 50 goals expressed falling into this category. LGOALS 5 and 6 are only mentioned by one and two students respectively, while LGOALS 1, 3 and 4 are quite evenly matched with 5, 8 and 6 mentions respectively. These goals are remarkably evenly matched between students from France and students from abroad.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
LGOAL1	English language in general	4	1	5
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	15	13	28
LGOAL3	Communication	5	3	8
LGOAL4	Means to an end	2	4	6
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	0	1	1
LGOAL6	Content	2	0	2

Table 8 University students' language goals by LGOAL category for Projects 4 & 5 combined

Most LGOALS2, while they address specific aspects of language, remain quite general. For example, BL02 writes that she wants to “improve [her] written and oral production,” FL79 “want[s] to expand [her] English vocabulary,” and BL09 mentions “grammar and sentences.” FL81, however, shows a higher degree of specificity, saying that her “main difficulty in English is the use of conjugation tenses,” specifically the “use of more complex tenses than the Past simple or continuous (such as the Perfect Present)”. She also gives specific examples of pronunciation issues which she encounters, such as “words containing sound ‘th’ ‘gh’ such as ‘though’ or ‘throughout’.” It is worth noting that this specificity does not only apply to LGOAL2. For instance, BL05 when referring to the Kazakh language (LGOAL5) gives details about why it is interesting, saying that it is “a Turkish language, but which is also influenced by Russian.” She also says that her partner has studied language sciences, and expects this to lead to interesting conversations. Comparatively, those placed in LGOAL1 say they want to improve their English in general, as does FL86 who “hope(s) this exchange improves [her] language skills.”

Those who mentioned an LGOAL3 showed a willingness to interact and converse with others, as did FL78, for example, who said she “would like to have a conversation in English with someone who doesn’t speak the same language as [her].” Interesting, as will be seen when discussing goal hierarchies, some of these are combined with LGOALS 1 and 2 in a hierarchical relation.

Those who set an LGOAL4 give a number of reasons why they wish to improve their language, whether it be to “travel around the world” (AL06³¹), to “becom[e] and exchanging student in the future” (AL01), to work as “a translator or interpreter,” “an English teacher,” or “a flight

³¹ Learner from Araraquara (Brazil) number 6

attendant” (AL05), or to use more English in current professional setting, as was the case for FL88 who said she “work[s] with migrant families so having good english could be fine for our communication, in particular with families who come from East of Europe.”

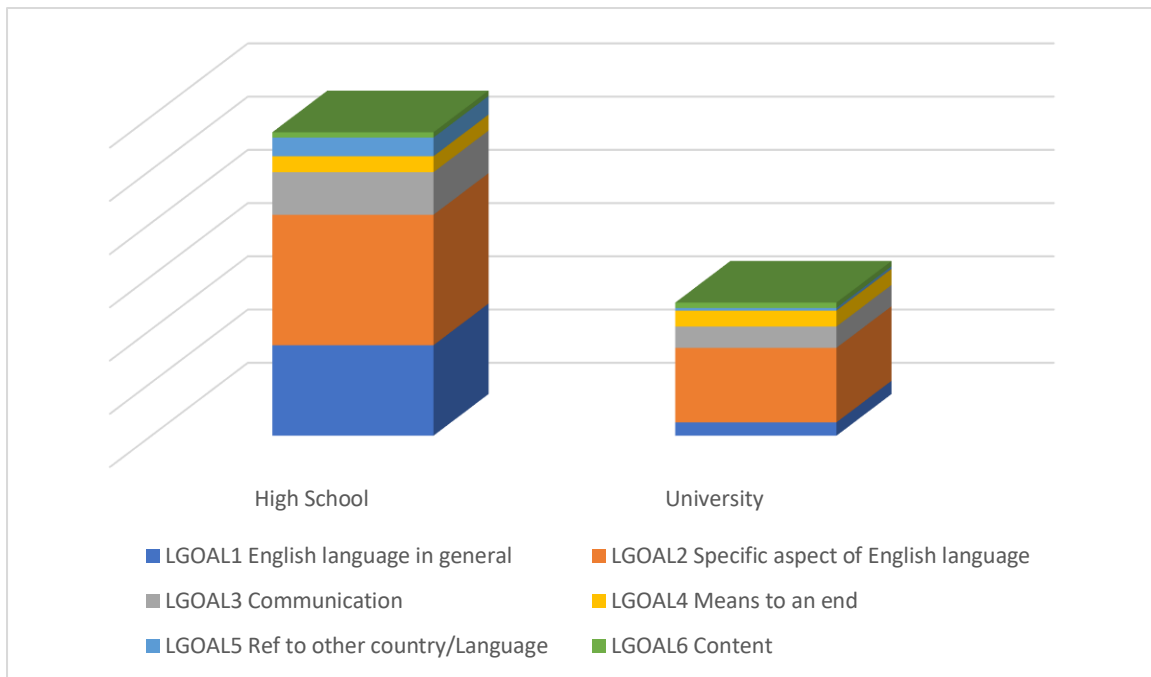
8.2.1.3 Summary and comparison

When comparing high school students to university students, a shift seems to occur away from language in general (LGOAL1), in favour of a specific aspect of language (LGOAL 2) and, to a lesser extent, language as a means to an end (LGOAL4). While χ^2 analysis did not reveal statistical significance for this result when using $P < .01$, it did when using $P < .03$, which shows an interesting tendency which could be tested using a larger sample size. $\chi^2 (2, N = 164) = 7.54$, $P < .03$.

This shift away from language in general appears to show that, unsurprisingly, university students have gained a better understanding of language learning, which will be discussed in Part 4 in terms of language awareness and self-regulated learning.

		Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
LGOAL1	English language in general	34	5	39
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	49	28	77
LGOAL3	Communication	16	8	24
LGOAL4	Means to an end	6	6	12
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	7	1	8
LGOAL6	Content	2	2	4

Table 9 High school and university students’ language goals by LGOAL category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined



Graph 3 High school and university students' language goals by LGOAL category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

On the other hand, fewer differences emerge when comparing French students to students from abroad. Indeed, when taking into account the total number of students from each, the first four categories are quite evenly split between French students and students from abroad, while the last two categories count too few students to draw any conclusions.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
LGOAL 1	English language in general	21	18	39
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	49	28	77
LGOAL3	Communication	14	10	24
LGOAL4	Means to an end	6	6	12
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	3	5	8
LGOAL6	Content	4	0	4

Table 10 Students' language goals by LGOAL category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Overall, language as an end in itself, whether in general or a specific aspect thereof (LGOALS 1 and 2), appears to be the focus of most students whether at high school level or university level, both in France and abroad, when setting their language goals. University students set more specific language goals (LGOAL2). Communication (LGOAL3) is a clear but distant third.

8.2.2 Cultural goals

8.2.2.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Goals regarding culture can also be divided into six categories, with categories 1 to 4 being identical to those discussed in the pilot project.

1. Knowledge or personal progress (CGOAL1): these are students who framed culture as something to be known and access to which would or might enrich them. For instance, IL25 simply stated he “want[s] to know new things” while FL49 wanted to “broaden [his] general culture.” IL05 viewed culture as “a fun way to enrich yourself on a personal level”, and FL29 aimed to “cultivate [himself] as much as possible and learn new things on lots of different subjects.”
2. My culture or our cultures (CGOAL2): these responses showed a desire for students to share or compare their own culture with their partners’, thus framing their cultural goal as a two-way relationship. For example, FL30 said he “would like to discovered their culture and make them discover [his] too” while FL34 wanted to “discover their culture and know what are the common and different points with ours.” IL27 added that she “love[s] exchanging facts and opinions with people who live in a different kind of environment.”
3. The Other (CGOAL3): this category refers to goals in which only the culture of the other was mentioned, either as the partners’ culture (his/her/their culture) or a foreign culture, specific or not to the partners’ country (French culture, Italian culture, another culture). For example, IL33 wrote that she would “like to know more about their culture.” Other students mentioned “new cultures” (FL43), “other people's culture” (IL05) or “the cultures of other countries” (IL17). Finally, FL60 claimed she would “like to know more about Italian culture” while conversely, IL23 “would like to know more about French culture.”
4. Way of life (CGOAL4): these are students whose goals referred to habits, traditions, or cultural phenomena such as food, music, film, literature, or art. For example, FL27 said he would “like to know a bit more about Italian culinary specialties”, IL12 wanted to “know typical Foreign life routine”, FL59 “want[ed] to learn about the Italians' daily basis like school, food, History,

music, journeys,...” and IL29 “hope[d] to know new cultures , traditions and customs completely different from those that are Italian.”

Two further categories, though they are much less representative, are worth mentioning as they are relevant to the intercultural framework being used here.

5. Language (CGOAL5): four students mentioned an aspect of language as their cultural goal, showing a view of culture as being closely linked to language. IL31 and FL45 both wanted “to learn new words”, FL28 “to learn new expression”, and FL73 was interested in her partners’ “link with English language.”
6. Communication as a way of learning (CGOAL6): six students framed their goals in terms of learning by communicating, or learning to communicate. For example, in order to learn new customs, IL10 wanted to “meet and talk to people”, IL01 wanted to “learn as much as possible from other people” and FL48 believed “it’s a good experience to be able to exchange with learning students like us, it can enrich our personal experience, in terms of language or relationships.” FL42 explained he wanted to learn “other than through books and the internet: by exchanging with people of the same age.” Finally, FL61 was more interested in how to communicate in a foreign language. He wanted to “discover how to work with somnone Who don't speak our language.”

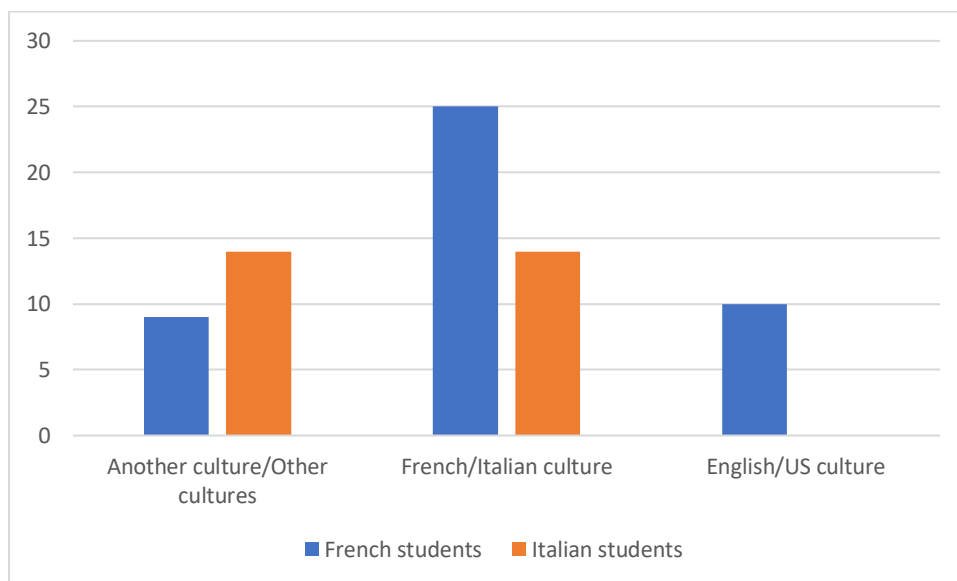
For both *Let’s Talk!* and *Share your voice*, CGOAL3 was dominant, with CGOAL4 in second place. CGOAL3 represents a approximately 49% of the goals expressed by students, with CGOAL4 in second place with approximately 20%.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	8	8	16
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	9	3	12
CGOAL3	The Other	37	28	65
CGOAL4	Way of life	12	14	26
CGOAL5	Language	5	1	6
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	3	4	7

Table 11 High school students’ cultural goals by CGOAL category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Comparing country to country shows similarities between how students from each country set out their goals, with each showing a preference for CGOAL3, and CGOAL4 coming in second place, though slightly more often for Italian students. However, when subcategorising

CGOAL3, an interesting difference emerges. While students from both countries mentioned both another culture or other cultures in general, and French or Italian cultures specifically, Italian students tended to refer more to other cultures generally, while French students were slightly more likely to mention Italian culture specifically. Remarkably, 10 French students mentioned cultures specifically linked to the language they were studying (English), while no Italian students did. (16)



Graph 4 High school students' subcategories for cultural goals for Projects 2 & 3 combined, comparing students from France and abroad

8.2.2.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For Projects 4 and 5, five of the six categories represented in the high school level telecollaborations were mentioned. These categories included:

1. Knowledge or personal progress (CGOAL1): 13 students on these projects framed their goals in terms of culture as something they wanted to know or something to enrich them. For example, BL04 wanted to speak about her “favourite French painter,” BL07 mentioned “the social, political and economic environment of France,” and FL82 wished to focus on literature.
2. My culture or our cultures (CGOAL2): seven students showed a desire, not only to learn about the other’s culture, but also to share their own, or to compare the two. For example, BL07 said that she “would also be happy to talk about Bulgarian culture,” while FL78 said that she wanted to discover Bulgarian food as “France is known for its gastronomy.” FL85 wanted to “learn

things about the culture of [her] correspondent, compare [their] cultural differences, make [her] correspondent learn things about the French culture.”

3. The Other (CGOAL3): 26 students referred to other cultures, 19 referring to their partners’ culture, with two also referring to a national culture associated with their target language,³² and eight referring to other cultures, either in general, for example, “all over the world” for FL76, or Kazakh culture for FL77 as her partner “comes from Kazakhstan.”
4. Way of life (CGOAL4): fourteen students referred to ways of life as their cultural goals, either generally, on the one hand, as was the case for FL75, who wanted to discover Bulgarian “culture and habits,” or BL06, who wanted to learn about “lifestyles, values and beliefs,” or more specifically, on the other hand, with topics such as “different celebrations” (BL03), “gastronomy” (FL76), “food, drinks, how they greet each other” (AL08), or “Christmas” (FL83).
5. Language (CGOAL5): five students mentioned language, wanting to learn about the “linguistic specificities” (BL07) or “expressions” (AL04) and “slang words” (AL08) of their partners’ country, but also as a tool to “communicate with different people from all over the world.” (AL06) AL01, whose goal will be discussed in more detail below, mentioned that she wanted to understand “what drives them to learn and speak English nowadays.”
6. Communication as a way of learning (CGOAL6): finally, none of the students on either project referred to learning culture *by* communicating with others.

For the university projects, therefore, cultural goals related to the Other (CGOAL3) dominate with 26 mentions, knowledge and personal progress (CGOAL1) and way of life (CGOAL4) follow with 13 and 14 mentions respectively, sharing or comparing cultures (CGOAL2) and language (CGOAL5) are represented to a lesser degree with seven and five mentions respectively, and communication (CGOAL6) is mentioned in neither of the two projects as a cultural goal.

³² This is a reference to US culture made by a French student. It must be noted that for the Bulgarian students, the target language was the same as their partners’ language, whereas for French learners, the target language was spoken by their partners as an L2.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	6	7	13
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	4	3	7
CGOAL3	The Other	16	10	26
CGOAL4	Way of life	10	4	14
CGOAL5	Language	0	5	5
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0

Table 12 University students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Projects 4 & 5 combined

8.2.2.3 Summary and comparison

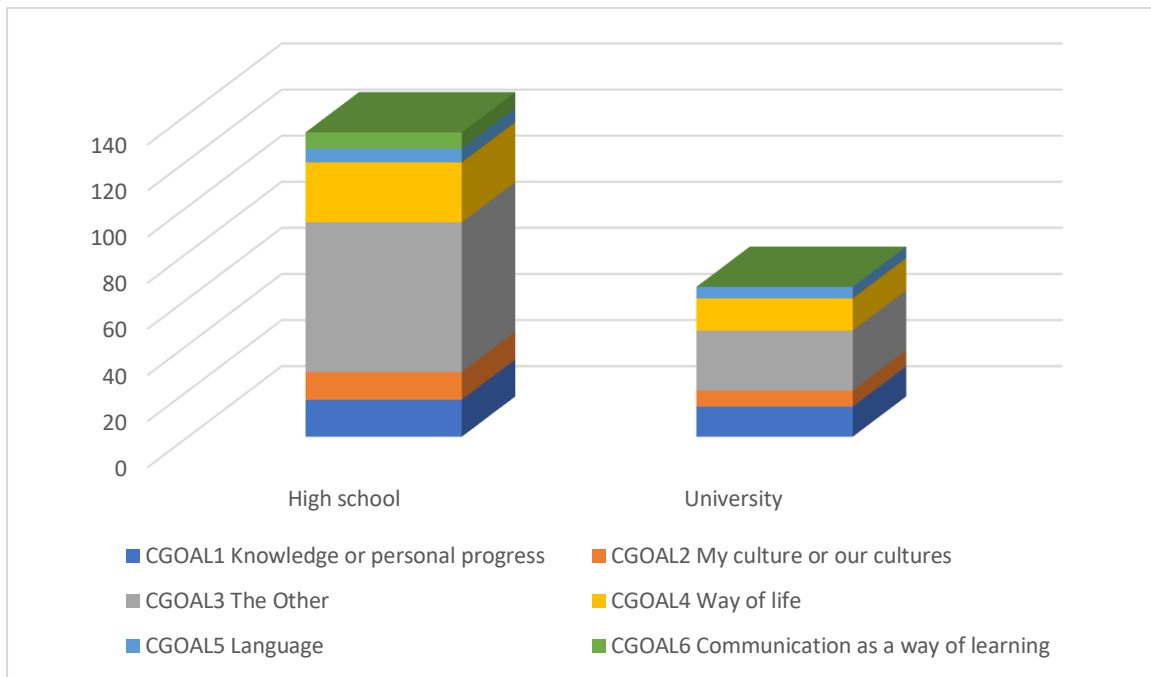
Two shifts appear between the responses of high school and university students.

The first, is the absence of CGOAL6, related to communication, among university students. While it was a minor category for high school students, it nevertheless counted seven responses, and thus, this shift will be interesting to analyse.

Secondly, the share of goals relating to personal knowledge or culture (CGOAL1) increased when moving from high school students to university students. While a move away from framing culture as representative of otherness, and a recentring on the self, may be viewed in a positive light in the context of a self-directed telecollaboration, it will be worth discussing in depth in Part 4, as goals expressed in CGOAL1 tend to view culture as encyclopaedic knowledge. However, χ^2 analysis did not show these results to be statistically significant for this sample size. $\chi^2 (5, N = 197) = 7.06, P > .01$.

		Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	16	13	29
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	12	7	19
CGOAL3	The Other	65	26	91
CGOAL4	Way of life	26	14	40
CGOAL5	Language	6	5	11
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	7	0	7

Table 13 High school and university students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined



Graph 5 Share of high school and university students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Projects 2 & 3 vs 4 & 5 combined

When comparing French students to students from abroad, the former were slightly more likely than the latter to choose a CGOAL2 related to sharing their own culture, while students from abroad chose CGOAL1 related to knowledge or personal progress slightly more often than students from France. Other categories represent a similar share of total goals. However, here too, χ^2 analysis did not show these results to be statistically significant for this sample size. $\chi^2(5, N = 197) = 3.07, P > .01$.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	14	15	29
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	13	6	19
CGOAL3	The Other	53	38	91
CGOAL4	Way of life	22	18	40
CGOAL5	Language	5	6	11
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	3	4	7

Table 14 Students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Overall, CGOAL3 related to other cultures dominated cultural goals, with CGOAL4 (way of life) and CGOAL1 (knowledge or personal progress) holding distant second and third places.

8.2.3 *Personal development goals*

Personal development goals were added to Projects 2 and 3 which were the last in chronological order. Asking students to set personal development goals came after early analysis of language and cultural goals from the other projects, which showed a view of language learning as narrowly related to schoolwork, and aimed to help students relate their learning goals to their personal and social life. As such, these goals are only available for Projects 2 and 3, and cannot be compared to the responses of university students.

The personal development goals set out in the combined questionnaires of both projects could be divided into six categories.

1. Social skills (PGOAL1): these are students who said how they could better relate to others, by becoming less shy, gaining confidence or learning to work as a team. For example, FL39 explained she is “very shy and introverted so [she] would like to be less.” Similarly, IL23 said she “would like to become more self-confident so that [she] can approach people more easily.”
2. Social relationships (PGOAL2): these students also mentioned relating to others but focused more on wanting to meet people or make new friends from a different country. For example, FL33 wanted to “meet people from other countries and make some friends,” FL41 wished to “get to know people of the same age as me but of a different nationality,” and IL03 said she was “very extroverted so [she] just want[ed] to make new friends around the world.” Finally IL20 wrote that “it's always nice to get to know people outside your country!” and said she “would like to meet new people and create a friendship.”
3. Discover the world (PGOAL3): students who fall into this category focused on the culture or country of their partner or foreign culture and countries in general. For example, FL25 wanted to “discover a country [he] plan[s] to visit,” while FL64 said she “want[ed] to open [her]self to other culture.” Finally, FL37 wished to “compare the society where they are evolving with our society, our different lives and ways to think.”
4. Language (PGOAL4): these were students who mentioned improving their language skills as a personal development goal. For instance, FL38 wrote that he “would like to know better how to speak English, understand better, know how to write English,” and IL21 said she “would like to improve [her] conversation skill to help [her] to speak English better.”
5. Self-improvement (PGOAL5): these students mentioned a variety of things they wished to learn or ways they wished to improve themselves. This category contains self-improvement excluding

social skills which were placed in PGOAL1. Thus, for example, FL40 wanted to “learn something new,” FL44 wanted to “work more,” IL04 wished to “be more mature,” FL66 wanted to “expand [his] open-mindedness” and IL27 wanted to “work on what [she doesn’t] like about [her] person.”

6. Future goals (PGOAL6): as was the case for language goals, these students said they aim to learn or improve in order to help them do something in the future such as work or travel. For instance, FL42 explains that for his “professional project mastery of languages would be an asset.” IL08 claimed that “if in the future [she] travel[s] abroad, [she] can be totally independent” and IL22 wished to “realize [her] future outside of Italy.”

For Projects 2 and 3, PGOAL1 is mentioned 34 times, PGOAL 2 is mentioned 26 times, PGOAL4 25 times, PGOAL5 is in fourth position being mentioned 16 times, and PGOALS 3 and 6 are mentioned seven and five times respectively.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
PGOAL1	Social skills	20	14	34
PGOAL2	Social relationships	8	18	26
PGOAL3	Discover the world	7	0	7
PGOAL4	Language	18	7	25
PGOAL5	Self-improvement	8	8	16
PGOAL6	Future goals	3	2	5

Table 15 High school students’ personal development goals by PGOAL category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

When comparing country to country, results for PGOALS 1, 5 and 6 were close to equivalent. However, Italian students were much more likely to mention meeting people and making friends than French students, with 18 Italian students setting a PGOAL2 against eight French students. Conversely, French students were much more likely to set a PGOAL4, with 18 French students mentioning language against seven Italian students. Finally, only French students mentioned discovering a country or a culture as a personal development goal, with seven French students doing so, and no Italian students. However, the sample size is too small for χ^2 analysis.

8.2.4 Goal setting: summary

Overall, therefore, concerns about language in itself dominate language goals, an interest in other cultures dominates cultural goals, and social skills, particularly overcoming shyness, dominate personal development goals. Areas such as communication, building relationships, sharing one's own experience and culture are much less present, though it is worth noting that social relationships do appear in personal development goals. Students' understanding thus appears to be confined to the classroom, rather than being linked to their personal and social lives. While interesting variations are visible, this holds true for both high school and university students, both from France and from abroad.³³

8.3 Strategic planning

In order to help them establish strategies to reach the goals they had previously set, students were asked, after their first encounter with their partners, to give a brief description of the task they had agreed on, before explaining how this would allow them to reach their goals, what difficulties they expected to encounter, and how they would overcome those difficulties. Unlike with the pilot project, this took the form of an in-task worksheet intended to help students relate it more directly to their task.

8.3.1 Task-related strategies

8.3.1.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

When explaining how the task would allow them to reach their goals, students gave responses which fell into three categories. These will be referred to as task-related strategies (TSTRAT).

1. Language: these were strategies which mentioned improving one's language skills, and which could be subdivided into two broad categories:
 - a. Those who simply say that the project will allow them to improve their level in their target language (English) without any further explanation as to how (TSTRAT1a)
 - b. Those who broadly believe that speaking the target language will mean improving their level (TSTRAT1b)
 - c. A precise aspect of language and a specific way in which the task will help develop it (TSTRAT1c)

³³ Except for personal development goals where no university level data is available

2. Knowledge and culture: these were students who believed that the task they had chosen would allow them to gain knowledge or understanding of either or both of the following:
 - a. The topic they had chosen to discuss (TSTRAT2a), such as global warming, fair play in sport, film, etc.
 - b. A foreign culture, be it their partner's culture or the culture associated with the target language (TSTRAT2b), explaining, for example, how their task would give them "an idea of the Italian culture" (FL37)
3. Social interaction: these were strategies involving relating to others, either as a means to reach their goals, or as a goal in itself (for example, meeting new people). This category can itself be divided into four subcategories:
 - a. Meeting people (TSTRAT3a)
 - b. Helping each other (TSTRAT3b)
 - c. Being more open or sociable (TSTRAT3c)
 - d. Working as a team (TSTRAT3d)

Overall, responses relative to the target language dominated, with a total of 44 students believing they would improve their English, 15 without specifying how, 27 who believed that speaking the language would mean improving their level, and nine mentioning a specific aspect of language.

Then comes knowledge and culture, with 21 students believing their task would allow them to learn on their chosen topic and 12 believing it would allow them to learn about either the culture of their partners or that associated with their target language. The overlap between these two subcategories means that a total of 28 students mentioned a strategy relating to knowledge or culture.

Finally, 14 students set a strategy involving social interaction, with helping each other and being more sociable being mentioned five and six times respectively, and meeting people and working as a team each being mentioned twice.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	44 students	a. Improvement without expl	5	10	15
		b. Speaking=improving	24	3	27
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	9	0	9
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	28 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	17	4	21
		b. Learn about culture	9	3	12
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	14 students	a. Meeting people	1	1	2
		b. Helping each other	2	3	5
		c. More open, sociable	3	3	6
		d. Working as a team	0	2	2

Table 16 High school students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

8.3.1.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For Projects 4 and 5, when asked to explain how the task they had chosen would allow them to reach the goals they had previously set, students gave responses which could be classified into four categories. Three of these categories were the same as those chosen by learners in the high school projects. However, a fourth category, relating to individual strategies had to be added.

The task-related strategies of the students (TSTRAT) thus fell into the following categories.

1. Language: students gave different strategies explaining how the task would help them improve their language, which could be divided into:
 - a. The statement that their project would help them improve their language, but with no further details as to how this improvement would occur (TSTRAT1a)
 - b. The belief that by speaking the target language, they would improve their level of proficiency (TSTRAT1b)
 - c. A precise aspect of language and/or a specific way in which the task will help develop it (TSTRAT1c)
2. Knowledge and culture: students who said that the chosen task would allow them to gain knowledge or understanding of:
 - a. The topic their group had chosen (TSTRAT2a)
 - b. A foreign culture, either that of their partner or that associated with the target language (TSTRAT2b)
3. Social interaction: students who mentioned strategies relating to others, as a means to reach their goals. This can be divided into four subcategories:

- a. Meeting or interacting with people (TSTRAT3a)
 - b. Helping each other (TSTRAT3b)
 - c. Being more open or sociable (TSTRAT3c)
 - d. Working as a team (TSTRAT3d)
4. Individual strategies: students who mention ways in which they will strive to reach their goals on an individual level through:
- a. Work (TSTRAT4a)
 - b. Research (TSTRAT4b)
 - c. Practice (TSTRAT4c)
 - d. Making an effort (TSTRAT4d)

For university students, strategies involving language and strategies involving knowledge and culture dominated their responses. More interestingly, TSTRAT1c concerned with a specific aspect of language was mentioned 20 times, more than TSTRATS 1a and 1b combined (11 mentions). Strategies related to knowledge and culture were heavily weighted towards strategies directly linked to the chosen topic rather than culture more generally. Strategies involving social interactions (TSTRAT3) and individual strategies (TSTRAT4) were only mentioned ten and five times respectively.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	31 students	a. Improvement without expl	1	3	4
		b. Speaking=improving	4	3	7
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	13	7	20
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	27 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	12	8	20
		b. Learn about culture	5	2	7
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	10 students	a. Meeting people	4	1	5
		b. Helping each other	1	2	3
		c. More open, sociable	1	0	1
		d. Working as a team	0	1	1
TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	5 students	a. Work	0	0	0
		b. Research	1	1	2
		c. Practice	1	0	1
		d. Making an effort	1	1	2

Table 17 University students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Projects 4 & 5 combined

It is interesting to note that TSTRAT1c was only rarely present in the high school projects, with younger learners mostly saying only that they would improve or that speaking would help them improve. Here, however, most students gave precise examples, ranging from vocabulary linked with the topic they had chosen, as was the case for BL02 who explained that she did “not use words related to food a lot and this project [would] allow her to revise them,” to examples of verb tenses which could be used, as mentioned by FL80 who wrote that “speaking of events that took place in the past, telling a story [would] give [her] opportunities to practice past [tense]³⁴ conjugation.” FL81, whose group chose to tell mythical stories from their respective countries, wrote that “because it [was] a past story, [she would] use the conjugation tenses.” Thus, while TSTRAT1c ranges from vocabulary linked with their topic to specific verb tenses, students all mention a specific aspect of language which will be improved during the project, as opposed to those who simply mentioned improving their target language. It is also worth mentioning FL75 who said from the start that, with the exception of written expression, this project would not help her reach her goals, but more those of her partner. She wrote: “I have to admit I am a little bit disappointed by that but I am also satisfied to have helped [my partner] through this exercise since she has more difficulties with french than I have with english.”

8.3.1.3 *Summary and comparison*

When comparing high school task-related strategies to university task-related strategies, the most notable difference is the increase in TSTRAT1c, related to strategies concerned with a specific aspect of language. This subcategory which was rarely present among high school students is overwhelmingly dominant among university students’ language task-related strategies, suggesting, as for language goals, that a level of specificity has been gained when it comes to discussing language learning.

While the sample size is small (N=82), χ^2 analysis shows statistical significance even when tested with $P < .0001$, thus suggesting that there is a strong link between the two variables. Thus university students are more likely to set a task-related strategy concerning a specific aspect of language than are high school students. $\chi^2 (2, N = 82) = 18.52, P < .0001$.

³⁴ The student originally wrote “time,” with their being no distinction between “time” and “tense” in French, both translated as “*temps*.”

TSTRATS 2 and 3, concerned with knowledge and culture and with social interactions respectively show close similarities between the two levels of education.

Finally, the appearance of individual strategies such as research or practice among university students may show a higher level of self-regulation, though this category (TSTRAT4) was only mentioned by students on Project 4, not on Project 5.

			Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	75 students	a. Improvement without expl	15	4	19
		b. Speaking=improving	27	7	34
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	9	20	29
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	55 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	21	20	41
		b. Learn about culture	12	7	19
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	24 students	a. Meeting people	2	5	7
		b. Helping each other	5	3	8
		c. More open, sociable	6	1	7
		d. Working as a team	2	1	3
TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	5 students	a. Work	0	0	0
		b. Research	0	2	2
		c. Practice	0	1	1
		d. Making an effort	0	2	2

Table 18 High school and university students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Comparing country to country is more difficult here as fewer students from abroad completed the worksheet than students from France, thus setting out about half the number of strategies. However, as noticed when discussing the goal categories, specific aspects of language appear to be more prominent among French students than among their counterparts from abroad, approximately one in five strategies falling in 1c for the former, compared to one in eight for the latter. This tendency to focus on specific aspects of language such as grammar and vocabulary may be linked to language teaching in France, as well as the vision of language learning that this gives the students. Here too, while the sample size is small (N=82), χ^2 analysis shows statistical significance even when tested with $P < 0.0005$, suggesting that there is a strong link between the two variables. Thus, French students are more likely to set a task-related

strategy mentioning a specific aspect of language than their partners from abroad. $\chi^2(2, N = 82) = 15.69, P < .0005$.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	75 students	a. Improvement without expl	6	13	19
		b. Speaking=improving	28	6	34
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	22	7	29
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	55 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	29	12	41
		b. Learn about culture	14	5	19
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	24 students	a. Meeting people	5	2	7
		b. Helping each other	3	5	8
		c. More open, sociable	4	3	7
		d. Working as a team	0	3	3
TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	5 students	a. Work	0	0	0
		b. Research	1	1	2
		c. Practice	1	0	1
		d. Making an effort	1	1	2

Table 19 Students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

8.3.2 Anticipated difficulties: results

8.3.2.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

For Projects 2 and 3, the responses to what difficulties were anticipated fell into four categories.

1. Communication: these were students who expressed possible difficulties linked to communication which could be:
 - a. Expressed in general terms as communication problems, like for FL34, who wrote that "the problem that could happen are the communication problem" (DIFF1a)
 - b. Explicitly linked to the language barrier, as is the case for IL33 for whom "one of the problem could be the language" (DIFF1b)
 - c. Linked to shyness or embarrassment as expressed for example by FL30 for whom "the conversation will be complicated since we are all shy" (DIFF1c)
2. The task: these are students who anticipate difficulties concerning the work itself on the chosen topic, in terms of:

- a. Its format, as was the case for IL34, for whom “perhaps only one difficult is how to set up the Power Point” (DIFF2a)
 - b. Its content, either a lack of knowledge thereof, as was the case for FL58 who “[has] to find a lot of information about the actors,” or a lack of agreement in the group, as for FL54 who believed “all agreeing with the content will be difficult” (DIFF2b)
 - c. The organisation of the work, as was the case for IL12 who wrote that “at the beginning [they] have [m]any difficulties because [they] couldn't organise [them]selves with [her] partner (DIFF2c)
3. Organisational factors: these are factors not related with the organisation of the work itself, but:
 - a. Scheduling conflicts (DIFF3a)
 - b. Partners not responding (DIFF3b)
 - c. Difficulties with internet connection (DIFF3c)
 4. No difficulties: these are students who said that they did not anticipate any particular difficulties (DIFF4).

Overall, communication was the main difficulty which students anticipated, with 13 students mentioning communication problems in general, 15 expecting difficulties specifically linked to language and 10 anticipating shyness as a potential difficulty. Overlap between these three categories gives a total of 35 students mentioning communication as a source of expected difficulty.

The task itself and other organisational factors were close, with the former being mentioned 13 times and the latter 11 times.

The task was a source of concern mostly in terms of its content, mentioned eight times against format and work organisation mentioned twice and three times respectively.

Among organisational factors scheduling issues were the major concern, being raised seven times, with lack of contact and connection problems being mentioned three times and once respectively.

Finally, while a total of 10 students having said they did not anticipate any difficulties went on to set out at least one, the number of students claiming they did not expect any difficulties remains high at 12 if those just mentioned are excluded, and 22 in total.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	35 students	a. General	9	4	13
		b. Language	13	2	15
		c. Shyness	6	4	10
DIFF2 The task	13 students	a. Format	1	1	2
		b. Content	8	0	8
		c. Work organisation	1	2	3
DIFF3 Organisational factors	11 students	a. Schedule	5	2	7
		b. Contact	3	0	3
		c. Connection	0	1	1
DIFF4 No difficulties	22 students		12	10	22

Table 20 High school students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

8.3.2.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

As was the case for task-related strategies, one category had to be broadened to accommodate university students' responses, compared to those of younger learners. Thus, a subcategory was added, in the second category. For Projects 4 and 5, the categories therefore stand as follows:

1. Communication: difficulties related to communication, either:
 - a. General communication problems
 - b. Communication problems related to the language barrier
 - c. Communication problems related to shyness or lack of confidence
2. The task: the work on the task itself was mentioned as a source of difficulties, specifically, in terms of:
 - a. Its format, for example, FL80 mentions getting to know the software her group are using
 - b. Its content, relating to a lack of knowledge, a potential lack of resources, or expected difficulty in finding them (BL09), or else, to difficulty agreeing on content with their partners (FL76)
 - c. The organisation of the work itself which may cause problems
 - d. Language, as specifically related to the task, such as writing skills
3. Organisational factors: these are difficulties around organisation, not related with the organisation of the work itself, but:
 - a. scheduling conflicts (including finding the time, but also the time difference, especially between France and Brazil)

- b. partners not responding
 - c. difficulties with internet connection
4. No difficulties: these are students who said that they did not expect to encounter any difficulties in particular.

For the university projects, the major sources of concern were related to the task chosen by the students, mentioned 26 times by 22 students, and organisational factors, especially scheduling, mentioned 12 times. Communication was only mentioned as a potential difficulty a total of six times across both projects.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	6 students	a. General	0	1	1
		b. Language	5	0	5
		c. Shyness	0	0	0
DIFF2 The task	22 students	a. Format	4	1	5
		b. Content	5	7	12
		c. Work organisation	1	2	3
		d. Language	1	5	6
DIFF3 Organisational factors	12 students	a. Schedule	9	3	12
		b. Contact	1	0	1
		c. Connection	0	0	0
DIFF4 No difficulties	3 students		3	0	3

Table 21 University students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Projects 4 & 5 combined

8.3.2.3 Summary and comparison

Overall, a number of differences can be seen when comparing high school students' anticipation of difficulties and that of university students. χ^2 analysis shows that the results below are statistically significant, based on the following compounded table (Table 22). $\chi^2 (3, N = 132) = 34.93, P < .01$.

	High school students	University students	Total
DIFF1: Communication	38	6	44
DIFF2: The task	13	26	39
DIFF3: Organisational factors	11	13	24
DIFF4: No difficulties	22	3	25
Total	84	48	132

Table 22 Compounded results comparing high school and university students' anticipated difficulties

Most noticeably, while high school students were particularly concerned with difficulties related to communication, these difficulties are much less frequently expected to arise for university students. This may be attributed to a number of factors, but the detailed table below suggests that shyness accounts for this difference to a larger extent than the language barrier, which is nevertheless mentioned less often (Table 23).

Conversely, difficulties related to the task, while they were present in high school students' responses, were more frequently mentioned by university students, with twice as many mentions despite there being almost half as many difficulties expected overall (because of the higher number of students). Here too, all four subcategories account for this difference, with only work organisation showing less of a gap than the others.

Scheduling difficulties are also much more likely to be mentioned by university students, which is understandable, given their schedules but also given the time difference between France and Brazil.

Finally, those who anticipated no difficulties were far fewer among university students, with only three university students compared to 22 high school learners.

			Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	41 students	a. General	13	1	14
		b. Language	15	5	20
		c. Shyness	10	0	10
DIFF2 The task	35 students	a. Format	2	5	7
		b. Content	8	12	20
		c. Work organisation	3	3	6
		d. Language	0	6	6
DIFF3 Organisational factors	23 students	a. Schedule	7	12	19
		b. Contact	3	1	4
		c. Connection	1	0	1
DIFF4 No difficulties	25 students		22	3	25

Table 23 High school and university students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

When comparing French students to students from abroad, results were also statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the compounded table below (Table 24). χ^2 (3, N = 132) = 13.20, $P < .01$.

	Students from France	Students from abroad	Total
DIFF1: Communication	33	11	44
DIFF2: The task	21	18	39
DIFF3: Organisational factors	18	6	24
DIFF4: No difficulties	15	10	25
Total	87	45	132

Table 24 Compounded results comparing anticipated difficulties for students from France and abroad

French students are more likely to anticipate communication difficulties, with 38% of responses falling in DIFF1, whereas students from abroad were more concerned with difficulties related to the task, with 40% of responses falling in DIFF2.

The main difference comes from the former anticipating language-related communication problems at a much higher rate than the latter. Indeed, approximately one in five French students anticipated communication difficulties related to language, compared to one in 25 students from

abroad. This may confirm the results above suggesting that there are specificities in the French approach to language learning which make students focus on language more than others.

While the sample is much smaller as the category was not mentioned by high school students, the second difference is that university students from abroad were more likely to mention language as specifically related to their chosen topic such as technical vocabulary (DIFF2d), as well as work organisation (DIFF2c), as sources of potential difficulties.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	41 students	a. General	9	5	14
		b. Language	18	2	20
		c. Shyness	6	4	10
DIFF2 The task	35 students	a. Format	5	2	7
		b. Content	13	7	20
		c. Work organisation	2	4	6
		d. Language	1	5	6
DIFF3 Organisational factors	23 students	a. Schedule	14	5	19
		b. Contact	4	0	4
		c. Connection	0	1	1
DIFF4 No difficulties	25 students		15	10	25

Table 25 Students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

8.3.3 Strategies to overcome anticipated difficulties: results

8.3.3.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

The strategies set forth by students to overcome the difficulties discussed above (DSTRAT) can usefully be divided into two categories: those involving working as a team and those involving individual efforts.

1. Teamwork: students in both projects set forth a number of strategies involving working with their partners in order to overcome the difficulties they expected to encounter. Four kinds of different strategies involving teamwork can be distinguished, though they are related:
 - a. Working together in general with no further details as to how, as for IL35 who wrote "we're a great group and we will work together as well" (DSTRAT1a)

- b. Talking to each other: some students expressed the belief that difficulties can be solved through dialogue with their partners, as was the case for FL73 who wrote that “if [they] ask and talk more [they] come to understand each other” (DSTRAT1b)
 - c. Helping each other: these were students who showed a willingness to ask for help and give help to others, as did FL65 who said that “it is a work to be done in a group so [they] can help each other” (DSTRAT1c)
 - d. Being organised: faced with difficulties in organising their work, these students said they would adopt organisational strategies, as was the case for IL12 whose group “put in place a programme to organise the work” (DSTRAT1d)
2. Individual strategies: these were strategies which involved individual students overcoming what they perceived to be their own difficulties in order to better realise the task they had set out. Six such strategies could be found in students’ responses.
- a. Work: students focused on academic work to help them overcome expected difficulties, such as FL46 who claimed she “[knew she could] do it just work” (DSTRAT2a)
 - b. Research: students who believed their difficulties could be solved by searching online, either for vocabulary or for content. For example, FL42 wrote “To overcome these difficulties, internet research on vocabulary and research for press articles in the media will enrich our project” (DSTRAT2b)
 - c. Practice: especially to overcome difficulties related to the English language, students planned to train or practice, as was the case for FL29 who said he would “practice speaking orally in English well” (DSTRAT2c)
 - d. Making an effort or forcing oneself: this was especially prevalent among those who mentioned shyness as a possible problem, for example, FL31 who said that if she didn’t “make an effort, “[she would] be disappointed.” (DSTRAT2d)
 - e. Accepting one’s mistakes: not being afraid to talk since, as FL31 wrote “error is human” (DSTRAT2e)
 - f. Dictionaries or online translators are mentioned to overcome language difficulties (DSTRAT2f)

Overall, among high school students, strategies involving teamwork and individual strategies were closely matched with the former being mentioned by a total of 18 students and the latter by a total of 16.

When subcategorising, a belief that helping each other would allow students to reach their goals was dominant with 10 students expressing such a strategy, against one wanting to work

together, four mentioning talking to each other and five who stress the importance of being organised. Only two students mentioned more than one of these strategies.

Among individual strategies, there was no one dominant subcategory, with work being mentioned four times, research twice, practice four times, making an effort five times, accepting one's mistakes once and using a dictionary or translator twice.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	18 students	1a. Work together	0	1	1
		1b. Talk to each other	2	2	4
		1c. Help each other	4	6	10
		1d. Be organised	3	2	5
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	16 students	2a. Work	3	1	4
		2b. Research	2	0	2
		2c. Practice	4	0	4
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	4	1	5
		2e. Accept your mistakes	1	0	1
		2f. Dictionary/translator	1	1	2

Table 26 High school students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Projects 2 & 3 combined

8.3.3.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For Projects 4 and 5, a subcategory had to be added to each of the above categories to account for students' responses. The categories are thus as follows:

1. Teamwork: these are strategies which involved working as a team to overcome expected difficulties. Such strategies include:
 - a. Working together: these were students who mentioned that they would work with their teammates to overcome difficulties, without detailing how this teamwork would take place
 - b. Talking to each other: students who mention they will overcome their difficulties by talking or communicating with each other
 - c. Helping each other: students who rely on the help of their teammates to overcome specific difficulties

- d. Being organised: different strategies as to how to organise their work. As shall be discussed, this is more specific than in the previous section, with examples of how work will be organised rather than the more general claim that they will have to be organised
- e. ICT tools: students mention specific ICT tools such as Google drive or various instant chats to explain how they overcome certain difficulties

2. Individual strategies:

- a. Work: a focus on individual academic work
- b. Research: the only subcategory to remain from the previous projects
- c. Practice: overcoming difficulties, especially language difficulties, by practicing
- d. Making an effort or forcing oneself: this had been present among those who had wanted to overcome their shyness
- e. Accepting one's mistakes: not being afraid to make mistakes when speaking the target language
- f. Dictionaries or online translators
- g. Recording conversations to overcome difficulties related to language comprehension

Overall, when combining the two university projects, strategies involving teamwork outnumber individual strategies, with the former being mentioned 30 times by 21 students, and the latter only seven. Among these team strategies, the use of ICT tools appears a total of 12 times, more than any other subcategory. The dominant subcategory among individual strategies is those involving research. However, strategies such as talking to each other or helping each other appear much more prominently.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	21 students	1a. Work together	0	2	2
		1b. Talk to each other	4	3	7
		1c. Help each other	2	1	3
		1d. Be organised	4	2	6
		1e. ICT tools	7	5	12
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	7 students	2a. Work	0	0	0
		2b. Research	2	2	4
		2c. Practice	0	0	0
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	0	0	0
		2e. Accept your mistakes	0	0	0
		2f. Dictionary/translator	1	1	2
		2g. Record and listen later	1	0	1

Table 27 University students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Projects 4 & 5 combined

8.3.3.3 Summary and comparison

When comparing students from France to students from abroad, it is noticeable that the former have a much higher tendency than the latter to set individual strategies for overcoming their difficulties, with DSTRAT2 representing 41% of strategies set by students from France against only 20% of strategies set by students from abroad. However, this difference can be entirely attributed to French high school students, as it is not found among French university students, 81% of whom favour teamwork.

			Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	39 students	1a. Work together	1	3	4
		1b. Talk to each other	6	5	11
		1c. Help each other	6	7	13
		1d. Be organised	7	4	11
		1e. ICT tools	7	5	12
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	23 students	2a. Work	3	1	4
		2b. Research	4	2	6
		2c. Practice	4	0	4
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	4	1	5
		2e. Accept your mistakes	1	0	1
		2f. Dictionary/translator	2	2	4
		2g. Record and listen later	1	0	1

Table 28 Students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Furthermore, it is not statistically significant for this sample size, based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 29). $\chi^2 (1, N = 76) = 3.73, P > .01$.

	Students from France	Students from abroad	Total
DSTRAT1: Teamwork	27	24	51
DSTRAT2: Individual strategies	19	6	25
Total	46	30	76

Table 29 Compounded results comparing strategies to overcome difficulties for students from France and abroad

To this extent, the most remarkable result is found when comparing high school students to university students. Indeed, for the former group, strategies involving teamwork and individual strategies are quite evenly matched (54% against 46%), while among the latter group, 81% favour teamwork. However, here too, the difference is entirely attributable to French high school students, the only group to favour individual strategies for overcoming difficulties (63%), while Italian high school students choose their strategies in a manner comparable to university students (79% strategies involving teamwork).

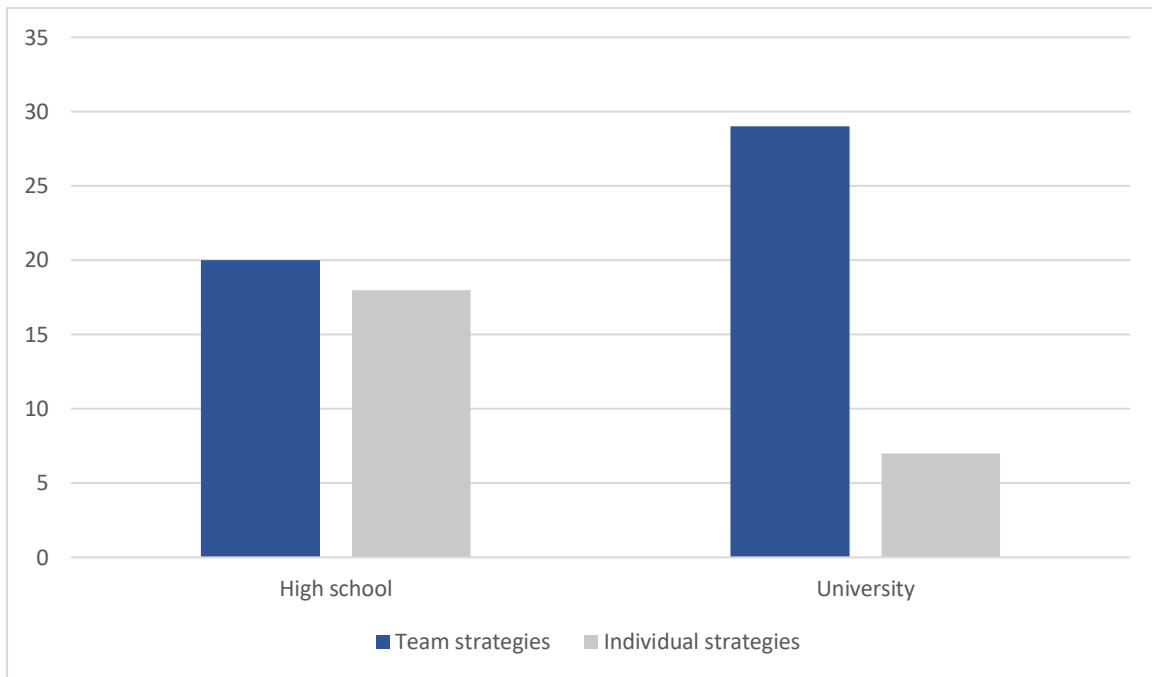
			Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	39 students	1a. Work together	2	2	4
		1b. Talk to each other	4	7	11
		1c. Help each other	10	3	13
		1d. Be organised	5	6	11
		1e. ICT tools	0	12	12
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	23 students	2a. Work	4	0	4
		2b. Research	2	4	6
		2c. Practice	4	0	4
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	5	0	5
		2e. Accept your mistakes	1	0	1
		2f. Dictionary/translator	2	2	4
		2g. Record and listen later	0	1	1

Table 30 High school and university students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

It must be noted, however, that this difference was not statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 31). However, when testing against $P < 0.02$, it becomes significant. $\chi^2 (1, N = 76) = 6.38, P < 0.02$. Given this, and the small sample size, it is best treated as a possible tendency to be investigated by future research.

	High school students	University students	Total
DSTRAT1: Teamwork	21	30	51
DSTRAT2: Individual strategies	18	7	25
Total	39	37	76

Table 31 Compounded results comparing strategies to overcome difficulties for high school students and university students



Graph 6 High school and university students' strategies for overcoming difficulties for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing team strategies and individual strategies

Furthermore, strategies in certain categories such as being organised have gained in specificity compared with those of younger learners. For example, BL07 mentioned they would “define precise dates for each step of the process,” while FL78 said that she would “differentiate [their] parts so that everyone could work on their own.” They also created “a template document to make sure [they] were working the same way.”

Chapter 9 Goal structures and relationship between goals and strategies

9.1 To what extent were goals and strategies structured and hierarchised?

In order to further analyse students' goals, it will be interesting to turn to Zimmerman's (2000) notion of goal hierarchies in order to discuss to what extent and in what ways students' goals were structured.

9.1.1 Simple goals

9.1.1.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Simple goals were goals which stood alone in no relation to other apparent goals and thus could not be structured in a hierarchical relation to each other. The term "simple" was chosen in relation to the fact there were not multiple goals which could interact with each other, and has no relation to the ease with which these goals can be reached.

Responses which could be placed into just one of the categories defined above were usually simple goals, though not always. For example, a hypothetical student who wanted to improve his or her grammar to be more proficient in oral conversations would have been placed in LGOAL2 (a specific aspect of language) but would nevertheless show a form of hierarchy between two goals of the same category.

Overall, for Projects 2 and 3, a vast majority of learners gave responses which can be classified as simple goals. For language goals, out of a total of 88 responses, 63 learners gave a simple goal, 34 being from France and 29 being from Italy. For cultural goals, out of the same total, 50 students gave simple goals, 30 of whom were from France, and 20 from Italy. For personal development goals, of the 87 total goals expressed, 63 were simple goals, 37 coming from French students and 26 from Italian students. 36 learners gave simple goals as responses to all three questions.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	34	29	63
	Total goals	50	38	88
Cultural goals	Simple goals	30	20	50
	Total goals	50	38	88
Personal dvpt goals	Simple goals	37	26	63
	Total goals	49	38	87

Table 32 Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Projects 2 & 3 combined

These goals, albeit to varying degrees, were all *outcome goals* due to the fact that they did not interact with other goals. For example, while LGOAL1 (improving one’s level of English) and LGOAL2 (improving a specific aspect of language) could both be considered process goals in the right context, if they are not placed in relation to a further outcome goal they cannot. Thus, when FL35 wrote “I’d like to improve my English”, this was a *distal outcome goal*, one which would take several steps to achieve and could usefully be broken down into more *proximal process goals*, such as improving specific aspects of one’s English.

However, even specific aspects of the English language (LGOAL2) cannot function as process goals if they are taken alone. Thus, when FL72 wrote “I hope to learn more vocabulary,” this too must be classified as an outcome goal, or at least, it is phrased as such. Though the learner may have also had a more *distal outcome goal* in mind, which could make learning vocabulary into a process goal, no such goal is explicitly mentioned by learners who set simple goals.

Similarly, for cultural goals, simple goals were formulated with neither outcome goals to make them intermediate process goals, nor process goals leading up to them as outcome goals. Thus, FL59 who “want[ed] to learn about the Italians' daily basis like school, food, History, music, journeys,...” did not give any steps leading up to this, nor did she give any explicit indication that this is itself a step towards a further goal.

The same is true for simple personal development goals such as “I would like to become open with others” (IL38) This is neither phrased as developing conversation skills in order to become more open with others, nor as becoming more open with other in order to make new friends, for example.

Thus, simple goals were presented as outcome goals in themselves, and with no mention of process goals leading up to them. As simple goals represent a large majority of learners' responses, it follows that most learners did not structure their goals hierarchically.

9.1.1.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, among university students, of the 37 goals expressed for each category, 12 language goals (four from French students and eight from students from abroad) and 20 cultural goals (10 from French students and 10 from students from abroad) were simple goals.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	4	8	12
	Total goals	19	18	37
Cultural goals	Simple goals	10	10	20
	Total goals	19	18	37

Table 33 Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Projects 4 and 5 combined

As was the case for the two high school projects, many goals may have been intended as part of a goal hierarchy, but this hierarchy was not spelt out. For example, BL10's CGOAL to "enrich his general culture" could, in the right context be a process goal. Enriching one's general culture in order to feel more fulfilled, to shine at the dinner table or to win a gameshow would all make the former goal a process goal serving as a step towards one of the latter which would be the outcome goal. However, as an end in itself, it lacks a relation to other goals.

These goals are also variously short-term or long-term goals. While FL75's CGOAL to "learn more about bulgarian culture and habits" can be achieved, at least to some extent, during the project, her goals to "improve [her] writing expression" may be more gradual and take longer to achieve. Thus, while both are framed as outcome goals, the former can be considered a *proximal outcome goal* which may not require intermediate process goals to be reached, whereas the latter is a *distal outcome goal* which will require more proximal goals to be set as process goals.

Finally, while none explicitly mention criteria for success, some have clearer implicit criteria for success than others. For instance, it seems easier to determine whether or not one has gained vocabulary than whether or not one has “open[ed] [ones’] mind of a new point of view.” (FL80)

9.1.2 Additive structures

9.1.2.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

The second type of goal that can be found in learners’ responses are goals which fit into several categories but have only an additive relation to each other, not a hierarchical one. For example, FL66 said he wished to successfully communicate “with someone not french and learn new words.” Thus, here, there are two distinct goals, one relating to communication thus categorised as an LGOAL3, the other to vocabulary, which as a specific aspect of language is categorised as an LGOAL2.

However, there seems to be no relation between the two. They are presented as two distinct goals, on the same level of importance or desirability, and in what appears to be an interchangeable order. With the second goal likely to help the first, and *vice versa*, either could have been presented as a process goal for the attainment of the other as an outcome goal, or both could have been presented as cyclically beneficial to each other. This not being the case, once again, the hierarchical structure of which we have stressed the importance is lacking.

Similarly, for cultural goals, FL31, for example, wished to “know how the partners live and to know a little more about their culture.” Here, we can distinguish two goals, the first pertaining to way of life and categorised as CGOAL4, the second pertaining to the partners’ culture and categorised as CGOAL3. And, as above, these are placed in an additive relation to one another with no hierarchy being established between them.

Finally, as her personal development goal, IL14 said she would “like to become less shy and make new friends.” The first goal can be categorised as a PGOAL1 relating to social skills (overcoming shyness), the second as a PGOAL2 concerning building social relationships. Here too, either of these goals could have been positioned as a process goal for the attainment of the other, but the two are set out on the same level and in no apparent order.

Thus, additive structures appear as a mere addition of the simple goals seen above, most often presented as outcome goals in themselves. Overall, among high school students, a total of 16 learners expressed language goals with what can best be called an additive structure, with this

number rising to 26 for cultural goals, and additive personal development goals could be found in 15 responses.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	10	6	16
	Total goals	50	38	88
Cultural goals	Additive structures	16	10	26
	Total goals	50	38	88
Personal dvpt goals	Additive structures	7	8	15
	Total goals	49	38	87

Table 34 Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Projects 2 & 3 combined

9.1.2.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, among university students, of the 37 goals for each category, 13 language goals and 12 cultural goals could be classed as additive structures. In the former category, 10 were given by French students compared to three by students from abroad, while in the latter case these numbers are eight and four respectively.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	10	3	13
	Total goals	19	18	37
Cultural goals	Additive structures	8	4	12
	Total goals	19	18	37

Table 35 Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Projects 4 & 5 combined

As above, some of these goals could indeed have been considered in a hierarchical relation to one another. In such cases, the student has either not perceived, or not thought relevant to describe, the potential relation between their two goals. For example, FL77 said she would like to “progress [her] language flow and the vocabulary about the subject [she and her teammates] will choose.” Gaining vocabulary on a given topic is likely to improve one’s “language flow,” but FL77 presents the two as being independent. This has the effect of making it difficult to

imagine what criteria for success could be given for the goal of “progressing [her] language flow,” whereas had she said she wanted to gain fluency by gaining vocabulary and thus hesitating less frequently in conversation, it would have been easier to determine success or failure.

9.1.3 Hierarchical structures

9.1.3.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Finally, the remaining responses fell into some kind of hierarchical structure. That is to say, they were put in relation with one another, with the first being seen as a step towards the other, or the latter as made possible by the first. Among high school students, nine learners set out hierarchical goals when setting out their language goals, 12 learners did so for their cultural goals, and nine for their personal development goals. Thus, as we can see, hierarchical goal structures among students in these projects were a minority.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	6	3	9
	Total goals	50	38	88
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	4	8	12
	Total goals	50	38	88
Personal dvpt goals	Hierarchical structures	5	4	9
	Total goals	49	38	87

Table 36 Number of hierarchical structures by goal type and by country for Projects 2 & 3 combined

They also revealed a wide variety of hierarchies. Not all process goals are *proximal* process goals. That is to say that though a goal may be an intermediate step in reaching another goal, it may be a long-term goal nonetheless which will itself require several shorter-term steps to be reached. Thus, several of the hierarchically structured goals set out by learners in these projects were composed of a *distal process goal* and a *distal outcome goal*, but lacked *proximal goals*.

For example, FL46 explained that “this project [would] allow [her] to improve [her] language and to be able to travel.” As can be seen, this is composed of two distinct goals, one pertaining to language in general and categorised as an LGOAL1, the other relating to language as a means

to an end, categorised as an LGOAL4. The two are hierarchically linked to the extent that improving her language is perceived by the student as a necessary condition to be able to travel in the future. However, the goal of improving one's English will require several more specific steps to be reached. Thus, it cannot be seen as a *proximal process goal* since it will itself require longer-term efforts and more specific criteria for success.

Similarly, IL17's cultural goal was to "enrich [himself] by knowing the cultures of other countries." Once again, enriching oneself can be categorised as a CGOAL1 relating to one's own personal progress, and knowing the cultures of other countries is a CGOAL3 related to national cultures. They are hierarchised insofar as knowing the cultures of other countries is seen by the learner as a means to enrich himself personally. Nevertheless, it is not clear to what extent she will have to be familiar with other cultures in order to consider herself enriched by this knowledge, as proximal goals such as discussing certain more specific topics with her partner are lacking.

On the other hand, some students did establish more *proximal process goals*. For example, FL68 believed that "real discussion" would allow him "to progress in english." Here, "real discussion" is a language goal related to communication and categorised as an LGOAL3 and progressing in English relates to language in general and is categorised as an LGOAL1. What can be seen is that though it is not clear exactly how this would take place nor what criteria would determine success or failure, nevertheless "real discussion" is a goal which can be immediately realised within the context of the project and is believed by the learner to be a useful step towards progressing in English. Thus, here, there is a true *proximal process goal* and a *distal outcome goal* which are hierarchically linked to one another.

Another example is IL35 who explained that he "hope[d] to improve [his] english with new words in [his] mental vocabulary." A *proximal process goal* related to a specific aspect of language and categorizable as an LGOAL2 is positioned as a necessary step towards a *distal outcome goal* related to improving one's mastery of the target language in general and categorizable as an LGOAL1.

9.1.3.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, hierarchical structures represent 12 of the 37 language goals, five given by students from France and seven by students from abroad, whereas only five cultural goals are hierarchically structured, one given by a student from France and four by students from abroad.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	5	7	12
	Total goals	19	18	37
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	1	4	5
	Total goals	19	18	37

Table 37 Number of hierarchical structures by goal category and by country for Projects 4 & 5 combined

For example, FL76 said she wanted “to know more vocabulary to express her thoughts.” This can be broken down into A. Learn more vocabulary, in order to B. Better express my thoughts, with the former being a step towards achieving the latter.

Not all hierarchical goals given here contained a proximal goal. As mentioned previously, some process goals have to be considered as *distal process goals*, given the number of intermediate steps required to reach them. This is the case of the example given above. While gaining sufficient language proficiency to study abroad is a process goal, a step towards the outcome goal of studying abroad, it will itself both take time and require numerous steps to be reached. Thus, the presence of hierarchical goals alone, may show a level of self-regulation, but this level will remain suboptimal as long as the process goals involved are not *proximal process goals* with clearly established criteria for success.

Of course, this is a question not of absolutes but of degree. Thus, AL05’s *distal outcome goals* long term are to become “a translator or interpreter” or even “an English teacher and someday a flight attendant.” Sshe realises that these require language skills and “so one of [her] goals is to learn this language to be able to do that.” However, here learning the English language is neither a goal that is realisable short term, nor is it a goal with inherent success criteria. In fact, having a sufficient level to become a flight attendant, for many students, will only be confirmed once they succeed in becoming a flight attendant.

On the other hand, AL08 wants “to learn more about grammar and pronunciation, because [she has] many questions about that and sometimes [she] think[s] [she] can’t express [herself] correctly.” Thus, she would like A. to improve her grammar and pronunciation in order to B. express herself better. Thus, while her proximal goals lack specificity, there are areas which could be worked on in the very short term which would lead to an improved oral expression which could itself be tested for success during the telecollaboration. Thus, they may be

considered *proximal process goals* which need to be more specific and have clearer criteria for success, rather than *distal process goals* as was the case previously.

9.1.3.3 Summary and comparison

Overall, when combining the results from Projects 2, 3, 4 and 5, hierarchically structured language goals were expressed in similar numbers by French students (11/69) and students from abroad (10/56). However, when it came to cultural goals, students from abroad expressed hierarchical structures at a higher rate (12/56) than French students (5/69). While this difference is not statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis using $P < 0.01$, it is when using $P < 0.02$, and can thus be treated as a tendency to be tested in future research. $\chi^2 (2, N = 125) = 8.96, P < .02$.

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	38	37	75
	Additive structures	20	9	29
	Hierarchical structures	11	10	21
	Total goals	69	56	125
Cultural goals	Simple goals	40	30	70
	Additive structures	24	14	38
	Hierarchical structures	5	12	17
	Total goals	69	56	125

Table 38 Students' goals by goal type and goal structure for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

When comparing high school to university students, the latter structure their language goals hierarchically more often (12/37 goals) than the former (9/88 goals). χ^2 analysis reveals this difference is statistically significant. $\chi^2 (2, N = 125) = 17.52, P < .01$. No statistically significant results were found for cultural goals, where the distribution is similar at both levels of study. $\chi^2 (2, N = 125) = 4.01, P > .01$.

		Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	63	12	75
	Additive structures	16	13	29
	Hierarchical structures	9	12	21
	Total goals	88	37	125
Cultural goals	Simple goals	50	20	70
	Additive structures	26	12	38
	Hierarchical structures	12	5	17
	Total goals	88	37	125

Table 39 High school and university students' goals by goal type and goal structure for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Compared to younger learners, then, it appears that university students have a better ability to consider language goals in a hierarchical relation to each other. For cultural goals, there are both lower numbers of hierarchically structured goals among French students than among students from abroad, and lower numbers of hierarchically structured goals than other goal types, persistently from high school to university, unlike language goals which become more hierarchical. Both results may tend to show that teaching, and particularly in France, remains focused on language and views culture as secondary to the extent that students learn to structure language learning, but not cultural learning.

9.2 Relationship between goals and strategies

Beyond categorising students' goals and strategies, it will be useful to discuss how these goals and strategies interact with each other. Indeed, in order to be effective, strategies must be appropriately targeted, and each goal accounted for. The following analysis details which strategies were employed and if and how they related to each goal.

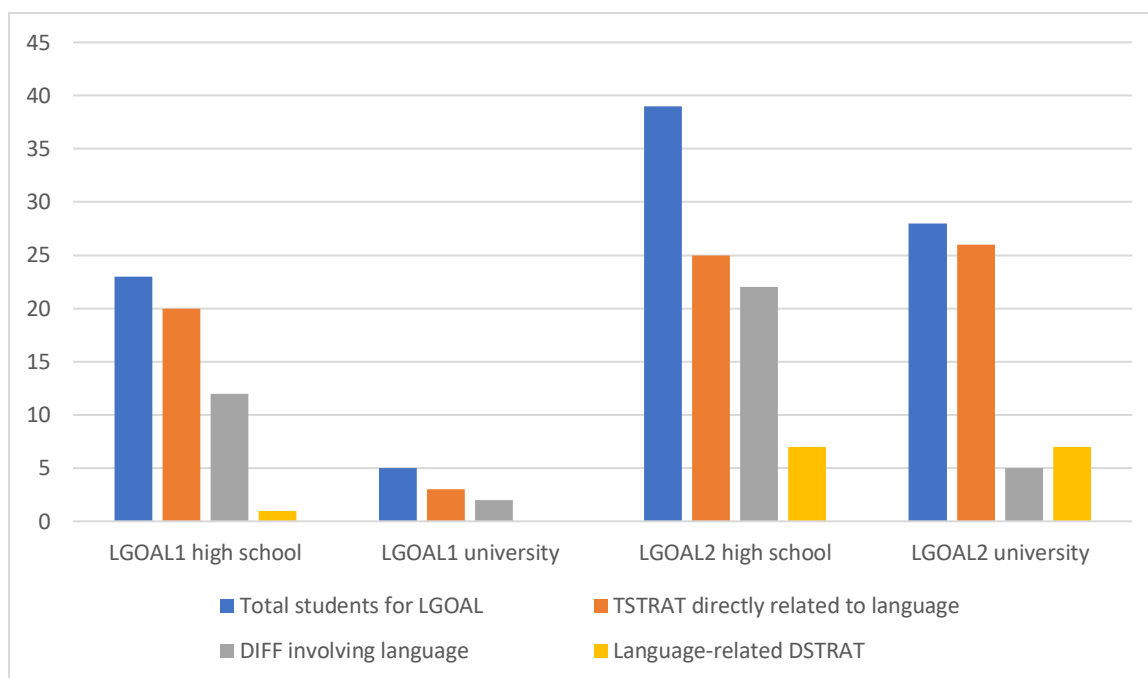
9.2.1 Language goals in relation to strategies and difficulties

Results for both high school students and university students suggest that anticipating difficulties related to their goals and defining strategies to overcome them may be more difficult than saying how the chosen task is linked to their goals.

For example, among high school students, of the 23 students who set an LGOAL1 and completed the worksheet concerned with strategies and difficulties, 20 students gave a strategy relating to language. Twelve students expected to encounter difficulties related to communication while 11 said that they did not expect to encounter any difficulties. Only nine students suggested strategies to overcome their difficulties, with just one of these strategies being directly related to language, i.e. the use of a dictionary.

Similarly, for university students having set an LGOAL3, related to communication, only one out of eight students expected to encounter communication problems. On the other hand, seven of the eleven high school students who set such a goal anticipated communication difficulties, showing that their desire to communicate may be better rooted in a desire to improve.

In terms of task-related strategies, an interesting reversal seems to take place between LGOAL1 and LGOAL2. For LGOAL1, language in general, most high school students set a task-related strategy also involving language, whereas among university students, only three out of five did so. Conversely, for LGOAL2, a specific aspect of language, only 25 out of 39 high school students set a task-related strategy involving language, compared to 26 out of 28 university students. This may show that students who improve their ability to set specific goals also improve their ability to set relevant strategies, whereas for those who do not acquire this ability concerning goals, the relevance of their strategies tends to decrease.



Graph 7 Strategies and difficulties related to language among students who set an LGOAL 1 or 2, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

It is also interesting to note that the few students, both at high school and university level, who set an LGOAL6 related to their chosen topic, appear to set relevant strategies in this second phase, mentioning strategies involving their task, either alone or combined with other strategies. This may suggest that setting a goal with a topic in mind can help students to focus on their task earlier in the process, and thus be more effective in setting relevant strategies.

9.2.2 Cultural goals in relation to strategies and difficulties

When comparing the relation between cultural goals and strategies between high school students and university students, it seems university students are better equipped to set relevant strategies, though both groups appear to struggle.

For instance, for CGOAL1, viewing culture as general knowledge, only five out of 15 high school students mentioned a strategy related to culture, and none mentioned doing research. Among university students, nine out of 13 mentioned a strategy related to culture, such as gastronomy, literature or politics, and research is mentioned twice as a task-related strategy and twice as a strategy for overcoming difficulties. Thus, in this instance, university students appear to set more coherent strategies than high school students.

Similarly, where only 20 of the 52 high school students who set a CGOAL3, framing culture as *other culture*, mentioned a strategy involving knowledge and culture, many favouring language-related strategies, 19 of the 22 university students concerned did so.

For CGOAL4, related to culture in the sense of way of life, those high school students who addressed their cultural goal did so with strategies related to knowledge and culture, whereas university students equally mentioned social interactions as a task-related strategy, with students also giving a form of teamwork as a strategy for overcoming their difficulties.

However, for CGOAL2, for example, related to sharing or comparing cultures, only two of the nine high school students to have set this goal mentioned social interaction as a task-related strategy, and only three out of eight university students did so, thus showing comparable levels of coherence. When it came to strategies to overcome difficulties, however, team strategies were mentioned eight times by university students compare to twice for high school students.

9.2.3 Personal development goals in relation to strategies and difficulties

As mentioned, personal development goals were added to Projects 2 and 3, and thus no data is available for university students. These goals will nevertheless be analysed in relation to the strategies and difficulties set out by students, but cannot be compared to university students' responses.

Overall, for personal development goals, there are indeed some elements of coherence between goals and strategies. Those who set a PGOAL3 related to discovering the world, for example, were more than twice as likely to discuss cultural topics like cinema or global warming than they were to mention a language-related strategy.

However, the overall dominance of language-related strategies shows that personal development goals were perhaps not considered as central goals for which specific strategies were required. For example, 27 students completed the worksheet, out of the 34 who set a PGOAL1, related to improving their social skills. Only four mentioned a strategy involving social interaction. 23 were able to anticipate potential difficulties, most of which were related to potential communication problems (18 students in total). Shyness or embarrassment are only mentioned four times as possible sources of difficulties. 16 students suggested strategies to overcome their difficulties, with seven suggesting strategies related to teamwork.

9.2.4 Summary

Overall, it is clear that strategies related to language dominate students' responses, and thus are more likely to account for language goals than for the other goal types. Then come strategies mentioning culture, often viewed as a form of knowledge. Finally, personal development goals were rarely accounted for in the task-related strategies, though anticipated difficulties were often related to subjects mentioned in personal development goals (such as shyness, for example.) This suggests that the relation between the different phases of the task was not clear for students. Indeed, tasks should have been designed to reach goals, goals could have been set to improve areas where difficulties were expected and thus strategies to overcome these difficulties would have also been strategies to reach goals. On these projects, overall, this interplay was rarely present.

9.3 Task analysis autonomy indicator

9.3.1 Establishing a task analysis autonomy indicator

The pre-task results presented above allowed an indicator to be established combining the two elements of task analysis (Zimmerman, 2000) measured here, namely goal setting and strategic planning.

To this end, a scale was established attributing a score to elements shared by all four projects. Personal development goals were thus excluded as they only concerned Projects 2 and 3. Goal setting and strategic planning were weighted equally, with four points being attributed to each. Concerning goals, a hierarchically structured goal was attributed two points, a simple or additive goal was given one point, and the absence of a goal was given no points. When it came to strategies, task-related strategies covering both language and culture were given two points, those addressing one or the other were given one point, and the absence of a task-related strategy was given no points. Anticipating difficulties and setting strategies to overcome them both functioned on a binary basis, with a point for each if it had been addressed, and none if it hadn't.

Language goals	
Did not set LGOAL	0
Set simple or additive LGOALS	1
Set hierarchical LGOALS	2
Cultural goals	
Did not set CGOAL	0
Set simple or additive CGOALS	1
Set hierarchical CGOALS	2
Task-related strategy	
Gave no TSTRAT	0
Gave TSTRAT relating to L or C and/or other	1
Gave TSTRAT covering both LGOALS and CGOALS and/or other	2
Anticipated difficulties	
Anticipated no DIFF	0
Anticipated DIFF	1
Strategy for overcoming difficulties	
Gave no DSTRAT	0
Gave DSTRAT	1

Table 40 Task analysis autonomy scale

This allowed the students' autonomy for this stage to be scored from one to eight, one being the lowest level of autonomy and eight being the highest. This indicator when analysing the post-task results, as it will allow post-task results such as reported success, communication enjoyment, expected future contact, and intercultural capital to be analysed in relation to students' task analysis autonomy. It also allows the following results to appear in the combined analysis which were not apparent when analysing goals and strategies separately.

9.3.2 Overview of TAA results

Overall, French students were found to have a higher average TAA than students from abroad (4.8 compared to 4.0), and university students were found to have a higher average TAA than high school students (5.4 compared to 4.0).

	France	Abroad	Overall
High school	4.4	3.5	4.0
University	5.7	5.1	5.4
Overall	4.8	4.0	4.4

Table 41 Task analysis autonomy averages by level of study and comparing students from France to students from abroad, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

French students have an average of 4.8 while students from abroad have an average of 4.0, the overall average being 4.4. French students show a concentration around Levels 4, 5, and 6, while students from abroad show a broader range of levels, with two distinct peaks at Level 2 and Level 5. Combining levels two by two, these results were shown to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 42). $\chi^2 (3, N = 127) = 11.46, P < .01$.

However, these results may be due to a number of factors other than nationality, including different degrees on teacher involvement and varying practices, especially given that French students were taught by the author of this thesis.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	69	58	127
TAA 1 & 2	6	17	23
TAA 3 & 4	21	17	38
TAA 5 & 6	37	18	55
TAA 7 & 8	5	6	11

Table 42 Students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

When comparing high school students to university students, the latter have a higher average TAA with 5.4 compared to 4.0. This translates as fewer university students having not completed the worksheets or left questions blank, and thus fewer students in the lower levels, and also more university students showing a Level 6, the extra points coming variously from an ability to structure their goals hierarchically, to account for both language and culture in their task-related strategy, or an ability to anticipate difficulties and set strategies to overcome them. These results were shown to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following combined table (Table 43). $\chi^2 (3, N = 127) = 15.37, P < .01$.

This difference is unsurprising given that students at university level are likely both to have been more autonomous as they entered university (based on their choice to pursue higher learning and on possible selection processes) and to have gained autonomy throughout their education.

	Number high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Total number of students	89	38	127
TAA 1 & 2	20	3	23
TAA 3 & 4	32	6	38
TAA 5 & 6	33	22	55
TAA 7 & 8	4	7	27

Table 43 High school and university students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Chapter 10 Post-task perceived levels of success

10.1 Perceived levels of success: overview of results

10.1.1 General overview by level of study and goal type

Students report having reached their goals in similar numbers in France and abroad as well as across different goal types.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	66	60	126
LGOALS reached	42	48	90
CGOALS reached	45	43	88

Table 44 Students who reported having reached their goals, by goal type for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Students report having reached their goals in similar numbers whether they are in high school or university, and across different goal types. High school students reached their cultural goals less often than other goals, and less often than university students for the same goal. While this is not statistically significant given the number of participants, it may serve to highlight factors related to cultural goals specifically, which can be analysed in Part 4.

	Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Total number of students	88	38	87
LGOALS reached	63	27	90
CGOALS reached	59	29	88

Table 45 High school and university students who reported having reached their goals, by goal type for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

10.1.2 Language goals overview

10.1.2.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

For Projects 2 and 3, of the 88 students who responded to the post-task questionnaire, 63 (72%) said they had reached their language goals, 8 (9%) said they had only partly done so, and 17 students (19%) said they had not reached them. When compared country to country, 30 students from France said they reached their goals, six said they had done so only partly, and 10 said they had not, whereas 33 students from Italy said they had, two said only partly and seven said they has not.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	46	42	88
Reached their language goals	30	33	63
Partly reached their language goals	6	2	8
Did not reach their language goals	10	7	17

Table 46 High school students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Parenthetically, while the sample is too small for this to be statistically significant, it is interesting to remark that students from *Let's Talk!* responded that they failed to reach their language goals at a much higher rate than students from *Share your voice* (33% compared to 7%). While the aim of this section will be to analyse these results in relation to students' task analysis (goal setting and strategic planning), the difference between the two projects may also reveal the importance of factors such as group dynamics and teacher-student relations in determining the success of telecollaborative projects.

10.1.2.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Of the 38 university students who responded to the post-task questionnaire, 27 (71%) believed they had reached their goals, four (11%) believed they had only partly done so, while seven (18%) said they had not reached them. When comparing students from France to those from abroad, 12 of the former believed they had reached their language goals, four said they had only

partly done so, and four did not believe they had reached them, whereas of the latter, 15 said they had reached their goals and only three said they had not.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	20	18	38
Reached their language goals	12	15	27
Partly reached their language goals	4	0	4
Did not reach their language goals	4	3	7

Table 47 University students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Projects 4 & 5 combined

10.1.3 Cultural goals overview

10.1.3.1 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Overall, when it comes to CGOALS, 87 high school students responded to the question, one fewer than for LGOALS. 59 (68%) responded that they had reached their cultural goals, four (5%) said they had only partly done so, and 24 (28%) said they had not. Comparing country to country, 31 students from France said they had reached their goals, three said they had partly done so, and twelve said they had not, compared to 28 students from Italy who said they had reached their goals, one who said only partly, and twelve who said they had not.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	46	41	87
Reached their cultural goals	31	28	59
Partly reached their cultural goals	3	1	4
Did not reach their cultural goals	12	12	24

Table 48 High school students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Projects 2 & 3 combined

10.1.3.2 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, of the 38 university students who responded to the questionnaire, 29 (76%) said they had reached their goals, four (11%) said they had only partly done so, while five (13%) said they had not. When comparing students from France to those from abroad, 14 of the former said they had reached their goals, three only partly, and three said they had not, whereas of the latter, 15 said they had reached their goals, one said only partly, and two said they had not.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	20	18	38
Reached their cultural goals	14	15	29
Partly reached their cultural goals	3	1	4
Did not reach their cultural goals	3	2	5

Table 49 University students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Projects 4 & 5 combined

10.1.4 Personal development goals overview

As previously discussed, PGOALS were only asked of students for Projects 2 and 3.

For PGOALS, overall, 87 students responded to the question in the post-task questionnaire. 65 (75%) said they had reached their goals, eight (9%) said they had only partly reached them or did not know, and 14 (16%) said they had not reached them. When comparing country to country, 46 students from France said they had reached their goals, seven said they had only partly done so, and seven said they had not, compared to students from Italy of whom 33 students said they had reached their goals, one said he/she had only partly done so and seven said they had not.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	46	41	87
Reached their personal development goals	32	33	65
Partly reached their personal development goals	7	1	8
Did not reach their personal development goals	7	7	14

Table 50 High school students' self-reported success in reaching their personal development goals for Projects 2 & 3 combined

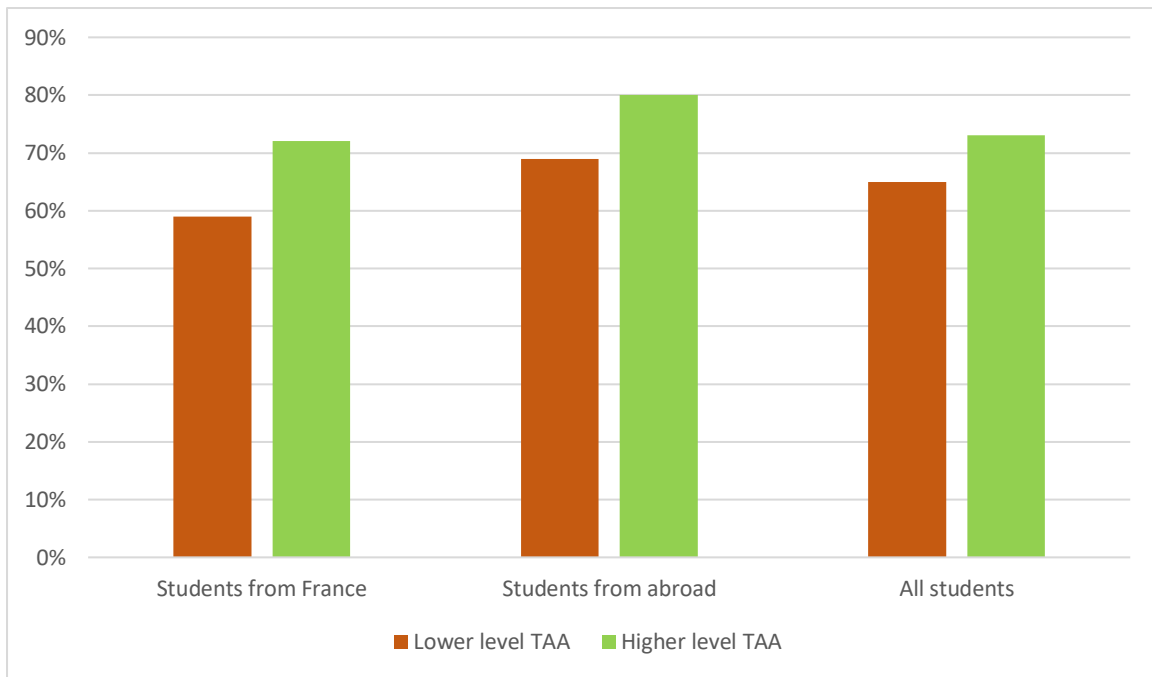
When comparing the two projects, students from *Let's Talk!* were more likely to say that they had not reached their goals than students from *Share your voice*.

10.2 Perceived levels of success in relation to Task Analysis Autonomy (TAA)

In this section, the relation between students' perceived success in reaching their goals and their levels of Task Analysis Autonomy will be presented. While detailed tables showing goals reached in relation to each level of TAA can be found in Appendix 15, in what follows levels of TAA will be presented as two groups, the first including levels 1, 2, 3 and 4, referred to as lower level of TAA, and the second including levels 5, 6, 7 and 8, referred to as higher level of TAA.

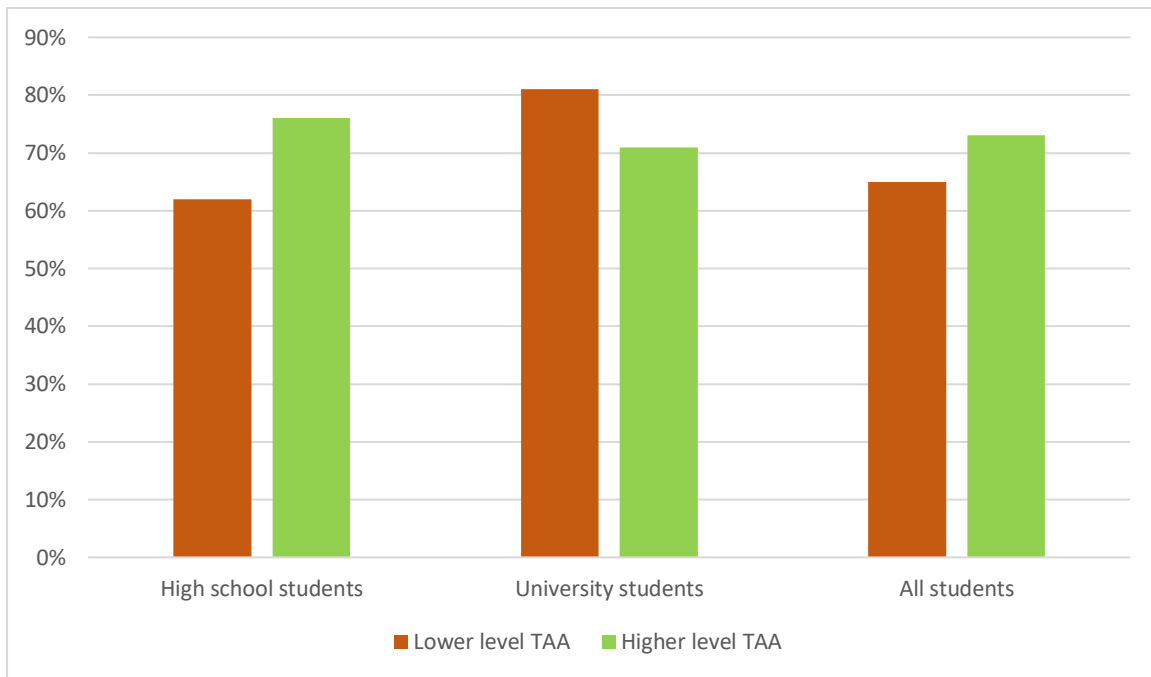
10.2.1 Combined goals and TAA

Overall, 73% of goals were reported as having been reached among students with a higher level of TAA, while only 65% of goals were reported as reached by those with a lower TAA. The rate was higher among students with a higher TAA both for students from France (72% against 59%) and students from abroad (80% against 69%), though French students overall reported they had reached their goals less often.



Graph 8 Overall goals (language and cultural combined) having been reached by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France and students from abroad

However, this higher rate of reported success did not appear among university students overall, and as shown above, particularly among university students from abroad, with 71% of those with a higher TAA saying they had reached their goals but 81% of those with a lower TAA saying so. This is the opposite of what was found for high school students with 76% and 62% respectively.



Graph 9 Overall goals (language and cultural combined) having been reached by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing high school students to university students

χ^2 analysis of students' responses overall did not reveal a statistically significant difference between students with a higher and lower TAA when it came to their reported success at reaching their goals. $\chi^2 (1, N = 236) = 2.05, P > .01$. However, among high school students, when combining language goals and cultural goals, results begin to appear significant when using a probability of $P < 0.05$, which suggests an interesting tendency to be tested on a larger sample (cf. Table 51). $\chi^2 (1, N = 164) = 3.88, P < .05$.

	Reached their goal	Did not reach their goal	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	57	35	92
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	55	17	72
Total	112	52	164

Table 51 High school students self-reported success in reaching their language goals, by level of TAA for Projects 2 & 3 combined

In terms of content, however, many high school students whose responses were short and who did not develop reasons for having failed, in their view, to reach their goals, either did not

complete the worksheet or did not anticipate difficulties and suggest strategies to overcome them, and thus had lower TAA levels. For example, IL06 and IL15, who, when asked whether they reached their cultural goals, simply responded “no”, had not completed the worksheet. The same is true of IL07, IL09 and IL04, whose responses were respectively “I didn’t,” “not really,” and “I don’t reach my goals in this context.” IL02 also simply answered “no,” and while he did complete the form, he had not anticipated any difficulties that could arise during this project. The same is true of FL50, whose reflection on her personal development goal was simply “I did not achieve my goals.”

Similarly, at university level, BL06, who did not complete the worksheet about strategies and difficulties, simply answered “Yes” to the questions about both goals in the post-task questionnaire. BL04, who set out a strategy regarding language but not regarding culture, gave a long response about language, saying that as her “partner had no idea what [she] said in English,” she “had to try to speak in French, otherwise [their] communication would have been extremely bad,” but gave a short answer regarding her cultural goal, saying only that she “love[d] the French culture even more now.” FL75 explained with regards to her cultural goals that she “didn’t really remember the goals [she] plan[ned] regarding culture.” When completing the worksheet, she had not given a strategy specifically relating to culture, and had not anticipated any difficulties.

Conversely, longer, more structured and more self-reflective goals often came from students with higher TAA levels, even when they had not reached their goals. For example, FL31, who also said she had not reached her goal, had completed the worksheet setting a strategy related to speaking in order to improve her language, expected difficulties related to shyness and suggested making an effort and accepting one’s mistakes as strategies to overcome them. Her response is as follows:

No, I didn’t really reach my goals regarding language because I would have preferred to see more Italians (even if we created a discussion group on a social media). But there is a positive point, I managed to speak and at least make myself understood with the Italians. I was less shy. In terms of grammar, I didn’t learn much. But everything I learned helped me to express myself.

As can be seen, this is a structured response, setting out positive and negative aspects of the project in relation to language and identifying the reasons why certain goals have not been reached.

Similarly, among those who said they reached their goals, those who explain how they did so had often succeeded in anticipating difficulties and suggesting strategies for overcoming them. For example, IL24, whose CGOAL was to “know more about the traditions and interests of foreign people,” mentioned she had learnt about her partners’ schedule and traditions, but also Ramadan and French singers, importantly saying that she learnt this “since [she] spent several hours every day with [her] French partners to get to know each other better.” Here too, expected difficulties in communication had led her to say this is “easily overcome thanks to the strong friendship and confidence established with the group.”

The same phenomenon could also be observed at university level. FL76 showed remarkable coherence between pre-task goals, strategies and difficulties, and post-task reflection on goals. She had mentioned strategies related to language both involving specific aspects of language (TSTRAT1c) and the belief that speaking would mean improving (TSTRAT1b), had set out strategies involving meeting and interacting with people (TSTRAT3a) and had anticipated communication problems (DIFF1b), suggesting that partners could help each other to overcome these (DSTRAT1c). In the post-task reflections, she said that she “improved her vocabulary,” (TSTRAT1c) by “talking to them by Whatsapp” (TSTRAT1b, TSTRAT3a) and that “chatting [...] made [her] more confident to speak English as if [she] was chatting with friends.” (DIFF1b, DSTRAT1c) Thus, goal-setting and strategic planning have helped structure her post-task reflection which may in turn lead her to adjust her goals and strategies in future projects.

10.2.2 Language goals and TAA

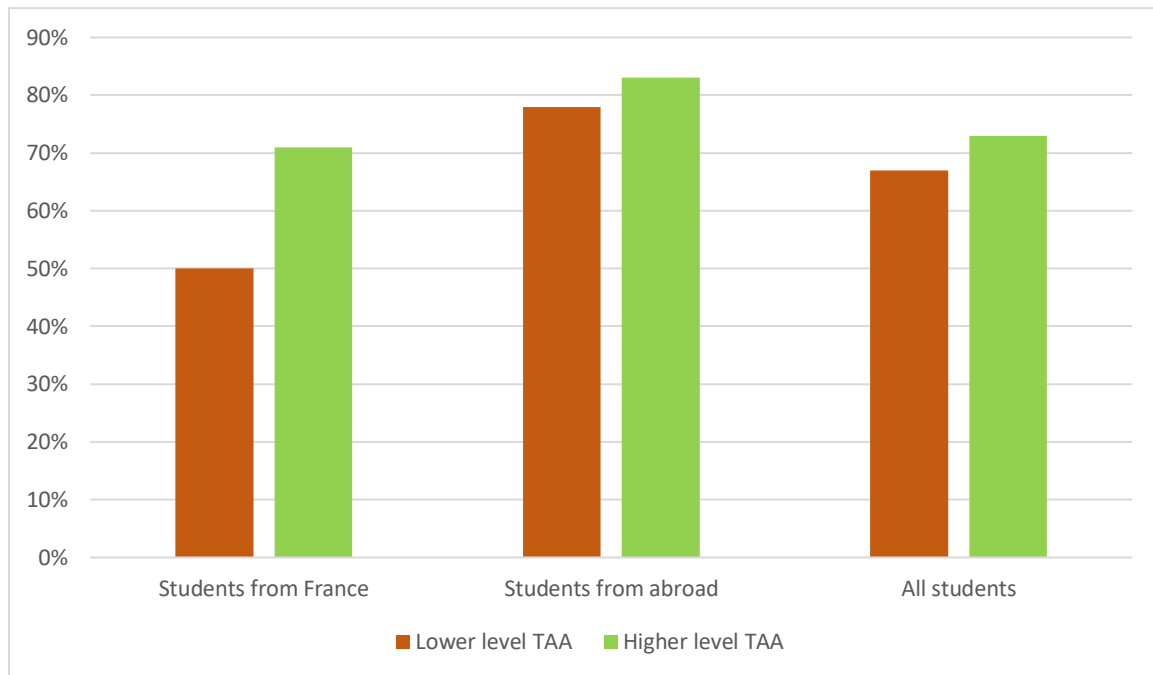
10.2.2.1 Overall

Overall, no statistically significant difference was found between students with a higher or lower TAA when it came to their self-reported success in reaching their goals, based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 52). $\chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 0.99, P > .01$.

	Reached their goal	Did not reach their goal	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	36	18	54
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	48	16	64
Total	84	34	118

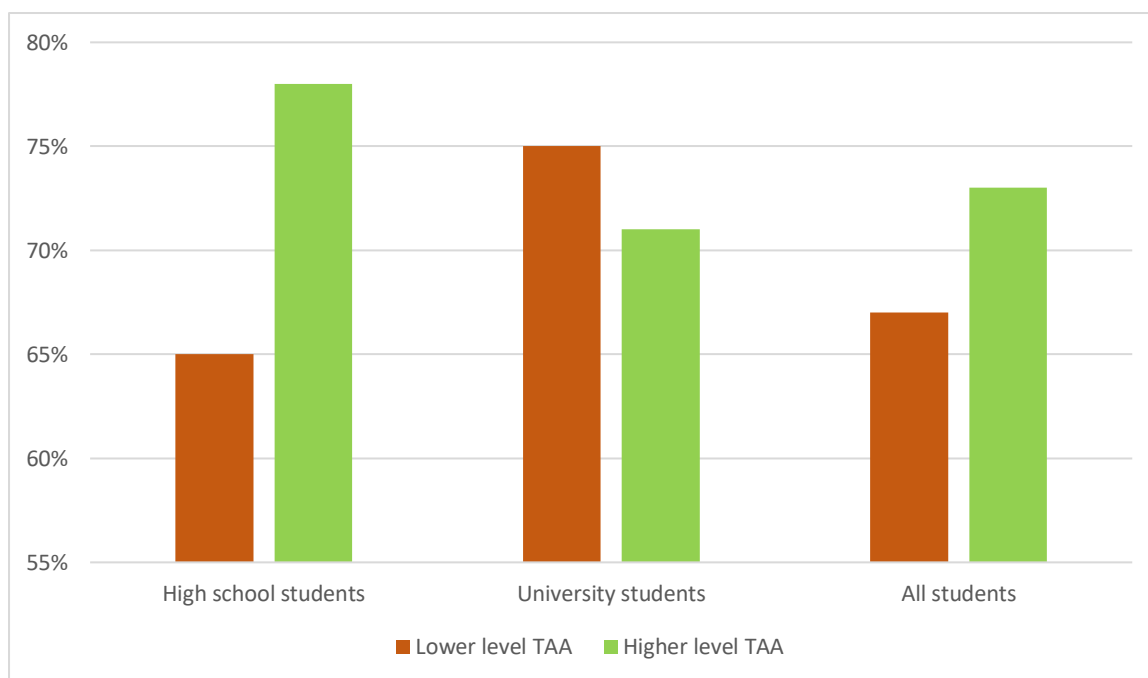
Table 52 High school and university students’ self-reported success in reaching their language goals, by level of TAA for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

However, this may be interesting to test with a larger sample, as students with a higher TAA report they have reached their goals at a slightly higher rate (73%) than those with a lower TAA (67%). This is true both for students from France (71% against 50%) and for students from abroad (83% against 78%).



Graph 10 Students having reached their language goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

However, when comparing high school students to university students, the former show higher reported success among those with a higher level of TAA, while the latter show the opposite.



Graph 11 High school and university students having reached their language goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

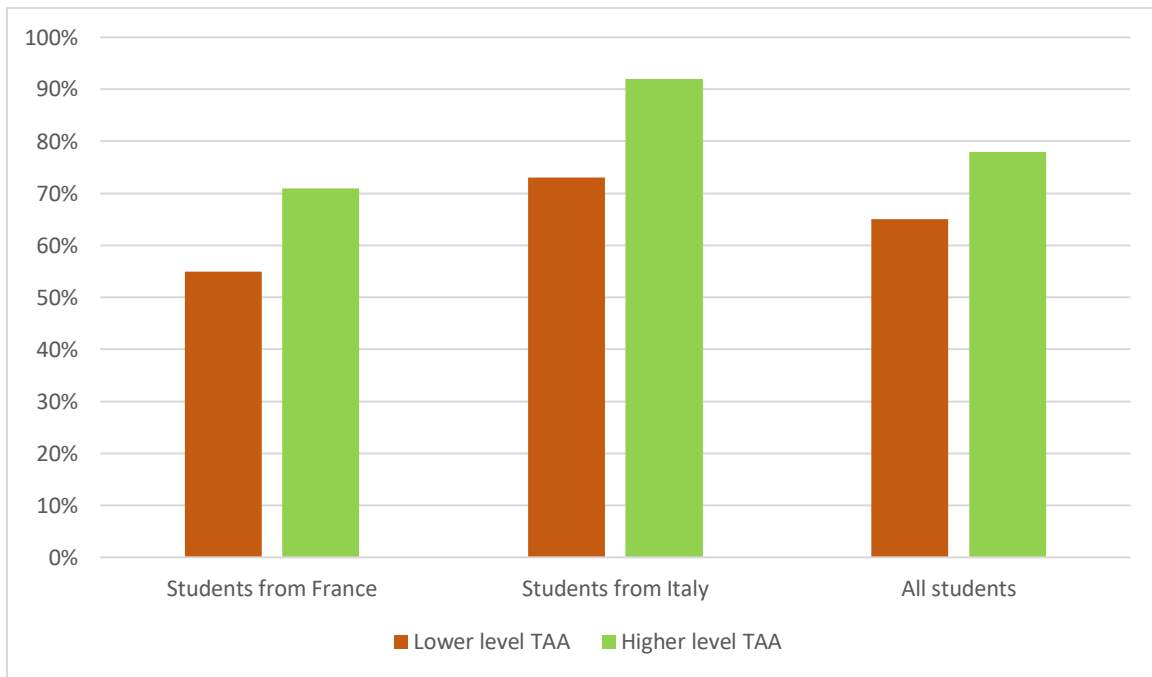
10.2.2.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

For high school students, χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 53) did not reveal a statistically significant difference between students who reached their language goals or not based on their level of TAA. $\chi^2 (1, N = 82) = 1.53, P > .01$.

	Reached their goal	Did not reach their goal	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	30	16	46
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	28	8	36
Total	58	24	82

Table 53 High school students self-reported success in reaching their language goals, by level of TAA for Projects 2 & 3 combined

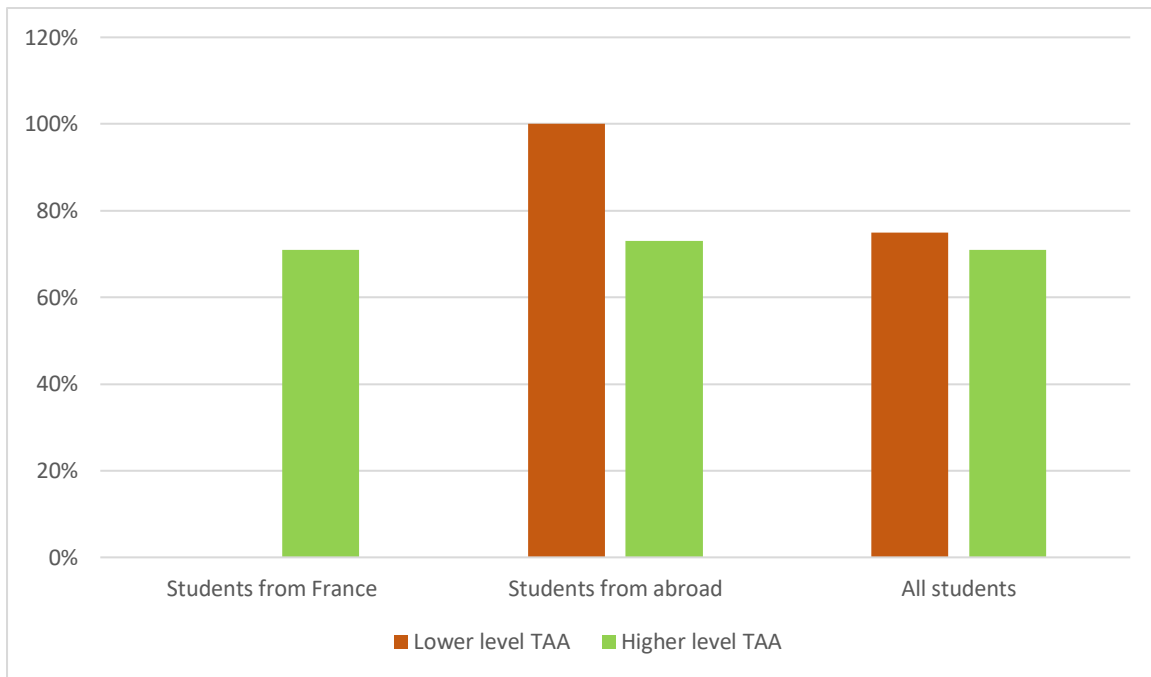
Here too, results may be worth testing with a larger sample size, as it appears that those with a higher TAA report they have reached their goals at a higher rate (78%) than those with a lower TAA (65%). This difference holds for students from France as well as students from Italy, despite the former having lower reported success rates overall.



Graph 12 High school students having reached their language goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

10.2.2.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For university students, those with a higher TAA report they have reached their goals at a slightly lower rate (71%) than those with a lower TAA (75%). It is particularly noticeable that all six students from abroad with a lower level of TAA report that they reached their goals, whereas neither of the two French students did.



Graph 13 University students having reached their language goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

10.2.3 Cultural goals and TAA

10.2.3.1 Overall

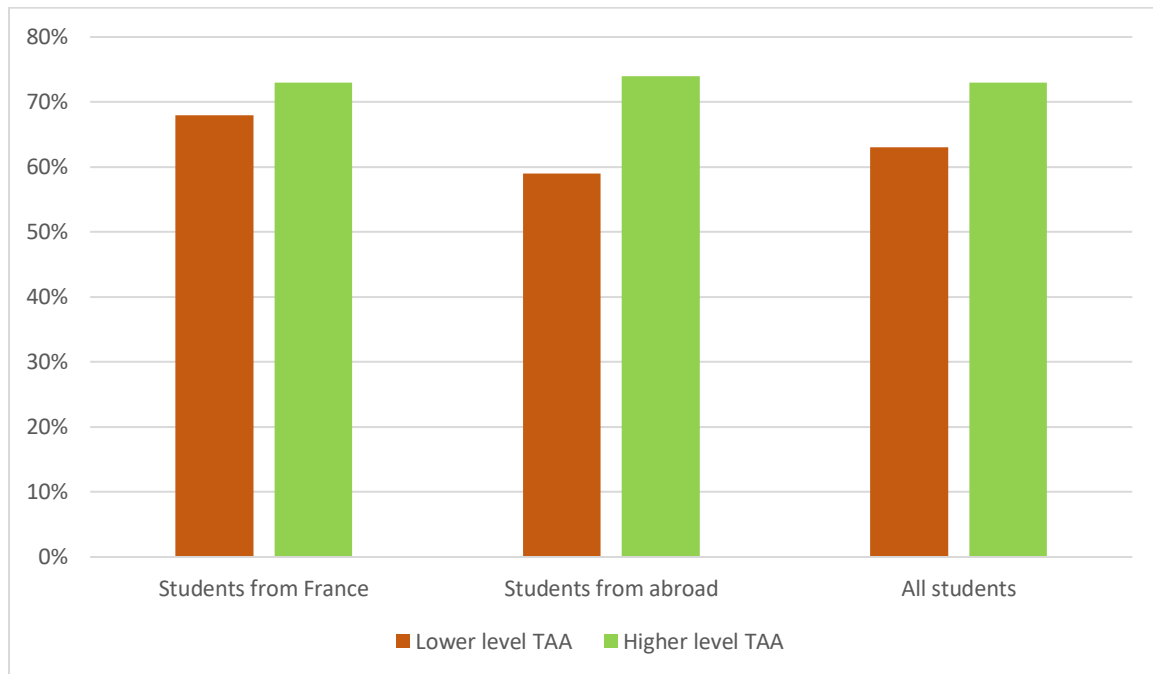
For cultural goals, no statistically significant difference was found between students with a higher or lower TAA when it came to them reaching their goals or not, based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 54). $\chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 1.49, P > .01$.

	Reached their goal	Did not reach their goal	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	34	20	54
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	47	17	64
Total	81	37	118

Table 54 Students self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals, by level of TAA for Projects 2 & 3 combined

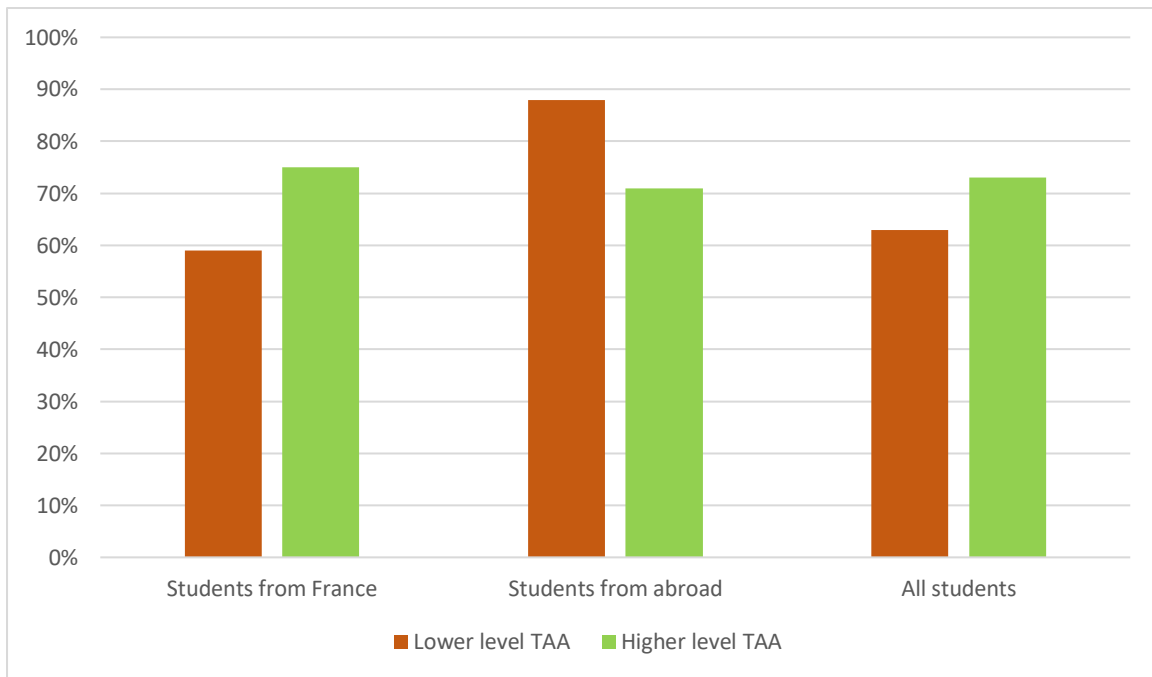
However, here too, students with a higher TAA report they have reached their goals at a higher rate (73%) than those with a lower TAA (63%). As was the case for language goals, this is true

both for students from France (73% against 68%) and for students from abroad (74% against 59%).



Graph 14 Students having reached their cultural goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

However, like for language goals, when comparing high school students to university students, the former are more likely to say they have reached their goals if they have a higher level of TAA, while the latter show the opposite.



Graph 15 High school and university students having reached their cultural goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

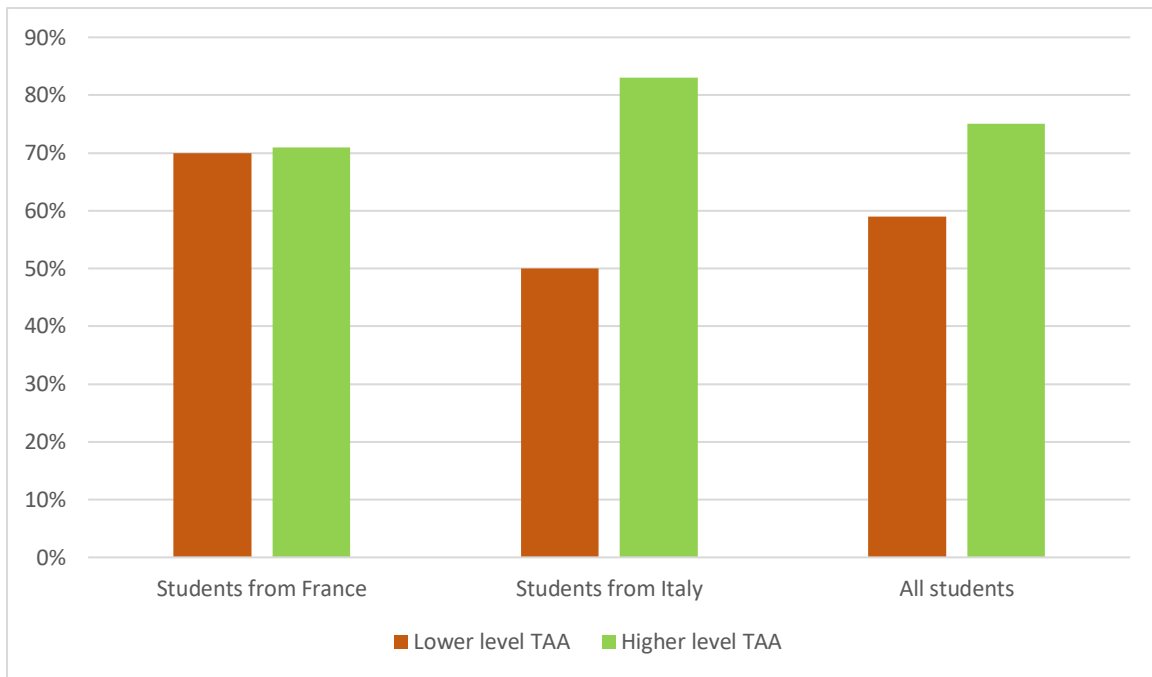
10.2.3.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

For high school students, χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 55) did not reveal a statistically significant difference between students who reached their cultural goals or not based on their level of TAA. $\chi^2 (1, N = 82) = 2.38, P > .01$.

	Reached their goal	Did not reach their goal	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	27	19	46
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	27	9	36
Total	54	28	82

Table 55 High school students self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals, by level of TAA for Projects 2 & 3 combined

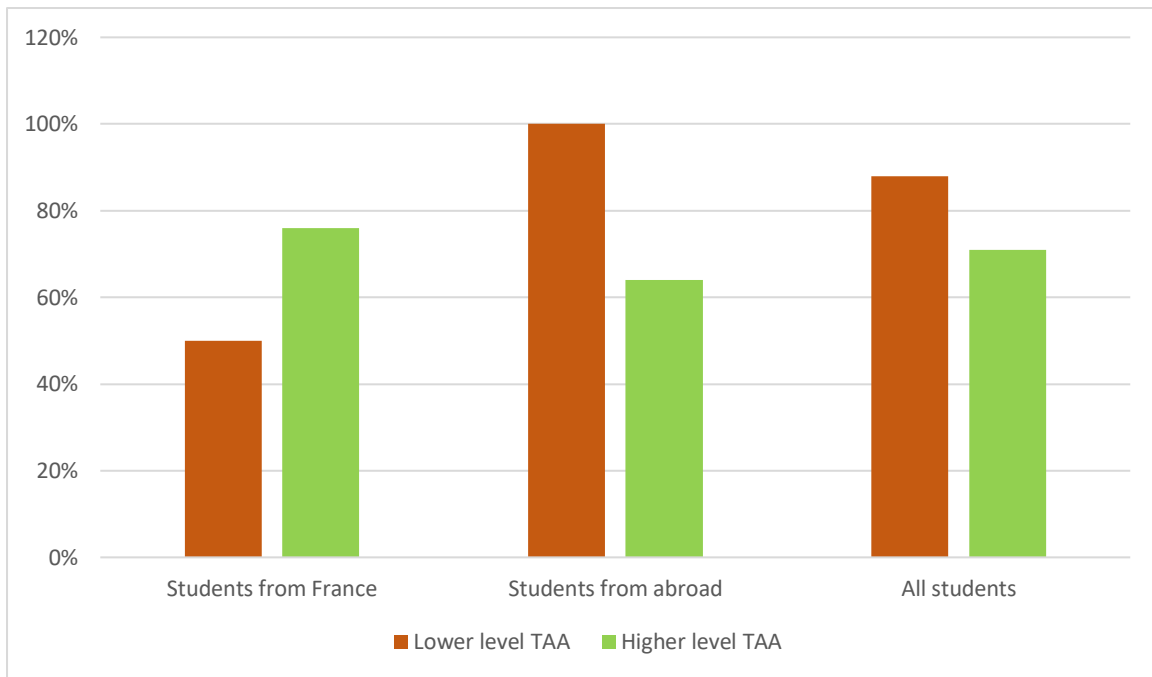
However, those with a higher TAA reported they had reached their goals at a higher rate (75%) than those with a lower TAA (59%). This difference holds for students from France as well as students from Italy, but the difference is negligible for the former and considerable for the latter (83% against 50%).



Graph 16 High school students having reached their cultural goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

10.2.3.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For university students, those with a higher TAA report they have reached their goals at a lower rate (71%) than those with a lower TAA (88%). However, this only holds for students from abroad, the contrary being the case for French students, though there are only two in the lower level of TAA.



Graph 17 University students having reached their cultural goals by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

Chapter 11 *Other markers of intercultural competence*

An important aspect of intercultural approaches to language learning is viewing language, not merely as a tool for exchanging information, but as a means to build and maintain social relationships (Liddicoat, 2009, p. 116). In this sense, while students may communicate efficiently in the impoverished sense of the term, i.e. exchanging information in order to complete the task requested by the teacher, this will not always mean they are communicating in the rich sense of building relationships.

Building intercultural relationships is by no means sufficient for one to be considered interculturally competent. Indeed, generally accepted definitions include “attitudes, knowledge and skills” (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495; cf. Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006; Huber & Reynolds, 2014; Lazar *et al.*, 2007). Of the relevant attitudes, which can include “respect, openness and curiosity/discovery” as well as “patience, tolerance, acceptance, politeness and friendliness” (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495), none can be considered sufficient on its own. However, attitudes such as openness and curiosity, which can be fleshed out as students “being willing to seek out opportunities to engage and co-operate with individuals who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one’s own” or “being open to, curious about and willing to learn from and about people who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one’s own” (Huber & Reynolds, 2014, p. 19), can usefully be analysed in the light of self-regulatory skills in the context of this research.

With this goal in mind, in the post-task questionnaire, students were asked two questions aimed at assessing markers of intercultural competence linked to the project other than self-regulatory ones.

The two questions as presented to the students were the following:

- During this exchange, did you enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)? Why? Give precise examples.
- Do you think you will stay in contact with your foreign partner after the project is finished? Why?

The goal of these questions is not to establish whether or not students are interculturally competent, but rather to discover how enjoying intercultural encounters and showing a

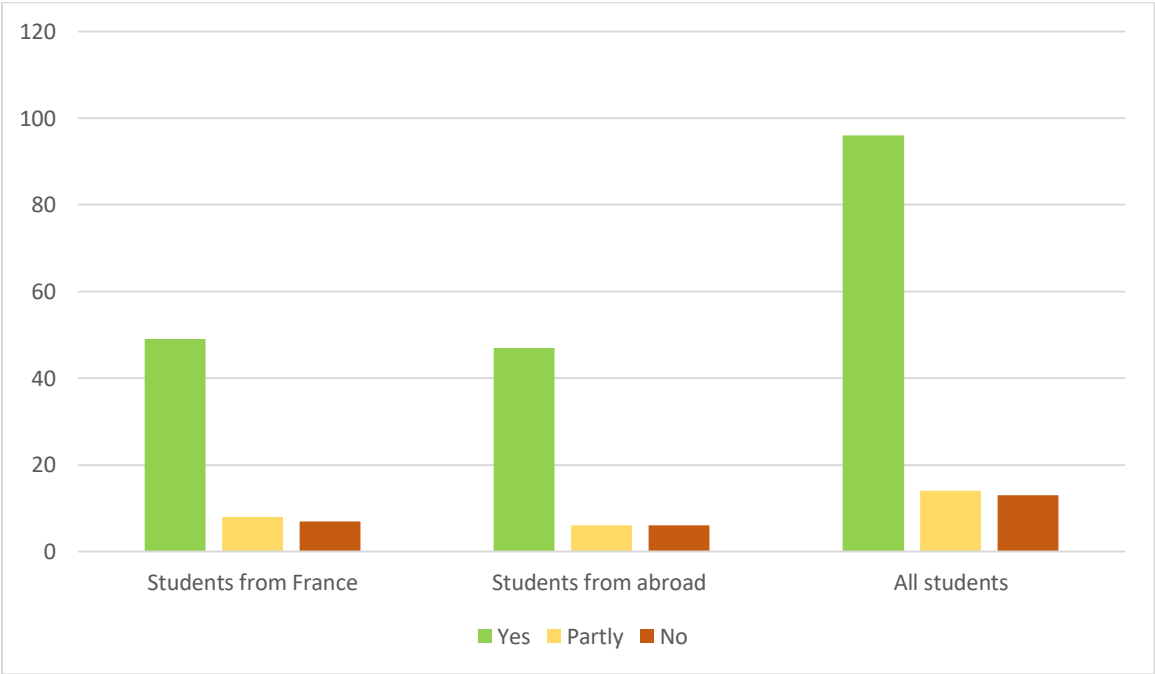
willingness to seek out further intercultural contact, thus potentially building social relationships, are related to self-regulatory skills such as task analysis and post-task reflection. While the answers to these questions may also be attributable to factors other than intercultural competence, such as group dynamics, student-teacher relations, or individual personalities, it remains interesting to analyse how they interact with what has been said above about task analysis in relation to this project.

11.1 Other markers of intercultural competence: results overview

11.1.1 Did you enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)?

11.1.1.1 Overall

Overall, most students appeared to enjoy communicating across all four intercultural telecollaborations. This was the case to a similar degree when comparing students from France to students from abroad, with 49 of the 64 French students saying they enjoyed communicating and 47 of the 59 students from abroad saying so.

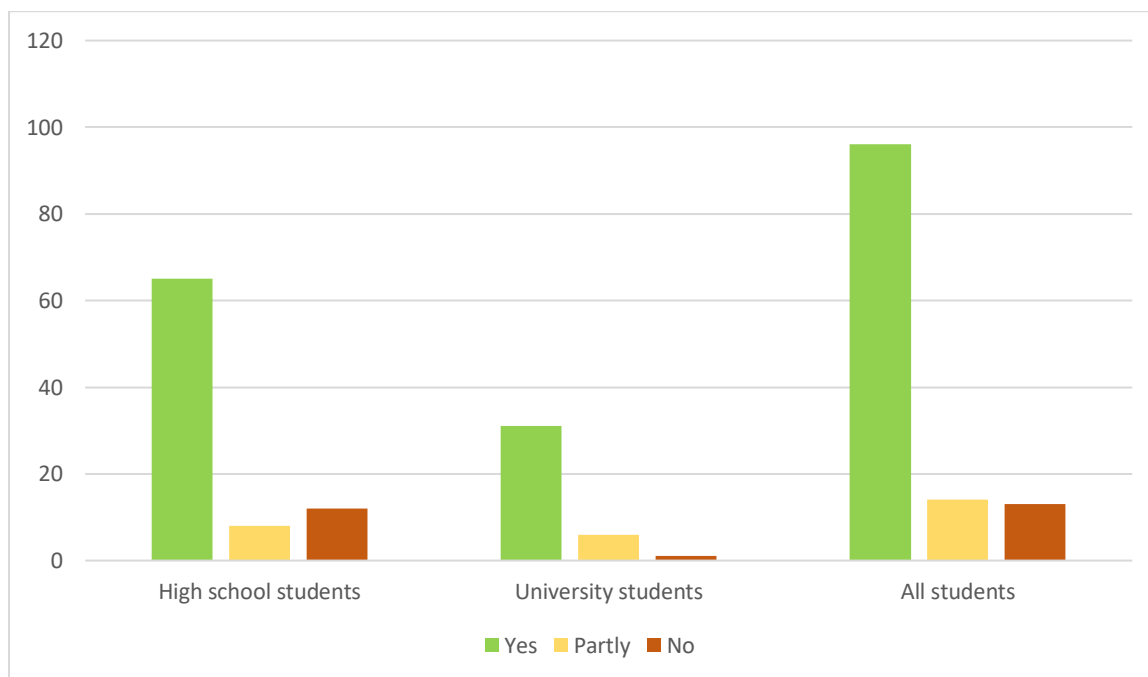


Graph 18 Students’ communication enjoyment for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

No statistically significant difference can be observed between high school and university students when it comes to their having enjoyed communicating, based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 56). $\chi^2 (2, N = 123) = 4.30, P > .01$. Yet, university students seem to have less of a tendency to say they did not enjoy communicating, and more of a tendency to give a nuanced answer, saying they partly or sometimes did.

	Number high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Total number of students	85	38	123
Yes	65	31	96
Sometimes/Partly	8	6	14
No	12	1	13

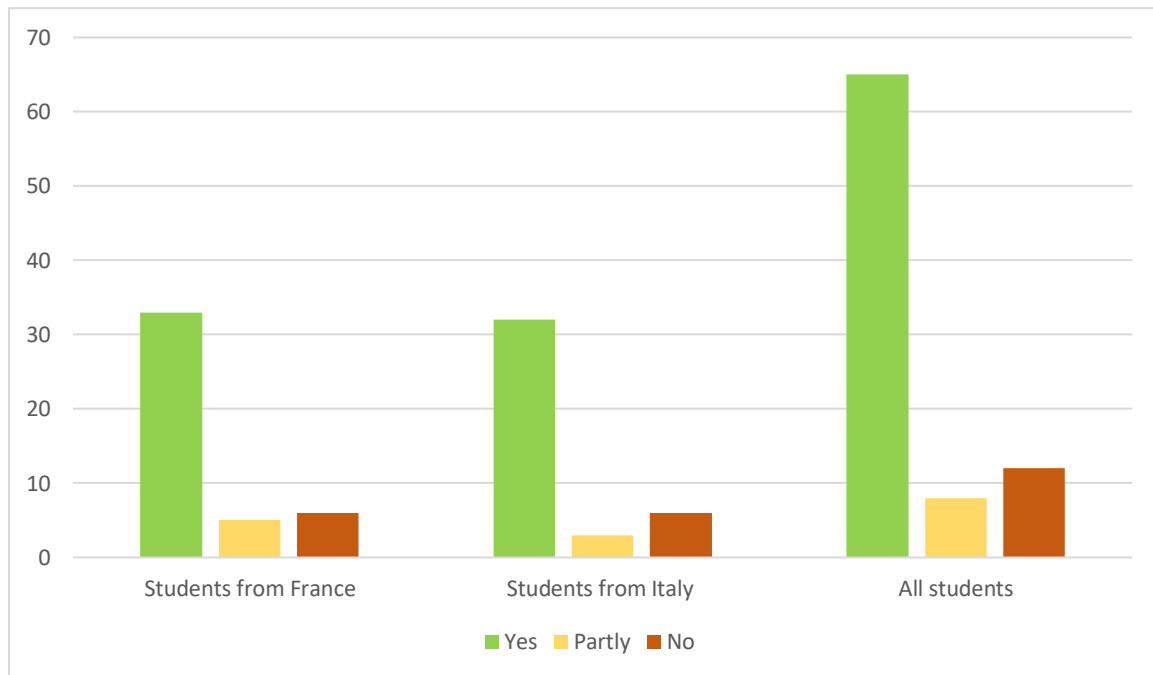
Table 56 High school and university students' communication enjoyment for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined



Graph 19 High school and university students' communication enjoyment for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.1.1.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Of the 85 high school students who responded to the questionnaire, 65 (76%) said they enjoyed communicating with their partners, eight (9%) said they sometimes did, and 12 (14%) said they did not.



Graph 20 High school students' communication enjoyment for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Some responses were quite detailed, explaining why they enjoyed communicating, such as FL38 who said that “on the one hand they were already involved in the project, but on the other hand we had quite a lot of laughs and we learned other things about Italy and we have them also learned things about France.” Others were shorter, but most still gave some explanation. For example, IL07 said “Yes they were funny” and IL39 said “yes it was nice communicate and know other people.” Also cited as a reason for enjoying communicating was learning English, with FL65 saying that he “liked communicating with [his] partners because [they had] to speak English to understand each other.”

Some gave responses indicating that they enjoyed talking at times, but that communication failed to really develop. For example, FL27 said that “when [they] were communicating this was pretty funny but there weren't enough discussion,” and IL08 said that they “didn't talk too much but [she] liked communicate with them.”

Finally, those who said they did not enjoy it tended to give shorter answers, such as IL17 who wrote “I didn't like communicating at all” or FL35 who wrote “no, I didn't”. Others gave a little more information, like FL40 who said “no because she was strange,” or IL02 who said “not at all, we haven't had things in common.”

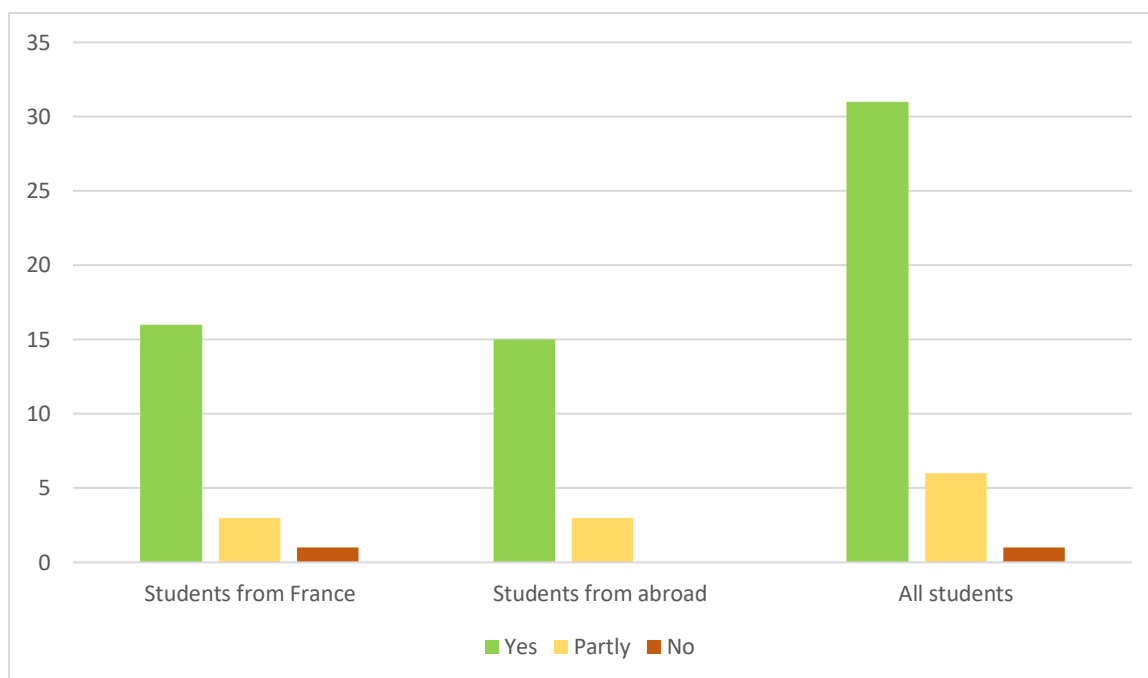
Enjoyment is an important marker of intercultural competence, as being interculturally competent begins by being comfortable in different communicative situations, including in a language which you may still be learning and with interlocutors who do not share your cultural background. This does not mean that those who enjoyed it are interculturally competent, nor that those who did not are not, simply that those who did appear to have the right attitude to allow them to develop their intercultural competence.

Indeed, results comparing the interaction enjoyment dimension of the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000) to other markers of intercultural competence have shown that there is no correlation between enjoyment and intercultural competence. Indeed, one study found “a negative correlation between the interaction enjoyment attribute of ISS and cultural uncertainty attribute of ICCQ” (Sarwari & Wahab, 2017, p. 7), where the latter “refers to the ability to deal with cultural ambiguities, being patient towards differences, being open towards social and cultural differences, and being flexible towards differences” (Sarwari & Wahab, 2017, p. 7).

Furthermore, as mentioned above, there are a number of different factors which can come into play. However, the willingness to seek out intercultural interaction and the desire to build social relationships with people who do not share one's linguistic and cultural background is a central aspect of intercultural competence, and seems unlikely to occur if one does not enjoy intercultural contact. The results above show that for those students who enjoyed communicating, an opportunity for intercultural growth presented itself.

11.1.1.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Of the 38 university students who responded to the questionnaire, 31 said they enjoyed communicating with their partners, six said they partly or occasionally did, and one said he/she did not.



Graph 21 University students' communication enjoyment for Projects 4 & 5 combined

Students mentioned aspects of their relationship or their partners' personality as the reason why they enjoyed communicating. For example, BL11 said "they were very funny and talkative" and she "enjoyed it a lot," FL76 said that "he was very nice," FL75 said that "she was outgoing and didn't hesitate to lead the conversation." AL08 said that she and her partner "have a similiar conections about things of life". BL09 said that she "like[d] [her] foreign partner and [would] love to meet her live."

Another reason given for having enjoyed communication was language learning, as was the case for BL02, who wrote that she "wanted to get feedback as well as learn new ways of expressing [herself in] French." Interestingly, two students mentioned their partners' accent, saying "it was really nice to listen to a different accent while speaking English" (AL07) and "I enjoyed listen the brazilian accent when my foreign partner talk english" (FL76). Another was cultural learning, as mentioned by BL10 who said he had been able to "learn new things about the education in France." Interestingly, only students from Bulgaria mention learning as a reason for enjoying communicating. Finally, one student simply answered "Yes."

Among the students who said they enjoyed communicating but not fully, BL01 mentioned that nobody in her group "seemed to be very dedicated to it," BL04 said that she enjoyed it "from time to time," but did not like the fact that her "partner didn't check their emails frequently."

For FL77, stress and shyness were a disadvantage, while FL82 regretted not having more time given the workload. FL86 answered “Yes, but lack of time.”

11.1.2 Do you think you will stay in contact with your foreign partner after the project is finished? Why?

Students were then asked if they believed they would stay in contact with their partner(s) after the project. This question is not intended to reveal a necessary and sufficient criterion for intercultural competence. Rather, it aims to establish to what extent the project allowed students to seek out further contact with their intercultural partners, and whether their communication was communication in the consumer-tourist sense, i.e. confined to the work at hand, or in the rich sense of building social relationships.

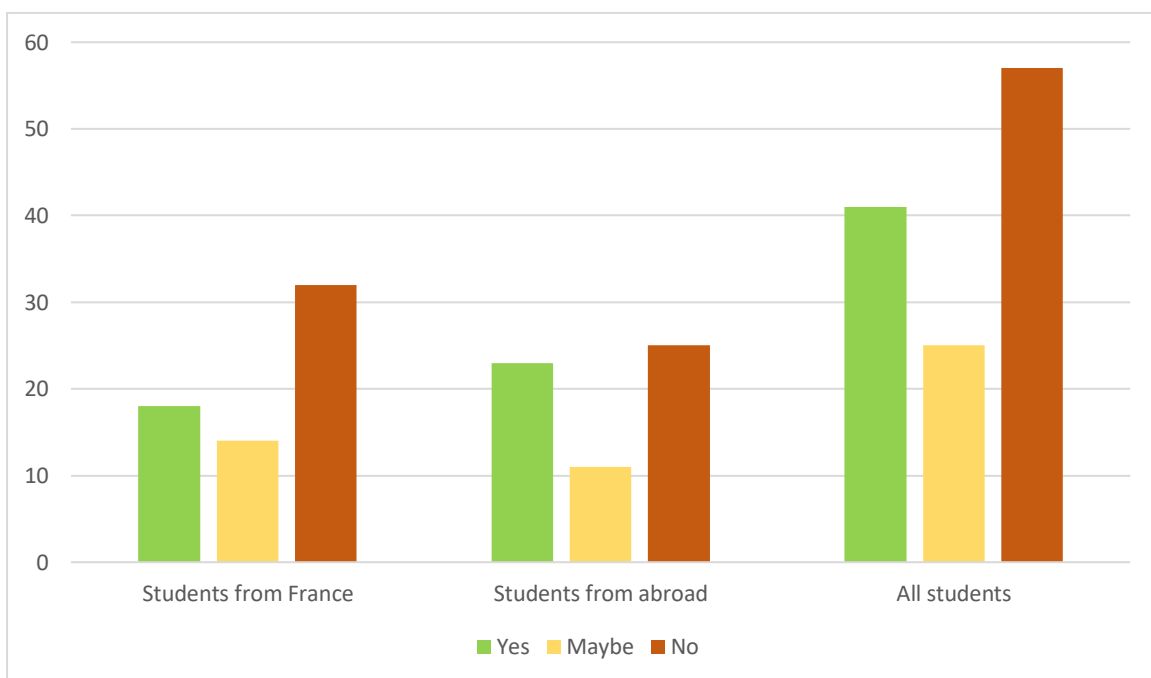
As discussed, group dynamics, student-teacher relations, or individual personalities or expectations may also be at play here. Indeed, students may have to manage their own expectations if, for example, they had hoped to make friends while their partners only wished to complete their project. Asking not only if, but also why students thought they would remain in contact or not, aims to yield insights into the different factors at play, as well as possible frustrations. These will then be discussed further in Part 4.

11.1.2.1 Overall

Overall 57 students said they did not expect to remain in contact, while 41 say they did. Twenty-five said they may. No statistically significant difference was found when comparing country to country, based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 57). $\chi^2 (2, N = 123) = 1.62, P > .01$. It is interesting to note, however, that while among students from abroad, those who expect to stay in contact with their partners are just slightly less numerous than those who don't (23 compared to 25), among students from France, the gap is much wider (18 compared to 32).

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Yes	18	23	41
Maybe	14	11	25
No	32	25	57
Total number of students	64	59	123

Table 57 Students' expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

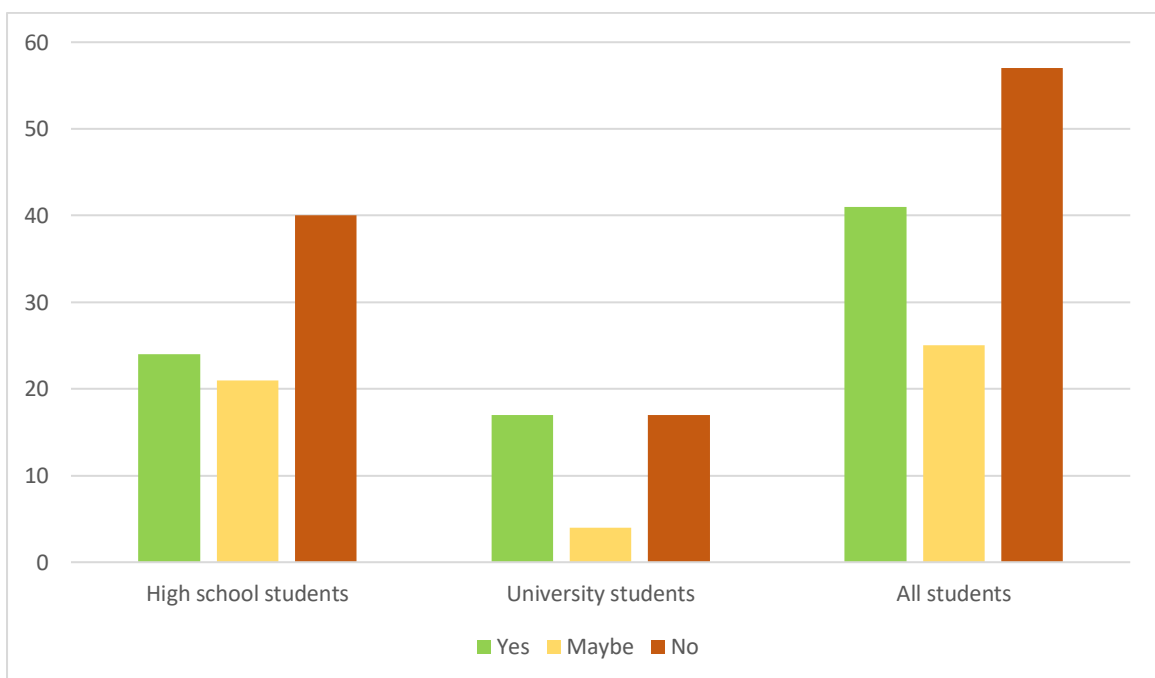


Graph 22 Students' expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Similarly, though only statistically significant when using $P < .1$, based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 58), university students appear slightly more inclined to remain in contact than do high school students. $\chi^2 (2, N = 123) = 4.77, P < .1$.

	Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Yes	24	17	41
Maybe	21	4	25
No	40	17	57
Total number of students	85	38	123

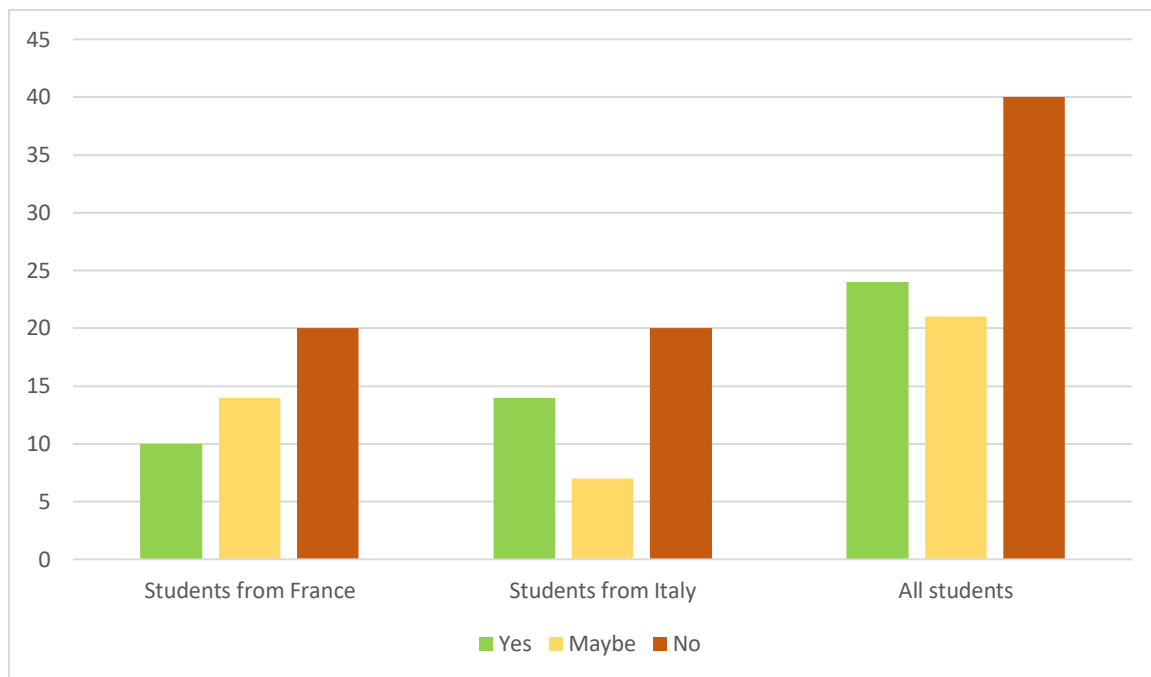
Table 58 High school and university students' expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined



Graph 23 High school and university students' expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.1.2.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Of the 85 high school students who responded to the questionnaire, 24 (28%) said they would keep in contact with their partners, 21 (25%) said they did not know, and 40 (47%) said they would not keep in contact.



Graph 24 High school students' expected future contact for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Interestingly, a total of 43 students who had said they enjoyed communicating with their partners did not think they would keep in touch or said they did not know. The reasons given for this included not having the same interests or the same personality, a lack of familiarity with each other, or communication problems. For example, FL36 said they “do not necessarily have the same interests, it was really nice to talk to each other during this project but [she is] not sure that [they] will stay in contact.” FL37 said they “have not really matching personalities.” FL54 said that they didn’t “know each other very well so it's difficult to speak with them without the project.” FL53 said “the language barrier was very complicated.” FL69 mentioned that she “wouldn't always think about sending him a message or vice versa.” Other students like IL04 said that they “didn’t think so but [they] hoped so.”

Those who did wish to stay in touch mentioned their partners’ personalities, like FL42 who said “they are very nice” or FL43 who said “they are very cool.” FL29 mentioned having “exchanged [their] social networks and kept the group.” IL27 said they had “developed a very good friendship,” as did FL68, saying “for sure we stay in contact, we are like friends now.” FL42 also mentioned concern over the Covid-19 pandemic and wanted to stay in contact to “know how covid is evolving in their country.”

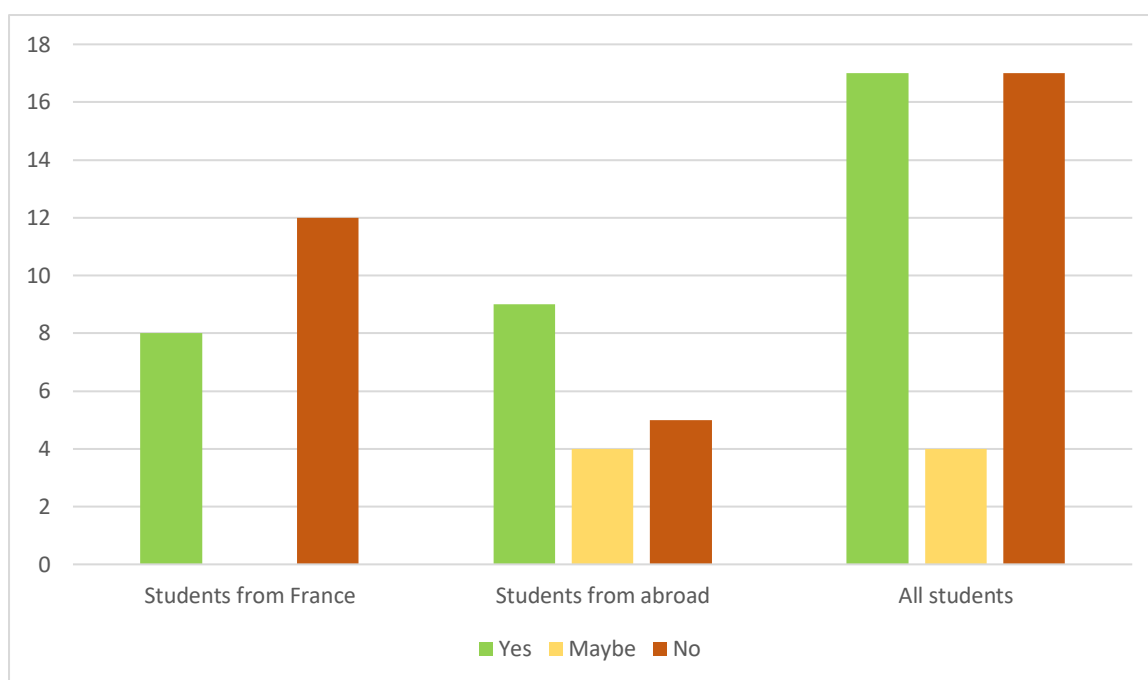
As has been shown in the theoretical background, understanding communication in the rich sense of wanting to create and maintain social relationships is a central element of the

intercultural approach. As such, students wanting to keep in contact can be a marker of intercultural competence, as it shows that those students were not merely communicating with their partners in order to complete their projects, but wish to be involved in their lives. Those who mentioned their partners personalities as reasons to keep in touch show that they see their partners as individuals with whom they share a connection, not simply as collaborators on a school project. Similarly, those who said they had become “like friends” show that they have created social relationships, anchored their schoolwork in a social context which goes beyond school, and taken up a position as intercultural speakers, not simply as learners engaged on a task of linguistic improvement. FL42 who mentioned wanting to monitor the evolution of the Covid-19 pandemic in Italy as a reason to keep in contact has shown that he has taken an interest in his partners’ lives and shows concern for their wellbeing beyond the boundaries of the classroom.

This is not to say that those who do not wish to keep in touch are not interculturally competent. On the contrary, being interculturally competent does not mean wishing to be friends with everyone, just because they happen to be from another country or speak another language. Individual personalities and interests may not match in this kind of project, which is enough to justify not attempting to build friendships, and this may indeed show a level of maturity. However, those who did want to keep in touch with their partners have shown through their comments that they wish to do so for reasons which are central to an intercultural approach.

11.1.2.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Of the 38 university students who responded to the questionnaire, 17 said they expected to remain in contact with their partners, four said they may, and 17 said they would not.



Graph 25 University students' expected future contact for Projects 4 & 5 combined

As was the case for high school students, many students did not believe they would remain in contact with their partners despite having enjoyed, at least partially, communicating with them. The reasons given were linked to personalities, as was the case for BL01 who said that despite the fact that communicating “was nice,” they “did not bond,” and thus did not expect to keep in contact, or FL84 who wrote that “even though [they] got along well, [they] don't have much in common.” FL78 said that she did not have time, AL02 didn't “know enough [her] partner”, while FL75 said that she did not “see the point.”

Thus, while personalities may lead to enjoyment, they do not necessarily lead to bonding, which may be especially important when one feels one does not have the time. Not seeing the point is an interesting reason, as it shows that communication was enjoyable given the academic context and project at hand, but outside of that project, FL75 did not see why she would keep in touch. To this extent, while the reasons for enjoying communication were varied, staying in contact seems to require bonding or having something in common on a personal level. This seems to be the case for FL81 who had said she had “the feeling to discover a new friend,” and mentioned she may stay in contact as she “still wish[es] a good birthday to [her] Bulgarian partner.”³⁵

³⁵ [Since the previous year] How students who were involved in both Projects 4 & 5 developed between the two will be discussed in a later chapter.

Similarly, FL87 who had enjoyed “getting to know another person,” said that though the project was now finished they “still stay[ed] in touch” because “she is a beautiful person.”

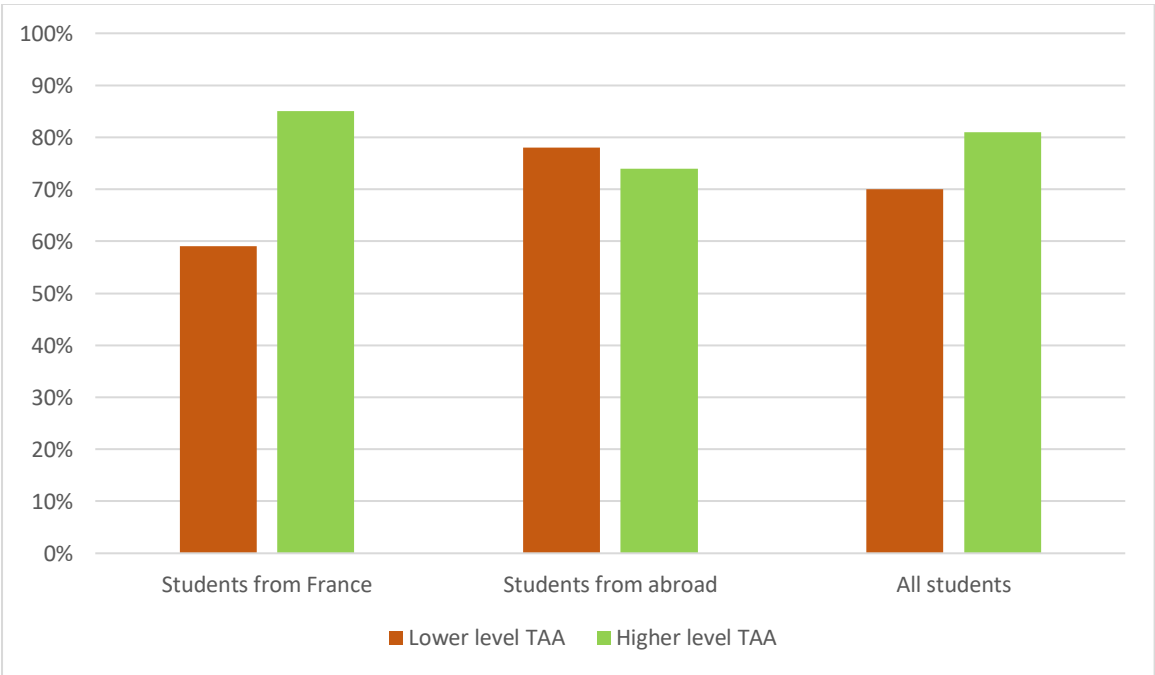
11.2 How these markers interact with goals and strategies

11.2.1 TAA and enjoyment

11.2.1.1 Overall

As was done in previous sections, task analysis autonomy levels will be grouped into a lower level including levels 1, 2, 3 and 4, and a higher level, including levels 5, 6, 7 and 8. Tables containing detailed numbers for each level can be found in Appendices 18 & 19.

Both at high school level and university level, the overall analysis shows that students from France enjoy communicating more if they have a higher level of TAA (85% against 59%) whereas students from abroad show similar levels of enjoyment, and indeed enjoy communicating slightly more when they have a lower level of TAA (78% against 74%).



Graph 26 Students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Overall, this was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 59). $\chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 1.91, P > .01$.

	Enjoyed communicating	Did not enjoy or only partly enjoyed communicating	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	38	16	54
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	52	12	64
Total	90	28	118

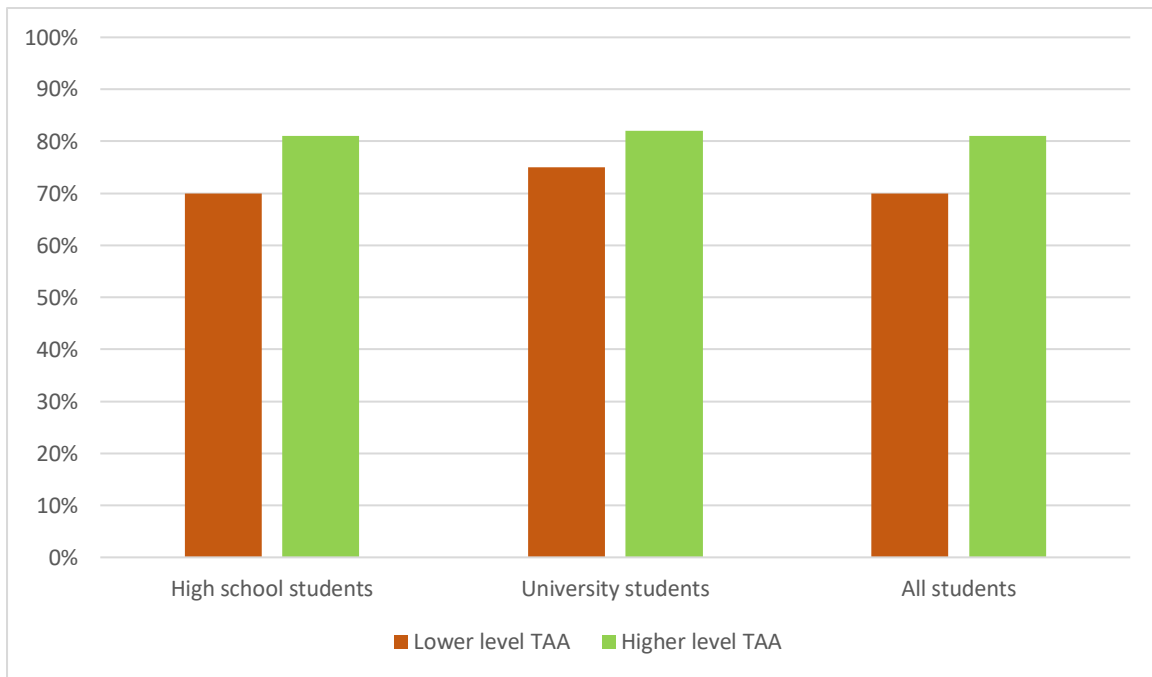
Table 59 Students' communication enjoyment, by level of TAA for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

However, when taking only French students into consideration, χ^2 results are interesting, despite the very small sample size. Results are not significant when using $P < .01$, but become significant when using $P < .02$. To this extent, this may reveal a tendency which could usefully be tested with a larger sample. $\chi^2 (1, N = 63) = 5.44, P < .02$.

	Enjoyed communicating	Did not enjoy or only partly enjoyed communicating	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	13	9	22
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	35	6	41
Total	48	15	63

Table 60 French students' communication enjoyment, by level of TAA for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

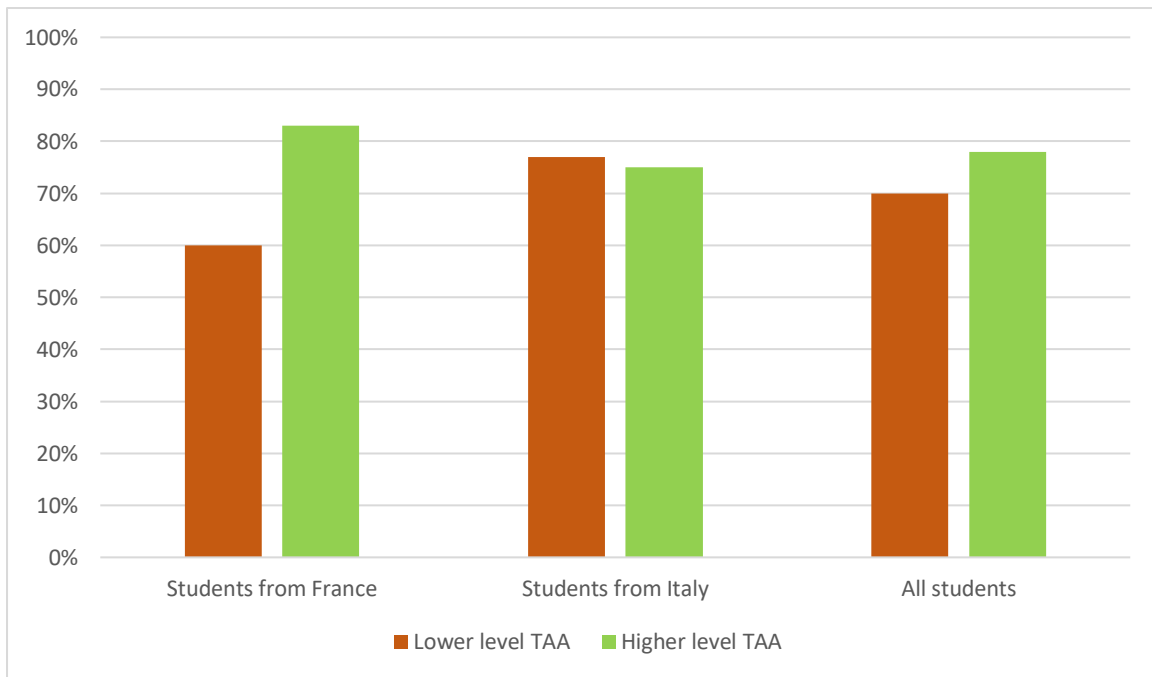
There does not appear to be any difference, however, between high school students and university students, with both showing higher levels of enjoyment when TAA levels were also higher.



Graph 27 High school and university students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.2.1.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

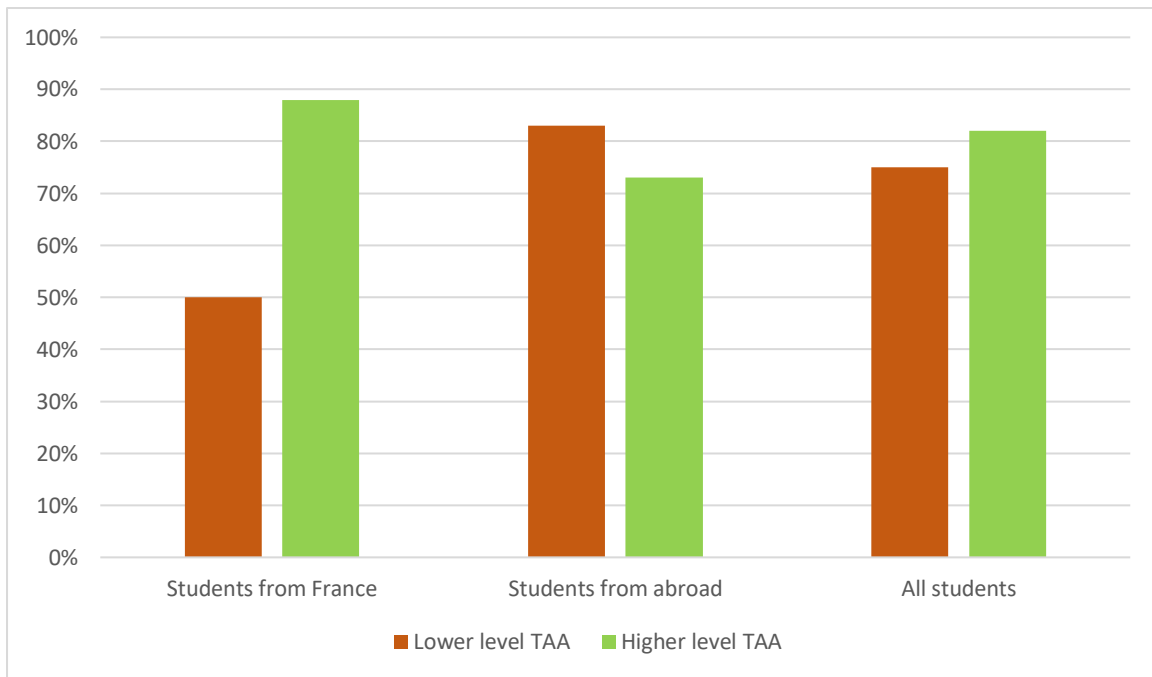
Among high school students, those with a higher TAA enjoyed communicating more than those with a lower TAA (78% against 70%). However, this is due exclusively to French students, 83% of those with a higher level of TAA having enjoyed communicating against 60% of those with a lower level. On the contrary, students from Italy show similar levels of enjoyment whatever their level of TAA (77% for the lower level, 75% for the higher level).



Graph 28 High school students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

11.2.1.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Among university students, results are similar to those found among high school students. Students with a higher level of TAA tend to enjoy communicating more than those with a lower level (82% against 75%), but this is entirely due to French students who expressed rates of enjoyment of 50% for the lower level of TAA and 88% for the higher level, whereas students from abroad enjoyed communicating more when they had a lower level of TAA (83% against 73% for the higher level).

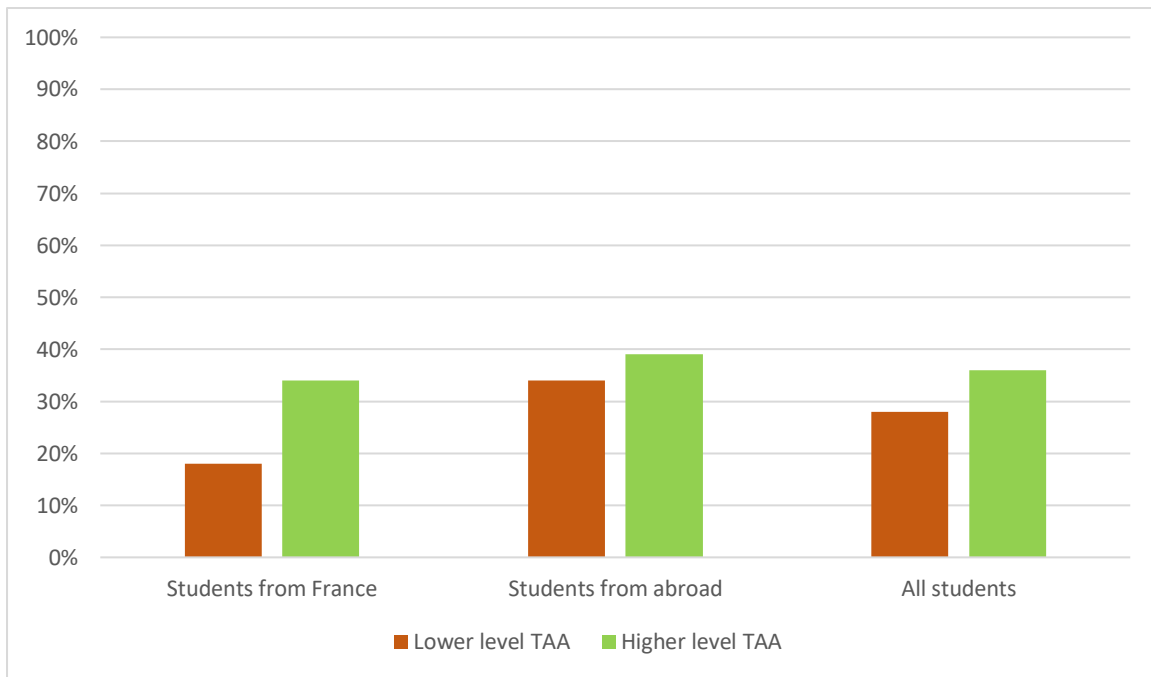


Graph 29 University students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

11.2.2 TAA and future contact

11.2.2.1 Overall

Overall, when combining the results from all four projects, students with a higher level of TAA were more likely to expect to remain in contact (38% compared to 28%). This was particularly true for students from France (34% compared to 18%) but also to a lesser degree for students from abroad (43% compared to 34%).



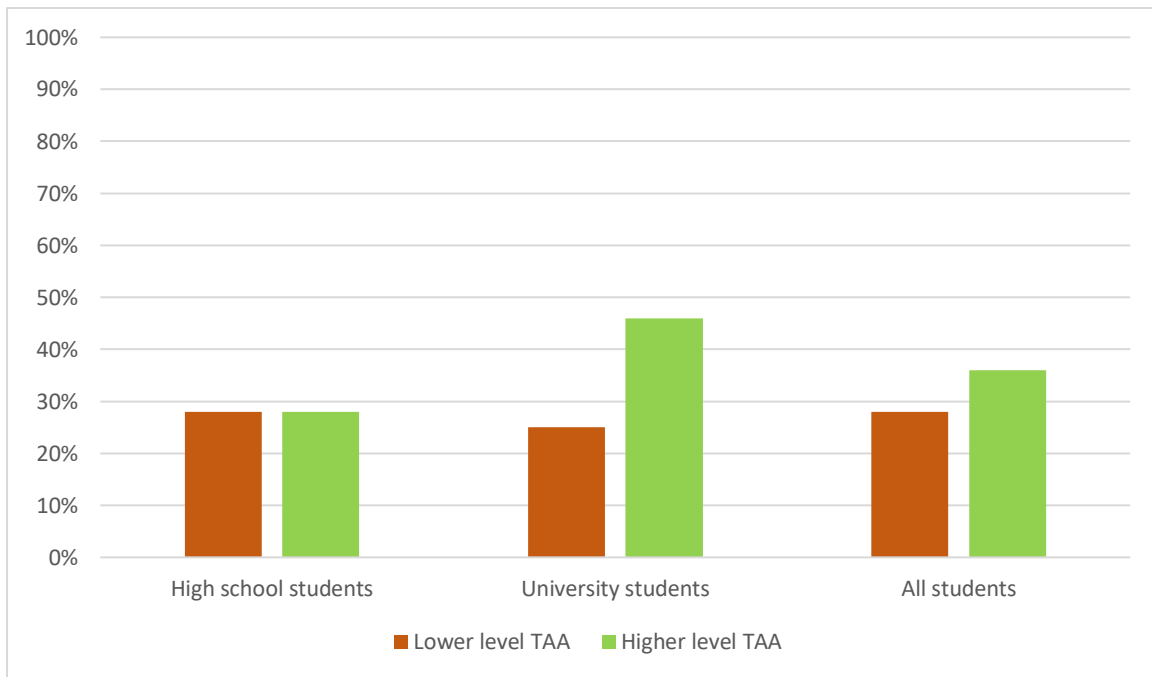
Graph 30 Students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

This difference was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 61). $\chi^2 (1, N = 118) = 1.25, P > .01$.

	Expected to remain in contact	Did not expect to remain in contact	Total
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	15	39	54
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	24	40	64
Total	39	79	118

Table 61 French students' expected future contact, by level of TAA for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

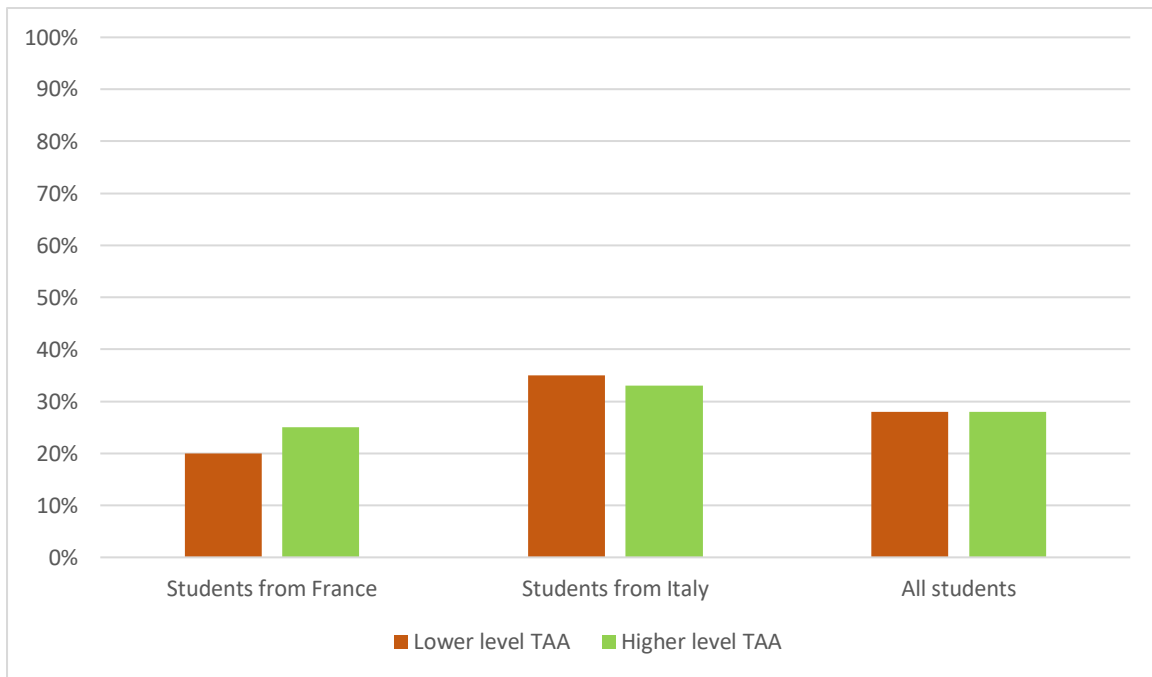
Indeed, this difference is due to university students exclusively, as in high school 28% of students expect to stay in contact both among those with a higher level of TAA and those with a lower level. University students, on the other hand, are almost twice as likely to expect to stay in contact if they have a higher level of TAA.



Graph 31 High school and university students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.2.2.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

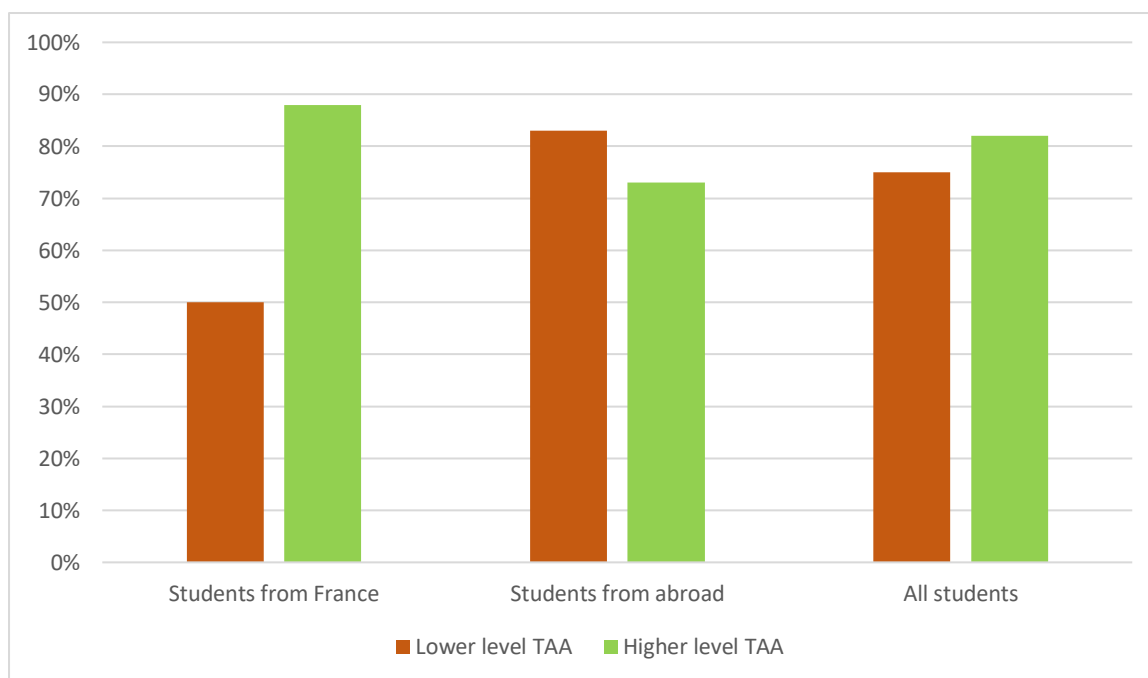
Among high school students, levels of TAA appear to make little difference to students' expecting future contact, as 28% expected to remain in touch at both levels of TAA. This was slightly higher among students from Italy, among whom those with a lower TAA were slightly more likely to expect to remain in contact (35% against 33%). Students from France, on the contrary, were less likely to say they expected to remain in contact if they had a lower level of TAA (20% against 25%).



Graph 32 High school students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

11.2.2.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Only 25% of university students with a lower level of TAA expect to remain in contact, against 50% of students with a higher level of TAA. Students from France as well as students from abroad were more likely to expect to remain in contact if they had a higher level of TAA.



Graph 33 University students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

11.2.3 Post-task goals and enjoyment: results

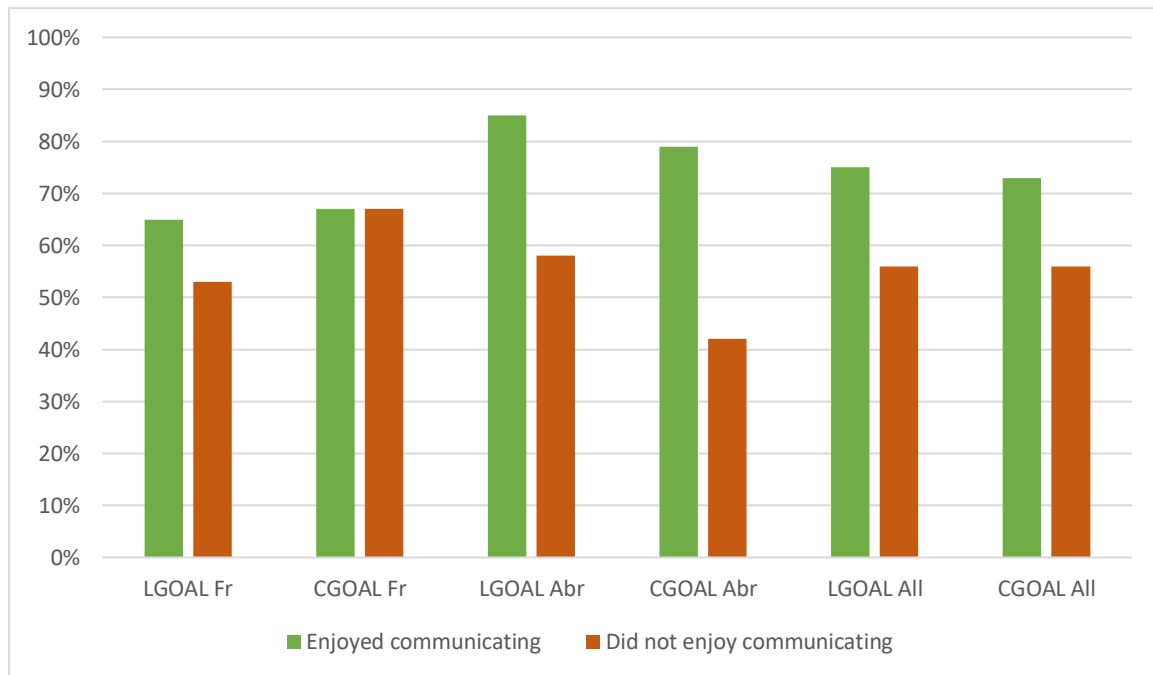
11.2.3.1 Overall

When combining all four projects, students who enjoyed communicating reported they had reached their goals more frequently than students who did not. This result was found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the table below, which combines language goals and cultural goals for students from all countries and levels of study (Table 62). $\chi^2 (1, N = 246) = 6.78, P < .01$.

	Students who reached their goals	Students who did not reach their goals	Total
Students who enjoyed communicating	142	50	192
Students who did not enjoy communicating	30	24	54
Total	172	74	246

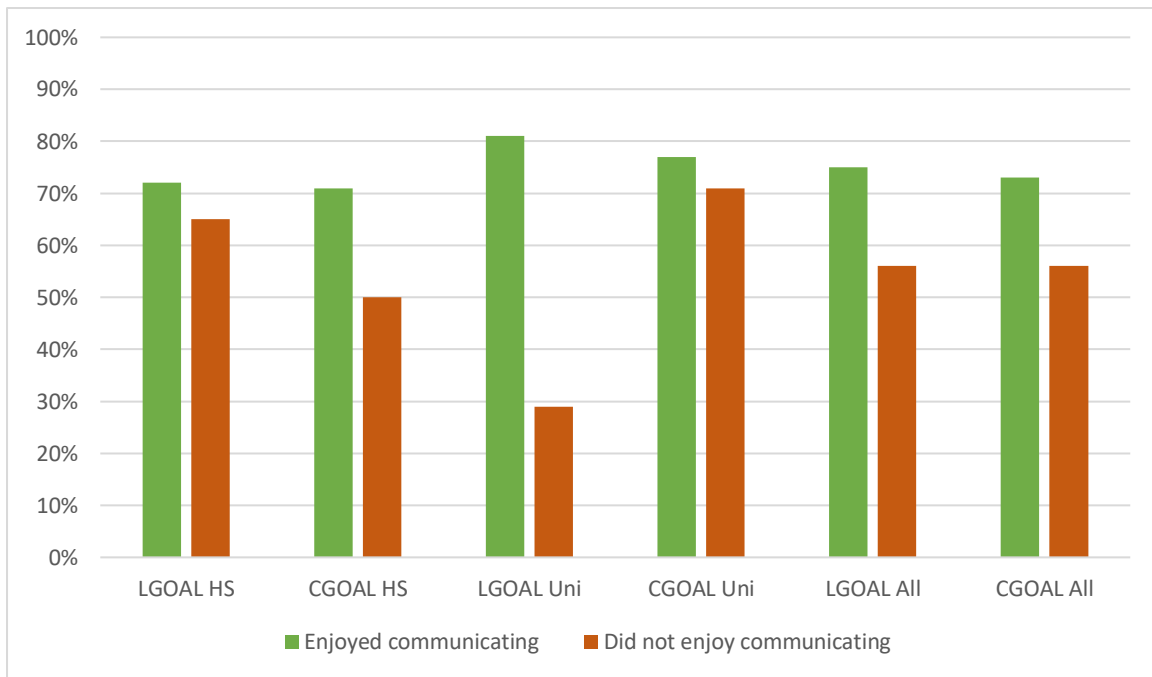
Table 62 Students having reached their goals by communication enjoyment for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5, LGOALS and CGOALS combined

75% reported they had reached their language goals, 73% their cultural goals, against 56% for both goal types for those who did not enjoy communicating. Interestingly, this difference is higher among students from abroad than among students from France, for whom the numbers are close, or even identical in the case of cultural goals.



Graph 34 Students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

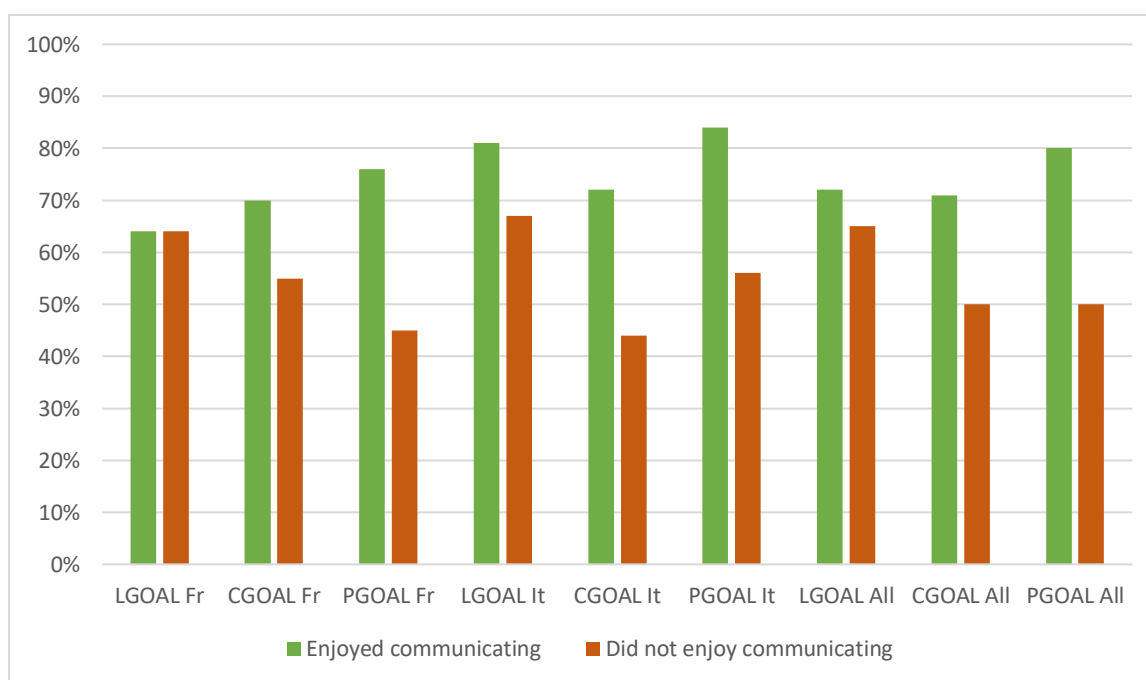
There does not appear to be any clear difference between high school students and university students, with both showing the same trend when the sample is large enough.



Graph 35 High school and university students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.2.3.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

When combining the results from both projects, while it was not clear for *Let's Talk!*, the overall results show students who enjoyed communicating reporting they reached their goals at a higher rate than those who did not communicating, with 72%, 71%, and 80% for language goals, cultural goals, and personal development goals respectively, against 65%, 50%, and 50% for students who did not enjoy communicating.



Graph 36 High school students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Some students enjoyed communicating for reasons directly linked to feelings of success. For example, IL18 felt she had reached her goals of “discover[ing] new habits and customs of the country of [her] foreign partner” and enjoyed communication “because [they] discovered something new about each other.” IL29 reached her goal to learn “a lot about French culture” and enjoyed communicating as she “increased what was [her] limited knowledge about France.”

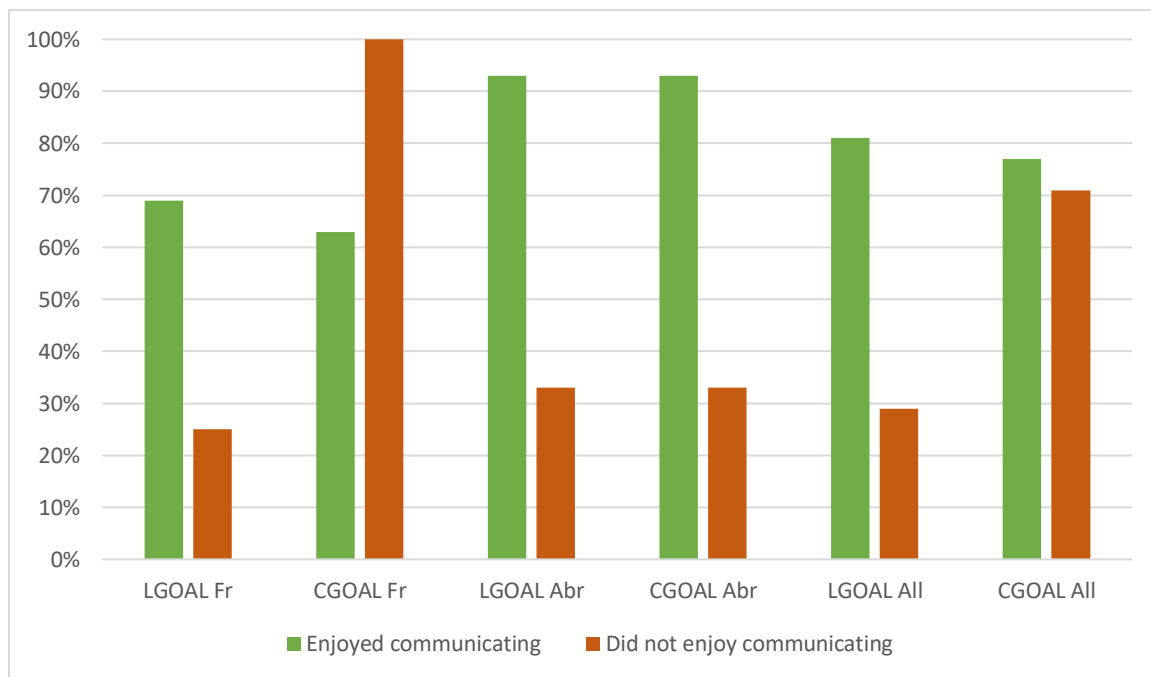
However, many students appear to have enjoyed communicating with their partners for reasons other than the fact that this communication helped them to reach their goals. Several students mention that they did not reach their goals because they still struggle with the English language, but this did not mean that they did not enjoy communicating with their partners. For example, FL25 said that he did not reach his goals as he “had trouble understanding.” Nevertheless, he enjoyed communicating “because it’s nice to meet new people who don’t have the same way of thinking.” Similarly, FL38 who said he did not reach his goals “because English for [him] is very complicated” enjoyed communicating both as related to the task, and because they “had a lot of laughs.” FL62, who said she had not reached her cultural goal because their “project on the films was not about Italian or other culture,” said that she enjoyed talking to her partners “because it was fluid and interesting” and they “had a lot to say.”

Other reasons for not reaching their goals are also unrelated to enjoyment. For FL31, the reason given for not having reached her goal was that communication was insufficient in quantity, not that she did not enjoy the communication when it happened. IL06 gives distance learning as the reason why he did not reach his goals, but says that his partners "were so funny" and that he "enjoyed a lot."

Conversely, students who said they had reached their goals but not enjoyed the communication give similar reasons. Thus, IL02, while he feels that the project "helped [him] to improve his skills as the pronunciation," he did not enjoy communicating as he has "nothing in common" with his partners. Similarly, FL40 reached his goal as he "learned new words," but did not enjoy communicating as his partner "was strange."

11.2.3.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Among university students, the results do not always show students who enjoyed communicating reporting higher rates of success in reaching their goals. Nevertheless, they do so overall, especially for language goals for which 81% of students who enjoyed communicating reported success against only 29% of students who did not enjoy communicating. For cultural goals these two numbers are 77% and 71% respectively.



Graph 37 University students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 4 & 5 combined

For some students, there was an explicit relation between why they did not reach their goals and why they did not enjoy communicating. AL04, for her language goals had said she “expected more,” for her cultural goal had said “something missed in [their] communication,” and in terms of enjoyment said it “was a hard communication” and “could be better.” FL82 had said about language that she was “still not comfortable speaking,” and about enjoyment said she was “not very comfortable speaking.”

When asked whether she enjoyed communicating, BL01 said nobody in her group “seemed to be very dedicated.” It thus stands to reason that she should not have reached either of her goals, saying in relation to her language goals that she “would need to communicate with someone for a longer period of time” in order to reach it. Similarly, FL82 said that “the exchanges were often too short,” which she also mentioned when discussing her language goal, saying that she hadn’t “spoken enough with her.” Thus, in this case, a lack of dedication or time was problematic both for enjoyment and for their ability to reach their goals.

BL04 said she reached her goals by “overcoming [her] fear of speaking French” and growing to “love the French culture even more.” However, she did not enjoy communicating fully as she “didn’t like the fact that we always had to do everything last minute.” Thus, given the reason why she only partly enjoyed her communication, and the reasons why she feels she has reached

her goals, it is not surprising that there be no relation between the two factors. Similarly, FL77's satisfaction with having learnt "how to use past and vocabulary" and her ability to "discover her culture, Bulgaria and Kazakhstan" have little to do with her only partly enjoying communication because she was "stressed" and her "partner too because [she] thinks [she] is shy."

Conversely, there were students who said they did not reach or only partly reached at least one of their goals and yet said that they had enjoyed communicating with their partners. Here too, the reasons given for not reaching their goals bore little relation to the reasons they enjoyed communicating. For example, FL76 "didn't learn a lot about Bulgaria" because her "partner was more interested in american and european culure," yet she enjoyed communicating as her partner "was very nice." Similarly, FL75 "really enjoyed speaking with" her partner because "she was outgoing and didn't hesitate to lead the conversation," but did not reach her language goals because they "decided to do something different."

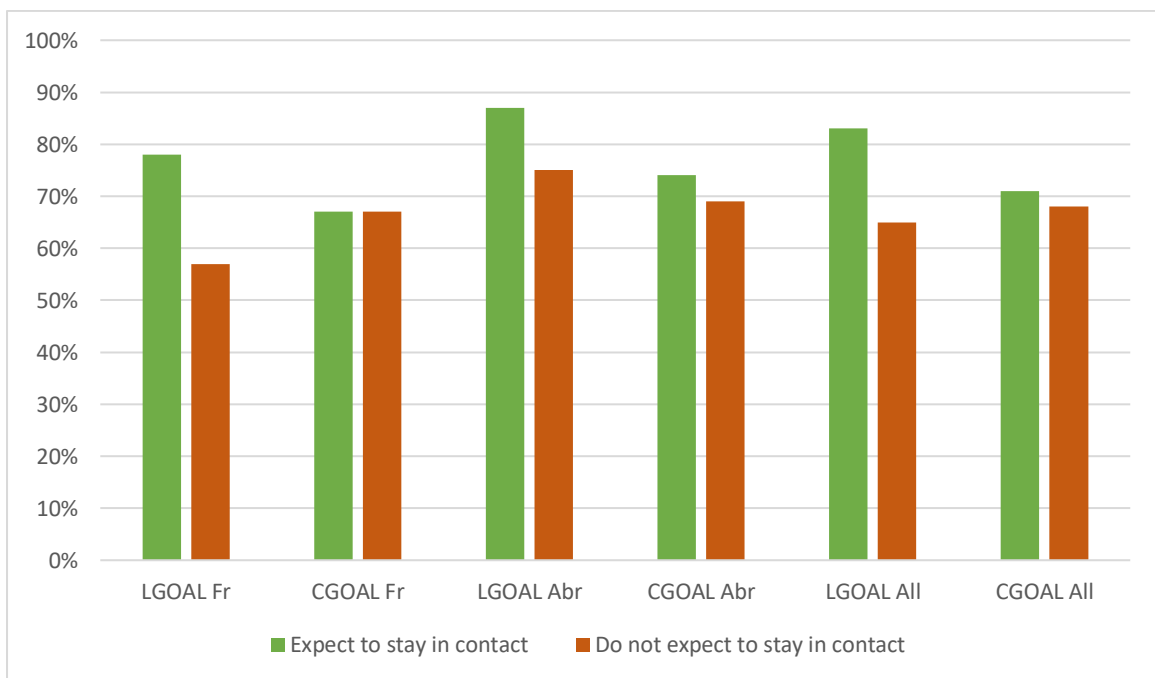
11.2.4 Post-task goals and future contact

11.2.4.1 Overall

When looking at the overall results, it appears that students who expect to remain in contact are more likely to have reported success in reaching their goals. Indeed, 83% reported they had reached their language goals and 71% their cultural goals, against 65% and 68% respectively among those who do not expect to remain in contact. Only for cultural goals among French students are the number equivalent, with 67% percent reporting success in reaching their goals both among those who expect to remain in contact and among those who do not. This result was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 63). However, it did become significant with $P < .1$, which may indicate a weak tendency to be tested with a larger sample. $\chi^2 (1, N = 246) = 2.79, P < .1$.

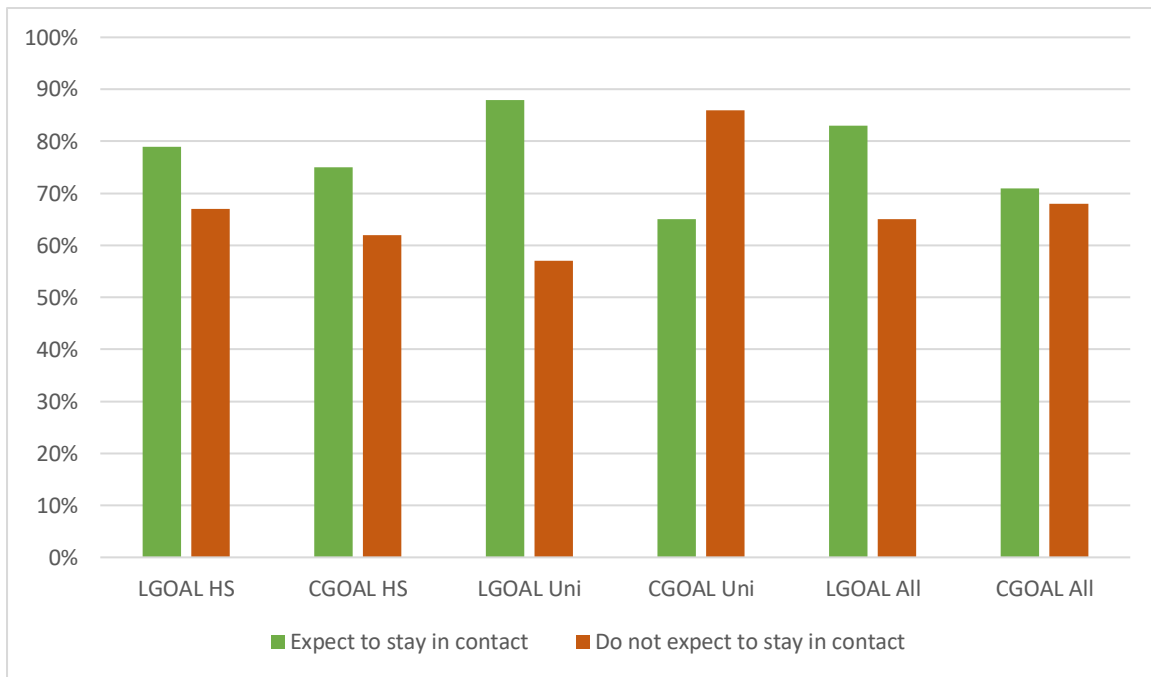
	Students who reached their goals	Students who did not reach their goals	Total
Students who expect future contact	63	19	82
Students who do not expect future contact	109	55	164
Total	172	74	246

Table 63 Students having reached their goals by expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5, LGOALS and CGOALS combined



Graph 38 Students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects, 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Indeed, when comparing high school students to university students, this overall trend hides the fact that university students who expect to remain in contact are only more likely to have reported success in reaching their language goals, not their cultural goals, whereas among high school students the trend hold across all goal types.



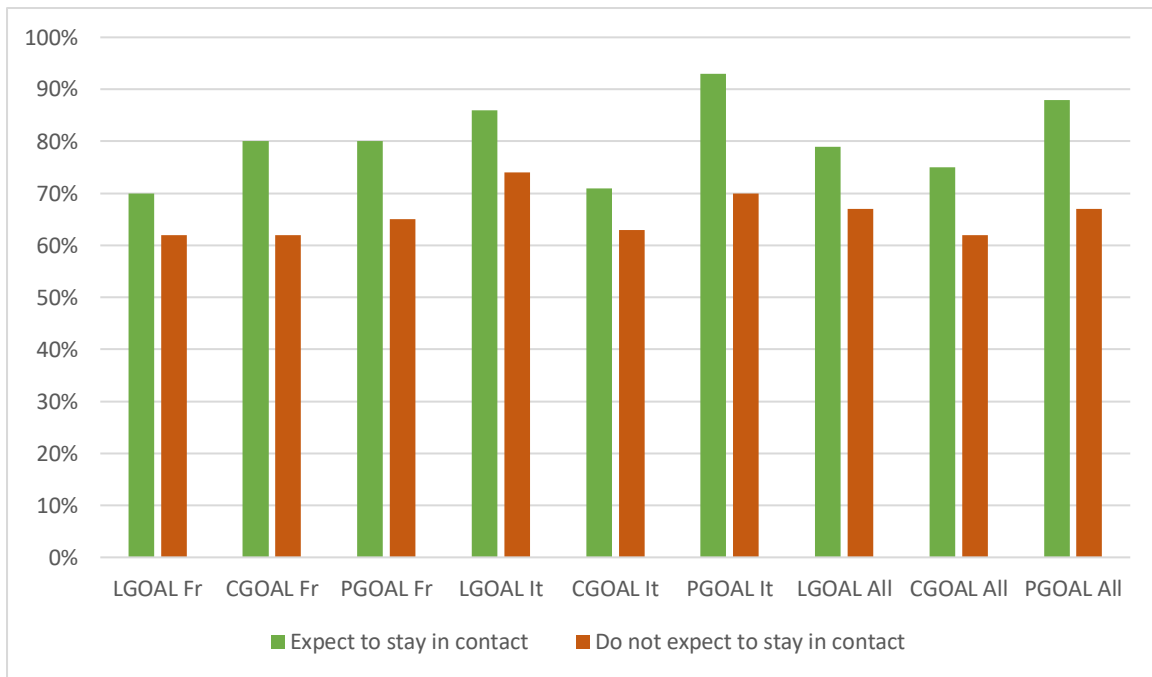
Graph 39 High school and university students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects, 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

11.2.4.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

As such, overall, for high school, students who expected to remain in contact with their partners after the project were more likely to have reported success in reaching their goals. This was true for students from both countries across all three goal types. Indeed, when running a χ^2 analysis on the following table which only concerns high school students, the probability needed to obtain statistical significance goes from $P < .1$ to $P < .03$. In other words, while for all students combined the result is 90% significant, for high school students it is 97% significant. $\chi^2(1, N = 122) = 5.27, P < .03$.

	Students who reached their goals	Students who did not reach their goals	Total
Students who expect future contact	37	11	48
Students who do not expect future contact	42	32	74
Total	79	43	122

Table 64 High school students having reached their goals by expected future contact for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5, LGOALS and CGOALS combined



Graph 40 High school students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

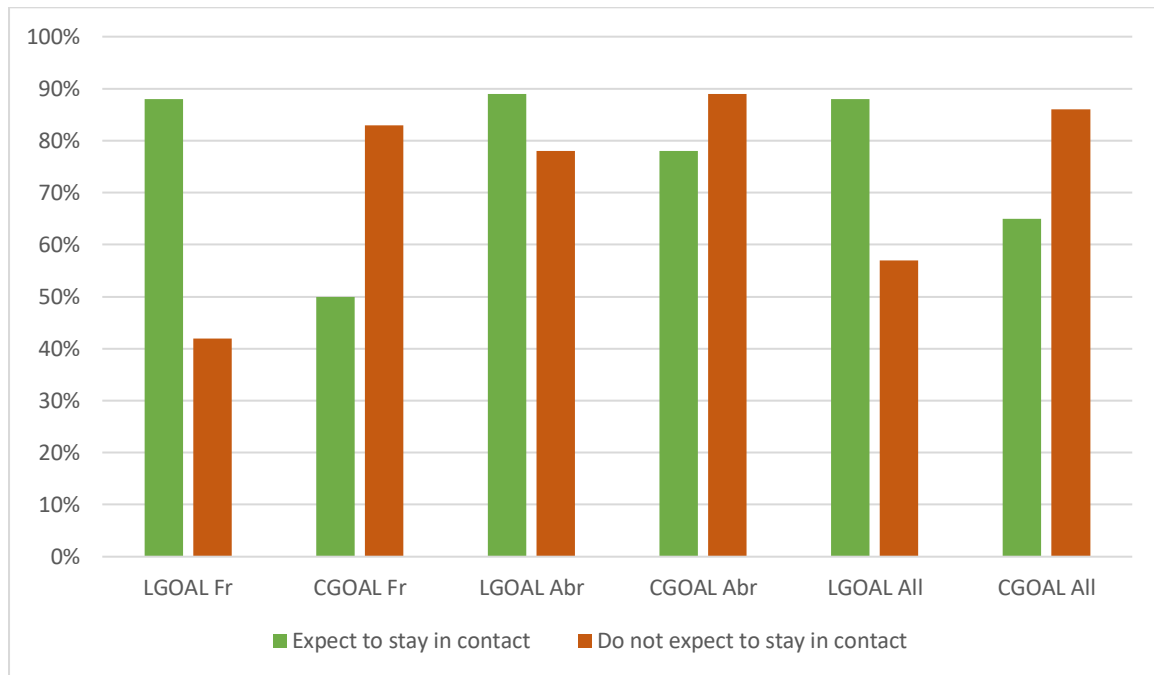
Reasons given for not reaching their goals were rarely linked to reasons for not wanting to stay in contact. However, some were, such as IL35 who believed he did not reach his language goals or cultural goals because he “worked most of the time with [his] italian mate” and learnt “nothing about France or [his] mates.” He concluded by saying that they will not stay in contact as “they’re not interesting people.”

Conversely, IL18 believed she had reached her goals because she “improved [her] way of speaking and writing” and “discovered new habits and customs of the country of [her] foreign partner.” She concludes by saying she will stay in contact as it is “really nice to talk with [her] foreign partner.”

However, most of the reasons for wanting to stay in contact, as previously seen, have little to do with having reached one’s goals, and generally involved matching personalities and forms of friendship. To this extent, if there is a link between goals reached and expected future contact, it is likely attributable to a set of common factors, such as ease of communication or the amount of time spent working together, which may explain both success in reaching their goals and a form of personal attachment.

11.2.4.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

At university, students who expected to remain in contact were more likely to report success in reaching their language goals, but students who did not expect to remain in contact more likely to report success in reaching their cultural goals, and this both among students from France and among students from abroad.



Graph 41 University students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects 4 & 5 combined

As was the case among high school students, there were occasional links between the reasons given for wanting to stay in touch and having reached their goals. For example, FL82 felt she had not reached her language goal as they had not “spoken enough”. It is thus not surprising to find that she does not expect to remain in contact as they “didn’t sympathize.”

Conversely, BL02 reached her goals because her “partners helped [her] expand [her] vocabulary and corrected errors in time and pronouns concordance.” She expects to remain in contact as she “will continue to learn French and sometimes seek and give help language wise.” However, as was the case among high school students, most reasons given for wanting to remain in contact involve students having got along well or having similar interests.

Chapter 12 How do these results interact with nominal intercultural capital?

12.1 Nominal intercultural capital: results overview

As discussed previously, intercultural capital is a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 244), i.e. a set of experiences and skills such as living abroad, communicating across cultures, speaking different languages, which may allow individuals to better engage in intercultural encounters (Pöllmann, 2009). This intercultural capital is termed “nominal” in the sense that it does not in itself constitute a form of competence, but rather, a reservoir of experiences which can be drawn upon to facilitate intercultural learning. It is thus nominal in the sense that it exists in name, but it not always realised, i.e. developed into intercultural competence.

Intercultural capital may be the source of inequality when developing intercultural competence through telecollaboration, in the sense that students with a lower intercultural capital may not approach these encounters in the same way, while those with higher nominal intercultural capital may still require help drawing upon this in intercultural situations.

The goal of what follows is therefore to assess students’ nominal intercultural capital and analyse it in relation to their goals and strategies in a telecollaborative context.

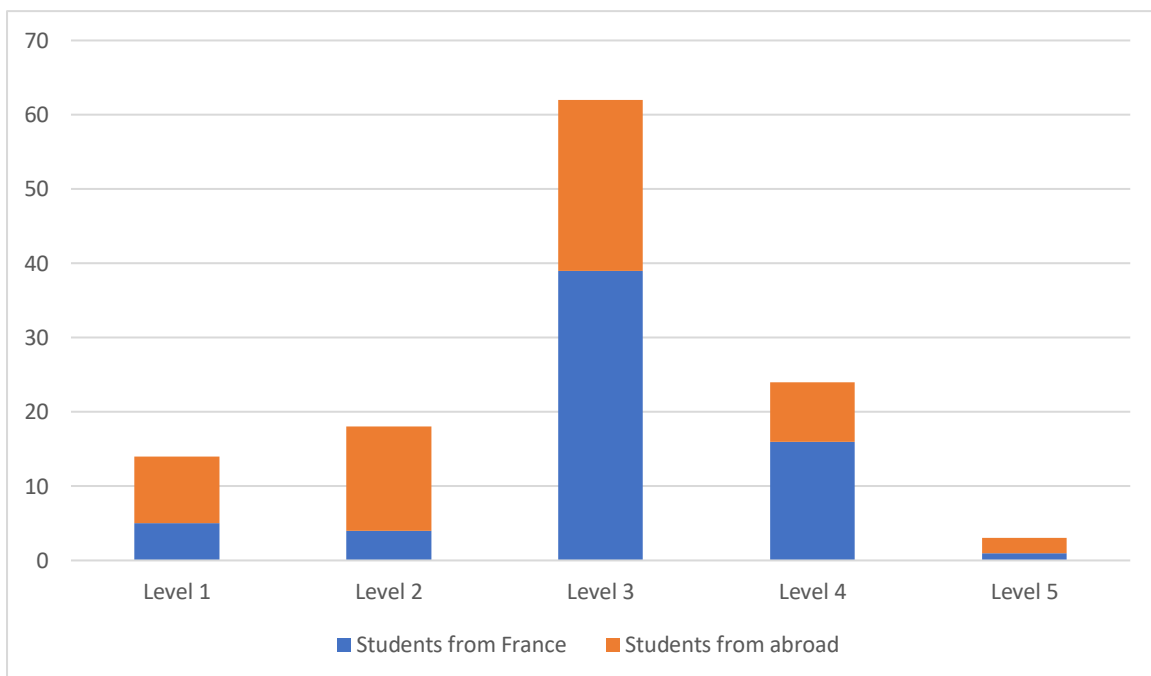
12.1.1 Overview

Overall, when combining the results from all four projects, students from France had a higher NIC than students from abroad, with an average of 3.1 compared to 2.6 for students from abroad. This difference can be attributed in part to the students from Italy having a higher number of students with an NIC2 as well as the students from Brazil having a high number of students with an NIC1. The Bulgarian students had a similar level of NIC (average 3.4) as the average for French university students (average 3.5).

There is overall a high concentration of NIC at level 3, with students who have been abroad several times and study languages at school. Indeed, this represents just over half of all students involved in these projects.

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	65	56	121
Level 1	5	9	14
Level 2	4	14	18
Level 3	39	23	62
Level 4	16	8	24
Level 5	1	2	3

Table 65 Students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad



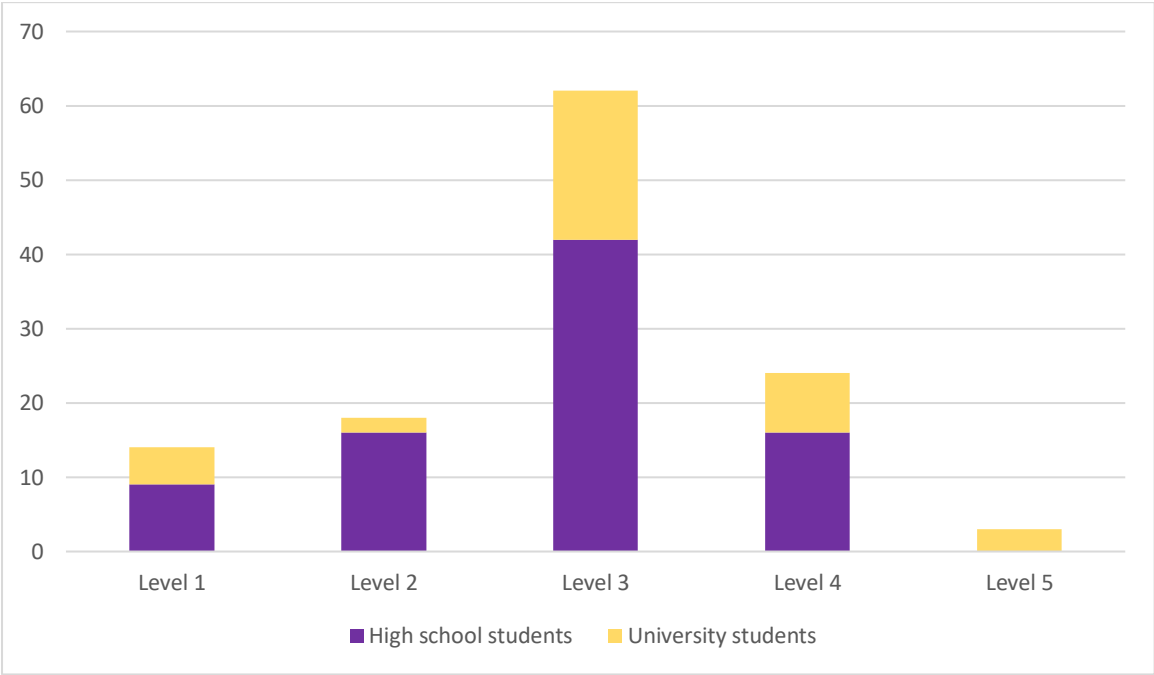
Graph 42 Students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Comparing high school students to university students, the former have a lower level of NIC (2.8 on average compared to 3.1), which can easily be understood given the increased opportunities in many countries for travelling or living abroad at university level. Indeed, the comparative number of university students having an NIC2 decreases whereas those having an NIC5 increases, indicating that at university level, fewer students have only been abroad once,

and more have lived abroad for six months or more. It may also be the case that students with a higher NIC are more likely to pursue higher education.

	Number of high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Total number of students	83	38	121
Level 1	9	5	14
Level 2	16	2	18
Level 3	42	20	62
Level 4	16	8	24
Level 5	0	3	3

Table 66 High school and university students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

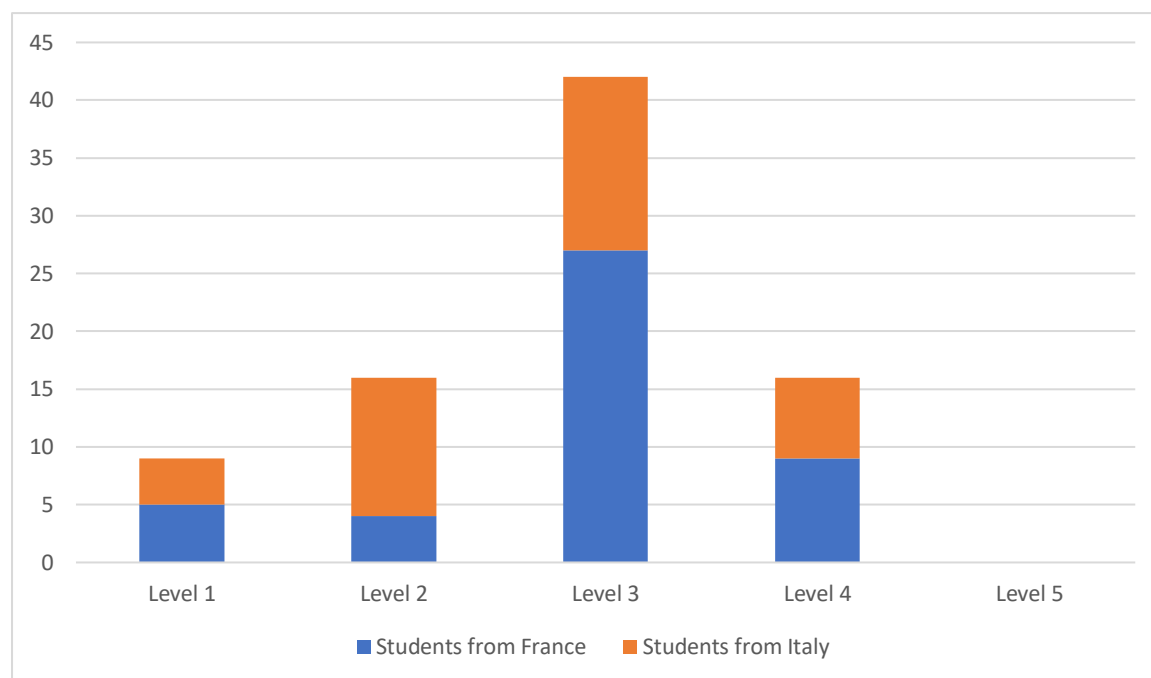


Graph 43 High school and university students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

12.1.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Among high school students, of 83 complete responses, nine students (11%) had an NIC1, 16 (19%) had an NIC2, 42 (51%) had an NIC3 and 16 (19%) had an NIC4. Thus, just over half of

the students have travelled abroad several times but do not speak another language other than at school and have never lived abroad, and just under a third has either never left their country of origin or done so only once. Just under a fifth of students either speaks a different language at home than at school or has lived abroad.



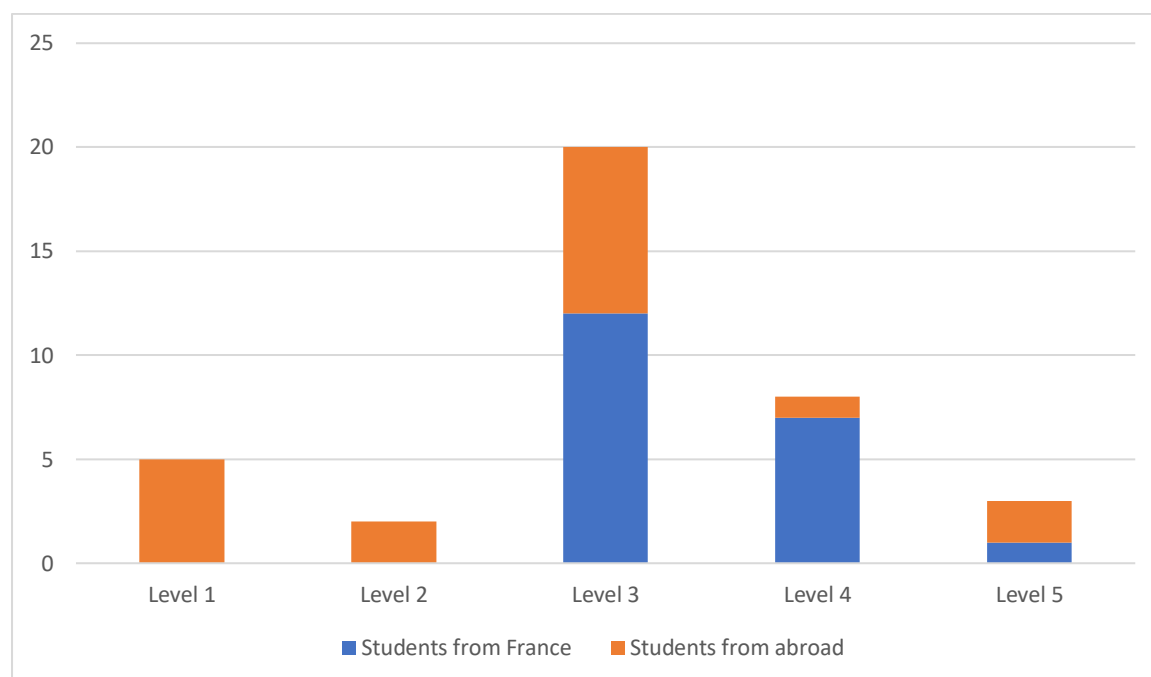
Graph 44 High school students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

When comparing country to country, while there were similar numbers of French and Italian students who had an NIC1 (9% and 13% respectively) or an NIC4 (20% and 18% respectively), French students were more likely to have an NIC3 than Italian students (61% and 38% respectively) and thus less likely to have an NIC2 (9% and 31% respectively.)

12.1.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, of the 38 university students who completed this part of the questionnaire, over half had an NIC3 (20 students), just under a fifth had an NIC4 (8 students), with French and Bulgarian students having higher NIC levels than Brazilian students. This is mostly explained by the low levels of nominal intercultural capital among the students from Brazil, of whom one had participated in a Teletandem program, giving him/her an NIC3, and one had been abroad

once, giving him/her an NIC2. The others spoke Portuguese at home and had never travelled abroad. The average for students from France was of 3.5, while for students from abroad it was 2.6, with an overall average of 3.1.



Graph 45 University students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

12.2 Nominal intercultural capital and goal categories

12.2.1 Language goals

12.2.1.1 Overview

There did not appear to be any statistically significant link between students' language goals and their level of NIC, based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 68). $\chi^2 (2, N = 148) = 4.25, P > .01$.

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3	NIC4 & 5	Total
LGOALS 1 & 2	27	53	27	107
LGOALS 3-6	6	28	7	41
Total	33	81	34	148

Table 67 Students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

However, students with an NIC3 or higher appear to have a greater tendency to diverge from LGOALS 1 and 2, thus showing a greater propensity to view language learning in a broader context. The lack of statistical significance may be explained by the fact that, in both cases, more students choose LGOALS 1 and 2 than the other four combined. However, this is all the more true for students with an NIC 1 or 2 (82%) compared to those with an NIC3 or higher (70%).

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	3	8	17	9	1
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	7	9	36	16	1
LGOAL3: Communication	1	1	15	3	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	2	1	5	1	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	1	5	1	1
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	3	1	0

Table 68 Students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Furthermore, in some cases, students with a lower NIC were much briefer and more general in their responses, while some with a higher NIC appeared to have more language awareness, showing a greater level of goal specificity and self-reflectiveness, drawing on their experience and on a greater understanding of their own linguistic abilities.

12.2.1.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Among high school students, LGOALS 3, 4, 5 and 6 combined are mentioned a total of five times by students with an NIC1 or NIC2, and a total of 22 times by students with an NIC3 or NIC4. When adjusting for the fact that there are more students and thus more goals mentioned by those with an NIC3 and NIC4, it is found to be the case that LGOALS 3, 4, 5 and 6 represent 19% of the total number of mentions for NIC1 and NIC2 combined, against a total of 30% for NIC3 and NIC4 combined.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	3	8	15	7	0
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	4	7	21	9	0
LGOAL3: Communication	1	1	9	2	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	1	1	3	0	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	1	5	1	0
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	1	1	0

Table 69 High school students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

This result, however, was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the following table (Table 71). $\chi^2 (2, N = 101) = 2.58, P > .01$.

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3	NIC4 & 5	Total
LGOALS 1 & 2	22	36	16	74
LGOALS 3-6	5	18	4	27
Total	27	54	20	101

Table 70 High school students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Thus, while many students with an NIC3 and NIC4 set LGOALS 1 and 2, they also tended to diverge from simply wanting to improve their target language toward viewing language as a way to communicate (LGOAL3), a means to an end such as successful studies, work or travel (LGOAL4), to make references to a language or country other than English or English-speaking countries (LGOAL5), and to mention the content of what they wish to say in English, not just the fact that they want to speak English (LGOAL6).

Furthermore, while many students with an NIC1 and NIC2 described their language goals in some detail, some simply answered "Progress in English" (FL26) or even just "English" (FL40). Conversely, some students with a higher NIC are able to give more self-reflective answers, as was the case for FL55 who said "I'd like to loose my french accent. I'd like to learn to talk without my french accent and with an English accent". Some even draw on their experience, such as IL27 who said "I noticed that talking to strangers in a language that isn't my own makes me pretty anxious."

12.2.1.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For university students, overall, though the sample is small, students with an NIC3 or 4 show a higher propensity to choose LGOALS 3, 4, 5 and 6.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	0	0	2	2	1
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	3	2	15	7	1
LGOAL3: Communication	0	0	6	1	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	1	0	2	1	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	0	0	0	1
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	2	0	0

Table 71 University students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

When looking at the content, BL05 who has an NIC5 mentioned teaching her partner about the Kazakh language, its etymology and history. She noted that her partner had studied language sciences and believes this could lead to interesting conversations.

FL76 and FL79 both wanted to learn more vocabulary, however, the former, who has an NIC4 wanted to do so “to express [her] thoughts” and not as an end in itself, and FL79, while she remains in LGOAL2, had structured her goal saying she wished to learn vocabulary “by using words that [she] would not necessarily use in a conversation.” FL81, who has an NIC4, while also only giving an LGOAL2, is the only student to give specific tenses and sounds with which she struggles. FL75, who has an NIC4 was concerned with language registers, wanting to use a “formal style” and “write or speak in an elevated language.”

Thus, it seems that students with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital tend to have a higher degree of language awareness, be it through an interest in etymology and comparing languages, through an awareness of how and why they want to learn, or goals that are much more focused and targeted even than those who mention specific aspects of language such as grammar and vocabulary. As mentioned, this language awareness was similarly noticed for some high school students with a higher NIC, who were more self-reflective than the others.

To this extent, factors such as bilingualism or prolonged and immersive language learning which allow students to speak more than one language frequently, lead them to have a broader view of language learning and a greater awareness of the mechanisms involved in learning.

12.2.2 Cultural goals

12.2.2.1 Overview

When combining the results from all four projects, CGOAL3 represents 56% of goals among students with a lower NIC and 44% among those with a higher NIC. Conversely, 23% of students with a higher NIC set a CGOAL4 compared to 15% of those with a lower NIC. While it is more marginal, twice as many students with an NIC3 or higher set a CGOAL5 related to language (4% compared to 2% among those with a lower NIC).

Unlike language goals, cultural goals cannot easily be combined in order to test for statistical significance.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	3	2	11	5	3
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	2	2	8	4	1
CGOAL3: The Other	9	14	40	19	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	2	4	24	7	0
CGOAL5: Language	1	0	4	1	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	2	8	0	0

Table 72 Students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Interestingly, the idea of sharing cultures, that is of viewing intercultural telecollaboration as an exchange appears in equal proportions among those with higher and lower levels of intercultural capital.

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3+
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	12%	14%
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	10%	10%
CGOAL3: The Other	56%	44%
CGOAL4: Way of life	15%	23%
CGOAL5: Language	2%	4%
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	5%	6%

Table 73 Students' cultural goals by higher or lower nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

The mention of language as a cultural goal is of interest. This is not merely a case of confusing language goals and cultural goals. Indeed, this may be the case for FL28 who wanted to “discover new expressions”, though even this can be understood as colloquial expressions which are culturally anchored. But FL73 wanted to learn “things about Italian and their link with English language”, showing an understanding of language as culturally anchored and of language learning as a relationship between cultures.

The analysis of language goals had already shown that students with a higher NIC tended to view language beyond linguistic form, as language in use, anchored in communication or specific contexts (work, travel, etc.) These cultural goals tend to confirm this broader understanding of language as culturally anchored.

At university level, some students with a higher level of NIC were interested in countries other than their partner’s country of study, seemingly showing an understanding of the interconnectedness of languages and cultures, or at least, that speaking English does not preclude speaking about non-English speaking countries. The references to Kazakhstan by both BL05 and her partner reveal a willingness to draw on personal experiences to set cultural goals. Some students with a higher NIC also mention their professional life and their travels in connection to their cultural goal. As discussed above, the ability to draw on personal intercultural experience is by definition limited for those with a lower NIC. It is interesting both that some students with a higher NIC did draw on their experience, and that others with an equally high NIC did not.

12.2.2.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Among high school students, when looking at the results overall, there are three mentions of CGOAL5, all from students with an NIC3 or NIC4.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	3	2	4	3	0
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	1	2	3	3	0
CGOAL3: The Other	6	13	30	11	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	1	4	16	5	0
CGOAL5: Language	0	0	2	1	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	2	4	0	0

Table 74 High school students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Those with a higher NIC also choose CGOAL4 at a higher rate (26% against 15%), and CGOALS 1 and 3 at a slightly lower rate (9% against 15% and 50% against 56% respectively).

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3+
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	15%	9%
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	9%	7%
CGOAL3: The Other	56%	50%
CGOAL4: Way of life	15%	26%
CGOAL5: Language	0%	4%
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	6%	5%

Table 75 High school students' cultural goals by higher or lower nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

12.2.2.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

Overall, therefore, there are few numerical results which are of interest, given that there are only four students with an NIC 1 and 2.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	0	0	7	2	3
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	1	0	5	1	1
CGOAL3: The Other	3	1	10	8	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	1	0	8	2	0
CGOAL5: Language	1	0	2	0	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0	0	0

Table 76 University students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

However, several qualitative results are worth noting. The first is that the only student with an NIC2 did not give a cultural goal, saying that there was “nothing that concerned [her.]” While this is only a matter of one student, it may be wondered to what extent setting a cultural goal at all requires an intercultural background.

The second result, when looking more closely at the content, is that six students on Project 4 mentioned being interested in cultures from countries other than Bulgaria and France. Of these students, three had an NIC4 or NIC5. Thus, three of the 13 students who had an NIC3 mentioned cultures from countries other than Bulgaria and France, against three of the six students with an NIC4 or NIC5.

Furthermore, while several students mentioned wanting to learn about “different cultures” (BL06) or cultures “all over the world” (FL76), three mention specific countries, including FL81 who has an NIC4, BL05 who has an NIC5 and BL05’s partner who mentions Kazakh culture “because [her partner] comes from Kazakhstan.”

Thus, while the above goal categories do not capture any particular difference between students depending on their level of nominal intercultural capital, it does seem that those with a higher NIC are more turned towards cultures from countries other than that of their partners. This is interesting as it would show an understanding of the relatedness of languages and cultures, which can be a marker of intercultural competence.

A third result is that among those with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital, students are more likely to draw on personal experience when setting their cultural goals. Thus, while AL03, who has an NIC1 wrote that she “would like to learn about French cultural aspects and some curiosities,” FL75, who has an NIC4, wrote that she has “a good knowledge about european culture thanks to [her] year of erasmus [she] spent in Croatia but [she is] not familiar with culture from countries outside Europe.” FL76, who also has an NIC4, mentioned that she knows “brazilian culture because [she] travelled three times there and [is] married with a brazilian man.” FL81, who also has an NIC4, wrote that “in regard to [her] job, [she] would like to better understand the Brazilian education system.”

To this extent, it appears as though students with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital mention elements which are personal to them, related to travel or their professional life, and are able to create a link between this and their cultural goals for the project.

12.2.3 Personal development goals

12.2.3.1 Overview

Results for this section are limited to high school students, as personal development goals were added for their projects which were set up last in chronological order. To this extent, the only result appears to be that PGOALS related to language or discovering a country were more often chosen by students with a higher NIC, while most students who have an NIC1 chose goals related to social skills and relationships.

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
PGOAL1: Social skills	5	4	20	2	0
PGOAL2: Social relationships	2	7	11	4	0
PGOAL3: Discover a country	0	0	5	1	0
PGOAL4: Language	0	4	14	6	0
PGOAL5: Self-improvement	1	3	4	6	0
PGOAL6: Future goals	0	2	3	0	0

Table 77 High school students' personal development goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

PGOALS 1 & 2 could be grouped based on their focus on social interactions, PGOALS 4 & 5 could be grouped based on their focus on discovering the other (either their language or their country), and PGOALS 5 & 6 could be grouped based on their focus on the self.

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3	NIC4 & 5	Total
PGOALS 1 & 2	18	31	6	55
PGOALS 3 & 4	4	19	7	30
PGOALS 5 & 6	6	7	6	19
Total	28	57	19	104

Table 78 High school students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

While χ^2 analysis did not reveal statistical significance for $P < .01$, it did for $P < .1$, which may indicate a weak tendency to be tested on a larger sample. $\chi^2(4, N = 104) = 8.33, P < .1$.

	NIC1 & 2	NIC3	NIC4
PGOALS 1 & 2	64%	54%	32%
PGOALS 3 & 4	14%	33%	37%
PGOALS 5 & 6	21%	12%	32%

Table 79 High school students' personal development goals by higher or lower nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

In terms of content, many students with a lower NIC say they wish to become less shy. Thus, it appears that having been abroad, even just once, may allow students to feel more confident and less focused on their own shyness when interacting with others from a different cultural background than their own.

12.3 Nominal intercultural capital and task analysis autonomy

12.3.1 Overview

For this section, given the number of different levels of both NIC and TAA, these were grouped together as lower TAA (levels 1-4) and higher TAA (levels 5-8) as well as lower NIC (1-2) and higher NIC (3+).

Overall, students with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital appear to have a higher level of task analysis autonomy than those with a lower level of intercultural capital. Thus, 59% of students with a higher NIC also had a higher TAA, compared to 37% of those with a lower NIC. While this result was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the table below using $P < 0.01$, it was when using $P < 0.05$, which may indicate a tendency which could be worth testing on a larger sample. $\chi^2 (1, N = 116) = 4.58, P < .05$.

	NIC1&2	NIC3+	Total
TAA 1-4	19	35	54
TAA 5-8	11	51	62
Total	30	86	116

Table 80 Students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

While this trend held for students from France and students from abroad alike, it is nevertheless more noticeable among students from France.

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	5	63%	17	31%
TAA 5-8	3	38%	38	69%

Table 81 Nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined for students from France

While those with a lower NIC were similarly split between lower and higher TAA levels in France and abroad, with 38% and 36% respectively having a higher level of TAA, those with a higher level of NIC were much more likely to have a higher TAA in France than abroad (69% against 42%).

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	14	64%	18	58%
TAA 5-8	8	36%	13	42%

Table 82 Nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined for students from abroad

12.3.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

The above result was shown among high school students, among whom there is a tendency for students with a lower NIC to have a lower level of TAA than those with a higher NIC, with 67% of the former having a TAA1-4 compared to 53% of the latter.

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	16	67%	30	53%
TAA 5-8	8	33%	27	47%

Table 83 High school students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Projects 2 & 3 combined

12.3.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

The combined results for university students appear to show the same tendency, despite an even small sample size, especially among lower NICs. Students with a higher NIC are more likely to have a higher TAA. 83% of the students with an NIC 3 or higher have a task analysis autonomy level 5 to 8, compared to 50% of those with a lower level of NIC.

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	3	50%	5	17%
TAA 5-8	3	50%	24	83%

Table 84 University students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Projects 4 & 5 combined

12.4 Nominal intercultural capital and post-task goal reflection

12.4.1 Language goals

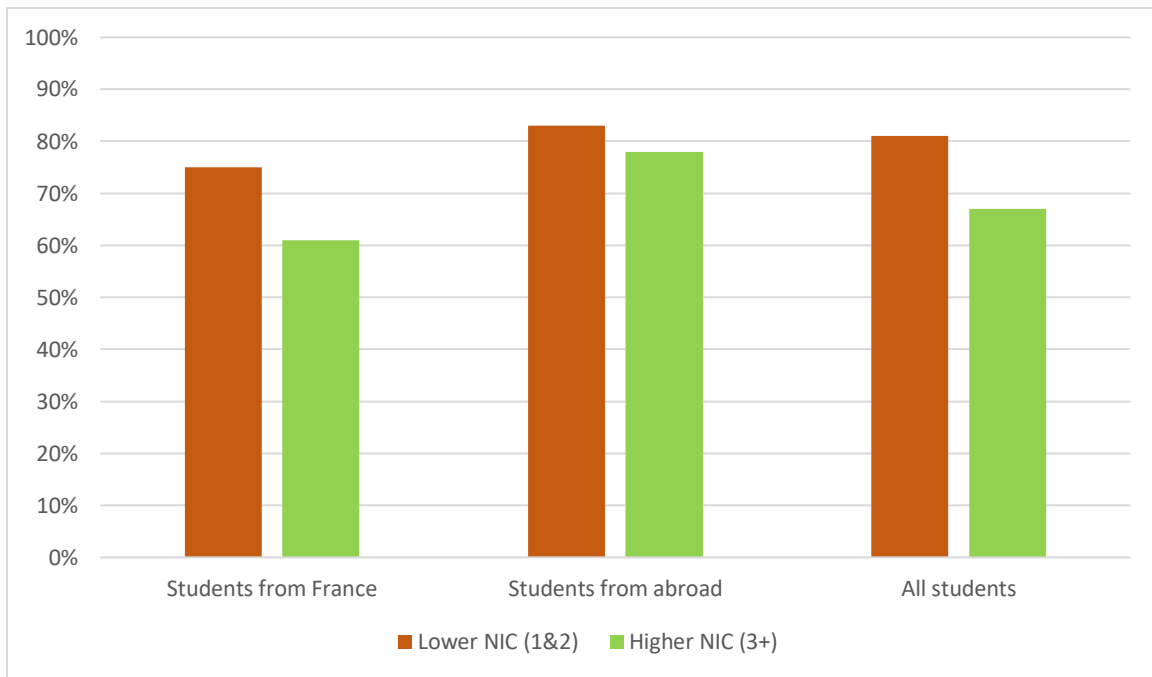
12.4.1.1 Overview

Overall, students with a lower level of NIC appear to reply more frequently that they have reached their goals than students with a higher NIC. However, this was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 88). $\chi^2 (1, N = 120) = 2.29, P > .01$.

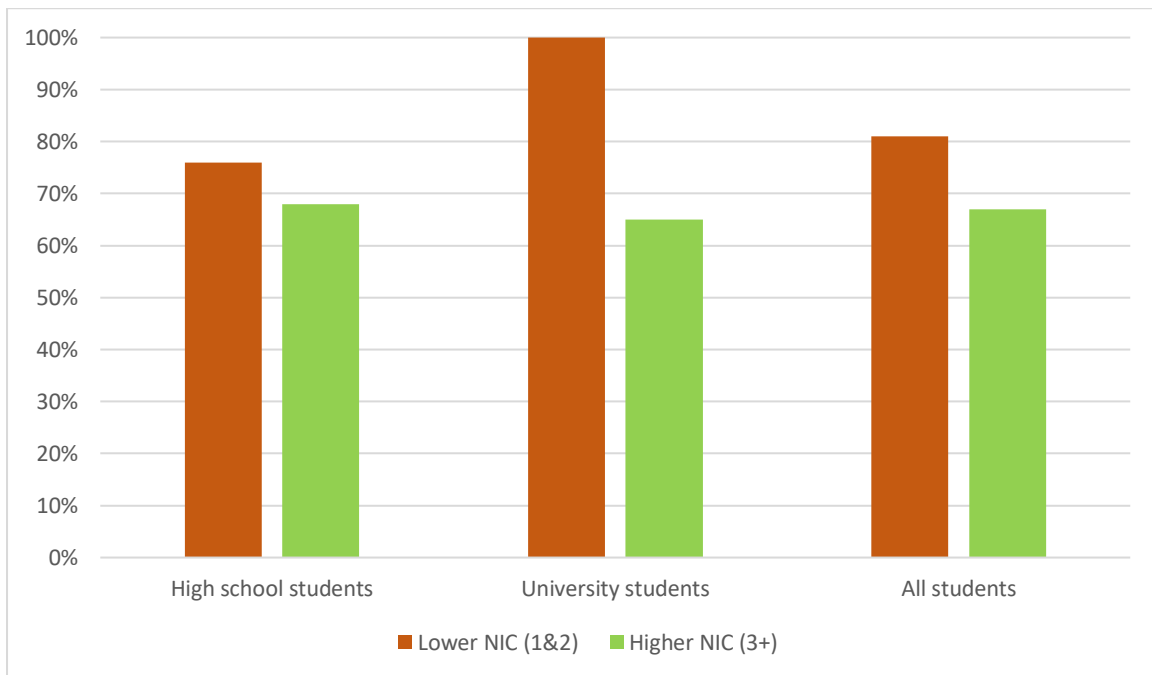
	Reached their language goals	Did not reach their language goals	Total
NIC 1&2	26	6	32
NIC3+	59	29	88
Total	85	35	120

Table 85 Students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

It remained the case, however, for both high school students and university students, and both students from France and students from abroad.



Graph 46 Students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad



Graph 47 High school and university students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

For high school projects, some students with a lower NIC gave shorter and more general answers, while some with a higher NIC were able not only to say if they had reached their goals

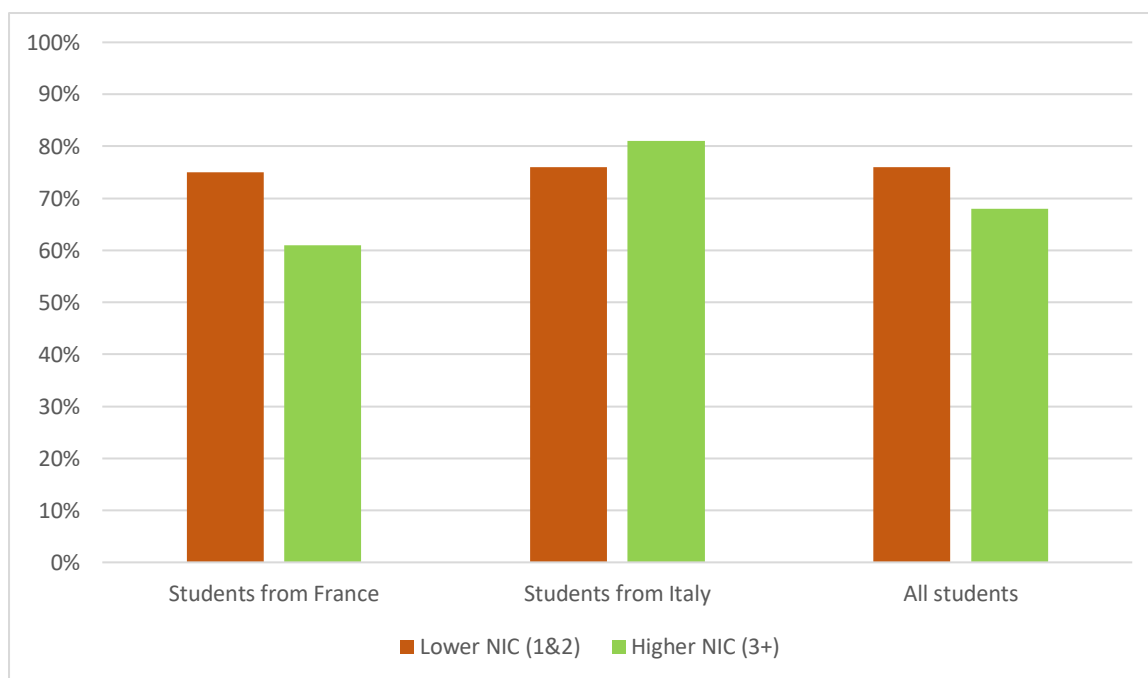
but also showed an awareness as to how they reached them, or why they did not. However, this was not the case for the university projects, as students with higher and lower levels of NIC variously gave short or long answers, sometimes showing an awareness as to how they progressed, sometimes not.

One explanation for this may be the level of study itself. Students at university level may have acquired certain self-reflective skills which high school students have not, independently of their intercultural capital. Thus, younger students may only have the sufficient level of self-reflective capacity to say how they have learnt if they have also been exposed to language learning and intercultural contact outside of the classroom, while university students may have gained the academic maturity to possess these self-reflective skills even if their contact with languages and cultural difference is often restricted to an academic context.

If this is the case, it shows that school and university have the potential to reduce some of the inequalities linked to nominal intercultural capital, and shows the importance of increasing opportunities for intercultural growth within this academic context.

12.4.1.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

Overall, high school students with a higher NIC reported they had reached their goals less frequently than those with a lower NIC (68% against 76%). This was the case for students from France, as 61% of students with a higher NIC reported they had reached their goals, compared to 75% of students with a lower NIC. However, this was not the case for students from Italy.



Graph 48 High school students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

In terms of content, among those with an NIC1 or NIC2, several students who reported they had reached their goals and who had previously not shown an awareness of how they could improve, mentioned strategies post-task to explain their improvements. For example, IL39, who had given strategies exclusively linked to knowledge and culture and none related to language, and who had said that she did not anticipate any difficulties, nor given any strategies to overcome them, wrote that “[she] worked hard in English with [her] partners and this helped [her] to develop the language.” IL13, who had not completed the worksheet concerning strategies and difficulties, said that he “improved [his] english thanks to the creation of the project and also thanks to the communication with others people.” FL67, who had also only given strategies related to knowledge and culture, said in the post-task questionnaire that “at first it was complicated in terms of English, but then [he] gained confidence and vocabulary by experimenting with others.”

Thus, while students with a lower level of nominal intercultural capital appeared to show less ability to set out strategies before the task, when reflecting on their goals, some who had not previously done so express their achievement with phrases such as “thanks to,” “by” doing such and such, or “this helped me to” improve. The telecollaboration seems therefore to have

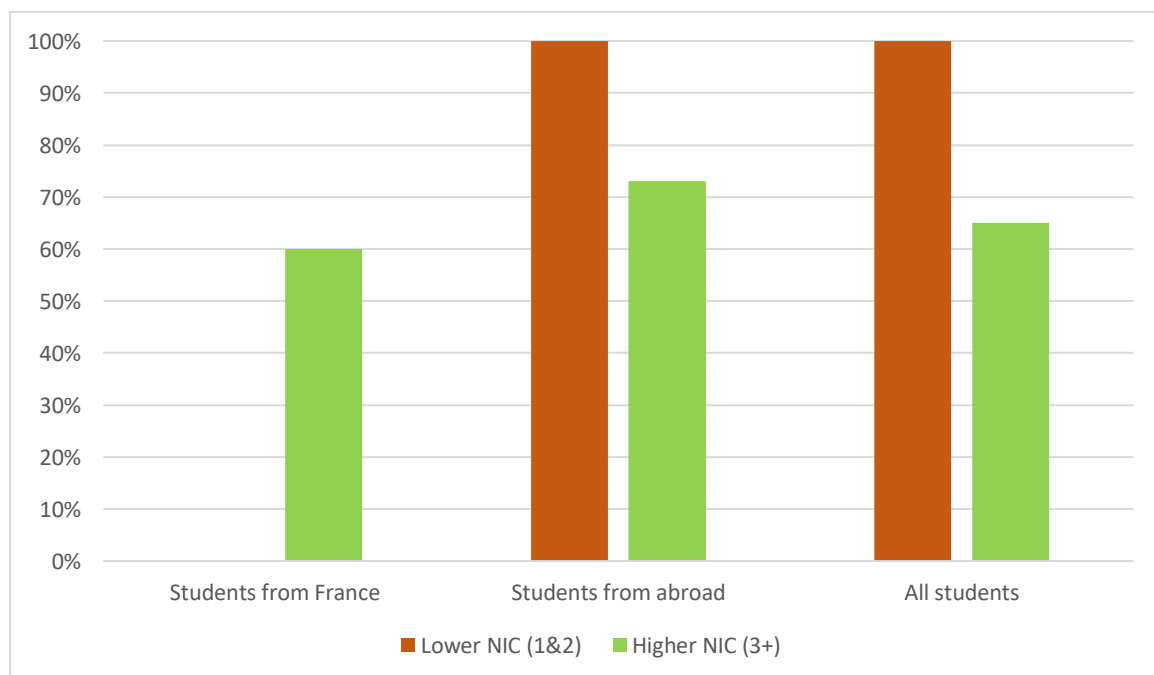
increased awareness, among students with a lower NIC, of how they that had reached their goals.

However, when a goal was not reached, students with a lower NIC remain more likely to give short answers with little or no justification as to why they were not reached. For example, when asked if they had reached their goals, IL06 who has an NIC1 simply answered “No”, while IL15 and IL09 who have an NIC2 similarly answered “No” and “I didn’t.”

Conversely, some with a higher NIC gave more complete answers such as IL03 who has an NIC4 and who said that she “started to speak again in English a little bit thanks to the exchange, in fact [she] did not expand [her] knowledge much because [she] applied what [she] already knew,” or FL62 who wrote that she “reached some of [her] goals but not all of them” as she “improved [her] English and [her] oral shyness but [she] still need[s] improve.”

12.4.1.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

For Projects 4 and 5, it also appears that students with a higher NIC report success in reaching their goals less frequently than those with lower NIC, with just 65% compared to 100% respectively.



Graph 49 University students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

In terms of content, while among high school students, those with a lower level of NIC who had reached their goals had been able to gain specificity in the post-task reflections which they had not provided when setting goals pre-task, this was not the case for university students. Students with both higher and lower NICs who gave positive or negative answers were at times able to say why or how they believed they had progressed or not.

Some students attempted to explain, not only what goals they reached, but also how, but this did not depend on their level of NIC. For example, AL05, who has an NIC1, wrote that she improved her vocabulary and that “the researches helped me with that,” and FL81, who has an NIC4 wrote that the “video [was] the best tool to achieve [her] first language goal (training to speak more fluently).”

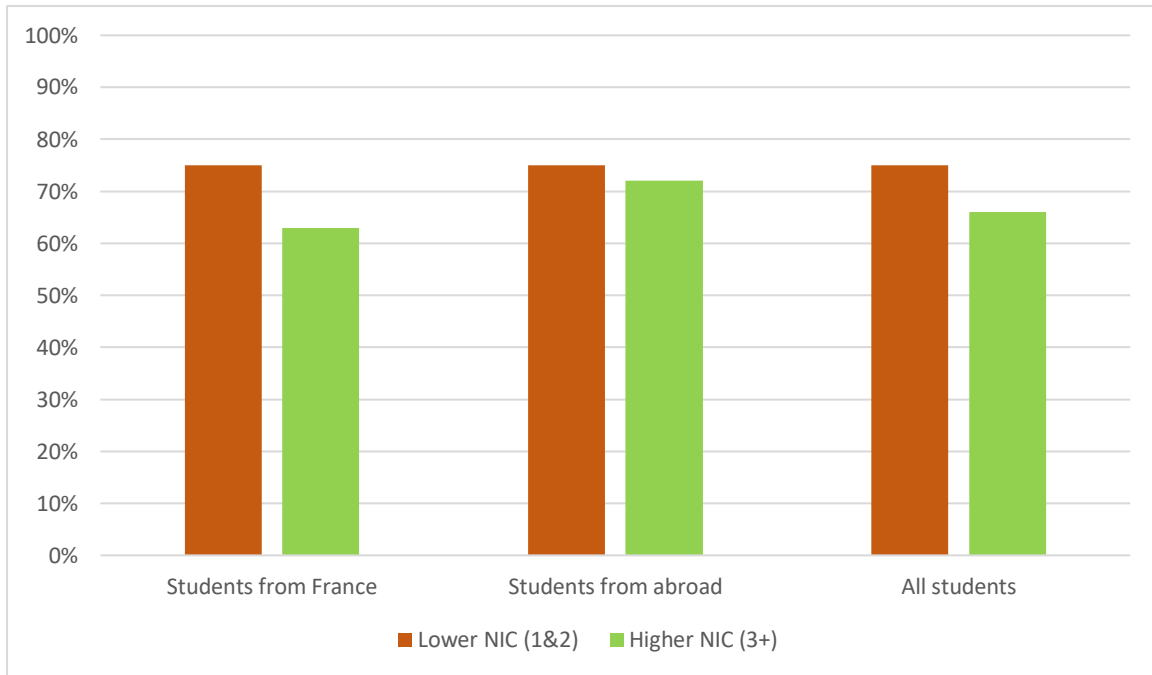
12.4.2 Cultural goals

12.4.2.1 Overview

For cultural goals, as for language goals, students appear to be more likely to say they have reached their goals if they have a lower level of nominal intercultural capital. This is the case overall, and especially for students from France, with 75% of those with a lower NIC saying they have reached their goals against 63% of those with a higher NIC. Students from abroad are more evenly distributed with 75% of those with a lower NIC saying they have reached their goals and 72% of those with a higher NIC. However, this was not found to be statistically significant based on χ^2 analysis of the table below (Table 87). $\chi^2 (1, N = 120) = 0.51, P > .01$.

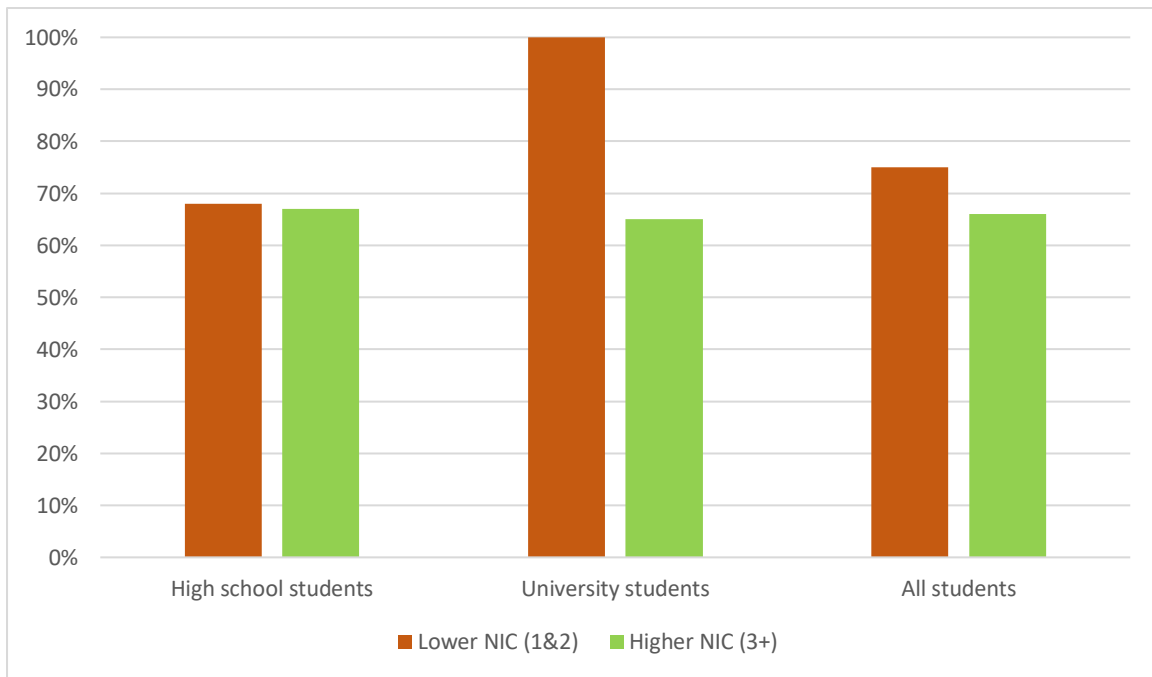
	Reached their cultural goals	Did not reach their cultural goals	Total
NIC 1&2	24	8	32
NIC3+	60	28	88
Total	84	36	120

Table 86 Students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined



Graph 50 Students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

High school students are also quite evenly matched overall, whereas university students are more likely to say they have reached their goals if they have a lower NIC. This being said, the number of university students with a lower NIC is very small and concerns only students from abroad.

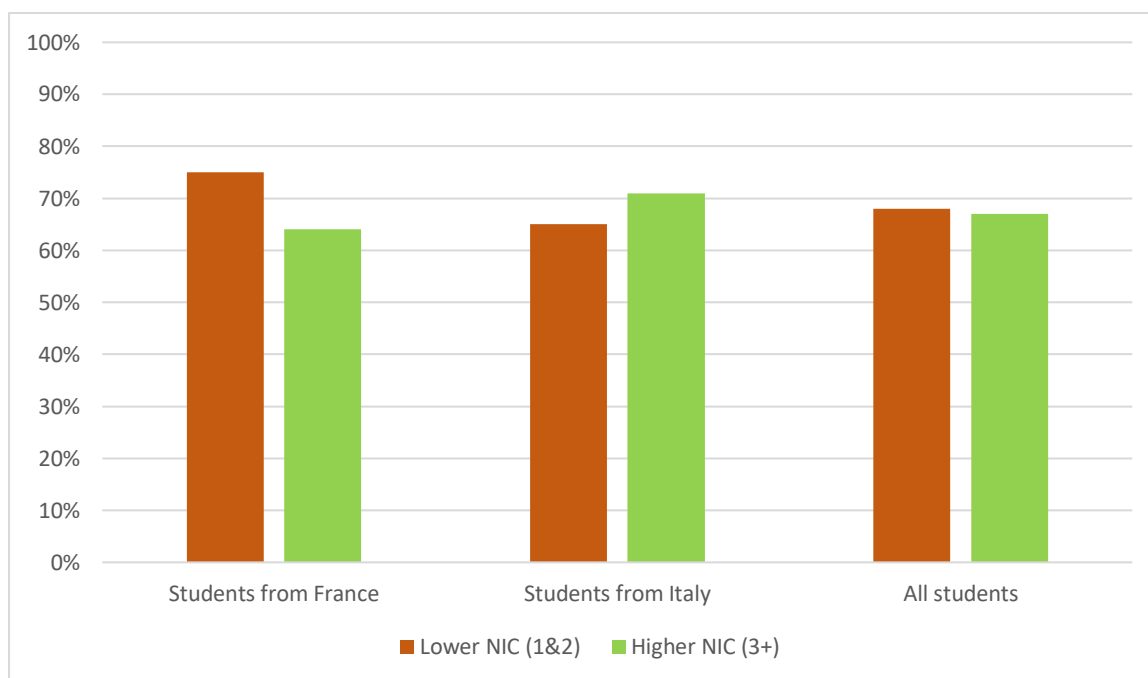


Graph 51 High school and university students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

As was the case for language goals, university students provide longer and more structured answers whatever their NIC and whether or not they reached their goals. High school students, on the contrary, tended to give single-word answer if they both believed they had failed to reach their goals and had a lower NIC.

12.4.2.2 Projects 2 and 3: high school telecollaborations

High school students reported very similar levels of success at higher and lower levels of nominal intercultural capital. Indeed, 68% of those with an NIC 1 or 2 said they reached their cultural goals, compared to 67% of those with an NIC 3 or higher. As was the case for language goals, students from France said they had reached their goals more often when they had a lower NIC and students from Italy when they had a higher NIC.



Graph 52 High school students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

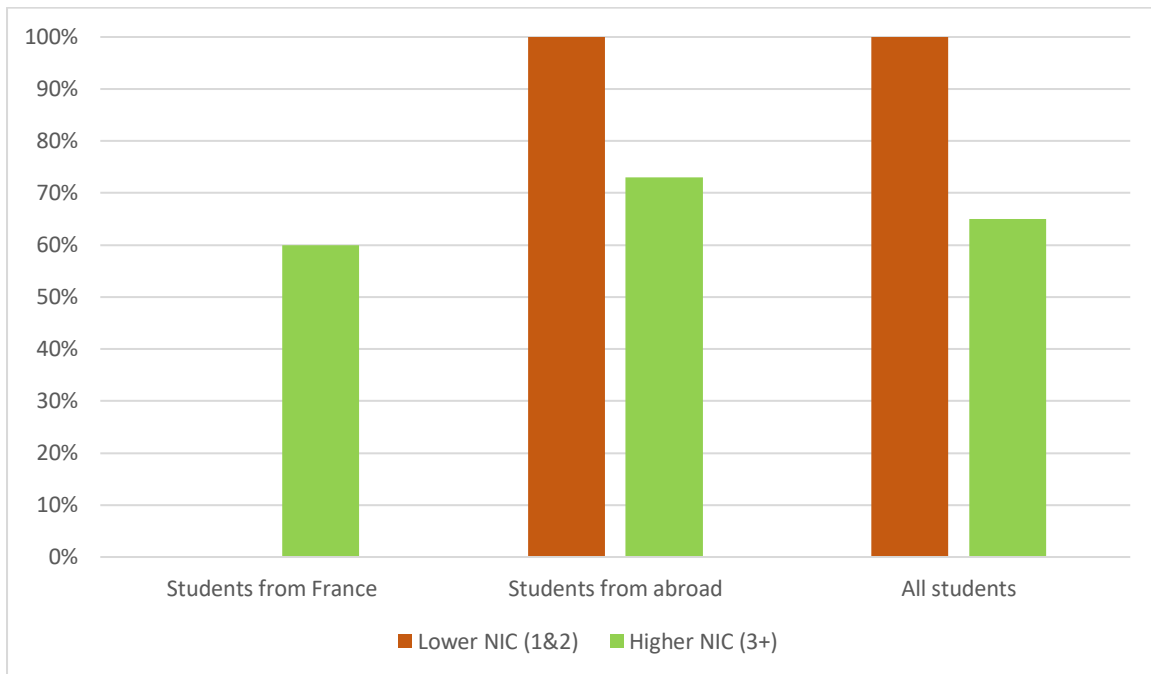
Here too, students like IL06, IL42 (NIC1) or IL15 (NIC2) gave single word answers or assimilated, thus giving no explanation as to why they failed to reach their goals. While there are exceptions, this can usefully be compared to those with an NIC3 or higher, such as IL41, who, when responding to the question about his cultural goals, wrote “not really because we didn't talk too much about our different countries but mainly about our project unfortunately” or FL64 who wrote that she “still lack[s] a lot of vocabulary to be comfortable speaking but [she] understand[s] better when [she] listen[s] to someone speak.”

Here too, however, as with language goals, students with a lower NIC who did report success in reaching their goals were sometimes able to give longer answers with explanations as to how they reached their goals, using phrases like “thanks to this project” (IL26) or “this allowed me to...” (FL67)

12.4.2.3 Projects 4 and 5: university level telecollaborations

At university level, there were no students with a lower NIC from France and all seven students with a lower NIC from abroad said they had reached their goals. By comparison, 65% of

students with a higher NIC said they reached their goals, which breaks down as 60% of students from France and 73% of students from abroad.



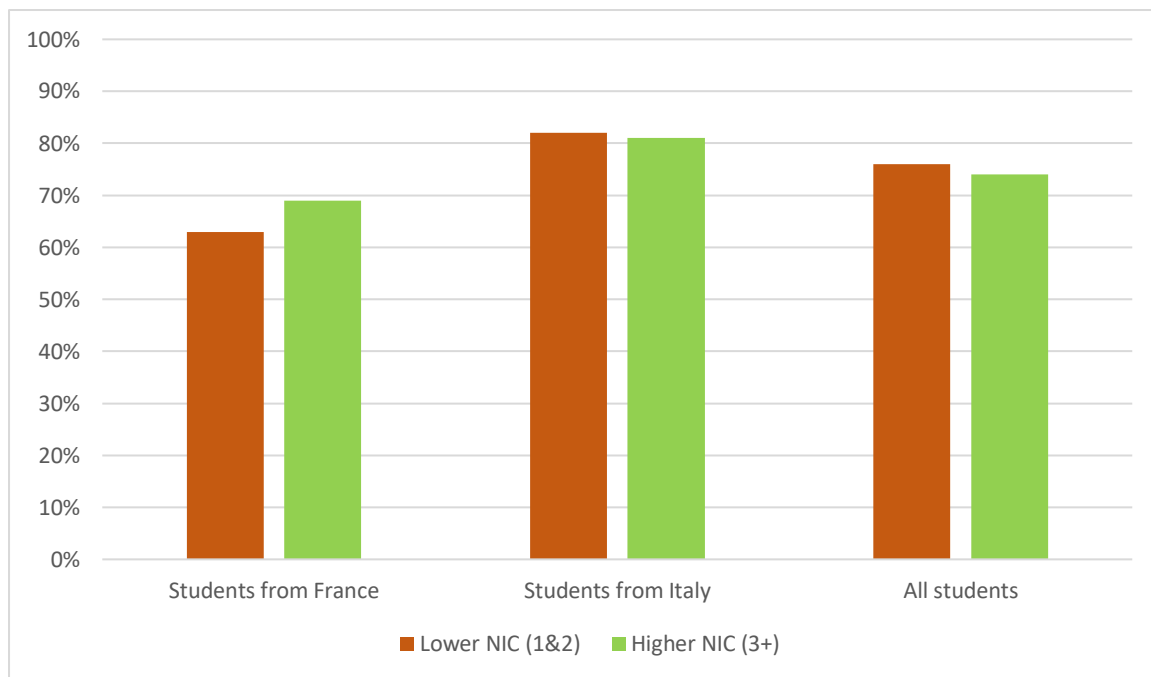
Graph 53 University students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

In terms of content and structure, unlike for high school students, there appeared to be little difference between those with a lower NIC and those with a higher NIC. Indeed, as could be expected, university students generally gave longer and more structured answers than high school students had, and this remained the case both among students with a higher and lower NIC.

12.4.3 Personal development goals

12.4.3.1 Overview

For personal development goals, overall, students with a higher and lower NIC said they had reached their goals at a similar frequency. Students from France were slightly more likely to reach their goals if they had a higher NIC, while students from Italy had more or less equivalent numbers.



Graph 54 High school students having reached their personal development goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

While there are of course exceptions, the same pattern was found as for previous goal types, with students with a lower NIC giving short answers with little explanation, and some with a higher NIC attempting to explain why they did not reach their goals, like FL44 who said “it didn't really help me achieve my goals because it was maybe to short.”

12.4.4 Overall summary: nominal intercultural capital and post-task reflection on goals

Overall, when combining all goal types, it appears that students with a lower NIC are more likely to say they have reached their goals than those with a higher NIC (78% compared to 68% respectively).

However, χ^2 analysis did not reveal a statistically significant link between having a lower NIC and reaching one's goals, either for language goals or cultural goals, and indeed, still does not when goal types are combined, as per the table below (Table 88). $\chi^2 (1, N = 240) = 2.48, P > .01$.

	Reached their language goals	Did not reach their language goals	Total
NIC 1&2	50	14	64
NIC3+	119	57	176
Total	169	71	240

Table 87 Students having reached their goals (LGOALS and CGOALS combined) by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Furthermore, this relationship varies across goal types, level of study and nationality. What is interesting, however, is that there is at least no evidence of the opposite pattern which may have been expected more intuitively, i.e. that those with higher NIC would say they have reached their goals more often.

When it comes to the content of their answers, many students with a lower NIC who have not reached their goals gave short or single-word answers, while some with a higher NIC attempted to explain why they did not think they had succeeded. On the contrary, those with a lower NIC who thought they had succeeded rarely gave single-word answers.

Chapter 13 Reflections of students involved in both university projects

Eight French students were involved in both the Franco-Bulgarian project (Project 4) and the Franco-Brazilian project (Project 5). These students were asked seven open-ended questions specifically comparing their approach to and experience of the two projects.

13.1 Language improvement

Students were asked if they believed their language skills had improved since the previous project. Of the eight students involved, six said they believed they had. Comments upon this response vary widely.

Among those who said they had improved, some gave reasons other than the telecollaborations, such as having “massively read in English” (FL75) or having “met an Irishman” with whom to “practice English often.” (FL84) Others mentioned aspects of the projects, as was the case for FL76, who said she “was more involved in the project,” or FL81 who said “it was cool and [she] learnt new words.”

Of the two who believed they had not improved, one did not comment, and the other, FL85, said she had “a very low level in English last year because [she] had not had an English course since university (7 years).” However, in response to a later question, she said she had reached a better level in English,” seeming to show that she had misunderstood the question.

13.2 Intercultural improvement

Students were asked if they thought their intercultural skills had improved since the previous project. One said “No” and mentioned that she did not “really know how we can improve intercultural skills.”

The other seven students said they believed they had improved their intercultural skills, citing the fact that it “was very interesting to speak with [their] exchange partner[s]” (FL77), the fact that they had “discovered the culture of a country [they] did not know” (FL78), its “education

system” (FL81), or the fact that they had “improved solidarity, sharing, comparing different cultures.” (FL85)

13.3 Goal-setting improvements

Students were asked if they thought their goal-setting skills had improved since the previous project. Seven of the eight students involved said they did believe they had improved on this point. The student who said she had not improved did not comment on this answer.

Among those who believed they had improved, two mentioned being “more precise” (FL75), or “more specific” (FL84). The latter also mentioned trying “to really agree with [her] foreign partner.” FL78 said that “the project being a bit the same as last year it was easier to know what objectives [she] wanted to achieve this year.”

13.4 Becoming more autonomous

Students were asked whether they believed they had become more autonomous having done a second telecollaboration. Five students said they thought they had, while two said they believed they were already autonomous prior to the project, and one did not respond.

Among those who said they had become more autonomous, various reasons were given. FL75 felt she had “way more freedom on the project,” as did FL77 who said they “could organize [their] planning of meetings.” FL78 said that because “it was a form of exchange that [she] had seen last year,” she “was more autonomous in [her] work and [she] allowed [herself] to do things a little more original than last year.” Similarly, FL85 said she “dared this year, to propose ideas to [her] partner, something [she] did not do too much last year.” Finally, FL81 mentioned that she had learnt that “this kind of task takes a lot of time so [she] was more organised.”

13.5 Other improvements

Students were asked whether there were any other aspects they had improved from one telecollaboration to the next. All four students who responded mentioned being more confident, more comfortable (FL77), having “less apprehension” (FL78) or being “less ashamed to speak” (FL84).

13.6 First telecollaboration as preparation for the second

Students were asked whether they thought the first telecollaboration had prepared them for the second. One student did not answer, and the other seven believed it had. FL75 said they “knew exactly what was expected of [them],” even adding that they “were able to explain the project to [their] Brazilian partners who had never done that.” Similarly, FL84 said she “knew how to do the telecollaboration and how to work it.” FL76 also said she “knew the expectations” and said this meant she “was less nervous.” Similarly, FL77 said “last year [she] was less confident.” FL78 said it had prepared her “for the same reasons as before (less apprehension, more organisation).” Finally, FL85 said that “this year, [she] knew how to avoid repeating last year’s mistakes.”

13.7 Summary

Thus, overall, most of the students involved felt that having done a similar project twice had allowed them to become more autonomous and organised, more confident and less apprehensive, more precise in their goals, and better English speakers. Several students also mentioned being able to help their partners or explain the project to them, which shows solidarity and a positive approach to the collaboration, can serve as a first point of discussion, and can help self-regulatory behaviours among the students who are tasked with explaining things.

Summary of Part 3

Main results overall

Goals and strategies are excessively focused on linguistic form and on culture as facts about national ways of life. Self-regulation is insufficiently developed as goals are rarely hierarchised and not coherently accounted for in strategies and post-task reflections. Students with higher task analysis autonomy tend to give more structured self-reflections, as do students with higher nominal intercultural capital, drawing on their past experience. There is some evidence that students with a higher NIC also have a higher TAA.

Summary of pre-task results

Regarding goals

1. Language goals are narrowly focused on language to the detriment of other aspects. University students better able to set specific language goals.
2. Cultural goals focus on the other and rarely on sharing one's own cultural background. Culture is often itemized as knowledge or way of life.
3. Language is strongly present in personal development goals, even though the main focus is on social skills. A desire to build social relationships, though less frequent.
4. Students struggle to give hierarchical goals. Only university students' language goals are hierarchically structured about a third of the time.

Regarding strategies

1. Task-related strategies linked to language and culture, social interaction marginal. University students give more specific language-related strategies. $\chi^2 (2, N = 82) = 18.52, P < .0001$
2. High school students struggle to anticipate difficulties. Often related to communication. University students are more concerned with the task. $\chi^2 (3, N = 132) = 34.93, P < .01$.
3. High school students mention individual and collective strategies equally, whereas university students almost exclusively give collective strategies. French high school students are particularly focused on individual strategies. $\chi^2 (1, N = 76) = 6.38, P < .02$.

Regarding goals and strategies

1. Lack of coherence between students' goals and the strategies they give to reach them.
2. Language goal specificity appears to induce specific language strategies among university students.
3. High school students often omitted strategies related to their cultural goals.

Regarding Task Analysis Autonomy

1. These results allowed the development of a Task Analysis Autonomy indicator.
2. French students have a higher average than students from abroad, though the teacher may represent a bias. $\chi^2 (3, N = 127) = 11.46, P < .01$.
3. University students have a higher average than high school students. $\chi^2 (3, N = 127) = 15.37, P < .01$.

Summary of post-task results

Regarding perceived success in reaching goals

1. No statistically significant difference in reported success among students with a higher TAA, for language and cultural goals. Those with higher TAA tend to give more structured answers.
2. A tendency begins to appear among high school students who reported success at a higher rate if they had a higher TAA, for combined language and cultural goals. $\chi^2 (1, N = 164) = 3.88, P < .05$.

Regarding communication enjoyment

1. No statistically significant difference in terms of enjoyment between high school students and university students. Negative answers are more nuanced among the latter.
2. French students may tend to enjoy communicating more if they have a higher TAA. $\chi^2 (1, N = 63) = 5.44, P < .02$. There is no difference for students from abroad.
3. Reported success is higher among students who enjoyed communication. $\chi^2 (1, N = 246) = 6.78, P < .01$. A variety of reasons given by students regarding enjoyment and success in reaching goals.

Regarding expected future contact

1. No statistically significant difference in expected future contact depending on country or level of study.
2. No statistically significant link between TAA and expected future contact.
3. Very weak link between reported success and expected future contact overall. $\chi^2 (1, N = 246) = 2.79, P < .1$. Stronger among high school students. $\chi^2 (1, N = 122) = 5.27, P < .03$.

Regarding Nominal Intercultural Capital

1. Some students with a higher NIC show more language awareness, goal specificity and self-reflectiveness when setting language goals.
2. Students with a higher NIC seem better able to draw on personal experience and more aware of the link between language and culture when setting cultural goals.
3. Personal development goals of students with a lower NIC are particularly focused on shyness.
4. Students with a higher NIC are more likely to have a higher Task Analysis Autonomy. $\chi^2 (1, N = 116) = 4.58, P < .05$.
5. Students with a higher NIC are not more likely to report success in reaching their goals.

Part 4 Interpretation and discussion: Self-regulation as in part constitutive of intercultural competence

Chapter 14 *Learner autonomy and self-regulation in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations*

14.1 Introduction

Students' ability to regulate their learning is an increasingly important skill. As social and professional environments require new skills to be developed throughout a person's life, educational institutions are faced with the challenge of developing lifelong learning skills. In this context, self-regulated learning has gained significant attention as having the potential to allow individuals to keep learning beyond their initial school years. As noted by Bardach *et al.* (2023), this importance has, in recent years, been recognized by various institutions such as the European Union (Council of the European Union, 2019) and the OECD (OECD, 2019).

To this extent, the importance of the goal-setting, strategic-planning, and self-reflective skills displayed by students during the self-directed intercultural telecollaborations discussed in Part 3 is far from anecdotal. Indeed, "highly self-regulated learners approach learning tasks in a mindful, confident manner, proactively set goals, and develop a plan for attaining those goals" (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004, p. 538). Given the cyclical nature of self-regulatory processes, they may then adopt new goals and strategies based on their reflection.

In pursuit of and committed to their goals, they design and implement strategies aligned with these goals, monitor progression towards these goals, followed by reflection and – when applicable – formulation of new learning goals (Bransen *et al.*, 2022, p. 29).

Thus, highly self-regulated students will possess a certain number of abilities when it comes to goal setting and strategic planning, as well as self-reflection. As will be argued, when applied to intercultural contexts, these self-regulatory skills become integral parts of intercultural competence, by allowing students to engage in intercultural exchanges as culturally situated individuals while adapting to new cultural and intercultural contexts.

Finding a balance between one's own personal background and new and unfamiliar contexts, while being able to maximise the learning potential of such situations will indeed require of students the "capacity to take an active role in navigating their learning experiences" using skills such as "planning, monitoring, and evaluating one's work, setting goals for learning, and raising and maintaining one's motivation" (Bardach *et al.*, 2023, p. 2).

Furthermore, self-regulation should not be considered in absolute terms, as something one has or does not have, but rather as something which is more or less developed in some individuals. In this sense, while everyone is self-regulated to an extent, “externally regulated learning (ERL) occurs when [students’] learning heavily depends on the guidance and control of others, such as teachers” (Bardach *et al.*, 2023, p. 2). Some authors even dispute the terms of “internal” and “external” regulation, on the grounds that self-regulation, though it relies on internal processes, does not take place in a social and environmental void, just as external regulation must interact with an individual’s motivations, desires, capacities, etc. (Morales-Villabona, 2023).

Within intercultural telecollaboration, it is indeed this interaction between the individual as a culturally situated speaker, with a personal history and set of desires, on the one hand, and the social and intercultural environment in which the learning process is taking place, on the other hand, which is of interest.

Thus, while the students involved in the self-directed intercultural telecollaborations analysed above were required to set individual goals and strategies, as well as setting out their own topics of interest, they were also required to function in a group, which led some to set group-oriented goals and strategies.

Finally, for many students, self-directed study is not something which is done regularly, since “teacher-centered classrooms are the norm in much of the world” (Hawkins, 2018, p. 452). Indeed, the shift in the role of the teacher required for self-directed study to take place has yet to occur in most classrooms. As will be seen, this may represent a difficulty in intercultural contexts, since many self-regulatory strategies which are needed to communicate and build a common project effectively are being deployed for the first time by students, in a setting which would already be unfamiliar with greater teacher-regulation.

This led to the formulation of Research Question 1 as follows: What forms of learner autonomy and self-regulation do students show in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations?

14.2 Summary of results related to Research Question 1

As shown in the concluding summary of Part 3, a number of results related to autonomy and self-regulation materialised, which will be of interest here.

First, it was found that students in general did not set goals in a hierarchical relation to one another but tended to set simple or additive goals. While university students did set hierarchical

goals more often than high school students, they still only did so about a third of the time for their language goals, and less for their cultural goals.

Similarly, strategies tend to lack specificity, particularly among high school students, as well as coherence with the goals set previously. University students set more specific language goals and in turn tended to account for these with more specific language-related strategies. Strategies related to students' cultural goals are often omitted by high school students who focus more on language.

When it comes to anticipating difficulties, high school students have a higher tendency to say they do not expect any difficulties to arise. Those who do, expect communication problems, whereas university students are more concerned with the task. To overcome these difficulties, high school students focus on individual strategies as much as strategies involving teamwork, or even more, in the case of high school students from France. University students, however, largely favour strategies involving teamwork.

After the task, high school students reported success more often if they had a higher level of Task Analysis Autonomy (TAA), which was calculated by combining their ability to set hierarchical goals, to define strategies, anticipate difficulties and find ways to overcome them. However, this pattern was not found among university students. Students with a higher TAA appeared to give more structured responses when discussing whether they had reached their goals, and especially saying how they reached them.

14.3 Difficulties in structuring their goals hierarchically

14.3.1 Pre-task goal hierarchies

Most students involved in these intercultural telecollaborations struggled to set hierarchically structured goals. Yet goal hierarchies have been shown to contribute to success in reaching one's goals, as well as continued motivation and engagement.

Zimmerman (2000) explains the importance of *proximal process goals*, which allow students to reach more *distal outcome goals*. This is important as outcome goals can often feel too difficult to achieve, and gratification seems too far off, thus leading to students abandoning their goals, or losing interest in their project.

Goals can reciprocally affect self-efficacy beliefs. Self-regulated learners feel self-efficacious in part because they have adopted hierarchical process goals for themselves whose

progressive mastery provides them with immediate satisfaction rather than requiring them to suspend any sense of success until a final outcome goal is attained (Zimmerman, 2000, p. 18).

Thus, by setting intermediate goals, students may more easily remain interested and involved in a given project. *Proximal goals*, therefore, are “energizing” and “increase self-efficacy for distal goal attainment” (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020, p. 2).

They also serve to manage errors more effectively. Indeed, intermediate goals will serve as checkpoints to test “the congruency between the individuals' representation of reality and progress toward goal attainment” (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020, p. 2). This in turn will allow strategies to be developed “to reduce a goal-performance discrepancy” (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020, p. 2).

Finally, these *proximal goals* may even become intrinsically motivating (Zimmerman, 2000).

Conversely, however, self-efficacy beliefs also allow for goals to be set more effectively and increase motivation to begin a task or a project.

D'abord, dans la phase d'anticipation, les croyances motivationnelles, notamment le sentiment d'efficacité personnelle, facilitent l'initiation et soutiennent la mobilisation des processus métacognitifs d'analyse de la tâche que sont la fixation de buts et la planification stratégique (Berger, 2023, p. 77).³⁶

There is therefore a circular relationship between hierarchical goal structures, self-efficacy, and motivation. This relationship can be positive and produce a virtuous cycle in which goals are set hierarchically producing higher self-efficacy beliefs, in turn leading to higher levels of motivation which result in goals being set more effectively. It can also be a negative relationship and producing a vicious circle in which only distal goals are set, leading to disengagement from the needed work to reach those goals, lack of self-efficacy beliefs and low levels of motivation.

On the projects discussed in this thesis, only a minority of students set hierarchically structured goals, meaning goals which were placed in relation to one another such that one is seen as a step towards the other. Among these students, some set hierarchical goals with both the process goal and the outcome goal being *distal goals* while others were able to set *proximal process goals*, that is, goals which are achievable in the short term, and hierarchise them as leading to

³⁶ “First, in the forethought phase, motivational beliefs, particularly the feeling of self-efficacy, facilitate initiation and support the deployment of metacognitive task analysis processes like goal setting and strategic planning” (Berger, 2023, p. 77) (My translation).

more *distal outcome goals*. Most students, however, gave their goals as either simple goals or additive structures, thus lacking a hierarchical network of goals altogether.

Indeed, among both high school and university students, most did not set shorter-term process goals in order to make their outcome goals achievable. This is important for a number of reasons. Proximal process goals allow students to break down goals which are too far in the future, too complex, or require skills which they do not yet possess, so that they can strive for shorter-term steps which will eventually lead to them. As mentioned, for these projects, many who did structure their goals hierarchically did so using short-term goals. However, many set goals which were longer-term goals or general goals which require *proximal process goals* in order to establish clear strategies for achieving them. For example, BL10 who wanted to “enrich [his] general knowledge” or FL80 who wanted to “open [her] mind of a new point of view” will require more specific and short-term process goals to be achievable. Thus, while both present a positive outlook with the terms “enrich” and “open”, goal specificity and goal hierarchies are lacking here.

As discussed in Part 1, being able to set goals is crucial to learning, and in particular to intercultural competence. Being able to set one’s own goals means being able to bring one’s own personal and cultural history to the encounter with the other, as well as giving a direction to interactions and collaboration on the chosen task. If this first step does not give the learner the needed framework to ensure a successful telecollaboration, then the project will seem difficult, and students are likely to lose interest. It is therefore important to discuss what factors contribute to this absence of hierarchical structure in the goal-setting process.

14.3.2 The need for teacher-mediation and metacognitive awareness

While the goal of these projects was to place students within a self-directed framework, these results seem to indicate that students are usually heavily reliant on external regulation, at least when it comes to setting goals which are achievable and structured so as to ensure their progress.

Setting language and cultural goals is indeed traditionally perceived as the role of the teacher (Holec, 1979; Little, 1991; Boekaerts, 1999; Hawkins, 2018). However, students who rely on external regulation, though they may be successful in an externally regulated school environment, will often be at a loss as they enter higher education or the professional world and find external regulation fading (Boekaerts, 1999; Hawkins, 2018). The students involved in

Projects 2 and 3 being between one and two years from the end of secondary school, it seems that they should be beginning to become self-regulated in preparation.

This being said, self-regulation is not an innate skill, and while self-directed projects are crucial to allow them the chance to develop skills such as goal setting by practicing them, training students through forms of guided autonomy over longer periods of time may be a necessary step to be introduced into curricula and teacher-training courses.

More specifically, setting *proximal process goals* as intermediate steps to reach outcome goals is a skill which must be taught. Given on the one hand, the importance of hierarchically structured goals for self-efficacy beliefs, the absence of which can in turn lead to students losing interest or dropping out of projects, and on the other hand, the low level of hierarchical structure present in the goals set by the students on these projects, it seems vital to encourage teachers and policymakers to insist that such skills be introduced to learners as a fundamental part of their education.

Setting proximal goals may also have suffered from a lack of metacognitive awareness specifically relating to language-learning. If students are to set their own goals, it seems important for them to have an understanding of learning mechanisms and basic concepts, from working memory versus long-term memory to the role of activities like repetition or reformulation, or the links between language and culture, or between affective and cognitive processes such as shyness and language proficiency. These too are most often considered as belonging to the teacher's domain, but understanding these processes may lead students to set goals which are more adapted to them and to the format of their project. As such, the teacher's role must be redefined, shifting from the *use of learning processes* to help students acquire language skills to the *teaching of learning processes* to help students acquire learning skills, related to both language and culture.

14.3.3 Giving goals meaning

One difficulty when it comes to teaching goal-setting skills lies in the fact that goals are uniquely individual in a way that strategies to reach those goals are not. There is growing evidence to show that helping students to set out effective strategies to reach a given goal, on a cognitive, metacognitive, and motivational level, can be effective (Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Hawkins, 2018; Xiao & Yang, 2019; Callan *et al.*, 2022). Goal setting, however, is more closely

linked to an individual's personal choices and desires, of which a self-directed framework is designed to encourage the free expression and pursuit.

To this extent, too much guidance when it comes to goal setting will not only hinder self-regulation, but also students' sense of agency, thus defeating the purpose of the self-directed framework. "Fundamentally, agency rests on the individual's sense of meaning. [...] Without a sense of meaning in their lives as a whole or in the L2 task they are facing, people are not likely to feel agentic" (Oxford, 2017, p. 75-76). In self-directed telecollaborative frameworks, this sense of meaning is derived at least in part from the fact that goals are self-assigned.

Here too, goal hierarchies may play a role. Co-constructing students' *proximal process goals* designed to reach distal goals they have set themselves may allow for students both to feel agentic in determining what they are striving for, and at the same time sufficiently supported such that they have a better chance of success in the end.

Overall, many goals given by students could have been integrated as process goals into a network of goals leading to more *distal goals*, indicating that students may need to be shown how to integrate their short-term proximal goals into longer-term outcome goals, personal to them and socially and culturally anchored. For example, BL09's goal to improve "grammar and sentences" is presented as an end in itself. As such, it lacks an anchorage in a network of personal, social, or professional goals towards which the student is striving when trying to improve her grammar. It is these goals which anchor learning in the lived experience of the individual, and as such, give it meaning and make it theirs. If only proximal goals are set, these goals will likely not be grounded "within particular contexts in the real world, in response to the environment and to personal needs and desires" (Kinginger, 2008, p. 49). A student who does not place his or her goals within their broader context is confined to the position of learner, or "deficient monoglossic enunciators", and cannot take up the position of speaker, or as "potentially heteroglossic narrators" (Kramsch, 1995, p. 90). Language learning will thus continue to be seen as an end in itself rather than as a way to broaden his or her linguistic and cultural "biographically organized" repertoires (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 15).

In this sense, the interculturally competent speaker will not only view language learning at the level of "grammar and sentences" (BL09), or "written and oral expression" (BL11) or even of being "able to speak fluently." (FL82) These will be seen as specific aspects which enable him or her to express new meanings (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) and to communicate with others, in the rich sense of being able to live, work and create and maintain social relationships within

intercultural contexts (Liddicoat, 2009). This is, in part, done by framing one's goals regarding grammar, for example, not as outcome goals but as process goals is a broader network of socially and culturally anchored goals. Thus, it is not enough to wish to "speak fluently and be able to express [one's] ideas more clearly" (FL82). While this type of goal is indeed crucial and may be born from frustrations felt during previous experiences, this student does not say what ideas he or she wishes to express, in what contexts, or to whom. Yet, these are the socially anchored goals under which other process goals are to be subsumed. Helping students structure their goals hierarchically may help these latter goals to appear.

14.3.4 How goal categories can provide structure

This variety of goals could usefully be increased by focusing students' attention on the categories discussed in Part 3. Goal categories may play an important role in providing hierarchical structure to students' goals. If a student mentions an LGOAL4 related to his or her future profession, the likelihood that it will have clear *proximal process goals* leading up to it becomes higher as the student gets closer to the beginning of his or her career. In Project 5, for example, for AL01, AL05 and AL06, who set an LGOAL4, the outcome goal being far off, the proximal process goals related to language are *distal process goals*. For FL88, however, who wants to improve her English because she works with migrants, the outcome goal could be close as she is already involved in this kind of work. The combination of LGOAL1 and LGOAL4 here is already providing structure to her goal network. However, her process goal to "have better English" is not specific enough to be achievable short-term or to have clearly defined criteria for success.

Ideally, therefore, an intercultural speaker would be able to combine goal categories in order to hierarchise *proximal process goals* and *distal outcome goals* with the latter anchoring him or her in the surrounding social world. For example, a student could want to gain vocabulary (LGOAL2) to be better able to communicate (LGOAL3) on a specific subject e.g. aviation (LGOAL6) when he or she achieves his or her goal of becoming e.g. a flight attendant (LGOAL4).

Being able to do this requires students to have an idea of how language learning works and how to set goals and strategies effectively, but also to bring their own personal goals, interests and ambitions to the discussion, making them intercultural speakers (Byram, 2008; Byram, 2014) and not merely learners, first and foremost defined as "deficient in their command of language"

(Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14, cf. Kern & Liddicoat, 2008). They would then have to discuss this with their partners, negotiate a common task and set out strategies which could help them reach these goals while helping their partner reach theirs. This process of negotiation and discussion would create what Agar (2006) calls “rich points,” i.e. personal or cultural obstacles the unknotting of which leads to intercultural growth.

What the results from these different projects show is that teacher mediation is required in order to encourage students to explore different goal categories and different goal types and reflect on how they might fit together. The process of negotiation of the topic and task also requires teacher mediation. The instructions on the worksheet, for example, specified that agreeing on a topic could mean

finding common interests, or creating a production on several topics which may be linked (for example, if one is interested in food and the other in education, you may create a video about the role of healthy eating for academic success (Worksheet 2).

Yet depending on students’ goals these projects will have to be set up in very different ways. Making students aware of the possibilities offered by different goal categories could therefore also play a role in improving task selection. To this extent, goal categories may not only help students’ goals be more structured and socially anchored, but also advance students in the process of strategic planning that follows.

14.4 Coherence between goals and strategies

The strategies set by students tended to lack both specificity and coherence with the goals previously set. This was particularly true for high school students. On the other hand, the higher number of LGOAL2s, related to a specific aspect of language, among university students was mirrored by a higher number of TSTRAT1cs, similarly focused on specific aspects of language. High school students also tended to omit strategies related to culture, and merely focus on language strategies.

Furthermore, fewer high school students were able to anticipate difficulties. Among those who did, many were concerned with communication problems, and individual strategies to overcome them as much as collective strategies, especially among French high school students. University students anticipated difficulties more often, focused more on the task, and overwhelmingly set out collective strategies to overcome them.

14.4.1 A lack of specificity and coherence

Overall, high school students struggled when asked how the task would help them reach their goals. Thus, while they had set goals and decided upon a task, it was not clear to all students what link there was between the two. This is true for language goals, but is even more visible for cultural goals and personal development goals.

A total of 26 high school students mentioned only task-related strategies involving language, out of a total of 63 responses explaining how their task would allow them to meet their goals. Thus, over 40% of students did not mention culture and knowledge specific to their task, their own or their partners national cultures, the cultures associated with their target language or strategies involving social interaction with their partners to address their goals. As these students had set language goals, cultural goals, and personal development goals, it is clear that all these goals are not accounted for in their strategic planning.

Furthermore, many of the strategies relative to knowledge and culture fail to show a real link between the task and the goals previously set out, or an awareness among students of how the task will help them reach these goals. For instance, FL27 writes “I’m gonna learn about culture” without specifying how this learning will take place. In this case as in others, the response to the question of how the chosen task and topic will help them reach their goals is merely a restatement of the goal itself.

The same is true for strategies relating to social interactions. While it is an interesting strategy to rely on the help of others, especially their partners, this strategy is most often not sufficiently defined. For example, IL32 wrote “I reached goals thanks to the French students.” Setting out more clearly exactly what is expected of these French students to allow her to reach her goals is a necessary step which is insufficiently developed among the students involved in these projects.

14.4.2 Improvement at university level

University students were both more specific when setting out their strategies, and more coherent in terms of having relevant strategies for their goals.

Indeed, the level of strategic specificity is remarkably higher among university students than among high school learners. Indeed, TSTRAT1c was much more present among university students, involving specific aspects of language such as written or oral language, or grammar or vocabulary. In both projects conducted at university level, more students gave a task-related strategy falling into TSTRAT1c than the other two language categories combined. By giving examples of specific aspects of language and saying what activities in their task would allow them to develop these aspects, students showed a better understanding of how language learning takes place.

As well as being more specific, strategies were more coherent with the goals they were to help reach. In Project 4, 10 of the 17 students who set goals relating to a specific aspect of language also gave strategies relating to a specific aspect of language. Similarly, in Project 5, all nine students who set a goal related to a specific aspect of language mentioned language in their task-related strategy, with seven giving specific aspects of language the task would help them improve. Similarly, both students in Project 4 who set a language goal related to the specific content they wished to discuss went on to mention a strategy involving their chosen topic specifically. Similar results were observed regarding cultural goals. For example, for Project 5, just one student made no reference to culture when setting out his/her strategies.

14.4.3 The importance of strategic planning

While setting out clear and achievable goals is vital to ensure both learning and continued interest and motivation, especially in a self-directed project, it is equally important to bear these goals in mind when deciding on a strategy as to how to reach them, and to make sure that each goal is accounted for by an appropriate strategy. Indeed, research has shown that “learners benefit from employing strategies, defined [...] as conscious, learner-regulated thoughts and actions for developing specific skills and general proficiency” (Oxford & Gkonou, 2018, p. 406).

Indeed, being able to set out effective strategies has been found to have a number of positive effects on self-regulated learning.

Strategy use is a foundational aspect of SRL. Students who employ a variety of strategies tend to achieve at higher levels (DiBenedetto & Zimmerman, 2013) and display more adaptive self-efficacy (Ghadampour & Beiranvand, 2019), interest (Sorić & Palekčić, 2009), and task value (Wolters & Benzoni, 2013) (Callan et al., 2022, p. 66).

Thus, the fact that the students on this project were not all able to set strategies effectively is problematic for at least three reasons. First of all, students who struggle to set out strategies are less likely to succeed in reaching their goals. DiBenedetto & Zimmerman, for example, have shown that high-achieving students are more likely to plan and use a variety of strategies than low-achieving students.

The high achieving student, for example described three strategies he or she plans on using to study the passage. Then during the actual performance phase, this student displayed three strategies, which can be compared to the students in the low and intermediate achievement levels. Regarding the self-regulated learning processes of metacognition and self-evaluative standards, there is a large difference between the scores of the student in the low achieving group and the intermediate or high achieving students' scores (DiBenedetto & Zimmerman, 2013, p. 39).

Secondly, since strategies are a vital part of reaching their goals, without being able to identify how a language is learnt and set out clear strategies for progress, students are reliant on external regulation (most often their teachers, but also parents and later employers) to set strategies which will allow them to progress. Indeed, whether or not students are able to set appropriate goals, if they are not able to find appropriate strategies to reach these goals, their learning will become ineffective once external regulation comes to an end, as is often noticed among externally regulated students (Boekaerts, 1999; Hawkins, 2018).

Thirdly, if they are to learn from this project in order to better succeed in future projects, as interculturally competent students would, they must be able to analyse the factors which contribute to the successes or difficulties they encounter. While this may be done during the self-reflection phase of self-regulation, this latter phase is helped by having clear goals and strategies set out from the start.

When students reflect upon successes and failures, they can attribute their performances to a variety of perceived causes such as ability, luck, task difficulty, effort, or the use of strategies. Researchers emphasize 3 key dimensions of attributions including the controllability (i.e., controllable or uncontrollable), locus (i.e., internal or external) and the stability (i.e., permanent or temporary) of attributions (Callan et al., 2022, p. 67).

Strategies being controllable, external, and temporary, attributing successes and failures to these strategies allows students to reflect more clearly on past tasks and adapt their strategies in the future. “This is because individuals perceive that they are in control of factors influencing their performance” (Callan *et al.*, 2022, p. 67). To this extent, the transferability of what has been learnt is in large part dependent on successes and failures being attributed to strategies.

Indeed, as Zimmerman notes, the cyclical nature of self-regulatory processes means that those who have clear strategies are much more likely to attribute failure to those strategies being ill-adapted to the task rather than to inherent characteristics within themselves which render failure inevitable (Zimmerman, 2000). Furthermore, attributing these failures to intrinsic ability or other uncontrollable, internal, and permanent factors will damage their self-efficacy beliefs, which in turn is linked to drops in involvement and motivation (Zimmerman, 2000; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004; Sorić & Palekčić, 2009; Schunk & Usher, 2012).

Thus, while on the one hand “successful performances raise self-efficacy, whereas failures may lower it”, on the other hand, “failures can also serve an important function when they lead to better strategies that make self-efficacy more robust” (Schunk & Usher, 2012, p. 21).

Overall, in these projects, strategic planning mechanisms appear to be insufficiently developed, and more guidance seems needed in order to help students acquire them, more gradually and over a longer period of time. This is in line with the little attention that strategic planning gets in studies of telecollaboration, in which vague strategies such as “flexibility” (Byram, 2016; Leone & Telles, 2016), “efforts to find alternative paths” (Leone & Telles, 2016), or “good will” (Byram, 2016)) are mentioned.

However, among university students, many appear to be able to target goals with more precision than younger learners, and thus define strategies which are better adapted to reaching these goals. Indeed, the link between goal specificity and strategic specificity is well established and seems to be confirmed by the present study. University students targeted a specific aspect of language more frequently than high school students when setting their goals and did the same when setting out their strategies.

The importance of goal specificity and difficulty for improving performance cannot be overstated. [...] Specific goals increase [...] the use of an appropriate strategy for goal attainment (Beehr & Love, 1983; Frost & Mahoney, 1976), and they facilitate self-monitoring (Campion & Lord, 1982; Frayne & Latham, 1987) (Alessandri et al., 2020, p. 2).

Furthermore, specific goals “are more effective than general or vague goals because they illuminate quantifiable benchmarks for which progress can be evaluated” (Callan *et al.*, 2022, p. 65). In turn, these benchmarks can serve to establish more specific strategies, which can be adapted according to the results of students’ self-monitoring. To this extent, “the value of self-set goals [...] largely depend[s] upon the students' ability to appropriately define their difficulty and specificity” (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020, p. 9).

Strategic specificity, that is the ability to narrow down one’s strategies to those which are relevant for the task and goals at hand, does not appear to cause any problems for most students at university level. This is not to say that they do not need to improve their strategic planning altogether, simply that whatever the merits of their strategies, they seem at least, for the most part, to be appropriately targeted.

There are at least two possible explanations for this. The optimistic explanation would be that the various school systems in which these students are engaged have taught them some degree of self-regulation, thus allowing them to improve skills such as strategic planning between their high school years and their university years. The pessimistic explanation would be that students with self-regulatory skills are those who are more likely to undertake and succeed in higher education, and that those who possess these skills to a lesser extent will less frequently be enrolled on higher education courses. In fact, in most cases, both explanations are likely to be at play.

14.4.4 Anticipating and overcoming difficulties

A similar conclusion as above can be drawn from students’ strategies to overcome difficulties. Among high school students on Projects 2 and 3, only 33 students mentioned any kind of strategy for overcoming difficulties, this despite 66 students responding to the question regarding what difficulties they expected and how to overcome them. This can be explained by some students not expecting any difficulties, but also by students who simply state their difficulties without attempting to find strategies to overcome them. One student, FL69, knowingly writes that “[her] difficulties are in grammar and writing, but [she doesn’t] know how to remedy it.”

While among university students this is better achieved overall, there are a number of points which also need addressing. For instance, among those who wish to improve specific aspects of language, very few mention expected difficulties relating to language or communication

problems, with the focus being more on aspects related to the task, other than language, and organisation difficulties. One could expect students who set goals relating to specific aspects of language to have targeted areas in which they had difficulties, and thus to mention these and set out strategies to overcome them.

In Project 5, for example, only three students having set an LGOAL2 mentioned communication difficulties specifically related to language and two mentioned language specific to their task, but others did not anticipate any difficulties related to language. Setting a language goal related to a specific aspect of language would seem more coherent if one experiences difficulties in this area, and thus such difficulties may be likely to arise in the task, and overcoming them may lead to improving on these aspects. Thus, either students' goals are not targeting aspects where they experience difficulties, or they are anticipating difficulties in a way which is not likely to maximise the learning potential of this task.

The lack of anticipation of potential difficulties, and to an even larger extent, the absence of strategies to overcome such difficulties when they have been explicitly identified, shows once again a reliance on external regulation. A self-regulated student would have learnt throughout his or her schooling to identify potential difficulties and develop strategies to overcome them based on previous experience of doing just that and then reflecting on successes and difficulties.

Here too, the role of the teacher needs to be redefined as teaching students to determine and deploy strategies rather than merely guiding students through these strategies without explicitly mentioning them.

For students who are already fairly autonomous in their learning, understanding the concept of SDL may help them self-analyze the steps that they undertake and perhaps make changes or introduce enhancements. However, for those who cannot imagine such a process, [...] it may be appropriate to consider how to teach students self-direction (Hawkins, 2018, p. 449).

In both cases, then, students will have something to learn from the explicit teaching of self-directed learning. It also appears that the former type of students, who will use reflective tools to sort and organise strategies they are already using, should be able to impart some of these strategies to the latter type of students. Cooperative activities at the forethought stage of self-directed intercultural telecollaborations may help this exchange take place. In any case, studies have shown that “it is beneficial to have overtly learned strategies. Even for the student who has benefitted from a rich educational tradition that has implicitly taught strategy use, explicit training in the myriad of strategies available is useful” (Hawkins, 2018, p. 456).

14.4.5 Individual strategies vs teamwork

In this context, it is interesting to note that unlike high school students, most university students did not give any individual strategies for overcoming difficulties, focusing instead on strategies involving teamwork. This may be interpreted as showing that university students have understood that telecollaborative tasks represent a chance to collaborate and learn together. However, most had mentioned grammar and/or vocabulary in their language goals which seem to require at least some share of individual work.

Thus, while strategies involving teamwork are clearly adequate strategies adapted to the context of an intercultural telecollaboration, they would perhaps function better if combined with individual strategies, especially when it comes to reaching goals related to specific aspects of language, where to-and-fros between individual work and practice in conversational contexts are more effective than only one or the other. Indeed, “highly proficient learners typically employ a wider range of learning strategies than their less proficient peers” (Sukyng, 2021, p. 64). Thus, while teamwork is indeed a central aspect of intercultural telecollaborations, narrowing down one’s strategies to only include those involving teamwork may render learning suboptimal.

14.4.6 The belief that speaking means improving

One positive aspect was that many students displayed the belief that speaking their target language would lead to improved performances in that language. Overall, most students who set an LGOAL1 or LGOAL2 mentioned that the task they chose would help them improve their language skills, showing that some students had kept their goals in mind when thinking about how their chosen task would allow them to reach these goals.

For example, FL42 who wished to “enrich [his] vocabulary” when setting his language goal, explained that the task chosen would allow “to teach us English vocabulary on a universal, contemporary and high-stakes theme for the planet and our future.” The language goal set out before the task is born in mind and developed upon when explaining how the task will help reach it.

Other students, while they appear to restate their goals more than develop a strategy, have at least kept their goal in mind at this stage. FL28’s language goal was to “speak better English and know more word,” and he explains later that “the project can help [him] because [he will]

learn more word and [he] can talk English better.” Students being aware of this, tasks could be set up in order to favour regular interaction which should help them improve their language skills. While this is still far from a highly self-regulated strategy, it does have the merit of revealing a structured approach to the self-directed task they are undertaking and a link between goals and strategies which is beginning to appear.

Overall, this shows that while students may learn to self-regulate to different degrees and indeed many with success, it is not an innate capability and is not part of all students’ learning background even as they approach higher education. Integrating self-regulatory skills into national curricula and training language teachers how to develop such skills in their students may allow teacher-mediation to guide students from being externally regulated learners to self-regulated speakers.

Teachers and institutions could include such learning through semi-directed or co-directed projects, throughout students’ schooling, to such an extent that it becomes second nature to them by the time they reach university. The teacher’s role would therefore be not only to give students grammar and vocabulary, but to help them develop as intercultural speakers by gaining self-regulatory skills which can be used in various intercultural settings.

14.5 Strategic planning as a structuring device

When considering post-task self-reflection, students who had set more hierarchical goals, defined strategies, anticipated difficulties, and set out strategies to overcome them to a greater extent (as measure by a higher TAA) showed a greater ability to structure their responses in order to say not only if they had reached their goals but also how.

Furthermore, a weak positive link was found between high school students’ TAA and their reported success in reaching their goals. No such link was found for university students.

14.5.1 Short and unstructured self-reflection

Many students with a lower TAA gave short and unstructured responses to the post-task questions regarding their goals. IL06 and IL15 had not completed Worksheet 2 and simply answered “no” when asked if they had reached their cultural goals. Other responses include “I didn’t” (IL07), “not really” (IL09), and “I don’t reach my goals in this context” (IL04), or “I did not achieve my goals” (FL50).

At university level, BL06, who did not Worksheet 2 simply answered “Yes” to the questions about both goals in the post-task questionnaire. FL82 who had not set any goals nor suggested any strategies as to how to reach them said she had not reached her goals as she was “still not comfortable speaking.” This does not provide an analysis of why she is not comfortable speaking, of what was attempted to overcome this or of why it did not work. These elements could have figured in the strategic planning phase had she completed the worksheet.

14.5.2 Structured self-reflection: understanding how

Conversely, responses which were more structured and self-reflective often came from students with a higher TAA level, whether or not their goals had been reached.

The use of terms like "because" (FL28, FL41, FL54, FL58, IL35, etc.), "so" (FL56, FL61, FL63, IL28), "by" (FL71), "thanks to" (FL33, FL58, IL20, IL30, IL36), "helped me to" (FL29, FL36, IL23, IL30), "allowed us to" (FL33), "which forced me to" (FL53) appear to structure students responses and show that they are not only asking if they improved, but also how and why.

FL31’s answer is worth quoting in full:

No, I didn’t really reach my goals regarding language because I would have preferred to see more Italians (even if we created a discussion group on a social media). But there is a positive point, I managed to speak and at least make myself understood with the Italians. I was less shy. In terms of grammar, I didn’t learn much. But everything I learned helped me to express myself (FL31).

This student had set LGOALS 2 and 3, saying she wanted to “communicate [and] be able to dialogue” using “questions and complex answers”. She had set out a TSTRAT1b believing that speaking would mean improving, had anticipated difficulties related to shyness (DIFF1c), and had suggested that making an effort (DSTRAT2d) and accepting one’s mistakes (DSTRAT2e) could be used as strategies to overcome them.

While the notion of grammar is not explicitly mentioned in her goal (though the interrogative form may be targeted by the mention of “questions”), several other aspects are present in the post-task response which refer to the goals and strategies set previously. The wish to communicate was not sufficiently satisfied, and thus the lack of progress is in part attributed to a lack of discussion time. Difficulties regarding shyness were overcome and the student was able to “express [her]self”.

This structured answer appears to show some level of coherence between strategies and self-reflection, and at least partially to goals. The role played by strategies and difficulties here is interesting as these strategies appear in the self-reflective phase, and failure is partially attributed to factors directly linked with them. Having believed speaking would mean progressing, she “didn’t really reach [her] goals regarding language because [she] would have preferred to see more Italians”.

14.5.3 Success and failure attributions

As previously mentioned, failure attributions are important in the self-reflective phase since “the greatest motivational problems in the learning process, such as passivity and apathy, are connected with the students’ attributions of their failure to internal, stable and uncontrollable causes (e.g., lack of ability)” (Sorić & Palekčić, 2009, p. 548-549). Having clearly defined goals and strategies (i.e., in this study, having a higher level of TAA), is likely to allow students to attribute their failures to those strategies rather than to their own lack of ability.

Learners who plan to use a specific learning strategy during the forethought phase, and make use of it during the performance phase, are more likely to attribute failures to that strategy rather than low ability. Since learning strategies are internal, controllable and unstable causes of failure, they are perceived as correctable and can, therefore, protect learners against negative self-reactions (Sorić & Palekčić, 2009, p. 549).

This, in turn, will help them avoid “breakdowns in academic self-regulation such as a lack of attention in class, failure to prepare for examinations, and even failure to attend school” (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004, p. 537).

This seems to be confirmed in the above case, since failure is linked to insufficient opportunities to communicate rather than to intrinsic abilities. However, these insufficient opportunities may be at least partly external to the student, as this aspect of her answer is not developed further. It is not clear whether the student believes that her partners were not involved enough or that the task was poorly designed by the teachers, or that he or she could have done something more to increase communication.

Furthermore, self-efficacy beliefs appear to be impacted by the strategies adopted, in particular by AL08, who had mentioned meeting and interacting with people as a task-related strategy, and was able to reflect that although her “skills developed very slowly,” she felt that “everyday was a victory” as she knew that despite being “nervous and anxious,” she “could communicate.”

Thus, not only did her strategy, i.e. believing that interacting with each other would help her reach her goals, allow her to overcome her nervousness, but furthermore, being able to reflect on this and realise why one had progressed is a vital part of becoming self-regulated.

Among students with a higher TAA, it is also interesting to the use of terms like "but" (FL31, FL38, FL67, AL04, AL08, etc.), "though" (BL05), "even if" (FL31), "nevertheless" (FL33), "some but not all" (FL62), "a bit" (FL80), "maybe" (FL76), "certain objectives" (FL85) which show a nuanced approach to self-reflection, which is also particularly visible in FL31's answer above. While the overall answer is "No", she nevertheless points out that "there is a positive point" and goes on to say that she "didn't learn much [b]ut everything [she] learned helped [her]."

If students set goals and identify strategies which they keep in mind during the project, it stands to reason that there may be both positive and negative aspects, goals reached and other not reached, strategies which were useful and others which were not. The ability to sort through these goals and strategies after the task is thus more likely among students with a higher TAA.

14.5.4 Establishing a virtuous circle

Thus, it seems that strategic planning in the form of setting out how the task will help one reach one's goals, anticipating what difficulties may occur, and thinking about strategies to overcome them, has allowed some students to not only say that they have reached their goals, but also how they have done so. Being able to evaluate one's own learning is a key metacognitive skill without which what is learnt is unlikely to be transferable to other contexts.

Being able to replicate successful learning experiences or to learn from unsuccessful ones will allow students to adapt to future learning situations, as well as improving self-efficacy beliefs, thus not discouraging students from partaking in such projects. As such, it is important that "task-general" metacognitive skills be developed as they "can be applied to many different learning contexts and tasks, and once learned (e.g., in an SRL training), they can transfer to new contexts and tasks" (Schuster *et al.*, 2020, p. 457).

Byram's (1997) model includes *savoir apprendre* as a key skill to develop intercultural competence. This was also included in the CEFR as the "ability to learn" (CEFR, 2001, p. 12).

Secondly, because neither intercultural speakers/mediators nor their teachers can anticipate all their knowledge needs, it is equally important to acquire the skills of finding out new knowledge and integrating it with what they already have (Byram et al., 2002, p. 13).

However, this skill is mostly defined as a speaker's ability to gain skills and knowledge he or she is lacking within a particular communicative context, not as the ability to transfer this learning from one context to another. Yet, without being able to transfer what is learnt, learning will remain context specific. Those who say *that* they have learned things about French, Italian, Bulgarian or Brazilian culture may be able to use this knowledge in any future relations with these countries, but this may have taught them little about how to engage with people in other linguistic and cultural contexts. On the contrary, those who are able to say *how* they have learnt will be able to apply their learning methods and mindset in a variety of different situations, with interlocutors and collaborators with various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The multiplication of intercultural encounters for a self-regulated learner will in turn lead to further learning, either through successful communication or through learning from communication failures.

Within SRL, cognition, motivation, and metacognitive knowledge are non-transferable, task-specific components, directly addressing specific information processing or motivational problems. In contrast, metacognitive skills are transferable and task-general, regulating cognitive and motivational strategies within all kinds of learning tasks (Schuster et al., 2020, p. 457).

Beyond helping them learn language and content, therefore, allowing students to develop their capacity for strategic planning should lead to increased self-awareness, increased understanding of learning mechanisms, and as such, increased transferability of the learning skills acquired. These students will therefore be in a better position to become increasingly self-regulated, as each experience will improve the next, and increasingly interculturally competent, as they will have learnt how to gain the most from an intercultural encounter.

To this extent, learning how to set goals and strategies shows its potential to improve the quality of self-reflection, which, on Zimmerman's cyclical model (2000) will in turn improve the quality of goal-setting and strategic planning and so on.

14.6 Concluding remarks for Research Question 1

The above interpretation of the results related to self-regulation show that, overall, students' self-regulatory skills are not optimally developed, or at least not put to use in the context of fully self-directed intercultural telecollaborations. Whether it is the lack of hierarchical structures, the lack of specificity and coherence between goals and strategies, or the difficulties students had to self-reflect in a constructive way, all can be attributed to a lack of training in these areas and a reliance of external regulation. Indeed, many studies now show that self-regulatory processes can be taught (Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Oxford, 2017; Hawkins, 2018; Xiao & Yang, 2019). This is what Oxford (2017) calls “the good news”. Learners “can develop autonomy over their range of LLS [language learning strategies] and self-regulate choosing the appropriate strategy for the appropriate time” (Oxford, 2017, p.65).

While there are several models, this instruction usually involves explicit teaching and explanation of what goal setting and strategic planning involves, some form of in-task practice, and post-task reflection specifically geared towards the strategies previously taught.

Most models involve identifying students' needs; selecting strategies appropriate to the task; presenting, explaining and modeling the strategies; providing students with practice opportunities; asking students to identify the strategies actually used as a result of strategy instruction and to evaluate their strategies' usefulness in accomplishing the task; and identifying possibilities for transfer to new situations (Gunning & Oxford, 2014, p. 84).

This is all the more important among high school students. The present study showed that university students were better able to self-regulated on a number of levels, from goal hierarchies to coherence between goals and strategies. Where there are differences among high school students between those who give single word answers and those who give more structured answers, the former have almost disappeared at university level. This may be attributed to factors involving learners improving on a certain number of skills, or factors involving poorly self-regulated students being excluded from access to higher education.

It may, however, also be due to their age, since “several longitudinal studies have documented declines in adolescents' engagement in SRL” (Bardach *et al.*, 2023, p. 2). At this time, students are both in search of increased autonomy, including the desire to pursue goals which conflict with the academic goals usually set by their parents and teachers, and, on the other hand, still strongly reliant on parents and teachers for guidance as they navigate the transition from middle school to high school (Bardach *et al.*, 2023). The balance to be found between allowing students

to explore new modes of academic freedom and helping them to ensure academic success may lie, not in some middle ground, but in a form of teaching which would help them acquire the skills needed to become more autonomous.

Furthermore, increasing students' self-regulatory skills also plays various roles related to motivation, from regular feelings of success (goal hierarchies) to self-efficacy beliefs (learning strategies and attribution). This shows that motivation, unlike other factors of low achievement, can be influenced by teachers. "In contrast with cognitive abilities and SES [socio-economic status], which are often conceptualized as stable or outside the influence of educators, motivation can be more readily facilitated and improved" (Callan *et al.*, 2022, p. 62).

All this shows the importance of rethinking the role of teachers and institutions in order to integrate self-regulation as a key structure of educational systems, since self-regulation is vital to ensure students are able to apply what they learn to different contexts than the academic context in which they learnt it. Teachers must therefore "teach students to use specific strategies, including task-dependent strategies and strategies that generalize across tasks" (Callan *et al.*, 2022, p. 66). This ability to generalize, not only strategies (which can be cognitive, metacognitive, or affective/motivational) but also goal-setting and self-reflective skills, is also crucial in developing intercultural competence, which is itself defined as a general competence, i.e. not specific to one cultural community.

Chapter 15 *Intercultural competence in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations*

15.1 Introduction

Intercultural competence is of vital importance when it comes to intercultural telecollaboration. Being able to engage with partners who do not share the same language will require the ability to communicate effectively from a linguistic point of view. As such developing one's knowledge of, and one's ability to learn grammar, vocabulary, or improved pronunciation, through increased language awareness, will be an important skill of the interculturally competent speaker (Yang, 2013; Hyltenstam, 2021; Tang & Calafato, 2021).

However, engaging with partners who do not have the same cultural backgrounds is not something which mere language learning focused on linguistic form can ensure.

If language is viewed as a social practice of meaning-making and interpretation, then it is not enough for language learners just to know grammar and vocabulary. They also need to know how the language is used to create and represent meanings and how to communicate with others and to engage with the communication of others (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 15).

For students, then, it will be necessary to develop an understanding of language learning as a broad endeavour anchored in their personal and social life, and designed to help them build social relationships by expanding their linguistic and cultural repertoires.

As such, a critical stance, approaching language learning through the lens of social and cultural engagement in communal practices, understanding the interactions between languages, cultures, and territories, and questioning the way in which language can be learned and used in different contexts will lead to increased ability to communicate with intercultural partners. The notion of critical language awareness may therefore also be of use, showing that language use is not neutral, but culturally and politically loaded (Svalberg, 2007; Kramsch, 2019).

Self-directed intercultural telecollaboration, by encouraging students to choose topics that interest them and to reflect on language and cultural goals which are personal to them, has the potential to allow students to broach these questions, by bringing their own personal, cultural, and intercultural backgrounds to their encounter with a similarly autonomous other (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 53).

These considerations led to the formulation of Research Question 2: In what ways do students display intercultural competence in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations?

15.2 Summary of results related to Research Question 2

A number of results discussed in Part 3 can be of interest in relation to the second research question, focused on intercultural competence in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations.

First of all, university students are better able to set specific goals. This may show a level of language awareness at university level which is less developed at high school level. Goals in general have a narrow focus, and are particularly focused on language as an apparent end in itself. Both high school and university students mostly set language goals related to improve their language in general or specific aspects of their language, to the detriment of other aspects such as communication.

Similarly, cultural goals focus broadly speaking on the other, whether that is the partner's culture, the national culture of the partner school, or the culture(s) students associate with the target language. This culture is often itemized either as a form of knowledge (students want to learn about the other's culture) or aspects of the other's way of life (what are sometimes referred to as "soft" cultural topics such as food, music, traditional holidays, monuments, etc.) However, they rarely mention sharing their own culture.

Furthermore, when setting their strategies, high school students often omitted strategies related to their cultural goals, while their language goals were more frequently accounted for. Language is also a strong presence in personal development goals, confirming the narrow focus discussed above. However, a desire to build social relationships does appear which is of interest.

When students were asked about their experience, most students enjoyed communicating. Conversely, however, students did not tend to expect to stay in contact with their partners after the project.

Finally, students with a higher nominal intercultural capital when they began the project appeared to show more language and cultural awareness, goal specificity, and self-reflectiveness when setting language goals. They are also able to draw on their personal experience.

15.3 Language and cultural awareness

Gaining an understanding of what is involved in language and cultural learning is key to being able to progress, especially when one views this from the perspective of self-regulated learning. To this extent, the different projects analysed here showed a positive progression as students advanced in age and level of study.

Indeed, among younger learners, goals tended to be general goals such as wanting to speak better English or learn about a new culture. On the other hand, some university students were able to set specific goals, targeting areas of interest or weaknesses they wished to address.

15.3.1 *Language-awareness*

The language goals set by university students on both projects were at times remarkably specific. Though it will be shown later that this may reveal a narrow view of language learning, the focus on specific aspects of language, even to the extent of discussing specific verb tenses or graphemes and phonemes, shows a level of language awareness which is more acute than with younger learners.

This is confirmed by self-reflective phrasings such as “because I think it is this which I must improve the most” (BL03), “I know that I lack vocabulary” (FL78), or “my main difficulty in English is the use of conjugation tenses” (FL81).

This suggests an approach to language-learning which is both more structured and more self-aware, which is an important aspect of self-regulation. Language awareness may play an important role in students’ ability to progress in language learning. Language awareness can be broadly defined as “explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching, and language use” (Association of Language Awareness, www.languageawareness.org). Studies have shown that drawing students attention to certain structural aspects of language “tends to lead to larger learning gains than instruction that hopes to [teach these aspects] incidentally and/or implicitly” (Collins & Marsden, 2016).

Indeed, for Yang (2013) “language awareness, which refers to learners’ development of an enhanced consciousness of the forms and functions of language, helps students reflect on language in use” (Yang, 2013, p. 325). Hyltenstam (2021) reports that in his study of ten polyglots, “all have a high level of language awareness” (Hyltenstam, 2021, p. 68). Tang and

Calafato (2021) note “that heightened metalinguistic awareness can prove especially valuable when it comes to skills like reading and writing [and] makes it easier for students to learn new languages” (Tang & Calafato, 2021, p. 236).

By focusing on their ability to use language and on areas in which they struggle to do so, the above-mentioned students show an ability to talk about language and language learning.

The promotion of metalanguage, either by means of formal terminology or informally, in the minds and overt communication of learners and teachers, is integrally involved in the consciousness-raising processes that can assist the learner in perceiving and consolidating what is to be learned (Hyltenstam, 2021, p. 61).

Thus, a self-regulated learner will be able to understand the mechanisms of language and language learning to a sufficient extent that he or she can set goals which are achievable yet useful (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020), precise enough to sustain criteria for success (*ibid.*), and specific to his or her needs and interests (Little, 2016).

But furthermore, this is a crucial aspect of intercultural competence, as one key component of an intercultural approach is that skills be transferrable to different contexts (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Understanding how a language is learnt is thus a vital intercultural skill as it will allow targeted learning in varying future contexts, rather than simply developing skills in the language which is currently being learnt (Tang & Calafato, 2021).

15.3.2 Cultural awareness

The same was true for cultural goals, with specificity increasing among university students. Compared to younger learners, students who wanted to learn or enrich their general knowledge did not simply frame this in general terms. Younger learners had said that they wanted to “broaden [their] general culture” (FL49), or “enrich [themselves]” (IL05). While among university students, such general goals also appeared, as for example with BL10 who wanted to “enrich [his] general knowledge”, most students who set a CGOAL1 gave specific examples such as art, literature or social, political, or economic issues.

As was the case for language goals, this specificity allows these goals to have clearer criteria for success. Though such criteria are not explicitly mentioned, it will doubtless be easier to determine whether one has learnt about the political structure of a country than it would be to determine to what extent one’s general knowledge has been enriched. Such specific goals may

thus allow for clearer criteria for success to be elaborated with the help of teacher mediation (Alessandri *et al.*, 2020; Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Hawkins, 2018; Xiao & Yang, 2019; Callan *et al.*, 2022).

Furthermore, this specificity shifted some goals from one category to another. Goals such as learning about French culture (CGOAL3) became learning the structure of French society, which, being a specific field of knowledge, enters into both CGOAL1 and CGOAL3. Thus, as students' goals gain specificity, they also gain complexity. While the national level of description is still present in the latter example, culture is no longer viewed as a national unit, but rather, as a set of structures and practices shared by members of a national community. Wanting to discover a "foreign" culture shows the belief that people belong to "a national entity which brings together the characteristics of a people or a nation" (Zarate, 2008, p. 173). Focusing on specific aspects on culture begins the transition towards viewing culture as participation in practices shared by a community. "Cultural identities therefore are not coherent or fixed in terms of national or other affiliations, rather they grow out of participation in interaction with groups of others" (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 21). While this community is still framed by students as a national community, it may nevertheless be the first step towards introducing other levels of description to cultural definitions, and to shift away from the pervasive concept of nation which "is inadequate to describe a foreign culture" (Zarate, 1995, p. 24).

Furthermore, the level of cultural awareness required to point to specific aspects of a culture could be crucial in helping students transform these goals into more interculturally focused goals such as CGOAL2s which involve sharing one's own cultural background. Sharing one's relation to specific aspects of social life may be easier than sharing one's own "national culture", for the simple reason that one is individually involved in certain cultural practices, whereas one may not be involved in a more abstract notion of "Frenchness". Since "the monolingual paradigm" exemplified by the "slogan 'one people, one language, one nation'" (Derivry-Plard, 2020, p. 32) is likely to have little to do with students' actual cultural practices, sharing one's practices may be a shift away from this paradigm altogether. Sharing one's own culture without being, being seen as, or being expected to be, a mouthpiece for a national culture is one of the key challenges of intercultural approaches (De Martino, 2016; Kern *et al.*, 2023).

15.4 A narrow view of language and cultural learning

One of the clearest results from all four projects analysed above, is that whether it is language or culture, both at high school and university levels, many students appear to have a restrictive understanding of what the language classroom involves. Indeed, language is often restricted to language as an end in itself, and culture is often reified as national cultural items such as traditions, celebrations, music, or culinary practices.

15.4.1 Language

15.4.1.1 Language as an end in itself

On Projects 2 and 3, involving high school students, the dominance of LGOAL1 and LGOAL2 is of interest. Both appear to show a narrow focus on language as an end in itself. In these two categories, students' view of language seems to be limited to the English language in a school context, not as a means to enrich themselves personally, to travel or work, to communicate with other people or to discuss subjects of interest.

The difficulties teachers and institutions have in making students' classroom activities meaningful by anchoring them socially and linking them with the outside world are revealed by the dominance of these two categories. A student whose goal in an English language class is only to improve his or her English shows little awareness of both how and why this is to be done. Those setting goals falling into LGOAL2 may show more awareness of how, but not of why and to what end.

Yet, as Byram *et al.* (2013) note, “for many teachers, learners and the general public, the purposes of language teaching remain the same and appear to be self-evident: to develop the ability to communicate” (Byram *et al.*, 2013, p. 251). Here, however, the ability to communicate is not understood in the rich sense of building relationships, but in the restrictive sense of exchanging information.

However, even this notion of communication does not appear among students' dominant language goals. The focus is either on improving one's language, or on improving an aspect of one's language. Students thus appear to have isolated language from its context and to view it as “an autonomous linguistic system” rather than “the development of a mode of expression

which members of a given linguistic community share” (Kramersch, 2008, p. 35)³⁷. To this extent, first and second languages are viewed as different ways of expressing the same meanings (Byram, 1988).

The social and cultural aspects of language learning, some of which appear in LGOALS 3-6 are not represented, and language is restricted to a linguistic system viewed as an end in itself. Yet, it is these social and cultural aspects which give language its meaning.

Knowing a language [...] means more than knowing a linguistic system or communicating information, it means engaging in social practices using that system in order to participate in the social life (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14).

If language is viewed as a social practice of meaning-making and interpretation, then it is not enough for language learners just to focus on language as an end in itself (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 15; cf. Scarino, 2014).

15.4.1.2 Can-dos and communication

In Europe, the CEFR (2001) was intended to help teachers and students to move away from simply teaching linguistic form, towards “real-life tasks” (CEFR, 2018, p. 22). The CEFR focuses on can-do descriptors which present language learning as doing, i.e. as social practice, rather than as a theoretical classroom construct. The focus here is on communication, not on linguistic form.

The general descriptor for C2, the upper proficient user level, is a case in point.

Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations (CEFR, 2001, p. 24).

There is no mention of linguistic form here, but a short list of can-dos related to communication, such as understanding or expressing oneself.

However, at least two conclusions can be drawn. The first is that communication is understood here as an exchange of information, not as relationship-building (Liddicoat, 2009; (Scarino &

³⁷ My translation of the original French: « L'apprentissage d'une langue n'est pas simplement l'acquisition d'un système linguistique autonome mais le développement d'un mode d'expression que partagent les membres d'une communauté linguistique donnée » (Kramersch, 2008, p. 35).

Kohler, 2019). To “understand”, “summarise”, or “express” oneself is quite different from engaging in a community through a shared language, or building one’s own identity by expanding one’s linguistic and cultural repertoire.

The second is that even this weak form of communication is not what most students on these projects understand when asked to set a language goal. While the notions of oral and written language do show some anchoring in the CEFR, goals related to grammar and vocabulary without being integrated into a more complex network of goals do not show students to be interested in communication, or rather, do not show communication to be understood as a central part of language learning, as something which is an acceptable language goal in a classroom setting.

It must be said that this may not apply to students whose responses included a reference to improving their language in general or a specific aspect of language (LGOALS 1 or 2), but also included another goal (LGOALS 3-6). A hypothetical student who might mention wanting to improve their English (LGOAL1) by focusing on using adequate verb tenses in oral discussions (LGOAL2) in order to gain communication skills (LGOAL3) for their future profession (LGOAL4), would by no means be showing limited awareness of how and why languages are learnt.

Nevertheless, it remains clear that this is not the case for most students setting an LGOAL 1 or 2. Of the 77 high school students setting a language goal falling into LGOALS 1 or 2, only 19 combined this with another goal category, leaving 58 who mention LGOALS 1 or 2 exclusively.

When it comes to university students, in Projects 4 and 5, LGOAL2 dominated over other language goals, including LGOAL1. Students want to improve a specific aspect of their target language, without anchoring this language in a desire to communicate, to travel, or to work, nor to apply it to a specific subject or compare it with other facets of their linguistic repertoire. Among university students, LGOALS 3-6 combined are mentioned a total of 17 times, compared to LGOAL2 alone which is mentioned 28 times.

Thus, even the vision of language learning presented in the CEFR, based on communication in the weak sense of exchanging information, is not shared by a vast majority of students at both levels of study. While university students show more goal specificity, thus perhaps showing more language awareness, they have not broadened their goals compared to younger high school students. As will be developed below, this can doubtless be attributed to institutional factors which frame the language classroom as overly focused on language as an end in itself,

and insufficiently concerned with the social, cultural, and political anchorage of language learning.

15.4.1.3 Critical language awareness

While language awareness may help students to take a reflexive stance on language, and use formal or informal metalanguage to describe it, it focuses mostly on linguistic form. Thus, while university students appear to have a greater degree of language awareness than high school students, they nevertheless display little *critical* language awareness.

Other LA [language awareness] approaches are criticized by CLA [critical language awareness] proponents for presenting the existing sociolinguistic situation and ideologies embedded in the discourse as ‘natural’, thereby contributing to their perpetuation rather than, as CLA aims to do, to social change (Svalberg, 2007, p. 296).

Going beyond language in its linguistic form, and beyond language as a tool for communication, critical language awareness allows language users to examine the social and cultural anchoring of language, as well as the power dynamics at play in language use (cf. Kramsch, 2019). “Everything in the classroom [...] needs to be seen as social and cultural practices that have broader implications than just elements of classroom interaction (Pennycook, 2016, p. 33). Jiménez & Andrada-Rafael (2021) identify “two areas that could benefit from a wider representation” namely “language ideologies and plurilingual language practices” (Jiménez & Andrada-Rafael, 2021, p. 15). Other aspects of language use which are left out from non-critical forms of language awareness include identity (Scarino & Kohler, 2019), and intercultural mediation (Liddicoat & Derivry-Plard, 2019; 2023), and the links between language and ethnicity (Harris, 2011) and gender (Baxter, 2011).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that one may lead to the other. Forms of language awareness which make students conscious of some of the linguistic aspects of language use may lead them to come to problematise these aspects. Gender identities may be discussed in relation to pronouns in English, or the morphology of nouns in French which are historically masculine (jobs, for instance, such as *médecin*, *ministre*, etc.) Social hierarchies may be approached when being made aware of language registers. The impact of colonial history and slavery on language can be studied in relation to terms such the N-word. The word *collaboration* in French can also be shown to have strong connotations which “collaboration” does not have in English. The etymology of many (indeed probably most) words can be linked back to migration and cultural

exchanges: words like “apricot”, which began as the Latin *praecoque*, before gaining its *al-* prefix from Arabic, and filtering back into the Romance languages through Spain, and from there into English, show that languages and the communities who speak them are not impermeable, and that their histories are not linear.

The focus on grammar and vocabulary can thus be exploited critically for the simple reason that grammar and vocabulary are neither “natural” nor “neutral” but socially, culturally, and politically loaded. This leads Wilson & Marcin to suggest “that language awareness (LA) and CLA may be part of a continuum of expanding awareness” (Wilson & Marcin, 2022, p. 2). Thus, students who focus on linguistic form can be brought to “unthink” and “rethink” (Dervin, 2023) their preconceptions about the neutrality of language, as a step towards thinking critically about intercultural encounters more generally.

We need to learn to identify power games in intercultural encounters. Such games depend on representations of, amongst others, our status as ("native") speaker of a given (powerful/'small') language; our nationality origin, skin colour; our gender; signs of economic status (Dervin & Simpson, 2021, p. 58).

Since language is permeated with these power dynamics, one might help students to move from language awareness to critical language awareness and, from there, on to critical interculturality, in which they understand their own social and cultural situatedness, and the perceptions and hierarchies which come with it.

I keep one eye and ear open to the world around me while my other eye and ear watch over this process. Since interculturality cannot but be ideological, we need to watch ourselves watching others (Dervin, 2023, p. 86).

To this extent, those students who show language awareness, while limited in its scope, may be amenable to developing intercultural competence by questioning the complexity of the contexts in which linguistic forms evolve and are used.

15.4.1.4 Broader language goals

Despite most language goals being exclusively focused on language as an end in itself, language goals other than LGOAL1 and 2 were set by a number of students and appear to show a broader understanding of language learning.

Whether they intend “communication” to be understood in the consumer-tourist sense or the rich sense of building social relationships (Liddicoat, 2009; Scarino & Kohler, 2019) students setting an LGOAL3 seem at least to have understood that learning a language is not a self-contained activity but a skill to be used in social contexts.

Social interactions are the basis for building social relationships, especially when expressed, for example, as a desire to “meet and talk to interesting and cultivated people.” (BL06) These social relationships are a central element of intercultural competence. Expressing this as a language goal over and above linguistic concerns shows a conception of language which is different to those set forth in LGOAL2. While such goals often appear to show less language awareness, less hierarchical structure and fewer clear criteria for success than some in LGOAL2, bringing students to combine these different goals could be an enriching process.

Similarly, a desire to improve one’s language in order to express one’s thoughts also anchors language in a desire to communicate, and brings us closer to the notion of a linguistic repertoire. Indeed, the primary motivation here is to express oneself, as such, to bring one’s individual personal and cultural history to find new forms of expression in a language which is imperfectly mastered (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). The classroom-centered learner appears to give way to the “heteroglossic narrator” (Kramsch, 1995). Again, combining an LGOAL3 with others may be an interesting way to both broaden one’s conception of language and have specific enough goals to be able to hierarchise them and to set criteria for success.

LGOAL4, while it also shows students engaging in language-learning as a means to an end, must be subdivided for a more precise interpretation. Indeed, of the five high school students setting an LGOAL4, two give academic success as their future goal, with FL36, for example, saying she “needs it for [her studies].” She also mentions, however, “that today speaking English is very important” and will allow her to “travel later more easily.” (FL36) FL46 and IL14 similarly mention travel as a future goal.

On the university projects, only one of six students who set an LGOAL4 mentioned academic success, and even then, not exclusively. The others mention their travel plans, professional goals, or even current profession, as is the case for FL88 who “work[s] with migrant families”.

In most cases, it is difficult to determine from their answers alone whether students' goals are a sign of intercultural competence or of a consumer-tourist mindset (Byram, 2003; Liddicoat, 2009). What these responses do show, however, is that language-learning is not viewed only as a classroom activity, but as integrated into a larger network of activities. While these activities are restricted to international mobility and professional advancement, which may only be associated with English and not with other languages (Phillipson, 2003), it is nevertheless a step away from viewing language learning as a purely academic endeavour.

Students setting an LGOAL5 also seem to have detached themselves from the English language class. FL41 seems to be grappling with the concept of communicating in a *lingua franca*, or has at least begun to problematise the fact that her partners are “from another country with a language that is not our mother tongue.” (FL41)

IL27 and FL27 want, respectively, to “learn some French” and to “teach French.” Similarly, on the university projects, LGOAL5 was only mentioned by one student who wished to introduce her partner to the Kazakh language, in its historical and etymological dimensions. This appears to show, on their part, an interest in comparing languages, in tracing their origins, and in going beyond the boundaries of the target-language-only classroom.

Target-language-only approaches which are the norm in many educational systems have been criticized by proponent of intercultural approaches for enclosing students in a monolingual framework in which a language corresponds to a territorial and cultural entity. Furthermore, in these approaches, the individual's prior experience is at best devalued, at worst suppressed.

In such approaches to teaching, the students' existing language knowledge is seen as a problem for the acquisition of the new language which must be overcome through the proscription of that language (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 281).

The few students who take interest in the language of origin of their partners, or wish to discuss their own (more or less marginalised) language, show a willingness to focus on their “actual linguistic, communicative, semiotic resources” (Blommaert *et al.*, 2010, p. 102). Not only does this show a desire to share their own languages and cultures and how they may interact with the target language, it is also a more realistic view of language learning.

In reality, [...] it is never possible for a multilingual person to suspend the relevance of his/her complete language knowledge in any interaction. For multilingual people their entire linguistic repertoire is always potentially available and always affects their perceptions of the events they encounter. The monolingualism of many language classrooms is at best a

fiction and at worst a denial of the identities and cultural realities of both the teachers and the learners (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 281).

In this context, FL37 is interested in language-learning as a phenomenon which is culturally shaped, saying she wants to know “how they are learning english in their country.” (FL37) This too may be seen as showing a level of critical language awareness, given that she is not only concerned with the language itself, but with the way in which it is being taught, which suggests that she is at least aware that there are different ways a language can be understood and transmitted, and that this is likely to vary according to what country one is in.

Finally, the four students whose goals fall into LGOAL6 have also gone beyond the top-down classroom and seem willing to position themselves as speakers, not merely as learners. Indeed, they do not simply want to learn English as an end in itself or to achieve academic success, they wish to learn to speak about “topics that interest [them]” (FL25) or “on a subject that fascinates [them]”. (FL29) Language is not seen as an end in itself for a learner who is first and foremost defined by his or her lack of proficiency in the target language (Kramsch, 1995; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Here, language is seen as a means for an intercultural speaker to speak about his or her interests, and thus develop his or her personal and cultural identity in new ways. For students who set an LGOAL6, the goal is not simply to speak, but to speak *about* something. “First, the learner has been socialised in his/her own culture. A beginner in a foreign language is not an ignorant learner” (Zarate, 1995, p. 24).

Thus, while many students seem to limit their language goals to more or less specific goals about the target language itself, some show the beginnings of a broader mindset. This is vital both in terms of self-regulation and intercultural competence.

On the one hand, if a student sees language learning as an academic discipline, i.e. most often externally regulated by teachers and institutions, it is unlikely that this learning will be pursued once this external regulation comes to an end. If, on the other hand, students are engaged in language learning because it is an integral part of their personal, social or professional lives, though their learning contexts may be externally regulated at times, their desire to undertake such learning will stem from them, not from teacher or institutions who impose it on them (Boekaerts, 1999; Little, 2016).

While this is an aspect of self-regulation, i.e. transferring learning goals from the externally regulated classroom to students’ self-regulated non-academic lives, it is also clear that it is central to intercultural competence. Wanting to learn languages as a means of expression and

communication in intercultural social or professional contexts will allow students to build an awareness of how language is used as a vehicle for multiple cultures and identities, which a narrow focus on grammar and vocabulary will not.

15.4.2 Culture

15.4.2.1 Culture as gaining knowledge

The results overall for students' cultural goals, whether it be the predominance of CGOAL3, or the presence of CGOALS 1 and 4, appear to show that students mostly view cultural learning as an intake. Their involvement in the learning process is thus seen as gaining knowledge, as learning new things about the other or the way other people live.

CGOAL3 frames cultural learning as a one-way relationship. Students either want to learn about another culture in general, about the specific culture of the country with which they are interacting, or about the culture(s) they associate with the language they are learning. They are involved as learners who may be enriched by the experience, but not as speakers who will bring their own personal and cultural history to the discussion (Kramsch, 1995; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

On the one hand, those who mention wanting to get to know another culture or other cultures in general may be seen as distancing themselves from their partners. They only appear interested in their partners insofar as they represent a general form of otherness (De Martino, 2016; Kern *et al.*, 2023). Conversely, those specifically setting goals regarding the culture they associate with their partner seem to be restricting both their partner to one national culture and their learning to this individual encounter, and as such the individual nation involved. Indeed, this seems to be the case for those like FL40 who simply state they want to “know the italien culture.”

This view of culture has often been associated with language learning. Culture is represented as homogeneous and a common trait of a people living in a given territory. As such, it is “depicted as though it were unchangeable and representative of all its ‘members.’” (Dervin, 2012, p. 182-3).

En effet, les manuels et les programmes d'enseignement des langues sont souvent tentés de privilégier une description centrée sur l'appartenance à une entité nationale qui rassemble

les caractéristiques d'un peuple ou d'une nation, ce qui autorise une description simplifiée d'une langue et d'une culture étrangères (Zarate, 2008, p. 173).³⁸

The mention of English and American cultures is also interesting. For a number of students, these can be understood as stemming from a school mindset, in which, as this project is brought to them in English class, the cultures associated with the English language must be mentioned. This appears to be the case for FL32, who wants to “know more about the English traditions, their habits, their attitudes, their way of life etc ...” and does not mention his partners in this project at all. Thus, the role language learning should play in opening students to otherness seems to be severely limited. The “monolingual paradigm” (Derivry-Plard, 2020, p. 32) reduces the otherness of the English language class to those English-speaking countries which have dominated geopolitical relations over the past four centuries. Indeed, this is the case even in *lingua franca* telecollaborations involving no students from English speaking countries, which one would expect to challenge this territorialised vision. Language is seen as bound to culture, not in the rich sense that it can only ever be used by culturally situated speakers, but in the limited sense in which both language and culture belong to a territory. Thus, the only otherness which is targeted by these goals is the dominant otherness which already permeates the language, media, entertainment, academia, etc. of many Western countries, and in this sense is barely other at all.

It is not surprising that French students in particular view culture as territorially bound, since the very curricula which define what language teachers should impart specify that students should gain “knowledge of the culture and history which the languages studied convey” so as to better understand “the cultural anchorage of every language” (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2019, p. 7) and that in order for language to be anchored in the “cultural realities of the countries whose language is being studied” they should examine “ways of life, holidays and traditions,” as well as “historical and geographical notions” and “people” “from the culture of the area concerned” (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2015, p. 38).³⁹ Thus, the view that a language belongs to an “area” and there are “cultures of [that] area” is still pervasive in national “foreign” language curricula, as is the term “foreign”. This vision is also frequent among

³⁸ “Indeed, language teaching textbooks and curricula are often tempted to favour a description centred around belonging to a national entity which includes the characteristics of a people or a nation, allowing a simplified description of a foreign language and culture” (Zarate, 2008, p. 173) (My translation).

³⁹ My translation of the original French: « la connaissance de la culture et de l'histoire que véhiculent les langues étudiées » « l'ancrage culturel propre à chaque langue » « Modes de vie, fêtes et traditions, quelques repères historiques et géographiques, quelques personnages de la culture de l'aire concernée » (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2015, p. 38)

teachers, even those interested in telecollaboration, as confirmed by their preference for tandem telecollaborations, in which learners are paired with “native” speakers of their target language, over *lingua franca* telecollaborations, in which learners share a target language (Hoffstaedter & Kohn, 2015a).

Among those who set a CGOAL1, culture is similarly viewed as an intake of knowledge or personal progress. Indeed, many students who set a CGOAL1 seem to view culture as a form of knowledge, something to be gained and kept. FL29 wants to “learn new things on lots of different subjects”, FL39 “would like to have more knowledge on all subjects” and IL25 wants “to know as many things as possible.” In these cases, the partners and well as their cultures have disappeared altogether to leave room for what is often referred to a “high” culture or “big ‘C’ culture (i.e., art, music, literature, history, etc.)” (Fantini, 2012, p. 270).

While such cultural learning has its merits, it does not equip students to navigate cultural and intercultural contexts with which they are not familiar. Yet, this remains a key part of language teachers’ training and recruitment processes. As Byram explains, “the training in literary criticism which many language teachers have received is only partially adequate for the analysis of culture they ought to be promoting” (Byram, 1988, p. 24). The competitive recruitment exams in France include a written test on “literature and/or civilisation” which are considered “necessary for the implementation of the curriculum in middle school and high school” (Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, 2022, p. 16).⁴⁰ This being the case, teachers then tend to view culture as information. “Hence, the teaching of culture is defined mainly in terms of the transmission of information about English-speaking countries” (Larzén-Ostermark, 2008, p. 543; cf. Byram & Wagner, 2018). Beyond this, the term “civilisation” is heavily connoted, and the knowledge teachers are required to possess reflects this connotation by focusing mainly on dominant English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom or the United States, the “civilised” English-speaking countries.

15.4.2.2 Culture as way of life

The second most mentioned category, CGOAL4, frames culture as a way of life. While this does not preclude intercultural competence, it is nevertheless a restrictive understanding of culture, which is reduced to cultural items supposed to be representative of what it is to be from

⁴⁰ My translation of the original French: « littérature et/ou civilisation » « nécessaires à la mise en œuvre des programmes d’enseignement du collège et du lycée » (Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, 2022, p. 16).

a given country. For example, if one learns about carnivals, one knows about Brazilian culture. “I want to learn lots of things about Brazilian culture (I’m very curious). Culinary specialty, landscapes, and without forgetting the carnival !!” (FL87) This is especially the case when culture is presented as homogeneous. For example, IL22 want to “learn about traditions, typical foods or dances ... and many other curiosities about this culture.” This frames culture as a homogeneous set of practices shared by all (Dervin, 2012).

IL12 even claims she wants to “know typical Foreign life routine,” which, while it may be interpreted as meaning “what life is like outside of Italy,” nevertheless seems to imply that life can be typically foreign. Again, this corresponds to established understandings of language learning.

Whole edifices of curriculum, teaching practices, and policies for language teaching are constructed on the assumption that entire languages can be considered foreign, with pervasive repercussions in curriculum, program design, and pedagogy (LoBianco, 2014, p. 312).

Here too, the above-mentioned “ways of life, holidays and traditions” mentioned in the French curriculum show that this vision of culture is still pervasive (Ministère de l’Éducation Nationale, 2015, p. 38). While talking about ways of life does not hinder, and may even help, the development of intercultural competence, if it is considered alone, it will lead to a restrictive or “shallow” understanding of cultural practices (O’Dowd, 2016).

Intercultural content is not in the foreground; it is considered a means to an end, which is the intercultural interaction. [...] An orientation towards soft intercultural topics such as “fashion”, “eating habits” is, however, of value since it makes pupils curious about their partners and helps them to discover and become aware of interpersonal and intercultural differences and similarities (Hoffstaedter & Kohn, 2015b, p. 36).

Thus, talking about aspects of one’s way of life has more value *qua* interaction than it has for its content. As discussed in relation to culture as territorially bound, viewing culture as way of life is in line with national curricula which limit students understanding of otherness as well as their own cultural situatedness. Indeed, viewing one’s partner in terms of his or her way of life is likely to reduce them to stereotypical practices which limit the encounter with otherness to the kind of encounter which could be found in a textbook or travel guide. A key to setting cultural goals therefore may be to understand that one is bound to these practices by the perceptions others have of the country one lives in, and then plan to question these practices as

individual speakers rather than as mouthpieces for a national entity (De Martino, 2016; Kern *et al.*, 2023).

15.4.2.3 Sharing cultures

The idea of engaging and sharing with others is present in CGOAL2. This sharing is an important step towards intercultural competence in the sense that it allows the learner to view him or herself as a speaker, someone with something to say, not merely someone who is deficient in his or her mastery of the target language (Kramersch, 1995; Kern & Liddicoat, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

However, it must be noted that most students who mention sharing their cultures frame this as sharing their national culture with their partners' national culture. For example, FL34 wanted to “discover their culture and know what are the common and different points with ours.” This presupposes that “their” culture is homogeneous, as is “ours”, and that the two could thus be compared. This gives us “an implicit view of a monolingual learner in a homogeneous society focused on a similar homogeneous society of native speakers” (Byram, 2002, p. 43).

It is crucial to overcome this opposition of “us” and “them” to become, no longer a mouthpiece for a nation, but an individual with a personal and cultural history, some of which may be best described at a national level, but without that national level of description becoming how the student defines him or herself in the eyes of the other (De Martino, 2016; Kern *et al.*, 2023). The fact that some students view themselves, consciously or not, as mouthpieces for their country is evidenced by FL67's claim that he “would like to share his French culture.”

From an intercultural approach, language learning is not merely filling a blank slate but enriching one's own identity by learning to express it in new ways. Broadening one's cultural repertoire means using one's existing cultural background to instigate cultural learning, not merely to intake new information. This makes the individual central to the way in which learning is framed.

Viewing culture as a dynamic set of practices rather than as a body of shared information engages the idea of individual identity as a more central concept in understanding culture (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 23).

The importance of bringing one's own culture to the discussion, not in order to broadcast it but to gain a reflective understanding of one's cultural situatedness and help one's partner do the

same, is therefore crucial when it comes to developing intercultural competence, and the self-directed modality of this intercultural telecollaboration was intended to put students in a position to do so, allowing them “to take charge of [their] own learning” (Holec, 1979, p. 3).⁴¹ Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, becoming an autonomous and self-regulated learner requires teaching. The same appears to be the case when it comes to understanding the multiple links between language and culture, and the possibility of moving between languages and cultures.

15.4.2.4 Towards intercultural competence?

A number of aspects, however, did show the beginnings of an intercultural approach to self-directed learning.

Some students who mention wanting to know other cultures in general may be seen as searching for a general competence, not restricted to individuals or cultures. Framing cultural goals in general terms may be seen as placing this project in the context of a more general desire to open oneself to other cultures. This seems to be the case, for example, for IL14 who wants to “know new cultures and customs because [she would] like to travel around the world.” FL51 wants to learn things “about a country with a culture that [he does] not know”. IL26 believes “knowing a lot of things about another culture is a very interesting thing”. Both seem at least to have a mindset of curiosity towards otherness which is independent of their involvement in this specific intercultural telecollaboration. This desire to engage with people from different cultural backgrounds may help them “transcend and transform [their] native system” and their “monocular vision of the world” (Fantini, 2012, p. 267).

Conversely, some students who view culture as a national culture, seem primarily to be taking an interest in people. Thus, while these people are framed on a national level of description, they do seem willing to engage with people and potentially to build social relationships. Thus, IL36 is not interested in French culture *per se* but in the “culture of [his] French partner.” On the one hand, the partner here is viewed as a broadcaster for Frenchness. Culture is therefore framed in a limited manner, on the basis of nationality. Indeed, the notion that the partner’s culture is primarily French will need to be questioned through experience and thanks to teacher mediation. On the other hand, there does seem to be a difference between students who say they

⁴¹ My translation of the original French: « la capacité de prendre en charge son propre apprentissage » (Holec, 1979, p. 3).

want to “learn about France culture” (IL13) or “about Italian culture” (FL26), and those who say they want to learn about the “culture of [their] French partner” (IL32). The emphasis on his partner is of interest when it comes to the relationship-building aspect of intercultural competence (Liddicoat, 2009; Scarino & Kohler, 2019), and can perhaps be usefully exploited by teachers to question the national belonging which he projects onto this partner.

Goals which take into account several national cultures are also worth discussing. While some students focused exclusively on their partner’s national culture, and others exclusively on the national cultures they associated with their target language, other combined the two. Once again, this is not a fully intercultural viewpoint. The English language is viewed as corresponding to English and American cultures, and thus students aim to integrate these into their experience with what they perceive as non-English-speaking countries. For many students, this excessive focus on English and the cultures they associate with it runs the risk of impoverishing rather than enriching their linguistic and cultural experience (Chaplier & Joulia, 2019). However, wanting to “learn the Italian culture” *and* to “be able to exchange about English culture with correspondents” (FL48) may provide a rich opportunity to remove oneself from a monocular vision of culture by discussing how different countries interact from a multilateral perspective, not simply from a bilateral one.

The interactions between people from different countries and cultural backgrounds are a key part of what intercultural approaches are attempting both to encourage and comprehend. The mobility to which many more people have access today than ever before (Sorrels, 2012; LoBianco, 2014) will mean that these kinds of interactions will be more and more frequent. Wanting to understand the perspectives of individuals with different cultural backgrounds is part of the curiosity one would expect of interculturally competent students. Wanting to understand their perspectives on yet other cultural perspectives can also be a step in the right direction, so long as the motivations for attaching the English language to English or American culture are brought into question. Teachers may take the opportunity to problematise the very notion of national cultures and their correspondence to languages and to ask how “recent demographic mixing has shown the model of discrete cultures to be inadequate” (Coffey, 2013, p. 268).

Students who set a CGOAL6 are of particular interest as they wished to learn by exchanging with others, thus viewing the exchange itself as the learning opportunity. FL42 wanted to “discover another culture other than through books and the internet: by exchanging with people of the same age”, FL61 wanted to “discover how to work with someone who don’t speak our

language” and IL01 wanted to “learn as much as possible from other people.” The intercultural telecollaboration, therefore, is seen by these students not as a means of gaining knowledge or comparing national cultures, but of learning by communicating with their partners, which shows a desire to exchange, interact and collaborate, as well as an awareness that this is a way of learning. The rejection of “books and the internet” by FL42 shows that he is conscious of the limits of these ways of gaining knowledge, aware that there is something to be gained by communicating which cannot be gained by reading.

The notion of engaging in intercultural practices which is at the heart of intercultural approaches is at play here, since the cultural goal is linked to the exchange itself.

Learning involves purposeful, active engagement in interpreting and creating meaning in interaction with others, and continuously reflecting on one’s self and others in communication and meaning-making in variable contexts. For students, it is more than a process of absorption of facts; it is continuously developing as thinking, feeling, changing intercultural beings (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 283).

Here, this communication taking place in a “third space” (Bhabha, 1994) at the meeting point of different personal and cultural backgrounds is viewed by this student as a learning goal in itself, rather than a way of attaining some further goal. This student appears to understand the very experience of communicating as having intrinsic value, one which cannot be reproduced by reading or internet searches, thus showing some of the beliefs associated with experiential learning (Kolb, 1984).

15.4.2.5 Language as culturally loaded

CGOAL5 is also of particular interest when considering students cultural goals. On the one hand, those who set their cultural goal as learning new words and expressions, which would have seemed more appropriate as language goals, may seem to have misunderstood the question, or to be trapped in an understanding of the language class as exclusively focused on language. However, while this may be true, it nevertheless underlines the close link in students’ minds between language and culture, which is an interesting starting point for building intercultural competence.

More interestingly, however, one student was interested in how her partners viewed their shared target language. Indeed, FL73 wanted to know about “their link with English language, if it is the same that our.” This is very similar to FL37’s language goal discussed above and shows a

level of critical language awareness (cf. Svalberg, 2007), at least to the extent that this student is aware that she has a relationship with the English language which may or may not be shared by others, particularly those from other cultural and institutional contexts. To question the way language learning takes place depending on different cultural contexts is a sign of both self-regulation and intercultural competence. Indeed, here, it is intercultural awareness which allows the student to set a goal related to a culturally loaded topic, thus making good use of the opportunities offered by the self-directed intercultural telecollaboration.

Similarly, AL01 mentions that, while, in the context of her English classes, she is interested in “learning more about North American culture,” she is also interested in “learning about the background of other ESL students and what drives them to learn and speak English nowadays.” This is particularly interesting since, on the one hand, she understands the English language as bound to American culture despite the *lingua franca* modality of the telecollaboration. Yet, on the other hand, she also shows an ability, within the context of this telecollaboration, to remove herself from these boundaries in order to take an interest in English as it is spoken in other parts of the world. The question as to what “drives them” displays the same kind of critical language awareness as the previous comment, since language here is not taken as merely a tool to communicate but as something which is taken up by students for various reasons, which she would like to better understand.

The interest AL04 and AL08 respectively show regarding “expressions” and “slang words” is also worth analysing. The terms “expressions” may refer to idioms or phrases, which are particularly linked to their cultural anchorage, as can be seen by the fact that similar ideas are expressed with different images in different countries: the “icing on the cake” translates to French as *la cerise sur le gâteau*, since icing is not part of ordinary culinary practices in France. As for slang, it is often part of a counterculture, not the dominant national narrative. As Kramsch (2014) writes, notions such as “correctness”, “purity”, and “normality” are to be challenged as they reflect power dynamics within the very use of language. Wanting to learn expressions and slang words does not show someone who wishes to function within the limits of the classroom and the forms of language taught there, but someone who is interested in how “real” people talk, in local or non-institutional contexts. These goals may indicate that integrating sociolinguistics into language learning could be of use to help students frame language use as a socially anchored practice.

Furthermore, there is no sign that they wish to learn English words here. Indeed, AL04’s desire to exchange expressions can be understood as meaning French and Brazilian expressions as

much as English ones. AL08 desire to learn slang is cited in a list of “things” she is “curious to know” about “France,” suggesting that the slang she is interested in learning is French slang. Thus, the target-language-only classroom, criticized as both undesirable and unrealistic (Liddicoat, 2008; Blommaert, 2010) appears to have disappeared in the eyes of these students, who are interested in their partners’ language as well as their target language.

To this extent, these students appear not to be focusing on language so as to reduce language learning to their target language alone as others did. On the contrary, they show an interest in exploring the complexity of the communication setting involving two national cultural contexts and three languages, and in doing so display a broader view of both language and culture and an understanding of how the two are inextricably linked since language is always spoken by a culturally situated speaker. Showing an interest in moving across these languages and cultures as developing plurilingual/pluricultural speakers is especially relevant and adapted to this type of learning situation.

15.4.2.6 Self and other

15.4.3 Personal development goals: making friends vs gaining knowledge

Personal development goals were added to Worksheet 1 and the post-task self-reflective questionnaire for Projects 2 and 3, which came last chronologically. This was done after an early reading of the other projects had begun to reveal their narrow focus on language and cultural intake, in an effort to broaden students’ understanding of the learning opportunities of intercultural telecollaborations. While on the one hand, this question was designed to prompt certain responses, which may represent a methodological limit, the ways in which the opportunity was taken up by students led to some interesting results which are worth discussing.

15.4.3.1 Building social links

Developing social skills such as overcoming shyness, gaining confidence in interactions with others, being more open to others and better at working as a team is an important part of what it is to be interculturally competent. Definitions of intercultural competence as a combination of knowledge, skills, and attitudes (cf. Deardorff, 2006; 2020; UNESCO, 2013) include social skills such as “curiosity and openness” and being able to “relate” to others (Chun, 2015, p. 6).

The dominant category of personal development goals was PGOAL1 related to social skills. To this extent, students seem aware of the importance of such skills when interacting with others.

It is interesting to note that students wanting to gain confidence or overcome shyness did not mention doing so in a specifically intercultural context. On the one hand, understanding the cultural background of one's interlocutor can be seen as crucial to ensuring effective communication. However, it must also be noted that intercultural competence being a general competence which is not restricted to understanding specific cultural contexts, general dispositions such as confidence and the ability to overcome shyness may indeed be more transferrable than more culturally specific social skills, e.g. familiarity with French or Italian speakers. Overall, therefore, aspects of social skills may constitute intercultural skills.

However, it is also useful to consider shyness in a specifically intercultural context, since speaking a language which one is still learning may lead to linguistic insecurity which can reinforce feelings of shyness. Reflecting on such feelings and how they can be overcome may help students gain confidence in these settings, particularly given that improved linguistic proficiency does not appear to be a prerequisite for reduced linguistic insecurity, playing less of a role than self-reflection, familiarity with one's environment, and care from interlocutors.

The focus here on relating to others is central to students' responses. In the case of PGOAL1, while students are discussing competences they themselves can develop (indeed, this was what was asked of them), these skills were turned towards their partners and could only be realised in interaction with these partners. The ability to overcome one's shyness or gain confidence when speaking to a partner, for example, cannot be developed alone as some other goals could. This interdependence is interesting as it makes these goals impossible to develop through reading or internet research, a fact which was only rarely the case for language and cultural goals. Here too, engagement in the interaction is necessary if they are to reach their goals (Liddicoat, 2008).

This is also true for PGOAL2 in which students focused on developing relationships with others. When discussing LGOAL3, it has been mentioned that it was unclear whether students intended "communication" to be understood in the consumer-tourist sense of merely exchanging information or in the rich sense of building social relationships (Liddicoat, 2009; Scarino & Kohler, 2019). Here, it appears many students wished to do the latter.

Indeed, a total of 26 students expressed a desire to "meet new people" (FL32), to "get to know people" (FL41) or to "make friends" (IL20) or "establish nice relationships" (IL24). Their

intentions at the start of the project were therefore not merely to exchange information and to collaborate on a school project but to create and maintain social relationships with the people they were about to meet (Liddicoat, 2009). Since intercultural competence includes the desire and the skills to do just that, these students' mindset at the start of the project includes a key component of such competence.

PGOAL5, concerned with self-improvement, at times also revealed interesting desires on the part of students and showed awareness of aspects of personal development which are crucial for intercultural competence. This is the case for IL04 who wanted to "be more mature" or FL66 who wanted to "expand [his] open-mindedness." While these remain relatively general, they are traits which are useful when considering intercultural interactions.

Finally, though only five students mention future goals (PGOAL6), these students appear to have gone beyond the confines of the language classroom and understood that language-learning is a socially anchored activity which is useful for e.g. travel or professional life (unlike LGOAL4, academic success was not cited as a personal development goal). Furthermore, establishing long-term goals in this manner may also be a way of structuring one's goals hierarchically (Zimmerman, 2000).

15.4.3.2 Some limitations

While personal development goals appear to broaden the outlook of some students, many of the concerns discussed in relation to language and cultural goals are still present. For those students falling into PGOAL3, having a desire to discover a new country or culture, the partners they were about to meet may appear less as possible friends and more as mouthpieces for a specific national culture or for the world outside of their home country more generally (De Martino, 2016; Kern *et al.*, 2023).

The classroom mindset also appears to be at play for those setting a PGOAL4 which concerns language. Students were asked to specify their goals regarding language, before setting goals with regards to culture and personal development. Yet, students mentioned language in both cultural and personal development goals as well as language goals. While some language-related cultural goals were of interest, as discussed above, many PGOAL4s simply restate students' language goals, as exemplified by IL12 who simply wrote: "I would like to improve my English."

Indeed, PGOAL4 included 25 students, almost as many as PGOAL2. This being said, only 13 fell into PGOAL4 exclusively, the others combining this with other goal categories. Nevertheless, on the part of these students, this appears to reveal a narrow view of the language class, restricted to language learning alone rather than social relationships and personal growth which can fuel and give meaning to this learning. This view has doubtless been passed on to them by their educational systems which often prioritise language over culture (Byram, 1988) or view culture as itemized pieces of information (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

Often culture has been considered to be some sort of fifth macro-skill, which is introduced once the skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing have been established (Liddicoat, 2008, p. 278).

The notion of personal development may appear even further from the goals of most teachers, and thus of most students. Yet, integrating language learning into the construction of one's social life and the building of one's identity is precisely what is at stake. Shifting from learning language only to discovering meanings (Kramersch, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) makes language learning more than simply learning linguistic form and cultural information. Language learning becomes a way to construct oneself in relation to others in line with one's "personal needs and desires" (Kinginger, 2008, p. 49).⁴² This is what is characterised by Byram *et al.* as

the aims of the liberal educational philosophy which had been attached to language teaching in the nineteenth century, i.e. the personal development of the individual through empathetic understanding of other countries, peoples and their languages, characterised by Wilhelm von Humboldt's notion of Bildung (Byram et al., 2013, p. 251).

The inextricable link between education, philosophy, and personal development is not at the forefront of students' concerns, even when asked to set personal development goals. The shift in many educational systems from acquiring knowledge to acquiring skills or competences does little to lift the limitations of knowledge-based systems. Learning should be seen as building, enriching, and complexifying individual identities as they evolve through the learning process. Encouraging students, or even allowing them, to understand learning as more than simply a process of acquisition of knowledge, but also a process of developing know-how, *savoir-être*, experiential learning, and linking learning to their personal life, appears to be a vital challenge

⁴² My translation of the original French: « des besoins et désirs personnels » (Kinginger, 2008, p. 49).

for language learning in the near future. As such, this understanding of language learning also needs to be a central part of teacher training and language curricula.

15.4.4 Learning as a group or individually

15.4.4.1 A shift away from individual strategies

Among high school learners, the fact that individual and team strategies were closely matched, with the former being mentioned by 18 students and the latter by 16, is of interest when it comes to discussing intercultural competence. Indeed, it has been stressed that while intercultural communication is an openness towards the other, it is also vital that the individual be seen as equally constitutive of the communication, which exists not in one or the other but in a third space (Bhabha, 1994; Kramsch, 1995).

Thus, it is interesting to see strategies evenly shared between individual strategies and strategies involving teamwork. Being willing to practice, make efforts or accept your mistakes are indeed vital aspects of collaborative learning, and perhaps especially so in an intercultural context. The emphasis on teamwork also shows a positive mindset among students, particularly in their desire to help each other in the face of difficulty. This shows notions of group solidarity which go beyond the country-of-origin-based “us” vs “them” divide (Kohl, 2018). However, it is equally striking that only one high school student set a strategy involving both individual work and teamwork, showing that while as a group students overall set both, individually they mostly set one or the other.

Most noticeable when looking at university students on Project 4 is that almost all chose group strategies, with only three students mentioning individual strategies. Interestingly, those who did so, did so exclusively, there being no crossover between students having mentioned group strategies and those having mentioned individual strategies. This is also the case for most students on Project 5, with only four choosing individual strategies, two of whom did so exclusively.

The fact that, here, students favour strategies involving working as a team shows that the collaborative purpose of such projects has been integrated. Emphasis on communicating and helping each other shows that the dynamics of some groups are positive.

However, it can also be useful to ask whether focusing on group strategies to the exclusion of individual ones will yield only positive results, since “highly proficient learners typically

employ a wider range of learning strategies than their less proficient peers” (Sukyng, 2021, p. 64). Indeed, perhaps individual work, research, or willingness to accept one’s mistakes are implied, yet the fact that they are not mentioned or developed in detail is at least noteworthy.

An intercultural approach aims to reconcile the apparent dichotomy between the individual and the community. “Although we have argued that language is personal, it is also communal. Individuals use language for social purposes within social contexts” (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013, p. 14). Thus, a focus on collective strategies alone seems just as problematic as a focus on individual strategies alone. An intercultural speaker will learn by using his or her personal and cultural background and identity to express new meanings through the language being learnt (Byram, 1988; Kramsch, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Thus, while this naturally means interacting with others, it means doing so in a *third space* in which one’s own individual identity comes to meet the other’s (Bhabha, 1994; Kramsch, 1995).

To this extent, focusing solely on strategies involving group work may exclude others such as personal research, self-reflection, structuring one’s thoughts and opinions, all of which are equally important if a speaker is to collaborate in enriching the encounter between him or herself and the intercultural other. No student, for example, said they would prepare for each encounter by organising their thoughts, or that they would take notes on their partners’ ideas so as to reflect upon them post-discussion, or again that they would try to remember one or two words of vocabulary that they had to search and reuse them in each conversation.

The self-directed modality aimed to allow students to initiate their own learning, originating in their personal, cultural, or intercultural identities. While, inevitably, topics and strategies must be negotiated with their partners, and compromise is the key to overcoming numerous difficulties, the *individual’s* learning process should not be neglected as a result. The absence of individual strategies such as personal research, drafting and rewriting papers, notetaking, etc. despite the two personal worksheets and the questionnaire which were individually focused, may hinder students’ abilities to truly improve. In other studies, the systematic use of journal writing has been used to ensure that students take this time to individually reflect on what has been learnt through collaborative means (Derivry-Plard *et al.*, 2022; Salomão *et al.*, 2023).

15.4.4.2 *Individual and group strategies as complementary*

Across all four projects, only three students combined group and individual strategies, one at high school level on Project 3 (*Share your voice*) and two at university level on Project 5. On

the one hand, there is no doubt that the purpose of intercultural telecollaboration is to communicate and work with others, not alone. Thus, here, as in the previous project, students appear to have placed an emphasis of working as a team, showing that this primary focus is mostly understood. On the other hand, focusing on strategies involving teamwork to the exclusion of individual strategies may be a suboptimal overall strategy.

As such, those who combine strategies related to teamwork and individual strategies provide a more complete strategic outlook than those who confine themselves to one or the other. FL57 said she would “discuss with [her] comrades and do research”. This shows a realisation that, on the one hand, one’s partners are at the very least a source of information, perhaps a source of individual growth through discussion, while on the other hand, they cannot be the sole source of information if the exchange is to be of interest, and that individual research is likely to students a more developed point of view to bring to the discussion.

Similarly, while AL08 said she would work with her partner to find an appropriate collaborative platform for their task (DSTRAT1e), she also mentioned that she would use “apps and dictionaries” to translate words that she did not know (DSTRAT2f). To this extent, she shows an awareness that if she wishes to express herself concerning “Brazilian ingredients and domestic utensils,” and thus bring her own cultural input to the conversation, this must be done using individual strategies as well.

Finally, FL87 said that she did “not know all the vocabulary” and “had to do some research.” (DSTRAT2b)⁴³ On the other hand, she said she would “do [her] best to get involved and make [herself] understood, even if it means asking a lot of questions.” Thus, FL87 seems to realise here that while discussing topics with one’s partner is enriching and is set as a strategy to overcome difficulties, it must be combined with individual research in order to gain in structure and specificity.

This focus on both the individual and the group reflects an intercultural approach in which collaborating with others also means bringing one’s own personal and cultural background to the discussion (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013), using individual strategies to clarify what one wants to say, at times when one has the luxury of preparing. When no such time is available, then members of the group will have to “make [themselves] understood” as best they can at which

⁴³ Given the cultural embeddedness of the vocabulary she was looking for, it is assumed that this may be more than simply using a dictionary, and thus is categorised as DSTRAT2b, concerned with doing research, and not DSTRAT2f, relating to the use of a dictionary.

stage talking to each other and helping each other are more appropriate than individually looking in the dictionary. Thus, strategies are to be understood in the context in which they are likely to be used.

Teaching students to separate individual strategies from team strategies and to systematically set out both before beginning a project may therefore be a useful way to help them gain self-regulatory intercultural skills. Semi-directed and co-directed projects could help them to elaborate such strategies, as could modifying the worksheet so as to include separate questions, relating to what strategies they had set out as a team, on the one hand, and what they would do individually, on the other. Such methods may yield a broader and more structured strategic outlook, improving students' levels of self-regulation and *in fine* their intercultural competence.

Another element which may help students exploit this complementarity between individual and group strategies may be to present them with group worksheets during the negotiation stage. Indeed, the parts of Worksheet 2, which asked students to summarise the agreed upon project and explain how it would help them reach their goals could have functioned as a collective worksheet. This would have compelled students to discuss their individual goals and thus both decide on a project more adapted to these goals, and better understand how the project would help them reach their goals. Anticipating difficulties and strategies to overcome them could have had a collective and an individual dimension so as to encourage the complementarity discussed above.

15.5 Concluding remarks for Research Question 2

The above discussion shows that students progress with time towards more specificity and language awareness, but that their goals nevertheless display a narrow view on language learning focused on linguistic form, to the exclusion of concepts of communication, relationship-building, social and cultural practices, or plurilingualism, pluriculturalism and interculturality.

Yet, it is these goals which should serve as the end-goals of learning grammar and vocabulary. The classroom context is therefore shown to be isolated from students' personal, social, and cultural practices, to the extent that learning grammar and vocabulary is often seen as an end in itself, or even in some cases, as a means to gain a good grade at school or university.

The setting of personal development goals intended to broaden students' understanding of the language classroom mostly failed to incorporate other aspects of learning. However, many students did focus on building relationships. A similar focus was found in students' strategies, though this is perhaps to the detriment of individual efforts.

The balance sought between individuality and communal practices is crucial to understanding how intercultural approaches function. If individuals and their goals and desires are subordinated to purely collective strategies, exchanges risk losing the very structure which make them useful learning opportunities, i.e. intercultural exchanges and negotiations of meaning. Thus, individual strategies are as important as collective ones, as they imply compromise and interaction between self and others.

The goal of the self-directed modality of these intercultural telecollaborations was to help students bring their own personality, culture, goals and desires to the discussion in an intercultural "third space" (Bhabha, 1994). Thus, students must be encouraged further, not only to set goals out on paper individually and collectively, but to reflect on how goals could be hierarchised and linked to their project within the allotted time, but also to their personal and social life, bringing the intercultural, not only to class, but to students' life more broadly.

Chapter 16 How learner autonomy and self-regulation interact with intercultural competence?

16.1 Introduction

Given the structure of the telecollaborative projects set up for the purpose of this thesis, the interactions between self-regulatory skills and intercultural competence were visible throughout. Numerous answers by students involved both self-regulation and intercultural competence, in positive ways as well as showing that both are sometimes lacking and that efforts must be made by teachers and institutions to foster both.

Nevertheless, the data collected show that aspects of self-regulation appear to have an impact on intercultural competence. The role played by the individual in intercultural approaches is thus vital to understanding this interaction.

Intercultural approaches view culture, not as a homogeneous set of practices and values, but as individual engagement in communal practices which may serve at times to create and uphold norms, at others to break from these norms. “Culture cannot be but plural, changing, adaptable, constructed” (Dervin, 2012, p. 183). Individual desires, personal identities, social relationships, and actions within the various communities with which they engage all contribute to the constant evolution of culture (Kramsch, 1995; 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013).

To this extent, setting goals and strategies to reach them in a telecollaborative context is not just an academic pursuit, but a way of allowing students to integrate learning and intercultural communication into their personal and social lives. Helping learners to develop into interculturally competent speakers is thus impossible without helping them become autonomous, self-regulated learners. Conversely, intercultural pedagogies can help students to view themselves as speakers thus gaining autonomy. Indeed, “learning a new language involves acquiring and experiencing new identities that may, in turn, contribute to the learner's personal autonomy” (Benson, 2016, p. 343).

Thus, Research Question 3 was formulated as follows: How do learner autonomy and self-regulation interact with intercultural competence?

16.2 Summary of results related to Research Question 3

In this context, a number of results are relevant to discuss the interactions between intercultural competence and self-regulatory skills. Regarding communication enjoyment, it appeared that French students enjoyed communicating to a greater extent if they had a higher level of task analysis autonomy, but this relationship was not observed among students from abroad. Furthermore, students who enjoyed communication reported that they had reached their goals at a higher rate than those who did not. The reasons given by students for having enjoyed communication, however, were only partly linked to feelings of success.

Regarding expected future contact, there was no link between task analysis autonomy and students expecting to stay in contact with their partners after the project. There was, however, a weak link between reported success and future contact, which was stronger among high school students.

When it came to nominal intercultural capital, some students with a higher level of NIC appear to have more language awareness, to set more specific goals, and more self-reflective goals than those with a lower NIC. They are also able to draw of their personal experience and make links between language and culture. Students with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital are likely to have a higher task analysis autonomy, but they are not more likely to report success in reaching their goals.

16.3 Enjoyment and future contact in relation to TAA

16.3.1 TAA and enjoyment: creating a positive learning environment

As discussed above, results show that students from France appear to enjoy communicating more if they have a higher level of Task Analysis Autonomy, while students from abroad show similar levels independently of TAA. As a reminder, this indicator was constructed by taking into consideration students' goal hierarchies and their strategic planning abilities. To this extent, communication enjoyment seems to be impacted by goal setting and strategic planning among students from France, but not among students from other countries.

This may be explained by a number of factors. The first is teacher dependent. All students from France involved in these different projects shared the same teacher: i.e. the author of this thesis. No additional guidance or explicit instructions were given to these students. However, being involved in this thesis has doubtless impacted teaching methods more generally, and perhaps

ways of phrasing or clarifying oral instructions in class. The centrality of the worksheets, for example, may have been expressed more clearly for the French students than for others whose teachers were not involved in the research aspect of the various projects. This could serve to explain why the content of the worksheets was more closely linked to other aspects of the project, such as communication enjoyment.

The second reason is institutional. The French education system, particularly when it comes to language learning, is known for its emphasis on written language, and its relative weakness when it comes to oral language (Manoïlov, 2019). To this extent, enjoying spontaneous oral communication may require a certain amount of preparedness for such communication. Those who set clearer goals and strategies could have felt more comfortable once they were faced with their partners, while those who were less prepared may have found themselves struggling.

Negative experiences of intercultural telecollaboration have been reported on by many researchers and attributed to a number of reasons. Kramsch & Thorne (2002) and Ware & Kramsch (2005) report that the blurred genres of internet communication, especially in a school context in which the conversation is both private and open, formal and informal, personal and academic, etc. can lead to feelings of confusion and distress among participants. Lee (2018) points to studies showing that varying cultural beliefs and mistakes in communication can cause negative experiences. MacKinnon (2016) says that “some are clearly anxious about how others may feel if they edit a document, and some discouraged by a lack of immediate response” (MacKinnon, 2016). Salomão *et al.* (2023) also report on frustration at the lack of an immediate response, as well as mismatched expectations, involvement, or understanding of the tasks, and difficulties communicating in the target language. The negative or only partly positive responses in the present study focused on lack of time, lack of response from their partner, lack of dedication, and mismatched interests or personalities.

Having enjoyed any particular communication is neither necessary nor sufficient for being interculturally competent, as a number of factors may come into play, such as mismatched personalities or centres of interest, shyness, difficulties agreeing on a topic, scheduling difficulties, etc. Indeed, studies comparing interaction enjoyment and levels of intercultural sensitivity using the ISS scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000) have found little or even negative correlations (Sarwari & Wahab, 2017).

However, being curious and willing to engage with others who do not share one’s cultural background (Liddicoat, 2008; Zarate, 2008; Kramsch, 2014) as well as build relationships with

them (Liddicoat, 2009) is not likely to occur without some level of communication enjoyment. To this extent, enjoying intercultural communication in general is both a sign of an interculturally competent student and an important factor in intercultural development, as if one enjoys such communication, one will seek it out, or at least be more willing to participate in it, increasing one's contact with others.

It is therefore important that students like the students from France discussed in the present study learn to set hierarchical goals, set strategies to reach these goals, anticipate difficulties, and set strategies as to how these difficulties can be overcome, since while it is possible for them to enjoy communication without having done so, this study appears to show that for some students it is nevertheless less likely.

The relationship this serves to establish between intercultural competence and self-regulation is twofold. On the one hand, if self-regulatory skills increase the likelihood of some students enjoying communication, due to good preparation or monitoring of anxiety levels for example, then possessing such skills may help create a positive movement towards seeking out such encounters. Conversely, a lack of such skills may lead to students avoiding situations in which they communicate with intercultural others, or to them approaching these situations with a certain level of apprehension. Secondly, a lack of self-reflective skills combined with poorly elaborated goals and strategies may lead them to attribute their lack of enjoyment to aspects of their personality rather than to ineffective strategies or simply to this particular encounter, thus making their failure seem internal, uncontrollable, and permanent (Callan *et al.*, 2022). Thus, attitudes of openness and curiosity could be hindered by negative experiences of communicating with intercultural others.

If such is the case, it underlines the importance of helping students develop their goal-setting and strategic-planning abilities, both individually and collectively, as this will increase the likelihood that they will enjoy communicating with their partners, which is both an important aspect of intercultural competence and likely an instigator of further intercultural learning.

This is not to say, however, that being prepared can help avoid problems, nor that this is desirable. As Ware & Kramsch (2005) point out, "focusing only on pedagogical precautions would be a lost opportunity for both teachers and learners. Telling incidents such as these are among the most valuable learning opportunities" (Ware & Kramsch, 2005, p. 199). The goals and strategies set forth by students here are not designed to avoid potential difficulties, but to overcome them and learn from them. Group strategic planning and self-monitoring worksheets

could be a valuable tool for this very purpose, since they may allow misunderstandings which could lead to negative feelings to be exploited as opportunities for intercultural learning. Far from overpreparing content or form, goal setting and strategic planning may help to develop an intercultural stance (Ware & Kramsch, 2005).

16.3.2 TAA and future contact: the role of friendship

Overall, students' ability to set goals and strategies does not seem to be linked with students' desire to keep in contact with their partners after the project. Thus, while a higher TAA could be partly linked to higher levels of enjoyment, it was not found to be linked to expected future contact. This may suggest that wanting to keep in contact with one's partners is based on factors such as personality, kindness, or having created a friendship which are not the same factors as those linked to enjoyment.

Indeed, many students who said they enjoyed communicating with their partner said it was interesting to interact with students from another country either "because it is by communicating that we can speak the language well" (FL41) or "because it's nice to meet new people who don't have the same way of thinking" (FL25). For some groups, the communication was only related to schoolwork, such as was the case for IL05 who wrote that they "only talked about [their] project but it was nice." None of these students wanted to keep in contact with their partners after the project.

For these students, once the schoolwork ends, the relationship ends, whereas for those who wish to keep in contact, the relationship was not solely based on schoolwork, and can therefore continue after the project. Thus, it may be that, because these relations are centred around schoolwork, they have a closer link to setting strategies and anticipating difficulties than is the case for those who want to keep in contact with their partners, for whom friendship, humour and personality play a more important role.

Among university students, BL03 said that she and her partner had "lots of similar interests and hobbies." AL09 said it was an "amazing opportunity to meet someone from afar" and FL87 said her partner was "a beautiful person." Three French students said that if one day they went to Brazil or their partners came to France, perhaps they would be in contact. Thus, the fact that expected future contact is not related to TAA scores can be explained by the reasons given by students, which have little to do with the project itself.

Nevertheless, this may be something to work on with students since keeping in contact with others need not require friendship. While it is good if students can make friends, this is not the primary goal of intercultural telecollaborations. Furthermore, it need not be a condition for keeping in contact either. Good professional relationships, for example, do not require friendship, and possessing a network of people with whom one has worked in a variety of countries and with whom one can constitute virtual learning communities (Sarré, 2012) can be useful for future learning or professional development. Understanding this may help students keep in contact in case an opportunity comes up, even they “don’t see the point” (FL75).

16.3.3 Post-task goals and enjoyment: the importance of broader goal setting

16.3.3.1 Ensuring communication to ensure enjoyment

Communication enjoyment appeared to be closely linked with students reported ability to reach their goals. Indeed, 75% of students who enjoyed communicating reported they had reached their language goals and 73% their cultural goals, compared to 56% of those who did not enjoy communicating, for both language and cultural goals.

This may be for a number of reasons. Feelings of success in reaching their goals are also sometimes visible when discussing communication enjoyment. For example, when reflecting on his language goal, FL29 wrote that he “was able to learn a few words of English and this especially helped [him] to have a conversation with another person in English.” When asked whether he enjoyed communicating, he responded that he “really liked the exchange because [they] were able to talk to each other about the project so it trained [them] a lot to speak English.” Thus, it seems that having reached their goals can be one of the reasons that students feel they have enjoyed communicating.

Similarly, BL02 reached her language goals as her “partners helped [her] expand [her] vocabulary and corrected errors” and enjoyed communicating because she “wanted to get feedback as well as learn new ways of expressing [her]self in French.”

Conversely, it sometimes appears that a lack of enjoyment and a failure to reach one’s goals share a common cause, such as lack of time or dedication. Being dedicated and having the time to speak are of course important factors in both enjoyment and ability to reach one’s goals. The self-directed modality of this project should have allowed students more flexibility as well as encouraging their interest through giving them the choice of topic. However, a number of factors can lead to such difficulties, which are also part of intercultural learning. Managing time

constraints, for example, is an important self-regulatory skill, made more difficult by intercultural factors such as their partners' schedule, involvement, or time difference. This being said, many intercultural telecollaborations are done for extra credit, and even those which are built into curricula generally remain on the margins of institutional concerns, thus giving little time to fully involve students in longer-term projects.

Difficulties in communication also sometimes meant both that students did not reach their goals and that they did not enjoy communicating. On the one hand, facilitating communication should therefore be a central concern for both students and teachers. As mentioned above, for some students, given the link between TAA and enjoyment for the French students on these projects, helping them to anticipate difficulties specifically linked with communication and to set out strategies to target such difficulties may be the best way to overcome this issue while developing self-regulatory skills in the process.

This process may also help to increase self-efficacy beliefs, as by targeting difficulties involved with communication, successful but imperfect communication may become an achievement, as was the case for AL08 who said "each day was a victory." She does not say that this sense of "victory" contributed to her enjoyment of her communication, rather placing the emphasis on what she and her partner had in common. However, the realisation that despite the fact that she "always was nervous and anxious," she "could communicate" appears to show that she believed throughout the project that her strategies were effective. Since self-efficacy beliefs are closely linked to motivation and engagement (Zimmerman, 2000; Berger, 2023), they may also be a non-negligible factor when it comes to enjoying communication.

Furthermore, self-reflective training could also teach students to consider communication difficulties as valuable learning opportunities in themselves. Being confronted with difficulties linked to linguistic or cultural misunderstandings, which may extend to scheduling and timetabling difficulties if these are culturally embedded, can constitute what Agar (2006) calls "rich points." Such difficulties may constitute sociocognitive conflicts (Piaget, 1975; Doise & Mugny, 1984), the solving of which can lead to learning. The role of the teacher is vital in helping students approach these difficulties as opportunities for growth rather than as personal failures or insurmountable cultural differences. But, once again, this requires class time for collective reflection on these rich points, which in turn requires curricular reform.

16.3.3.2 Broadening goals to ensure feelings of success

On the contrary, many exceptions are worth noting. Many students who said they did not reach their goals nevertheless said that they enjoyed communicating with their partners. This is interesting because, as we have already discussed, students' goals are often based on a narrow understanding of language learning.

Language goals were often framed either generally as wanting to improve one's English, or more specifically as wanting to improve one's vocabulary, grammar, written or oral language. While these are interesting goals, successful but imperfect communication was not among them.

Similarly, cultural goals often presupposed a reified vision of culture, such that students wanted to gain or share knowledge of their or their partners' culture. Yet having "a lot of laughs," as FL38 put it, with a partner who does not share one's linguistic and cultural background, presupposes an awareness or understanding of number of cultural factors, which are themselves worthy goals.

FL42 provides a good example of this phenomenon. He claims to have reached none of his goals. In terms of language, he is "not too advanced in terms of vocabulary." When it comes to culture, he did not progress as he "already knew this theme well." In terms of personal development, the previous two responses are reiterated, and he does not believe he has reached his goals. Yet, he enjoyed communicating with his partner "because they do not have the same habits as [him], the same way of life, the same activities and [they] were able to exchange on many different themes that [he] especially like[s]." In this case, "being able to exchange" could be framed as a language goal, a cultural goal or a personal development goal, discovering his partners' "way of life," and "activities" could have been a cultural goal, as could discussing "themes that [he] especially like[s]." Indeed, this latter claim is particularly relevant to an intercultural approach as it means that he was able to include his own personal interests and share them with a partner who did not share his cultural background (Kramsch, 1995; Kecskes, 2012).

Thus, it is clear that FL42 has had an interesting learning experience in this case, but his narrowly framing his goals as "vocabulary," and the "theme" which his group had chosen, did not allow him to view this as an achievement, but rather he feels that he is "not progressing" or is "not too advanced." Cultural and institutional factors appear to be framing language learning in a restrictive manner which makes the student unable to see that he is indeed learning. The

very opposite of self-regulation seems to be at play here, as the actual learning taking place is rendered invisible to the learner by the very institution designed to help him learn.

Similarly, FL76 was disappointed to have only talked about American and European culture, and not Bulgarian culture. This was partly as her partner had said that “bulgarian cinema is not very popular and developed, most of movies in the cinemas in Bulgaria are american, turkish”. Furthermore, as Project 4 was a bilingual intercultural telecollaboration, in which learners from Bulgaria were learning French but learners from France were learning English, it may be that the Bulgarian partner thought American culture would be more interesting for the French student, due to a perceived link between the English language and the United States. The dominant role of English must be questioned here, as the cultural dominance of the United States and the United Kingdom has doubtless led to the adoption of English as the global *lingua franca*, and to its omnipresence in intercultural telecollaborations (Potolia & Derivry-Plard, 2023), yet this need not mean that this dominance must be perpetuated through language learning. On the contrary, multiplying encounters between “non-native” speakers of English can allow the further development of English as an intercultural language, that is to say, as a language carrying the meaning of numerous intercultural speakers with numerous cultural backgrounds, rather than acting as mirror for one or two dominant national cultures.

Yet enjoying talking with a Bulgarian student about American and European culture can require as much intercultural competence as talking to them about Bulgaria. In this sense, students could be taught to realise this, and to introduce questions and remarks that could allow them to discover American culture through the eyes of a Bulgarian student, getting rid of the one-nation-one-culture monolingual paradigm (Derivry-Plard, 2020) and ceasing to see their partners as broadcasters for a national community (De Martino, 2016, Kern *et al.*, 2023). This in itself could have been an enriching goal. It is in this sense that showing students that they can broaden their goals may lead to more satisfaction when reaching them.

16.3.3.3 Growth mindset

This also reveals the importance of instilling growth mindset in students (Dweck, 2006). This seems to be key to gaining a more adequate understanding of both goal setting and reflection on goals. As summarised by Bai *et al.* (2021),

People with a fixed mindset maintain that ability is a fixed trait, failure is a sign of low ability, and efforts and practice are useless. Thus, they resist engaging in tasks that they are not good

at, show more self-handicapping behaviours, and are more likely to give up, which is related to low performance. In contrast, people with a growth mindset perceive that competence is malleable and can be improved with effort, such that they are more likely to use effective learning strategies and exert effort to improve competence. Such people also persist and take actions to confront problems in the face of setbacks (Bai et al., 2021, pp. 69-70).

Examples of fixed mindsets were present in students' responses and play an important role in giving students the feeling of not having succeeded in reaching their goals.

For example, FL41 believed she had not reached her language goal as she "still find[s] it difficult to speak," but did say that she had reached her personal development goal as she was able to "make a little communication in the language who isn't [hers]." She directly attributes this achievement to communicating with her partners, and writes that she enjoyed it "because it is by communicating that we can speak the language well, as for example in the [videoconference] that pushed us to talk to them."

First of all, these remarks show her to be fixated on "speaking the language well" rather than on enjoying communication which she sees as less important. Thus, this is further evidence of the narrow understanding of language learning, excessively focused on linguistic form, discussed previously. Being able to communicate and enjoying it are not seen as valuable learning goals because the cultural and institutional framework in which the language classroom is anchored overemphasises "speaking the language well". Furthermore, "speaking well" likely hides structures of domination as "well" usually means conforming to the dominant forms of language use presented as correct or standard. On the contrary, helping students to see the value of using their "available language resources [...] to shift between styles, discourses, registers and genres" and to "negotiate and accommodate, rather than to be proficient in one variety of English" (Pennycook, 2016, p. 33) may contribute to alleviating some of these concerns.

Secondly, while she believes she has progressed and appears to understand why, she feels her language goals have not been reached since she "still find[s] it difficult to speak." A fixed mindset, assessing one's current ability compared to what one would like it to be, thus appears to be the reason why FL41 does not believe she has reached her language goals. She would have liked to no longer have difficulties speaking. As this is not the case, she does not believe she has reached her goals. It therefore appears vital to instil a growth mindset, in which students are able to assess their progress, that is to say, compare what they can do today to what they could do yesterday, rather than to an ideal which may not be realistic short-term.

Indeed, most ideals are not realistic for most users of a language (Anquetil *et al.*, 2017). The CEFR's highest level of proficiency, C2, excludes most speakers in most forms of communication:

- “I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language;”
- “I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language;”
- “I can take part effortlessly in any conversation or discussion;”
- “I can present a clear, smoothly flowing description or argument;”
- “I can write clear, smoothly flowing text in an appropriate style” (CEFR, 2001, p. 27).

Even highly educated “native” speakers would not claim to be able to “take part effortlessly in any conversation” or to write “smoothly flowing text” (CEFR, 2001, p. 27). Thus, setting oneself an ideal, as FL41 seems to do, of no longer finding it “difficult to speak” appears to be influenced by unrealistic aims set by educational institutions. Replacing this ideal with a growth mindset is something which teachers and institutions need to help their students to accomplish, and thus for which curricular reform and teacher training is necessary.

Hierarchised goal-setting and strategic planning are central to this process, as students will learn to structure their goals and strategies, thus maintaining their long-term goals as *distal outcome goals* while at the same time setting *proximal process goals* which may be reached (Zimmerman, 2000). For teachers, helping students to structure their goals in this manner, individually but also collectively, could allow them to gain closure at the end a project like this one. They would reflect not on whether they fully master the use of language but, as FL41 does in her personal development goal and her response to the question regarding enjoyment, on what progress they made, how they managed to make this progress, and how this is a steppingstone to reaching their outcome goals longer-term.

16.3.4 Post-task goals and future contact: a sense of success to develop friendships

16.3.4.1 The importance of reaching one's goals

For high school students, there did appear to be a weak link between students reaching their goals and students expecting to remain in contact. This was not the case for university students.

The reasons given by students for wanting to remain in contact mostly involve matching personalities, finding their partners “nice” or “cool,” or having developed friendships. None of these appear to be as a consequence of perceived success in attaining goals. Neither can they

be said to be the causes, since many students say they have reached their goals without such factors being present.

Nevertheless, despite the reasons given for expecting to remain in contact having little to do with having reached one's goals, it appears likely that if the link were confirmed by research on a larger sample, it would show the importance of feelings of success in telecollaborative projects. As previously mentioned, developing a network of people from diverse cultural background can be useful for students particularly for undertaking future learning or professional experiences in the form of virtual communities for learning or professional practice (Sarré, 2012; Castro-Prieto *et al.*, 2022).

It is possible that a general feeling of success during the project may have put less pressure on students, allowing them to create more of a bond than students who were struggling with their task. An intercultural approach views communication not merely as a means of exchanging information, but as a way to create and maintain social relationships (Liddicoat, 2009). As such, students should be encouraged to seek out further interactions with their partners. However, the varying factors which explain why they do not wish to do so, do not entail that they are not interculturally competent. Indeed, intercultural competence does not mean being able to form a friendship with just anyone. What is at stake is rather the ability to build relationships despite linguistic and cultural difference, in cases where personality or centres of interest converge as well as being able to build a "professional" relationship to complete the project when they do not.

However, it is likely that such relationships will not emerge, even if personalities and centres of interest converge, if the students are struggling with their project and feeling like they are not succeeding. Thus, if creating relationships as a result of intercultural telecollaboration is closely linked to the feeling that one has reached one's goals, then clarifying what these goals are, structuring them in such a way that they are achievable, and reflecting on them in such a way that one is aware of one's success in reaching them become crucial ways to develop this aspect of intercultural competence.

16.3.4.2 The possible role of failure attribution

This link was not apparent, however, for university students. Here too, bonding and forming friendships appear as one key component for wanting to stay in contact, independently of having reached one's goals or not. Several students said they did not have time to bond as they

were focused on their projects, thus reaching their goals but not wishing to stay in contact. Conversely, AL04 who said that she had not reached her goals expected to remain in contact. The length of the project seems to be at play here as she says she has “*still* not reached”⁴⁴ her goals and “just talked a little” about her cultural goals, seeming to suggest that more time could have solved these difficulties.

This may help explain the fact that there is more of a link among younger learners between having reached one’s goals and wanting to remain in contact. On the shorter university projects, students attribute failures to reach their goals to factors such as busy schedules or lack of time, whereas on the longer high school projects, these same failures are more likely to be linked with difficulties in communication between students who therefore do not want to keep in touch.

As discussed in Chapter 14, failure attributions are an important aspect of self-regulation as they play a role in whether or not students will keep pursuing their goals or further opportunities on similar tasks (Zimmerman, 2000; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004; Sorić & Palekčić, 2009). Here it appears that failure attributions may also be an important factor in developing intercultural competence. Attributing failure to reach one’s goals to the intercultural relationship itself may cause students not to be willing to pursue opportunities for future contact with their partners. Here too, teacher mediation will be necessary to help students redefine their goals in order to feel more successful and to attribute failure to reach their goals to strategies which can be changed rather than to intrinsic personal or interpersonal factors.

16.4 Nominal intercultural capital

16.4.1 Nominal intercultural capital and goal categories

16.4.1.1 More specific and self-reflective goals with higher NIC

While no statistically significant conclusions could be drawn from students’ language goals in relation to their levels of nominal intercultural capital, it was nevertheless apparent that goals diverging from LGOALS 1 and 2 were more frequent among those with a higher NIC.

Furthermore, it was noticed that some students with an NIC 1 or 2 simply answered “Progress in English” (FL26) or even just “English” (FL40). Conversely, answers given by students with a higher NIC are sometime more self-reflective. FL55 who wrote “I’d like to loose my French

⁴⁴ My italics

accent. I'd like to learn to talk without my French accent and with an English accent" is aware of her "French accent" which entails a reflective stance on her English language abilities. Others draw more directly on their experience. IL27 wrote "I noticed that talking to strangers in a language that isn't my own makes me pretty anxious." This act of "noticing" and setting goals in accordance with what one has noticed again shows a level of language awareness which did not seem to be present among those with a lower NIC.

Similarly, BL05 who has an NIC5 focused on the Kazakh language, her language of origin, and reflected that her partner having studied language sciences may be interested in its history and etymology. FL81, who has an NIC4, gave specific tenses and sounds with which she struggles. FL75, who has an NIC4, wanted to use different language registers, particularly a "formal style" and "an elevated language."

Thus, students with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital appear to have a higher degree of language awareness, giving goals related to etymology, specific aspects on grammar and vocabulary, or an awareness of their own difficulties when communicating such as nervousness or an accent.

Many of these goals require a previous experience in order to be set, and thus it stands to reason that they should appear among students with a higher NIC who have a greater breadth of experience of language use or intercultural contact. This appears to create a situation in which a higher NIC gives students an advantage over their classmates with a lower NIC in self-directed intercultural telecollaborations.

To the extent that it is important, as has been discussed, both to broaden students' view of language learning and to accompany them in setting more structured and specific goals, it will be important to do so to an even greater extent for those with a lower level of NIC. For these students, intercultural telecollaboration represents an opportunity to gain intercultural capital. Helping them in particular to set goals which target broader or more specific aspects of language learning may also help them to reach their goals. Utilising the experience of those with a higher NIC through collective reflections on goal setting and strategic planning, brainstorming activities intended to share and sort through possible goals before hierarchising them, or comparing reflections on previous experience, may help reduce inequalities and allow those with a lower NIC to set goals more effectively. For this to take place, nominal intercultural capital must be used as a tool for teachers to better understand and adapt their teaching practices to their students' intercultural resources.

16.4.1.2 Language as culturally embedded

Few clear results appeared when considering nominal intercultural capital in relation to cultural goals. However, a few specific examples are worth analysing.

On Projects 2 and 3, three students mentioned language-related goals set as cultural goals, and all had a relatively high NIC. While two students simply state that they want to “discover new words” (IL31) or “new expression” (FL28), FL73 wants to “know more things about Italian and their link with English language, if it is the same that our.” As discussed previously, this shows a level of critical language awareness, since realising that different cultural backgrounds will lead to different approaches to foreign languages demonstrates an understanding of language as culturally embedded and varying depending on who speaks it (cf. Svalberg, 2007).

If there is a link between this kind of understanding of language and culture, on the one hand, and a high level of nominal intercultural capital, on the other, it would be worth considering what can be done to reduce such inequalities. As has been said regarding language goals, students with a lower nominal intercultural capital may be brought to broaden their vision of language and culture, for example, through discussion, semi-directed and targeted goal-setting activities, or group goal-setting activities mixing students with different levels of NIC.

This would allow students to enter telecollaborative projects with a richer understanding of the issues surrounding language and culture, which may in turn lead them to set goals and reflect on their experiences not only from the point of view of culture as a form of knowledge or a set of traditional practices, but from an intercultural point of view.

16.4.1.3 Culture as deterritorialised

On Project 4, in particular, those with a higher NIC are more likely to be turned towards cultures from countries other than that of their partners, mentioning countries “all over the world” (FL76), “the United States” (FL81), and “Kazakh art” (BL05).

First of all, this shows students going beyond the “implicit view of a monolingual learner in a homogeneous society focused on a similar homogeneous society of native speakers” (Byram, 2002, p. 43). It must be said that “all over the world” may lack specificity, that the United States is associated with the English language, and that Kazakhstan is BL05’s country of origin. Nevertheless, this concentration of countries other than France and Bulgaria among students

with a higher NIC shows a willingness to focus on cultural aspects which go beyond the simple classroom project.

This may help students move away from the “spatial distribution of languages” (LoBianco, 2014, p. 312-13), understanding that languages are anchored in social and cultural practices which need not belong to a national territory. This questions the view in which

particular geopolitical spaces, constituted as national states, are dedicated exclusively or dominantly to standard forms of particular languages, and are differentiated from neighboring or distant geopolitical spaces dedicated to different languages (LoBianco, 2014, p. 313; cf. Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2015).

To this extent, taking the opportunity to communicate with someone with a different cultural background than one’s own, not only about their culture, but also about their vision of other cultures seems to add a layer of complexity to intercultural exchanges and contribute to deterritorialising culture (Kramsch & Michiko, 2012).

If this is indeed more likely when students have a higher level of nominal intercultural competence, then, here too, there is a need to accompany students with a lower NIC in setting their goals so as to broaden their view of culture to include more than just the national culture of the country from which their partners hail. This may be done by the teacher, but also through shared goal-setting activities with students with a higher NIC, or with telecollaborative partners to increase access to intercultural others.

16.4.1.4 Language as personal development among higher NIC students

When it comes to personal development goals, it is not surprising that the goals of students with a low NIC should be, more than other students proportionally, to overcome their shyness or embarrassment. Indeed, it seems to stand to reason that students who have never travelled outside their country, never taken part in a telecollaboration, and do not speak another language other than in school, should feel shyness when they are about to engage in a telecollaboration.

Interestingly, several of the PGAOLS set by students with a higher NIC focus on language. This could be attributed, as above, to students having a narrow view of language learning as limited to language as an end in itself. One would expect, as seemed to be the case above for LGOALS, that the higher one’s level of intercultural capital becomes, the more one’s view of

language and culture would broaden. Thus, insisting on language when setting a personal development goal may appear to contradict what was said previously.

However, in this context, when these students with a higher NIC mention language, it is not as an end in itself. FL25 mentions that “as [he] love[s] to travel [he] hope[s] with this project to gain confidence to speak English.” FL42 wants to use English to “watch movies,” “understand the lyrics of English songs,” and believes for his career that “mastery of languages would be an asset.” Comparatively, FL65 who has an NIC2 said his personal development goal was to “know more English words and know how to speak it better.” IL32, who has an NIC1, said she would “like to speak more fluent this language.” While the mention of language as a personal development goal still shows that the classroom mindset is constraining students’ goal setting, there is nevertheless a key different between those with a lower and higher NIC. The former say *that* they want to improve, while the latter say *why*.

Therefore, once more, students with a higher NIC appear to be better able to link their classroom activities with aspects of their life outside the classroom such as films and music, travel or their professional lives. This allows these students to set goals which are more personal to them and to their desires, which may in turn affect motivation and engagement. In this sense, learning is “real to the learners in the sense that it engages them in understanding and producing meanings that are important to them” (Little, 1991, p. 29). On the other hand, among students who merely say they want to speak better English, learning seems to be “cut off from the rest of learners’ lives” (Little, 2007, p. 19).

Thus, it seems that while focusing on language and culture when asked to give a goal in terms of personal development may seem narrow, or perhaps reveal that the question has not been understood, nonetheless what these students say about language still shows, as was seen about LGOALS, that those with a higher level of NIC have a broader view of language learning as integrated into their personal, social and cultural lives. An important goal of intercultural telecollaborations, therefore, must be to reduce this apparent inequality by bringing all students to such a broadened view.

16.4.2 Nominal intercultural capital and task analysis autonomy

While this was only found to be statistically significant using $P < 0.05$, it nevertheless appears that students with a higher NIC also tend to have a higher TAA. Interestingly, these results were not evident when considering goal setting and strategic planning separately. This shows that

while task analysis as a whole was better achieved by those with a higher NIC, this comes from a variety of sources, including students' engagement (those who did not complete one of the worksheets will have a lower TAA), goal hierarchies, task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies to overcome these anticipated difficulties.

On the whole, students' ability to self-regulate at the task analysis stage of these projects was greater if they had a higher level of nominal intercultural capital. This is interesting, as Pöllmann describes intercultural capital as a specific form of cultural capital, and more specifically of cultural capital in the embodied state. Bourdieu establishes three states of cultural capital. The embodied state is that which belongs to the individual properly speaking. It is the cultural knowledge or know-how, or as Bourdieu writes "long-lasting dispositions of the mind" or "what is called culture, cultivation, Bildung" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243-244). Cultural capital in the objective state takes the form of "material objects and media, such as writings, painting, monuments, instruments, etc." (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246). Finally, cultural capital in the institutionalised state takes the form of academic qualifications delivered by an institution "typically in the shape of official certifications provided by schools, colleges, and universities." (Pöllmann, 2013, p. 1).

While equal opportunity schemes and taxation and redistribution may help reduce inequalities in cultural capital in the objective and institutional states, doing so for the embodied state is more difficult.

This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245).

Embodied cultural capital is therefore a form of habitus, which can be defined as "a system of dispositions, that is, of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking" or of "structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 43). It appears in social interactions through *hexis*, which can be understood as the visible aspects of habitus, such as ways of holding oneself and moving, but also in speech through choice of words, tone of voice, the speed at which speech is delivered, etc. (Bourdieu, 2001).

As such, intercultural capital may be the source of inequalities in the way in which people learn. Speaking is always associated with symbolic power. "Perceptions of grammaticality and social appropriateness are immediately coupled with judgements of social worth, euphemistically concealed behind instrumental or aesthetic reasons" (Kramsch, 2021, p. 13). This means that in

monolingual contexts, being able to understand one another is not sufficient to produce speech which is socially recognised and carries symbolic power.

La compétence suffisante pour produire des phrases susceptibles d'être comprises peut être tout à fait insuffisante pour produire des phrases susceptibles d'être écoutées, des phrases propres à être reconnues comme recevables dans toutes les situations où il y a lieu de parler (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 84).⁴⁵

This is also true when comparing languages and forms of plurilingualism. There are various types of migrations, and various types of plurilingualism, not all of which are valued in the same way. As such, students may have the same nominal intercultural capital, calculated based on how many languages they speak, or what time they have spent abroad, and yet have quite different social and economic backgrounds. Cosmopolitan elites will possess both a very high cultural capital and a very high intercultural capital, which is deliberately acquired (Wagner, 2003) and valued by those in positions of power.

Celui qui peut mener sa vie à l'échelle internationale revendique la supériorité de son point de vue sur celui qui est cantonné au 'local'. Le voyage dote de qualités pensées en termes moraux : il atteste de l'ouverture d'esprit, de la curiosité et d'un certain goût du risque (Wagner, 2007, p. 60).⁴⁶

The English language naturally plays an important role among these elites, and thus English is associated with economic power. "English is influential and popular worldwide because this brand of language connotes pleasure, employment, influence, and prestige. English opens doors, it facilitates mobility" (Phillipson, 2003, p. 6-7; cf. Cangarajah & Ben-Said, 2011). Other languages "gravitate" around English (Calvet, 1999).

Autour de cette langue hypercentrale gravitent une dizaine de langues 'supercentrales' (espagnol, français, hindi, arabe, malais...), dont les locuteurs, lorsqu'ils acquièrent une seconde langue, apprennent soit l'anglais soit une langue de même niveau, c'est-à-dire une autre langue supercentrale. Elles sont à leur tour pivot de la gravitation de cent à deux cents

⁴⁵ "Sufficient competence to produce sentences likely to be understood can be quite insufficient to produce sentences likely to be listed to, sentences fit to be recognised as receivable in all situations in which there is reason to speak" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 84) (My translation).

⁴⁶ "Someone who can carry out his or her life on an international scale claims the superiority of his or her viewpoint over someone who is restricted to the 'local'. Travel equips people with qualities conceived in moral terms: it attests to openmindedness, curiosity, and a certain tendency for risk-taking" (Wagner, 2007, p. 60) (My translation).

langues centrales autour desquelles gravitent enfin six à sept mille langues périphériques
(Calvet, 2007, p. 46).⁴⁷

English, therefore, carries a high level of symbolic power, and thus negative visions of non-English speakers form as particular kind of discrimination which Phillipson (1992) calls “linguicism”. Plurilingual speakers will therefore not attract the same social distinction if they are bilingual in English than if they are bilingual in an unknown language, or in a language with negative connotations, i.e. associated to an immigration which is perceived as excessive or undesirable.

Yet, while social and economic capital were not measured on these projects, it is interesting to note that many of the languages spoken by students with both a high nominal intercultural capital and a high task analysis autonomy are not languages traditionally associated with economic power but rather with immigration, such as Portuguese (FL54, FL76), Arabic (FL62), Kabyle (FL79), Kazakh (BL05), and Gascon (FL85).

Thus, what this link between NIC and TAA seems to show is that this intercultural capital allows students to engage more productively in intercultural telecollaborations, independently of social and cultural capital. Intercultural telecollaboration can therefore be considered as a learning environment which values and recognises intercultural capital, independently of cultural capital. To this extent, while intercultural capital may be seen as creating inequalities between those who have previous experience of intercultural contact and those who do not, there does not appear to be a strict correspondence with social, cultural, or economic capital and the inequalities entailed. On the contrary, self-directed intercultural telecollaborations may be a way of allowing students who speak languages with lower symbolic power to utilise their intercultural capital in an area where it is valued. In other words, self-directed intercultural telecollaboration may be an approach which values pre-existing intercultural capital independently of cultural capital, unlike traditional classrooms which value intercultural capital only if it is embedded in social, cultural and economic capital (Wagner, 2007). By acknowledging the value of intercultural capital and implementing intercultural

⁴⁷ “Around this hypercentral language ten or so ‘supercentral’ languages gravitate (Spanish, French, Hindi, Arabic, Malaysian...), whose speakers, when they acquire a second language, learn either English or another language of the same level, i.e. another supercentral language. They in turn are the axis around which one or two hundred central languages gravitate, with another six or seven thousand peripheral languages revolving around them” (Calvet, 2007, p. 46) (My translation).

telecollaborations, educational institutions have the opportunity to reduce some of the forms of inequality which exist today.

16.4.3 Nominal intercultural capital and post-task goal reflection

16.4.3.1 Perceived failure and low NIC

No, statistically significant link was found between students having a higher NIC and them reaching their goals. This relation even seems to be reversed in some cases.

However, in terms of content, high school students with a lower NIC who did not reach their goals tended to give short answers with little or no justification. Many single word answers such as “No” or “I didn’t” come from students with a lower NIC who did not reach their goals, both for language goals and cultural goals. Understanding how or why these goals were not reached thus appears to be difficult for these students.

Interestingly, however, among high school students with an NIC1 or NIC2 who did reach their goals, many were able to give more structured answers, despite not having developed strategies or anticipated difficulties in the previous worksheets. The use of phrases such as “thanks to,” “by” doing such and such, or “this helped me to” improve among these students shows an increased self-reflective awareness of how they had reached their goals.

This serves to confirm the role of successful performances in developing self-regulatory skills. As mentioned by Schunk & Usher (2012), “successful performances raise self-efficacy, whereas failures may lower it” but “failures can also serve an important function when they lead to better strategies that make self-efficacy more robust” (Schunk & Usher, 2012, p. 21). Given the role played by self-efficacy beliefs in relation to goal setting and strategic planning, successful performances are an important aspect of these projects.

Here, students who feel they have succeeded will learn from this success since they have reflected on it more productively. However, students who have not succeeded are unlikely to learn from their failures, since their self-reflections were limited or inexistant. Thus, it appears that a lack of success for students with a low level of NIC may be problematic beyond the project itself, perpetuating a lack of effective goal setting and strategic planning, as well as potential low self-efficacy. This again shows the importance of teacher mediation in order to develop feelings of success particularly in students with a lower NIC.

Among students with a higher NIC, however, there did not appear to be such a difference between those who reached their goals and those who did not, both at times able to give structured answers suggesting reasons why they believed they had succeeded or failed. Consequently, while students with a higher NIC will also benefit from gaining in self-regulation, teachers need to be trained to target students with a lower NIC in order to develop their self-regulatory skills, in particular when introducing intercultural telecollaborations.

16.4.3.2 Self-reflection, Nominal Intercultural Capital, and level of study

Similarly, many university students were able to give structured responses explaining why they succeeded or failed, independently of their success or failure. However, unlike high school students, this did not depend on their level of NIC.

This could be explained by the difference in level of study. Both affective and academic maturity may be required to overcome a sense of failure and attribute those failures to various factors, rather than simply answering “No” when asked if one has reached one’s goals.

Furthermore, students at university may have acquired self-reflective skills through their education which high school students have yet to develop. Thus, high school students will be more heavily dependent on their previous experiences in order to reflect on their tasks than will university students. To this extent, school and university may have the potential to reduce some of the inequalities linked to nominal intercultural capital. However, it may also be the case that students with lower self-reflective abilities simply do not attend university to the same degree.

As such, the importance of increasing opportunities for intercultural contact and developing ways to maximise its value for learning and self-regulation is underlined once more by these results. Specifically targeting students with lower NICs in order to teach them the value of self-reflection even, or perhaps especially, in cases where they have failed to reach their goals, is vital in order to help them progress away from a destructive cycle of perceived failure, lack of self-reflection and failure attribution, poor goal setting and strategic planning, and lowering self-efficacy.

Given this cyclical nature of self-regulation (Zimmerman, 2000; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004) increasing self-regulatory skills specifically in the context of intercultural telecollaborations may be useful, for example, by carrying out several telecollaborations in one school year and teaching students to track their own progress throughout.

16.5 Concluding remarks for Research Question 3

While communication enjoyment and future contact with their partners is neither necessary nor sufficient to be able to say students are interculturally competent, being curious and willing to engage with intercultural others as well as to create social relationships with them are key aspects of intercultural competence (Liddicoat, 2008; 2009; Zarate, 2008; Kramersch, 2014).

As such, it is important to note that among some students at least, being well prepared for intercultural interactions may increase their enjoyment. Furthermore, having the feeling that they have succeeded in their projects is strongly linked to their enjoyment of these projects.

Expected future contact, however, was found to be based on more personal aspects and less linked to self-regulatory factors, with neither task analysis autonomy or reported success being linked to students' desire to keep in contact. The notions of friendship or common interests were at the heart of expected future contact. Nevertheless, being able, in such a short time, to feel like one has developed a friendship with a partner who does not share one's cultural background shows a high level of openness and curiosity.

The role played by nominal intercultural capital was particularly relevant. It was remarked that those with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital were likely to set goals in different ways, viewing language in a broader and more self-reflective way, making links between cultures and languages, and being open to discussing other cultures than the ones directly involved in the project.

The higher levels of task analysis autonomy among those with a higher level of nominal intercultural capital, though it may create inequalities to be addressed by teachers on the one hand, may also be considered as showing that self-directed intercultural telecollaborations give students who may not possess social and economic capital the opportunity to succeed in a context which suits their skill set.

**Conclusion: Developing the self-regulated
intercultural speaker**

The central goal of this thesis has been to show to what extent individual backgrounds, motivations, and desires play a role in intercultural competence, and how questions surrounding autonomy and self-regulation can usefully be integrated into intercultural language learning and teaching. When culture is conceived in language teaching and learning, it is often as a homogeneous set of cultural practices, an itemised list of characteristics of a people belonging to a nation and speaking a national language (Kramsch *et al.*, 1996). This does not correspond to the social reality or to the lived experience of a growing number of individuals who speak several languages in various contexts, who cross borders, and who participate in cultural practices which are at times national, but also at times international, regional, local, or which draw their commonalities from socio-professional orientations, gender identities, countercultural movements, or ways of life which exist in a scattered way across different territorial boundaries (Kramsch, 2014; Zarate, 1995). As shown in this thesis, the individual must therefore play a more central role in language and cultural learning.

Intercultural telecollaborations have the potential to allow students to gain firsthand experience of the multiplicity of communication setting and the diversity of interlocutors worldwide. Yet, if intercultural telecollaborations involve students undertaking a series of tasks which have been chosen by the teacher, based on his or her idea of what students want or need, these encounters occur within limits which are likely to minimise the place of the individual and pose constraints on self-expression, rather than showing language to be a vehicle for self-expression (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Teacher-driven (or institution-driven) learning thus denies students the possibility to understand learning as socially anchored personal development.

This thesis has shown that the freedom and ability to “take charge” of one’s own learning (Holec, 1979, p. 3) and to regulate the processes which are involved in this learning (Zimmerman, 2000) are fundamental to allowing students to express meanings which are personal to them, and to encounter new meanings which are personal to their partners. Self-directed intercultural telecollaborations implement modalities in which students choose their own topics, set their own goals, realise their self-chosen project, and reflect on the result. To this extent, they are given the freedom to direct their own learning on topics that interest them, aiming for goals which are personal to them, and using strategies which are adapted both to their goals and learning preferences.

Nevertheless, a central result of this thesis is that self-direction as a learning modality is insufficient if students do not possess the self-regulatory skills and the broader understanding of language and cultural learning necessary to undertake these tasks in personal and

constructive ways. From a self-regulation point of view, students simultaneously confronted with self-direction and intercultural telecollaboration tend to set goals which lack specificity and hierarchical structure, strategies which do not always account for their goals, and appear not to have kept their goals in mind when reflecting after the task. From an intercultural perspective, students tend to have a narrow view of language with a particular focus on linguistic form and language as an end in itself, a reified view of culture as itemised facts one might find in an encyclopaedia, and rarely draw on their past experience, outside interests, or long-term goals to anchor their learning experience in the broader context of their personal and social lives. Furthermore, this may lead to increased inequalities since students do not all possess the same level of self-regulatory skills, intercultural capital, or intercultural competence.

Overall, responses appear to reflect an understanding of language learning inherited from teachers and institutions, probably combined with parental or social expectations, in which the learner is used to receiving his or her learning rather undertaking learning projects which are personal to him or her, in which learning a language is inherently a classroom activity which is its own goal, rather than a socially anchored means of self-expression, self-development, and relationship building, and in which culture remains tangential to the core task of learning language, or is viewed in terms of encyclopaedic content, rather than as a form of personal engagement in cultural and intercultural practices. This resulted in cases where learning took place but was rendered invisible to the students because their goals were narrowly focused so as to conform to what they believed teacher and institutional expectations to be. It is therefore crucial to bridge the gap between educational and social settings, and making the links between the two visible to students. This involves a profound change in teaching practices, teacher training, and language teaching curricula.

But this narrow understanding also reveals the links that exist between self-regulation and intercultural competence. It is difficult to understand language as socially anchored if the topics discussed are mere facts that the teacher or institution has decided must be learnt. It is difficult to view culture as personal engagement in cultural and intercultural practices if the tasks undertaken are not personal but teacher-initiated. It is difficult to escape the focus on linguistic form if self-expression and social relationships are not built into language learning from the start, as intrinsic components of language learning rather than add-ons to make the class more engaging.

To this extent, self-regulatory skills are not merely a set of processes to be developed to create better learners. Becoming more self-regulated means gaining the autonomy necessary to take charge of one's own language learning experience and relate it to one's personal and social life, to desires and motivations which go beyond the classroom both spatially and temporally, as past experience is drawn upon to give meaning to what is learnt as well as to apply it to new contexts in the future. Beyond being merely conducive to the development of intercultural competence, self-regulation must be considered as in part constitutive of intercultural competence as, on the one hand, higher intercultural competence cannot be reached without this autonomy and social anchorage, and conversely, self-regulatory skills such as goal-setting are helped by a broader understanding of language as embedded in students' personal, social and cultural lives.

A working definition of intercultural competence was given at the start of Part 2, combining the positions of various researchers, which can be summarised as follows: the sum of "attitudes, knowledge and skills" (Deardorff, 2020, p. 495; cf. UNESCO, 2013) allowing an individual

- to understand, respond to, and build relationships with others who do not share his or her cultural background (Byram, 2003; Liddicoat, 2009; Huber & Reynolds, 2014),
- to understand the plurality of his or her own cultural affiliations (Zarate, 1995; Huber & Reynolds, 2014) and the unique position he or she occupies as an intercultural speaker (Byram, 2008; Kecskes, 2012; Kinginger, 2008; Kramsch, 2008; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013), and
- to view culture as a personal engagement in a diversity of cultural practices (Zarate, 2008).

On the basis of what has been said above, an interculturally competent speaker should also be able:

- to steer his or her own learning processes so as to understand language learning in the context of his or her personal and social life, experience, and long-term goals. These self-regulatory intercultural skills would include, without being limited to:
 - seeking out opportunities to encounter people whose cultural background differs from his or her own, from whom one can gain a form of experiential learning,
 - setting broad goals related to e.g. communication, travel, or relationship-building, based on personal experience and desires, under which linguistic concerns would be subsumed in a hierarchical relation,

- accounting for these goals with appropriate strategies involving to-and-fros between individual and collective (intercultural) work,
- reflecting on intercultural encounters with these goals and strategies in mind so as to conduct appropriate success- and failure-attributions and transfer what has been learnt to new (intercultural) situations.

Understanding intercultural competence therefore requires epistemological dialogue combining intercultural approaches within socio-constructivist and sociocultural frameworks and self-regulation within sociocognitive frameworks. If intercultural telecollaboration is to develop intercultural competence, self-regulation must be seen as an integral part of this intercultural competence, allowing for a link to be created between educational and social settings, and teaching, teacher-training, and curricula must be adapted so as to account for this close relationship.

Limits and directions for future research

The results of this research open up a number of new areas to be explored further. As mentioned in Part 2, while the responses to the worksheets and questionnaires provide valuable data, the analysis of which is a useful first step in the combination of self-regulation and intercultural competence, it would be interesting to explore this subject further using other methods, such as interviews, discourse analysis, analysis of students' productions, and quantitative methods on larger samples.

For example, gaining an understanding of what students understand to be the scope of language and cultural learning could be developed further through in-depth interviews, prompting participants to define "culture", for example, or share their experiences of language learning throughout their school years. Gaining a deeper understanding of how students perceive language and culture would not only be of use to further develop some of the responses discussed above, but could prove useful in developing a model for broadening this understanding.

One area which was not discussed in this thesis, and which requires further investigation, is that of topic selection and task design by intercultural groups. Exploring how students negotiated their topics and co-designed tasks would be of value to answer the following questions:

- Who takes the lead in these discussions? Is this related to factors such as language fluency or academic achievement? Is it related to one country being seen as “dominant” by students from either country?
- Do stereotypes regarding nationalities play a role in task negotiation?
- Do students seek to avoid certain topics? Indeed, most topics discussed were related to “shallow” (O’Dowd, 2016) topics such as food, music, film, sport, rather than politics, religion, discrimination, etc. Was this deliberate on the part of students?
- Were the individual topics and goals set out beforehand discussed in any depth in order to design tasks which would help each student reach their goals?

This would be interesting to explore using a combination of the worksheets and questionnaire used above, with discourse analysis and post-negotiation interviews, in order to get a complete picture.

Content analysis of some of the students’ productions would also be useful, in particular in terms of identifying in more detail the topics they worked on and whether their goals and strategies appear clearly in the productions. If the goals were broadened and integrated into students’ social lives, these productions may provide valuable traces of language and intercultural learning as well as personal and social identity building.

Further research is also required to test some results on larger sample sizes. Indeed, five results were found to be statistically significant with $P[.05,.02]$ meaning that they are 95% to 98% significant. While this is a useful result to combine with qualitative analysis when doing exploratory work, $P<.01$ is required for the results to be stated outright. Given that the above results suggested links between self-regulation, communication enjoyment, willingness to stay in contact, and intercultural capital, this would provide a deeper understanding of the relation between self-regulation and intercultural competence, as well as intercultural capital, and distinctions between countries and levels of study.

Beyond student-centred research, research into teachers from different countries and their views on intercultural telecollaboration, self-regulation, and student autonomy would not only allow for a better understanding of teachers but also the social, cultural, and institutional frameworks in which they teach. This may also help develop more practical approaches to self-directed intercultural telecollaboration which could be shared with teachers in a variety of settings to further develop this learning and teaching modality.

Overall, this would complement the results of this thesis by testing possibilities to improve on various aspects of language teaching in general and self-directed intercultural telecollaboration in particular. Having opened a dialogue between the fields of self-regulation and intercultural approaches based on the idea that students are individuals with personal, social, and cultural histories who approach learning in very different ways and with very different goals, it is clear that this dialogue has the potential for further exploration.

Recommendations

Increase opportunities for intercultural telecollaboration

On the basis of the research conducted in this thesis, a number of recommendations can be made. While this thesis was concerned primarily with English language teaching, its focus on the intercultural and on intercultural telecollaboration means that many of its conclusions will apply to other languages, and indeed to plurilingual contexts in which several languages are used.

The first recommendation is that it is important to increase opportunities for language (though not only) learners to encounter individuals who do not share their cultural background. While interest in intercultural telecollaboration is growing, it remains the case that many teachers do not regularly participate in such projects. For example, as of July 2023, the eTwinning platform lists a total of 136,883 projects and one million registered users (<https://school-education.ec.europa.eu/en/networking/projects>). While this is an impressive total, it is a fraction of the total number of teachers working in the countries involved, showing that such projects remain on the margins of classroom practices rather than constituting a core element of these practices. Furthermore, the projects implemented on the eTwinning platform will vary greatly depending on teachers and curricula, and thus many may share the general outlook of classroom-based, teacher-led activities, as they comply with institutional demands.

Teacher training could be a contributing factor. First, teachers may be unaware of the opportunities for intercultural telecollaboration that exist, unsure about what they bring to students, or lacking tools and confidence as to how to set up telecollaborative projects. Ensuring that telecollaborative platforms are both well-known and easy to use could be a first step. Teacher trainers could discuss intercultural telecollaborations with their student-teachers, show them various platforms and the results of various projects, and even set up intercultural telecollaborations including a reflective component to encourage them to imagine how to adapt

them to younger audiences. This could be done in national teacher-training institutions, not only at the level of platforms and projects like TILA, TeCoLa, eTwinning, or UNICollaboration, whose power to transform teaching practices are limited without curricular support. While eTwinning has long encouraged teacher participation and built a network of eTwinning ambassadors to conduct initiation and training sessions, it has recently launched eTwinning for Future Teachers, an initiative designed specifically to include intercultural telecollaboration in initial teacher training courses throughout Europe. Opening these innovations to researchers so as to understand their underlying modalities, their impact, and their political rationale may also help ensure they do not merely reproduce monolingual and monocultural settings, but participate in the shift towards a plurilingual and pluricultural paradigm (Derivry-Plard, 2019; 2020).

However, intercultural telecollaboration continues to be construed as something extra rather than a fundamental part of language teaching and learning. Whatever the training programs which are set up by individual teacher trainers or by platforms like eTwinning, TILA, TeCola, UNICollaboration, etc., the widespread and regular integration of intercultural telecollaboration into teachers' classroom practices is unlikely to take place without institutional guidance, and in particular without being integrated into compulsory curricula.

Including regular intercultural telecollaboration in all language curricula would ensure that students would end their compulsory schooling having exchanged and worked with other students from a number of cultural backgrounds. This exposure, while it does not guarantee intercultural competence, is nevertheless an invaluable opportunity for intercultural learning, the authenticity of which cannot be reproduced in classroom contexts, and whose scale cannot be rivalled by face-to-face encounters through physical mobility. In France, the curriculum for the International French Baccalaureate (IFB) includes an individual project undertaken in collaboration with an international partner.

*Ce partenaire peut être un correspondant scolaire, une institution internationale, un établissement partenaire, une organisation non gouvernementale (ONG), un professeur, un chercheur, un artiste, un partenaire associatif, etc.*⁴⁸ (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2022, <https://eduscol.education.fr/3043/le-baccalaureat-francais-international-bfi>)

⁴⁸ “This partner can be a student partner, an international institution, a partner school, a non-governmental organization (NGO), a teacher, a researcher, an artist, an associative partner, etc.” (Ministère de l'éducation nationale, 2022, <https://eduscol.education.fr/3043/le-baccalaureat-francais-international-bfi>) (My translation).

While this is not in itself intercultural telecollaboration as it may involve student mobility or international partners coming to France, intercultural telecollaboration is one of the ways in which this partnership is likely to take place. In any case, the opportunity for intercultural collaboration is structurally integrated into the curriculum. However, the IFB only concerns those students selected to participate, and is only open in specific high schools. Thus, while it provides an example of how curricula can include intercultural contact, until this is generalised to all students it risks furthering inequalities by developing intercultural competence among a small number of (more or less privileged) students.

Teach self-regulation

In a similar fashion, one of the main results of this thesis has been that students are generally insufficiently self-regulated in the context of self-directed intercultural telecollaborations. While unfamiliarity with the telecollaborative context will doubtless have added an extra layer of difficulty, it is clear that self-directed study requires self-regulatory skills which students did not always show. Being able to set appropriately targeted goals, plan strategies to reach those goals, and reflect on successes and failures in order to attribute them to the adequate factors, are all crucial elements of successful self-directed learning. As argued above, they are also key skills to be included in our understanding of intercultural competence.

It is therefore important to help students develop self-regulatory skills. In order to do so, however, it is not clear that purely self-directed projects are the best learning situation. Self-regulation can be taught (Gunning & Oxford, 2014; Oxford, 2017; Hawkins, 2018; Xiao & Yang, 2019). However, Holec's (1979) distinction between self-direction and autonomy is also key to understanding the distinction between self-direction and self-regulation. Self-directed projects will give students the opportunity to use their self-regulatory skills. Appropriately targeted reflection will help them improve those skills. But a student who has low self-regulatory skills to begin with is unlikely to set appropriate goals and strategies, and is likely as a result, even if his or her self-reflection is thorough, to misattribute successes and failures leading to drops in motivation and engagement (Zimmerman, 2000; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004; Sorić & Palekčić, 2009; Schunk & Usher, 2012; Callan *et al.*, 2022).

In this context, semi-directed learning, or guided autonomy, may prove more effective. For example, students can have specific tasks assigned to them in a self-directed modality, built into teacher-led projects. Having students reflect on how teachers build their learning units, for

example, can help them identify goals and strategies set by the teacher, consider their underlying structure and apply them to short self-directed tasks.

Co-directed learning, in which peers work together, not only on completing a given task, but on goal setting, strategic planning, and post-task reflection may also prove useful in allowing students to gain self-regulatory skills. Indeed, one result of the present thesis has been that students set a variety of goals, some drawing on personal experiences, other specifying language registers or verb tenses they wish to improve, others mentioning communication, travel, or social relationships. Giving students a dedicated time to discuss their goals in small groups may help those whose goals are narrowly focused or lack hierarchical structure to broaden them and integrate them into longer term socially anchored goal networks.

Teacher-mediation is also an important factor which could help students develop self-regulatory skills. Clear instructions aimed at showing students what goals and strategies are, how they are structured, how they interact with each other, and how to reflect on them appropriately could allow for an enhanced understanding of what is at stake in self-directed projects. For example, rather than asking “During this project, what are your goals regarding language?” one might ask “What goals do you hope to have achieved by the end of this project?” and “How will reaching these goals help you reach your longer-term goals?” This formulation may help students set out goals which are hierarchically structured and anchored in their personal and social life.

Anchor language learning in real-life situations

Students’ difficulty in anchoring their learning in their personal and social life has been another result of the present thesis. While some students mentioned making friends, travelling or their future jobs as language and cultural goals, most gave goals which construed language learning as a narrow classroom activity to be completed as an end in itself, and culture as reified items of (national) high culture or way of life.

Thus, in order to help students set broader goals, it is important to help them understand language learning in a broader context. While many of the considerations developed in Part 1 of this thesis are not adapted to younger learners, others may be, or could be presented in such a way as to interest them. Integrating questions related sociolinguistics, sociology, or anthropology into language learning, adapted to the level of study, may give students an understanding of how language relates to their personal, social, and professional lives.

This could begin by a reappraisal of curricula and textbooks in order to avoid the simplified “enchanted vision” (Zarate, 2008, p. 173)⁴⁹ of national cultures which they often convey. Teaching units about the British royal family, or about London, its red buses and telephone boxes, should be reframed in order to avoid giving students a false picture of the social realities and lived experience of English speakers worldwide. It is of course interesting for students to recognise Big Ben, the Sydney Opera House, or the Golden Gate Bridge, yet approaching cultural learning via such well-known landmarks limits their understanding, both of the people living in these countries, and of the use of language as territorially bound. This is often made more inadequate by the fact that presenting these symbols as representative of national cultures normalises the dominant power structures in place: the British royal family becomes indissociable from people’s vision of Britain, for example, and the way in which they speak is set as a standard, denying legitimacy to other accents, slangs, or local and regional forms of expression.

Understanding the heterogeneity of culture through contact with various people and communities from various countries, regions, social backgrounds, etc. would allow students to go beyond a vision of otherness anchored in encyclopaedic facts, towards a vision of engagement in cultural practices. This can be done through intercultural telecollaboration, but also by more traditional methods by showing forms of contestation and disruption as well as traditional symbols of power. Showing students the power structures which are embedded in the English language may also lead them to question the notion of what is “normal” or “standard”. Small sociological or anthropological studies could be conducted by students to help them gain a more thorough understanding of how speech affects other areas of life, and how learning a language can enhance one’s ability to communicate, express oneself, and build social relationships.

Presenting relationship-building as one of the central goals of the language class may also allow students to broaden their vision of language learning, by showing them another way in which language and culture are intrinsically linked, not as corresponding to territorial entities, but as lived by individuals. Expressing one’s feelings, joking and laughing, discussing plans for the future, are all aspects of communication which students in telecollaborative contexts should be encouraged to undertake as central goals of their learning process, as they are fundamental to creating and maintaining social relationships. These aspects of learning are too often viewed as

⁴⁹ My translation of the original French: “vision enchantée” (Zarate, 2008, p. 173).

tangential to the core purpose of language learning, or as something which will happen automatically once the linguistic code is acquired. Yet, the present thesis adds to research showing that this artificially detaches language learning from its basis in social practices, even making students feel that they have not reached their goals because they restrict themselves to setting linguistic or knowledge-based goals, despite having enjoyed the communication, laughed with their partners, and wishing to remain in contact. These achievements are in fact more fundamental to intercultural learning than knowledge of grammatical code, in the sense that the latter only exists to support the former.

The role of intercultural telecollaboration cannot be understated here. Allowing opportunities for students to work with other students from a variety of personal, social, and cultural backgrounds shows them the multiplicity of uses language can have, especially if self-regulatory processes such as goal setting and self-reflection are targeted towards this multiplicity.

Yet, linking these intercultural telecollaborations to real-life situations goes towards building even more bridges between classroom activities and students' personal lives. For example, a telecollaboration focused on environmental issues, in which students in each country plant trees, having found a place to plant them, obtained authorisations, filmed themselves planting, and produced a common promotional video to share their initiative, has more concrete value in terms of learning than a purely classroom-based activity, even if this classroom-based activity puts several classrooms in contact through telecollaboration. A project in which students decide together on a logo to raise awareness for a social issue they have identified together, before creating and selling T-shirts online thanks to a promotional video they have filmed and edited themselves could be another interesting project. These allow students to feel like they have contributed to the real world, to show friends, parents, families, other teachers, etc. what they have produced, prompting further discussion in their personal and social lives. Beyond being particularly engaging and motivating for students, it also contributes to broadening their understanding of language learning, viewing language as a tool for social action, rather than an object of abstract study.

Overall, it is necessary to rethink curricula and teacher training so that teachers involve students in regular activities which develop self-regulation, intercultural competence, and which take them beyond their classroom, such as intercultural telecollaboration, but also beyond educational settings and create a link with their personal and social lives outside the classroom.

Closing remarks

This thesis has built on research done in intercultural approaches to language learning, particularly related to intercultural competence in the context of intercultural telecollaboration. It has shown that while the role of the individual is recognised in most of the theoretical work conducted in this field, as a condition for viewing cultures as heterogeneous and evolving, and accounting for the plurilingualism and pluriculturalism of a growing number of individuals and speech communities, it has yet to be developed in telecollaborative practice.

Drawing from research on self-regulated learning has allowed the development of self-directed intercultural telecollaborations, giving individual students control over their own learning, allowing them to decide on their own topics and tasks and set goals and strategies adapted to their own needs.

The results show that this needs to be taught, as some learners have more self-regulatory skills than others. Self-regulation is no more innate than is intercultural competence. Yet understanding that the two support each other allows for practical steps to be taken to develop both. It is only by helping students develop self-regulatory skills such as deciding what they want to learn and how to go about learning it, that they can integrate this learning into their personal concerns, leading this learning to have an impact on their lives, rather than remaining confined to a school or academic context. If the goal of intercultural approaches is to move away from the mere language learner towards the intercultural speaker, self-regulation is required to do so. Conversely, self-regulation is strengthened by an understanding of language learning as socially and culturally anchored. Thus, viewing intercultural competence and self-regulation as intimately linked can ensure that language and cultural learning takes place both in educational and social settings.

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**Résumé en français – Développer la compétence
interculturelle dans l'enseignement de l'anglais
entre milieu éducatif et milieu social**

Le rôle de l'autorégulation dans les dispositifs de
télécollaborations interculturelles

Introduction : vers un apprentissage interculturel autonome ?

Apprendre une langue ne signifie pas simplement étudier un code linguistique, ou produire des énoncés pour traduire des pensées déjà formulés dans une autre langue. Au contraire, cela signifie savoir communiquer, interagir et construire des relations avec des personnes qui ne partagent pas la langue et la culture que l'on connaît le mieux. Langue et culture sont ainsi indissociables, non pas dans le sens où une langue cible perçue comme nationale correspond à une culture nationale cible qui serait partagée par tous les habitants d'un territoire national, mais dans le sens où parler veut dire s'engager dans une pratique commune, ancrée dans un contexte culturel spécifique, qui n'est pas forcément national, mais peut-être local ou régional, international, ou lié à des notions d'identité comme le milieu socio-professionnel, l'identité de genre, la religion, la politique, les valeurs et intérêts communs, etc.

Dans ce contexte, la télécollaboration interculturelle permet une ouverture sur des milieux culturels différents de ceux que les apprenants ont l'habitude de fréquenter. En permettant à des élèves et étudiants d'échanger et de travailler avec des groupes d'individus vivant partout dans le monde, la télécollaboration interculturelle a le potentiel de créer des locuteurs interculturels, à l'aise avec des personnes très différentes dans des contextes culturels multiples, usant d'un répertoire linguistique croissant. Cependant, la télécollaboration interculturelle ne mène pas toujours au développement de la compétence interculturelle. Les attentes, les centres d'intérêts, les motivations de chacun peuvent constituer un frein à cet apprentissage, voir même créer des barrières et renforcer les stéréotypes nationaux.

Percevoir le locuteur interculturel comme un individu avec une histoire, des motivations, et des centres d'intérêts qui lui sont propres est indispensable dans une approche interculturelle. Pourtant, les télécollaborations sont souvent menées par les enseignants qui fixent les thèmes à aborder, les objectifs, et les tâches à accomplir. En ce sens, les apprenants restent des énonciateurs, et non pas des locuteurs. Au contraire, l'autorégulation permet aux apprenants de fixer eux-mêmes leurs objectifs et les stratégies pour les atteindre, de mettre en œuvre ces stratégies, et de mener une autoréflexion sur leurs réussites ou échecs, pouvant ainsi apporter leur propre individualité à l'échange avec autrui. La présente thèse soutient que l'autorégulation des apprentissages est donc en partie constitutive de la compétence interculturelle, et que ces deux dimensions doivent être développées conjointement.

Cadre théorique : autorégulation et apprentissage interculturel

Dans une époque où l'on peut interagir rapidement avec des collaborateurs partout dans le monde, on ne peut guère douter des opportunités didactiques et pédagogiques qu'offrent les nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication, notamment dans le domaine de l'apprentissage des langues. La télécollaboration interculturelle, c'est-à-dire les projets où des apprenants de milieux divers travaillent ensemble via internet pour réaliser une production commune, permet d'ouvrir élèves et étudiants à des perspectives linguistiques et culturelles qui dépassent le contexte monolingue dominant qui s'impose souvent comme norme dans les activités de la salle de classe. (O'Dowd & Ware, 2009 ; Jauregi, 2015 ; Ceo-DiFrancesco *et al.*, 2016 ; Whyte & Gijzen, 2016).

Cependant, la télécollaboration interculturelle ne développe pas *nécessairement* la compétence interculturelle. La communication peut laisser aux apprenants un sentiment d'échec, voire une hostilité envers leurs partenaires, pour de nombreuses raisons, dont les divergences dans les attentes, les motivations, les normes de communication, ou les méthodes pédagogiques. (Kitade, 2012 ; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013 ; Lawrence, 2013). La télécollaboration est donc un outil puissant mais pas une solution en soi pour promouvoir la communication interculturelle.

Or la compétence interculturelle s'impose de plus en plus comme centrale, non seulement dans la sphère académique mais également dans des documents institutionnels, y compris plusieurs publications de l'UNESCO (UNESCO, 2013 ; Deardorff, 2020) et du Conseil de l'Europe (Lazar *et al.*, 2007 ; Beacco *et al.*, 2016). Elle est également brièvement mentionnée dans le *Volume Complémentaire* du CECRL (2018), abordée principalement par le prisme de la médiation. Cependant, les différentes critiques adressées à ce *Volume Complémentaire* démontrent à quel point la compétence interculturelle doit être davantage développée. En effet, la complexité de la médiation interculturelle (Liddicoat & Derivry-Plard, 2019), l'importance du pouvoir symbolique (Kramersch, 2019), et la centralité de la construction d'identités et de relations interculturelles (Scarino & Kohler, 2019) en sont absentes ou y sont parenthétiques.

Au fil des décennies une définition assez large de la compétence interculturelle a su faire consensus en la présentant comme concernant les attitudes, des connaissances, et les savoir-faire d'un individu dans sa relation à autrui, pour lui permettre de s'ouvrir à la compréhension d'autrui, d'échanger de manière adaptée, d'établir des relations constructives, et de se comprendre soi-même comme ayant des appartenances multiples et des identités non-figées (UNESCO, 2013 ; Huber & Reynolds, 2014 ; Deardorff, 2020).

Plusieurs modèles ont été proposés, dont celui de Byram (1997), celui de Deardorff (2006), ou celui de Dervin (2010a), tous avec leurs spécificités. Il ressort cependant qu'ils définissent la compétence interculturelle comme permettant à l'individu de dépasser les contextes monolingues et monoculturels et de s'adapter à une diversité de milieux culturels et linguistiques. Il s'agit donc d'une posture (Ware & Kramersch, 2005), ou d'une compétence d'ordre général, qui n'est pas spécifique à une rencontre particulière avec un partenaire donné, mais qui est une approche de la communication, de la culture, et de l'apprentissage qui permet au locuteur de s'impliquer dans des contextes avec lesquels il n'est pas familier.

Les approches interculturelles rejettent l'idée que la culture soit homogène et partagée par tous les membres d'une communauté, en particulier nationale (Zarate, 1995), s'opposent à l'idée que le rôle de la communication soit simplement touristique ou professionnelle plutôt que sociale (Byram, 2003 ; Liddicoat, 2009), refusent de concevoir la culture comme un ensemble de faits encyclopédiques, se focalisant au contraire sur la participation dans la culture (Zarate, 2009 ; Liddicoat, 2013), et enfin mettent l'accent sur le rôle de l'identité plurielle des individus. Ces derniers s'insèrent dans des contextes culturels qui posent des contraintes, mais participe également à les construire (Kramersch, 1995 ; 2008 ; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Ainsi, des interlocuteurs d'horizons culturels divers opèrent dans ce que Bhabha (1994) et Kramersch (1993 ; 1995) appellent un tiers espace.

Selon ce cadre d'interprétation, il est important de permettre à l'apprenant d'une langue dans un cadre institutionnel d'apporter son expérience personnelle, ses désirs, ses motivations, à la rencontre de la langue et de la culture qu'il ou elle découvre ou souhaite approfondir (Kecskes 2012 ; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013). Pour ce faire, il est essentiel que l'apprenant soit autonome. Bien que ce principe soit accepté en théorie, les pratiques de télécollaboration interculturelle laissent rarement une place centrale à l'individu, et les études de l'autonomie et de l'autorégulation n'apparaissent pas dans les discussions de ces pratiques.

Pourtant, la capacité des élèves et étudiants à réguler leurs apprentissages gagne en importance ces dernières années. Alors que les environnements sociaux et professionnels changent de plus en plus rapidement et nécessitent une plus grande capacité d'adaptation, les processus d'autorégulation deviennent centraux dans le développement de l'apprentissage tout au long de la vie. Comme le notent Bardach *et al.* (2023), cette centralité a été récemment reconnue par diverses institutions comme l'Union Européenne (Conseil de l'Union Européenne, 2019) et l'OCDE (OCDE, 2019).

L'autorégulation se définit comme un ensemble de processus permettant la poursuite d'objectifs par la planification, le suivi, et la réflexion ciblant des facteurs cognitifs, métacognitifs, affectifs, et comportementaux, mais également environnementaux (Boekaert, 1999 ; Berger & Cartier, 2023). Il existe deux modèles de recherche sur l'autorégulation : ceux qui se focalisent sur les composantes telles que l'affect ou la métacognition (Boekaert, 1999), et ceux dit « cycliques » qui se focalisent sur l'enchaînement et l'interaction entre les différents processus.

C'est le cas du modèle de Zimmerman (2000) pour qui l'autorégulation peut se diviser en trois phases. Avant la tâche, l'apprenant fixe des objectifs et des stratégies pour atteindre ces objectifs. Pendant la tâche, l'apprenant met en œuvre ses stratégies et effectue le suivi de ses progrès. Après la tâche, l'apprenant effectue un retour réflexif sur la tâche afin de déterminer les raisons de ses réussites ou échecs, et de les attribuer à différents facteurs. Ce modèle est cyclique car cette dernière étape autoréflexive sert à influencer une nouvelle phase de fixation d'objectifs et de planification stratégique. Les apprenants les plus autorégulés abordent les tâches de manière consciente, confiante, et active (Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004 ; Bransen *et al.*, 2022).

Il y a donc au moins deux dimensions qui rendent fructueux le croisement d'une approche interculturelle avec celles de l'autonomie et de l'autorégulation. Tout d'abord, puisqu'il s'agit d'une compétence générale ou d'une posture, c'est la conscience métacognitive qui permettra au locuteur de transférer ce qu'il ou elle apprend dans un contexte culturel ou interculturel spécifique à d'autres contextes (Little, 1991). Deuxièmement, considérant l'apprenant comme un locuteur interculturel, ce dernier doit savoir choisir des sujets qui l'intéresse, se fixer des objectifs, déterminer comment il peut les atteindre, et évaluer s'il les a atteints ou pas afin de pouvoir réellement partager et construire son identité. Pour Little (1991), il s'agit de « désinstitutionnaliser » l'apprentissage, en permettant à l'apprenant de développer une identité qui lui est propre, et non déterminée par les envies, les besoins, ou les attentes d'autrui (Boekaert, 1999). Les dispositifs de télécollaboration interculturelle autodirigée semblent dès lors s'inscrire dans cet espace « désinstitutionnalisé ».

Cependant, le parcours antérieur de chacun est également source d'inégalités dans les apprentissages, ce qui a été renseigné depuis les années 1960-1970 en sciences de l'éducation avec la théorie du capital culturel (Bourdieu, 1986 ; 2001). Le capital interculturel, dont le concept est basé sur le capital culturel de Bourdieu, comprend l'ensemble des expériences, des connaissances et des savoir-faire qu'un individu a pu développer au contact de la diversité

culturelle et linguistique, comme par exemple le fait de parler plusieurs langues, d'avoir voyagé ou vécu à l'étranger, et même d'avoir déjà participé à des télécollaborations interculturelles.

Il s'agira donc de comprendre comment les élèves et les étudiants interagissent dans un contexte de télécollaboration interculturel autodirigée, comment les processus d'autorégulation peuvent être mis en œuvre dans ces dispositifs, et comment cela interagit avec leur capital interculturel.

Méthodologie : des télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées pour comprendre la relation entre autorégulation et apprentissage interculturel

Cinq télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées ont été mises en œuvre entre 2018 et 2021. Le premier projet entre un collègue turc et un collègue français ayant servi de phase pilote, les quatre projets suivants ont pu suivre un cadre similaire. Ce cadre s'est inspiré du modèle d'autorégulation de Zimmerman (2000), en se focalisant notamment sur la première phase qui permet à l'apprenant de fixer des objectifs et des stratégies, ce qui assure que son histoire, sa personnalité, ses goûts, et ses motivations soient au cœur de la tâche choisie.

Les élèves et étudiants devaient :

- Compléter une fiche de travail indiquant les sujets qui les intéressaient, ainsi que leurs objectifs linguistiques et culturels
- Discuter avec leurs correspondants pour négocier un projet commun
- Compléter une nouvelle fiche de travail expliquant leur projet et précisant en quoi il allait leur permettre d'atteindre leurs objectifs
- Echanger avec leurs correspondants afin de réaliser la production
- Compléter un questionnaire autoréflexif pour évaluer leurs réussites et leurs échecs en illustrant avec des exemples.

Les projets 2 et 3 ont été menés grâce à la plateforme *eTwinning*. Ces deux projets concernaient un total de 50 élèves du Lycée Max Linder en France et 43 élèves d'Italie, respectivement des lycées *Elio Vittorini* et *Pietro Siliciani*. Ils ont eu lieu entre janvier et mai 2021. Le temps consacré en classe était de 8h, dont trois visioconférences d'une heure, auquel s'est ajouté du temps de travail personnel, jusqu'à 6h.

Les projets 4 et 5 ont été menés au niveau universitaire entre octobre et décembre 2019 et 2020 respectivement. Ces deux projets ont concerné des étudiants de l'INSPE de Bordeaux (10 et 11 étudiants), qui ont échangé pour le projet 4 avec 11 étudiants de l'Université Américaine de

Blagoevgrad, en Bulgarie, et pour le projet 5 avec 10 étudiants du Collège des Lettres et des Sciences d'Araraquara, au Brésil. 10h de cours ont été consacrés à ces projets dont trois visioconférences de deux heures, auquel s'ajoute un travail personnel, jusqu'à 5h.

A l'exception du projet 4, projet bilingue alternant l'utilisation du français et de l'anglais, tous les autres projets se sont déroulés en anglais *lingua franca*.

Les données exploitées sont issues des deux fiches de travail et du questionnaire autoréflexif. L'analyse est qualitative en premier lieu, mais la combinaison de plusieurs résultats a parfois permis d'établir un lien statistiquement significatif entre différents éléments de réponse.

Résultats et analyse : comment les apprenants s'autorégulent dans le contexte de télécollaborations interculturelles

Les fiches de travail sur lesquelles les élèves et étudiants devaient décrire leurs objectifs et leurs stratégies pour les atteindre ont permis de faire plusieurs constats.

Tout d'abord, les objectifs langagiers sont étroitement focalisés sur la langue cible comme fin en soi, au détriment d'autres aspects tels que la communication, les objectifs de voyage ou professionnels à plus long terme, ou le sujet choisi pour le projet. Les objectifs culturels sont tournés vers l'autre, souvent conçu comme porteur d'une culture nationale ou d'un mode de vie, de traditions festives, musicales ou gastronomiques. Enfin, ces objectifs ne s'insèrent que très rarement dans un réseau d'objectifs à plus ou moins long terme, hiérarchisés en fonction de ce qui doit être réalisé pour atteindre l'objectif suivant. Les objectifs sont ainsi focalisés sur l'amélioration de la fluidité orale, par exemple, sans qu'il soit précisé que cela sert l'objectif plus lointain de mieux communiquer, notamment pour atteindre l'objectif encore plus lointain de travailler dans un cadre où l'anglais serait la langue de communication. Inversement, d'autres apprenants disent vouloir travailler à l'étranger, sans préciser quel aspect de la langue ou de la culture pourrait être travaillé lors du projet en cours pour leur permettre d'atteindre cet objectif.

Concernant les stratégies que les élèves et étudiants disent vouloir mettre en œuvre, elles se focalisent très largement sur la langue, et la culture apparaît comme secondaire. Les élèves proposent des stratégies moins précises que les étudiants à l'université, anticipent des difficultés liées à la communication, et proposent de les surmonter par un travail autant individuel que collectif. Au contraire, les étudiants s'attendent à rencontrer des difficultés liées à la tâche elle-

même, telles qu'un manque de connaissances ou de vocabulaire spécifique, une difficulté à s'organiser ou se mettre d'accord, etc., et proposent de les surmonter très majoritairement avec des stratégies collectives, comme l'entraide et le dialogue.

Les réponses des apprenants montrent également des incohérences entre les objectifs et les stratégies énoncées pour les atteindre. Parmi les élèves de lycée en particulier, les stratégies se focalisent majoritairement sur les objectifs langagiers, et les stratégies pour atteindre les objectifs culturels sont souvent omises. Les objectifs langagiers plus spécifiques des étudiants à l'université semblent également donner lieu à des stratégies plus spécifiques.

Ces résultats issus des fiches de travail d'avant-tâche ont permis d'établir un indicateur d'autonomie dans l'analyse de la tâche (TAA), analyse qui comprend pour Zimmerman (2000) la fixation d'objectifs et de stratégies. Dans l'ensemble, les apprenants de France ont un niveau plus élevé que ceux des autres pays combinés, et les étudiants ont un niveau plus élevé que les élèves de lycée.

Après la tâche, le questionnaire autoréflexif demandait aux apprenants s'ils avaient atteint leurs objectifs et si oui comment, s'ils avaient aimé communiquer, et s'ils pensaient garder le contact avec leurs partenaires. Ils ont également indiqué s'ils parlaient d'autres langues, s'ils avaient déjà été à l'étranger et pour combien de temps et s'ils avaient déjà participé à un échange en ligne, ce qui a permis d'établir un indicateur de capital interculturel.

Les résultats montrent que les apprenants dans l'ensemble n'indiquent pas qu'ils ont atteint leurs objectifs plus souvent lorsqu'ils ont une TAA plus élevée. Cependant, une tendance commence à apparaître parmi les lycéens lorsqu'on combine les objectifs langagiers et culturels. Les apprenants dont la TAA est plus élevée semblent donner des réponses plus complètes et plus structurées, montrant non seulement s'ils ont réussi ou non, mais également comment ou pourquoi. Il semblerait que les apprenants de France aiment davantage communiquer lorsqu'ils ont une TAA plus élevée alors qu'il n'y a aucune différence parmi les apprenants des autres pays combinés. Les apprenants dans leur ensemble disent plus souvent qu'ils ont atteint leurs objectifs s'ils ont également aimé communiquer.

Les apprenants qui pensaient qu'ils garderaient le contact avec leurs partenaires semblent normalement répartis selon les pays et les niveaux d'études, ainsi que selon leur niveau de TAA, montrant que ce ne sont pas des facteurs qui sont liés. Une tendance semble cependant apparaître parmi les élèves de lycée entre ceux qui déclarent avoir atteint leurs objectifs et ceux

qui souhaitent garder le contact. Certains ont aimé communiquer mais ne pensent pas garder le contact, les raisons données en réponse à ces deux questions étant parfois différentes.

Les réponses liées aux langues parlées et au fait d'avoir voyagé ou vécu à l'étranger ou participé à des échanges en ligne ont servi à la création d'un indicateur de capital interculturel. Les apprenants ayant un capital interculturel plus élevé tendent à faire preuve d'une conscience linguistique plus marquée, à donner des objectifs plus spécifiques et plus réflexifs, s'appuyant sur leur propre expérience. Ils ont également tendance à avoir une TAA plus élevée. Cependant, ils ne déclarent pas plus souvent qu'ils ont atteint leurs objectifs.

Interprétation et discussion : l'autorégulation comme partie constitutive de la compétence interculturelle

Sur l'autonomie et l'autorégulation

Un premier constat des résultats présentés ci-dessus est le manque d'autorégulation parmi les élèves et les étudiants impliqués dans ces télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées. Dans un contexte où la majorité des classes de langues est menée par l'enseignant, les capacités d'autorégulation ne semblent pas être suffisamment développées pour effectuer des travaux seuls.

Le manque de hiérarchisation des objectifs a une importance primordiale. Hiérarchiser les objectifs permet de décomposer les objectifs à long-terme en des objectifs qui paraissent plus facile à réaliser, et atteignables à plus court terme. Cela permet d'augmenter le sentiment d'efficacité personnelle (Bandura, 1997), c'est-à-dire le fait de se penser capable d'atteindre les objectifs (Zimmerman, 2000 ; Alessandri *et al.*, 2020). L'efficacité personnelle à son tour facilite « l'initiation et [soutient] la mobilisation des processus métacognitifs d'analyse de la tâche que sont la fixation de buts et la planification stratégique » (Berger, 2023, p.77).

Bien que l'objectif de ces projets autodirigés étaient de mettre les élèves et étudiants en capacité de fixer eux-mêmes leurs objectifs, un rôle traditionnellement attribué à l'enseignant (Holec, 1979 ; Little, 1991 ; Boekaerts, 1999 ; Hawkins, 2018), les apprenants semblent demeurer dépendant d'une régulation externe. Ceci permet de confirmer que la fixation d'objectifs n'est pas une compétence innée. Le rôle de l'enseignant doit donc permettre aux apprenants de développer cette compétence, en leur apprenant à structurer les objectifs, à leur attribuer des critères de réussite qui soient observables à court terme.

De plus, aider les apprenants à hiérarchiser leurs objectifs peut leur permettre de donner du sens à leurs apprentissages. Par exemple, BL09 qui souhaitait s'améliorer au niveau de la « grammaire et [des] phrases », présente cet objectif comme une fin en soi. Aider les élèves et étudiants à ancrer ce type d'objectifs dans un réseaux d'objectifs personnels, sociaux ou professionnels leur permettrait de comprendre pourquoi ils doivent améliorer des éléments tels que la grammaire ou la structure des phrases. Les objectifs doivent être fixés dans le contexte du monde réel, en lien avec des besoins et désirs personnels (Kinging, 2008).

Les différentes catégories établies dans ce travail de thèse pourront permettre à l'enseignant de donner des consignes plus précises, afin que les élèves et les étudiants combinent des catégories, structurant ainsi leurs objectifs. Un élève pourrait, par exemple, vouloir augmenter son vocabulaire (LGOAL2) afin de mieux communiquer (LGOAL3) sur un sujet spécifique (LGOAL6) dont il ou elle aurait besoin pour son futur métier (LGOAL4). Le résultat serait un réseau d'objectifs hiérarchisés, dont certains pourraient donner lieu à des critères de réussite à la fin du projet. Ces hiérarchisations sont d'autant plus importantes qu'elles concernent le rapport à la dimension interculturelle et permettent d'étendre l'apprentissage au-delà du milieu éducatif vers le milieu social.

Les stratégies manquaient également de spécificité. Des études montrent que les objectifs précis et hiérarchisés, et des stratégies spécifiques, permettent une meilleure attribution des échecs à ces éléments qui sont externes et contrôlables, plutôt qu'à des capacités innées jugés par l'apprenant comme étant internes et incontrôlables (Zimmerman, 2000 ; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004 ; Sorić & Palekčić, 2009 ; Schunk & Usher, 2012). Ces éléments jugés internes et incontrôlables sont ce qui met fin aux processus d'apprentissage en les figeant dans l'échec. Il est donc essentiel que les enseignants puissent travailler avec leurs apprenants ces stratégies pour remettre les apprenants dans des processus positifs d'apprentissage en les aidant à formuler des stratégies à la fois plus précises, plus complètes, et modifiables dans le temps.

Les stratégies des étudiants à l'université sont devenues plus précises. Ceci était d'autant plus cohérent que la plupart des étudiants sur les projets universitaires avaient fixé un objectif en lien avec un aspect spécifique de la langue. Ceci peut s'expliquer de deux manières. La vision optimiste dirait que le parcours scolaire dans les différents pays concernés a permis aux étudiants de ces projets de progresser et de devenir plus aptes à fixer des objectifs et à planifier des stratégies. La vision plus pessimiste dirait que ceux qui n'ont pas ces compétences à la fin du lycée ne poursuivent pas leurs études pour diverses raisons (sélection, autocensure), rendant les étudiants plus compétents par élimination plutôt que grâce à un progrès métacognitif lié à

l'âge et aux apprentissages antérieurs. La réalité se compose sans doute d'une combinaison de ces deux facteurs.

Il semblerait que les élèves et les étudiants qui ont été plus cohérents dans la fixation d'objectifs et la planification stratégique soient davantage en mesure de produire une réflexion structurée, essayant d'identifier les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont réussi ou échoué, ainsi qu'en nuancant leurs échecs. Ces compétences métacognitives forment donc un cycle vertueux, puisque la capacité d'attribuer les réussites et les échecs aux bons facteurs permet à son tour une meilleure analyse des prochaines tâches en amont (Zimmerman, 2000 ; Cleary & Zimmerman, 2004 ; Sorić & Palekčić, 2009 ; Schunk & Usher, 2012 ; Berger, 2023), ainsi que le transfert vers des tâches de nature différentes (Schuster *et al.*, 2020). Il est donc possible de conclure que les processus d'autorégulation sont liés les uns aux autres, et constituent un apport important pour les apprentissages.

Sur la compétence interculturelle

Les étudiants à l'université semblent mieux capables de fixer des objectifs linguistiques précis, allant pour certains jusqu'à citer des temps, ou des champs lexicaux en lien avec leurs centres d'intérêt, ainsi que de montrer une certaine réflexivité par rapport à leur niveau de maîtrise linguistique : « je dois améliorer » (BL03), « il me manque » (FL78), « ma difficulté principale est » (FL81). Ainsi, la conscience linguistique semble plus développée parmi les étudiants à l'université, ce qui devrait leur permettre un apprentissage plus efficace d'un point de vue linguistique (Yang, 2013 ; Hyltenstam, 2021 ; Tang & Calafato, 2021).

Cependant, il est également clair que la vision de l'apprentissage des langues qui apparaît à travers les objectifs, qu'ils soient langagiers ou culturels, demeurent étroite et liée avant tout au contexte de la classe. La domination des catégories d'objectifs liées à la langue au sens strict chez les apprenants de tous âges en est l'exemple. Les catégories liées directement à la langue cible sont davantage représentées que celles liées à la communication, à la vie en dehors de la classe, au plurilinguisme, ou aux thématiques précises qui intéressent les apprenants. La culture est également perçue de manière encyclopédique ou réifiée, avec une focale sur la culture nationale ou sur les modes de vie.

Passer de la conscience linguistique à la conscience linguistique critique pourrait permettre aux apprenants d'aller au-delà de la simple forme linguistique et de la culture réifiée, vers une vision à la fois intégrée et ouverte des langues et des cultures, dans le sens où les langues ne sont pas

forcément en relation avec les cultures qui les ont produites, comme c'est le cas dans la communication *lingua franca*. En effet, la conscience linguistique critique remet en cause la neutralité des structures linguistiques, faisant remarquer que les histoires et sociologies des communautés qui les parlent, y compris les structures de domination, se retrouvent dans la manière dont les langues sont construites (Svalberg, 2007 ; Kramsch, 2019 ; Jiménez & Andrada-Rafael, 2021).

Mais la conscience linguistique et la conscience linguistique critique ne doivent pas être opposées. Elles peuvent au contraire faire partie d'un continuum (Wilson & Marcin, 2022). Les aspects de la langue qui sont abordés à travers une réflexion linguistique peuvent être étudiés de manière critique, dans le même temps ou par la suite. Les identités de genre peuvent être abordées dans le contexte des pronoms, en anglais, ou la morphologie des noms communs historiquement masculins, en français (les emplois, par exemple, comme « médecin » ou « ministre »). Les registres de langue ou le vouvoiement peuvent donner lieu à des discussions sur les hiérarchies sociales. Les migrations des populations et échanges culturels peuvent être découverts à travers des analyses étymologiques.

De la même manière, la vision de la culture qui ressort des objectifs des élèves et étudiants est une vision qui voit l'apprentissage culturel comme une activité de réception. La culture, considérée comme une culture nationale, comme des éléments de connaissance, ou comme des modes de vie, est perçue par les apprenants comme une information qui peut être apprise. Cette vision de la culture tend à se focaliser sur des cultures conçues comme étant homogènes.

En effet, les manuels et les programmes d'enseignement des langues sont souvent tentés de privilégier une description centrée sur l'appartenance à une entité nationale qui rassemble les caractéristiques d'un peuple ou d'une nation, ce qui autorise une description simplifiée d'une langue et d'une culture étrangères" (Zarate, 2008, p. 173).

Par exemple, de nombreux élèves et étudiants parlent simplement de découvrir « leur culture » (FL30, FL31, FL34, IL33, etc.). Ici, il semblerait que les partenaires soient perçus comme étant représentatifs d'une culture, plutôt que dans leur individualité (De Martino, 2016 ; Kern *et al.*, 2023). Ceux qui disent s'intéresser à la culture nationale, comme FL40 qui veut « connaître la culture italienne » constituent la culture d'un pays comme étant représentative de tous ses membres (Dervin, 2012). Enfin, IL12 dit même vouloir « connaître la routine de vie typique

des étrangers » ce qui semble indiquer que même l'étranger aurait une forme d'homogénéité à ses yeux (LoBianco, 2014).

Il semble donc essentiel d'accompagner les apprenants vers d'autres catégories d'objectifs culturels. FL73 et AL01 s'intéressent à la manière dont l'anglais est vécu ou appris par leurs partenaires, ce qui montre une vision de l'apprentissage de la langue comme étant ancrée dans un contexte culturel qui peut varier d'un pays à un autre. AL04 et AL08 veulent connaître des « expressions » et de l'« argot » respectivement, semblant montrer un intérêt pour des utilisations de la langue qui divergent des standards que l'on retrouve en classe de langue (cf. Kramersch, 2014). Ceci montre le potentiel qu'ont les télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigés de permettre aux apprenants à sortir d'une vision étroite de la culture, mais également l'importance de les y aider, et donc de repenser les programmes et la formation des enseignants.

Sur le lien entre autorégulation et compétence interculturelle

Premièrement, les apprenants de France semblent avoir aimé communiquer plus fréquemment lorsqu'ils ont un niveau de TAA plus élevé, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont su fixer des objectifs et planifier des stratégies de manière plus cohérente et structurée. Bien qu'avoir aimé communiquer n'est ni nécessaire ni suffisant pour être interculturellement compétent, un nombre de facteurs pouvant entrer en jeu comme les attentes, les personnalités, les centres d'intérêt, les plannings, la curiosité et l'envie d'interagir avec les personnes dont on ne partage pas la culture (Liddicoat, 2008; Zarate, 2008; Kramersch, 2014), et vouloir construire des relations avec eux (Liddicoat, 2009), n'ont que peu de chance de se produire si l'on n'apprécie pas de communiquer avec eux, au moins parfois. Si la fixation de buts et la planification stratégique permettent même à certains apprenants d'apprécier la communication, cela semble donc être un levier important pour développer la compétence interculturelle. Les enseignants de langues ont par conséquent un rôle important pour susciter et accompagner l'intérêt et la curiosité des échanges interculturels.

Les apprenants qui ont aimé communiquer ont indiqué qu'ils avaient atteint leurs objectifs plus souvent que ceux qui n'ont pas aimé communiquer. Parfois les raisons sont les mêmes. FL29, par exemple, dit qu'il a aimé communiquer parce qu'il a eu le sentiment de s'entraîner à parler anglais. Le sens de la réussite chez AL08 pour laquelle, même si elle était nerveuse, elle « pouvait communiquer » et ainsi « chaque jour était une victoire », montre bien son lien avec

le sentiment d'aimer la communication. Les difficultés de communication pourraient aussi être présentées par les enseignants comme des « points riches » (Agar, 2006), sorte de conflits sociocognitifs (Piaget, 1975 ; Doise & Mugny, 1984) qui en se résolvant pourraient conduire à un apprentissage. Les travaux concernant la médiation interculturelle chez les enseignants s'annoncent particulièrement pertinents pour renseigner et accompagner ces questions.

Il y a aussi un lien entre les objectifs fixés et le sentiment de réussite. De nombreux participants ont exprimé qu'ils avaient aimé communiquer parce qu'ils se sont amusés, ou qu'ils ont réussi à communiquer, mais qu'ils n'ont pas atteint leurs objectifs parce qu'ils n'avaient pas appris de vocabulaire, par exemple, comme c'est le cas de FL42. Pourtant, se fixer des objectifs plus larges qui auraient pris en compte le fait que s'amuser est culturellement ancré et que réussir à communiquer n'est pas facile auraient pu donner un sentiment de réussite à cet apprenant, plutôt que le laisser déçu de ne pas avoir appris de vocabulaire. Puisque les échecs sont souvent des facteurs de baisse d'efficacité personnelle, d'implication et de motivation (Zimmerman, 2000), il est indispensable d'aider les apprenants à élargir leurs objectifs afin de prendre en compte des éléments liés à leur vie personnelle et sociale, et à l'ancrage culturel de la communication.

Quand il s'agit de capital interculturel nominal, les apprenants ayant un niveau plus élevé de capital interculturel ont été mieux à même de fixer des objectifs précis, structurés, et autoréflexifs, et d'y réfléchir après la tâche avec la même approche. Ainsi, là où certains avec un faible niveau de capital interculturel souhaitaient simplement « progresser en anglais » (e.g. FL26), ceux avec un niveau plus élevé étaient conscients de leur accent (FL55), savaient que parler à des inconnus dans une autre langue les rendait anxieux (IL27), voulaient se focaliser sur des registres de langue (FL75) ou des temps spécifiques (FL81). Parmi les lycéens, après la tâche, les formulations réflexives étaient également plus courantes, par rapport aux réponses courtes des apprenants ayant un bas niveau de capital interculturel.

Le capital interculturel étant une forme de capital incarné (Bourdieu, 1986 ; Pöllmann, 2013) il semblerait que les apprenants ayant un capital interculturel plus élevé soient plus à l'aise dans les télécollaborations interculturelles car ayant un habitus spécifique qui est valorisé dans ce domaine. Il est également intéressant de noter que de nombreux apprenants ayant un capital interculturel élevé, et ayant su le convertir en un TAA élevé et des réponses structurées, parlaient des langues rarement associées à un capital culturel ou économique élevé. Parmi les langues mentionnées, il y avait le portugais (FL54, FL76), l'arabe (FL62), le kabyle (FL79), le kazakh (BL05), et le gascon (FL85) laissant suggérer que la prise en compte du capital interculturel et sa valorisation dans le cadre de télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées

ne soient pas entièrement corrélées au capital culturel souvent associé à des inégalités dans le domaine scolaire.

Les télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées apportent par conséquent un fort potentiel de développement de la compétence interculturelle. La mise en contact avec des partenaires d'autres langues et cultures apporte ou s'ajoute au capital interculturel des apprenants quels qu'ils soient. Elle s'inscrit dans un processus de réflexions sur les échanges et la communication auxquels sont associés les capacités d'autorégulation mises à l'épreuve par ces dispositifs. Enseigner cette autorégulation semble essentielle afin de maximiser le potentiel de ces télécollaborations interculturelles autodirigées pour développer la compétence interculturelle.

Conclusion : développer le locuteur interculturel autorégulé

En privilégiant une vision de la culture comme étant plurielle, hétérogène et en mouvement constant, les approches interculturelles donnent une place centrale à l'individu dans toute sa singularité. Cette thèse démontre par les résultats d'analyse obtenus par cinq dispositifs de télécollaborations interculturelles que les capacités d'auto-régulation et les compétences interculturelles sont liées et se soutiennent mutuellement. Le développement de sa compétence interculturelle va donc de pair avec le développement de ses capacités d'autorégulation. En s'autorégulant, l'apprenant d'une langue n'est plus perçu comme simple apprenant mais comme locuteur, ayant les outils pour mettre en avant ses propres centres d'intérêt, fixer ses objectifs, ses stratégies qui ne sont pas uniquement issus du cadre scolaire, mais de l'ensemble de la vie de l'individu. La télécollaboration interculturelle autodirigée a le potentiel de permettre à l'apprenant d'aller au-delà de ce rôle, vers un rôle de locuteur interculturel, à condition qu'il soit accompagné pour le faire. En effet, cette thèse montre que l'autorégulation n'est pas plus innée que la compétence interculturelle, et que les projets autodirigés ne mènent pas toujours à l'autorégulation, de la même manière que les télécollaborations interculturelles ne mènent pas nécessairement à la compétence interculturelle. En revanche, les deux dimensions doivent être pensées de concert dans la mesure où elles participent à leur développement mutuel.

Les rôles de l'enseignant et de la classe de langue sont donc à reconceptualiser. La norme demeure une situation dans laquelle l'enseignant exerce dans un mouvement descendant, malgré la mise en activité des élèves et les étudiants, puisqu'il ou elle choisit les thèmes et fixe les objectifs et les stratégies pour les atteindre. L'analyse des résultats de l'enquête empirique montre que les apprenants ne sont pas en mesure de le faire seuls. Ainsi, l'enseignant de langues

doit aussi être un enseignant qui soutient et accompagne les processus d'autorégulation afin que les conditions d'apprentissage soient optimales pour les apprenants quels que soient leurs niveaux variables en termes d'auto-régulation, de capital interculturel, de pratique de la langue ou des langues. Il doit accompagner les élèves et les étudiants pour les amener à percevoir l'apprentissage des langues comme étant ancré dans leur vie personnelle, sociale, professionnelle et culturelle, et les aider à fixer des objectifs langagiers et culturels pertinents.

La définition de la compétence interculturelle se trouve enrichie. Savoir s'autoréguler dans un contexte interculturel, c'est être capable non-seulement d'apprendre, mais aussi de développer sa propre personnalité, ses motivations et désirs, son parcours personnel, social et culturel. Interagir avec autrui en communication interculturelle c'est savoir adopter une posture où l'on n'est pas un représentant d'une culture fixe et homogène, mais un locuteur interculturel qui échange avec d'autres dans de multiples tiers espaces interculturels. Concevoir les processus d'autorégulation comme étant étroitement liée à la compétence interculturelle permet d'élargir le domaine de l'apprentissage des langues au-delà du milieu éducatif pour l'ancrer dans le milieu social.

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List of abbreviations

FL01	Learner from France number 1	
TL01	Learner from Turkey number 1	
IL01	Learner from Italy number 1	
BL01	Learner from Bulgaria number 1	
AL01	Learner from Araraquara (Brazil) number 1	
TAA	Task Analysis Autonomy	Indicator based on goal hierarchies and strategies cf. Table 40
NIC	Nominal Intercultural Competence	Indicator based on students' intercultural past and background cf. Table 6
LGOAL1	Language goal 1	Language in general
LGOAL2	Language goal 2	A specific aspect of language
LGOAL3	Language goal 3	Communication
LGOAL4	Language goal 4	Language as a means to an end
LGOAL5	Language goal 5	Other country/language other than target
LGOAL6	Language goal 6	Language about specific content
CGOAL1	Cultural goal 1	Knowledge or personal progress
CGOAL2	Cultural goal 2	My culture or our cultures
CGOAL3	Cultural goal 3	The Other/other cultures
CGOAL4	Cultural goal 4	Way of life
CGOAL5	Cultural goal 5	Language
CGOAL6	Cultural goal 6	Communication as a way of learning
PGOAL1	Personal development goal 1	Social skills
PGOAL2	Personal development goal 2	Social relationships
PGOAL3	Personal development goal 3	Discovering the world
PGOAL4	Personal development goal 4	Language
PGOAL5	Personal development goal 5	Self-improvement
PGOAL6	Personal development goal 6	Future goals
TSTRAT1a	Task-related strategy 1a	Language improvement without explanation
TSTRAT1b	Task-related strategy 1b	Language improvement by speaking
TSTRAT1c	Task-related strategy 1c	A specific aspect of language
TSTRAT2a	Task-related strategy 2a	Learn about their chosen topic
TSTRAT2b	Task-related strategy 2b	Learn national culture or culture in general
TSTRAT3a	Task-related strategy 3a	Meeting people
TSTRAT3b	Task-related strategy 3b	Helping each other
TSTRAT3c	Task-related strategy 3c	Being more open/sociable
TSTRAT3d	Task-related strategy 3d	Working as a team
TSTRAT4a	Task-related strategy 4a	Work
TSTRAT4b	Task-related strategy 4b	Research
TSTRAT4c	Task-related strategy 4c	Practice
TSTRAT4d	Task-related strategy 4d	Making an effort
DIFF1a	Difficulty 1a	Communication in general
DIFF1b	Difficulty 1b	Language-related communication
DIFF1c	Difficulty 1c	Shyness
DIFF2a	Difficulty 2a	Task format
DIFF2b	Difficulty 2b	Task content
DIFF2c	Difficulty 2c	Work organization
DIFF2d	Difficulty 2d	Task-related language

DIFF3a	Difficulty 3a	Managing schedule
DIFF3b	Difficulty 3b	Organising contact
DIFF3c	Difficulty 3c	Internet connection
DIFF4	Difficulty 4	No anticipated difficulties
DSTRAT1a	Strategy to overcome difficulties 1a	Work together
DSTRAT1b	Strategy to overcome difficulties 1b	Talk to each other
DSTRAT1c	Strategy to overcome difficulties 1c	Help each other
DSTRAT1d	Strategy to overcome difficulties 1d	Be organized
DSTRAT1e	Strategy to overcome difficulties 1e	ICT tools
DSTRAT2a	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2a	Work
DSTRAT2b	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2b	Research
DSTRAT2c	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2c	Practice
DSTRAT2d	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2d	Make an effort/force oneself
DSTRAT2e	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2e	Accept one's mistakes
DSTRAT2f	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2f	Use a dictionary/translator
DSTRAT2g	Strategy to overcome difficulties 2g	Record conversation and listen later

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ANNEXES

DÉVELOPPER LA COMPÉTENCE INTERCULTURELLE DANS L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ANGLAIS ENTRE MILIEU ÉDUCATIF ET MILIEU SOCIAL

*Le rôle de l'autorégulation dans les dispositifs de télécollaborations
interculturelles*

Joshua N W Gray

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Appendix 1 Summary of all Projects

Project 1 (Pilot)		
Countries	France	Turkey
Schools/Universities	<i>Lucien Sigala</i> middle school	<i>Nevsehir Cemil Merci</i> high school
Number of participants	24	24
Age	13-14	13-14
CEFR level (estimated)	A1-B1	A1-B1
Project 2		
Countries	France	Italy
Schools/Universities	<i>Max Linder</i> high school	<i>Elio Vittorini</i> high school
Number of participants	24	22
Age	16-17	17-18
CEFR level (estimated)	A2-B2	A2-B2
Project 3		
Countries	France	Italy
Schools/Universities	<i>Max Linder</i> high school	<i>Pietro Siciliani</i> high school
Number of participants	26	21
Age	16-17	17-18
CEFR level (estimated)	A2-B2	A2-B2
Project 4		
Countries	France	Bulgaria
Schools/Universities	INSPE – University of Bordeaux	American University in Bulgaria
Number of participants	10	11
Age	21 and older	18-21
CEFR level (estimated)	B1-B2	B1-B2
Project 5		
Countries	France	Brazil
Schools/Universities	INSPE – University of Bordeaux	College of Letters and Science of Araraquara
Number of participants	11	10
Age	22 and older	18-20
CEFR level (estimated)	B1-B2	B1-B2

Appendix table i Summary of all self-directed intercultural telecollaborations implemented for this thesis

Appendix 2 Language goal categories by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
LGOAL1	English language in general	10	6	16
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	15	3	18
LGOAL3	Communication	6	4	10
LGOAL4	Means to an end	3	3	6
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	3	3	6
LGOAL6	Content	2	0	2

Appendix Table ii High school students' language goals by LGOAL category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
LGOAL1	English language in general	7	11	18
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	19	12	31
LGOAL3	Communication	3	3	6
LGOAL4	Means to an end	0	0	0
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	0	1	1
LGOAL6	Content	0	0	0

Appendix Table iii High school students' language goals by LGOAL category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
LGOAL 1	English language in general	0	1	1
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	9	8	17
LGOAL3	Communication	2	1	3
LGOAL4	Means to an end	0	0	0
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	0	1	1
LGOAL6	Content	2	0	2

Appendix Table iv University students' language goals by LGOAL category for Project 4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
LGOAL 1	English language in general	4	0	4
LGOAL2	Specific aspect of English language	6	5	11
LGOAL3	Communication	3	2	5
LGOAL4	Means to an end	2	4	6
LGOAL5	Ref to other country/language	0	0	0
LGOAL6	Content	0	0	0

Appendix Table v University students' language goals by LGOAL category for Project 5

Appendix 3

Cultural goal categories by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	5	5	10
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	5	0	5
CGOAL3	The Other	16	11	27
CGOAL4	Way of life	10	5	15
CGOAL5	Language	4	0	4
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	2	3	5

Appendix Table vi High school students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	3	3	6
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	4	3	7
CGOAL3	The Other	21	17	38
CGOAL4	Way of life	2	9	11
CGOAL5	Language	1	1	2
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	1	1	2

Appendix Table vii High school students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	4	6	10
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	2	1	3
CGOAL3	The Other	6	3	9
CGOAL4	Way of life	4	3	7
CGOAL5	Language	0	1	1
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0

Appendix Table viii University students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Project 4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
CGOAL1	Knowledge or personal progress	2	1	3
CGOAL2	My culture or our cultures	2	2	4
CGOAL3	The Other	10	7	17
CGOAL4	Way of life	6	1	7
CGOAL5	Language	0	4	4
CGOAL6	Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0

Appendix Table ix University students' cultural goals by CGOAL category for Project 5

Appendix 4 Personal development goal categories by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
PGOAL1	Social skills	10	4	14
PGOAL2	Social relationships	5	9	14
PGOAL3	Discover the world	3	0	3
PGOAL4	Language	10	3	13
PGOAL5	Self-improvement	3	4	7
PGOAL6	Future goals	3	1	4

Appendix Table x High school students' personal development goals by PGOAL category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
PGOAL1	Social skills	10	10	20
PGOAL2	Social relationships	3	9	12
PGOAL3	Discover the world	4	0	4
PGOAL4	Language	8	4	12
PGOAL5	Self-improvement	5	4	9
PGOAL6	Future goals	0	1	1

Appendix Table xi High school students' personal development goals by PGOAL category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

Appendix 5 Task-related strategies by project

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	17 students	a. Improvement without expl	3	2	5
		b. Speaking=improving	10	0	10
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	4	0	4
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	15 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	9	3	12
		b. Learn about culture	4	3	7
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	3 students	a. Meeting people	1	0	1
		b. Helping each other	0	0	0
		c. More open, sociable	2	0	2
		d. Working as a team	0	0	0

Appendix Table xii High school students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	27 students	a. Improvement without expl	2	8	10
		b. Speaking=improving	14	3	17
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	5	0	5
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	13 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	8	1	9
		b. Learn about culture	5	0	5
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	11 students	a. Meeting people	0	1	1
		b. Helping each other	2	3	5
		c. More open, sociable	1	3	4
		d. Working as a team	0	2	2

Appendix Table xiii High school students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	16 students	a. Improvement without expl	1	3	4
		b. Speaking=improving	1	1	2
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	6	4	10
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	11 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	5	4	9
		b. Learn about culture	1	2	3
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	5 students	a. Meeting people	1	0	1
		b. Helping each other	1	2	3
		c. More open, sociable	0	0	0
		d. Working as a team	0	1	1
TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	4 students	a. Work	0	0	0
		b. Research	1	1	2
		c. Practice	1	0	1
		d. Making an effort	1	1	2

Appendix Table xiv University students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Project 4

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
TSTRAT1 Language	14 students	a. Improvement without expl	0	0	0
		b. Speaking=improving	3	2	5
		c. Specific aspect and strat.	7	3	10
TSTRAT 2 Knowledge and culture	14 students	a. Learn their chosen topic	7	4	11
		b. Learn about culture	4	0	4
TSTRAT3 Social interactions	5 students	a. Meeting people	3	1	4
		b. Helping each other	0	0	0
		c. More open, sociable	1	0	1
		d. Working as a team	0	0	0
TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0 students	a. Work	0	0	0
		b. Research	0	0	0
		c. Practice	0	0	0
		d. Making an effort	0	0	0

Appendix Table xv University students' task-related strategies by TSTRAT category for Project 5

Appendix 6

Anticipated difficulties by project

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	15 students	a. General	5	1	6
		b. Language	7	0	7
		c. Shyness	3	0	3
DIFF2 The task	8 students	a. Format	1	0	1
		b. Content	6	0	6
		c. Work organisation	0	1	1
DIFF3 Organisational factors	4 students	a. Schedule	1	0	1
		b. Contact	2	0	2
		c. Connection	0	1	1
DIFF4 No difficulties	6 students		2	4	6

Appendix Table xvi High school students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	20 students	a. General	4	3	7
		b. Language	6	2	8
		c. Shyness	3	4	7
DIFF2 The task	5 students	a. Format	0	1	1
		b. Content	2	0	2
		c. Work organisation	1	1	2
DIFF3 Organisational factors	7 students	a. Schedule	4	2	6
		b. Contact	1	0	1
		c. Connection	0	0	0
DIFF4 No difficulties	16 students		10	6	16

Appendix Table xvii High school students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	2 students	a. General	0	1	1
		b. Language	1	0	1
		c. Shyness	0	0	0
DIFF2 The task	13 students	a. Format	1	0	1
		b. Content	2	5	7
		c. Work organisation	0	2	2
		d. Language	0	3	3
DIFF3 Organisational factors	5 students	a. Schedule	3	2	5
		b. Contact	1	0	1
		c. Connection	0	0	0
DIFF4 No difficulties	3 students		3	0	3

Appendix Table xviii University students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Project 4

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
DIFF1 Communication	4 students	a. General	0	0	0
		b. Language	4	0	4
		c. Shyness	0	0	0
DIFF2 The task	9 students	a. Format	3	1	4
		b. Content	3	2	5
		c. Work organisation	1	0	1
		d. Language	1	2	3
DIFF3 Organisational factors	7 students	a. Schedule	6	1	7
		b. Contact	0	0	0
		c. Connection	0	0	0
DIFF4 No difficulties	0 students		0	0	0

Appendix Table xix University students' anticipated difficulties by DIFF category for Project 5

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	6 students	1a. Work together	0	0	0
		1b. Talk to each other	0	0	0
		1c. Help each other	3	1	4
		1d. Be organised	2	1	3
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	7 students	2a. Work	2	0	2
		2b. Research	1	0	1
		2c. Practice	2	0	2
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	2	0	2
		2e. Accept your mistakes	1	0	1
		2f. Dictionary/translator	1	0	1

Appendix Table xx High school students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	12 students	1a. Work together	0	1	1
		1b. Talk to each other	2	2	4
		1c. Help each other	1	5	6
		1d. Be organised	1	1	2
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	9 students	2a. Work	1	1	2
		2b. Research	1	0	1
		2c. Practice	2	0	2
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	2	1	3
		2e. Accept your mistakes	0	0	0
		2f. Dictionary/translator	0	1	1

Appendix Table xxi High school students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Project 3 (Share your voice)

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	11 students	1a. Work together	0	2	2
		1b. Talk to each other	1	3	4
		1c. Help each other	1	1	2
		1d. Be organised	2	2	4
		1e. ICT tools	3	2	5
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3 students	2a. Work	0	0	0
		2b. Research	0	2	2
		2c. Practice	0	0	0
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	0	0	0
		2e. Accept your mistakes	0	0	0
		2f. Dictionary/translator	0	0	0
		2g. Record and listen later	1	0	1

Appendix Table xxii University students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Project 4

			Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
DSTRAT1 Teamwork	10 students	1a. Work together	0	0	0
		1b. Talk to each other	3	0	3
		1c. Help each other	1	0	1
		1d. Be organised	2	0	2
		1e. ICT tools	4	3	7
DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	4 students	2a. Work	0	0	0
		2b. Research	2	0	2
		2c. Practice	0	0	0
		2d. Make an effort/force oneself	0	0	0
		2e. Accept your mistakes	0	0	0
		2f. Dictionary/translator	1	1	2
		2g. Record and listen later	0	0	0

Appendix Table xxiii University students' strategies for overcoming difficulties by DSTRAT category for Project 5

Appendix 8 Simple goals by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	11	15	26
	Total goals	24	17	41
Cultural goals	Simple goals	10	10	20
	Total goals	24	17	41
Personal dvpt goals	Simple goals	15	12	27
	Total goals	23	17	40

Appendix Table xxiv Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	23	14	37
	Total goals	26	21	47
Cultural goals	Simple goals	20	10	30
	Total goals	26	21	47
Personal dvpt goals	Simple goals	22	14	36
	Total goals	26	21	47

Appendix Table xxv Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	1	6	7
	Total goals	9	10	19
Cultural goals	Simple goals	4	7	11
	Total goals	9	10	19

Appendix Table xxvi Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Project 4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Language goals	Simple goals	3	2	5
	Total goals	10	8	18
Cultural goals	Simple goals	6	3	9
	Total goals	10	8	18

Appendix Table xxvii Number of simple goals by goal type and by country for Project 5

Appendix 9 Additive structures by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	8	1	9
	Total goals	24	17	41
Cultural goals	Additive structures	11	2	13
	Total goals	24	17	41
Personal dvpt goals	Additive structures	3	3	6
	Total goals	23	17	40

Appendix Table xxviii Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	2	5	7
	Total goals	26	21	47
Cultural goals	Additive structures	5	8	13
	Total goals	26	21	47
Personal dvpt goals	Additive structures	4	5	9
	Total goals	26	21	47

Appendix Table xxix Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	5	2	7
	Total goals	9	10	19
Cultural goals	Additive structures	4	1	5
	Total goals	9	10	19

Appendix Table xxx Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Project 4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Language goals	Additive structures	5	1	6
	Total goals	10	8	18
Cultural goals	Additive structures	4	3	7
	Total goals	10	8	18

Appendix Table xxxi Number of additive structures by goal type and by country for Project 5

Appendix 10 Hierarchical structures by project

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	5	1	6
	Total goals	24	17	41
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	3	5	8
	Total goals	24	17	41
Personal dvpt goals	Hierarchical structures	5	2	7
	Total goals	23	17	40

Appendix Table xxxii Number of hierarchical structures by goal type and by country for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	1	2	3
	Total goals	26	21	47
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	1	3	4
	Total goals	26	21	47
Personal dvpt goals	Hierarchical structures	0	2	2
	Total goals	26	21	47

Appendix Table xxxiii Number of hierarchical structures by goal type and by country for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	3	2	5
	Total goals	9	10	19
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	1	2	3
	Total goals	9	10	19

Appendix Table xxxiv Number of hierarchical structures by goal type and by country for Project 4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Language goals	Hierarchical structures	2	5	7
	Total goals	10	8	18
Cultural goals	Hierarchical structures	0	2	2
	Total goals	10	8	18

Appendix Table xxxv Number of hierarchical structures by goal type and by country for Project 5

Appendix 11 Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties by level of study and by goal

**a. Language goals
i. LGOAL1**

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL1		17	16	33
Did not complete the worksheet		2	8	10
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	14	6	20
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	7	0	7
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	3	5	8
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	7	5	12
	DIFF2 The task	3	1	4
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	0	2
	DIFF4 No difficulties	6	5	11
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	3	4
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	2	5

Appendix Table xxxvi Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL1: language in general, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL1		4	1	5
Did not complete the worksheet		0	0	0
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	3	1	4
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	4	1	5
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	3	0	3
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	0	2
	DIFF2 The task	4	1	5
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	3	0	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	4	0	4
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	1	2

Appendix Table xxxvii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL1: language in general, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

ii. LGOAL2

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL2		34	14	48
Did not complete the worksheet		4	5	9
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	11	14	25
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	7	5	12
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	2	3	5
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	19	3	22
	DIFF2 The task	8	1	9
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	4	4	8
	DIFF4 No difficulties	6	2	8
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	8	5	13
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	10	1	11

Appendix Table xxxviii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL2: a specific aspect of language, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL2		15	13	28
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	14	9	23
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	12	5	17
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	4	3	7
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	3	1	4
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	4	1	5
	DIFF2 The task	3	8	11
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	7	3	10
	DIFF4 No difficulties	3	0	3
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	9	7	16
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	2	5

Appendix Table xxxix Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL2: a specific aspect of language, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

iii. LGOAL3

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL3		8	7	15
Did not complete the worksheet		1	3	4
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	6	2	8
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	4	1	5
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	1	1	2
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	5	2	7
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	0	1
	DIFF4 No difficulties	2	2	4
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	0	1
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	2	2	4

Appendix Table xl Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL3: communication or dialogue, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL3		5	3	8
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	4	1	5
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	5	0	5
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	2	0	2
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	2	0	2
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	1	0	1
	DIFF2 The task	3	0	3
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	1	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	3	1	4
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	0	0

Appendix Table xli Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL3: communication or dialogue, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

iv. LGOAL4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL4		2	3	5
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	2	0	2
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	1	1	2
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	1	0	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	0	2
	DIFF2 The task	0	0	0
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	1	1
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	0	1
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table xlii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL4: language as a means to an end, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL4		2	3	5
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	1	2	3
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	2	2	4
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	1	0	1
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	2	4
	DIFF2 The task	0	0	0
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	0	1
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	1	2
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table xliii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL4: language as a means to an end, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

v. LGOAL5

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL5		3	4	7
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	2	1	3
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	2	2	4
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	1	1	2
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	2	3
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	2	3
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	0	0

Appendix Table xliv Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL5: language other than their target language, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL5		0	1	1
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	0	1	1
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	0	1	1
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	0	0	0
	DIFF2 The task	0	1	1
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	0	0	0
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	1	1

Appendix Table xlv Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL5: language other than their target language, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

vi. LGOAL6

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL6		2	0	2
Did not complete the worksheet		0	0	0
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	0	0	0
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	2	0	2
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	1	0	1
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	0	0	0
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table xlvi Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set an LGOAL6: language related to the topic of discussion, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set an LGOAL6		2	0	2
Did not complete the worksheet		0	0	0
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	2	0	2
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	2	0	2
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	0	0	0
	DIFF2 The task	0	0	0
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	0	1
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	0	1
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	0	1
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	0	0

Appendix Table xlvii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set an LGOAL6: language related to the topic of discussion, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

b. Cultural goals
i. CGOAL1

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL1		8	7	15
Did not complete the worksheet		3	4	7
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	3	3	6
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	4	0	4
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	1	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	4	1	5
	DIFF2 The task	3	1	4
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	2	2
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	1	2
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	2	0	2

Appendix Table xlviii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL1: knowledge or personal progress, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL1		6	7	13
Did not complete the worksheet		0	0	0
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	5	6	11
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	5	4	9
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	1	2	3
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	2	1	3
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	0	0	0
	DIFF2 The task	3	5	8
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	3	2	5
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	0	1
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	4	4	8
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	2	2

Appendix Table xlix Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set a CGOAL1: knowledge or personal progress, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

ii. CGOAL2

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL2		9	3	12
Did not complete the worksheet		1	1	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	3	1	4
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	6	1	7
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	2	0	2
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	4	1	5
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	3	1	4
	DIFF4 No difficulties	2	0	2
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	2	2	4
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	0	0

Appendix Table l Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL2: sharing or comparing cultures, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL2		4	4	8
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	4	3	7
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	3	1	4
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	2	2	4
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	0	2
	DIFF2 The task	0	2	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	2	4
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	0	1
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	3	3	6
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table li Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set a CGOAL2: sharing or comparing cultures, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

iii. CGOAL3

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL3		37	28	65
Did not complete the worksheet		3	10	13
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	25	11	36
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	18	3	21
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	5	8	13
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	22	8	30
	DIFF2 The task	7	2	9
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	6	3	9
	DIFF4 No difficulties	11	8	19
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	6	9	15
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	11	3	14

Appendix Table lii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL3: the Other, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL3		15	9	24
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	13	7	20
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	13	6	19
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	5	2	7
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	3	0	3
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	4	0	4
	DIFF2 The task	6	5	11
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	8	2	10
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	0	1
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	10	5	15
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	1	4

Appendix Table liii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set a CGOAL3: the Other, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

iv. CGOAL4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL4		11	15	26
Did not complete the worksheet		0	9	9
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	8	5	13
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	7	1	8
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	1	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	6	3	9
	DIFF2 The task	5	1	6
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	2	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	3	4
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	2	4	6
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	4	1	5

Appendix Table liv Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL4: way of life, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL4		7	4	11
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	6	2	8
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	6	2	8
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	4	2	6
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	3	0	3
	DIFF2 The task	4	3	7
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	3	0	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	4	3	7
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	1	4

Appendix Table Iv Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set a CGOAL4: way of life, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

v. CGOAL5

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL5		3	1	4
Did not complete the worksheet		1	0	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	2	1	3
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	0	0	0
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	1	0	1
	DIFF2 The task	1	0	1
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	1	2
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	2	0	2
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	0	0

Appendix Table Ivi Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL5: language as a cultural goal, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL5		0	5	5
Did not complete the worksheet		0	1	1
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	0	4	4
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	0	2	2
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	2	2
	TSTRAT4 Individual strategies	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	0	0	0
	DIFF2 The task	0	3	3
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	2	2
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	0	4	4
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	0	1	1

Appendix Table lvii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among university students who set a CGOAL5: language as a cultural goal, for Projects 3 & 4 combined

vi. CGOAL6

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a CGOAL6		3	4	7
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	3	1	4
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	1	0	1
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	1	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	0	2
	DIFF2 The task	1	0	1
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	1	1	2
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	0	1	1
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table lviii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a CGOAL6: communication as a way of learning, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

c. Personal development goals
i. PGOAL1

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL1		20	14	34
Did not complete the worksheet		3	4	7
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	13	8	21
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	8	1	9
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	2	4	6
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	13	5	18
	DIFF2 The task	3	1	4
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	2	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	4	4	8
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	2	5	7
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	7	2	9

Appendix Table lix Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL1: social skills, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

ii. PGOAL2

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL2		8	18	26
Did not complete the worksheet		0	10	10
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	7	5	12
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	4	2	6
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	3	3	6
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	6	3	9
	DIFF2 The task	1	0	1
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	1	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	2	6	8
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	5	6
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	1	4

Appendix Table lx Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL2: building relationships, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

iii. PGOAL3

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL3		7	0	7
Did not complete the worksheet		0	0	0
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	3	0	3
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	6	0	6
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	1	0	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	5	0	5
	DIFF2 The task	3	0	3
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	0	2
	DIFF4 No difficulties	2	0	2
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	1	0	1
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	2	0	2

Appendix Table lxi Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL3: discovering the world, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

iv. PGOAL4

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL4		18	8	26
Did not complete the worksheet		1	4	5
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	12	1	13
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	9	1	10
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	3	1	4
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	10	3	13
	DIFF2 The task	6	2	8
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	1	0	1
	DIFF4 No difficulties	4	2	6
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	5	1	6
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	3	1	4

Appendix Table lxii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL4: language as personal development, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

v. PGOAL5

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL5		8	8	16
Did not complete the worksheet		2	3	5
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	2	4	6
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	4	1	5
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	1	1
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	1	2	3
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	2	1	3
	DIFF4 No difficulties	2	2	4
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	2	1	3
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	2	1	3

Appendix Table lxiii Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL5: self-improvement, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

vi. PGOAL6

		Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Students who set a PGOAL6		2	2	4
Did not complete the worksheet		0	2	2
Task-related strategies	TSTRAT1 Language	1	0	1
	TSTRAT2 Knowledge and culture	2	0	2
	TSTRAT3 Social interactions	0	0	0
Anticipated difficulties	DIFF1 Communication	2	0	2
	DIFF2 The task	2	0	2
	DIFF3 Organisational factors	0	0	0
	DIFF4 No difficulties	0	0	0
Strategies to overcome difficulties	DSTRAT1 Teamwork	0	0	0
	DSTRAT2 Individual strategies	1	0	1

Appendix Table lxiv Task-related strategies, anticipated difficulties, and strategies for overcoming difficulties among high school students who set a PGOAL6: future goals, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Appendix 12 Task analysis autonomy levels by project

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	24	18	42
Level 1	0	1	1
Level 2	2	9	11
Level 3	2	3	5
Level 4	7	3	10
Level 5	6	2	8
Level 6	4	0	4
Level 7	3	0	3
Level 8	0	0	0

Appendix Table lxv High school students' task analysis autonomy levels for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	26	21	47
Level 1	0	0	0
Level 2	4	4	8
Level 3	1	2	3
Level 4	9	5	14
Level 5	10	9	19
Level 6	2	0	2
Level 7	0	1	1
Level 8	0	0	0

Appendix Table lxvi High school students' task analysis autonomy levels for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	50	39	89
Level 1	0	1	1
Level 2	6	13	19
Level 3	3	5	8
Level 4	16	8	24
Level 5	16	11	27
Level 6	6	0	6
Level 7	3	1	4
Level 8	0	0	0

Appendix Table lxvii High school students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Level 1	0	0	0
Level 2	0	1	1
Level 3	0	2	2
Level 4	2	1	3
Level 5	2	1	3
Level 6	4	4	8
Level 7	1	1	2
Level 8	0	1	1

Appendix Table lxviii University students' task analysis autonomy levels for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	10	8	18
Level 1	0	0	0
Level 2	0	2	2
Level 3	0	1	1
Level 4	0	0	0
Level 5	1	1	2
Level 6	8	1	9
Level 7	1	2	3
Level 8	0	1	1

Appendix Table lxix University students' task analysis autonomy levels for Project 5

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	19	19	38
Level 1	0	0	0
Level 2	0	3	3
Level 3	0	3	3
Level 4	2	1	3
Level 5	3	2	5
Level 6	12	5	17
Level 7	2	3	5
Level 8	0	2	2

Appendix Table lxx University students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	69	58	127
Level 1	0	1	1
Level 2	6	16	22
Level 3	3	8	11
Level 4	18	9	27
Level 5	19	13	32
Level 6	18	5	23
Level 7	5	4	9
Level 8	0	2	2

Appendix Table lxxi Students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

	Number high school students	Number of university students	Number of students overall
Total number of students	89	38	127
Level 1	1	0	1
Level 2	19	3	22
Level 3	8	3	11
Level 4	24	3	27
Level 5	27	5	32
Level 6	6	17	23
Level 7	4	5	9
Level 8	0	2	2

Appendix Table lxxii High school and university students' task analysis autonomy levels for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Appendix 13 Self-reported success by project
a. Language goals

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	22	43
Reached their language goals	12	15	27
Partly reached their language goals	1	1	2
Did not reach their language goals	8	6	14

Appendix Table lxxiii High school students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	25	20	45
Reached their language goals	18	18	36
Partly reached their language goals	5	1	6
Did not reach their language goals	2	1	3

Appendix Table lxxiv High school students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Reached their language goals	5	9	14
Partly reached their language goals	1	0	1
Did not reach their language goals	3	2	5

Appendix Table lxxv University students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	11	7	18
Reached their language goals	7	6	13
Partly reached their language goals	3	0	3
Did not reach their language goals	1	1	2

Appendix Table lxxvi University students' self-reported success in reaching their language goals for Project 5

b. Cultural goals

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	22	43
Reached their cultural goals	14	12	26
Partly reached their cultural goals	1	0	1
Did not reach their cultural goals	6	10	16

Appendix Table lxxvii High school students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	25	19	44
Reached their cultural goals	17	16	33
Partly reached their cultural goals	2	1	3
Did not reach their cultural goals	6	2	8

Appendix Table lxxviii High school students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Reached their cultural goals	5	9	14
Partly reached their cultural goals	1	1	2
Did not reach their cultural goals	3	1	4

Appendix Table lxxix University students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	11	7	18
Reached their cultural goals	9	6	15
Partly reached their cultural goals	2	0	2
Did not reach their cultural goals	0	1	1

Appendix Table lxxx University students' self-reported success in reaching their cultural goals for Project 5

c. Personal development goals

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	22	43
Reached their personal development goals	13	15	28
Partly reached their personal development goals	4	1	5
Did not reach their personal development goals	4	6	10

Appendix Table lxxxi High school students' self-reported success in reaching their personal developments goals for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	25	19	44
Reached their personal development goals	19	18	37
Partly reached their personal development goals	3	0	3
Did not reach their personal development goals	3	1	4

Appendix Table lxxii High school students' self-reported success in reaching their personal developments goals for Project 3 (Share your voice!)

Appendix 14 Self-reported success and task analysis autonomy by project
a. Language goals

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	12	12	24	62%
Level 1	0	1	1	100%
Level 2	1	5	6	60%
Level 3	1	2	3	60%
Level 4	2	2	4	44%
Level 5	3	2	5	71%
Level 6	3	0	3	75%
Level 7	2	0	2	67%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table lxxxiii High school students having reached their language goal by level of TAA for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	16	18	34	79%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	2	3	5	83%
Level 3	1	1	2	100%
Level 4	4	5	9	69%
Level 5	7	8	15	79%
Level 6	2	0	2	100%
Level 7	0	1	1	100%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table lxxxiv High school students having reached their language goal by level of TAA for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	5	9	14	70%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	0	1	1	100%
Level 3	0	2	2	100%
Level 4	0	1	1	33%
Level 5	2	0	2	67%
Level 6	3	3	6	75%
Level 7	0	1	1	50%
Level 8	0	1	1	100%

Appendix Table lxxxv University students having reached their language goal by level of TAA for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	7	5	12	75%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	0	2	2	100%
Level 3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 5	1	1	2	100%
Level 6	5	0	5	56%
Level 7	1	2	3	100%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table lxxxvi University students having reached their language goal by level of TAA for Project 5

b. Cultural goals

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	15	8	23	59%
Level 1	0	1	1	100%
Level 2	2	2	4	40%
Level 3	1	2	3	60%
Level 4	4	1	5	56%
Level 5	3	2	5	71%
Level 6	3	0	3	75%
Level 7	2	0	2	67%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table lxxxvii High school students having reached their cultural goal by level of TAA for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	16	15	31	72%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	1	2	3	50%
Level 3	1	0	1	50%
Level 4	5	5	10	77%
Level 5	6	8	14	74%
Level 6	2	0	2	100%
Level 7	1	0	1	100%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table lxxxviii High school students having reached their cultural goal by level of TAA for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	5	9	14	70%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	0	1	1	100%
Level 3	0	2	2	100%
Level 4	1	1	2	67%
Level 5	2	0	2	67%
Level 6	2	4	6	75%
Level 7	0	1	1	50%
Level 8	0	0	0	0%

Appendix Table lxxxix University students having reached their cultural goal by level of TAA for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall	Overall percentage of students having reached their goal
Total	3	10	13	81%
Level 1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 2	0	2	2	100%
Level 3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Level 5	1	1	2	100%
Level 6	6	0	6	67%
Level 7	2	1	3	100%
Level 8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix Table xc University students having reached their cultural goal by level of TAA for Project 5

Appendix 15 Self-reported success and task analysis autonomy combined tables

	Students from France N=126		Students from abroad N=110		Students overall N=236	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	26	59%	44	69%	70	65%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	59	72%	37	80%	94	73%

Appendix Table xci Overall goals (language and cultural combined) having been reached by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France and students from abroad

	High school students N=164		University students N=72		Students overall N=236	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	57	62%	13	81%	70	65%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	55	76%	40	71%	94	73%

Appendix Table xcii Overall goals (language and cultural combined) having been reached by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing high school students to university students

Appendix 16 Communication enjoyment by project

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	21	42
Yes	14	14	28
Sometimes/Partly	3	3	6
No	4	4	8

Appendix Table xciii High school students' communication enjoyment for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	23	20	43
Yes	19	18	37
Sometimes/Partly	2	0	2
No	2	2	4

Appendix Table xciv High school students' communication enjoyment for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	44	41	85
Yes	33	32	65
Sometimes/Partly	5	3	8
No	6	6	12

Appendix Table xcvi High school students' communication enjoyment for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Yes	7	9	16
Sometimes/Partly	2	2	4
No	0	0	0

Appendix Table xcvi University students' communication enjoyment for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	11	7	18
Yes	9	6	15
Sometimes/Partly	1	1	2
No	1	0	1

Appendix Table xcvi University students' communication enjoyment for Project 5

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	20	18	38
Yes	16	15	31
Sometimes/Partly	3	3	6
No	1	0	1

Appendix Table xcvi University students' communication enjoyment for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	64	59	123
Yes	49	47	96
Sometimes/Partly	8	6	14
No	7	6	13

Appendix Table xcix Students' communication enjoyment for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

Appendix 17 Expected future contact by project

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	21	42
Yes	3	7	10
Maybe	7	1	8
No	11	13	24

Appendix Table c High school students' expected future contact for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	23	20	43
Yes	7	7	14
Maybe	7	6	13
No	9	7	16

Appendix Table ci High school students' expected future contact for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	44	41	85
Yes	10	14	24
Maybe	14	7	21
No	20	20	40

Appendix Table cii High school students' expected future contact for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Yes	2	6	8
Maybe	0	2	2
No	7	3	10

Appendix Table ciii University students' expected future contact for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	11	7	18
Yes	6	3	9
Maybe	0	2	2
No	5	2	7

Appendix Table civ University students' expected future contact for Project 5

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	20	18	38
Yes	8	9	17
Maybe	0	4	4
No	12	5	17

Appendix Table cv University students' expected future contact for Projects 4 & 5 combined

Appendix 18 Enjoyment and task analysis autonomy by project

	Students from France N=21		Students from Italy N=18		Students overall N=39	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	5	56%	11	69%	16	64%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	9	75%	0	0%	9	64%

Appendix Table cvi High school students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Students from France N=23		Students from Italy N=20		Students overall N=43	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	7	64%	9	90%	16	76%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	1	92%	9	90%	20	91%

Appendix Table cvii High school students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 3 (Share your voice!)

	Students from France N=44		Students from Italy N=38		Students overall N=82	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	12	60%	20	77%	32	70%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	20	83%	9	75%	81	78%

Appendix Table cviii High school students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Students from France N=9		Students from Bulgaria N=11		Students overall N=20	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	1	50%	3	75%	4	67%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	6	86%	6	86%	12	86%

Appendix Table cix University students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 4

	Students from France N=10		Students from Brazil N=6		Students overall N=82	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	N/A	N/A	2	100%	2	100%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	9	90%	3	75%	12	86%

Appendix Table cx University students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 5

	Students from France N=19		Students from abroad N=17		Students overall N=36	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	1	50%	5	83%	6	75%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	15	88%	8	73%	23	82%

Appendix Table cxi University students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Students from France N=63		Students from abroad N=55		Students overall N=118	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	13	59%	25	78%	38	70%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	35	85%	17	74%	52	81%

Appendix Table cxii Students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

	High school students N=82		University students N=36		Students overall N=118	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	32	70%	6	75%	38	70%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	29	81%	23	82%	52	81%

Appendix Table cxiii High school and university students having enjoyed communicating by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Appendix 19 Expected future contact and TAA by project

	Students from France N=21		Students from Italy N=18		Students overall N=39	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	1	11%	5	31%	6	24%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	2	17%	1	50%	3	21%

Appendix Table cxiv High school students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Students from France N=23		Students from Italy N=20		Students overall N=43	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	3	27%	4	40%	7	33%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	4	33%	3	30%	7	32%

Appendix Table cxv High school students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Students from France N=44		Students from Italy N=38		Students overall N=82	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	4	20%	9	35%	13	28%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	6	25%	4	33%	10	28%

Appendix Table cxvi High school students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Students from France N=9		Students from Bulgaria N=11		Students overall N=20	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	0	0%	2	50%	2	33%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	2	29%	4	57%	6	43%

Appendix Table cxvii University students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 4

	Students from France N=10		Students from Brazil N=6		Students overall N=82	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	N/A	N/A	0	0%	0	0%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	6	60%	2	50%	8	57%

Appendix Table cxviii University students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Project 5

	Students from France N=19		Students from abroad N=17		Students overall N=36	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	0	0%	2	33%	2	25%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	8	47%	5	45%	13	46%

Appendix Table cxix University students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Students from France N=63		Students from abroad N=55		Students overall N=118	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	4	18%	11	34%	15	28%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	14	34%	9	39%	23	36%

Appendix Table cxx Students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

	High school students N=82		University students N=36		Students overall N=118	
TAA levels 1, 2, 3 and 4	13	28%	2	25%	15	28%
TAA levels 5, 6, 7 and 8	10	28%	13	46%	23	36%

Appendix Table cxxi High school and university students expecting to remain in contact with their partners by level of task analysis autonomy for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	6	43%	9	64%	15	54%
	CGOAL	9	64%	8	57%	17	61%
	PGOAL	10	71%	10	71%	20	71%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	6	86%	5	71%	11	79%
	CGOAL	5	71%	3	43%	8	57%
	PGOAL	3	43%	4	57%	7	50%

Appendix Table cxxii High school students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	15	79%	17	94%	32	86%
	CGOAL	14	74%	15	83%	29	78%
	PGOAL	15	79%	17	94%	32	86%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	1	25%	1	50%	2	33%
	CGOAL	1	25%	1	50%	2	33%
	PGOAL	2	50%	1	50%	3	50%

Appendix Table cxxiii High school students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Project 3 (Share your voice)

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	21	64%	26	81%	47	72%
	CGOAL	23	70%	23	72%	46	71%
	PGOAL	25	76%	27	84%	52	80%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	7	64%	6	67%	13	65%
	CGOAL	6	55%	4	44%	10	50%
	PGOAL	5	45%	5	56%	10	50%

Appendix Table cxxiv High school students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Bulgaria who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	4	57%	8	89%	12	75%
	CGOAL	3	46%	8	89%	11	69%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	1	50%	1	50%	2	50%
	CGOAL	2	100%	1	50%	3	75%

Appendix Table cxxv University students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Project 4

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Brazil who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	7	78%	6	100%	13	87%
	CGOAL	7	78%	6	100%	13	87%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	CGOAL	2	100%	0	0%	2	67%

Appendix Table cxxvi University students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Project 5

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from abroad who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	11	69%	14	93%	25	81%
	CGOAL	10	63%	14	93%	24	77%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	1	25%	1	33%	2	29%
	CGOAL	4	100%	1	33%	5	71%

Appendix Table cxxvii University students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 4 & 5 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from abroad who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	32	65%	40	85%	72	75%
	CGOAL	33	67%	37	79%	70	73%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	8	53%	7	58%	15	56%
	CGOAL	10	67%	5	42%	15	56%

Appendix Table cxxviii Students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

		High school students who reached their goals		University students who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who enjoyed communicating	LGOAL	47	72%	25	81%	72	75%
	CGOAL	46	71%	24	77%	70	73%
Students who did not enjoy communicating	LGOAL	13	65%	2	29%	15	56%
	CGOAL	10	50%	5	71%	15	56%

Appendix Table cxxix High school and university students having reached their goals, by communication enjoyment and by goal type, for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	1	33%	6	86%	7	70%
	CGOAL	2	67%	4	57%	6	60%
	PGOAL	2	67%	6	86%	8	80%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	11	61%	8	57%	19	59%
	CGOAL	12	67%	7	50%	19	59%
	PGOAL	11	61%	8	57%	19	59%

Appendix Table cxxx High school students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	6	86%	6	86%	12	86%
	CGOAL	6	86%	6	86%	12	86%
	PGOAL	6	86%	7	100%	13	93%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	10	63%	12	92%	22	76%
	CGOAL	9	56%	10	77%	19	66%
	PGOAL	11	69%	11	85%	22	76%

Appendix Table cxxxi High school students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Project 3 (Share your voice!)

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Italy who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	7	70%	12	86%	19	79%
	CGOAL	8	80%	10	71%	18	75%
	PGOAL	8	80%	13	93%	21	88%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	21	62%	20	74%	41	67%
	CGOAL	21	62%	17	63%	38	62%
	PGOAL	22	65%	19	70%	41	67%

Appendix Table cxxxii High school students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects 2 & 3 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Bulgaria who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	2	100%	6	100%	8	100%
	CGOAL	0	0%	5	83%	5	63%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	3	43%	3	60%	6	50%
	CGOAL	5	71%	4	80%	9	75%

Appendix Table cxxxiii University students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Project 4

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from Brazil who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	5	83%	2	67%	7	78%
	CGOAL	4	67%	2	67%	6	67%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	2	40%	4	100%	6	67%
	CGOAL	5	100%	4	100%	9	100%

Appendix Table cxxxiv University students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Project 5

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from abroad who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	7	88%	8	89%	15	88%
	CGOAL	4	50%	7	78%	11	65%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	5	42%	7	78%	12	57%
	CGOAL	10	83%	8	89%	18	86%

Appendix Table cxxxv University students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects 4 & 5 combined

		Students from France who reached their goals		Students from abroad who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	14	78%	20	87%	34	83%
	CGOAL	12	67%	17	74%	29	71%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	26	57%	27	75%	53	65%
	CGOAL	31	67%	25	69%	56	68%

Appendix Table cxxxvi Students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects, 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

		High school students who reached their goals		University students who reached their goals		All students who reached their goals	
Students who expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	19	79%	15	88%	34	83%
	CGOAL	18	75%	11	65%	29	71%
Students who do not expect to stay in contact	LGOAL	41	67%	12	57%	53	65%
	CGOAL	38	62%	18	86%	56	68%

Appendix Table cxxxvii High school and university students having reached their goals, by expected future contact and by goal type, for Projects, 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

Appendix 22 Levels of nominal intercultural capital by project

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	21	20	41
Level 1	3	3	6
Level 2	2	5	7
Level 3	12	11	23
Level 4	4	1	5
Level 5	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxxxviii High school students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	24	18	42
Level 1	2	1	3
Level 2	2	7	9
Level 3	15	4	19
Level 4	5	6	11
Level 5	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxxxix High school students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Italy	Number of students overall
Total number of students	45	38	83
Level 1	5	4	9
Level 2	4	12	16
Level 3	27	15	42
Level 4	9	7	16
Level 5	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxl High school students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Bulgaria	Number of students overall
Total number of students	9	11	20
Level 1	0	0	0
Level 2	0	1	1
Level 3	6	7	13
Level 4	2	1	3
Level 5	1	2	3

Appendix Table cxli University students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Project 4

	Number of students from France	Number of students from Brazil	Number of students overall
Total number of students	11	7	18
Level 1	0	5	5
Level 2	0	1	1
Level 3	6	1	7
Level 4	5	0	5
Level 5	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxlii University students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Project 5

	Number of students from France	Number of students from abroad	Number of students overall
Total number of students	20	18	38
Level 1	0	5	5
Level 2	0	2	2
Level 3	12	8	20
Level 4	7	1	8
Level 5	1	2	3

Appendix Table cxliii University students' levels of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

Appendix 23 Goal categories and nominal intercultural capital by project
a. Language goals

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	2	4	8	2	0
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	2	1	9	3	0
LGOAL3: Communication	1	1	6	0	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	1	1	3	0	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	1	5	0	0
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	1	1	0

Appendix Table cxliv High school students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	1	4	7	5	0
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	2	6	12	6	0
LGOAL3: Communication	0	0	3	2	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	0	0	0	0	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	0	0	1	0
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxlv High school students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 3 (Share you voice)

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	0	0	0	0	1
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	0	1	12	3	1
LGOAL3: Communication	0	0	2	1	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	0	0	0	0	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	0	0	0	1
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	2	0	0

Appendix Table cxlvi University students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 4

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
LGOAL1: English language in general	0	0	2	2	0
LGOAL2: Specific aspect of English language	3	1	3	4	0
LGOAL3: Communication	0	0	4	0	0
LGOAL4: Means to an end	1	0	2	1	0
LGOAL5: Ref to other country/language	0	0	0	0	0
LGOAL6: Content	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix Table cxlvii University students' language goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 5

b. Cultural goals

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	1	2	2	2	0
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	1	0	2	1	0
CGOAL3: The Other	3	5	15	3	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	1	1	12	2	0
CGOAL5: Language	0	0	1	0	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	1	3	0	0

Appendix Table cxlviii High school students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	2	0	2	1	0
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	0	2	1	2	0
CGOAL3: The Other	3	8	15	8	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	0	3	4	3	0
CGOAL5: Language	0	0	1	1	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	1	1	0	0

Appendix Table cxlix High school students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	0	0	5	1	3
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	0	0	3	0	1
CGOAL3: The Other	0	0	4	3	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	0	0	4	0	0
CGOAL5: Language	0	0	1	0	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix Table cl University students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 4

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
CGOAL1: Knowledge or personal progress	0	0	2	1	0
CGOAL2: My culture or our cultures	1	0	2	1	0
CGOAL3: The Other	3	1	6	5	0
CGOAL4: Way of life	1	0	4	2	0
CGOAL5: Language	1	0	1	0	0
CGOAL6: Communication as a way of learning	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix Table cli University students' cultural goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 5

c. Personal development goals

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
PGOAL1: Social skills	2	1	9	0	0
PGOAL2: Social relationships	2	3	7	2	0
PGOAL3: Discover a country	0	0	3	0	0
PGOAL4: Language	0	1	8	3	0
PGOAL5: Self-improvement	1	2	2	2	0
PGOAL6: Future goals	0	1	3	0	0

Appendix Table clii High school students' personal development goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	NIC1	NIC2	NIC3	NIC4	NIC5
PGOAL1: Social skills	3	3	11	2	0
PGOAL2: Social relationships	0	4	4	2	0
PGOAL3: Discover a country	0	0	2	1	0
PGOAL4: Language	0	3	6	3	0
PGOAL5: Self-improvement	0	1	2	4	0
PGOAL6: Future goals	0	1	0	0	0

Appendix Table cliii High school students' personal development goals by nominal intercultural capital for Project 3 (Share your voice)

Appendix 24 Nominal intercultural capital and task analysis autonomy by project

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	10	83%	15	56%
TAA 5-8	2	17%	12	44%

Appendix Table cliv High school students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Project 2 (Let's Talk!)

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	6	50%	15	50%
TAA 5-8	6	50%	15	50%

Appendix Table clv High school students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Project 3 (Share your voice)

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	1	100%	5	28%
TAA 5-8	0	0%	13	72%

Appendix Table clvi University students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Project 4

	NIC1&2		NIC3+	
TAA 1-4	2	40%	0	0%
TAA 5-8	3	60%	11	100%

Appendix Table clvii University students' nominal intercultural capital by task analysis autonomy level for Project 5

Appendix 25 Nominal intercultural capital and self-reported success by level of study
a. Language goals

	Students from France N=44		Students from Italy N=38		Students overall N=82	
NIC 1&2	6	75%	13	76%	19	76%
NIC3+	22	61%	27	81%	39	68%

Appendix Table clviii High school students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Students from France N=20		Students from abroad N=18		Students overall N=38	
NIC 1&2	N/A	N/A	7	100%	7	100%
NIC3+	12	60%	8	73%	20	65%

Appendix Table clix University students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Students from France N=64		Students from abroad N=56		Students overall N=120	
NIC 1&2	6	75%	20	83%	26	81%
NIC3+	34	61%	25	78%	59	67%

Appendix Table clx Students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

	High school students N=82		University students N=38		Students overall N=120	
NIC 1&2	19	76%	7	100%	26	81%
NIC3+	39	68%	20	65%	59	67%

Appendix Table clxi High school and university students having reached their language goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

b. Cultural goals

	Students from France N=44		Students from Italy N=38		Students overall N=82	
NIC 1&2	6	75%	11	65%	17	68%
NIC3+	23	64%	15	71%	38	67%

Appendix Table clxii High school students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

	Students from France N=20		Students from abroad N=18		Students overall N=38	
NIC 1&2	N/A	N/A	7	100%	7	100%
NIC3+	12	60%	8	73%	20	65%

Appendix Table clxiii University students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 4 & 5 combined

	Students from France N=64		Students from abroad N=56		Students overall N=120	
NIC 1&2	6	75%	18	75%	24	75%
NIC3+	35	63%	23	72%	58	66%

Appendix Table clxiv Students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined, comparing students from France to students from abroad

	High school students N=82		University students N=38		Students overall N=120	
NIC 1&2	17	68%	7	100%	24	75%
NIC3+	38	67%	20	65%	58	66%

Appendix Table clxv High school and university students having reached their cultural goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2, 3, 4 & 5 combined

c. Personal development goals

	Students from France N=44		Students from Italy N=38		Students overall N=82	
NIC 1&2	5	63%	14	82%	19	76%
NIC3+	25	69%	17	81%	42	74%

Appendix Table clxvi High school students having reached their personal development goal by level of nominal intercultural capital for Projects 2 & 3 combined

Appendix 26 Worksheets 1 & 2

This example was taken from Project 5. Project 4 was identical. The same questions were asked on Projects 2 & 3, with Personal Development Goals added.

FREE TASK

English for M2 CPE

S3: 2020-2021

TITLE: Intercultural Telecollaboration with Araraquara, Brazil

FREE TASK

This is a free task in which you will produce a text, slideshow, video or recording (in which you speak) on a topic of your choice. One of the main difficulties lies in finding a project that meets both your own goals and interests and those of your partner.

Part 1: Individually, on the Google document sent by the teacher (by **Sunday 15th November)**

Set out your own interests and objectives:

Topics of interest:

.....
.....

Goals regarding language:

.....
.....

Goals regarding culture:

.....
.....

Part 2: ONLINE via Skype or Zoom by **Sunday 22th November** at the latest

Discuss your interests and objectives with your partner and decide on a project which will suit you both. This can mean finding common interests, or creating a production on several topics which may be linked (for example, if one is interested in food and the other in education, you may create a video about the role of healthy eating for academic success.) Decide on who will do what: this is important as it will save you time and avoid needless communication with your partner. Decide what tools you will use (google documents, padlet, etc.)

Give a brief description of your project here

.....
.....

How will this project allow you to meet your goals?

.....
.....

Do you anticipate any difficulties? What will you do to overcome them?

.....
.....

Part 3: OFFLINE individually and via email, google documents or padlet

Research your project and create your production. This can be relatively short (300 words minimum) on a common document. Group your work with your partner's on the same document (make sure you have decided who will do this!)

Your final draft must be submitted by **Sunday 6th December** at the latest, by email to xxx@u-bordeaux.fr

CONTINUOUS ASSESSMENT

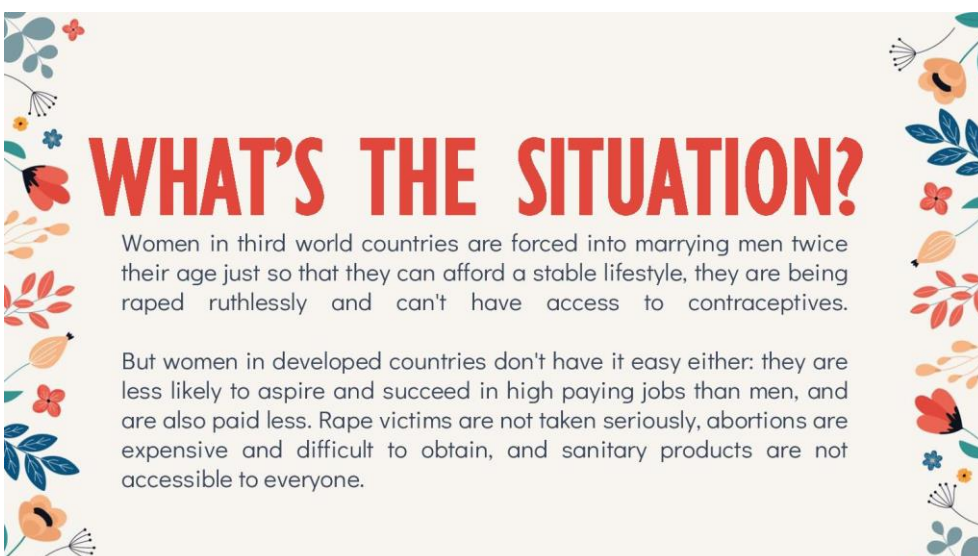
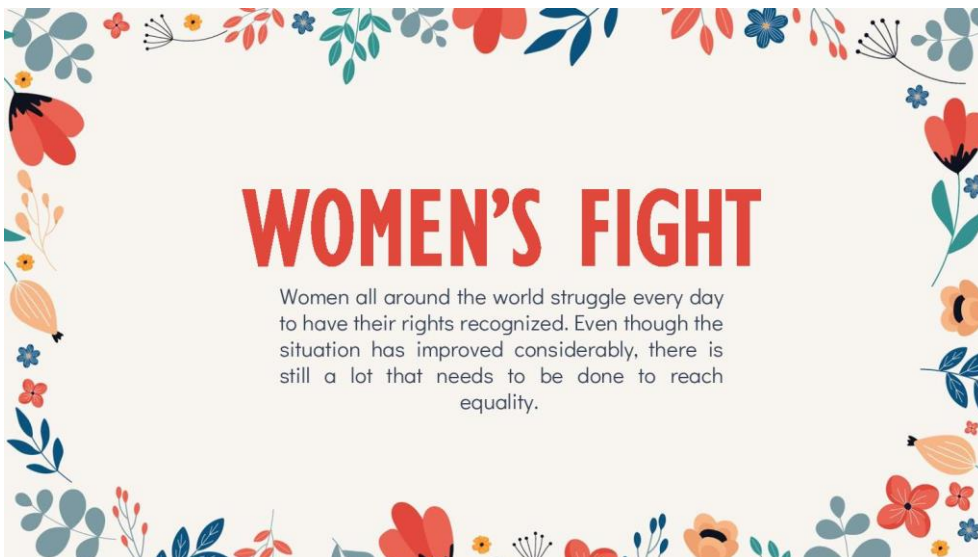
Mark: /20

Based on the following criteria: construction and relevance of the project in relation to your goals, English language

Appendix 27 Questions from the Post-Task Self-Reflective Questionnaire

Parts 1 & 2 were asked to all participants, will students on Projects 2 & 3 also being asked about their Personal Development Goals. Part 3 was specific to Project 5, designed only for the eight participants involved in both Project 4 and Project 5.

Part 1: Questions about you
What is your name? (This is only to compare your answers to your partner's. Your name will not appear in any publication.)
How old are you?
What languages do you speak at home?
What languages have you studied at school or university?
Have you ever done an online exchange before? Specify when and with what country.
Have you ever been to another country before? Specify when, where and for how long.
Part 2: Questions about your recent telecollaboration
Did you reach your goals regarding language? Give precise examples specifying what you did and how your language skills developed.
Did you reach your goals regarding culture? Give precise examples specifying what you did and how this affected your relation to culture.
During this exchange, did you enjoy communicating with your foreign partner(s)? Why? Give precise examples.
Do you think you will stay in contact with your foreign partner after the project is finished? Why?
Part 3: Questions comparing last year and this year
For you, what is most important about the self-directed framework of these telecollaborations?
Are there any negative aspects to the self-directed framework?
Do you have anything else to say about this project, whether positive or negative?
Do you think you have improved your language skills since last year?
Please comment on your answer above
Do you think you have improved your intercultural skills since last year?





**CHEW, SPIT,
KISS, REPEAT**

Chew
and spit
Everything you don't want
To swallow
Like calories
And boys with bad tempers

Eventually you will learn
How to go through life
Empty

And maybe then
All the boys with bad tempers
Will want to kiss you, and only you.

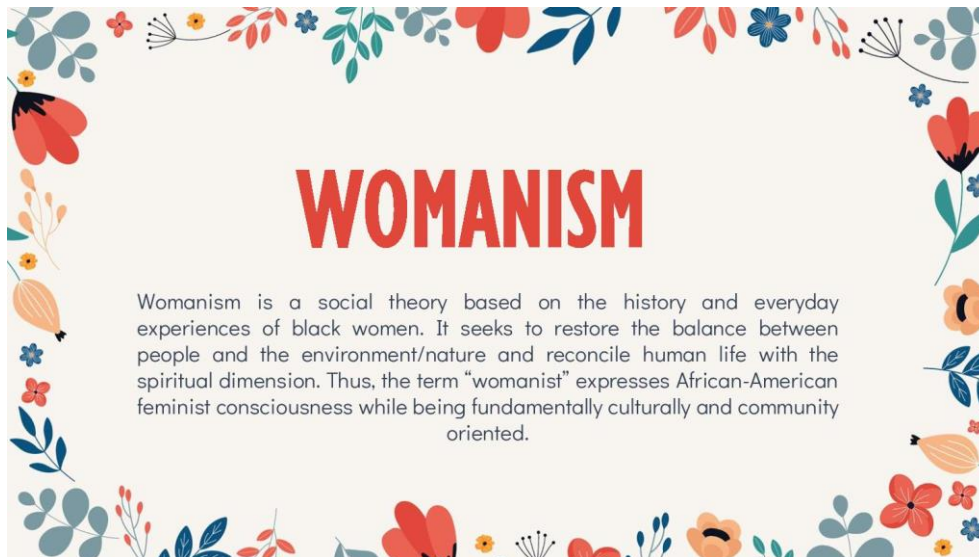
But you doubt you'll ever be

Small enough
To fit past someone's ribcage and reach their
heart

Or big enough
To fill the entire space in someone's head
And have them think about you when it's dark.

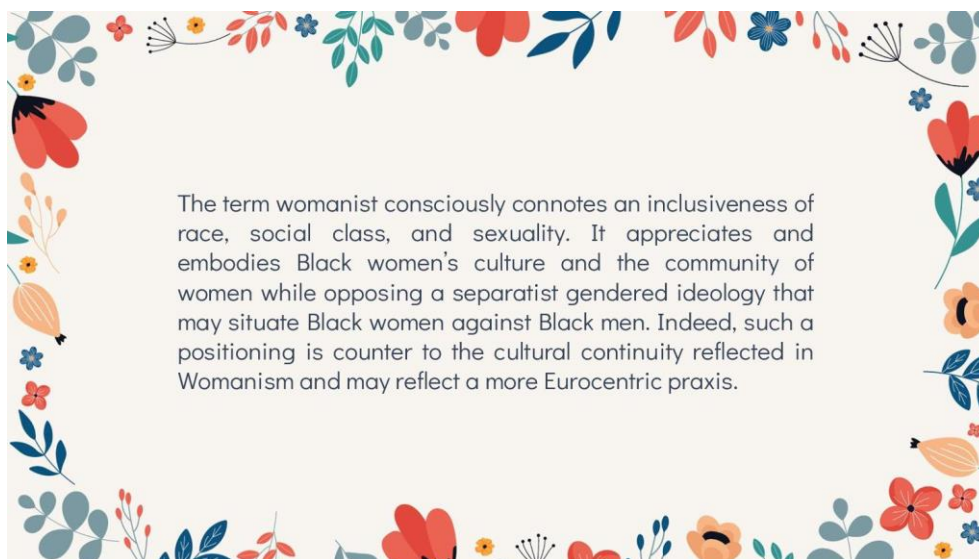
So instead
You just chew and spit and kiss
And hope one day it will all
Make sense
And you won't have to worry about all these
kinds of
Things
Because you will be empty and full
All at once

**-Nicolette
Daskalakis**



WOMANISM

Womanism is a social theory based on the history and everyday experiences of black women. It seeks to restore the balance between people and the environment/nature and reconcile human life with the spiritual dimension. Thus, the term "womanist" expresses African-American feminist consciousness while being fundamentally culturally and community oriented.



The term womanist consciously connotes an inclusiveness of race, social class, and sexuality. It appreciates and embodies Black women's culture and the community of women while opposing a separatist gendered ideology that may situate Black women against Black men. Indeed, such a positioning is counter to the cultural continuity reflected in Womanism and may reflect a more Eurocentric praxis.

“Who knows what women can be when they are finally free to become themselves?”

—anonymous french proverb

WOMEN'S RIGHTS: WHAT YEAR DID WOMEN ACHIEVE CERTAIN RIGHTS?

FRANCE

1. Right to get an abortion: 1975
2. Right to vote: 1944
3. Right to get a job without the husband's permission: 1965
4. Right to fight in the army: 1793
5. Right to get a divorce: 1884

ITALY

1. Right to get an abortion: 1978
2. Right to vote: 1945
3. Right to get a job without the husband's permission: 1977
4. Right to fight in the army: 1999
5. Right to get a divorce: 1970

Rina Faccio, better known as Sibilla Aleramo, is considered one of the greatest figures of feminism Italian. Born in 1876 in Alexandria, Piedmont, Rina spent his childhood in Milan. Raised by her father, she receives a normal and atheist education. At 14 she is her father's accountant. In 1882 a dramatic events happens. She is raped by one of the employees. With whom she is married a year later. At 19 years old her first child born.

SIBILLA ALERAMO



Her broken-up marriage led her to leave her house. Her sister welcomes her at Rome where Rina begins to write his book "a woman" which restores her life. Already knows thanks to her journalist works. In 1889 Rina uses for the first time the nickname "Sibilla Aleramo". In spite of all the works she has written it will be only her book "a woman" that she will be famous. It is this book that gives the heroine status of the women's movement. From the point of view of women's history, the country (Italy) is also experiencing a transition.

**SIBILLA
ALERAMO**



The Italians have won some freedoms and a new political conscience. However, political, civic and private decisions are not yet acquired. Even if movements are active, changes are rare. In 1906 the question about the women's right to vote appears. It's something new in Europe. In this period women are still dependent of men. Restrictions on women's rights are numerous, in the context of the couple and the family, as in the case of goods and business activities.

**SIBILLA
ALERAMO**



This is why the comportment of Sibilla Aleramo shocked a lot of people. During her life she will write many books, articles and play in a film. She died in Rome in June 13 1960. Aleramo said he had lived three lives. The first as mother and wife, translated into "a woman". The second, in Rome where activist in feminist organizations. The third had 30 years during which she spent her time writing about lived experiences. She played an important role in the feminist cause.

**SIBILLA
ALERAMO**

A HERITAGE TO SHARE



DISCOVER THE REGIONS
AND THEIR GASTRONOMY -
BETWEEN FRANCE AND
BRAZIL

NOVEMBER 2020 • ISSUE 10 • VOLUME 1



ALSACE

LIVING TRADITIONS



Choucroute alsacienne - Alsatian sauerkraut

"Alsace is considered one of the most gourmet provinces"

Kougelhops : THE emblematic dessert of Alsace. All the bakeries in Alsace sell it!



Gingerbread ... A huge classic

A famous specialty from Alsace. It is a tradition to offer gingerbread to your loved ones from December 6. This traditional sweet perfumes the Christmas markets.



The Mannalas (or Manneles)

On the 6th of December, on the day of Saint Nicholas, it is customary to prepare mannala, the brioche men that can be savoured for breakfast or for an afternoon snack, and that are given to children who have been good..



1h 15



easy



Preparation
55 min

1. Warm half of the milk and pour it into a container. add 100g of flour and mix.

2. Cover the container with a clean cloth and let rise for 20 minutes.

3. In a saucepan, melt the butter without boiling it, with the rest of the milk, the caster sugar and the salt. Let it cool.

4. Include 2 whole eggs and the rest of the flour. Knead vigorously for 15 minutes. Cover the container with the cloth and let it rise for 30 minutes.

5. Place the dough on a floured surface and form small cylinders 3 cm in diameter and 15 cm long. Shape the head, arms and legs.

6. Brown with the egg yolk. Create the eyes with raisins or chocolate chips.

7. Let it rise for 20 minutes. Place in the oven thermostat 5/6 for 25 minutes.



BRITTANY/LA BRETAGNE

"UNDER THE SIGN OF THE SEA"



Brittany is today famous for its menhirs and its legendary forest of King Arthur but it is as well a mixture of the sea and the land. It is a very important agricultural region.

SPECIALTIES OF BRITTANY TO TASTE ABSOLUTELY!

- The essential traditional black wheat pancake
- Salted butter caramel
- Kouign Amann



This is Brittany sweet dish par excellence. **Kouign-amann** is a regional tradition pastry. It is a folded bread dough covered with butter and sugar. It is renowned for its taste and consistency. ***So be careful not to have eyes bigger than your stomach!***



The buckwheat pancake is definitely a must have in the region :

It comes in two main versions :

- **The complete galette** : composed of ham, egg and grated cheese,
- **The sausage galette** : made with a typical sausage, perfect to eat before a walk by the beautiful seaside or to eat during a fest-noz.

The buckwheat pancake is also served as a starter, a main course or a dessert.



Salted butter caramel

And to accompany all this?



Eat, eat. You have to think about drinking too. **The Brittany cider.** Cider is an alcoholic beverage made from the fermented juice of apples. It will accompany the galette des rois but especially the pancakes.

BOURGOGNE- BURGUNDY

Gastronomy in Burgundy is both rustic and diverse



Burgundy snails

They are traditionally served during Christmas celebrations. The recipe is very simple : after cooking them in the stock, garnish them with a mixture of butter, parsley, salt, pepper and garlic. 10 minutes in the oven and it's ready!



"Boeuf bourguignon" A stewed dish of beef marinated in red Burgundy wine



Dijon mustard. it is made from sifted black seeds. Its flavor can be mild, medium or strong.

"Fondue bourguignonne" is an ideal dish to entertain your guests. Very homelike and tasty.. However, cooking the meat in oil makes this dish calorific.



- 1.2 kg of lean beef
- 1 clove of garlic
- 6 beef stock cubes
- light sauces
- salt pepper

You have to prick the meat with long skewers and dip it in hot oil. This "Fondue bourguignonne" can be accompanied with steamed potatoes or salad.

But, above all, what would Burgundian cuisine be without wine?



L'AQUITAINE

"THE ART OF LIVING ... AT THE TABLE"



- Goose and duck foie gras (Périgord)



- Oysters from the Arcachon Basin

Aquitaine is famous worldwide for its wine vintages. The region is also famous for its poultry production

Canelés



Difficulty	Preparation	Cooking	Total time
Easy	15 min	1 hour	2 h 15 min

PRÉPARATION

1. Boil the milk with the vanilla and butter.
2. During this time, mix the flour, the sugar then add the eggs all at once, and finally add the boiling milk.
3. Mix gently to obtain a paste like pancake batter, let it cool, then add the rum. Place in the refrigerator for one hour.
4. Preheat the oven to 270 ° C with the baking sheet on which the canelés will be baked.
5. Pour the batter into the well-buttered molds, fill them only halfway; quickly, place the canelés in a hot oven for 5 minutes, then lower the thermostat to 180 ° C and continue cooking for 1 hour: the canelé should have a brown crust but be very soft inside.
6. Finally unmold



Aquitaine offers "the taste of happiness"...



SUDESTE

To warm our heart...



This meal can be accompanied by rice, sautéed cabbage, a half orange and farofa.



FEIJOADA

Feijoada or Black Bean Stew is a traditional dish Brazilian very famous at the restaurants and homes. It's a meal to eat lunch, mostly on Wednesday and Saturday with friends and family, because is not just a meal, but also an event to share with those love.

• Ingredients

2 tablespoons olive oil
2 cups chopped onions
2 tablespoons chopped garlic
2 bay leaves
Salt
Freshly ground black pepper
1 pound choriço sausage, sliced 1/4-inch thick
1 pound carne seca or other salted cured beef, soaked overnight and cubed
1 pound baby back spareribs, cut into individual ribs
1 pound black beans
10 cups water
4 cups collared or kale greens, sautéed in olive oil
4 cups cooked white rice
Brazilian hot sauce



Difficult



Preparation
40 minutes



Total time
2 hours

• Preparation

1. In a large heavy-bottom saucepan, over medium heat, add the oil. When the oil is hot, add the garlic. Crush the bay leaves and add to the pan.

2. Season with salt and pepper. Saute for 5 minutes. Add the sausage. Continue to cook for 4 minutes. Add the cubed beef, ribs, beans and water.

3. Bring the liquid to a boil, reduce the heat to medium low and simmer until the beans are tender, about 2 1/2 hours. Adding water as necessary to keep the beans covered. Using the back of a ladle, mash 1/4 of the beans. Reseason with salt and pepper if needed.

4. To serve, spoon some of the greens and rice onto each serving plate. Spoon the Feijoada over the rice. Shake some of the hot sauce over the entire plate. Garnish with the orange slices and farofa.



SUDESTE SOUTHEAST



Do you want sweeten life?

It's a chocolate ball that you can eat on several occasions: when you are on a bad day, celebrate a date with friends, when you are on a great day or if you want eat something very sweet. It's very common in the birthday parties.



15 min



Preparation
Easy



Total time
1 h 15min

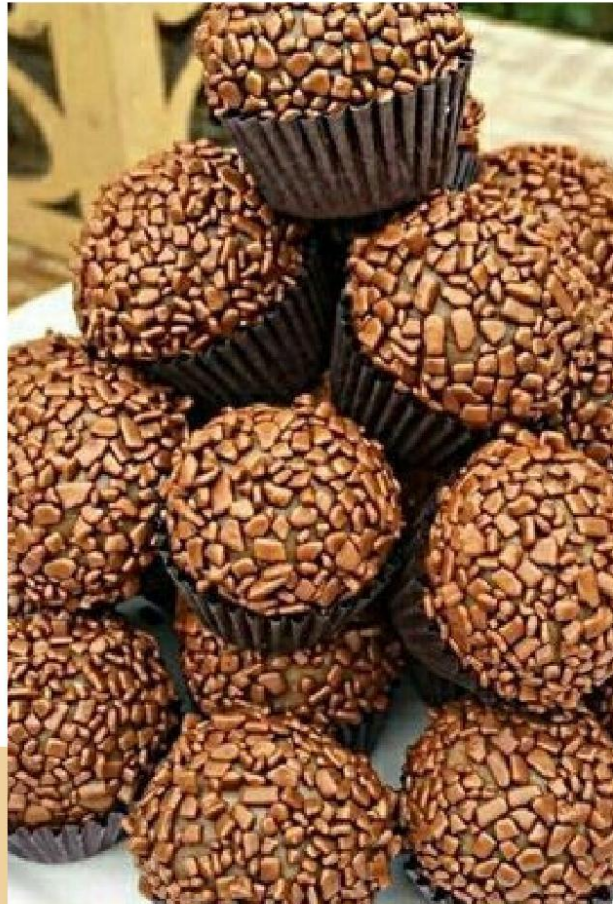
• Ingredients

1 tablespoon butter

14 oz sweetened condensed milk(395 g)

¼ cup cocoa powder(30 g)

1 cup chocolate sprinkle(160 g), as needed



BRIGADEIRO



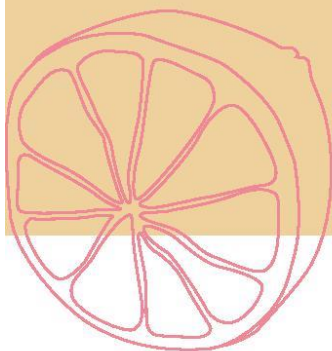
. It's considered for many people, a confort food!

• Preparation

1. In a pot over low heat, melt the butter, condensed milk, and cocoa powder, stirring continuously until you can see the bottom of the pot for 2-3 seconds when dragging a spatula through.
2. Pour onto a greased plate, then chill for 1 hour.
3. Shape and roll the chilled mixture into balls.
4. Roll the balls in chocolate sprinkles.
5. Enjoy!

SÃO PAULO

Drunk in love...



CAIPIRINHA

It's a drink alcoholic, which originated in a city in the State of São Paulo called Piracicaba. Previously, this delicious drink was made from sugar cane, but today it can be made with lemon too.

• Ingredients

1/2 lime

1 1/2 to 2 1/2 teaspoons
superfine sugar (to taste)

2 shot cachaça

Garnish: lime wheel

• Preparation

1. Gather the ingredients
2. Cut half of a lime into small wedges.
3. Place the lime and sugar into an old-fashioned glass and muddle well.
4. Top the drink with cachaça, stir well.
5. Fill the glass with small ice cubes or cracked ice, stir again, and garnish with a lime wheel. Serve and enjoy!



Easy



Preparation
5 min



Total time
15 min



There are several flavors of this alcoholic drink!

BAHIA

Food can make a people stronger!



ACARAJÉ E VATAPÁ

• Ingredients

Acarajé dough:

1 large onions
1/2kg black-eyed beans
Salt to taste
oil to deep fry – ideally, half flavourless oil and half palm oil. If you can't find palm oil, use flavourless oil only.



Total time
3 hours



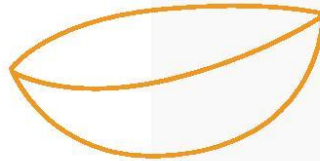
Preparation
2 hours



Difficult

Vatapá:

150g of roasted cashew nuts
150g roasted peanuts
150g dried shrimp
300g stale bread
50g freshly grated coconut or shop bought
5 tablespoons of palm oil, or flavourless oil
1 big tomato, skinned, deseeded
1/2 onion, finely diced a handful of herbs: chives, cilantro, parsley to taste, finely chopped
1/2 bell pepper, finely diced
1/2 cup shrimp broth
100ml of coconut milk
100ml milk



Vatapá:

1. Dice the bread and let the pieces soften in milk and coconut milk
2. Then whisk this mixture in a blender and set aside
3. Blend together the peanut, cashew nuts, shrimp and the coconut. add to bread mix and shrimp (fish) broth and blend again.
4. Beat well and season to taste
5. In a medium size pan, 5 spoons of palm oil (or flavorless oil), finely diced onions, tomato, bell peppers cook for 5 minutes
6. Place the nut and bread mixture stirring until the bottom of the pan can be seen when traced it with a wooden spoon.
7. Add the herbs. Reserve.



Acarajé is one of the most traditional delicacies of Bahian culinary and is a typical Afro Brazilian dish that can be offered to orixás. This dish is very important in Brazilian culture, because It's represents a African myth, a strong history!

• Preparation

Acarajé dough:

1. In a bowl place the beans in water for 24 hours
2. The skins will separate from the grain
3. Remove the floating skins and blend with the chopped onion until smooth. Salt to taste.
4. Pour into another bowl and continue whisking well, tapping the help of a wooden spoon, it will stay fluffy
5. Fry them in half oil palm and half oil
6. Drain on kitchen towel. Reserve.



S [REDACTED] INTERVIEW WITH M [REDACTED]

- **M [REDACTED] which speciality would you cook/prepare for your family?**

For my family I would like to share and cook with them "Feijoada". This dish looks really good ! The sauce, the ingredients (onions, choriço, rice) look very delicious and it really makes you want to try! I will hopefully try it soon and I will for sure inform you of the results ;)

- **What was the specialty you liked the least and why?**

Difficult to answer this question ... I liked everything !

I couldn't say which one I like the least but maybe the less surprising, interesting for me was the "Caipirinha" because we know it very well in France. It is one of the most famous cocktail, even in front of the mojito and the margarita.

This drink is perfect to keep us cool all summer long. Every sip makes you travel to Brazil !
Magic !

- **What do you take away from this project? Did you like?**

Just like you I learned a new vocabulary. I learned your Brazilian specialties, your culture and that was my goal !

I am very greedy and your recipes look very good. I really enjoyed this project with you. We were able to exchange outside the project and I learned a lot of things. We exchanged without any problem despite the language barrier.

Finally, I wish you good luck for your studies (you will become a great teacher) and do not forget, my door is open if you wish one day to discover France.

See you soon Sabrina.



M [REDACTED] INTERVIEW WITH S [REDACTED]

- **S [REDACTED], what do you think of French specialities?**

I love it, because all the specialities look like done for each moment. France has a speciality for the each moment of the life. Moreover, all the dishes are very fancy and beautiful.

- **Which one would you like to taste?**

I would like to taste the complete galette and choucroute alsacienne.

For me, both are curiosities dishes, because I know the ingredients, but I don't how is the taste or how can I do, and I think that really fantastic.

- **What do you take away from this project? Did you like?**

I take away from this project many good things. First, I did learn new vocabulary (one of my goals), I also found more about French culinary and culture, that it's very fancy.

I really love it to do this project. I did learn many things, I enjoyed the "company" and the conversation with Morgane and for sure I'll make at least one recipes.