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Language Ideologies and Investment in English Learning: The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Scotland

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Language Ideologies and Investment in English Learning: The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Scotland

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Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family and my partner, who encouraged me to embark on a master's degree during such unprecedentedly dark times for my country and myself. Like many other Ukrainians, I continue to grow as an individual and a professional against all odds. They wanted to destroy us, but we are only getting stronger.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my research supervisor Katy Highet, a passionate linguist and educator. She has opened a whole new world of language and society to me that I had never thought of before.

To my beloved Ukraine, invincible, free, and brave.

Glory to Ukraine!

Glory to Heroes!

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore how language ideologies have influenced the expectations of Ukrainian refugees regarding the use and learning of English in Scotland. Additionally, the study aims to examine how these language ideologies have shaped Ukrainian refugees' investment in learning English and other languages.

The research delves into the perspectives of six Ukrainian women who moved to Scotland following russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Through one-on-one interviews, these women shared their individual experiences in using and learning English and other languages, which formed the foundation of this small-scale qualitative study. The interviews aimed to uncover the role of language ideologies in shaping the participants' linguistic experiences in Scotland, particularly in relation to the English language.

The study's findings conclude that language ideologies have indeed influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations of English and have also played a significant role in their investment in learning English and other languages. Notably, the study identifies key ideologies, including standardization, language capital, neoliberalism, and identity-linked language ideologies, as significant drivers in this process. However, the results indicate that the impact of language ideologies on Ukrainians varies depending on the specific language in question.

List of Abbreviations

EFL – English as a Foreign Language

ELT – English Language Teaching

ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages

UWS – The University of the West of Scotland

A note on the politics of references to countries

Throughout this dissertation paper, I prefer to write 'russia' without a capital letter because I make references to this state in the context of the full-scale invasion that it started against Ukraine on 24 February 2022. In this regard, I follow the example of many other Ukrainians (Euroactiv, 2022) who believe that the name of this country does not deserve to be capitalized because it breaks international humanitarian law and is responsible for dreadful atrocities against innocent people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Ukrainians in Scotland

russia's invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 triggered Europe's largest refugee crisis and migration in the last 80 years (Fridrikh, 2022), with almost 6 million Ukrainian refugees fleeing into neighboring nations (UNHCR, 2023). The United Kingdom has become one of the countries that have welcomed Ukrainians and provided full support to help newly-arrived people. As of May 9th, 2023, "around 174,000 people had moved to the UK under the Ukraine Family Scheme and Ukraine Sponsorship" (The Migration Observatory, 2023). In this context, I am interested in the role that language has played in people's journeys, and their adaptation to a new country. I approach these questions from the perspective of language ideologies. Each person holds a set of values and beliefs that influence our everyday actions and are seen as natural and common-sense. However, rather than being individual preferences, these beliefs stem from social power dynamics and define specific established ways of behavior, such as a preference for 'Standard English', or a belief that English can provide access to social mobility. These sets of socially-rooted beliefs are what is known in Applied Linguistics as language ideologies. From this perspective, this study examines the extent to which language ideologies influence the linguistic experience and language investment practices of Ukrainians in Scotland.

1.2 Rationale

1.2.1 Personal Interest

Since I am a Ukrainian refugee residing in Scotland myself, I had been pondering about the ideas explored in this paper long before the Dissertation Module started. Out of curiosity, I was talking to other Ukrainian refugees in Scotland to gain some insight into how they were going through this experience. Through these conversations, I encountered many opinions that stem from dominant ideologies about the superiority of British English speakers. I recall one woman telling me that, before she came to Scotland, she imagined native speakers as *'unicorns'* but after

living here for a while she felt that the illusion about magical Brits had dispelled, the mirage had vanished, and she was not afraid of speaking to them anymore. Furthermore, another family told me that they had come to the UK specifically to master their British accent, however, little did they know that Scottish English had little to do with the standard British accent they had expected to pick up here. A final anecdote that sparked my interest was when I was speaking with a friend about my Turkish learning process, she told me that it is less prestigious to be a Turkish native speaker than a British one. In fact, she added, when she was learning German herself, she did not even think about the importance of pronunciation. What these examples showed was how there appear to be expectations linked to 'nativeness' and proficiency that are more pronounced for English than for the other languages they encountered. Through my studies, I began to realize that these beliefs around language were examples of what scholars call language ideologies. These prompted my interest in exploring the topic of ideologies in more depth and discovering how they influenced Ukrainians' experience and investment in learning English in Scotland.

1.2.2 Contribution to Scholarly Discussion

Since the full-scale invasion started only a year and a half ago, the linguistic scientific community has not yet provided a comprehensive analysis of Ukrainians' linguistic experiences in a new country or of the language investment decisions that they make during the process of arriving in a new country. Some countries (Poland, and Lithuania) have already shared some findings and results of language integration programs, but the UK has not extensively contributed to this issue (Pivoriene, 2022; Fridrikh, 2022). Moreover, these findings mostly focus on the outcomes of language courses and what students have learned. What these studies overlook are the factors that helped refugees to achieve this result, and which are situated beyond the language teaching itself, such as particular social and political forces; as well as the stories of those who made a decision not to invest in learning English and reasons why. This study focuses on factors that inform refugees' language learning experience and investment and are fuelled by culture, society, and politics, as well as individual psychological states. Therefore, by exploring how these beliefs, aka language ideologies, shaped Ukranian refugees' language learning

investment and experience, this study will contribute to filling the gap in the existing literature on this subject of language and migration and initiate further discussions.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

This research seeks to answer the following **questions:**

- How have language ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations of using and learning English in Scotland?
- How have language ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' investment in learning English and other languages?

With regard to the research questions, the following research **aims** have been established:

- To determine which language ideologies around English and other languages have influenced the Ukrainian refugees' expectations about learning and using English in Scotland;
- To ascertain whether these expectations lived up to reality and how they influenced refugees' investment in learning and using English and other languages.

1.4 Significance of the Research

1.4.1 Significance to ELT in the UK and Ukraine

The insights arising from the study can be of benefit to teachers and ESOL course designers for refugees in English-speaking countries. They can help understand better how the ideological background of refugees can influence their experience and investment in second language learning, and adjust the curriculum accordingly.

1.4.2 Significance to the Author

After discovering the notion of language ideologies, I realized that throughout my English teaching career, I encountered many students being impacted by them, which became a major setback in achieving their language goals (for example, being self-conscious of one's accent and therefore withdrawing from the opportunities to

practice English orally). Also, being a refugee in Scotland, I noticed that I and other Ukrainians were influenced by language ideologies as well, which affected our experience of using English here in various ways. Delving into this topic is important for me in order to be conscious of the language-related experience I am going through and how to react to it. For example, the fear of negative evaluation from native speakers that both my students and I experienced. The process of studying relevant literature for this research, conducting interviews, and analyzing findings got me into the habit of questioning my own beliefs and identifying and resisting ideologies that I or my students may rely on. These research findings have equipped me with some knowledge and insights to contribute locally, and help my students recognize and possibly undermine toxic ideologies that hold them back or make feel inferior.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

Regarding the limitations of my study, due to the time constraints of my master's dissertation, I was not able to carry out a comprehensive large-scale investigation that captures the complete scope of how Ukrainian refugees experience learning English in the UK. The sample I worked with was limited, offering only a partial insight into the subject. Additionally, while this research tackles the widespread issue of language ideologies and migration, it specifically focuses on Ukraine as a case study. Consequently, the findings might not have relevance to refugees in other parts of the world.

1.6 Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of 5 chapters. In this first introductory chapter, I have discussed the context of the study, rationale, purpose, significance, and limitations of the study. In the next chapter, I present a literature review of ideologies, with specific reference to language ideologies, and demonstrate how they are applied in the context of migration, identity, and investment in English and other languages. In the third chapter, I describe the research design and implementation. Then I proceed to discuss and analyze the findings with reference to the existing body of literature. The

final fifth chapter is devoted to the conclusions of the findings, discussing the implications of the study and recommendations for ELT practitioners.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this section, I give an overview of how scholars approach the definition of ideologies, including language ideologies. I cover the main aspects of how dominant political and social narratives (ideologies) influence people's attitudes to languages and their speakers. I cover the main tools that ideologies use to do so. Then I proceed to the discussion about migrants and their experiences with the language of a new country because when moving to a new country, they are faced with the language as not only a set of semiotic signs and symbols but also as an ideologically loaded system. I exemplify given concepts with the English language, as the experience of learning and using English is my main research question. However, I also include information regarding the usage of Russian and Ukrainian languages because, in the light of the ongoing war, and consequent newly shaped political ideologies, people's attitudes and investment towards learning English, Ukrainian and Russian might have changed.

2.1 Language Ideologies

2.1.1 Ideology

Everyone has an established system of values and beliefs concerning the world around them. These perspectives are often fuelled by the dominant narratives of a given time. They are ingrained in our everyday activities and experiences, in a way that collectively supports social power dynamics and specific established methods of behavior, which are perceived as 'natural' and 'common sense'. These narratives are also referred to as ideologies (Littlejohn, 2012). However, despite much research, no one has yet coined a single adequate definition of an ideology, and to compress the wealth of all the meanings is quite challenging, with some of the definitions being not even compatible. Yet, there are some general tendencies that we can identify across the multiple schools of thought. Some view ideologies critically and present them as distorted ideas about the world. As stated by Terry Eagleton, whose works on ideology continue to be studied and debated by scholars across disciplines up until now, ideology is a socially necessary illusion, (Eagleton, 1991); a specific set of false or biased (Blommaert, 2005) symbolic representations — discourses, terms,

arguments, images, and stereotypes. In this definition, ideologies are understood as serving a specific purpose (Blommaert, 2005), and are action-oriented (Eagleton,1991), for instance, in order to help to legitimate a dominant political power (Eagleton, 1991) or subject to the interests of their bearers' social position (Irvine & Gal, 2000). The other perspective to look at ideologies is one that moves away from the idea of ideology as 'distortion' and places the emphasis instead on ideology as akin to a normalizing, or simply 'common sense': "Ideology is the process of production of meanings, signs, and values in social life; identity thinking; the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world" (Eagleton, 1991, p.2), In this view, ideologies serve as 'guides' for people to follow, but which are not necessarily only linked to the legitimation of political power.

2.1.2 Language Ideologies

The concept of ideology has increasingly become a key area of language. For a long time language study was approached as a set of linguistic signs, with the form being an "objective phenomenon, and the goal of language analysis is to understand its fundamental structure" (García et al., 2017, p.103). However, a shift from a structural approach to an anthropological happened at the end of the 20th century. This shift resulted in the argument that language cannot be studied in isolation, but rather in "historical, political-economical and sociocultural contexts" (Ibid, p.103). Thus, any perspective of language is ideological because is viewed through the lens of a specific context (Ibid, p.103).   The majority of scholars define language ideologies along the lines of representations of the world that serves power: "Ideologies are cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine, 1989, p.255). For Kroskrity, they represent the "…interests of individual speakers, ethnic or interest groups and nation-states" (Kroskrity, 2010, p.192). Some scholars also emphasize the distorted and false nature of ideologies that foster misconceptions about the world, such as Silverstein, who made field-changing contributions to the study of language ideology (Silverstein, 1979).

Irregardless of whether we understand them as being distorted or not, ideologies are still deeply rooted in our lives informing the choices we make and the language

we use. According to the concept of the Total Linguistic Fact, ideology, social activity and linguistic forms are intertwined: ideology fuels our interpretation of the contexts in which we are using the language, and these contexts define the formal structure of the language (Silverstein, 2022). And by using a particular language we sustain the existing ideology in a circular way. For instance, the ideology of formal and informal communication defines the context of communication and language structure: in order to deliver a presentation academicians would meet in a formal setting and would use formal language, but in order to celebrate it afterward they would go to an informal environment where they will use casual language or slang. By doing so, they sustain the idea of what language is accepted in different contexts and the ideology keeps being reproduced on and on in real-life circumstances.

Another way in which ideologies influence languages is called linguistic differentiation - "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 35). This theory consists of 3 semantic processes: iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity. Linguistic features representing social groups or activities are like icons reflecting their nature. The ideological representation links these features to shared qualities of the social and linguistic images, creating an inherent connection. For example, Nguni people from Africa who use animal-like click sounds in their language (hen's clucking, ducks' quacking, owls' hooting) were associated by Europeans with animals and were considered "subhuman or degraded" (Ibid, p. 40). In this way, linguistic features (animal-like sounds) ideologically depict a social group's inherent nature (being sub-human, like animals). We can also see here a case of erasure which consists of explaining away things that are not aligned with the ideology. For example, due to the low women's status in the 18th century, 'subhuman' clicking sounds were said to be used by Nguni women. However, this narrative ignored the usage of these sounds by men, including ones of high status (Ibid). Finally, fractal recursivity refers to the phenomenon wherein language differentiation patterns at various hierarchical levels, with these patterns reproducing themselves on smaller scales within the broader linguistic context (Ibid). For instance, initially, Nguni people used click sounds in words that mean "foreign" to refer to people living in other

territories, later these click sounds became more common in their everyday life and started to be used in words denoting different social positions within the Nguni community. In this way, click sounds were used as icons of 'foreignness' at first with different tribes, and then within the Nguni tribe itself, reproducing the concept of 'distance and foreignness' at narrower and broader hierarchical levels.

Based on my research, I adhere to the definition of language ideologies as being politically and morally loaded sets of beliefs that can be false or biased (but not necessarily) that drive people's actions. I believe that language choice, form, and use are closely connected to the dominant social and political environment of a given time, because language is an indispensable element for society functioning and it gets affected by the processes happening in it, making people adjust their language to fit the social norms.

2.1.3 Application of Language Ideology Concepts

Linguists have identified various language ideology concepts that are recreated in people's behavior and maintain a given ideology. The English language is a prime example of ideological influence given its international status, worldwide impact, and long history.

The ideology of *Standardization* means imposing a particular uniformity on a language form and usage. It is often associated with prestige and is "introduced by a dominant social class" (Milroy, 2001, p.533). As a result, there is a persistent belief in standard, correct forms of language which are juxtaposed with incorrect ones: "It is taken for granted as common sense that some forms are right, and others are wrong" (Milroy, 2001, p.533). In the English language, the aftermath of colonization has resulted in a spread of English linguistic and cultural authority, 'othering' non–native speakers from native ones (Holliday, 2006). As a result, standard forms of language are assumed to be the purview of native speakers. This tendency persisted to this day, leading to the development of native speakerism ideology, where native speakers are 'norm-setters' and non-native speakers are 'norm-receivers', "trying to reach perfection in a native speaker's variety" (Sharifian, 2009 p.276). Nowadays, even in multilingual communities, the aim of English learning is seen as acquiring a

standard British or American accent, which is regarded as prestigious (Schreiber, 2019).

Another ideological facet of English is its linking with *capital.* Since 1990 language and culture have been increasingly treated as economic assets and in a globalized new economy "multilingualism is an added value" (Duchêne, 2011, p.2). This is informed by neoliberal ideologies which promote increased international trade, free market, self-reliance and individualism in a globalized world, where knowing a global language, English, has the potential to be a resource that can be traded for economic value (Bourdieu, 1997) and helps its speakers become a part of a constantly growing global market. This process is described as commodification, where non-material things, such as language can be "bought and sold on the open market in 'packages' like soap powders" (Fairclough, 1989, p.35), which eventually will bring its owner some economic value. However, with the English language being commodified internationally we can see not all the English varieties are considered to have the same economic value (Kelly-Holmes, 2010). This links back to the standardization ideology where only certain (usually native speakers' varieties) are valued. Before the era of globalization, British English held the status of being the standard form of English. However, due to the strength of the American economy, its advancements in science and technology, its influence over other nations, and the rise of e-language, American English has become widely adopted by technologically advanced countries and those reliant on their technologies (Pandei, 2014). For example, one study by Rahman (2009) shows that the American accent is considered to be more 'sellable' among Pakistani call-center employees. In a similar way, there is a belief that English language capital is the "key to material success in the modern world" (Park, 2011, p.443). For instance, it is widely believed that having robust English skills is a competitive advantage in the corporate world when looking for a job (Pandei, 2014). Some see it as "the only thing holding people back from enjoying the benefits of globalization: upward mobility, better jobs, social betterment, and movement into a 'better culture'" (Proctor, 2014, p.307). In this way, we can see how capitalistic and neoliberal ideologies frame what types of language people see as valuable and to what they are willing to invest in.

Overall, we see how language ideologies affect not only languages themselves, but also their users by creating "taken-for-granted assumptions about language that become the suppressed premises of judgments of an individual's intelligence, trustworthiness, or professional suitability" (Woolard, K., 2020, p.3). And these assumptions are enacted when people form impressions about each other and interact in corporate, academic, and day-to-day situations. As we will see, this also has a strong effect on the decisions that migrants make in terms of not only which languages they deem worthy of investing in, but in how their language use is judged by others.

2.2 Language and Migration

2.2.1 Language and Identity

When moving to a new country, many people are willing to find their place there and fit in a new society. In this way, language is important for forming and showing who we are as individuals and as part of a group.

Ideological linkings of language proficiency to socially valued positions may influence people's sense of identity and self-worth. For example, refugee language learners who used to be of high social status in their home countries might find it hard to accept their lower position in a host country. A study conducted on highly educated refugees in the USA showed that students who used to be high achievers in their home countries but were suggested to take ESOL courses labeled themselves as 'remedial students' which was not in line with the identity they had back at home: "Many regarded their defacto reclassification as ESOL students as a message from the university that they were somehow less than full-fledged members of the university community" (Kanno, 2010, p.319). In this way, the ideological assumptions that link language proficiency to social status or intelligence level had a detrimental effect on students' sense of identity.

Similarly, some English varieties are more welcomed than others due to their ideological supremacy. This is exemplified in a study conducted in Pakistan with call center workers, where people are hierarchized based on the accents of English they use (Rahman, 2009). "In the call centers of the country, the Pakistani accents of

English are stigmatized as workers aspire to native (mostly American) English accents" (Ibid, p. 250). Workers are trained to neutralize their accents, and based on cultural knowledge about the UK or the USA they create new identities of themselves to be presented at work (Ibid). In this way, the ideology of superior varieties can result in people attempting to manipulate their identity by mastering other accents in order to get economic value.

Another aspect that is not directly connected with the language, but which certainly has an impact on it is related to refugees' past selves. For instance, when being interviewed, highly educated adult refugees in the Netherlands reported that their refugee identity was drastically different from the one back home: "You have to start from the beginning. Even your experience, your education, your background... nothing. I have twelve years of experience with international companies and that means nothing here." (Schukking, 2022, p.44). The discrepancy between their past and the current image of themselves might result in less or more effort to learn the language of a host country and prove their personal and professional value again.

Overall, migrants might strive to get their 'home identity' back and fit it into a new environment or change their identity completely in accordance with what dominant ideologies (standardization, for example) impose.

2.2.2 Refugees' Motivation vs Investment to Learn a Language

Until 1990, the extent to which migrants were involved in learning the language of their host countries had been explained by motivation theories. Psychological and cognitive orientations predominantly drew on the concept of people having "an essential, fixed and coherent core" (Norton & Morgan, 2013, p.248) with an "ahistorical personality" (Ibid, p.247), where learners' aptitude, self-efficacy, anxiety, and motivation were the main factors in learners' active involvement inside and outside the classroom. The concept of integrative and instrumental motivation was introduced by Robert Gardner, with the former describing motivation to learn a language in order to integrate oneself into a new culture or community and the latter - for practical purposes such as getting a job or advancing in a career. (Gardner, 2010). This social-psychological approach has been one of the most influential and

dominant concepts in second language acquisition. (Lamb et al., 2019). It was claimed that motivation may help us understand better *why* students decide to learn/not to learn English, *how hard* they are going to achieve it, and *how long* they will continue doing it (Dörnyei, 2001). However, it was criticized for overlooking such elements of a bigger picture as learners' multifaceted identities, cultural capital, and relations of social power. To address these issues, in the 1990s, Bonny Norton Pierce introduced the concept of 'investment' (1995, 2000, 2013) which is based on sociological contrast and "focuses on how histories, lived experiences and social practices shape language learning" (Darvin & Norton, 2021, p.29). Here, we can see how language ideologies are a crucial element of language investment. According to this, people can be highly motivated (e.g. to integrate into a new country's society), yet have little investment in the learning process, "choosing to withdraw from opportunities to participate in learning contexts where they are marginalized" (Ibid, p.31). While studying refugees' experience of learning a language of a host county, it is important to place it in the new ideological, cultural, social, moral, and political context that people are faced with. The change in these contexts that moving to a new country entails, can influence refugees' desire to be involved in learning opportunities.

2.2.3 Language Ideologies in Ukraine

As this study is interested in the investment and language learning experiences of Ukrainian refugees, it is important to address common language ideological frameworks that exist in Ukraine.

For a long time, language ideologies have been present in Ukraine in the context of Ukrainian, Russian usage, and recently - English.Over the past three centuries, the Russian empire has implemented a policy of compulsory language and cultural assimilation targeting the non-Russian population (Masenko, 2006), which on Ukrainian territory resulted in a "co-existence of two languages, Ukrainian and Russian, along with various forms of bilingualism and diglossia" (Masenko, 2009, p. 102). However, after Ukraine declared independence in 1991, the Ukrainian language was promoted by the government as a state language. But the impact of the Russian language policy was long-lasting, and even in 2014 after russia annexed

Crimea and invaded eastern Ukraine, there was an increase in Ukrainian patriotism among the Russian-speaking population, but it did not impact their language usage choice, since "language of communication is not the only or main factor that determines their identity" (Kuzio, 2018, p. 478). After the full-scale russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, some Ukrainians started to view their language choice more radically. While some Ukrainian still use the Russian language, others see it as "the language of terrorists" and want to avoid it (Boman, 2023, p.8).

As far as English is concerned, at the beginning of Ukrainian independence, little attention was given to it because the government prioritized Ukrainian (L'nyavskiy, 2016). Despite this, citizens started to see the economic value of learning English due to the ideological linking of English with increased globalization and innovation (Ibid). To further align Ukraine with the West and modernize the country, making it more accessible and appealing to investors, Ukraine's President proposed in October 2015 to establish English as a "second working language" (Kyiv Post, 2015). Additionally, in November 2015, President Poroshenko issued a decree officially declaring 2016 as the Year of the English Language in Ukraine (UNIAN, 2015). Starting from 2014, when russia started to send its troops to Ukraine, most of the citizens became more "pro-Western in their ideological and cultural orientation" (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2022, cited in Boman, 2023, p.12). In June 2023, it was suggested that English be granted the status of business language in Ukraine: "English is now used in business communication throughout the civilized world, so giving it such a status in Ukraine will promote business development, attract investment and accelerate Ukraine's European integration" (Kyiv Post. 2022). Also, In 2022, Ukraine made significant progress in terms of English proficiency, moving up to the 35th place out of 111 countries (Education First, 2023). This improvement comes after being ranked 40th in 2021, which was already an improvement from the lowest recorded figure in 2019 when Ukraine was ranked 49th out of 100 countries surveyed. Thus, lately, Ukrainians' interest in learning English has been increasing dramatically, underpinned by the ideological belief that English will give them an increased economic value and competitive advantage in an international market.

2.2.4 Ukrainian Refugees' Experience of Language Learning

Another reason for the recent increased demand for learning English is Ukrainian migration to the West to flee the war. Since it has been only 1,5 years since the beginning of the full-scale war, there has not been much research done to explore the issue of the Ukrainian refugees' linguistic experience in their host countries. However, there are several studies on Ukrainian refugees' attitudes and experiences of learning the language of their host country that proved to be effective and mentioned the desire to integrate into the community that has welcomed them as one of the driving forces toward success.

There has been a study conducted on Ukrainian refugees' attitudes and experience of online language courses carried out by volunteer-based nonprofit initiatives. The findings reveal the "development of students' language skills" as well as "a significant increase in students' motivation to study the language of the host country" (Chrabaszcz et al., 2022, p.25). Some students also mentioned that their language classes serve them as a support group contributing to their social and psychological well-being (Ibid, p.25). Similar results showed a pilot program of ESOL English classes based in East Hampshire, the UK: "Students feel their English has improved across all skills" (Refugee Network, 2022, p.3), and "The classes have not only provided targeted English tuition but have created a supportive community" (Ibid, p.3), the majority of students believe that after taking the course their chances of employment increased (Ibid). All the focus group members across 3 projects said they learn a local language in order to integrate into the host county society and find jobs, while Lithuanian language course for Ukrainian refugees in Lithuania revealed that refugees' desire to learn Lithuanian is also connected to the desire to have a sense of belonging to the community that they are grateful to (Pivoriene et al., 2022).

However, these reports lack a deep analysis of what drives refugees to overcome the immense stress of fleeing the war and succeed in learning, and they focus on positive learning experiences, not revealing the negative ones. In the meantime, other researchers bring up the issue of traumas resulting in mental health problems and the rejection of facing the host country's culture and language (Berry, 1997; Duray-Parmentier, 2022). While it might not be the case for Ukrainian refugees

residing in Poland due to "close cultural ties and some familiarity with language" (Javanbakht, 2022, p.3), many Ukrainians who have fled the war to Western Europe face concepts different from Eastern Europe: history and culture, the notion of freedom, gender roles, policies, codes, and laws (Duray-Parmentier, 2022). This can result in the unreadiness of Ukrainians to learn the languages of Western European countries and English.

2.2.5 Ukrainian Refugees' Language Learning and Ideology

One of the main elements of the concept of language learning investment is the relation to language ideologies. The notion of language and identity links back to the research conducted with Ukrainians who rejected their host country's culture and did not want to associate with it by means of learning its language (Duray-Parmentier, 2022) because their Ukrainian identity and values did not match the ones of the host country.

Apart from the identity that may influence refugees' investment and experience of language and language learning, it is also important to consider the role of language ideology and capital. English has become a global language that has enormous economic value, a popular narrative holds that "English provides a significant competitive advantage in everything from soft power to commerce, to the media, to universities and academia", therefore certain ideologies have emerged around it (Howson, 2013, p.16). It is associated by many with personal economic success a source of freedom and opportunities. And for some people, the UK is considered the 'right place' to learn English. "In Ukraine, where the UK emerged as the most attractive country for study abroad, top motivations for studying abroad include improving students' English, gaining access to high quality of higher education provision, and improved employment prospects at home and abroad." (Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016, p.8). In this way, some people might make informed decisions regarding coming to the UK, which is seen as a country to gain more social capital. According to Kachru's (1985) concept of 3 circles of English, which became fundamental in shaping the study of World Englishes, Ukraine belongs to the expanding circle that sees the inner circle (the UK) as a standard to follow. This

model has been criticized for "its oversimplification and the unclear membership to the circles" (Al-Mutairi, 2020, p.85) as well as for overlooking the developing status of English as a Lingua Franca among the speakers of the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (Mollin, 2006). However, in Ukraine, there is still a discourse of UK English to be a model people look up to (Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016). Studies conducted on whether the English language influenced refugees' decision (both from previously colonized and non-colonized countries) to move to the UK show contradictory results (Crawley, 2010; Vaughan&Sergott, 2002). For this reason, Ukrainians might have come to the UK with specific expectations and attitudes toward the English language that might have affected their learning experience and investment.

Overall, the language learning investment and experiences of Ukrainian refugees in the UK and Europe vary. While some findings report on success and positive learning experiences, others show the refusal of Ukrainian refugees to learn a local language. With regard to English as a highly influential global language, some learners might see coming to the UK as a chance to master a language that could help them succeed in life. However, there is a gap in research concerning Ukrainians' investment in English language learning, taking into account all the ideologies surrounding it as a global language.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Implementation

The research was conducted in order to answer the following questions:

- How have language ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations of using and learning English in Scotland?
- How have language ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' investment in learning English and other languages?

With regard to the research questions, the following research aims have been established:

- To determine which language ideologies around English and other languages have influenced the Ukrainian refugees' expectations about learning and using English in Scotland;
- To ascertain whether these expectations lived up to reality and how they influenced refugees' investment in learning and using English and other languages.

3.1 Qualitative Research

In my research, I used a qualitative method, as it is aimed at comprehending an individual's perception of the world, and uses non-quantifiable data (Judith & Waters, 2018) which is in line with my research questions about Ukrainian refugees' learning experiences and language investment. As qualitative research cannot be quantified and is based on personal experience and views, it is, therefore, more suitable for a study that is exploring language ideologies, which cannot be quantified either, and which need to take into account the social, historical, political, etc conditions of people's actions. The benefit of a qualitative approach over a quantitative one in my study is that a qualitative approach "can provide data about emotions and beliefs" (Judith & Waters, 2018, p.27), and can "tolerate ambiguities and contradictions" (Denscombe, 2010, p.304). Since I collected data regarding Ukrainians' experience affected by language ideologies, it was comprised of emotions and beliefs, which can at times be contradictory as well. The qualitative approach helped me to tackle these possibly arising issues. Unlike the quantitative approach that "uses techniques

that are likely to produce quantified and, if possible, generalizable conclusions" (Judith & Waters, 2018, p.5), data collected qualitatively does not seek to generalise (Ibid), which is the case for studying people's beliefs and experiences.

3.2 Research Paradigm

I conducted my research within the Constructivist paradigm as it supports the qualitative research method by holding that knowledge cannot be objective and is based on people's lived experiences: "Reality is uniquely individual and person's 'truth' is individually defined" (Denicolo et al., 2016, p.29). This paradigm supports my study as it allows me to "move beyond 'facts'…to interpretations and perspectives" (Cohen et al., 2017, p.716), which is paramount when studying people's beliefs, experiences, and ideologies. Within the above-mentioned paradigm, this study seeks to reveal how language ideologies have influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations of using and learning English in Scotland; and how they ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' investment in learning English and other languages.

3.3 Research Tools

To collect data, I used interviews since it is considered to be an effective way of collecting qualitative data, and particularly suitable for exploring people's experiences and beliefs. Collecting this kind of information requires in-depth analysis that interviews can offer by using follow-up questions, developing and clarifying responses in an interview (Judith & Waters, 2018). It is also suggested that interviews should be used for "the exploration of more complex and subtle phenomena" as well as controversial issues. (Denscombe, 2010, p.304), and are associated with answering 'why' type of questions that "help to get to 'deeper' levels" of understanding the subject matter (Barnham, 2015, p, 837). In the attempt to explore why Ukrainian refugees had a specific experience in learning English in Scotland and why they decided to invest or not to invest in learning opportunities, it is important to give some room for stories to occur for an interviewer to unpack such complex and multifaceted topic in the context of language ideologies.

In order to allow these important stories to be told, I used a semi-structured approach to interview questions which means I had "a clear list of issues to be

addressed and questions to be answered" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 175), however, "answers are open-ended, and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest" (Ibid, p.175). In this way, I gave some scope for follow-up and clarification questions which gave me a chance to unfold sophisticated topics of people's experiences and ideologies. My interviews were conducted online via Teams with the recordings being stored on UWS One Drive. My interview questions stemmed from my research question, with the guiding questions for the interview being "What were your expectations regarding life in Scotland, communication in English, and learning it" and "Do you feel that reality lived up to your expectations". Then based on my participants' responses, I asked more clarifying questions to probe into ideologies and allow more stories to arise.

3.4 Sampling

For sampling, I used a non-probability method as it is suitable for small-scale studies and my participants were selected for the sample "based on things like their expertise" (Denscombe, 2010, p.25). The sampling choice must be purposive: I chose my participants based on: "...relevance to the issue/theory being investigated; knowledge or experience about the topic" (Ibid, p.35). I.e., for my criteria, participants must be Ukrainians who arrived in the UK after the 24th of February 2022 as refugees. I interviewed 3 Ukrainians who have come directly to Scotland; and 3 other participants who have lived in other countries as refugees before coming to Scotland. Since my research is based on qualitative data analysis with a few people being involved, I used convenience sampling, as I belong to the community of Ukrainian refugees in Scotland, and this method proves to be "quick, cheap and easy" (Ibid, p. 38). I shared a post in groups for Ukrainians in Scotland regarding the research and the call for the participants and eventually received the needed number of volunteers.

3.5 Ensuring Validity

In order to evaluate the suitability of interview questions before finalizing them, I conducted a pilot interview with a friend of mine who is a Ukrainian refugee living in Scotland. Indeed, as Judith & Waters argue, "Question-wording is not as easy as it

seems, and careful piloting is necessary to ensure that all questions mean the same to all respondents" (Judith & Waters, 2018, p.32). It is particularly important to avoid any misunderstanding while talking about such ambiguous things as ideology. After the pilot interview, I changed the wording of some questions and added a few more questions, however, they sometimes turned out to be irrelevant to my participants' experience, which proves that within a semi-structured interview type, follow-up questions can branch out in various, not similar to each other ways, with the focus on each interviewee areas of interest (Denscombe, 2010).

3.6 Implementation

The participants received an electronic mail comprising a letter explaining the planned research and an offer to participate in an interview. The email explicitly indicated that participation was optional. After they had signed the consent form and participant information sheet, interviews were conducted. Each interview lasted 30-60 minutes and was conducted over May 2023, with a pilot interview taking place 2 weeks prior. All the interviews were recorded with complete awareness and agreement from the individuals involved. They were facilitated through the medium of the Ukrainian language. Even though the recruitment procedure went smoothly as all the initial responses to the interview invitations were positive, the topic of the interview could be unsettling for some participants, therefore they were reminded that their participation is voluntary and they can withdraw at any moment, without having to provide an explanation. The interviews were conducted via Teams with data being stored on UWS One Drive and then transcribed by me into text.

3.7 Ethics

In order to protect my participants and make sure I adhere to ethical standards (UWS, 2019), I approached each potential participant and discussed the inquiry topic and method I would like to carry out. I emphasized that I strongly recommend that they do not participate unless they feel stable enough emotionally and mentally, particularly as discussion of their experience leaving Ukraine after the Russian invasion may be upsetting. Due to this, I followed the Trauma-informed research and distress (University of St Andrews, 2023). I reminded them that I would stop the

interview if the participants they do not feel comfortable, and I provided the contact details of refugee support organizations in Scotland on the information sheet. According to the notion of informed consent (Howe&Moses,1999), I asked for oral consent to use the provided data in my study, also a consent form and participant information sheet were provided for the potential interviewees who were asked to notify me of their interest to take part by email within 7 days of being approached. If during the interview the participant had got upset because of touching upon potentially sensitive topics (the war), I would have directed them to places where they can get help (Scottish Refugee Council), however, this did not happen. In order to "avoid deception and operate with scientific integrity" (Denscombe, 2010, p.331), I provided the participants with information regarding the aims of the study, why their participation was useful for it, and how the data would be stored and used. After each interview, the recordings were transported to UWS One Drive. Informed consent forms will be destroyed upon successful completion of the Dissertation Module for which this exercise in research is being conducted. Also, I ensured the confidentiality of stored data with the help of "(a) aliases and pseudonyms; (b) codes for identifying people (Cohen, et al, 2018, pp.129-130). I did not start the data collection before the ethical approval from the Ethics Committee of the School of Education of the University of the West of Scotland was granted.

3.8 Positionality

Positionality is defined as a position that a researcher reflects in their study (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). It has an impact on the manner in which research is conducted, as well as the findings and conclusions that emerge from it (Rowe, 2014). A researcher can position themselves as an 'insider' or an 'outsider' in the field of study (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009) and can never be neutral: "There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases" (Rose, 1985, p.77). Being a Ukrainian refugee in Scotland myself, I have an 'insider' researcher role since I am aware of language- and ideology-related discourses existing in Ukraine and have experiences life in the UK and communication in English there. This helped me to have a broader perspective of refugees' experiences, identify and develop further subtle nuances in their stories which might have been overlooked by non-Ukrainian researchers. Moreover, when participants mentioned their hardships as refugees, I said that I had

been through the same things and understood them, which, I believe helped my participants to open up with one of them even mentioning things that she asked to keep off the record. Accordingly, these sections were not transcribed.

3.9 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed within the thematic analysis framework because it helps to " create the rich descriptions using the participants' own words to support their interpretations, it is utilized to interpret the complex meanings of the participants' experiences", which is the case for studying such sophisticated things language ideologies (Peel, 2020, p.4). At first, the data was collected and transcribed into written text. Then, I engaged with data by reading and re-reading transcripts and re-watching video recordings. After, I developed a list of thematic codes that represent language ideologies and investment (Standardization, Language and Capital, Language and Identity, Linguistic Differentiation, etc), labeled pieces of collected data according to these codes, and later narrowed them down (for instance, how communication with locals influenced refugees' investment into language learning). Finally, I did interpreting work by analyzing the coded data and describing the interrelations between them.

9.10 Limitations

As for limitations of my study, within the master's dissertation timeframe, I was not able to conduct large-scale research to see the big picture of Ukrainian refugees' English learning experience in the UK. My sample is limited, producing only a partial understanding of the issue. Moreover, although this research addresses a widespread issue of language ideologies and migration, it only focuses on a specific country which is Ukraine. Therefore, the findings may not be relevant or applicable to refugees in other regions of the world, which could reduce their practical value. However, it is important to note that the significance of these results should not be undermined, considering the existing gap in the current body of literature.

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The chapter explores the research findings. First, I provide a short overview of the research aims and participants' backgrounds. Then I discuss language ideologies and their impact on my participants and elaborate on the effect they had on Ukrainians' investment in learning and using English.

The research was conducted by interviewing six Ukrainian refugees residing in Scotland; three of whom had moved to different European countries after February 24th before eventually arriving in the UK. The interviews were aimed at gaining an insight into the extent how the existing ideologies about the English and other languages have influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations of using and learning English Scotland; and how it has influenced refugees' investment in language learning and overall experience. As someone who is a Ukrainian refugee residing in Scotland, I have a first-hand experience of the way ideologies connected to the English language influence the expectations and overall experience of using English in Scotland, layers of status within this society and how they can potentially influence the classroom experience for both teacher and student.

4.1.1 The Participants

A brief account of the six participants is provided, describing their pre-war background and refugee experiences. The names of those involved have been altered in the interest of respecting privacy and confidentiality in compliance with the University's code of ethics (UWS, 2019).

Kira is an accountant who lives in Scotland with a son and continues working for a Ukrainian company online. They had stayed in Poland for a few months before moving to Scotland. She took part in an ESOL course.

Anastasia is a former medical worker who changed careers in Scotland. She had stayed in Italy for a month with children before arriving in Scotland. Anastasia is an ESOL course participant.

Maria is a retired woman who used to have a small business in Ukraine. She has arrived directly in Scotland with her daughter and grandchildren. She took part in the ESOL course.

Olena is a former manager. Changed the occupation in Scotland, and attends the ESOL course.

Iryna used to be a head of a department in a tourism company in Ukraine but does not work now. She arrived in Scotland straight away on her own. She participates in the ESOL course.

Anna is a restaurant manager by occupation and often changes jobs in Scotland in the hospitality sector.

4.2 Language and Ideologies

When they arrived in Scotland, my participants were faced with a new language as not only a system of linguistic signs but also as an ideologically driven system. While some participants showed resistance to certain ideological beliefs, others demonstrated alignment with dominant ideologies, which shaped their investment in language learning.

4.2.1 Standardization

One of the language ideologies that maintains particular narratives and influences people's behavior is standardization. In the context of English*,* it imposes a certain variety of the English language as having more 'prestige', being more 'correct' and 'desirable' (Milroy, 2001,) and is usually associated with the native speakers' varieties of English (Holliday, 2006). This ideology was clear in the interviews: two of the participants mentioned that it was their intention to come to a country with English as the first language because a) they already knew some English and the majority did not see any point in learning a new language from scratch, b) they believed that they can enhance their English in the UK and consequently have a competitive advantage on the job market. However, when they arrived in the 'native speaker's country', they did not expect it to be different from the standard they were exposed to previously. The interviews revealed that the majority of the participants

have developed a strong feeling of distinguishment between native speakers' varieties themselves, with 4 out of 6 people having a rather negative attitude to the Scottish dialect and Glaswegian accent in particular:

"We live in Scotland, they don't speak English here" (Anastasia);
"I didn't expect that I would need to learn the language anew" (Anastasia);
"I didn't expect the language to be so distorted" (Olena);
"I didn't expect this accent to be so crazy" (Anna);

While the examples above demonstrate a negative reaction to Scottish varieties of English, a further participant expressed particular resistance to learning these varieties:

"I didn't think that Scotland had anything to do with the English, I don't want to learn 'this English', I don't think there's somebody to teach me, it's impossible to learn it. Everyone I met had a thick Glaswegian accent. I won't learn English in this way".

Maria expressed her dissatisfaction with the way a Scottish ESOL teacher was teaching the group the word "apple" with an /æ/ phoneme having a distinctive British character, whereas a student was positive that it should sound in a bit more American manner. She believed that their goal was *" to learn the English language, not a Scottish accent".* Maria's comments are a prime example of the hierarchization of language and standardization ideology: Scottish Englishes are being devalued, whereas Standard British or Standard American English are perceived to be more acceptable.

We can understand these reactions as partly stemming from an issue of exposure. Two of the participants told me that they had been learning English in Ukraine and were sure that it would help them to understand the locals. Olena said: *"I thought that all these Oxford and Cambridge materials where we are expected to listen to all the audio recordings… they would help us"*. However, her expectations did not quite live up to reality, since upon her arrival she found the language to be 'distorted' and it was very hard to understand the locals. Another participant, Anna, had a language misunderstanding with her Glaswegian colleagues at work, where she told him the

following: *"For my whole life I'd been living in Ukraine, learning a foreign language there and thinking that I understood it. You speak an absolutely different language to me and expect me to understand it"*. Since Kachru's Inner Circle Englishes (1985) have been predominantly used in English coursebooks (Sadeghpour & Sharifian, 2019) with British pronunciation being routinely modelled on Received Pronunciation (Lindsey, 2019), it is possible that it is what my participants expected to be used in Scotland. Indeed, as Anna mentioned: *"English is an official language in the UK, so I thought everywhere it would be used the same, but in Edinburgh, there's one English, in Highlands the other one, and in Glasgow because of the working class living there, dozens of other accents popped up"*. What this reveals is a low level of awareness of the varieties of English that exists in the UK. This can partially be explained by the fact that even though modern coursebooks try to represent the varieties of English, they still mostly rely on standard forms (Schildhauer et al., 2020), which do not accurately represent the linguistic landscape of the modern world and thus results in some people rejecting or delegitimizing English varieties that are different from standard ones.

On the other hand, two other Ukrainians mentioned the hard time they had getting used to the local dialect but remained very neutral to the Scottish variety itself and acknowledged their right to existence: "*Classic Oxford English only belongs to the royal family or aristocrats, everyone else speaks with dialects*". Here, Kira shows an understanding of not only the existence of varieties in the UK but also how they are hierarchized according to social class, for example.

Interestingly, those who remained tolerant of the Scottish variety expressed their criticism instead toward other immigrants by stating that: *"They speak with such a thick accent and broken English that I feel better when compare myself with them even despite my imperfect English"*. This is another example of the standardization ideology, but on a bigger scale, not within native speakers, but within the global usage of the English language, where native speakers are 'norm-setters' and non-native ones are 'norm-receivers' (Sharifian, 2009), through which deviation from native-speakers forms is criticized.

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This phenomenon can be understood as an embodiment of fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000), where the ideological representation of 'correctness' is realized on hierarchical levels. On a global level, there is an ideological assumption that native speaker's varieties are correct, and non-natives' ones are wrong; then within the UK itself, we see that the variety spoken in England is more 'correct' than in Scotland; and finally, within Scotland, the Glaswegian English is more 'distorted' than the English spoken in Edinburgh.

The participants' answers demonstrate that Ukrainian refugees mostly are not immune to the ideologies of standardization. Before arriving in Scotland, they had ideologically fuelled beliefs that the variety spoken here is the same as the one they encountered in coursebooks, however, in reality, they faced Scottish English and were not ready to accept it as a legitimate form. It is important to mention that the participants used a lot of negative adjectives to address Scottish English, yet none of them were critical of the mainstream coursebooks that failed to prepare them for the real language used in the world. The ideology of 'correctness' and 'incorrectness' showed itself at all levels, starting from the global scale and narrowing down to the 'inside Scotland' level.

4.2.2 Language and capital

Nowadays, in a neoliberalised and globalized world, English is often treated as an asset that can be traded for economic value on a global market (Bourdieu, 1997). As Tollefson (2000, p.9) has written: "The economic value of English translates directly into greater opportunities in education, business and employment". In this regard, my participants also believe that English knowledge can bring them some value. For example, Two mothers chose the UK as a destination in the hopes that their children can improve their English and that education in an English-speaking country will give them more opportunities in the future.

As for the adults themselves, most believed that English may contribute to their success. For example, they believe it can become a competitive advantage for them in the job market, with one participant mentioning the opportunities Ukraine will have on a global market after its victory over russia. This exemplifies the notion of multilingualism being perceived as an added value in a globalized new economy

(Duchêne, 2011). Indeed, one interviewee described native speakers of English and those who speak it well as lucky ones who hold a key to success:

"Millions of silly slackers don't even realize that they have a diamond in their hands, which is English, instead they roam around pubs. That's not only about Scottish people but about everybody who knows English, the doors are open all over the world for them".

Here Olena says that English is a diamond, which is a very powerful metaphor that supports the ideology of English being the "key to material success in the modern world" (Park, 2011, p. 443). This view contains traces of neoliberal ideology that sees people as "fundamentally self-interested entrepreneurs of themselves who perpetually strive towards self-maximization and self-capitalization (i.e. personal improvement and gain) (Savage, 2017, p.149). However, this ideology ignores the fact that for some people the pursuit of success, achievement, or material wealth may not be a priority. Furthermore, it erases processes of marginalization that prevent people from achieving success despite their efforts.

However, some participants realized that knowing 'just English' might not be enough to land a good job as *"I need English for accounting, not general English" (Kira)*. Some Ukrainians also noted that people might put too much emphasis on the language form itself, dismissing important aspects of language such as cultural competence. Referring to times when she had encountered misunderstanding, Anna said: *"I thought that the fault was in my English… then I realized that we have different approaches to communication… these people, they never tell the truth, they don't want to discuss difficulties face to face and look for consensus the way we do in Ukraine".* The problem she described is elaborated by Hymes, a prominent American linguist, and anthropologist, who stated that communication is a cultural phenomenon, not uniquely linguistic, that involves social and cultural contexts (Gee, 1998). In this regard, one participant also suggested another reason why English language skills are not the only key to success. Iryna told me: *"You won't get ahead in life with English only unless you have good communication skills and can promote yourself".* This argument aligns with neoliberal ideologies in education, where to achieve success, individuals are encouraged to invest in themselves as much as possible and market themselves and their skills (Savage, 2017).

Overall, the neoliberal ideology of the English language being a resource to be exchanged for other economic values is present throughout all of the answers. However, the overwhelming majority do not perceive their imperfect English as the only thing that holds them back, as they emphasize the importance of other sociocultural factors or the necessity of gaining necessary skills. Yet, as I have argued, this argument is still rooted in a neoliberal ideology that depicts language as a means for social mobility.

4.2.3 Language and Identity

The connection between language ideologies and identity can be seen when refugees arrive in a new country, start speaking a new language and represent themselves through it. Here, ideologies about 'what kind of people speak in a particular way' might influence the way newcomers feel about themselves. All of the participants are highly educated people, some of them with high professional status and low or intermediate level of English. Surprisingly, despite similar social positions of their past selves, I have discovered a wide scope of identity transformations, starting from no change at all to "I feel a different person now".

One participant had a traumatic experience with language ideologies which damaged her sense of identity. Anna has an intermediate or upper intermediate level of English and occupied leadership positions at a few restaurants in Glasgow. Influenced by the ideological linking of language competency and intelligence, she said:

"If you want to come across as a more professional manager, you must make more sophisticated sentences. But I sounded like an idiot to my own self, not a very smart person. But I am used to being a smart person! Here I am a different personality, and not a very bright one (laughs)... My English does not match my level of expertise, and I feel that my professionalism gets as low as my English. I become a mediocre worker".

Since in Ukraine Anna's main job responsibilities consisted of managing people, communication, and negotiation, her 'professional self' was shaped through communication. She used to perform tasks well in Ukrainian. Here in Scotland, she cannot recreate her past successful self because of limited English. According to the idea that good communication skills ideologically index competency, intelligence, etc,

she categorizes herself differently, as less professional than she was at home, despite being just as skilled.

Given the high social status of the participants in Ukraine and the ideological supremacy of native speakers I also expected to hear from the participants about their anxiety about speaking with native speakers, which is reported by researchers (Rahmat et al., 2019), due to the "fear of negative evaluation" (Daud et al., 2022, p.3211) which can negatively affect their sense of identity and self-worth. In reality, 5 out of 6 participants feel encouraged and confident when speaking with native speakers: *"I got rid of all the 'speaking barriers' because people understand me here".* Iryna who was a head of a department in a Ukrainian company mentioned: *"Since I am a leader I can boost my self-confidence in many other ways despite my poor English. I can show off how smart I am when speaking Ukrainian (laughs)… or I can find activities that do not require me to speak English there".* Maria who had her small business in Ukraine showed a similar self-sufficient attitude: *"I don't care what locals will think of me, I am trying to do my best to communicate, even use body language, they smile a lot at me and nod"* - she feels supported and that her efforts are appreciated. When asked how she feels about losing everything - her business, status - she responded that she does not worry much, she fills her time with the activities she did at home - fitness, and dancing classes and her goal is to grow and develop. Overall these participants showed resistance to the ideologically higher status of native speakers and were not afraid to receive negative feedback about their language proficiency. They were trying to take advantage of other sides of their personality to compensate for their lack of English.

The main difference between Anna and the other 2 participants is that the former is the only one who has joined a local professional community where she needs to present herself in a professional way. If the first 2 women were in the same position, their attitude might have been less nonchalant.

Overall, the influence ideologies have on refugees' identities is multifaceted and varies from person to person. Not all of the participants were influenced by the 'native speakers' superiority ideology. However, some of them believe that the level

of their English will be interpreted as evidence of their level of professionalism and intelligence.

4.3 Investment in Language Learning

In the first part of the chapter, I discussed language ideologies that affected Ukrainian refugees in Scotland. As a result, some people changed their attitude to the English language or even their own selves, which consequently also influenced their desire to invest in learning the language.

4.3.1 Investment in English

Standard language ideologies, as well as interactions with locals, seemed to have an effect on how participants made decisions about their investment in English. Anna, a general manager at a restaurant in Glasgow, expressed her frustration with the way a 17-year-old waiter was correcting her English *"with his very thick Glaswegian accent"*, and overall she had major difficulties getting used to a local accent and she believed that it's impossible to learn it. She was not, therefore, willing to invest in a local Scottish variety of English. When I asked her what variety of English was worth learning, she responded *"The way English is spoken in the Netherlands: very clear like in coursebooks, without any accents, just smooth, without any weird things"*. Her response illustrates the unwillingness of some people, who are influenced by the ideology of standardization, to invest in a language variety that is different from the sterile, inauthentic language presented in coursebooks. It also reproduces the ideology that there is such a thing as English without an accent, whereas in reality, everyone speaks with some sort of accent (Lippi-Green, 2011). Furthermore, her unwillingness to invest in this variety might have been amplified by her shattered sense of identity and self-worth when a much younger person with a lower professional rank was criticizing her English.

The notion of investment "acknowledges that inequalities circumscribe the social world and learners need to negotiate their resources in order to invest in learning" (Darvin & Norton, p.31). Out of 6 interviews, 2 stories were told about Ukrainians being socially deprecated and the effects it had on their learning. One story was told by Maria whose teenage granddaughter was bullied at school because *"she didn't*

speak their language". Many researchers have demonstrated that learners might choose not to put any effort into learning a language in an environment where they are marginalized (Darvin & Norton, p.31), however, this girl continued learning despite everything, according to her grandmother. What we can see in the example of Anna and of Maria's granddaughter is how negative evaluations of speakers' languages can have opposite effects - for Maria's granddaughter, this motivated her to invest more in her English language learning, whereas for Anna, this discouraged her from trying to invest more in Scottish varieties of English.

4.3.2 Investment in Other European Languages

3 of the participants had been living in other countries before moving to Scotland, 2 of whom did not want to invest in learning the language of those counties. Anna did not see Romania as a promising country from an economic point of view, thus there was no point in learning Romanian to her: *"I thought I would not be able to fulfill my potential there, even though I haven't managed to do it here either"*. This is an example of ideologically informed high expectations of living in the UK and having English as capital there, which did not live up to reality. The other 2 participants have come to an English-speaking country deliberately and did not consider the other ones: *"It's impossible to start learning from scratch again… I mean, possible, but what for? (Olena)"* - Here again we see an illustration of English as capital, as it is ideologically perceived as a more valuable investment than other languages.

However, refugees' investment in other languages is not only connected with the ideological value associated with these languages. For example, Kira was not much concerned about the economic value that English brings. Rather, her decision to move to an English-speaking country was driven by the fact that she already knew some English and felt unwilling to learn one more language (in her case, Polish): *"Even though I understood many Polish words, my brain was sabotaging and I felt a major barrier against the Polish language"*. Here, it may be that her decisions were also made for affective reasons linked to the stress of fleeing war. This assumption is informed by Stephen Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis, one of the most influential concepts in the field of Secon Langauge Acquisition (Krashen, 1981).

4.3.3 Investment in English vs Russian

While the focus of this study was on English, the topic of the Russian language came up frequently. It is important to consider how participants orient to other prominent languages as this provides a wider picture of the language ideologies that participants are immersed in. Before 2014 Russian was taught as the second foreign language at many schools in Ukraine, but with the first russian invasion in 2014 and the second in 2022 Ukraine has become more Europe-oriented which might have influenced people's investment in learning English, but not Russian.

Given the current policies in Ukraine aimed at eliminating russian culture and language, as well as a growing number of Ukrainians avoiding the Russian language, I was expecting that my participants would voice their anti-Russian opinions. To my great surprise, all of the participants felt rather neutral about using the Russian language. When I asked whether we need to invest in learning Russian, I received 2 positive answers: *"Even though that's an enemy's language we still need to learn it. To me English and Russian are equally important: English is for my job, and Russian for my soul"*. Olena believes that *"Russia is so big that it will not vanish in the blink of an eye, and at the end of the day, when the war is over, we need to befriend our neighbors, in this sense, English and Russian are equally important"*. - Here she believes that in the long term, Russian will be as useful as English in terms of international relations and trade with russia, which is an example of neoliberal ideologies, which promote increased international trade (Bourdieu, 1997).

In the context of the widespread negative attitude to the Russian language, I was expecting that some participants might express opinions that are ideologically influenced by iconization and erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000). For example, they might have linked the linguistic features of invaders to the Russian language, labeling the language as evil as well as everybody else who speaks it (iconization). In this way, they might have 'erased' the possibility of the Russian language speakers being people of good character, patriots of Ukraine, and even the fact that "Russian-speaking soldiers play a prominent role in fighting for Ukraine" (Kuzio, 2019, p. 541). However, my participants were aware of the way ideologies can change people's perceptions of the world. Olena said: *"I think there are a lot of myths in our heads*

and when we start dividing people into Russian or Ukrainian speaking we promote the culture of 'othering' and we need to get rid of it". When I asked Iryna why people see the Russian language as evil she responded that those who do it might have had a psychological trauma connected to russia and they have transferred it to the language. Anna also said that she understands where the criticism toward the Russian language comes from, however, it is not really reasonable: "*There are so many people in Poland, Czech Republic, etc who speak Russian. Is it a reason to hate them? Of course no*t".

Overall, I have discovered mixed results of language ideologies influencing my participants' investment in languages. On the one hand, the majority of Ukrainians were influenced by the ideology of English as capital, as a worthwhile investment, whereas other European languages seemed to them as less beneficial. On the other hand, affected by the ideology of standardization, not all the English varieties were seen as equally valuable, even with the inner circle varieties. As far as the Russian language is concerned, my participants were resistant to the ideologies of labeling the Russian language as evil and showed a high level of awareness of the cognitive fallacies people might have due to the ideologies of linguistic differentiation. Even despite Ukraine being an EU country candidate, interviewees did not prioritize English over Russian. These opinions are surprisingly contrary to general public sentiment, although, we should take into account that for 5 out of the 6 participants, Russian was the language spoken in the family, so they might have a strong bond with it. Interestingly, however, while they showed awareness of language ideologies surrounding the Russian language, the participants seemed to be not so much aware of the ideological misconceptions that can occur with regard to English.

Chapter 5: Conclusions, Implications, Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions of the Findings

This study has shown how language ideologies influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations regarding English, as well as their investment in learning English and other languages, in both encouraging and discouraging ways.

With regard to the first research question about ideologically-informed expectations, the findings reveal that Ukrainian refugees in Scotland were affected by the neoliberalism ideology of English as capital that can be exchanged for economic value (Duchêne, 2011), whereas other European languages were perceived as less worthy of learning. For this reason, some Ukrainians have arrived in Scotland in order to invest in English with the expectation that they would gain some competitive advantage in a global market. The choice of the destination, the UK, was also affected by the ideology of standardization which holds that certain varieties of English are believed to be more desirable and correct (Milroy, 2001), usually within the inner circle varieties of English (Kachru, 1985). The ideology of standardization also influenced participants' expectations regarding the variety of English used in Scotland - which in reality is not standard RP.

The attempt to answer my second research question reveals that the variety spoken in Scotland deviated from an expected standard and was met with severe criticism, which resulted in the further ideological stratification of 'more' or 'less' correct varieties even among native speakers (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Consequently, some participants voiced their unwillingness to invest in the Scottish varieties of English, which turned out to be different from the expected standard.

Language ideologies also played a role in the perception of participants' identities and further language learning investment. Some experienced challenges to their identity due to ideologies about language proficiency. As a consequence, some were willing to fight these challenges and improve their English against the odds, while, on the contrary, others withdrew from the opportunities to enhance their English level and rejected a language variety that harms their identity. Other participants - notably those who were not engaged in professional work - did not suffer any language-

related identity issues, despite the common fear of negative evaluation (Daud et al., 2022) or the anxiety of speaking with native speakers (Rahmat, 2019), which is also a product of standardization and imposing of some varieties' superiority (Milroy, 2001).

Interestingly, unlike the ideologies connected with English and other European languages, the participants demonstrated a high level of resistance to ideologies about the Russian language and expressed their awareness of common misconceptions that can occur. This critical perspective that they demonstrated towards ideologies of the Russian language meant that many participants felt that investment in the Russian language was justified on a personal and national level. And despite the socio-political situation in Ukraine which is becoming more westernized, thus, linguistically more English-oriented, the participants of my study refused to break their ties with the Russian language, unlike many other Ukrainians. On the one hand, this demonstrates how Ukrainians are influenced by language ideologies in different ways depending on the language in question.

5.2 Implications of the Study

The findings from the data analysis answered the research question and fulfilled the main aim of the study, which was to identify which language ideologies have influenced Ukrainian refugees' expectations about learning and using English in Scotland and their investment in learning English and other languages. Based on these findings, I propose several implications of the study.

When students enter a classroom, their investment in the learning process and overall progress depend on factors that lay beyond the teacher's expertise, curriculum, or other external elements. Students bring in their ideological load and consequent set of beliefs that can be resistant to the language environment or teaching itself.

The most fundamental level where my finding could be of use is the teacher trainer programs that should focus not only on methodological or linguistic aspects of teaching but also touch upon ideological and cultural aspects of being an ELT practitioner. It is important for teachers to be conscious of the common language

ideologies that exist at a given time and raise students' awareness about them, to confront toxic ideologies that make students feel inferior, or provide vain hopes. For example, the ideology of standardization might make them avoid real-life communicative situations because their way of speaking is constructed as inferior to the ideologically imposed 'correct' standard. The extent to which Global Englishes are normalized in the classroom might impact the sense of a student's linguistic adequacy and self-worth; and whether they will judge negatively other peoples' non-standard varieties. However, it should be done not only with teachers' efforts but also with the textbook writers representing a real linguistic situation in the world, which is not standard-based.

Also, ESOL and EFL courses that aim at increasing students' involvement and investment in learning, can benefit from findings. Language ideologies might reveal themselves during the course, resulting in students' decreased involvement or resistance to learning. Being aware of these possible issues can help ELT practitioners anticipate and tackle them.

Another example of how my finding can be useful is the way learners of English approach their studying process. One of the popular ideological illusions that they need to be aware of is the idea of English being a key to success, which is often used by language schools as a marketing strategy that makes revenue by promising people success in the exchange of their language courses. Instead, learners need to understand the importance of intercultural and communicative competencies, which can be as important as language proficiency itself.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on my research findings and implications here are the actions that ELT practitioners and researchers could benefit from.

5.3.1 Recommendations to ELT Practitioners

Reliance on standard English varieties should be illuminated, as it creates a distorted image of what Englishes are used in the real world. The feasibility and necessity of teaching all English varieties is questionable due to their growing number and the

changing nature of the language. However, it is of paramount importance to raise students' awareness about non-standard forms being legitimate forms of English and normalize them. This process does not happen overnight and should start with reconsidering teachers' beliefs at teachers' training courses so that they would be ready to undertake changes in the classroom. Also, it must go in line with English coursebook publishers including more English varieties in the curriculum and deviating from standard-only English.

5.3.2 Recommendations to Researchers

Based on the limitations of my study, there are some gaps to be filled with further research and increase the generalisability of my findings. Since I was not able to conduct large-scale research to see a bigger picture of Ukrainians' linguistic situation in the whole UK, not only Scotland, it might be beneficial to explore other parts of the UK for comparison.

Also, my sample was limited in terms of the geographical origin of the participants (Eastern Ukraine which is close to russia), which might have affected their resistance to the ideologies around the Russian Langauge. More research could be conducted to reveal what makes people deny the "Russian language is the terrorists' language" ideology (Boman, 2023).

Another concept worth a closer look at is how language ideologies influence people's identities depending on their occupation and employment status. The only participant whose sense of identity was affected negatively was the one who actually landed a good job in Scotland and had to present herself in communication with locals and foreigners. For this reason, she might have been more prone to get affected by language by ideologies.

Further, since I studied the questions of language among migrants, who are Ukrainians, my findings might not be applicable to migrants from other countries. Thus, their experience can be a topic of another research.

5.4 Impact on My Own Practice

While working as an English teacher, I have observed numerous instances where my students were influenced by certain language beliefs that hindered their progress in mastering the language. For instance, some students became self-conscious about their accents, leading them to avoid practicing spoken English. I myself was also impacted by various language ideologies. The process of delving into relevant literature for my research, conducting interviews, and analyzing findings prompted me to question my own beliefs. This enabled me to identify and possibly challenge ideologies that my students or I might rely upon. These research findings have equipped me with insights and knowledge that I can use to help my students recognize and potentially dismantle harmful language ideologies that hold them back or contribute to feelings of inadequacy.

Also, since I am a refugee residing in Scotland, this research has helped me to better understand the language processes that other Ukrainians and I were going through. For example, some Ukrainians and I were experiencing fear of negative evaluation from native speakers. Before arriving in Scotland I disregarded the tremendous effort I made to learn a language to speak fluently and focused on whether 'real English users' would notice my imperfections. However, I realized that this fear is rooted in the ideology of native speakers' linguistic superiority, and in reality, they focus on my ideas but not faulty sentences. As a result, whenever I talk to a Ukrainian living abroad who seems to have insecurities informed by language ideologies, I tend to share the findings of my research, how misleading our beliefs can be, and hopefully it will encourage somebody to look at their situation from a new perspective.

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Appendices

All the appendices provided to participants were translated into the Ukrainian language.

Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

Name of department:
School of Education, University of the West of Scotland

Language Ideologies and Investment in English Learning: The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Scotland

Introduction

My name is Valeriia Shumeiko and I am conducting research for a Masters dissertation at the University of the West of Scotland. My contact details are as follows:

Email: B01116375@studentmail.uws.ac.uk

Telephone: +4407825579253

Supervisor's contact details:

Dr. Katy Highet

Email: Katy.Highet@uws.ac.uk

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What is the purpose of this research?

For my dissertation, I am researching the English language learning experience of Ukrainian refugees: the case of the United Kingdom. In particular, the influence of beliefs and stereotypes around the English language on learners' expectations versus their real-world experience. The experiences of each student will be considered in relation to the overall responses and recommendations will be made for the institutions providing ESOL courses to Ukrainian refugees.

As part of this study, I am seeking 6 Ukrainian refugees residing in Scotland to conduct interviews. The focus of this study is on individuals who are comfortable discussing their experience of learning English in the UK as refugees. As I am also a Ukrainian refugee, I am very interested in hearing more about others' experiences.

Why have you been invited to take part?

You have been chosen because you fit the criteria of the participants I would like to interview. As you are a Ukrainian living in Scotland because of russia's invasion on 24 February 2022, you could provide valuable information for my study.

Do you have to take part?

You do not have to take part in the study, and even if you do agree to take part, you may withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw, rest assured that any data collected up to the point of your withdrawing from the study will be destroyed. Taking part or not taking part in the study will not impact your relationship with me in any way. If you decide to take part in this study, then you should let me know by **May 5th 2023.**

What will you do?

If you agree, you will be asked to take part in an interview with me which will be audio recorded. The interview will take place during the month of **May 2023**. You can be interviewed at a time and place that suits you. The interview will last approximately 30-60 minutes, and you will be invited to talk to me about:

- your expectations of using and learning English in Scotland.
- your real-life experiences of using and learning English in Scotalnd.
- Your decisions about and experiences of language learning since leaving Ukraine and arriving in Scotland.

What happens to the information?

The findings from this study will be included in my Masters dissertation and may be published in the form of a report or article. However, your name will never be mentioned and all participants will remain anonymous. The information that you provide me with will be kept for up to 5 years to allow for the potential publication of the thesis at a future date. You are free to contact the researcher and withdraw your data up to the point of anonymization.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study has been reviewed by the dissertation supervisor in line with the guidance of the Ethics of the School of Education, UWS.

Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?If you are happy to be involved in the study, then please let me know by the **5th of May 2023** using my contact details provided above. If you do not want to be involved in the study then I would like to thank you for your attention. After the study has been completed, a report of the findings will be available in electronic form. If you wish to receive a copy, please let me know and I will email it to you.

Appendix 2: Cover Letter

Name of department:

School of Education, University of the West of Scotland (UWS)

Title of the study:

Language Ideologies and Investment in English Learning: The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Scotland

MAY 2023

Re: Masters Research Study

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Valeriia Shumeiko and I am Masters student in Education at the University of the West of Scotland. I am currently in the process of completing an MEd Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) course.

I am conducting research on the English language learning experiences of Ukrainians who moved to Scotland after russia's full-scale invasion on 24 March 2022. I would like to gain some insight into their English language learning experiences in Scotland. In particular, the influence of the existing beliefs and stereotypes around the English language on learners' expectations versus their real-world experience. In addition, I would like to better understand what ideologically-driven factors might have influenced Ukrainians' investment in learning. Educational research which examines the refugees' learning experience is important in guiding language teaching approaches and in ESOL education for refugees and migrants. As I am also a Ukrainian refugee, I am very interested in hearing more about others' experiences.

I am writing to ask if you would be willing to participate in my research.

The next page (please see attached) has more information about my Master's research study. It also outlines what I would be asking you to do as part of my study. I will contact you again in about a week to confirm if you would like to take part.

Many thanks for considering my request

Best Regards,

Valeriia Shumeiko

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Name of department:

School of Education, University of the West of Scotland (UWS)

Title of the study:

Language Ideologies and Investment in English Learning: The Case of Ukrainian Refugees in Scotland

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and the researcher has answered any questions to my satisfaction.

- I understand that taking part is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study up to the point of anonymization.
- I understand that any information recorded during the study will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in this study.
- I consent to being audio recorded as part of the study

✂ ……………………………………………………………………………………………..

I (PRINT NAME)	Hereby agree to take part in the above study
Signature of Participant:	 Date

Appendix 4: Interview Questions