DOCTORAL THESIS

FOREIGN ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY WITH A FOCUS ON MULTILINGUALISM: LANGUAGE AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES, BELIEFS, AND PRACTICES
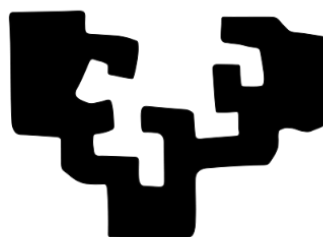
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the multilingualism of foreign academic researchers in academic workplaces and in the wider Basque society. Academic workplaces are by default international and multilingual, and languages and cultures brought to the Basque Country by foreign researchers add further to the richness of this bilingual region. Although English is used as lingua franca in academia, other languages are used by academics depending on who they interact with, the context, and the activities.

The cultural and linguistic diversity in academic workplaces mirrors diversity in increasingly multilingual and multicultural societies. The aim is to investigate foreign researchers' languages, and how foreign researchers, use their languages, how mobility, language learning and intercultural encounters shape their intercultural competences, their opinions about languages, and to learn about their cultural experiences in the Basque Country. In order to study a group of foreign researchers as multilinguals, the 'Focus on Multilingualism' approach developed by Cenoz and Gorter (2011, 2017) has been adapted as the principal framework.

The data for this thesis were collected through an online questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire concerned language competence, language use, language attitudes about multilingualism as well as questions regarding different cultures. The interviews were carried out to gain in-depth knowledge about language use practices and language and cultural experiences in the wider social context.

The thesis demonstrates the relationships between multilingualism and intercultural competence. The profile of the foreign researchers shows that they are all thoroughly multilingual speakers, who also are highly intercultural competent, who in general have positive attitudes towards various languages. In the academic work place, English dominates, but there is some space for other languages as well. The situation in private life is more diverse and different languages are used, although English often has a presence. These foreign researchers use their whole multilingual repertoire and apply flexible language practices. The relationships these researchers maintain with the local work context of the Basque Country can be characterised as in general positive, although they also are confronted with some challenges related to their adaptation and integration in society.

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Foreword

When I was collecting the data for this research project, I had been living abroad for 10 years and I could, in a way, relate to some of the experiences of foreign academic researchers in this thesis. I acknowledge that being a PhD-student and keeping tight bonds with *home* via frequent visits, and keeping friends from *home* close despite being scattered in different parts of the world, this is a different experience than having a full time job, and colleagues with whom you share the experience.

In my case, going to Cyprus still felt like going back *home*, perhaps I never really distanced myself from *home*; maybe due to changing accommodation every year, and changing eight cities (Southampton, Salamanca, Lanzarote, Brighton, Istanbul, Leeuwarden, Tilburg, Donostia-San Sebastian) in four different countries during that time. I was rather a passer-by, and it was more of a chance to observe and be more aware of my own ways of being, and my own roots.

Nevertheless, having had the opportunity to look *home* from a distance between the ages 16 and 26, and also having had a chance to look outward from a different perspective, was critical as I formed my sense of self, and changed me as a person and the way I viewed my own identity. For me it was a chance to move beyond the physical limitations of a relatively small island with a complex history. With these experiences and these reflections in mind, I moved back to Cyprus.

I was lucky enough to find a job that allowed me to bring this outlook to my new workplace – one that is characterised strongly by values of respect, understanding, dialogue, and coexistence. This time I took my experiences in my workplace, to really fully grasp the possibilities of the application of some of the existing theories on multilingualism and intercultural competence, in contexts where classroom practices are still predominantly informed by monolingual ideologies and ethnocentric narratives.

In this thesis, you will read my conclusions on various language beliefs, communication with the other, intercultural competence, and how this can hopefully help to build a more inclusive, just, and peaceful society. I hope this thesis will provide food for thought for its readers and be enjoyable to read.

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INTRODUCTION

The world of academia is by default international and transcends national state borders by creating and sharing knowledge. Therefore, most academic workplaces can be characterised as multilingual and multicultural. It is against this backdrop that the study for this thesis has been developed. The aims of the thesis are three-fold. The first aim is to sketch a profile of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country as multilingual and intercultural speakers. It will be argued that knowledge of languages and cultural awareness are useful and important for foreign researchers. Furthermore, those foreign researchers develop intercultural competence thanks to their experiences with mobility, their intercultural encounters and speaking different languages.

The second aim is to explore language practices of those foreign researchers and the role of English as an academic lingua franca. It will be argued that although English is expected to be a *common* language shared by all, which is used as a lingua franca in academic settings, these researchers also use other languages. Consequently, flexible use of language can be one of the signs of effective language practices of multilinguals.

The third aim is to investigate foreign researchers' experiences in relation to multilingualism in its social context. Evidence will be presented of some of the cultural differences that these foreign researchers are faced with. Against this backdrop, the Introduction will be structured as follows: the target group, and brief information about the effect of internationalisation policies on academic workplaces. The Introduction will be concluded with an overview of the thesis.

'Foreign academic researchers' is the target group of this study. It is a highly multilingual group with interesting experiences of mobility, world-wide contacts and its members belong to an international work environment. The term 'foreign' is preferred in this thesis to refer to researchers' pertaining to this group. 'Foreign' here simply indicates that these researchers are not originally from Spain, even though they now work in the local context of the Basque Country.

In the literature, there are different terms to refer to this group of academics. For example, in her study Kim (2011) prefers the designation 'transnational academic'.

Although 'transnational' might sound appropriate for the purpose of this study, as will be seen later, the findings suggest that these academics do not define themselves as transnational. Another term is 'international academic', which is used to refer to this specific group of highly qualified professionals by Thomson (2014). Lawson, Salter, Hughes and Kitson (2019) use the term 'foreign born academics' because in their study they found that the length of stay lessens the effect of 'foreignness'. The current study excludes Spanish and Basque researchers and the criterion of selection was that only researchers with a different background could be included, thus the term 'foreign' is preferred.

In this thesis, the linguistic and cultural experiences of foreign researchers who are currently based in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain are investigated. This study intends to make the challenges visible that these researchers are confronted with in relation to multilingualism and cultural differences. The strategies they adopt to overcome these challenges will also be discussed. The investigation will lead to a better understanding of researchers' experiences in their multilingual and multicultural academic workplaces.

Globalisation, and the adoption of internationalisation policies and strategies, allow and facilitate increased exchange of goods, services, human resources, practices, and coming closer than ever (Kim, 2009; 2010). Thus, institutions that adopt internationalisation policies become a part of a global system. The term internationalisation includes "policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment" (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p.290).

Over the last decades, higher education institutions across the globe have adopted and intensified internationalisation policies. Through internalisation policies, universities and other higher education institutions are competing to attract international talent on a global scale. The ability to compete and be part of a global network is seen as crucial in today's world. The effects of internationalisation can directly be observed in the number of courses offered through the medium of English at universities and further in the increase in international students, or the academic exchange schemes offered (Bhandari, Robles, Farrugia, 2018). Modern academic workplaces at universities and research institutes can be observed through the lens of

such internationalisation policies. Such academic workplaces, indeed, are often characterised by internationalisation.

Coleman (2006) mentions a number of reasons for the use of English as an academic lingua franca. For instance, to adopt English as a medium of instruction, to increase career opportunities after graduation, to facilitate student mobility, and the expectation of profit making from foreign students to the university who tend to pay higher tuition fees, to have access to learning and research materials. Also in the Basque Country, English is the skill that is most demanded, surpassing 'adapting to change' and 'computer skills', as it was shown in a "two-year analysis of the highly qualified labour market" in the Basque Talent Observatory Trend, published by Bizkaia Talent (2018).

As a consequence of internationalisation policies, alongside the number of international students, the number of international academic staff members has increased as well. Academic workplaces and higher education institutes are, because of mobility, highly and increasingly multilingual and multicultural.

Academic mobility has an enormous importance in today's world. Kim and Locke (2010, p. 32) state that the 'transnational academic' has been shaped by "political and economic forces determining the boundaries and direction of flows, and also involves personal choices and professional networks". An example of such forces that has changed academic mobility patterns in Europe is the establishment of European Higher Education Area (EHEA) through the Bologna Process. Since its start in 1999, the Bologna Process has facilitated the exchange of people as well as their languages and cultures. The prevailing discourse from then onwards identified knowledge mobility as a freedom, reflected also in European Union's policies (Morley, Alexiadou, Garaz, González-Monteagudo, Taba, 2018; Council of the European Union, 2009; European Commission, 2013; European Higher Education Area, 2012).

The establishment of the European Higher Education Area in 2010 aimed not only to increase mobility of staff and students, but also to increase employability (European Higher Education Area, n.d.). Increasing academic mobility is seen as to lead to increasing productivity and keeping "*brain circulation*" (Kim, 2009) active, enabling

higher education institutions and countries to benefit from this circulation and to participate in a global network of research, development and innovation.

New patterns of academic mobility shape the modern-day research universities, and they change ways of university governance and management. Such new patterns include recruitment of international researchers, a preference for short-term, contract-based policies, and the application of immigration policies, which are attractive to "highly skilled knowledge workers" (Kim, 2010, p.579). Academic mobility of researchers can be of long-term or short-term, based on temporary or permanent contracts. Finding a permanent position is turning out to be difficult since competition is more intense. Contracts tend to be fixed term contracts, such as one-year, two-year or even five-year contracts, which may or may not be renewed, and researchers can be hired based on time-limited projects.

To facilitate mobility, a number of initiatives have been introduced, such as EURAXESS - Researchers in Motion, which is a Europe-wide initiative providing information and assistance to researchers. The initiative is backed by the European Union, EU Member States and associated countries, to aid mobility of researchers as well as career development, and it aims at increasing scientific collaboration (EURAXESS-website). There are over 500 EURAXESS service centres in Europe that provide personalised assistance to researchers to plan their move abroad in order to help them "tackle issues such as accommodation, visa and work permits, language lessons, schools for their children, social security and medical care." (EURAXESS, n.d.). Support is also provided to organisations that are planning to hire foreign researchers. The EURAXESS centre in the Basque Country is managed by Ikerbasque, Basque Foundation for Science. Background information about the region, the sociolinguistic situation, and the role of different scientific institutions of the Basque Country will be presented in Chapter 2.

This thesis has five chapters, which are organised as follows. **Chapter 1** presents the theoretical background of the thesis. It draws on relevant multilingualism research conducted at three levels: individual, workplace, and the wider social context that traces and examines implications of mobility over multilingualism and intercultural competence. By doing this, it situates this research project in the field of individual multilingualism and highlights gaps in existing research. The chapter has two

sections; one on research of multilingualism and the other on research on multilingual and multicultural workplaces.

Chapter 2 presents and justifies the research questions and provides the context of the research study by providing information about the Basque Autonomous Community, the school system and the scientific institutions of the Basque Country.

Chapter 3 explains the research methods used in this thesis, including information about the participants, instruments and procedures.

Chapter 4 analyses the results in terms of the three main research questions that link the theoretical approach Focus on Multilingualism to the data, namely the multilingual researcher, the whole linguistic repertoire and the social context.

Chapter 5 summarises and discusses the main results and considers the implications of the study. It discusses foreign researchers' unique competences and the skills useful in living and working in multicultural societies and workplaces. After Chapter 5, the list of references and the appendices close this thesis.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The motivation for this research project lies in the exploration of multilingual and multicultural workplaces in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Chapter 1 explores the definition of multilingualism and how it relates to the concepts of language competence, intercultural competence, language attitudes and language practices. It also explores research on multilingual and multicultural workplaces, taking into consideration the academic workplace and the use of English as a lingua franca. First, a look at research on multilingualism, and thereafter the theoretical framework of multilingualism chosen for this thesis will be presented.

1.1. RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUALISM

The field of multilingualism extends to all areas where languages have a presence. Since it covers such a vast research area – from the individual to the societal, and from the local, to the national and to the global – the field has developed further specialisations. Phenomena of multilingualism with its many layers have been studied as a means to understand the mind, human interactions, education, societies, and more. In this thesis the term multilingualism is used for referring to both individual and societal dimensions, and the European Commission's definition is fit for this purpose: "the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (European Commission, 2007, p. 6).

Multilingualism and language learning are actively promoted by the Council of Europe and the European Union, two of the major supranational organisations in Europe, in order "to support competitiveness, mobility and employability, and as a means of strengthening intercultural dialogue" (European Council, 2014, p.2).

Multilingualism is identified as an asset for Europe in several documents and recommendations from the Council of Europe and the European Union, and the value of linguistic diversity as a source of prosperity and bridge to solidarity and mutual understanding is underlined (Council of Europe, 2007; European Commission, 2005; 2008; European Parliament, 2009). The Council of Europe accords special importance to promoting multilingualism, plurilingualism and intercultural competence among citizens to fight against intolerance by improving communication and mutual understanding between individuals (Council of Europe, 2007).

The last two decades have seen the analysis of individual and societal multilingualism both in the academic domain and in terms of general interest (Aronin & Singleton, 2012, p. 31), and these two decades can be labelled as the "multilingual beyond bilingual" decades. The multilingualism field covers topics such as multilingual education, migration to new language settings, fairness in social services, and language policies related to multilingualism (Grabe, 2010, p. 39).

Multilingualism has been a reality throughout history, but the difference with today may be that the organisation of multiple languages is an ''indispensable feature of the world landscape" (Aronin & Singleton, 2012, p. 31). Kam and Wong (2004) highlight that as the world becomes more and more without borders, it is possible to see bilingualism as a form of multilingualism. In fact, the majority of the world is multilingual (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010); therefore, multilingualism ought to be regarded as the norm rather than the exception (Hans, 2010, p. 373). Hence, it is crucial to understand what 'multilingualism' means, in order to put forward effective teaching and learning methodologies, as well as manage the domains where multiple languages are used. The focus of this thesis is to understand multilingualism better in the domain of the academic workplace.

The Focus on Multilingualism approach was originally developed to study multilingualism in educational contexts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011a, 2011b, 2014). The approach distinguishes three main dimensions: 1) the Multilingual Speaker, 2) the Whole Linguistic Repertoire, and 3) the Social Context in relation to multilingualism. Below, each of the three dimensions of the Focus on Multilingualism will be briefly explained further.

The Multilingual Speaker: The first dimension of the model focuses on multilingual speakers, exploring their language and cultural competences, as well as their language attitudes. Traditional methods of measuring communicative competence in languages compare speakers with native speakers. This practice creates "a sense of failure and lack of self-confidence when learning languages because the level to be reached in the target language is seen as an impossible goal" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 243). Thus, rather than measuring communicative skills of multilingual speakers from a monolingual perspective against an ideal native speaker of each of the languages in question, this investigation of multilingual speaker is

based on Cenoz and Gorter's (2011) definition of multilingual speaker, that is, fully competent "speaker-hearers" who acquire and use their skills in different contexts and at different levels depending on their communicative needs.

Thus, a 'multilingual speaker' is someone who is able to speak two or more 'languages', but not from a monolingual perspective as traditionally understood. One may speak the language(s) of his or her parents, the place where he or she was born and/or raised, the languages of instruction at school, the languages taught at school as a foreign language, the language(s) spoken in places where he or she moves, or simply the languages of personal interest, not like an ideal native speaker in each of the languages in question.

The Whole Linguistic Repertoire is the second dimension of the "Focus on Multilingualism" approach, and this dimension explores the way multilingual speakers use their "communicative resources in spontaneous conversation" and how "multilingual speakers navigate between languages" (Cenoz and Gorter (2011, p. 242, p. 245), and this is related to the way languages are learnt and taught at school. The intersection between the languages will be investigated via the whole linguistic repertoire. "Focus on Multilingualism" proposes that all languages used by multilingual speakers and learners can act as "connected growers". Cenoz and Gorter (2011) use the image of weaving to explain language learning. The languages are usually taught at school as the warp and "Focus on Multilingualism" adds the weft by looking at the connections between them. This approach proposes establishing interrelationships between the languages that are being learnt, as an alternative to the way languages are being learnt as separate curriculum subjects. The way multilinguals use their languages naturally, is way different from how they are being taught.

"Focus on Multilingualism" proposes to learn from the way multilinguals use their languages naturally and to inform and adjust the process of learning languages to the actual language use. The approach suggests that establishing 'interlacing' or interrelationships would support language learning. It is, thus, possible to learn from the way foreign researchers use languages because they are a multilingual group who could inform studies on multilingualism and language use. In this thesis, the whole

linguistic repertoire, with a focus on language use and flexible language use practices of researchers, is investigated.

The Social Context is an important dimension of "Focus on Multilingualism" because multilingualism has a social dimension in addition to a linguistic dimension (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 248). Speakers acquire and use languages in a social context, and this social context is shaped by 'communicative interaction' (see also Canagarajah 2007; Kramsch 2010). In the case of foreign researchers, the focus is on the social context in which they put into practice their languages. The emphasis in this thesis is on the interaction part; how researchers' interactions are shaped by academic workplace culture and by the wider society of the Basque Country.

This holistic approach "Focus on Multilingualism" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011a, 2011b, 2017) will be applied in this thesis to an investigation of multilingualism and cultural experiences among foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country.

Although the approach was initially developed to investigate school multilingualism, the Focus on Multilingualism model was modified to be used to analyse workplace multilingualism (Van der Worp, 2016; Van der Worp, Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), and an adapted model of multilingualism in the workplace was constructed. The three main dimensions were renamed to suit the new purpose of the workplace context and each of the three dimensions was explained in detail (Figure 1.1). Accordingly, the first dimension was renamed as the 'multilingual professional', and it contained language competence, cultural competence and language attitudes. The second dimension was renamed as the 'professional linguistic repertoire' and language practices and language learning experiences were studied. The third and final dimension is called 'the wider social context'. Thereafter the Focus on Multilingualism model was enlarged using Gunnarsson's (2013) societal frameworks. Gunnarsson's (2013) highlights the importance of the social context dimension and the need to analyse it in greater detail because language choice, language use and language learning are influenced by and dependent on the wider social context. For that reason, Gunnarsson's (2013) contextual frameworks are added to Van der Worp, Cenoz and Gorter's model of multilingualism in the workplace and used in the analysis of their data, enabling a thorough understanding of the relation between the social context and multilingualism.

The multilingual speaker

- language competence
- cultural competence
- language attitudes

The social context

- in relation to languages

The whole linguistic repertoire

- language practice
- language learning experiences
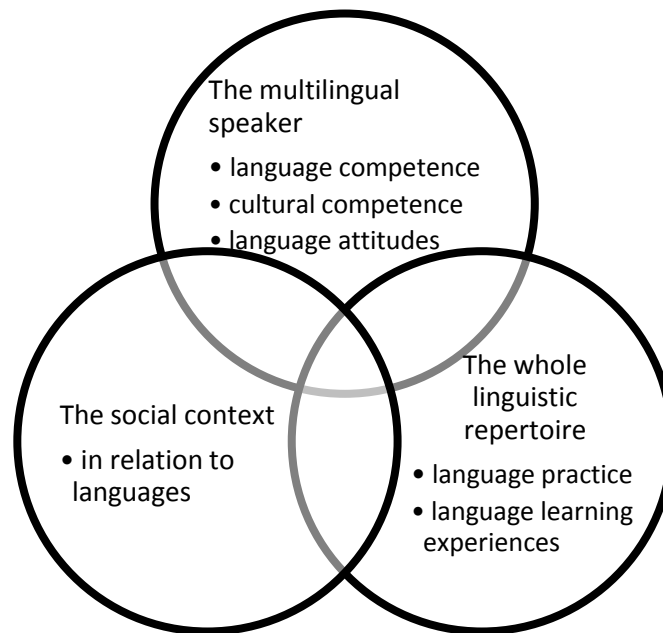
Figure 1.1   Focus on Multilingualism (adapted from Cenoz and Gorter, 2011)

The Focus on Multilingualism approach will be used here in a similar way as in the study by Van der Worp, Cenoz and Gorter (2017). The approach makes possible a holistic analysis of multilingualism and will guide the thesis to investigate the foreign academic researchers, to understand their language and intercultural competences, their language attitudes, as well as how they use their languages, within the context of the Basque Autonomous Community. The following sections will review various previous studies and approaches that are relevant for this thesis and that a will be categorised under each of the sub-dimensions of the adapted Focus on Multilingualism, starting in the next section with language competence.

1.1.1. Language competence

Traditionally language competence has been evaluated against the backdrop of the native speaker ideal competence. For instance, proficiency levels identified by Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001), i.e. A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2, or similarly labelling proficiency in terms of "intermediate", "upper intermediate", "advanced", have their own requirements for speakers to qualify for the above or similar quantifiers/labels. A lot of the times, speakers may feel incompetent, rather than competent due to being compared against native speakers. The Council of Europe (2018) published a companion volume, informed by

experts in the field of language education which complements the original scales with added descriptors. The volume further develops the concepts of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (encompassing plurilingual and pluricultural comprehension and repertoire) that were already included in the 2001 version.

The Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe, 2001) supports the idea that in order to be an effective communicator, it is not sufficient to know grammar alone. Hymes (1972) proposed the concept communicative competence and this implies using a language in social contexts effectively. Communicative competence has different dimensions: linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse, pragmatic, and strategic competence (Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei & Thurrell, 1995; Cenoz & Goikoetxea, 2010). The development of the concept of communicative competence has been important in applied linguistics.

Despite the expansion of an understanding of competence, traditional assessment methods and proficiency levels that compare learners to native speakers are still widespread. With regards to language assessment, Gorter and Cenoz (2017, p. 237) point out that "languages are evaluated separately and language proficiency is usually compared to that of a monolingual native speaker without taking into account the student's knowledge of other languages and penalising the influence and use of other languages". Santos, Cenoz and Gorter (2017) investigated the communicative anxiety of university students and young professionals towards a third language, English, in the Basque Country. The results demonstrate the connections between anxiety and proficiency level, language certificates and multilingualism (Santos, Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Speakers, when assessed against the competence of the ideal native speaker, experience communicative anxiety and may avoid using the target language (Sevinc & Backus, 2017).

While a monolingual would need his or her one language in every language situation, a multilingual has options. He or she has the possibility to use different elements from his or her multilingual repertoire in different situations, various activities, and with different people. This is not to say a multilingual ought to use different languages in different situations. Depending on the social context, multilinguals can use more than one language at a time, benefitting from their multilingualism. This is a major difference between a monolingual and a multilingual in the way they can use

their language(s). Multilinguals may develop their languages in different directions and depth based on their interests, their job, and/or their surroundings.

1.1.2. Intercultural competence

In multilingual and multicultural settings, whether these are whole societies, or, for example schools, or workplaces, sometimes problems or misunderstandings may arise. This happens not just due to a lack of language skills or a lack of a common language, but also due to cultural differences or social ideologies (Gunnarsson, 2013). Acquiring and developing intercultural competence can overcome challenges related to cultural differences or language issues.

Intercultural competence can be developed, among others, through having diverse career paths, being exposed to different cultures, cross-cultural training, or having regular contact with locals or hosts (Van Bakel, Gerritsen & Van Oudenhoven, 2014), and also through establishing global networks of communication. Individuals with high intercultural competence are able to adjust to new environments and learn from them, they tend to be open to new experiences, are sensitive to world issues, and follow local news (in the case of expatriates), tend to be keen to learn local language(s), are less ethnocentric, know the customs and traditions, and act accordingly when they greet and address people, including where, with who and when to handshake or when to give kisses; in other words they are aware of cultural boundaries.

Expatriates can benefit from contact with host nationals, but they can find it hard to establish contacts with them. The Expat Explorer Survey by HSBC in 2010 reported in Van Bakel et al. (2014) found that 58% of expatriates tend to hang out with fellow expatriates rather than with local friends and that they remain in a so-called 'expatriate bubble'. The effect of a local host on intercultural competence was also studied by Van Bakel et al. (2014) and they found that regular contact with a local host has a positive impact on intercultural competence especially in relation to open-mindedness and aspects of social initiatives.

Although intercultural competence features all of the above named qualities, there is a lack of consensus on the definition in different sources (for example, Byram, 2014; Van Bakel et al., 2014; Brewster, Bonacho & Cerdin, 2014). According to Wiseman (2002, p. 208) intercultural competence "involves knowledge, motivation, and skills

to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures". Another proposal is made by Spencer-Oatey and Stadler (2009) who assign intercultural competencies to four interrelated clusters: a) knowledge and ideas, b) communication, c) relationships, and d) personal qualities/dispositions. 'Knowledge and ideas' consists of being open to new ideas and ready to challenge assumptions and being goal oriented, whereas communication involves language learning, language adjustment, active listening and communication management. Relationships, on the other hand, include welcoming strangers, building rapport, interpersonal attentiveness and sensitivity to context. Finally, personal qualities include possessing a spirit of adventure, inner purpose, resilience, self-awareness, coping and acceptance.

Not only the definitions of intercultural competence in the literature differ, but also its assessments, and few of these assessments take into consideration multilingual competence (Byram, 2014). Some of the instruments developed and used in assessing and measuring intercultural competence were summarised by Byram (2014). There is one assessment tool, the 'Interagency Language Roundtable Skill Level Descriptions for Competence in Intercultural Communication' (Interagency Language Roundtable, 2012) that incorporates both intercultural competence and multilingual competence. This framework has five levels; Level 5 being the Superior Professional Competence. Without multilingual competence one cannot reach this level. It is also noted that any successful communication is generally dependent on interpersonal skills, disposition, social flexibility, and tolerance for ambiguity (Interagency Language Roundtable, 2012). However, these "descriptions are intended to serve primarily as guidelines for use in government settings" and may not be applicable to youth or the general public since it aims to evaluate specific skills.

The Council of Europe also has developed instruments which can be used to conceptualise and measure intercultural competence. The 'Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters' (Byram, Barrett, Ipgrave, Jackson, & Mendez-Garcia, 2009) and 'Recognising intercultural competence' (Council of Europe, 2008) are two evaluation tools for intercultural competence. The 'Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters' contains questions aimed at anybody who has had an intercultural experience so that they can benefit from it. The second tool 'Recognising intercultural competence' was launched by the Intercultural Cities Project and the

Pestalozzi Programme of the Council of Europe. This tool divides competence into attitudes, skills and knowledge. The 'Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters' was developed by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe as a response to the recommendations outlined in the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue "Living together as equals in dignity" (Council of Europe, 2008) which encouraged the development of tools to inspire youth to reflect on their experiences of other cultures. Its concepts are more specific than the previously outlined tools. It includes: a) culture, b) multicultural societies, c) attitudes to different cultures, d) citizenship and nationality, e) history (culture, the other and citizenship), f) multiple identities: interpreting the self, g) perceptions of people from other cultures: interpreting the other, h) functioning in the European context of plurality: plurilingualism, i) functioning in the context of plurality: pluriculturality and interculturality, j) active citizenship and intercultural citizenship. Although useful in terms of self-assessing intercultural competence, the tool is not adequate for quantitative analysis. However, it seems possible to develop it into a tool for quantitative analysis, by changing the format to yes/no questions and Likert scales, instead of asking open-ended questions, as it is now.

Trede, Bowles and Donna (2013) assessed academic staff's perceptions of intercultural competence and global citizenship through intercultural experiences. The study focused on the assessment of intercultural pedagogies employed by academic staff about the way they prepared students for intercultural experiences. Most academic staff members taking part in the study did not have a specific purposeful pedagogical planning or aims to increase the intercultural skills of the students and the authors identify this as problematic. The methodology of Trede, Bowles and Donna (2013) is unfit for this thesis, because the goal here is not to elicit participants' definition or perception of intercultural competence of academics, but to assess their intercultural competence.

The model proposed by Deardorff (2006, 2011) is more promising for this study. She called it the "Process model of Intercultural Competence" (Figure 1.2). The model starts in first box in the model from attitudes (respect, openness and curiosity and discovery). Thereafter, second box in the model are knowledge and comprehension (cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, sociolinguistic awareness) and skills (to listen, observe and evaluate; to analyse, interpret and relate), all of these are

at the individual level. The next level in the model is related to interaction. These are in the two lower boxes in the figure and include desired internal outcomes (informed frame of reference: adaptability, flexibility, ethnorelative view and empathy) and desired external outcomes (effective and appropriate communication and behaviour in an intercultural situation). All of this is conceived of as a process orientation, with reiterations of going through the different stages (boxes) of the model.
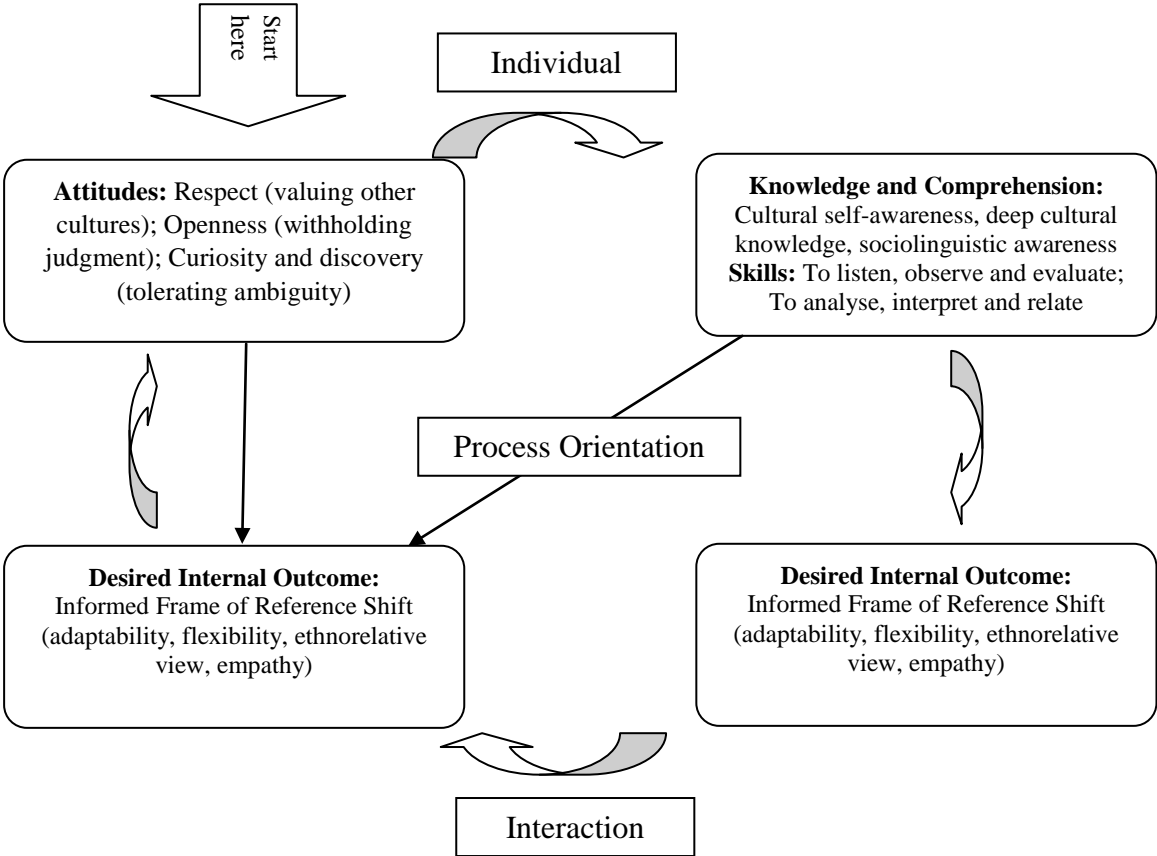
Figure 1.2   Deardorff (2006) Process model of Intercultural Competence. Source: Darla K. Deardorff (2006) in Journal of Studies in International Education, 10, 241-266.

Deardorff (2011) argues that possessing the right attitudes, skills and knowledge and comprehension would lead to the desired internal and external outcomes, and she stresses that the acquired degree of attitudes, skills and knowledge and comprehension determine the degree of intercultural competence. Deardorff's model will be applied in this thesis during the analysis of the interview data in order to

examine the experiences of the foreign researchers in this study of their mobility, intercultural encounters, identity transformation and intercultural competence.

Winch (2015) states that a multicultural work environment offers opportunities to choose different cultural values on what he calls a mix and match basis, from both individualist and collectivist cultures. However, he also argues that there would be challenges in reaching consensus of opinions in a multicultural workplace and misunderstandings could arise easily. He suggests that creating a less multicultural workplace environment will be for easier for management. According to Moore-Jones (2015) for successful academic practices (in his case in the United Arab Emirates), higher levels of intercultural competence are vitally important. He acknowledges that a multicultural faculty has benefits and poses challenges for students. Benefits include experiencing different varieties of English and opposing points of view, preparation for future career, and a globalized society and a heightened understanding and empathy towards other cultures. Some of the challenges are different varieties of English and misunderstandings due to cultural and religious differences, among others. Despite its challenges, the author is in favour of a multicultural faculty, if its members attain higher levels of intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence enhances the ability to work in culturally and linguistically diverse workplaces and it is important for avoiding, or at least, understanding misunderstandings and problems because of cultural differences and languages.

1.1.3. Language attitudes and language ideology

In this section the concepts of language attitudes and language ideology will be identified and discussed.

Language ideology is conceived of as the dominant conceptions surrounding language use, the importance of languages, and language in society in general. Ideology or world-view forms a basis of language attitudes. Beliefs and values together constitute ideology and are underlying attitudes (Ager, 2001, p 125) (see Figure 1.3).
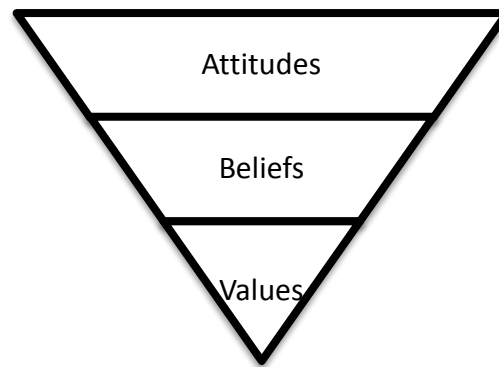
Figure 1.3   Relationships between attitudes, beliefs and values (after Ager, 2001)

In order to understand or explain language attitudes, which are on the surface, being aware of the underlying language ideologies is crucial. For an attitude to emerge there has to be an underlying reasoning, an ideology which consisting of sets of beliefs and scales of values together, which is shaping attitudes. Language attitudes have an influence on language learning. To tackle negative language attitudes and enhance language learning experiences, underlying beliefs and values, or together forming ideologies, ought to be understood and approached.

Even if it is a rather complex concept, it is important to consider language ideology because it helps to better understand language attitudes. Language attitudes are conditioned by language ideologies (Garrett, 2010, p.7). Furthermore, language attitudes are observable and they may directly or indirectly inform language policy, language use, language choice, and language use practices. Language policy has been related to patterns of language use in a given setting and to issues of ideology which are foregrounded.   Additionally, the ways in which language use is manipulated and controlled highlights issues of power and struggle (Angouri, 2013, p. 567).

Kroskrity (2016) suggests that in order to study language attitudes and language ideologies different methodological approaches are required. Attitudes require quantitative measurement of speakers' reactions but for language ideologies qualitative methods are better suited, such as conversation analysis or discourse analysis.

Some examples of existing language ideologies will be discussed, those are the following: language separation, monolingual ideology, standard language ideology, hierarchisation of languages, and 'one nation one language'.

Language separation: Language separation is a dominant approach to language competence which is adopted at schools where languages are taught as separate school subjects; thus students are taught different languages separately.

Gorter and Cenoz (2017, p. 236) state that language separation can be imposed with the goal of protecting a language, and it can also be due to a "fear of code-switching". The common conception of the teachers that took part in their study is that learning and using languages correctly involves language separation and that code-switching would hinder learning and using language correctly. This approach is sometimes called "One Language at a Time" (OLAT) or also "One Language Only" which is often the official language policy adopted by schools (Gorter and Cenoz, 2017, p 237).

It is believed that correct use of language involves language separation, keeping languages separate. When speaking languages, this ideology of language separation is reflected in bilingual or multilinguals' language practices. The issue is not to use more than one language at a time during the course of a conversation. Imposing an OLAT policy is driven by this type monolingual ideology of language separation, the reasoning is that languages ought to be learned and used separately for using them correctly. It prevents multilinguals from getting creative with their languages, and from benefiting from their multilingualism.

Standard language ideology: A similar idea underlies the standard language ideology, also referred to as 'normative' language ideology (Hua, 2014, p. 237), or 'uniformity ideology' (Vogl & Hüning, 2010, p. 233). Vogl (2012) argues that standard language ideology is the most widespread and 'naturalised' type of language ideology in Europe, thus making it the 'hegemonic ideology' in Europe. It involves beliefs about which language (variety) is better than the other, based on correctness. Correctness in this ideology correlates with standard. For instance, the belief that 'standard Turkish is better than other varieties or dialects of Turkish' is imposed on speakers.

While standard languages are regarded as prestigious, the remaining varieties tend to have a lower ranking in a hierarchy of languages. Many languages have undergone processes of standardisation. Although it may be argued that this has benefits for languages, it may lead to the loss of language varieties.

Standard language ideology imposes the standard version of a language as the only acceptable variety and as the most prestigious, and the remaining varieties are defined as less valuable on a hierarchy of varieties (Hua, 2014; Lønsmann, 2014). This ideology has social repercussions, because for example, a prerequisite for upward social mobility is having a standard language 'as mother tongue' and using it in a correct manner (Vogl, 2012).

Hierarchisation of languages: As could be seen before language hierarchies are formed from the ranking of varieties, based on an ideal of correctness which is tied to a standard language ideology. Language hierarchies also exist when it comes to the perceived importance and perceived usefulness of languages. Languages are ranked according to their perceived importance and usefulness as well as their correctness. One idea can be that "languages are not equal in terms of socio-politico-economic value" (Hua, 2014, p. 236).

In a similar vein, Ljosland (2010) related her findings to Bourdieu's theory of language and symbolic power because, according to that theory, language is being not just an instrument of communication, or of knowledge, but language also has to be seen as an instrument of power. When a person speaks this is not only to be understood by others, but also "to be believed, obeyed, respected and distinguished" (Ljosland, 2010, p. 994).

Accordingly, linguistic competence serves as cultural capital in a market, and is a sub-category of cultural capital. Having the right linguistic capital and learning the norms allows access to cultural capital. For instance, it is advised to learn English as a foreign language, because it is argued that it opens doors to many jobs, enables mobility, and it is spoken around the globe. Children and young adults especially are encouraged to learn English. With regards to academia, mastering English may be seen as linguistic capital required for gaining access to a career in academia (Ljosland, 2010).

Due to the perceived importance of English in today's world, it is placed at a higher rank in the language hierarchy, and consequently, English as a language is seen as a commodity that can be bought and thus is commodified (Heller, 1988; Angouri, 2014; Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014). This process of commodification can be

observed in dominant political and public discourses regarding "multilingualism as a skill" and "English as key to success" (Hua, 2014, p. 237).

English is also the hegemonic language, i.e. the variety that achieves 'authority, legitimacy and prestige' (Ljosland, 2010, p. 994) in Europe and around the globe. The dominance of English in today's world is a consequence of globalisation, including increased mobility, which leads to a more intense exchange of goods, services and human resources.

Although English today enjoys a high prestige, its influence is likely to be changed by other language or languages in the future, due to changing economic and social dynamics. Even today, the knowledge of English alone may be taken for granted and knowledge of other languages makes one stand out more in the job market. So the hierarchy of languages is not fixed forever and changes may take place along the continuum of the language hierarchy. In addition, language learners choose their languages based on these perceptions. Leaving English aside, some languages such as Greek or Maltese may attract fewer students than others such as Spanish, French or German because they are spoken by more people and may be more useful in the job market.

In short, languages are ranked and categorised in terms of perceived importance, but these perceptions may change over time. The European Union (EU) has both official and working languages. Once a country becomes a member of the EU, its language becomes an official language of the EU, with the exception of Luxembourgish, which has official status in Luxembourg, and Turkish, which has official status in Cyprus. Working or 'procedural' languages, used in the internal day-to-day operations of the European Commission, on the other hand, are English, French and German (European Commission, 2017). This is a reflection of their higher influence and power within the EU.

Perceived usefulness and perceived importance are intertwined. In a language hierarchy some languages are placed at the lower end of the spectrum. For example, for minority language speakers their languages are useful in everyday life and have importance for their identity. For outsiders, since this "symbolic" importance is almost non-existent, motivations for learning a minority language might be lower than learning a more "influential" majority language. For speakers of a minority

language, their language is an indispensable part of their identity and has an immense importance. Language, as can be deduced from this understanding and as explored earlier, is an important marker of identity (Edwards, 2009).

One nation one language: The next ideologically loaded idea is that of 'one nation one language'. Many central governments have imposed one official majority language upon regional minorities, speakers of other languages and also on newcomers for integration into their country. France is the best known example of a strong unilingual policy (Esman, 1992). The idea that "in France French people live and speak French" is the dominant approach, establishing boundaries between "us and them", while the intention is to construct a single nation "one and indivisible", eradicating "dual loyalty and the potential for ethnic diversion", through a single national language (Esman, 1992, p. 383).

The one nation one language approach, echoed in social domains by language policies, creates tensions, conflict, and divides not only between "newcomers" and "locals" but also between majority language speakers and minority language speakers. Minority language speakers may feel underrepresented, and they may be unable to make their voice heard in a centralised government. The idea of 'one nation, one language' also tends to form the basis for national language policies in education. Language policies are consciously put forward to allow, control or limit access to certain languages and have a role in nation building (Wright, 2007). Language policies as a consequence have an effect on language attitudes and practices, because a limited access to a language indirectly but systematically leads to fewer users.

Limited or no access to a specific language in education, media, linguistic landscape, and other social domains prevents the spread of a language and slowly may lead to its extinction. Language activism may come into play to defend the right to use the minority language and prevent language loss.

Although activism may lead to success, in other words, survival, promotion, and use of a minority language in all domains of social, political and economic life, the trauma caused by previous harmful ideologies and policies may still prevail, and the minority is weakened by policies of cultural assimilation (Esman, 1992).

As it was mentioned earlier, language ideology influences language attitudes and language attitudes in turn affects language practices. The next section will focus on language practices.

1.1.4. Language practices

Language practices is a term used to refer to different uses of a language such as which language is used in which activity, with whom, and how often, as well as the use of more than one language at a time in a given conversation. As was described for language competence, the approach to language practice has also changed over the course of time.

Today, diversity has increased to such an extent that this period is characterised by superdiversity, merging different social and cultural worlds (Blommaert, Van der Aa & Spotti, 2017). In fact, it can be said that there is great diversity, or superdiversity, in Europe where over 300 languages are spoken within the European Union (Nikula, Saarinen, Pöyhönen & Kangasvieri, 2012). Superdiversity, thus, has implications for interactions and language practices. There is a multi-directional interaction in the 21st century, and people are influenced by different interactions, different social and linguistic conventions present within the same context, even "far away", due to technological developments. The concept of superdiversity implies that language use varies from person to person, and a concept such as speech community is insufficient in explaining such phenomena. In fact, language use is linked to several factors, such as language attitudes, ideology and context.

As it has already been said, language practices can be flexible if speakers allow for it. Wei (2014, p. 480) states that "there is much wider acceptance that multilingual practices are far more flexible than they were once thought to be and do not map neatly onto so-called ethnic, cultural, or language groups.". This is one of the reasons why ethnicity, cultural background, or similar identifiers are not going to be used as variables in this study.

Traditionally the term code-switching was used to indicate the mixing of languages but nowadays the preferred term is translanguaging. There are important differences between both terms because code-switching highlights the idea of languages being different, separate codes. García and Li (2014) explain the difference in these terms:

> Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers' construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers' complete language repertoire. (p. 22)

Translanguaging is related to the idea that multilinguals use languages in a flexible way taking elements from their whole linguistic repertoire. Some scholars study the way multilingual speakers communicate and conclude that languages are social, political and historical artefacts (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).

In its origin the concept of translanguaging is linked to the use of two languages, Welsh and English in Welsh bilingual schools. Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012, p. 3) explain that it names a "pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms". In this way, students can, for example, read a text in Welsh and discuss it in English or the other way round.

In the educational context, Cenoz and Gorter (2017; 2020) distinguish between spontaneous and pedagogical translanguaging. Spontaneous translanguaging refers to discursive practices that take place when multilingual speakers communicate and they have not been planned, explained as "the reality of bilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020, p. 2). On the other hand, pedagogical translanguaging "is a pedagogic theory and practice that refers to instructional strategies which integrate two or more languages" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020, p. 2).

In this thesis, spontaneous language practices, including the use of more than one language in the same conversation will be discussed.

A form of 'linguistic interchange' which is related to translanguaging and also uses different languages in the multilingual speakers' repertoire is receptive multilingualism. Receptive multilingualism has been analysed between speakers of languages that are mutually intelligible or are closely related. In such cases speakers are able to interact each speaking their own language and still comprehend each other (Gooskens, 2013; Braunmüller, 2008).

Receptive multilingualism can also occur between languages that are not mutually intelligible such as Basque and Spanish. For example, the Basque Government in collaboration with several agencies organised the *Euskaraldia* event, a special period of 11 days to communicate only in Basque. There were two roles: *ahobizi* and *belarriprest*. People who had the role of *ahobizi* had to use only Basque with all the people who could speak and understand it. Those who had de role of *belarriprest* asked their Basque-speaking interlocutors to speak Basque to them even if they would answer in Spanish. Participants in Euskaraldia wore badges so as to show the role assumed. In the case of conversations between ahobizi and belarriprest there is receptive multilingualism because both Basque and Spanish are used. The study of the results of Euskaraldia indicate that communicating in two languages appeared difficult at the beginning but became easier during the time Euskaraldia was going on (Jauregui & Anduaga, 2019).

In some contexts, receptive multilingualism can be an alternative for a lingua franca. Gunnarsson (2014), in her overview of multilingualism in European workplaces, suggests that speakers of mutually intelligible languages may hold meetings in their mother tongue without needing a lingua franca, as in the case of speakers of the Scandinavian languages Swedish, Danish and Norwegian. Being North Germanic, these languages have a common origin and have many elements in common but have evolved differently. They went through different trajectories of standardisation in the different countries when national borders were set in order to achieve national unity. Nevertheless, when Finnish speakers are involved, speakers then tend to use English as a lingua franca, because Finnish is a Uralic language belonging to the Finnic-Ugric family which is not closely related to the named Germanic languages (Gunnarsson, 2014).

In the case of Basque and Spanish, receptive multilingualism may be used to protect Basque, the minority language and to avoid that Spanish is the only language used when one of the interlocutors has limited productive skills in Basque.

1.1.5. Summary

One of the aims of this study is to construct a profile of foreign academic researchers as multilingual and intercultural speakers, therefore part one began by exploring some definitions of multilingualism. The first part of the literature review was

framed by the first two dimensions of the Focus on Multilingualism model: the multilingual speaker and the whole linguistic repertoire. The Focus on Multilingualism is can be applied to a holistic investigation of educational as well as workplace contexts, and by doing so, the focus is kept on the speaker.

In this study, the model has been slightly modified for the investigation of foreign academic researchers' multilingualism. In order to analyse intercultural competence with a more structured approach, Deardorff's (2006, 2011) process model of intercultural competence will be used and integrated into the Focus on Multilingualism approach. The second change is the extension of language attitudes to include language ideology which in turn changes how to investigate the concepts (quantitative vs. qualitative).

A second aim of this study is to explore actual language practices of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country. Language practices involve the study of how multilinguals use their languages, which languages they use, with whom, and for which activities. In this study, the languages these foreign academic researchers use for specific activities, and with who, will be explored by using an adaptation of Kingsley's (2010; 2013) genres of communication (See sections 1.2.2. and 3.3). In addition, the way researchers use their languages and their opinions about flexible language practices will be investigated. On the whole, language competence, intercultural competence, language attitudes and language practices can help to draw a fuller picture of a multilingual speaker and the whole linguistic repertoire in a given social context.

Roberts (2010, p. 222) explains that language socialisation in multilingual workplaces "can produce creative, hybrid interaction, new bilingual interactional orders, and changes in the behaviour of majority speakers" and that these changes are related to new cultural conventions and identities that go beyond linguistic competence. As workplaces become more and more multilingual, accordingly, language practices do become increasingly diverse. In the next part, studies that shed light on multilingual and multicultural workplaces will be explored, again through the lens of individuals who make up those spaces.

1.2. RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACES

Aronin and Singleton (2012) argue that globalisation is a determining factor in shaping the present-day multilingualism. After synthesising common points from definitions of globalisation from earlier sources Block (2006, p. 3) presents the following definition of globalisation: "the observable ongoing process of the increasing and ever-more intensive interconnectedness of communications, events, activities and relationships taking place at the local, national or international level".

Global changes due to technological developments led to so-called "24/7/365 interactions" and to social networks such as Twitter and Facebook which allow news to be followed in real time from around the world. Global changes also imply increasing mobility and flux of populations (Block, 2006).

The significance of mobility can be observed, for instance, in the sociolinguistic reorganisation that results from emerging multilingualism and multiculturalism associated with migration (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). The Multilingual Cities Project (Extra & Yağmur, 2004) illustrates the point further. Cities nowadays are the contemporary settings of global mobility, where people find themselves more and more blended with others from different cultures, traditions and civilizations. Globalisation has transformed social, cultural and linguistic diversity.

Globalisation has also influenced the traditional workplace, which has become more flexible. A multilingual and multicultural workplace is a context in which people with various language and cultural backgrounds need to work together. Professional duties demand from people in those workplaces to tackle matters of intercultural communication and figure out which language practices are acceptable (Angouri and Miglbauer, 2013; 2014).

In the majority of studies of multilingualism in the workplace, the 'workplace' implies a corporate workplace. This becomes clear from the reviews of studies on multilingualism in European workplaces by Gunnarsson (2013; 2014), Angouri (2014), Van der Worp (2016) and Van der Worp, Cenoz and Gorter (2017). Academic workplaces tend to be disregarded in studies on multilingualism in the workplace. Today's universities are similar to internationally operating businesses, for example, in the way universities compete to attract scientists and students, or how

new executive positions are created where leading positions are filled through appointment rather than elections, and the dominance of bureaucracy in its functioning (McKenna, 2018). Nowadays, academic workplaces are not so different from corporations or from whole societies, in the sense, that these workplaces have become multilingual and multicultural as a result of internationalisation including increased academic mobility.

Cultural identities and personality profiles are influenced by diverse and intensified mobility patterns, intercultural encounters and multilingualism. Dewaele and Van Oudenhoven (2009) investigated the link between multilingualism/multiculturalism, acculturation and personality profiles, as measured by the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven, 2000) of Londoners in their teens, half of whom were born abroad and moved to London in childhood. The analyses show that language competence had a considerable impact on the personality profile, where those who spoke one or two additional languages scored higher on open-mindedness and cultural empathy than those who are competent in one language only. Their findings indicate that among the factors that shape personality are social factors such as speaking a language and contact with other cultures. An intercultural encounter, as the name suggests, is the contact of people with different cultural backgrounds. Taking into account the diverse mobility experiences in 21st century it is important to analyse how intercultural encounters influence researchers' lives and their intercultural competence.

'Identity' in this thesis is not taken as "fixed, given or unitary". It is understood as "socially created and developed through an intentional negotiation of meanings and understandings (Baker, 2011, pp. 1396-1397). Ethnic labels or national identities can be "a temporary starter" since they are "too general and reductionist" (Baker, 2011, pp. 1398-1399). It can no longer be assumed that people from the same nationality would think and behave similar since so many people are immersed in the culture of other countries than the country they were born. Identities are reconstructed every day through interpretations of experiences and by taking on different roles (Baker, 2011). Identity, in this thesis, is understood as fluid, "hybrid and multiple" (Baker, 2011, p.1397), because as contexts change, so do identities.

The participants in the study of Angouri and Miglbauer (2014) claim a 'global cultural identity', which they obtained through the experience of living in a number of places and working in various multinational workplaces. The participants suggest that they have been able to benefit from being globally mobile and from their ability to adapt to different contexts. The study suggests further that this type of employees frame the modern workplace as going beyond national frames. Beck and Sznaider (2006) argue that cosmopolitanisation, includes the generation of multiple cultures and the increase in transnational forms of life. Angouri and Miglbauer's (2014) findings highlight this same point because their participants also claim a cosmopolitan identity associated with diverse languages and cultures. Cosmopolitanism can be seen as to refer to the catchphrase 'feeling at home in the world' (Gunesch, 2003, p. 220).

The ability to use different languages and adjust to new environments and openness to new experiences overall constitute a sine qua non for the cosmopolitan ideal (Hannerz, 1990). The cosmopolitan ideal can only be achieved through an overall openness to new experiences and adjustment to new environments. Feeling at home implies learning the norms of a new society, which includes learning the language of that society (Hua, 2011). This means there is a clear link between learning a language and becoming cosmopolitan.

Wei (2002) argues that, similar to cultural identity, multilingual identity varies from person to person. Sometimes such multilingual identity means opting for a majority language, at other times it means maintaining a minority language. In other words, sometimes identity is about "bridging and combining" and at other times it leads to "rootlessness" (Baker, 2011, p. 1404).

Transnationalism is a phenomenon central to late-modernity and is a direct product of globalisation which impacts linguistic and communication practices (De Fina &Perrino, 2013). As a result of increased mobility, according to De Fina and Perrino (2013, p. 510) "urban centres are being transformed into superdiverse sites of encounter of people from a wide variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds". Further, they argue these transformations had "a profound impact on the way identities are constructed, negotiated and lined within but also outside transnational communities" De Fina and Perrino (2013, p. 510), and also within individuals

themselves. The individuals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds challenge many long-held assumptions about membership, development and equity (Wei & Hua, 2013). An investigation of intercultural competence forces critical reflection on the relationship between language and identity.

Individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds add to the existing richness of a place. They can be part of the local culture, the culture of the country where they grew up, cultures of people they interact with, cultures of others in their networks of communication. Due to technological advancements of the past decades, it is possible to keep in touch with friends, family and co-professionals all over the globe instantaneously. Individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds are exposed to cultures from different sources on a daily basis, which makes them resort to language practices that were mentioned in the previous chapter, and it makes the ability to adapt to and learn from cultural differences a necessity. They ought to possess intercultural competences in order to thrive in today's super diverse cities, and even in less populated places.

In addition to the presence of people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, workplaces are characterised by the emergence of English as the preferred language of communication.

1.2.1. English as a lingua franca

Taking into account the importance of globalisation, it is probably not surprising that one language has become the most important language of international communication. Nowadays, English is considered necessary to enable the coming together and merging of cultures in multicultural and multilingual workplaces. Gunnarsson (2014) explains that there is a wide spectrum of languages present in the everyday professional interactions across Europe and she draws attention to the strong status and the importance of English in transnational companies and large organisations alongside with the presence of other languages.

Phillipson (2006) argues that English plays a key role in establishing and regulating the existing world order. According to Phillipson (2006), other languages that traditionally have been used in international relations and communication, French in particular, are affected by English. He uses "linguistic imperialism" to refer to the

dominance of English and other colonial languages such as French and Spanish in the last centuries. Linguistic imperialism creates "unequal communicative rights between people or groups defined in terms of their competence in specific languages" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 348). On the contrary, in support of the use of English, Romaine (2006) states that English is the world's most important language in today's world and explains how its role has shifted:

> English of course in its guise as the world's most important language of the post-industrial global village is seen as the epitome of a modern language. The rhetoric of English as the language of the oppressor has shifted to one in which English is perceived as the language of development and freedom. (p. 446)

English speakers tend to have advantages over non-English speakers in both local and global job markets. However, a common language for communication with speakers of different languages has risen due to increased mobility and globalisation in academic, business, as well as daily life. Many universities around the world offer courses fully in English to attract students from all over the world.

The Civil Society Platform on Multilingualism (European Union, 2011) points out in its report, that even though English can facilitate mobility and exchange, the political inequality which is created due to the use of English, or any other national language alike, as the only EU language. Citizens cannot be expected to reach 'native speaker proficiency' and the reference to native speaker proficiency is not appropriate. Language competence, as it was discussed in the first part of this chapter, entails the ability to communicate in everyday life. Despite the widespread use of English, it is unlikely that the de facto position of English will receive de jure recognition in the EU, since such recognition would not be in line with "the basic EU principles of non-discrimination, the equality before the law of all official language versions of EU regulations, and the equal rights of citizens" (European Union, 2011, p. 6).

According to Watts (2008), English has become a language of instruction in many countries, sometimes substituting heritage languages. People in many European countries are concerned about the impact of English on their national languages. House (2003; 2008) argues, nonetheless, that the role of English as lingua franca is

not in conflict with other linguistic identities, and therefore, it is not a threat to multilingualism.

Most people are capable of achieving understanding by using all the communicative resources at their disposal, they do not need to orient themselves towards native speaker norms, and prioritising of successful mutual understanding over correctness can be points of departure in this respect (Blommaert & Backus, 2013). Whitehead (2013) said that English could be a person's strongest part of the repertoire because it enables access to knowledge and cultural communication. However, the use of English as a lingua franca has limitations as well as opportunities. English is the most widely chosen language learned in school, and it could be argued that English may become a substitute for multilingualism, thus undermining diversity.

As said before, English emerged as the academic lingua franca and the use of English is widely accepted. Publishing research in English enables researchers to reach to a wide audience around the world and research potentially becomes more accessible due to choosing to publish in English. Even though English might be the preferred medium for academic work, studies conducted in the UK, show that foreign academics whose first language (L1) is a language other than English find it hard to participate in small talk even though they consider themselves proficient in academic English (Kreber and Hounsell, 2014; Pherali, 2012). In this case, the foreign academics may feel that their level is insufficient because they compare themselves with the native speakers.

1.2.2. Being a foreign academic researcher in the 21st century

Kim and Locke (2010) emphasise that the lived experiences of international academics are understudied in an era of internationalisation of higher education and increased mobility of academic researchers. For that matter, studying their experiences can provide valuable insights into some of the challenges that these academics face. Morley et al. (2018) conducted a study focusing on narratives of migrant academics, exploring how they experience mobility intellectually, socially, as well as affectively. The academics acknowledge benefits such as heightened employability, intercultural competences and global citizenship that result from internationalisation, nevertheless the findings from the study also suggest that some encounters are excluded from official policy discourses. Furthermore, Morley et al.

(2018, p. 550) argue that "the social and affective dimensions of international academic mobility need further research to determine the extent to which national socio-economic inequalities and constraints are transposed to international academic mobility". They propose mapping and analysing good practices for helping migrant academics "to contribute as active knowledge producers and to cope with the feeling of 'otherness' and de-territorialisation" (Morley et al., 2018, p. 550).

Kreber and Hounsell (2014) conducted a study to investigate the experiences of international academics through in-depth interviews with seven academics in Scotland. Their findings indicate that international academics experience a number of challenges due to language and cultural differences. For instance, preparation for teaching takes longer since it is not in their first language (L1), and language is seen as an obstacle in less formal interactions with colleagues and students. One of the participants expressed frustration by colleagues for routinely correcting his English in articles and reports, when he thought his English was okay. Some of the participants express "a desire to speak as eloquently as their native peers", as well as "a sense of frustration that such a level of proficiency seemed unachievable" (Kreber and Hounsell, 2014, p. 22).

Kreber and Hounsell (2014) also asked participants about their integration into their department, university, Scottish society, sense of identity, personal change, value of international work experience, all of which are important aspects in understanding international academic researchers' experiences.

The participants stated that their integration got better with time and they tended to socialise with people from 'their own culture' and people with similar experiences and that they did not feel integrated into Scottish society or British culture; "it is a general sense of quite not fitting in and a lack of belonging that causes many want to leave" (Kreber and Hounsell, 2014, p. 25). This is echoing the need identified by Morley et al. (2018) for helping academics cope with a feeling of otherness. Individually, these academics took some actions to fit in, such as taking on challenging roles, making friends with colleagues, establishing a local network, organising seminars and inviting guest speakers, learning about Scottish culture and food, practising hobbies.

In terms of personal change, these academics listed: different and changed views and opinions, that they became less judgmental and more open to ideas, and more appreciative and tolerant. Furthermore, participants in Kreber and Hounsell (2014) study state that international work experience is personally enriching, they gained confidence in assuming responsibilities, learning about different systems, reflection on local practices, opened eyes to how things could be done differently, and it broadens intercultural understanding and sensitivity to misunderstandings due to cultural differences.

Researchers who took part in the study by Pherali (2012, p. 320) share that international work experience brings "different perspectives and approaches to teaching and research in the UK universities". One of the major themes emerged in the study is that "the cultural nuances of the language [English] are a key barrier to integration to the university's working community, regardless of time in the country" (Pherali, 2012, p. 323). The participants shared concerns about experiencing cultural misunderstandings and expressing themselves in a right way despite being efficient users of English in their subject areas. However, "this proficiency hardly supplements their local cultural knowledge" (Pherali, 2012, p. 323). This prevents them from participating in small talk with colleagues, which disrupts establishing collegiality at work. Efficient use of English was given as a challenge of being an international researcher in the UK.

Some of the early and ongoing challenges identified further in Kreber and Hounsell (2014) experienced by international academics include: 'not knowing the system', teaching, tasks being heavy on administration, 'lack of tacit knowledge', gender issues, research pressures, workload, work-life balance, feeling socially isolated, being alone, feeling treated like a beginner, and if the partner is unemployed, this is a consideration for leaving. As it can be seen, international academic researchers, in addition to their academic duties or job requirements, face additional non-work-related challenges due to being international. How they tackle such challenges, regardless of whether they are structural or personal, could be an important indicator of intercultural competence.

To keep international academics, the authors propose that it is essential to raise awareness of the difficulties they face and to help international academics integrate

quicker into their new cultural and work contexts. The authors add that keeping the academics satisfied will lead to the economic benefits which were assumed from recruiting these international academics. The authors suggest that international academics should not simply be expected to fit in but to "capitalize more on [their] prior cultural and work-related knowledge" and to encourage "intercultural exchanges of practices, values and ideals" (Kreber and Hounsell, 2014, p. 10).

Like Kreber and Hounsell (2014), Pherali (2012) analyses the experiences of transnational academics in British higher education institutions for understanding social, cultural and integration challenges that they face. Pherali (2012) identified differences in the experiences of European academics versus others who mainly had Asian backgrounds. Correspondingly, academics from non-European countries are faced with further difficulties such as the ever-changing immigration laws and regulations that have an impact on their stay and their careers, impacting also their families and children.

Another area is conflict between parents, who tend to choose to retain *home* culture at home and among their diaspora, and children who adapt to the school culture and young community. Pherali´s findings indicate that children mostly "lose" their mother tongue and gravitate towards local customs, food, music, relationship patterns and adjust to their new setting without having a network of their friends and families.

These may be personal experiences and non-work related challenges, but they seem to have implications on work life. Moving with partner and family has additional pressures on international academics' lives. It may be assumed that when one is an early career researcher it may be easier to move and adjust to a new place.

Pherali (2012, p. 326) states that although these experiences "go unacknowledged in the formal academic setting, [they] are embedded inherently in the transnational experiences of international academics and impact on how they manage their professional life" and proposes the establishment of a 'support mechanism' at universities. This support mechanism could, for instance, include a compulsory instruction program for introducing the education system and culture to "immigrant academics" and to add social and cultural aspects of the UK higher education system to teaching qualifications. Pherali (2012) warns that this support system should be

seen as career development or as training and be a part of "annual appraisal sessions".

According to Pherali (2012), academics with European backgrounds, on the other hand, seem to experience less challenges due to cultural differences, have a weaker sense of diaspora community, and do not have concerns about their residency, although it is likely to change after the United Kingdom has left the European Union. With this Brexit, during the transition period that is set to end on 31 December 2020, EU citizens and family members need "to apply to the EU Settlement Scheme to secure their residence and rights in the UK" (eurights.eu, online). As of 1 January 2021, a new immigration system will be implemented for EU citizens who were not residing in the UK before the end of the transition period, and further rules governing working, travelling, and doing business in the UK (gov.uk, online).

In this study, no distinction will be made between European versus non-European academics because most of the academics that took part in the research project have lived in multiple places, and were immersed in multiple cultures. The length of time spent abroad or in the Basque Country can be an indicator of their experiences. Although it is also relative, because *how much time is needed/ or how many countries are needed for one to have a cosmopolitan outlook on life?* Perhaps length of time or number of places one has lived cannot be reliable indicators either. How one is as a person, or similarly, who one becomes might be more individual and may depend on how one was 'nurtured' before, during, and after international experiences.

In the first stage of the analysis, this thesis will take into account the notion that each individual is unique with distinctive life trajectories valuable in their own way and in their experiences. Each participant can provide insights into understanding some of the core intercultural skills, how they developed them, how they use them, in their workplace and beyond, how their previous intercultural experiences benefit them and guide them in their current positions and contexts. The focus will not be on where a person is from but on their attitudes, knowledge and skills, and what this tells about them as persons and as academics and about their intercultural competence.

Regarding language practices in the workplace it can be said that multilingualism differs across jobs, spaces, roles, activities and interactions. Life in the workplace

contains a "multitude of social interactions, where multiple linguistic transactions occur simultaneously, sometimes involving the same person or people" (Rodriguez, 2006, p. 1721).

Tange and Lauring (2009) conducted a study in different companies of pharmaceuticals, IT, high tech and engineering based in Denmark and identified specific communicative practices among international staff which were referred to as language clustering and thin communication. Language clustering "takes the form of informal gatherings between the speakers of the same national language" and thin communication can be defined as "the withdrawal of organisational members from informal interaction performed in a non-native, corporate language such as English" (Tange and Lauring, 2009, p. 220).

Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2015) investigated multilingualism in an academic workplace in Sweden, using the concepts of language clustering and thin communication identified by Tange and Lauring (2009). Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2015) explored in particular, how language practices influence social interaction among academics and the formation of collegiality and rapport among them. They interviewed five academics from different backgrounds and status, and reported their experiences one by one. Their results indicate that language, place and interlocutors are the main factors in language clustering which implied the formation of groups that interact on a regular basis. They also found examples of thin communication when communication is limited to work related tasks and opportunities for further communication are not used. Accordingly, communicative practices in the workplace, or workplace discourse, depends on individuals that make up its composition. It is important to study the experiences of individuals to understand workplace dynamics as well as how the context shapes them: adjusting to differences, familiarising with a new system, opportunities and a lack of thereof.

In addition to the above, professional discourse is also determined by types of activity. Kingsley (2013) analyses language use of professionals through six communication activities in a study conducted in some international banks in Switzerland. The six activities she distinguishes are: reports, emails, presentations, meetings, phone calls, and informal talk. In her study, English emerged as the most frequently used language in all six communication activities except for informal talk.

Thus, type of activity, can also play a role in language choice of professionals. Kingsley (2013) further pointed to bottom-up pressures on language choice, one of which was 'functions of communication', which she divided into: transactional objectives, and relational objectives. The former is aimed at achieving organisational goals, and the latter is aimed at building good relations with colleagues, and signals collegiality (Kingsley, 2013, p. 541).

Cavazos (2015) explores the way multilingual academics use different languages negotiate language practices within their discipline and their department and how they react to the prominent presence of English in academia. The participants who took part in Cavazos (2015) acknowledge as academics the recognition that a publication in English brings. However, they also shared a number of strategies to "counter English monolingual norms". For instance, holding conversations with colleagues about academic work in a number of different languages, 'direct translation' among languages, using bilingual or multilingual research tools of words and phrases in languages other than English, conference presentations and publications in languages other than English (Cavazos, 2015, p. 328). Nevertheless, there were also some academics in this study who think that languages other than English are inconvenient and unnecessary. It might be fair to point out that this study was conducted in a 'monolingual country', potentially having an influence over participants' views.

Ljosland (2010) explores multilingual practices in a Norwegian university aiming to establish motivations for introducing English-medium instruction, focusing on the role of English as a lingua franca in academia. She found a tendency among her informants of using Norwegian during informal occasions and English during formal situations. Her results demonstrate that, although being officially English-medium, languages other than English are being used in a number of settings, including classrooms, mainly spoken, informal situations in which all interlocutors have a language in common other than English. In this type of communication in languages other than English, speakers feel free because they are not assessed. The use of different languages in different situations Ljosland (2010, p. 1002) attributes "to accentuate different social identities or membership roles". Overall, Ljosland (2010) argues that English does not pose a threat to local languages and the use of those

languages in various domains of society is not lost due to forces of globalisation that promote English.

1.2.3. Summary

In this thesis, an investigation will be carried out with the awareness that language practices can be flexible and are dependent on multiple interrelated factors. Up until this point a number of factors that shape language choice and language practices have been discussed.

The nature of academic workplace is characterised by the multiplicity of languages and cultures and the widespread use of English. The use of English enables mobility and attracting international students and academics alike. Knowledge exchange is facilitated by English through research, publications and attending scientific conferences (Van der Worp, 2016). While this research project will explore the use and the role of English in the academic workplace, it also aims to demonstrate the interplay of languages between multilinguals within workplaces that are characterised by the coexistence of multiple languages and cultures. The thesis will shed light on researchers' experiences and opinions of being a foreign academic researcher in the context of the Basque Country. In the next chapter a more detailed overview of this social context in relation to multilingualism and culture will be provided. This literature review has examined research on multilingualism and intercultural competence, as well as multilingual and multicultural workplaces, in order to explore what has been done in those fields. The discussion of multilingual and multicultural workplaces recognizes key areas for further investigation, namely academic mobility, the important role of English as an academic lingua franca, and the presence and the role of other languages and cultures in the workplace.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

2.1. Research questions

In the literature review, a number of gaps in existing research and understanding have been identified. First of all, the notion of people in motion, in this case academic researchers, and their multilingualism and intercultural competence are under-researched. Second, multilingualism studies conducted in the workplace usually focus on corporate workplaces, but shed little light onto the academic workplaces. A further gap is the lack of availability of research on multilingual and multicultural workforces with many different multinational and multilingual employees, as in the case of universities and the Basque Excellence Research Centres (BERCs) in the Basque Country. Lastly, many of these multilingualism studies also only skim the surface of flexible language practices.

In sum, this research project into foreign academic researchers in universities and research centres in the Basque Country will attempt to address some of the gaps of multilingualism research. In this thesis, a holistic analysis of multilingualism of foreign researchers is offered, using an extended version of the 'Focus on Multilingualism' model. The model allows a comprehensive investigation of multilingual speakers and their linguistic repertoire in the social context. The following research questions are formulated to tackle the gaps in research identified in the literature above:

Research Question 1:

RQ1. What is the linguistic and cultural profile of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

Sub-research questions:

RQ 1.1: To what extent are foreign researchers multilingual?

RQ 1.2: What are the intercultural competences of foreign researchers?

RQ 1.3. What are foreign researchers' attitudes and ideologies towards various languages?

Research Question 2:

RQ2. What are the main characteristics of language use of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

Sub-research questions:

RQ 2.1. Which languages do foreign researchers use in the workplace?

RQ 2.2. Which languages do foreign researchers use in their private life?

RQ 2.3. Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?

Research Question 3:

RQ3. What is the relationship of foreign academic researchers with the local work context of the Basque Country?

Sub-research questions:

RQ 3.1 What are foreign researchers' opinions about cultural aspects of the local work context?

RQ 3.2 How do foreign researchers see their integration in the workplace and the local context?

2.2. Context of the research study

2.2.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

The Basque Country is a bilingual region with a population of around three million, situated in north of Spain and the south of France on both sides of the Pyrenees and along the Gulf of Biscay. The Basque Country is administratively made up of the Basque Autonomous Community (including the provinces of Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba), the Community of Navarre (both in Spain) and the area of Iparralde in France. Over two-thirds of the population lives in the Basque Autonomous Community. The Basque language (Euskera in Basque) is next to Spanish an official language in the autonomous region since 1982 with the Basic Law on the Normalisation of Basque language use.

The current situation of the Basque language and the Basque Country has been shaped by two principal periods. First there was a period when the language was excluded, forbidden and persecuted during the almost 40 years of the Franco dictatorship from 1936 to 1975. The second period begins after the ratification of the new Spanish constitution in 1978 and the Statute of Autonomy for the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in 1979 which gave way to the recognition of Basque language and culture (Larrañaga, Garcia, Azurmendi and Bourhis, 2016).

2.2.2. Basque in Education

To begin with, the sociolinguistic situation of the school system can be described to better understand the position of Basque in society. The school system may also influence foreign academics' attitudes and beliefs because their children may be attending schools in the Basque Country.

Currently, three linguistic models are distinguished in pre-primary, primary and secondary education: the A-model, B-model, and D-model. What sets these models apart is the degree to which Basque and Spanish are used as the medium of instruction. To be specific, in the A-model programme, the medium of instruction is Spanish and Basque is taught as a subject, as a second language, because originally it was intended for speakers of Spanish as their first language. In the B-model programme, the distribution of Basque and Spanish instruction is aimed to be more equal, the idea was that this distribution would lead to bilingualism in Basque and Spanish. The D-model in which Basque is the medium of instruction and Spanish is taught as a subject; this model was originally put forward especially for speakers with Basque as their first language. Nowadays many children with Spanish as their first language attend the D-model (Gorter & Cenoz, 2011).

The Basque Government provides detailed figures on the distribution of students enrolled in all schools in the three linguistic models, and observes that a majority of families are favouring the intensive Basquisation (in Basque: *euskaldunization*) Model D. During the academic year 2019-2020 71% of children in pre-primary education are enrolled in Model D, while only 10.1% of children are enrolled in Model A. In secondary school, approximately two out of three students are enrolled in Model D and, thus, have Basque as the language of instruction for all subjects

except Spanish and English (unless English is the medium of instruction for one or two subjects).

According to Gorter and Cenoz (2011), the D-model is the most widely chosen due to the importance granted to Basque in society, both for its symbolic importance and for access to the labour market, for example for jobs in the government and in the private sector. There are differences in the different areas of the Basque Autonomous Community, but studying through the medium of Basque is the option that is chosen by most parents. Nowadays a large number of students with Spanish as their first language (L1) attend these programs and there are special literacy plans for these students in many schools.

The Department of Education of the Basque Government recognizes that the Basque society in 21st century is 'plurilingual', and it places education in the centre of achieving multilingual citizens. The approach is that in addition to the two official languages Basque and Spanish, there is a need to speak the global language English, especially in a world that is evermore interconnected, marked by the information society, communication technologies, and the mobility of people.

The Basque Government proposes that the multilingual education system currently in practice will focus on Basque to overcome the current imbalance between the two official languages, and to promote equality of both languages and equal opportunities for students. At the same time, the Basque Government aims to make sure the normalised use of Basque, both in internal and external activities and school activities in general.

The objective is that students at the time of graduation achieve both spoken and written competence in Basque and Spanish in all areas of life. Similarly, it is proposed that in addition to achieving bilingualism, students should leave school with at least one foreign language, with the ability to communicate adequately in social, academic and personal situations. A second foreign language, which is the fourth language in the curriculum, is optional in secondary school. The Basque educational system clearly follows the European recommendation which underlines learning at least two languages in addition to the mother tongue (European Council, 2002). With Basque being used extensively in education and its use promoted in other sectors including government, media, private companies, the number of active

Basque speakers will rise further (Gorter & Cenoz, 2016). In addition to the promotion of Basque in education, Basque is taught in specific institutions mainly aimed at adults (*euskaltegis*).

The largest university in the region is the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU). The only public university was created in 1980 and it is one of the biggest universities in Spain. It is also the leading university in the Basque Country based on human resources, scientific production and research capacity. It is also an important university in the context of Spain (Larrinaga and Amurrio, 2015). Students can choose either Basque or Spanish as the language of instruction and approximately half of the undergraduates choose Basque. The importance granted to Basque is seen in its mission statement: "The University of the Basque Country is a university rooted in Basque society, open to the world, which offers a free space for reflection and critical thinking. It is a leader in Basque education and pays special attention to Basque culture, exercising its activity with ethical and social commitment" (UPV/EHU, 2018).

As there is an increasing use of Basque as the medium of instruction, Basque is in many cases a requirement to be able to teach at the UPV/EHU. Teaching through Basque faces some difficulties because there is access to fewer highly specialised materials published in Basque (Cenoz, 2012). Apart from Basque and Spanish, an increasing number of courses are taught through English. As Cenoz (2012, p. 53) explains, "the UPV/EHU is moving from bilingualism to multilingualism and the use of Basque, Spanish and English in higher education combines the protection and promotion of a minority language with the need for internationalisation".

2.2.3. Scientific institutions in the Basque Country

In this section an overview will be given of the different types of scientific institutions in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Figure 2.1 summarises the different types of scientific institutions and each of them is explained below.
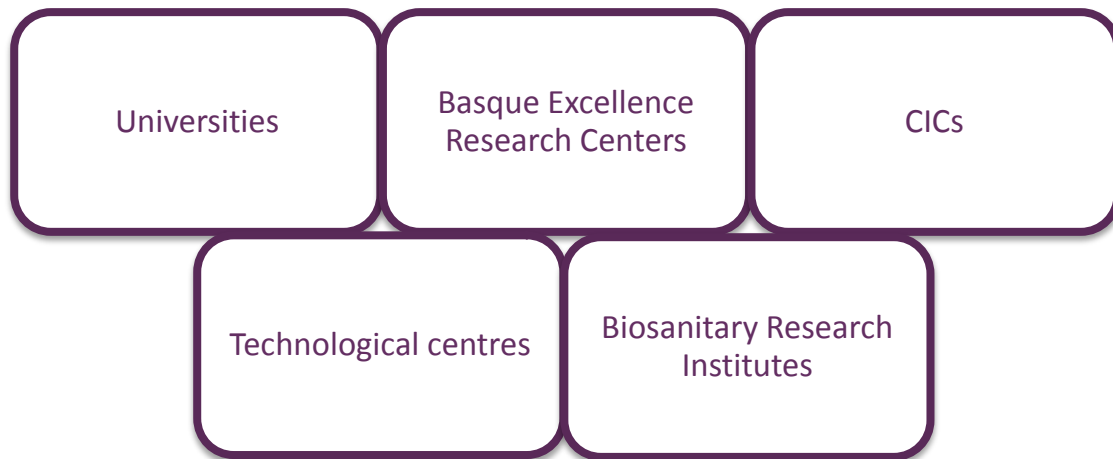
Figure 2.1   Scientific institutions in the Basque Autonomous Community

Universities

There are four universities in the Basque Autonomous Community:

1. University of the Basque Country (Spanish: Universidad del País Vasco, UPV; Basque: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, EHU), the only public university in the region, with campuses in Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia and Araba. According to the latest numbers published on the UPV/EHU-website (2020a; 2020b), in academic year 2018-2019, the number of academic staff was 4,146 and there were 59,500 students enrolled.

2. University of Deusto (Spanish: Universidad de Deusto; Basque: Deustuko Unibertsitatea), the oldest private university in Spain, with campuses in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. The total number of academic staff was 660 in 2019, and there were 12,321 undergraduate and graduate students in academic year 2018-2019.

3. Mondragon University (Spanish: Universidad de Mondragón; Basque: Mondragon Unibertsitatea, MU, official name) with 400 academic staff and 5,000 students in undergraduate, master and doctoral programs in 2018.

4. University of Navarre (Spanish: Universidad de Navarra; Basque: Nafarroako Unibertsitatea), had 11,180 students enrolled in 2019 and 900 academic staff (with most of its centres located in Pamplona and it has some faculties in San Sebastian, Madrid and Barcelona.

Basque Excellence Research Centers (BERCs)

BERCs are a type of research center in different areas of science funded by the Basque Government as part of the Basque Science, Technology and Innovation network. Currently, there are nine BERCs:

1. FBB (Fundacion Biofísica Bizkaia – Bizkaia Biophysics Foundation)
2. DIPC (Donostia International Physics Center)
3. MPC (Material Physics Center)
4. BC3 (Basque Center for Climate Change)
5. BCAM (Basque Center for Applied Mathematics)
6. BCBL (Basque Center for Cognition, Brain and Language)
7. Achucarro (Basque Center for Neurosciences)
8. Polymat (Basque Center for Macromolecular Design and Engineering)
9. BCMaterials (Basque Center for Material Applications and Nanostructures)

Ikerbasque, the Basque Foundation for Science (see below) assisted the Basque Government in the establishment of the Basque Excellence Research Centers (BERCs). Currently, there are over 500 people who work in one of the nine BERCs.

Cooperative Research Centres (Spanish: Centros de Investigación Cooperativa CICs; Basque: Ikerkuntza Kooperatiboko zentroak IKZ)

These Cooperative Research Centres (CIC) were founded to strengthen science and technology in the Basque Country and they are especially committed to research and the transmission of technology to industry. There are four CICs:

1. CIC biomaGUNE (Biomaterials Cooperative Research Centre),
2. CIC biogune (Biosciences Cooperative Research Centre),
3. CIC nanogune (Nanoscience Cooperative Research Centre),
4. CIC energigune (Energy Cooperative Research Centre)

Technological centres (Spanish: Centros Tecnológicos; Basque: Zentro teknologikoak). There are 12 technological centres, six in Bizkaia and six in Gipuzkoa. They work on research and development for industry.

Biosanitary Research Institutes (Spanish: Centros de Investigación Biosanitaria; Basque: Ikerketa Biosaniatrioko Zentroak). Apart from research conducted by the

public health system, Osakidetza, there are three specific research institutes: Biodonostia, Biocruces Bizkaia, and Bioaraba.

2.2.4. Ikerbasque

Besides the scientific institutions mentioned above, there are other initiatives that work to attract talent to the region. The main institution is Ikerbasque, the Basque Foundation for Science, launched by the Basque Government in 2007. Its aim is to reinforce the scientific system and to help advance scientific research by attracting exceptionally talented researchers for the region. The Foundation started small by attracting the first six Research Professors at the end of 2007. Their number has increased substantially over the years.

Only 8 years later, when this study started, according to the annual report 2015, Ikerbasque employed about 200 researchers: among those were 142 Research Professors, who are senior researchers and 59 junior researchers, who show promising scientific careers. According to the Ikerbasque annual report 2019 (2019a), the Foundation has increased the number of researchers to 268, out of which 163 are Research Professors, 29 are Research Associates and 76 Research Fellows. Those Ikerbasque researchers come from 37 different countries and work in 23 different universities and research centres. Ikerbasque is the employer, but all researchers are placed with a research group in one of the institutions of the scientific system of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), depending on their specialisation and line of research.

Ikerbasque Research Professors are senior researchers from all fields of science, with a strong publication trajectory, extensive research experience and leadership skills, and they are allocated to permanent positions in the Basque universities and the research centres. Research Associates are also offered permanent positions by Ikerbasque. They are researchers who have between 3 and 10 years of postdoctoral experience and they have an established scientific career and have demonstrated leadership ability. Research Fellows, the most junior category, are offered a 5-year position by Ikerbasque. They are talented young researchers with international experience who have already shown their research abilities and potential. After 5 years they have the possibility to be promoted to Research Associate.

The mission of Ikerbasque is to boost science in the Basque Country by hiring researchers according to the above categories, and by revitalising the research system in cooperation with the universities and the research centres. Ikerbasque aims not only to revitalise the science system in the Basque country, but it also wants to contribute to its international recognition as an advanced research region.

For that reason, in 2010, Ikerbasque launched Ikerboost, the Observatory of Science and Technology. This observatory includes a wide range of different bibliometric and socio-economic indicators at regional, state and international levels, which make a quantitative and qualitative comparison possible of the Basque scientific system with other countries. Every year Ikerboost publishes a Report on Science in Euskadi. From the 2019 report, some of the highlights are that all researchers together published over 6.200 scientific publications in 2018. In the last 10 years the Basque Country has doubled its scientific production. The Basque Country is the leading autonomous community in Spain in terms of the amount of European funds obtained for research per capita, between 2014 and 2018 (Ikerbasque, 2019b).

A few years ago Ikerbasque has also launched the website www.science.eus, where information is brought together about scientific infrastructures, research groups and research job offers in the Basque Country. As said above, Ikerbasque also is responsible for the Service Centre of the Euraxess network in the Basque Country, which gives assistance to researchers who want to work here and to organisations that plan to hire them.

With a similar goal to attract highly qualified researchers to the Bilbao area, Bizkaia Talent was founded with the support of the Provincial Council of Bizkaia in 2005 (Bizkaia Talent, n.d.-a). In their own words: "We recruit, engage and retain talent in the area of Bilbao-Bizkaia, Basque Country." Human capital is regarded as the most important key to a region's growth and progress. Since the beginning of this study, new initiatives were added to the list, such as Gipuzkoa Talent, a project by Gipuzkoa Foru Aldundia (n.d.) that aims to attract, recover and retain highly qualified individuals in the Basque Country pertaining to different business fields, and also the Be Basque Talent Network (Bizkaia Talent, n.d.-b), an initiative by Bizkaia Talent that brings together highly qualified professionals who are or would like to be connected to the Basque Country, and Araba Talent Forum, which was a

one-time event organised in 2018 and following its success, repeated in 2019 as 'Back To Araba Talent Forum 2019' (Grupo AYS, n.d.).

2.3. Summary

In this chapter, the research questions for this study of foreign academic researchers have been formulated based on gaps identified in the literature review. The wider context of the research has been discussed including information about the Basque Country and the use of Basque in education. It can be seen that at the university level there are two overarching goals: to adopt Basquisation policies and to adopt internationalisation policies. As part of universities' Basquisation policies, they aim to extend the use of Basque, employ research and administrative staff with Basque proficiency. As part of universities' internationalisation policies, higher education institutes aim to increase number of courses offered in English, attract international students and researchers, and increase English proficiency of staff. This chapter also includes a summary of the scientific institutions in the Basque Autonomous Community, paying special attention to Ikerbasque, the Basque Foundation for Science.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter gives an outline of the research methods used in this study. In particular, the details will be provided of the two data-collection techniques used: face-to-face interviews and an online questionnaire. This chapter discusses the rationale, design and issues related to data collection and the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data. The following section briefly summarises the research methods in general after which the different methods will be discussed separately. This chapter continues with an overview of the data collection process and then discusses different aspects of the data-collection techniques at length.

There are a number of methodological approaches for conducting empirical research. Ponto (2015) states that the selection of the most adequate research approach depends upon numerous factors, among those the goals of the research project, the research questions, and the resources available. In this research project, a survey approach was chosen as a suitable way to investigate multilingualism and intercultural competence in the academic workplace among a specific group of people, the foreign researchers.

The definition of survey research is "the method of collecting information by asking a set of pre-formulated sequence in a structured questionnaire to a sample of individuals drawn so as to be representative of a defined population" (Hutton, 1990, p.8). Similarly, Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996, p. 70) define survey research as a type of study that is "based on samples of a specified target population".

Survey research can employ a number of methods to reach out to participants, gather data, and a series of different instruments. It can utilise quantitative or qualitative approaches or both. It can be used to understand thoughts, feelings, and behaviours using self-reports by respondents. Thus, survey research is suitable for and is often used in social research (Ponto, 2015; Singleton & Straits, 2009) and in education (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996), anthropology, history, sociology and physical sciences (Anderson, 1990). This approach, furthermore, can have a wide coverage and "should take a panoramic view" (Denscombe, 2003, p.6). Accordingly, this

study tries to offer a broad perspective on multilingualism of the foreign researchers working in different places in the Basque Country.

The survey approach can utilise a variety of data collection techniques to answer the research questions, with the most common techniques being questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, and telephone interviews (Kelley, Clark, Brown and Sitzia, 2003; Ponto, 2015). Using mixed methods for survey research, for instance using a questionnaire and interviews, is advised to address the research aims and answer the research questions, to decrease the possibility of measurement errors and non-response, and to better adapt the research methods to the sample (Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2014; Singleton & Straits, 2009).

The research questions outlined in the previous chapter are addressed via two primary methods; 1) qualitative face-to-face semi-structured interviews and 2) a quantitative online questionnaire. The interviews as a research method take a somewhat broader perspective on researchers' language attitudes, flexible language use practices, and their experiences in the Basque Country and make an in-depth analysis possible. The questionnaire had mainly closed questions and thus somehow involves a narrower analysis of researchers' language competences, language use, and researchers' opinions about languages and cultures.

The one-to-one interviews were carried out with a sample of foreign academic researchers, that is, they had to fulfil three criteria. First, investigators who had come to the Basque Autonomous Community to carry out their research work; second, they should not have been born in the region; and third, they could not have Spanish nationality. The target group comprises primarily researchers hired by Ikerbasque, Basque Foundation for Science, except three researchers (see below), and they were working in one of the Basque Excellence in Research Centers (BERCs) or at the University of Basque Country (UPV/EHU) in one of the three campuses in Donostia-San Sebastián, Victoria-Gasteiz and Bilbao/Leioa, or at Mondragon University.

The aim of the interviews was to obtain the researchers' perspective on their experiences with languages and cultures in the context of the Basque Country. The interviews were a way to explore opinions of researchers about multilingualism, by inquiring mainly about the use of Basque, English and Spanish, but also other languages, and, asking about their ideas with regards to their experiences with the

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local culture and with different cultures in general. The interviews gave further directions for the exploration via the questionnaires, the second method of data-collection.

The data collected for this research project took place over a six-month period from November 2015 to May 2016. The interviews were held in November and December 2015 and in January 2016. The data collection included visits to the work places in the various research centres and at UPV/EHU campuses in Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba. In total 28 individual interviews were carried out with the foreign academic researchers, who are working in a broad range of disciplinary areas, including the experimental sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

As mentioned previously, consent forms were designed especially for this project for the interviews, based on the forms used at University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University (Appendix 1). Consent forms were sent to researchers who showed an interest to participate in the research project. In the reporting of results, all participating researchers are identified through a unique number, instead of a pseudonym, to protect their identities.

After the interviews were concluded, the next step was to finalise the design of the online questionnaire. The invitations to participate in the online questionnaires were distributed in February 2016 through the Ikerbasque Foundation, Bizkaia Talent, and Fomento de San Sebastián, to all the foreign researchers in their mailing lists who fulfilled the criteria; the aim was to get a sample as large as possible. Due to the indirect, anonymous procedure through the email-lists of the contact persons at the three institutions, it could not be exactly known how many invitations were sent and for example, how many were overlapping. The email with the invitation gave a brief outline of the aims and methods of this research project, the data collection process, and it, of course, guaranteed confidentiality (See Appendix 2). A potential participant who fulfilled the criteria had the possibility to react during a period of three months. A total of 74 researchers completed the on-line questionnaire.

3.2. The interviews

As explained above, the first instrument for data-collection was an individual face-to-face, semi-structured interview. The use of interviews as a research tool made it possible to obtain in-depth information about the linguistic and cultural experiences

of the participants. The part below explains the rationale for using interviews in sociolinguistic research in the area of multilingualism.

Interviews are one of the approaches to data collection employed in survey research. They involve posing questions or discussions with people. As said, all interviews in this research project have been conducted in person, usually at the workplace of the researcher. During the interviews, lived experiences can best be captured by asking participants to elaborate on their initial observations, and by asking follow-up questions to give further clarifications, underlying reasons, or elaboration on a response, clarifying the intended question, and so on (Singleton & Straits, 2009). It is a useful technique where in-depth information is needed (Denscombe, 2003) and for gathering data which would likely to be inaccessible using techniques such as questionnaires or observations (Blaxter, Hughes, Tight, 1996). Interviews offer researchers the advantage of taking note of the non-verbal responses of the interviewee (Ponto, 2015).

One of the disadvantages is that they can be expensive and demanding on time, interviews are thus not practical for large samples. Nevertheless, Moore-Jones (2015, p. 74) motivates choosing interviews as their method as follows: "Interviews and the qualitative data were expected to produce in-depth responses such as anecdotes, examples, exceptions and a social reality of the experiences of the participants.".

The interviews were primarily designed to investigate researchers' language attitudes, cultural experiences in the workplace and what it means to work and live in the Basque society, additionally questions about language use practices, and language competence in different languages were also explored.

The interview schedule was based on previous readings but clearly aimed to be able to answer the research questions and this supplied most of the interview questions (See Appendix 3). The schedule had four sections, addressing the following domains:

1. Background information,

2. Languages spoken and languages used in the workplace,

3. Language mixing and the use of more than one language at a time,

4. Cultural experiences and intercultural competence.

At the beginning of the interviews, participants were informed of the sequence of the interview and what each main section entailed. Part one (Background Information) had a number of general questions about their previous mobility experiences, current position, how long they had been living in the Basque Country and whether the Basque Country felt like 'home'. A specific question was asked about the total number of years they had been living abroad. They were also asked how they define themselves in order to obtain information about their cultural identity.

Part two (Language Use) explored the languages they speak, the languages they use in different work activities, their experiences with learning Basque and Spanish, whether speaking either of those languages affected their integration in the workplace or wider society, or their relationship with their local colleagues.

Part three (Language Practices) was about alternating languages, i.e. the use of more than one language at a time – in what situations, and with what motivation.

The fourth and final part (Cultural Experiences) contained questions related to cultural experiences in the workplace, and wider society and their self-definitions, which gave some ideas about their intercultural competence. This part obtained its final shape during the course of interviews. Some questions in this section were added and others removed, based on the experience during the first interviews and how effective the questions were to get the type of responses expected. Guided by the definition of intercultural competence as "using your knowledge, motivation, and skills to deal appropriately and effectively with cultural differences" (Lustig and Koester, 2010, p. 72), researchers were specifically asked about the differences and similarities they observed in the workplace and they were asked to compare this to their previous experiences. Further, they were asked about misunderstandings due to language and cultural differences, benefits of having diverse mobility experiences, whether their ideas have been influenced by encounters with people from different cultural backgrounds, whether the idea of nationality is important for their identity, the benefits and disadvantages of having a strong sense of fixed cultural identity.

At the end of the interview, a general question was used, asking if they wanted to add something, and the assurances about anonymity and confidentiality were repeated.

To obtain access to this pool of the foreign academic researchers different approaches were used. Being introduced to by someone they know as highly skilled professionals guaranteed a greater chance of success. Kingsley (2010, p. 95) refers to this as 'friend-of-a-friend' methodology; in this case, it was needed to link the researcher with the right individuals within the research institutions. In this project, several of the participants were selected from one of the supervisor's professional network. Those interviewees were colleagues hired by the Ikerbasque foundation.

The initial contact with the participants was usually via email to inquire if they were willing to participate in this PhD study. The email explained that being a foreign PhD student, who had started an investigation into foreign academics and who had come to the Basque Country to do their research work, the contacted person was asked whether it would be possible to meet for a one-on-one interview. All invitees responded positively.

At the end of the interview, each one of them was asked whether they could recommend potential candidates to participate in the study, which allowed expanding the circle further, the so-called "snowball sampling", creating a sample via the contacts of the informants (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996, p. 79).

In principle, interviews were sought with researchers from as many different fields of science as possible. Only in one case five interviewees worked as researchers at the same centre, the CIC bioGUNE (Center for Cooperative Researches in Biosciences). Apart from this concentration, only twice two researchers were from the same Basque Excellence in Research Centre (BERC) or the same department at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU).

All 28 participants are based in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), but because of the selection criteria not one of them has a Basque or a Spanish background. Almost all of the researchers were contracted by Ikerbasque with three exceptions, two who were contracted as researchers by BizkaiaTalent, and one who was under direct contract with the UPV/EHU.

All of them had been living in the Basque Country for at least three years and a maximum of eight years. Twelve of them worked at a university and the other 16 at one of the BERCs. Seven of them are females, twenty-one are males. Almost all (22) are senior researchers and the remaining six participants are post-doc researchers.

In order not to jeopardise the anonymity of the participants, their specific nationality or their first language will not be reported, but it is possible to report whether they have a European or a background from outside Europe. Twelve participants are based in Donostia-San Sebastián, 14 of them work in Bilbao or surroundings, the other two have their work place in Vitoria and in Mondragon.

Table 3.1 presents an overview of all interviewees, including a summary of the information presented above as well as data on the number of years lived abroad and countries where they have lived.

Table 3.1   The interviewed researchers (N = 28)

Tracking No.	Gender	Level	European/ Non-Europ background	No. of languages spoken	Year arrival BAC	Worked in no. of countries	University or BERC	City of work
#1	F	Professor	European	3	2009	2	University	Donostia
#2	M	Professor	European	3	2008	5	University	Donostia
#3	M	Professor	Non-Europ	6	2012	2	University	Donostia
#4	M	Professor	European	4	2012	4	University	Donostia
#5	M	Professor	European	3	2010	4	University	Mondragon
#6	M	Professor	European	2	2007		University	Donostia
#7	M	Professor	Non-Europ	4	2008	3	University	Donostia
#8	M	Professor	European	2	2008	2	University	Vitoria
#9	M	Professor	Non-Europ	3	2009	2	BERC	Donostia
#10	M	Professor	European	4	2007	2	BERC	Bilbao
#11	F	Professor	European	7	2008	3	University	Bilbao
#12	M	Ass. Prof.	European	6	2008	3	University	Bilbao
#13	F	Professor	Non-Europ	3	2013	2	University	Bilbao
#14	M	Res. Fellow	Non-Europ	2	2012	3	BERC	Bilbao
#15	M	Professor	European	3	2008	3	BERC	Bilbao
#16	M	Post-doc	Non-Europ	3	2012	3	BERC	Bilbao
#17	F	Professor	European	3	2012	4	BERC	Bilbao
#18	M	Post-doc	European	4	2012	3	BERC	Bilbao
#19	F	Professor	European	4	2009	2	BERC	Bilbao
#20	M	Post-doc	European	4	2012	2	BERC	Bilbao
#21	M	Professor	European	3	2008	3	BERC	Donostia
#22	M	Professor	European	5	2011	2	BERC	Donostia
#23	M	Staff scientist	Non-Europ	4	2010	4	BERC	Donostia
#24	M	Professor	Non-Europ	4	2011	2	BERC	Bilbao
#25	M	Professor	European	6	2012	3	BERC	Bilbao
#26	M	Professor	European	3	2009	1	University	Donostia
#27	F	Professor	European	3	2010	2	BERC	Donostia
#28	F	Post-doc	European	8	2014	3	BERC	Bilbao

Due to the procedure that was followed and the order (first interviews, later on-line questionnaires), it is unknown if the interviewed researchers also completed the questionnaire. Almost all participants (25) are experimental scientists, and only one from humanities, and two from the department of economics.

As it was previously mentioned, before the start of the interview, each participant was handed a consent form which guaranteed to them the confidentiality of the information provided and their anonymity. After signing the document, the interview began. The interviews unfolded based on the insights the interviewee shared, sticking as much as possible to the interview schedule, giving space to follow-up questions, further probes, and so on. Brown and Rodgers (2002, p. 209) define interview schedule as a list of questions or prompts, sometimes with follow-up questions and prompts, for the interviewer to use when conducting an interview.

All interviews were carried out in English, apart from one interview which was done in the first language of the participant because it was a language which was shared with the researcher. The fact that a Basque or a Spanish background was not shared as a PhD researcher, but the background had somehow similarities to the target group, helped to build a relation of trust and made it possible to avoid to give the reassurance of not being sent by an organisation or by their employer.

There was no pre-set time limit for the interview. In practice, the interviews lasted between 15 minutes (an exceptionally short interview) and 2 hours and 30 minutes (rather on the long side). All interviews were audio-recorded and in total over 1350 minutes of data were obtained, which means an average length of 48 minutes per interview. During the interview notes were taken of the main points mentioned by the interviewee.

The audio-recordings were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview, mostly on the day of the interview itself. For each interview, a report was prepared with the main points of the interview and this report was shared with the participant and they were asked to confirm the correctness of the content of the report. Afterwards, as a second step, these transcripts were coded using Atlas.ti (qualitative data analysis software) for further analysis of the content.

One of the major challenges with analysing interview data is 'interpretation'. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996, p. 197) argue that interpretation "is the process by which

you put your own meaning on the data you have collected and analysed, and compare that meaning with those advanced by others." These authors emphasise the need for the ability of accepting, working with and from different perspectives. The way to do this is through expecting, welcoming and acknowledging alternative explanations within the collected data, as well as alternative interpretations – those of the researcher and of others. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996, pp. 198-199) further underline that "there is no reason, given the lack of understanding of the world we live in, together with the varied perspectives held by different individuals, why our views and behaviours should always be common and shared". Accordingly, a vital part of the interpretation of research is the acknowledgement of the diverging patterns within the data and the attempted explanation of such patterns.

In the first stage of the analysis, the insights and answers from each participant were considered as a whole. In the second stage of analysis the responses were organised thematically. This two-step process is a strategy advised by Boyd and Smith (2016, p. 683). The qualitative findings will be reported and analysed using selected excerpts from the interviews in relation to the experiences of researchers.

3.3.   The online questionnaire

The second instrument for data-collection was an on-line questionnaire. The use of questionnaires as research tool can give a good idea about the attitudes of the participants, their language use and competence, and the analysis of the quantitative data allows identifying some general trends.

There are a number of benefits to using a questionnaire. Anderson (1990, p. 207) explains that a well-built questionnaire allows the gathering of "reliable and reasonably valid data relatively simply, cheaply and in a short space of time". Furthermore, Kingsley (2010), based on older sources, points out that questionnaire data tends to be standardised, uniform and consistent.

There are a number of survey administration methods which add to the convenience of using questionnaires. Questionnaires can be self-administered or managed by the researcher, in a group or individually (Ponto, 2015), distributed to multiple potential respondents in print form by post, or in an electronic format via e-mail quickly without any interruption from other respondents or the researcher. Ponto, Ellington, Mellon and Beck (2010) argue that a mixture of survey administration methods is

advised for improved sample coverage. Nevertheless, all questionnaires could only be distributed to the individuals in the population via email, which is adequate because all of them have access to internet and a computer, hence they are included in the sample, decreasing "coverage error" (Dillman, et al., 2014; Singleton & Straits, 2009).

The questionnaire was designed in a way that it included items, or questions, which are reflecting the research aims and the research questions. Seven basic types of questions are distinguished by Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1996, p. 81): 1. quantity or information, 2. category, 3. list or multiple choice, 4. scale, 5. ranking, 6. complex grid or table, and 7. open-ended. Anderson (1990) groups basic question formats into six formats: 1. fill-in-the-blank, 2. multiple choice, 3. comment on, 4. elicit extensive comments, 5. list, and 6. Likert scales. After the research questions and the sub-questions were determined, the draft questionnaire items were drafted and different basic question formats were included.

The contents of the questionnaire were given a description so that "the reader can interpret and evaluate the potential for errors of validity (e.g., items or instruments that do not measure what they are intended to measure) and reliability (e.g., items or instruments that do not measure a construct consistently)" (Buerhaus, DesRoches, Applebaum, Hess, Norman & Donelan, 2012).

The questionnaire had six sections and in total there were 31 questions (See Appendix 4). The following headers were used in the questionnaire to make the topic of each section clear:

1. Your languages

2. Language use in general

3. Language use in the workplace

4. Your opinion on language

5. Your opinion on cultures and behaviours

6. Information about you

Section 1 explored the languages that the respondents can speak. They were asked to self-evaluate their competences in English, Spanish and Basque.

Section 2 inquired about the languages that they use to speak with their family, friends, and in the community where they live.

In section 3, questions were asked about how often respondents use English, Spanish, Basque and other languages for five different types of communication activities in their academic workplace (writing an email, presentations, writing articles, meetings, and informal chatting), adapted from Kingsley's (2010, 2013) six activities of spoken and written communication based on workplace discourse in multilingual settings of a bank: meetings, presentations, telephone conversations, informal communication, report writing, and emails. The questions were included in the questionnaire with an aim to find out as much as possible about the complexity of language use in the workplace.

In section 4, the researchers' opinions (attitudes) about languages were investigated. The question on speakers' opinions on languages included: six items on the role of English as the language of science, seven items on the researchers' opinion on multilingualism, and another seven items concerned their opinions about Basque and Spanish.

In section 5, the opinion on cultures and behaviour were explored, with questions compiled from 'Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters (AIE): Context, Concept and Theories' by the Council of Europe (Byram et al., 2009). Although this instrument originally asks open-ended questions, questions were formulated that could be answered via Likert scales to make the tool more easily quantifiable. The web application launched by the Intercultural Cities Program and the Pestalozzi Program of the Council of Europe (2015), that served as an intercultural competence self-assessment tool, available at 'www.areyouintercultural.eu', was also used, adapting some of the statements for this research project.

Section 6 aimed at collecting general background information about each of the respondents.

Amongst the variety of available scales and formats for studying self-evaluation of competences, and the frequency of language use, as well as gathering opinions and attitudes, Likert scales were opted for (Kingsley 2010; Carson, 2003). Likert statements do not pose direct questions, but provide clearly formulated statements, and the respondent has to choose whether the statement is in line with his or her

point of views. According to Anderson (1990, p. 212), this type of scale is practical due to being "easy to respond to, straightforward to analyse and sufficient for most need". In this research project primarily seven-point scales were used, which offers a mid-point between the scale end-points.

In reporting the results of the questions on opinions on languages and cultures, it was decided to collapse the Likert scale from seven points to three points by combining 1, 2, 3 as 'agree' and 5, 6, 7 as 'disagree', and regarding 4 (the mid-point) as 'neither agree, nor disagree'. This was decided for practical reasons, since this was a relatively small sample of 74 respondents so it would provide a better overview of the results.

Oppenheim (1992, p. 130) states that measuring opinion and behaviour using self-reported data comes with some challenges. Questionnaire respondents were asked about the frequency of use of some languages in certain genres, and similarly, they were asked to rate from 1 to 7 their opinion on languages and cultures. In such questions, Oppenheim argues that respondents 'do the time sampling', meaning they go back in time to make calculations, relying on their memory, and their accounts can only be as exclusive as they allow them to be. Testing the validity of the results, as it has been in the case of Kingsley (2010), necessitates a comparison of the respondent's self-reported answers with the actual use of languages.

The online questionnaire contained very few open-ended questions which required a written comment from the participants as can be seen in Appendix 4. The EncuestaFacil software (www.encuestafacil.com) was used to create the online questionnaire because the university has a subscription. EncuestaFacil is not only an online questionnaire tool but it also creates tables of the data and makes some basic calculations. Dillman et al. (2014) describe that using an appropriate font size, assembling items "logically without creating unintended response bias", positioning questions visibly on each individual page increases the "visual appeal and graphics of surveys" and enhances the response rate to online questionnaires. Furthermore, they underline that abiding by these and similar issues in online questionnaires can lower measurement errors such as lack of reliability. As was estimated beforehand, it turned out that also in reality the participants on average could fill in the questionnaire in 10 to 15 minutes. They could fill them in their own time from their

own desktop computer or laptop. Afterwards the raw data from EncuestaFacil were downloaded and entered in SPSS for further statistical analyses.

Questionnaires were filled by 74 foreign academic researchers. The invitations to participate in the online questionnaire were distributed in February 2016 and the questionnaire closed three months later in April 2016. The contact persons at the Ikerbasque foundation, BizkaiTalent and Fomento de San Sebastián distributed an invitation email that contained a link to the online questionnaire (See Appendix 2). The subjects targeted were all foreign academics in their emailing lists. The invitations were sent by the contact persons at different times and reminders were sent two weeks after the initial email. A downside of this procedure was that the exact moment the invitations were sent could not be controlled. Another major issue of this indirect procedure was that it could not be known how many invitations were sent out and how many researchers who belonged to the target group received an invitation. On a positive side, it was an official invitation for the participants.

The final page of the questionnaire contained questions about background information about the researchers. After completing that final page, the participants had to click the 'finish' button for the data on the last page to be processed. From what could be seen in EncuestaFacil it seems that 7 participants have missed clicking this finish button, leading to missing the background information from those 7 participants. For the quantitative part, this research study uses descriptive statistics.

3.4. Profile based on background variables

A brief profile of background variables of the participants can be presented in the form of a series of graphs. The information of the following variables is included: 1. age, 2. gender, 3. workplace (university or research centre), 4. field of science, 5. number of years lived abroad, and 6. number of years lived in the Basque Country.
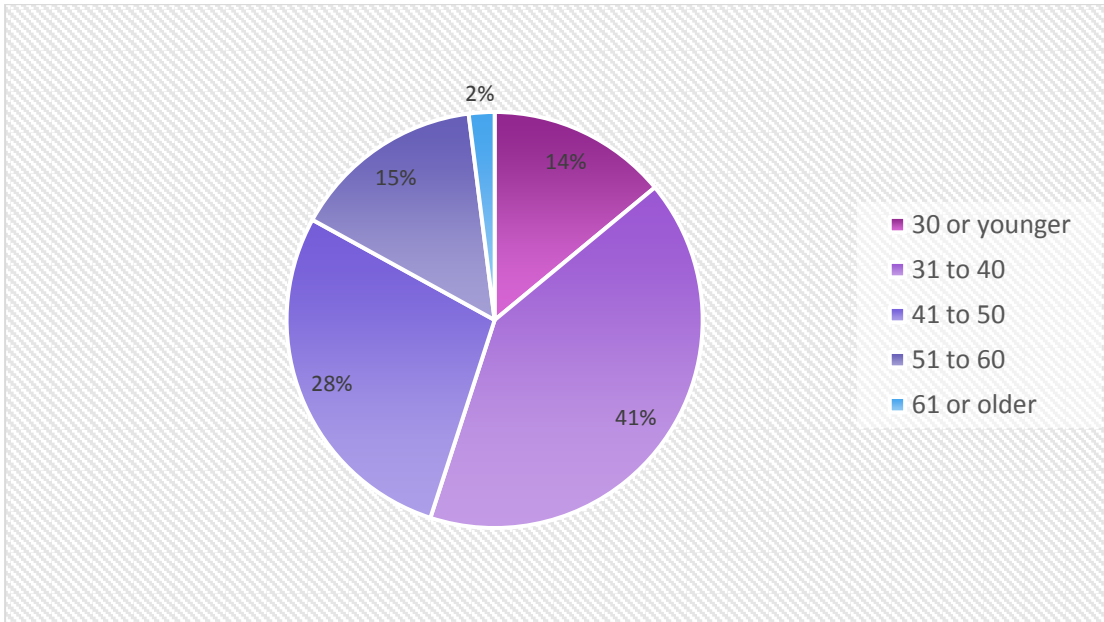
Figure 3.1   Age

As can be seen in the figure a large part of the researchers is between 31 and 40 years old (41%), the second largest group is between 41 and 50 years (28%). There are relatively fewer younger researchers in the sample, 14% is 30 years or younger. The category of 50 and older is a bit larger when the small category of over 60 is also included (total 17%).
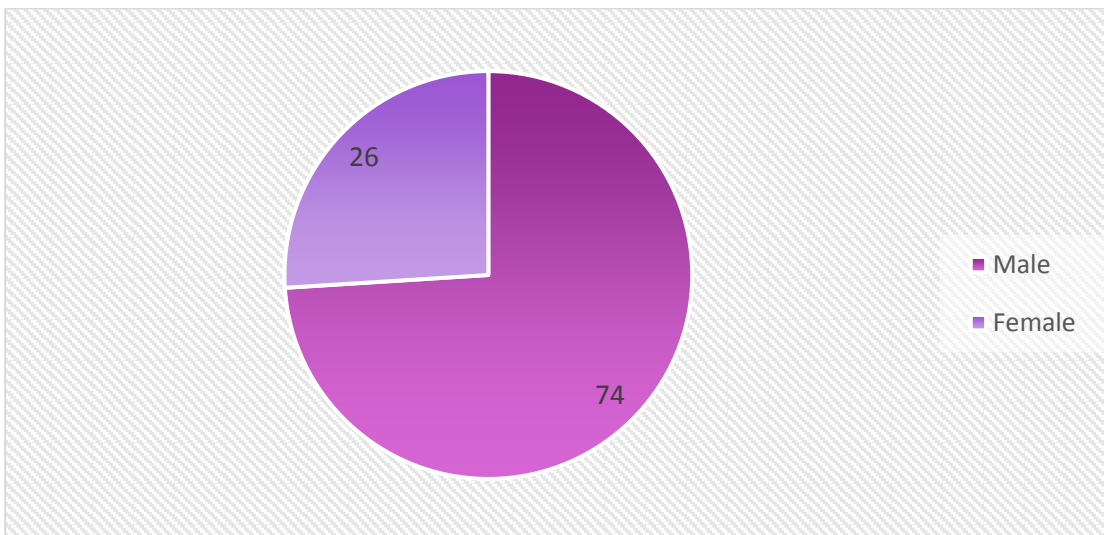
Figure 3.2   Gender

The distribution for gender is skewed as there are about three male researchers for every one female researcher.
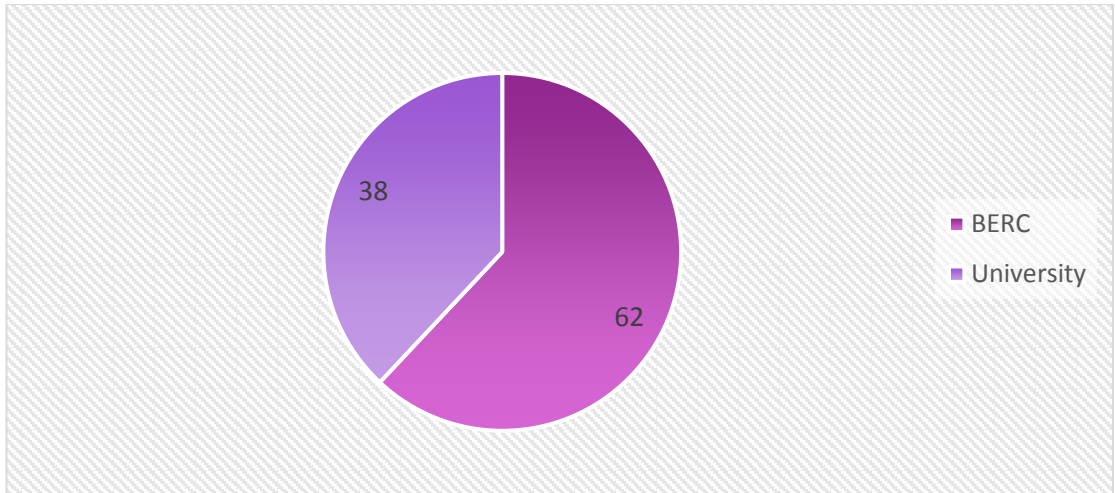
Figure 3.3   BERC or university

Almost two-thirds of these researchers work in one of the Basque Excellence Research Centers (BERC) and the others work at the university.
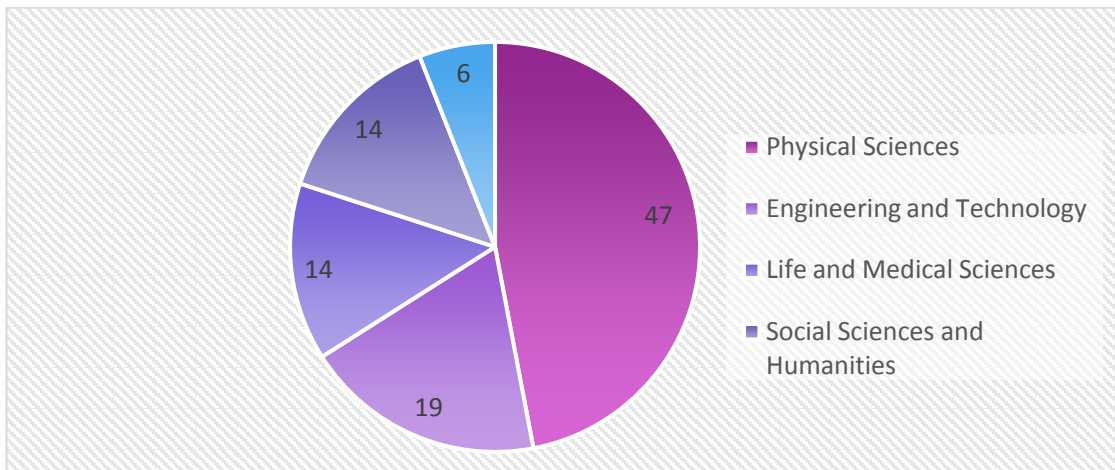
Figure 3.4   Field of science

The researchers are unevenly distributed over the different fields of sciences. Almost half of them work in the physical sciences, including the experimental sciences (47%), another one-fifth works in engineering and technology (19%), the others work in life and medical sciences (14%), social sciences and humanities (14%), and other areas (6%).
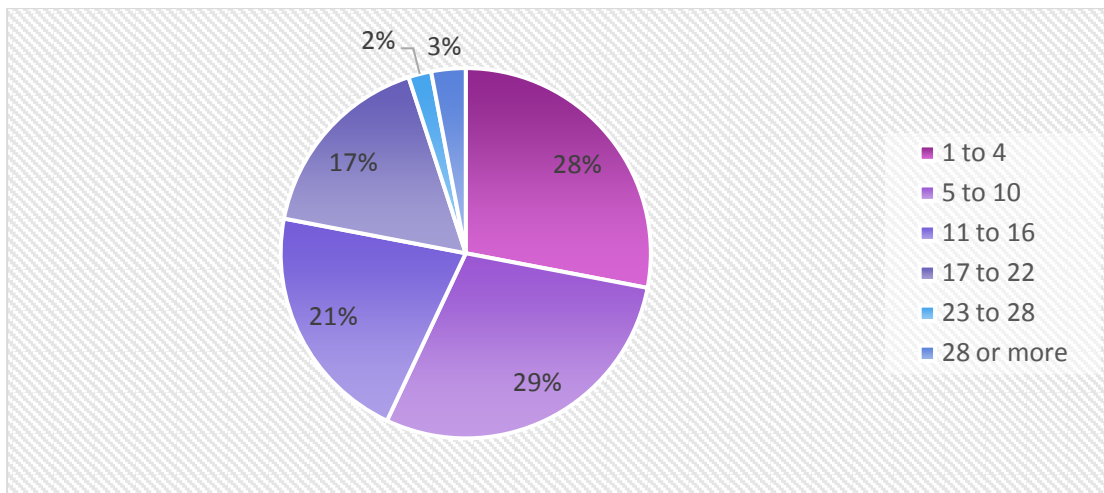
Figure 3.5   Number of years lived abroad

In terms of the number of years the participants have lived abroad there is some variation, of course, also related to age. About one-third have lived five years or less abroad (28%), almost one-third lived between six and ten years abroad (2%), and one-fifth lived longer than 10 years, but less than 15 abroad and the rest (22%) has lived abroad for more than 15 years.
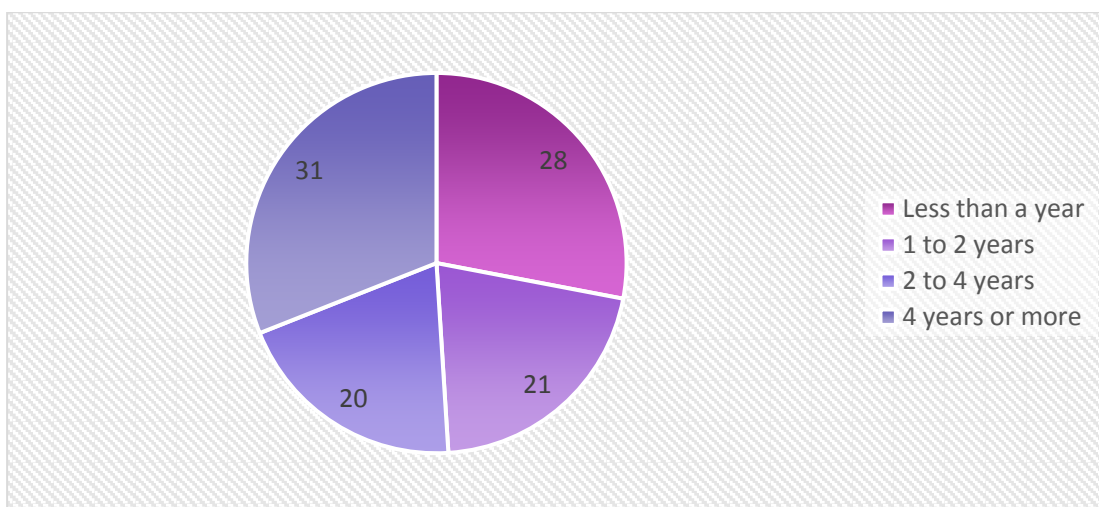
Figure 3.6   Number of years lived in Euskadi (the Basque Country) (%)

As can be seen in the figure, most of these foreign academic researchers, almost two-thirds, have arrived in the Basque Country in recent years. Of those, 28% had arrived in the year before filling in the questionnaire, another 21% have worked here between one and two years, and another 20% have lived here between two to four years. Almost one third (31%) has lived here four years or longer.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has described stages of data collection in this research and the challenges associated with collecting and exploring multilingualism of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country. In summary, language competences, language attitudes, cultural competences, language practices and experiences in relation to working as foreign academic researcher in the Basque context were collected by means of personal face-to-face interviews and an online questionnaire. For three variables the two samples can be compared briefly.

Table 3.2 Comparison for gender, workplace and number of years living in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC)

	Interviews (N=28)	Questionnaires (N=74)
Gender	25% Female 75% Male	26% Female 74% Male
Workplace	43% University 57% BERC	38% University 62% BERC
Number of years in the BAC	36% 3 years or less 32% 4 to6 years 32% 7 to 9 years	49% up to 2 years 20% 2 to 4years 31% 4 years or more

As can be seen from the table the distribution over gender is the same, there were a few more researchers working in the university in the sample of the interviews and the number of years they live in the Basque Autonomous Community shows most differences: more "recent arrivals" have answered the questionnaire.

In the next chapter, the results for the data collected in the interviews and the online questionnaire are discussed based on the three main dimensions of the Focus on Multilingualism model which corresponds to each of the three research questions.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Chapter 4 is divided into three main sections: the multilingual researcher, the whole linguistic repertoire: language use and flexible language practices, and the social context. Each section corresponds to one of the three primary research questions and respective sub-research questions. Chapter 4 begins by addressing researchers as multilingual speakers, investigating their language competences, language attitudes and cultural competences. The chapter then explores their language practices and language learning experiences, and lastly, it provides an in-depth look at researchers' reported experiences in the Basque Country in relation to multilingualism and culture.

4.1. THE MULTILINGUAL RESEARCHER

The primary focus of this section is to report the results of the data collected about foreign researchers who work in Basque universities and research institutes as multilingual speakers, answering the first research question. The first research question is:

RQ 1. What is the linguistic and cultural profile of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

Sub-research questions are the following:

RQ 1.1. To what extent are foreign researchers multilingual?

RQ 1.2. What are the intercultural competences of foreign researchers?

RQ 1.3. What are foreign researchers' attitudes and ideologies towards various languages?

There are three goals for this section. First, to explore the language competence of the researchers so as to provide a general understanding of their linguistic profile. Second, to discuss their intercultural competence, and third, to discuss opinions on the various languages spoken in the environment of these researchers, thereby also addressing their language ideologies, and language attitudes. Overall, this section

will serve to provide a profile of foreign academic researchers as multilingual and intercultural speakers.
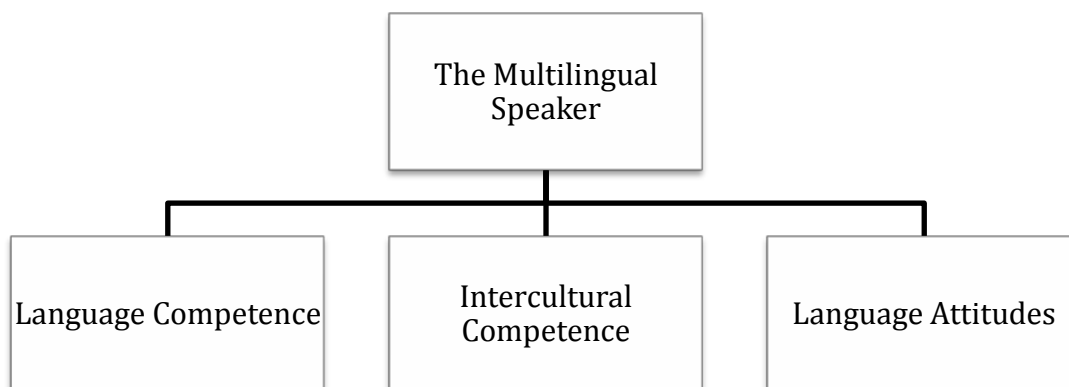
Figure 4.1   Focus on Multilingualism, Dimension 1: the multilingual speaker

The first dimension of the Focus on Multilingualism approach is the multilingual speaker which is adapted here for this PhD-thesis (Figure 4.1). It will be the point of departure in the analysis of the characteristics of the language and intercultural competences and of the language attitudes of foreign academic researchers (See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the framework).

4.1.1. A SHORT PROFILE OF THE LANGUAGE COMPETENCES OF FOREIGN ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS

The first sub-research question to be answered here is:

RQ 1.1. To what extent are foreign researchers multilingual?

This question will be answered in terms of researchers' language competence and the results related will be reported in the following order: 1) number of languages spoken, 2) competence in English, 3) competence in Basque and Spanish, 4) competence in the first language (L1).

4.1.1.1. Number of languages spoken

As was mentioned before, researchers could only take part in this study if they were not originally from the Basque Country, or from the rest of Spain. As a consequence of this criterion none of the researchers speaks Spanish or Basque as their first language (L1), except for one researcher who was born in a Spanish-speaking country outside Europe. The researchers who completed the online questionnaire filled in no less than 20 different languages as their L1 and they come originally from

27 different countries. This number shows that this group as a whole has substantial linguistic diversity, as well as many national identities. It does not come as a surprise that all participants know another language in addition to their L1. The result for the question about the number of languages they have sufficient knowledge of to hold a conversation is presented in Figure 4.2.
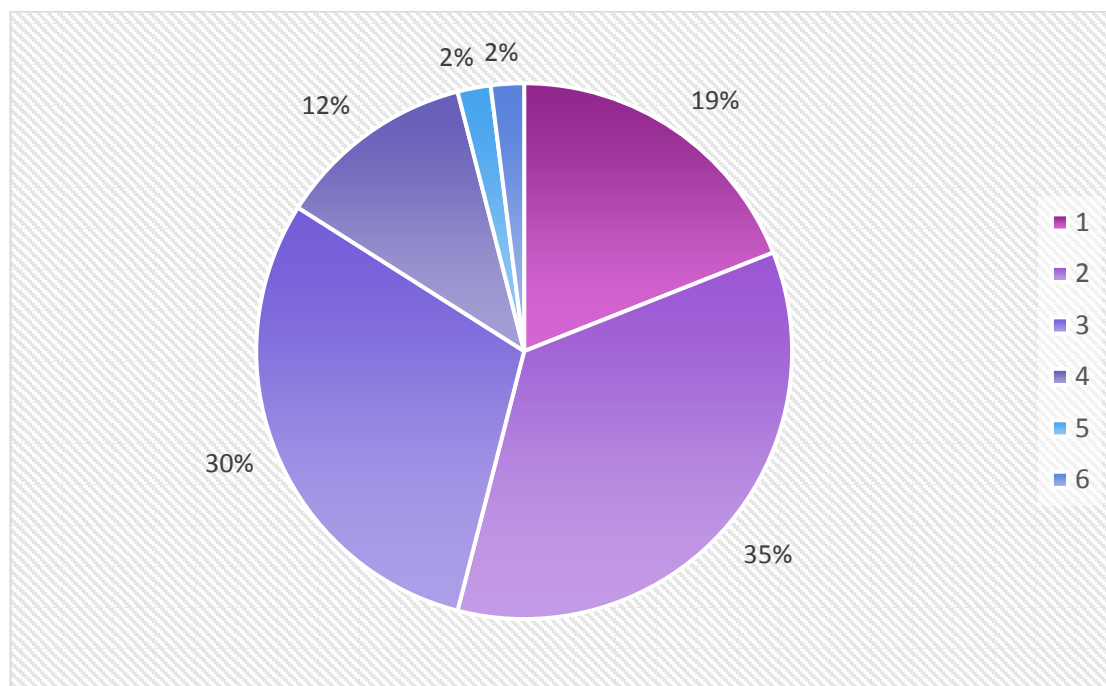
Figure 4.2   Number of languages participants can hold a conversation in (apart from their first language)

As can be seen in the figure, all researchers are able to speak two or more languages. The results reveal that 19% are able to hold a conversation in one second language in addition to their first language, 35% in two additional languages, 12% in four languages, and there are 2% that has five and six additional languages respectively.

These results make clear that foreign researchers in the Basque Country that took part in this study as a whole are a highly multilingual group, with just under half (46%) being able to speak four or more languages.

All participants were asked to rate their competences in each of the languages that they can speak, both in the online questionnaire and during the interviews. In the next subsections, their competence in English, Spanish and Basque, as well as in their mother tongue will be explored further, starting with the results for English.

4.1.1.2.   Competence in English

English is the language that all researchers have in common and all of them are proficient speakers according to their self-reported competence. Only three out of 74 respondents learned to speak English first as a child, so it is their first language (L1), and all of the other participants have learned English as a second or third language, at some later point in their life. Figure 4.3 shows the self-reported data for the proficiency in English for the four language skills: understanding, reading, speaking, and writing.
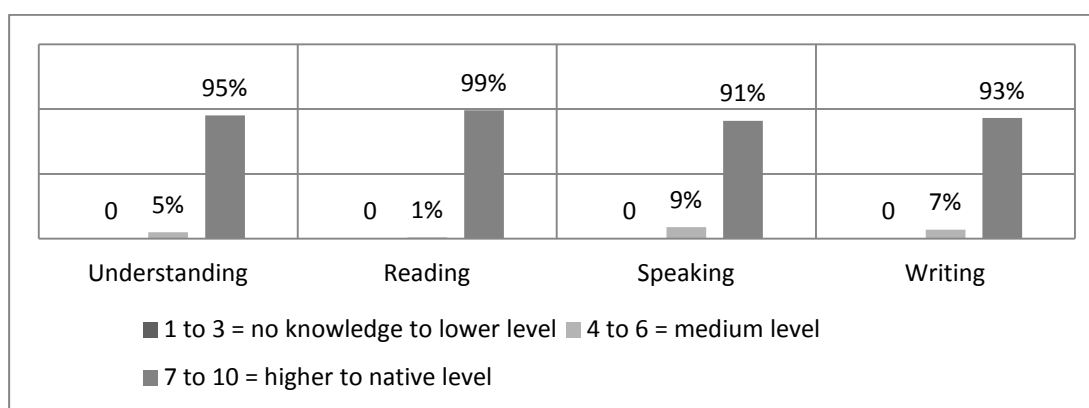
Figure 4.3   Self-evaluated   competence   in   English   for   all   four   skills: understanding, reading, speaking and writing (n=74)

As shown in the figure almost all participants (over 90%) declare that they can understand, speak, read, and write English very well (a score of 7 or more on a scale from 1 to 10).

During the interviews the results of the questionnaire were confirmed regarding the researchers' competence in English. For a majority of the participants, English is the language they speak best after their L1. As Researcher #12 remarked "*almost as good*"; this was a person who had worked and studied in an English-speaking country for a long time. Working in an English-speaking country before moving to the Basque Country is the most common reason given for their high proficiency. Due to living in an English-speaking country, Researcher #10 stated to "*speak English better than [my L1]*". Two interviewees claimed that they spoke an additional language, other than their L1, better than English. Living in an English-speaking country obviously seems to promote researchers' competence in English, but there

are some other reasons that were given for a high proficiency. For example, one important reason mentioned is that English is the global academic language and that as a researcher one has to master English well to be able to function in the world of academia. Such arguments will be analysed in 4.1.3.

4.1.1.3.   Competence in Spanish

The same format for language competence was also used in the questions about Spanish. The respondents know Spanish with varying degrees of competence as is demonstrated in Figure 4.4.
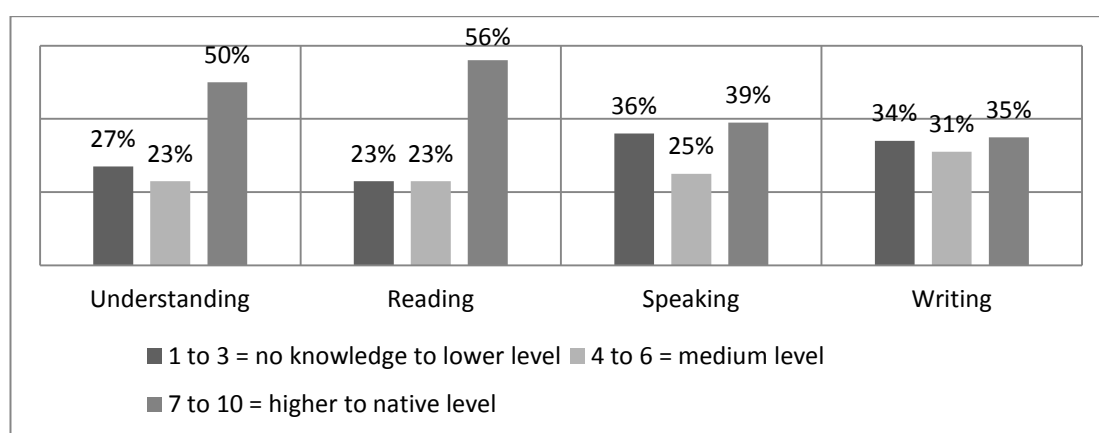
Figure 4.4   Self-evaluated   competence   in   Spanish   for   all   four   skills: understanding, reading, speaking and writing (n=74)

In the figure it can be seen that these foreign academic researchers' competences in Spanish, are much more heterogeneous than their competence in English. In comparison with their competence in English, on average they score much lower on Spanish, with scoring high proficiency of about 50% on understanding and reading as passive skills. About one quarter of respondents report to have limited passive skills in Spanish. About 40% reports a high to native level for speaking, which includes 9 persons (12%) who reported to have learned to speak Spanish as a child. For the ability to write Spanish, 35% indicate a high to native level, also about one-third an intermediate level, and the other one-third a lower level or no knowledge. From the questionnaire data it can be deduced that, a majority of the foreign researchers do not speak Spanish very well, even if they are probably exposed to it

on a daily basis. Data about language use in day-to-day life and in the workplace will be reported in section 4.2.

The outcomes of the interviews are in agreement with the questionnaire findings on researchers' competences in speaking Spanish. The majority of participants said they are able to speak Spanish with varying degrees of competence. More or less one third of the participants who said they are able to speak Spanish indicated that they do not speak Spanish well or had a lower level of Spanish. Only two interviewees out of 28 said they do not speak Spanish at all. Also about one third said that they had an intermediate level, and the final one third indicated they had competence of Spanish on a higher level, indicating that they spoke fluent Spanish.

What is noteworthy is that from the interviews it became clear that these researchers had very different starting points in their level of Spanish when they moved to the Basque Country. Some of the participants were able to speak Spanish very well before moving to the Basque Country, but others had no or very limited knowledge. This implies that their experiences can be rather different from those who only started to learn Spanish after they moved. The levels of Spanish of the participants ranged, thus, from not speaking Spanish at all or speaking only a very little bit, to being able to have everyday interactions to speaking Spanish fairly well or perfectly. Their clarifications and justifications for their self-rated levels will provide some additional insights. Their most salient comments on their competence in speaking Spanish can be summarised below divided over the three levels of basic, intermediate, and high.

Researchers with a basic level in speaking Spanish

The researchers, who claimed to have a basic level of speaking Spanish, used various expressions to indicate what their level was. For example, they used expressions such as: "a little bit", "not so much", or "not really good"; and a bit more elaborate: "I'm a little bit more comfortable now", "I am starting to feel a little bit what people mean", or "[I do speak it,] but pretty wrong".

Some researchers said that they are only able to speak Spanish for practical purposes. For example, Researcher #16, who said that he is able to basically communicate with people in everyday life, and, he can do his shopping in Spanish, but, as he also made clear, he cannot really discuss politics or any more profound topic. He spoke almost

74

no Spanish before moving to the Basque Country, where, at the time of the interview, he had been living for the past 4 years.

During the interview the participants who indicated that they do not speak any Spanish at all, were asked whether they can understand Spanish. Some of them mentioned that they are able to understand Spanish pretty well, even if they had never learnt Spanish through a language course. The reason for their comprehension of Spanish was because they were able to speak a closely related language like Italian or Portuguese, or due to their knowledge of still other languages, or because they were exposed to Spanish on a regular basis, or a combination of those factors. For example, Researcher #17 said she cannot speak "*so much*" Spanish and on a scale of 1 to 10, she would give herself a 3 or 4 for Spanish. She does try and speak Spanish, but as she said "*it is all wrong*". To this she added, "*to understand, I think I understand 95%* [thanks to speaking a language closely related to Spanish], *but to speak no*".

Researchers with an intermediate level in speaking Spanish

One of the researchers who rated his competence as "*medium*" is Researcher #3. He believes that on a scale from 1 to 10, he is able to speak Spanish "*a 6 or 7*", adding to this "*worse than my English for sure*". He started learning Spanish when he was doing his PhD, during which he felt like Spanish was becoming his second foreign language, but then he had not used it at all for about 15 years until the time he started to work in the Basque Country. He said that his grammar is a bit rusty; "*for a native speaker it is probably horrible, but they know what I mean.*"

Researcher #5 was another case of the researchers who believed that his Spanish level was at an intermediate level, with poor active speaking skills although his listening and reading comprehension were on a higher level. Before moving to the Basque Country, he did not know "a word of Spanish". Similarly, Researcher #25 said his Spanish is around level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). He, too, did not speak Spanish before moving to the Basque Country some years earlier.

Learning Spanish relatively quickly seemed to depend upon different factors, such as already speaking a language from the same language family, but also having a partner who speaks Spanish (perhaps as the L1) or having children that go to the

local school, and then interacting with the parents at school or in playground helps the language learning process. Of course, actively taking Spanish classes, or having a keen interest in learning languages motivates them further. These examples illustrate that the interviewees who have lower and intermediate levels of Spanish claim that they understand Spanish better than they speak it. It refers to the well-known difference between receptive (passive) and productive (active) skills, also reflected in the questionnaire results in Figure 4.4. They also indicate that their receptive skills may develop with exposure to the language, but that their productive skills require more effort by studying or through active use.

Researchers with a high level in speaking Spanish

As was reported above, almost 40% of the researchers claimed to be able to speak Spanish at relatively high level (score 7 to 10). When asked about their proficiency during the interviews, they used various qualitative expressions to define their level: "[I do] fairly well", "best language after [my L1] is probably Spanish", "[I speak Spanish] perfectly". Other researchers used words like they could "express themselves clearly" or that their Spanish came "natural".

Researcher #8, though, added that there were many "things" he did not know, such as idioms, or expressing opinions and ideas in a subtle way, but in general he did not have any issues with expressing himself in spoken form. Researcher #10, too, expressed that he "can understand Spanish completely", although he still makes "some grammar mistakes here and there, but it is not a real issue". He also notices that he speaks more Spanish than he did before, and that he is now more fluent than he was three years ago. Researcher #11 stressed that she has no problem speaking Spanish after having lived in Spain for over 10 years, and speaking a first language (L1) that belongs to the same language family. She mentioned, however, that she has a strong accent when she speaks Spanish, and she made the observation that when people listen to her, people may initially believe that she understands less than she actually does. Once she enters a conversation, they can see that she understands and expresses herself well. When asked if having an accent bothers her, she seemed to have accepted her accent as it is, answering "what can you do about it?" Furthermore, in her own words, she said that she "lives in Spanish", to make clear that she is fully immersed in the language.

Finally, Researcher #20, who said he speaks Spanish fluently, pointed out that people who speak his L1 "find it pretty easy to learn or at least speak Spanish", and he added "maybe with some grammar mistakes". From these remarks by the researchers who have a high level command of speaking Spanish, it can be deduced that speaking a closely related language helps in most cases, but also factors such as the amount of exposure, or the number of years lived in a Spanish-speaking country, can have an influence on how well a person is able to speak it.

4.1.1.4. Competence in Basque

It was estimated beforehand that on average the level of Basque of these foreign researchers would probably be low. Therefore, a preliminary question was asked about whether the researchers ever had studied Basque. The results are in Figure 4.5.
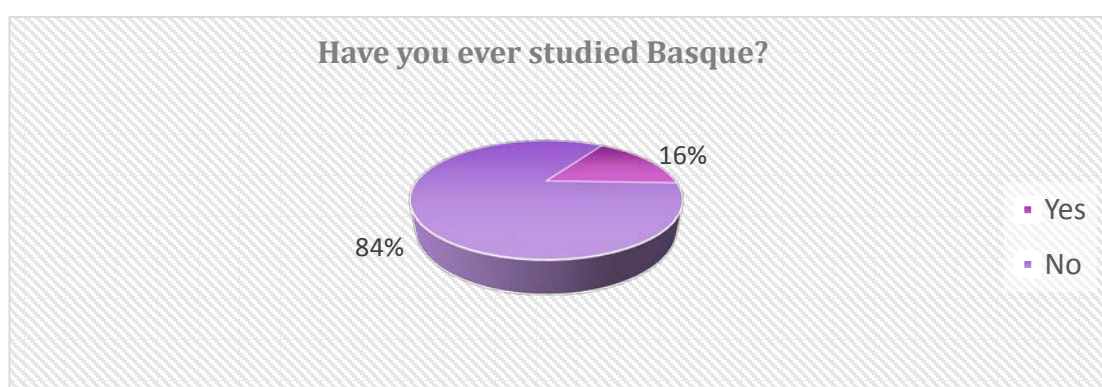
Figure 4.5   Researchers who have studied Basque (n=73)

As the Figure 4.5 shows, a large majority of the respondents (84%) answered that they had never studied Basque. The other researchers who had studied Basque (16%) indicated that on a scale of 1 to 10, their level on average was 2 for understanding, speaking and writing, and 3 out of 10 for reading. So on average they had a low level. Similarly, a large majority of the interview participants did not learn Basque, thus data on their competence in speaking Basque could not be collected, as it has been done for Spanish. However, researchers' attitudes towards Basque will be looked in language attitudes and ideologies, section 4.1.3.

4.1.1.5. First language and other languages

Usually the first language (L1) tends to be the dominant language for a person. However, this may be different for people who spend a large part of their life outside

of their country of birth, or more accurately the language community in which they were born. They may have minimum exposure to their L1 and may no longer perceive the L1 as their strongest language. Over time the competence in their L1 among this group of foreign academic researchers may thus have diminished in some cases. This happened for example to Researcher #10 who was quoted before that he speaks English better than his L1. Some respondents indicated that they experienced a gradual "*takeover*" of other languages that play a more prominent role in both their professional and personal lives. Settling down in a new context or lack of opportunities to use the L1 may imply that researchers' L1 is replaced by another language. A few of the researchers in the sample were raised bilingually (or trilingually), or they had to migrate as a child and were schooled in a language other than their home language. It is important to explore their experiences as researchers in motion.

4.1.1.6. Summary

When answering the first sub-question: "*To what extent are foreign academic researchers based in the Basque Country multilingual?*" the results show that these foreign academic researchers are a highly multilingual group and they have very different linguistic backgrounds. In addition to their first language (L1), which can usually be seen as the first element of a linguistic profile, they all are proficient in English (only a few spoke English as L1). The self-evaluation of their competence in English shows that they are highly proficient in all four skills. In a way, English today may be taken for granted in academia; however, it is, obviously, the only language that grants full access to this profession and group of high level professionals. Next to the L1 and English, a third element of the language profile of this group of researchers is that many also speak languages of countries or places where they lived, studied, or worked before, and some have also learned a language that was of interest to them for other reasons. A fourth element of the language profile is related to their current work and life context where Spanish plays an important role and a majority of the participating researchers also are competent in Spanish at different levels. Some of the researchers reported that they acquired a medium level in speaking in a short period of time after moving to the Basque Country; others had achieved understanding Spanish well, but achieved only a bare minimum of speaking. Learning Spanish relatively quickly seemed to depend upon

different factors, such as already speaking a language from the same language family, or children that go to school, but also taking Spanish classes, or being motivated to learn languages. During the interviews, the researchers put an emphasis on their speaking skills. The question was not asked how well the researchers are able to understand Spanish, but the results might have been somewhat different, and perhaps could have tapped some of the "*hidden knowledge*" of these multilingual speakers. Not surprisingly, the results reveal a clear distinction between the receptive skills and the productive skills in Spanish. Finally, a majority of the researchers have never studied Basque. The reasons for this lack of learning Basque will come to light in section 4.1.3, where attitudes towards Basque will be analysed.

4.1.2. INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCES OF FOREIGN ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS

In this section the aim is to answer the sub-research question:

RQ 1.2. What are the intercultural competences of foreign researchers?

As before, the results presented here are a combination of the data collected via the online questionnaire and the information obtained during the face-to-face interviews.

This section begins by reporting researchers' opinions on culture and behaviour in general based on the questionnaire data which are linked to intercultural competences as framed by the Council of Europe (2009, 2015; see Chapter 1.1.2 on intercultural competence and also Chapter 3 on research methods).

As will be clear, the lives of these researchers are shaped by various experiences with mobility, by the languages they speak or that surround them, and by multiple intercultural encounters they have first-hand knowledge of. These circumstances are likely to influence their opinions on culture, as well as shape their intercultural competence. Therefore, the description of the results about their opinions on diverse aspects of culture will be followed by a report on intercultural competence based on the data from the interviews applying the process model of intercultural competence by Deardorff (2006, 2009; see also section 1.1.2).

4.1.2.1. Opinions on culture and behaviour in general

This section starts with the answers as they were given to 10 opinion items about different aspects of culture. The outcomes are presented as percentages in the format of graph bars in the Figure below.
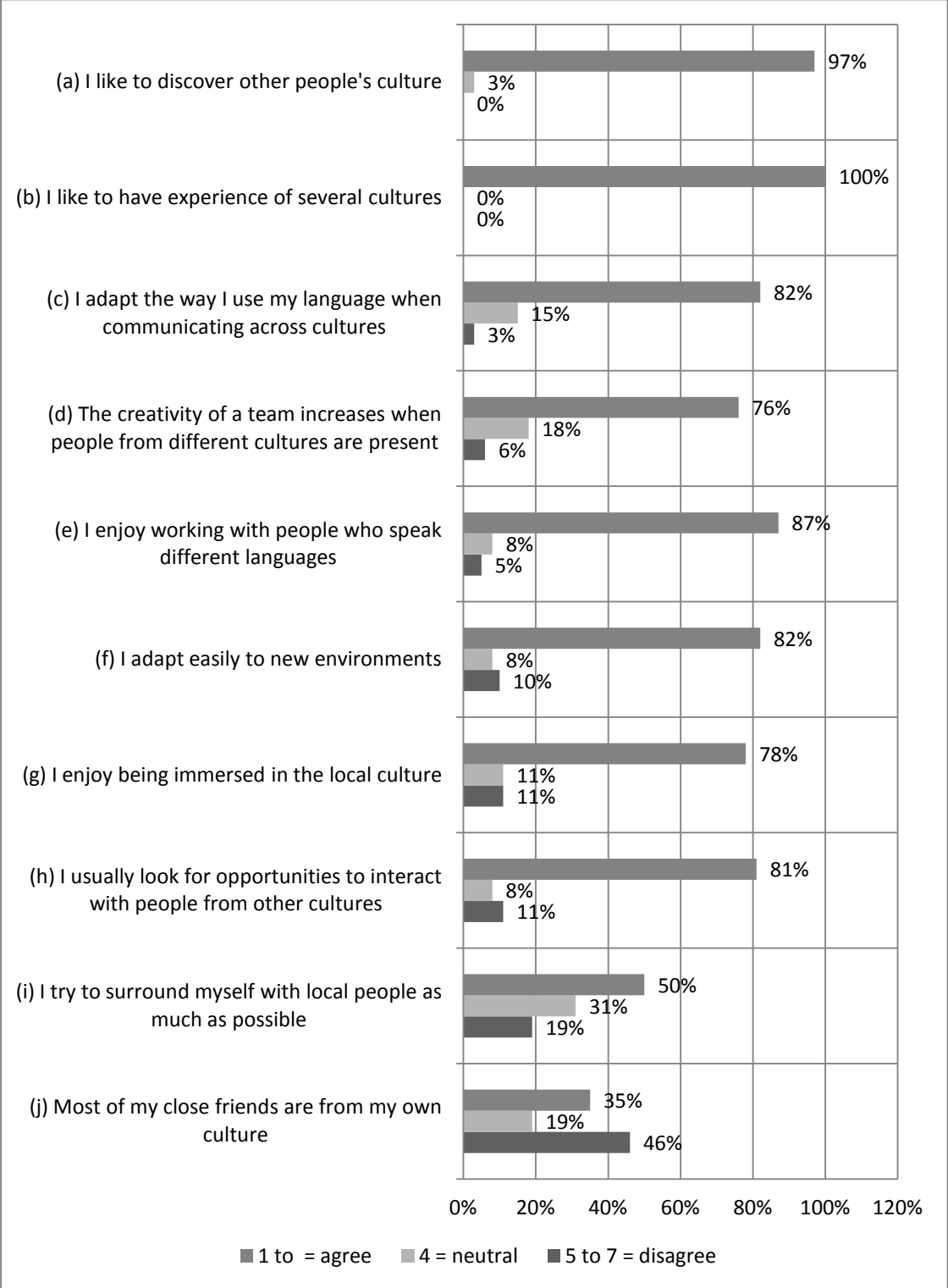
Figure 4.6   Researchers' opinions on different aspects of culture (n=66)

With regards to researchers' opinions on different aspects of culture, the results show that all respondents like to have experience of several cultures (item b: 100%), and almost all of them (97%) like to discover other people's culture (item a). Over 81% of respondents look for opportunities to interact with people from other cultures (item h), and over 82% of respondents say that they adapt easily to new environments (item f). A large majority of respondents (78%) enjoy being immersed in the local culture (item g). With regards to working with people who speak different languages, Figure 4.6 shows that 87% of researchers enjoy working with people who speak different languages (item e), and 82% of the respondents say that they adapt the way they use their language when communicating across cultures (item c). They also believe that the creativity of a team increases when people from different cultures interact (item d: 76%).

These results reveal that as foreign researchers they enjoy working with speakers of other languages, and they are open towards experiencing different cultures and learning from others. Overall, the findings suggest that these researchers have an open attitude towards different cultures, which includes discovering different cultures, adapting the way they use their language, and adapting to new environments.

The two items where the scores are lower and the opinions are more divided are the item about trying to surround themselves as much as possible with local people (50%; item i) and the item about close friends who are from their own culture (35%; item j). It seems that the personal networks of these researchers are wider than the current or the former networks.

These positive attitudes towards different cultures and intercultural competence will be examined in the light of researchers' mobility experiences, their ability to speak various languages, and the intercultural encounters they have both in their professional and everyday life. The process model of Deardorff (See also section 1.1.2) includes five dimensions: 1) attitudes, 2) knowledge and comprehension, 3) skills, 4) internal outcomes, and 5) external outcomes. These dimensions will be used as headers for separate sections in order to structure the discussion. For the second dimension about knowledge, a further distinction is made between three sub-aspects: cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, and sociolinguistic awareness.

Those three sub-aspects will be discussed separately. The sub-aspect of cultural self-awareness provides an occasion for a brief aside to discuss more at length the way these researchers see their own cultural identity in terms of different labels that they were asked to choose from. The third dimension about skills has two sub-aspects; one the one hand, skills to listen, observe and evaluate, and on the other hand, skills to analyse, interpret and relate. Those two aspects of skills will also be discussed separately.

Structuring the discussion in this way, it is possible to have a closer look at the various dimensions of the researchers' intercultural competence; the discussion is based on examples from their workplace and from their everyday life which were provided during the interviews.

4.1.2.2. Attitudes

In terms of Deardorff's process model of intercultural competence the most important attitudes are respect, openness, and curiosity and discovery. It became clear from the results presented in the figure above, specifically items a, b and h, that the researchers have positive attitudes towards other cultures. Excerpts in the description below will further illustrate examples of respect, openness, and curiosity and discovery from the interview data. In general, due to the nature of their work and work environments, these researchers have obtained substantial exposure to different cultures, even if cultural diversity is limited in their country of origin. In this respect, Researcher #16 made an interesting remark about his background and country of origin: "*it's very rare to get to know people from different religions... Maybe we read and you think that you understand but you never know the reality*". The work of these academic researchers allows them to meet people from different cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. As the data show, it means that exposure to a spectrum of cultures allows researchers to respect cultural differences.

Researcher #15 enjoys living in multicultural countries, but not only for himself, also he loves his children to grow up in another country because it provides an important learning opportunity for them. He has a positive experience with the multicultural and multi-religion aspects of his previous country of work. In his previous country of work, he was "*one of the many, and you don't have the idea that we are better than others.*" For him, but also for others, the spectrum of cultures, cuisines, and seeing

people from around the world made the place where he worked and lived enriching, and created an environment that enables respect for different religions and cultures.

4.1.2.3. Knowledge and comprehension

As said above, in Deardorff's (2006, 2009) process model on intercultural competence for the second dimension of knowledge and comprehension the following three aspects are distinguished: 1) cultural self-awareness, 2) deep cultural knowledge, and 3) sociolinguistic awareness. An important indicator here is to be able to understand the world from the others' perspective.

1. Cultural self-awareness

Cultural self-awareness refers to the ways in which one's culture has influenced one's identity, including one's worldview (Deardorff, 2015). The description can be extended to include how encounter with *others'* cultures influence one's identity. These researchers have been living and working in different countries and they have moved around in international environments, which can bring researchers closer to have "*a common understanding of how things are*", as Researcher #25 expressed it. This is the case even if they are in different academic disciplines.

Because cultural self-awareness is a sub-aspect of the knowledge and comprehension dimension at this point the cultural identity of the researchers is explored in more detail, in particular, how researchers perceive their own identity. An important issue in this respect is what happens to people's identity when they live away from their country of origin, and are surrounded by people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The data that were collected show that people have different experiences and they have different ways of self-identifying. During the interview the following identities were presented to the interviewee through three broad labels: 'World citizen', 'European' or 'Nationality'. The researchers could not always simply identify with just one of these three labels and sometimes overlapping answers were given. For that reason, an extra label was introduced: 'In-between identity'. All four labels come usually with some kind of further justification or explanation as the researchers tried to report their identity as comprehensively as possible. It can be noted that all interviewees show a high degree of cultural self-awareness.

'In-between'

When asked about the culture they belong to, Researchers #1, #10, #24 were amongst those who said that they did not know it very well. They see themselves as '*in-between*' or '*something of everything*' or they are '*not sure*' about their identity. The answers of these three researchers are discussed one by one as an illustration of an 'in-between' identity. Researcher #1 observed things happening in her home country that she no longer identifies with, and that is why she feels in-between. The second example comes from Researcher #10 who stated that locals once made a joke about his identity, introducing him as a guy of Bilbao who had decided to be born in his country of origin, "*because a Basque can choose where he's born*". He continued that "*living in different countries, in some way you cut off your roots. With that I mean your own culture, narrowly defined roots. Right now, when I go to [country of origin], I see how much I've changed, comparing myself to my family... I don't feel really [nationality]...; I think I'm a product of a generation that moves around*". He hopes he grabbed the best aspects of each place he has lived, adding that it has not always been easy, and it is as if he lost his point of orientation. He sometimes asks '*who am I?*', although finding the answer is not important for him, the question becomes relevant in his current cultural context, when he thinks how strong Spanish or Basque culture is. Similarly, Researcher #24, who has been living abroad for his studies, PhD and further academic positions since his early adulthood, does not associate himself with any nationality or a particular culture: "*I collect a bit of each [culture], then I am officially [nationality] because my documents say so.*" He gained his social skills and knowledge about citizenship in the country where he lived before moving to the Basque Country and reflects on "*going back*" there, not the country where he was born. He noted that the problem is not with how he identifies himself, but how other people define him. Similar to Researcher #10, people call him Spanish or Basque when he goes to the U.S., or to the country where he is a visiting scholar, because he talks to them a lot about the Basque culture. Then again, a Basque person would never say the same about him.

World citizen

The second category of self-identification was referred to as 'world citizen', mentioned for example, by Researcher #8 and Researcher #9. These researchers

chose this expression during the interview as a label for their own identity. Researcher #8 declared that he has always seen himself as a world citizen. When it comes to day-to-day things, such as football teams, he still supports the local team in his country of birth, not the local team here. In the Basque Country he does not have many friends from his country of origin. He does not see himself going back and retiring in his country of origin. He notices that things look more foreign to him when he goes back there, and he feels at home here. Researcher #9, too, is comfortable in the Basque Country. He also regards himself foremost as a world citizen. At first, he indicated that he is "*not attached to anywhere*", but later he made clear that it is not completely true. He does get attached to a place and every place he has lived somehow becomes a part of him, he takes them with him, and those places shape his identity. Together those places make him into who he is today. He illustrates his flexibility with the example that when he goes to his country of birth for a holiday, he does not "*go back home*".

European

The third label of self-identification is "*European*" and this expression was chosen in different ways with giving different explanations by Researchers #4, #12, #20, and #22. The first example is given by Researcher #4 who feels European due to having lived in different European cities and they all shaped him to some degree. He feels a close relation to where he lives now, but also to Spain, and finally to his roots in his country of origin.

The second example of "European" as a label for self-identity comes from Researcher #12. From a practical point of view, now living in the Basque Country, but being a European citizen he sees no bureaucratic obstacles. When he was young, national identity was completely unimportant to him, and only when he moved abroad for his studies in late 1980s was when people started to identify him with his nationality, and then he realised that he is not like the locals and that he could not always deny his identity.

Similar to these two researchers, also Researcher #20 identifies himself primarily as "European", because he feels closest to the culture of Europe. He said that he certainly would not call himself anything else: "*Probably more open in some sense to overcome nationalisms. Next step would be world citizen but I'm not there yet.*". He

explained this is because he still feels a stranger in, for instance, the U.S. He recalled being considered an outsider as a child when he moved from his country of birth to a neighbouring country: "*I was the only student at school together with my brother...and maybe one other guy... I was okay, it wasn't that bad I was the guy from outside but I got used to that.*". He is aware that times have changed, because one would see children from many different parts of the world when he goes to an elementary school in Bilbao. In that sense, children now, he assumes, would have different experiences.

A similar experience, but with a different emphasis, is shared by Researcher #22 who migrated as a child with his family, but he went to school back to his country of birth: "*I was kind of between those countries.*" He considers both of those countries as his home, however his country of birth more. He, nevertheless, feels first and foremost 'European': "*for me this is one country, it's Europe.*" He had offers to go to the U.S., also to Canada, but after careful reflection about those possibilities, his main reason to stay was his strong connection to Europe. For him the beauty of Europe is having a big mix of everything: "*You have a lot of languages, a lot of people, a lot of habits, cultures... Everything is there in one continent.*".

Nationality

The fourth and final label for self-identification that was mentioned during the interview is the 'nationality' of the country of birth. This turned out to be the most common identity label chosen by the researchers as to best or predominately describe their identity and thus in this category quite a few researchers can be found, among others #5, #6, #7, #12, #13, #14, #15, #16 and #23. A few excerpts from them will be given to demonstrate how they express in different ways the use of this label of their nationality for their identity.

Researcher #5 gives the national language as the main reason for identifying primarily with his nationality, even if he regards himself as a 'universal person'. He stated that sharing a language with someone implies also sharing a common literature, and "*your communication with that person cannot be replaced by anything*". For him, the language factor is a matter of distinguishing between in-group and out-group.

Researcher #6, a non-European researcher, said he "clearly" identifies himself as a [nationality], because for him there is a clear cultural difference in the way people communicate. He believes that everyone has their own cultural identity, "*even if they feel citizens of the world, European, they are all different*".

Researcher #7, too, explains that he does not believe in the concept 'citizens of the world', arguing that "*there is no identity to the world, so I don't like that*". He feels that his identity is expressed by his nationality the most, and he mentions to have his country of origin's passport and he does not take any actions to change, even if it was not the easiest country to live in. He believes the decisive factor is where you grow up and the perspective it gives you on the world. The children of Researcher #7 are growing up in the Basque Country "*so, they will see the world from the point of view of here*". Despite his self-identification, after having lived abroad for about 20 years, "*it [country of birth] doesn't feel home anymore, it feels something that I know... I can easily speak the language, but some things I look strangely and I criticise many things*". This idea is echoed by Researcher #12 who believes that his way of thinking, spending time in his country of origin, having close friends there, is decisive in what he identifies with. The idea applies also to researchers #14 and #16. Researcher #16 said he is totally [nationality]. Regardless, it would still be difficult for him to move back to that country, since he thinks some day-to-day practices go a bit too far for him. His country of origin is pretty homogenous in terms of physical appearance, and as long as they look a certain way, the society thinks they are [nationality].

Researcher #13, too, identifies with the nationality of her country of birth. When asked what that means, she answered "*It means that I care about what happens there, more than I care about what happens here. I know also better what is going on there than what is going on here...*" She added that she even follows the local and the Spanish news through newspapers in her country of birth.

Researcher #15 is not a fussy person in terms of what he calls "*stereotypical preferences*" when it comes to food or sports: "*I still recognise that I come from that culture*". He was born in the south of his country and he grew up in the north, which explains why he has acquired a mixed culture and recognizes himself as his national identity of origin. He believes that it is important for children to have roots, and to

know where they come from, because it gives them solidity; then, they can go away and explore and then they can always come back or "*where you end up doesn't matter*". He believes this makes children stronger and more ready to explore, but "*if they don't have a strong sense of identity*", it may create confusion in the development of a child. However, he said, it would be a limitation if due to identifying strongly with a nationality, one cannot live in another country, because s/he cannot find their culture there: "*Your origin is just your background, that's it. I'm [nationality] but not nationalistic...*".

Researcher #23 said he has got ties to many places and has not really fully integrated in any of those places. He considered himself mostly his nationality. However, he said that if he had been asked this question 10 years ago, when he had not yet moved around so much and not seen so many different people, he would have said "*people are pretty much alike.*" Today he notices the differences much more clearly.

As can be seen from the examples above, researchers have distinct but complementing reasons for their self-identifications even within the same category of self-identification, which are rooted in their unique experiences. Nevertheless, similarities arise even between categories, such as the perception and the idea of 'home'.

2. Deep cultural knowledge

The second sub-aspect of the knowledge and comprehension dimension of the model on intercultural competence is deep cultural knowledge. Just as much as cultural self-awareness is an indicator of intercultural competence, deep cultural knowledge, which includes an awareness of different sensitivities, is another important indicator. Researcher #16 suggested that deep cultural knowledge comes through life experience, mobility and exposure to different cultures. He further stated that deep cultural knowledge, such as a deepened sense of what is valued by other cultures, leads to heightened cultural awareness, which shapes attitudes when differences are encountered.

This sub-aspect is especially important for the contacts with the local culture, and therefore, in section 4.3. researchers' experiences with and observations of the local culture will be looked into in greater detail.

3. Sociolinguistic awareness

The third sub-aspect of the knowledge and comprehension component of the intercultural competence model of Deardorff (2006) is called 'sociolinguistic awareness'. This sub-aspect emphasises mainly some linguistic issues, such as differences in the meaning of words or differences in pronunciation. Some examples can be illustrative of this sub-aspect. The excerpts shed light on how this specific type of sociolinguistic awareness among this group of researchers can increase when they discover the world around them and when they interact with colleagues.

A phenomenon related to this aspect, which was mentioned frequently during the interviews, are the so-called 'false friends', that is when a word, a concept, or an expression although they seem the same in two languages, has a different meaning or connotation. Researchers, #24, #25 and #17 showed an understanding of the phenomenon. Their sociolinguistic awareness enabled them to catch misunderstandings before they lead to a difficult situation or sometimes even before they arise, and to understand the meaning behind utterances. Researcher #24 gave an example from his initial days at his workplace in the Basque Country when he "*made the mistake of*" behaving like someone from the country where he previously worked. Back in that country "*when somebody says, we have to meet some of these days to have a beer",* the reply would be: *"Okay, when? What time?"*. They would never say that unless they have a day in mind. So, when someone in his new workplace said "*we must meet!*", his immediate response was "*ok, tomorrow or next week ...at 3 o'clock?"* and the person would say "*oh, I don't know*". He noticed that in the Basque Country, people use this kind of expression in order "*to show appreciation and it is a pleasant thing to say*". He notices these subtle differences, and if needed discusses them with his colleagues. This he showed in a second example. In an email to one of his colleagues he asked if the person could "*make a light review*" of a document, by which he intended to ask if his colleague could have a quick look. His colleague had a different understanding, and responded saying "*I don't have time to write a review and analyse everything*". He then responded to this answer explaining what his intention was, and his colleague then said he could check it quickly. He said these kinds of misunderstandings happen frequently. He noticed that some people realise that it was a misunderstanding and they can laugh about it,

but others, depending on the subject, take it more seriously or sometimes even personally.

He had a third example, this time from a time he was in Japan, a country where he travels there for his research. His example is about the concept *'impossible'* in Japanese, and how it differs from "*Western culture*", and how he managed to come to an agreement going past the word impossible. His attention to detail, paying attention to why misunderstandings occur to mediate differences can be a valuable skill in his work. Through his examples he shows to possess a high level of sociolinguistic awareness, which gives him the ability to transform his work and build bridges between cultures.

Another example comes from Researcher #25, who used to find it difficult to decode words when they are pronounced differently in comparison to what he is used to. He notices that he starts to adapt over time to *foreign* pronunciation. He even started adapting to some of the *mistakes*, and also the way of speaking himself; he makes an effort to speak slower and to pronounce words more clearly: "*Because sometimes if I'm speaking like I'm speaking with my family at home in English, people don't [understand], also it's too fast and with too many local expressions*". He notices that if there is a group of people with different nationalities, he is sometimes picking up misunderstandings as they arise between people: "*You see that they are not understanding each other well and I understand why*". This demonstrates that language has an important role to play in the development of intercultural competence.

Developing sociolinguistic awareness may also play a role in language transmission. Researcher #17 gave an interesting example, because she regrets that she does not pass on sufficient awareness of her first language (L1) to her children. Even when Researcher #17 talks to her children in her L1, they end up using it mainly for basic communication, and she explained "*proverbs and so on come from experiencing the culture, and cannot be done in another culture, they may have no meaning in another culture*". She gave as an example that in her L1, they say '*good like the bread*', as an expression to refer to a nice person. In the country where she previously lived they use the expression '*it's stupid like the bread*'. She believes that "*you don't acquire them [proverbs] if you're not totally integrated*" which includes socialisation as a

child. Her children do not speak her L1 really well because they only have her as a teacher. Overall, this researcher showed a high level of sociolinguistic and cultural awareness. She believes that "*the more languages one learns, the more realities one can observe*". She used "realities" here as a concept to refer to cultures, because with a language, comes a culture, among others things that are conveyed via proverbs.

4.1.2.4. Skills

The third dimension in Deardorff's (2006) model on intercultural competence are the skills, which are grouped under two sub-aspects; on the one hand skills to listen, observe and evaluate, and on the other hand skills to analyse, interpret and relate.

1. Skills to listen, observe and evaluate

Coming into contact with people from different cultures may allow learning about people or groups outside one's immediate circle, getting to understand them and levelling stereotypes. In this case, not only coming into contact with but working in diverse and multicultural academic workplaces, does expose these researchers to cultural differences and this can challenge pre-existing beliefs.

Researcher #22 talked about his personal stereotypes, and how by working together with people from different countries, he learned to think differently. He said that especially his initial thinking about "far away countries" changed because it was a part of the world unknown to him earlier in his life. By working together, listening to others, learning how to make observations, and engaging in discussions, he came to understand how they think and behave, and how the scientific world works in other places, and after evaluating this all, it changed his way of thinking and misconceptions.

According to Researcher #16, getting to know people from different parts of the world, aside from practical benefits, is synonymous with exposure to other points of view and experiences. He believes that such exposure makes people more respectful, and helps them acquire different perspectives and see things from different angles.

In their workplaces, as individuals from different backgrounds, each and every one of them contributes to the cultural mosaic, bringing "*different attitudes to science*" (Researcher #15). An added benefit of seeing the world and getting to meet so many interesting people and scientists from around the world is exchanging experiences and seeing different ways of organising life and work. When they listen to others,

observe their behaviour and evaluate such situations, it helps them come up with new ideas, and leads them to be more creative about their own research. Having seen how things work in a few different countries, Researcher #23 said, he started thinking about "*a much bigger set of possibilities and life experiences*". He finds this is reflected in the type of questions he now asks in his research field. The questions are different from what he used to ask when he worked in his country of origin.

2. Skills to analyse, interpret and relate

Coming to an understanding of different cultures, and living and working in different contexts comprised of multiple cultures, these researchers analyse the different ways of doing things, and interpret and relate to alternative ways of living. One could say, they have in their personal 'cultural luggage' not only their own background, but also experiences from the places that they have worked and lived before, adding to that the local context where they currently live and including other cultures present in their workplace.

The example of the way Researcher #7 reasons is illustrative of his skill to analyse, interpret and relate. He conceived of his life as four periods, related to the four countries where he has lived and worked. He added: "*There's no doubt, from each place I took something... It certainly shapes you and influences the way you think.... It helps, seeing different parts of the world and different ways of thinking [and] it allows you to make comparisons.*" He analysed and interpreted each country in a specific way and was able to make relationships between them.

Along the same lines, Researcher #11 expressed the idea of coming to an understanding of another culture through analysis and an interpretation, and how this can change you as a person: "*When you change country, you see that what you thought was organised one way, maybe can be organised another way; you decide what you choose in which country... Also finally you choose the place where you are more comfortable... You find your equilibrium.*".

4.1.2.5. Internal outcomes

According to Deardorff (2006), the attitudes, knowledge, and skills should ideally lead to a number of 'internal outcomes' for a person, among those she mentions 1)

empathy, 2) adaptability, 3) flexibility, 4) an ethno-relative view (see also section 1.1.2.).

An internal outcome such as empathy can be developed through mobility, as Researcher #15, for instance, explained: "*[mobility] helps you a lot to understand people from different places... You see that we all have something in common*". Furthermore, internal outcomes, such as adaptability or flexibility, can also be developed through exposure to different cultures and intercultural encounters.

Exposure to different cultures can help people, in this case researchers, to feel at home in different places. In today's world, which is characterised by mobility of people, "home" is a concept that turns away from the immediate association with the place where one was born. This was already shown before, when the researchers who identify with their nationality most, do no longer feel at home in their country of birth, despite visiting from time to time. Some of them may begin to feel like a foreigner in their own country, but they have learned how to make themselves feel at home in different places.

Intercultural encounters can also enhance flexibility. Or, as Researcher #11 said "*it influences our ways of being, thinking, ideas and behaving*". In Researcher #17 it can be seen that flexibility is internalised by how she perceives her and her family's idea of home. Even though the Basque Country does not feel like home, Researcher #17 said that neither does her "home", in the sense of the country where she was born. According to her, this is what happens to people who move, and in her case, because she changed the place where she lives many times, she has become flexible and in a way detached from the concept of home. She argues that people who move a lot lose the link towards their "home". She said that she can live anywhere when she likes it. She further made clear that this type of flexibility has some positive and some negative sides. She acknowledges that the old, intimate place changes with time: "*You lose your house, because your parents move or die... or the house is rundown... the streets change, shops change, friends too change... when the small things you are attached to do not exist anymore and you are not a part of it when it changes... you call it home but it actually has nothing to do with home. On the downside, you've lost your home, on the positive side, it is just evolving, you no longer are attached to it as*

you are not a part of the ongoing changes, even if you visit three four times a year." (Researcher #17).

By increased intercultural awareness, another internal outcome is almost inevitable because in many cases an ethno-relative view develops. In the words of Researcher #4: "*You're getting much more open-minded when you live in different countries.*" He notices that he changed considerably in the last 20 years. His way of looking at things and how he sees his own country today is completely different. "*And you only learn how others see your country and how things can be seen when you're outside, you can see it through different glasses... The view changes.*"

The examples show that the internal outcomes of empathy, adaptability, flexibility, and an ethno-relative view can all be found among this group of foreign researchers.

4.1.2.6. External outcomes

In Deardorff's (2006) model the combination of attitudes, knowledge, skills, and internal outcomes should ideally lead to external outcomes for a person: effective and appropriate communication and suitable behaviour in intercultural situations. Some examples to effective and appropriate communication and suitable behaviour are: adopting communicative practices, how to dress for work, ways to socialise, and bringing up children. External outcomes are mirrored in day-to-day activities and habits, as well as other attitudes, knowledge and skills. The interviewed researchers also acknowledged that they have many times accommodated their communicative style and learned how to behave appropriately in many different circumstances. The increase in intercultural competence, which is indicated by a shift in the researchers' attitudes, knowledge, and skills can have benefits for science.

4.1.2.7. Summary

First the researchers' opinions on cultures in general were explored, based on ten items in the online questionnaire. The results indicate that researchers are open towards different cultures, and towards discovering and experiencing different cultures, they enjoy interacting with locals and with people from different cultural backgrounds, they adapt their languages to new environments, and according to most of them they experience that the creativity of a team increases when people from different backgrounds are present. The next step was to apply the different dimensions and sub-aspects of Deardorff's (2006) model on intercultural competence

to the data from the interviews. The researchers' opinions provided information about the various aspects of their intercultural competence. Positive attitudes towards cultures become evident in the analysis of intercultural competence through the examples provided by the researchers. Their curiosity and discovery, as well as experiences abroad bring in different perspectives to their work and it is not only positive for themselves, but it can also benefit their scientific work.

The researchers' cultural self-awareness may signal how they interpret their surroundings, how they relate to their cultural context and to the world at large. One third of the researchers applies the label to their identity as a kind of 'in-between' or 'something of everything'. They report a change of self, and a change of "home", as changes occur whilst they are away. They notice not completely belonging to their new social and work contexts either. Some of them think it is a shame, for others it is something liberating, or even both at the same time. They feel somehow in-between, rather than showing strong signs of affiliation with either their past, or their present contexts. Nevertheless, having being shaped in multiple contexts adds something from everywhere to their identity. It is a matter of constant adjusting and re-adjusting, to every new place, adding another layer of richness to intercultural competence. Researchers who identified as 'world citizen' had similar arguments, noting that every place they lived become a part of them and shape their identity. The researchers who identified primarily as European expressed a strong connection to Europe thanks to having the experiences of living in a number of European countries, mentioning its diversity and common values.

The researchers who primarily identify with their nationality mentioned sharing a language, observing cultural differences and different perspectives, the importance of upbringing and the way one thinks and behaves, close friends and the visiting country of origin often, caring about and following politics and news, the importance of having roots, but they distinguish these ideas from being nationalistic.

How the researchers explained their choice for the labels 'in-between', 'world citizen', 'European', and 'nationality', what such an identity means to them is different from one researcher to the next. Additionally, there is also an issue related to how others see them. 'Home' is a concept that is shared by almost all researchers, although the concept of 'home' in comparison with how someone defines their

identity is not necessarily the same. Each have a different story, and their unique stories define how they feel about their identity. These narratives are real-life stories, from which complex individual paths can be deduced.

These researchers are competent multilinguals and thus they show high levels of sociolinguistic awareness and have acquired an ability to transform their work by building bridges between cultures. From researchers' accounts, it can be seen that their everyday life and their work life are shaped by the context in which they live, where they meet people from different backgrounds.

The results presented above further show that mobility, intercultural encounters, and speaking different languages exposed these individuals to many cultural differences, which often lead to personal changes; especially changes in getting things done in a different way, by adapting practices, and opting for alternative practices. Mobility, intercultural encounters and languages can help them to see that one way of doing things is not the sole way. The results show that these researchers have had a chance to get a gist of other cultures first-hand, were able to provide comparisons and choices, gave them a larger window through which to view the world and change daily habits. Obviously, mobility, intercultural encounters and languages are a means to enhance intercultural competence. Enhanced intercultural competence can thus lead to more understanding and harmonious societies where differences are respected and not seen as a threat.

4.1.3. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES OF FOREIGN RESEARCHERS

This section discusses the third and final sub-dimension of the researchers as multilingual speaker:

RQ. 1.3. What are foreign researchers' attitudes and ideologies towards various languages?

Accordingly, the discussion focuses on attitudes toward the different languages used in their local and work contexts and their language ideologies. Again the presentation of the results is based on both the online questionnaire and the individual interviews. First, the attitudes and ideologies about the use of English in science are discussed

(4.1.3.1). This is followed by a more specific discussion about insecurities in speaking English. Thereafter, attitudes and ideologies regarding Basque and Spanish (4.1.3.2), and multilingualism and ideologies (4.1.3.3) will be discussed.

4.1.3.1. The use of English in science

English is used as a common language in academia across the globe and for these foreign researchers English is the most important language of the workplace. The aim is to summarise opinions of the researchers on their perception of the use of English in science, answering the corresponding sub-question: "*What are researchers' attitudes towards the use of English as lingua franca in academia?*" The six statements about English that were answered in the online questionnaire are seen in Figure 4.7, ordered from the most agreement to the least agreement.
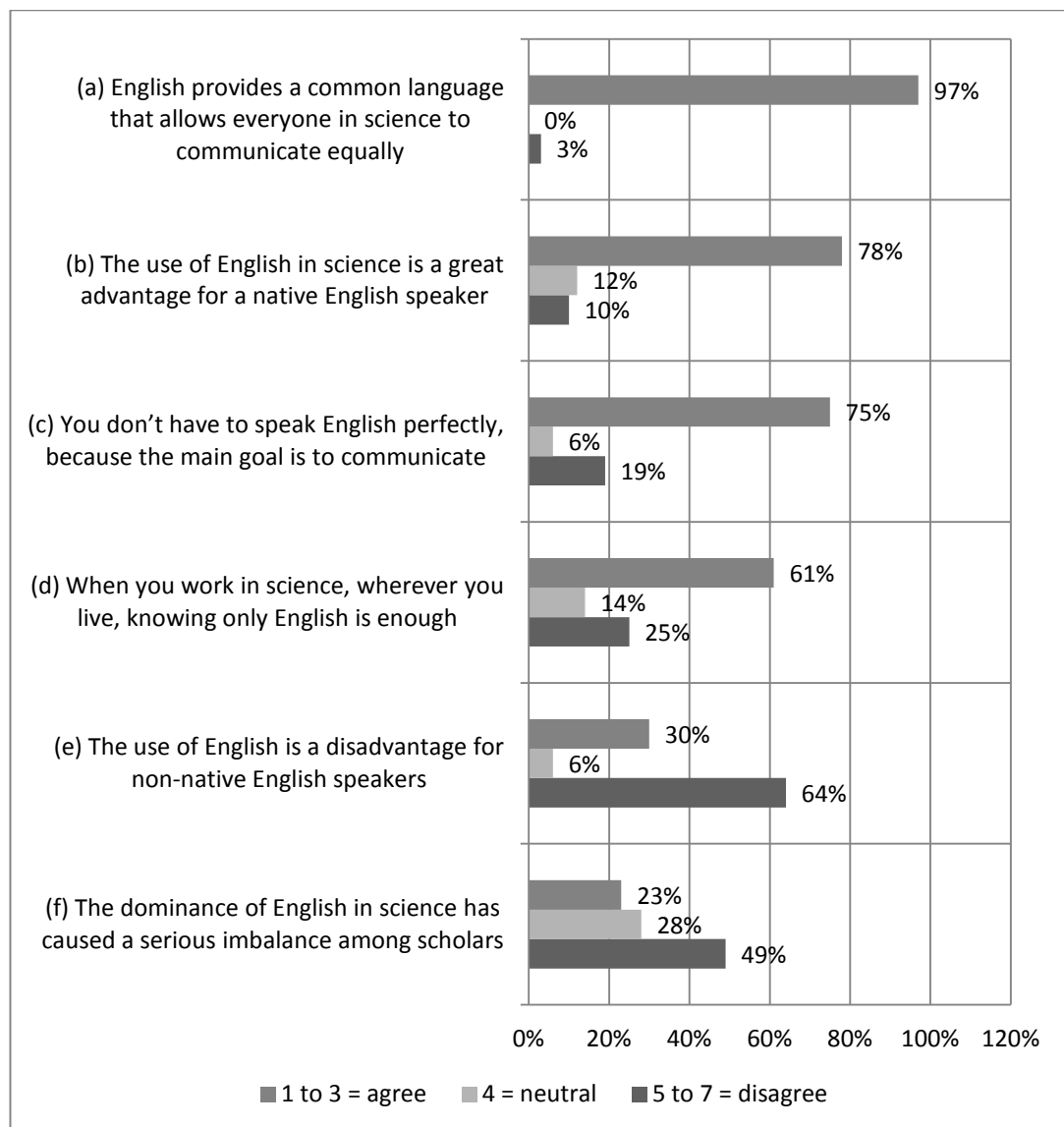
Figure 4.7   Researchers' attitudes towards English as language of science (n=69)

As shown in the figure, almost all (97%) researchers believe that "*English provides a common language that allows everyone in science to communicate equally*" (item a). This may appear as a sign of positive attitudes towards the use of English as academic lingua franca. However, the item that divided opinions most amongst researchers is "*the dominance of English in science has caused a serious imbalance among scholars*" (item e), with which half of the respondents either agree (23%) or neither agree nor disagree (28%), and the other half disagrees (49%).

Most disagreement (64%) comes with the item that states that "*the use of English is a disadvantage for non-native English speakers*" (item e). Interestingly, the almost opposite statement, that "*the use of English is a great advantage for an English native speaker*" (item b) is supported by 78% of respondents.

The figure also shows that, 75% of the respondents believe that "*you don't have to speak English perfectly, because the main goal is to communicate*" (item c). Another result is that, 61% of respondents think that "*when you work in science, wherever you live, knowing only English is enough*" (item d). Despite this opinion, an overwhelming majority of researchers are able to speak Spanish (see section 4.1.1.3 above).

Reading all items together it seems that although these researchers believe that English enables everyone in science to communicate equally, the findings also imply that English serves as a common language only when it is *shared*, i.e. by researchers across the globe who are able to use English as academic language.

During the interviews, the researchers confirmed that they attribute great importance to English. The researchers made clear that for them English has two overlapping roles: first, as the international language of communication, and second, as the general language used in science. These two roles places English at a higher rank in a language hierarchy, as will be illustrated by some of the opinions given during the interviews.

Researcher #3 explained that most members of his research group are foreigners like him, and they, thus, speak English amongst each other. The same reason was used as justification for the use of English in a master's program because of the presence of

international students. Researcher #21 observed that "*most of the people are international anyway*". Other researchers, such as Researcher #8 and Researcher #9, too, used the label "*multinational*" or "*international*" to define their research group and for them the label 'international' by default implies adopting English as language of communication. All these researchers take for granted the dominant presence of English as the lingua franca. English as an international language is so well-established that these researchers do not think it is anything extraordinary.

In regards to the second role of English, questions were asked about English as the language of science. In response they used, for instance, statements such as "*English is the language of academia*" (Researcher #5) and "*English is the language of science*" (Researcher #15). Researchers #11 and #22 both claimed that in practice "*You cannot publish anything that is not in English... no matter where you work*", because "*all scientific journals are in English*". Researcher #11 gave as her opinion that it was a good practice that her local colleagues and students made an effort to speak English even if it was challenging for them. Her reason was that "*part of being a good scientist is also knowing how to express yourself in English*".

Researcher #11 further acknowledges that "*English is the professional language*" and she has an extensive proficiency in her work jargon. She is more at ease in Spanish and in her first language (L1) in her everyday life in comparison with English, since she has never lived in an English-speaking country, and she, for instance, never had to call a plumber in English. Other interviewees, for example Researchers #5, #12, #13, and #20, mentioned that they do not have any insecurity about their English as a language of science. Researcher #5 said that he has no difficulties with regards to using English for that purpose, Researcher #12 said that he even sometimes "*felt too secure*", and Researcher #20 answered that "even though he is not a native speaker", he feels comfortable and confident using English. In contrast, Researcher #15 explained that he still felt insecure about his English, despite having lived and worked in an English-speaking country for a number of years. He clarified that for his academic work "*You can always improve in English. English is very important, it's a pity that I cannot speak it better or write better.*".

4.1.3.2. Attitudes towards Basque and Spanish

This section will answer the sub-question: "*What are researchers' attitudes towards learning Basque and Spanish?*" The results for the attitudes towards Basque and Spanish as obtained through the online questionnaire will be reported together, which allows to make a contrast between the attitudes towards both languages. The same will be done with the illustrative answers from the interviews to see the attitudes towards the two languages side by side. In Figure 4.8 the answers to the seven items about attitudes towards the use of Spanish or Basque are displayed in horizontal bar graphs, again ordered from most agreement to least agreement.
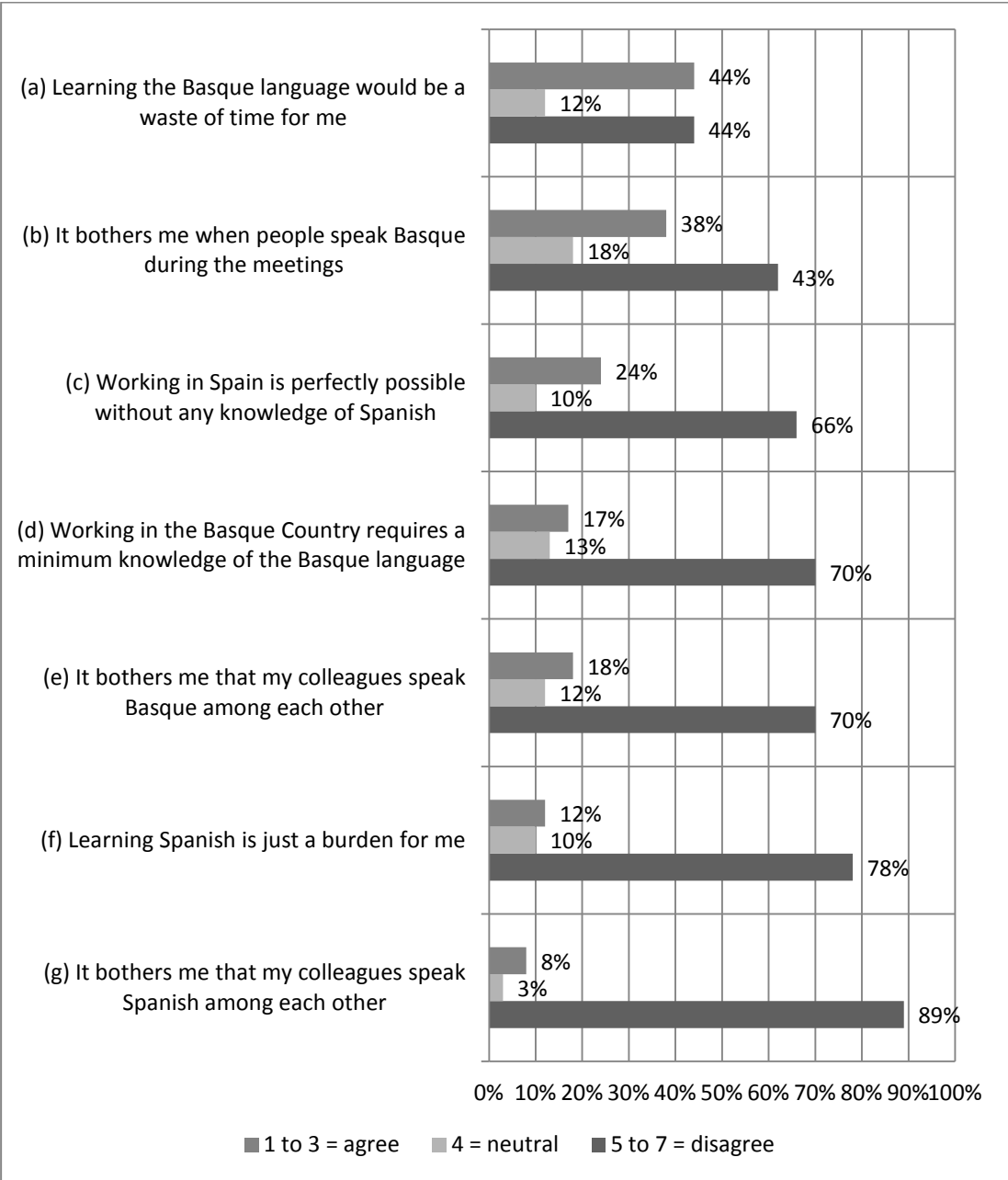
Figure 4.8   Researchers' attitude towards Basque and Spanish (n=69)

While researchers are divided in their opinion on item (a) "*learning the Basque language would be a waste of time for me*", because 44% agrees and also 44% disagrees, only 12% agrees and 78% disagrees that "*learning Spanish is just a burden*" (item f). The researchers are more inclined to learn Spanish, which was also reflected in their competence in the language (See 4.1.2.3 and 4.1.2.4). While, 66% of researchers disagree that '*it is perfectly possible to work in Spain without any knowledge of Spanish*' (item c), almost the same number of researchers (70%) disagree that "*working in the Basque Country requires a minimum knowledge of the Basque language*" (item d). This, too, may be indicative of the opinion why researchers are more inclined to learn Spanish than Basque.

The majority of researchers disagree with the statement that it bothers them that their colleagues speak among each other in Spanish (item g: 89% disagree) or Basque (item e: 70% disagree). Only respectively 8% and 18% agree with these two items. However, the item about their colleagues speaking Basque during meetings (item b), gets a more diverse response: 38% says that it does bother, 18% is neutral, and 43% answers that it does not bother them.

These results from the questionnaire about the researchers' attitudes towards Basque and Spanish can again be complimented by the data from the interviews. This will facilitate a more detailed reading of researchers' opinions and it will demonstrate that the interview results confirm the findings of the questionnaire.

As was shown in the answers in Figure 4.8, there is a clear difference between the attitudes towards learning Basque and the attitudes towards learning Spanish. Moreover, already in the sections concerning competences in Spanish and Basque (4.1.1.3 and 4.1.1.4), it could be seen that there is also a substantial gap in the percentage of researchers who are able to speak Spanish compared to the percentage able to speak Basque.

Their reasons for learning or not learning Basque or Spanish can signal the language ideologies, in other words Basque is ranked lower in a language hierarchy, or it is perceived as a difficult language. It was already indicated in their attitudes, that is, for half of them learning Basque would be a waste of time. The difference between language ideology and attitudes in this dissertation is explained in Chapter 1. During

the interviews a number of reasons were given for not learning Basque, which may reveal language ideologies towards Basque – and also Spanish – as will be seen below, and in some examples the remarks of the interviewees also reveal language ideologies about learning languages in general.

There were quite a few researchers who mentioned that they have not been active in learning Basque because of a lack of time and energy. Researcher #12, stated, for example that his job "*is not favouring other mental activities*", and added "*learning Spanish and Euskera is difficult, at some point you should work.*" He stated that he cannot find time to learn Spanish, which he considers more important than Basque, because his "*hunting for funds*" consumes so much time.

A lack of time was not the only reason given, but frequently other languages were considered more important to learn than Basque. In addition to Spanish, also German and French were mentioned, because of a perceived higher prestige and because they are more widely spoken. Researcher #18 said that "*you can speak Spanish with millions of people; Euskera if you're married and started a family here*". He argued further that Basque would not be useful outside of the Basque Country. Researcher #7 referred to the number of speakers: "*I hope they [Basque speakers] will not be offended. It is a small language, if it was German, or French, I would've put an effort in learning it*". Similarly, Researcher #1 believes that improving her knowledge of German is more important for her than learning Basque. She saw it also as a practical point since everyone can understand her when she uses Spanish.

Researcher #23 observes that the uptake for Spanish here is higher than for Basque, judging by the demand for Basque and Spanish courses. He observes that Basque courses typically have a couple of people while many more who take Spanish courses, if they do not know Spanish already. He guesses that "*you do your calculations you think, I've a couple of years here, I can learn Spanish it's got a lot more options. You know you can use that later on; they just sort of do the math*" and they come to Spanish as a better option.

Researcher #10 said so far he has not done much to learn Euskera; expressing that it's both a matter of time, and in some way he thinks he first needs to get "*really good*" with Spanish before he can start thinking about Euskera, hinting at a standard language ideology. Researcher #10 also mentioned that the Basque County is a

"*bilingual society*", and that locals do not have the expectation for him to speak Basque. To another question – whether speaking Basque would influence his relationships in his everyday life, he answered; "*people I speak with in the pueblo, can also speak Spanish. I think their preference is to speak Basque, but with me they are polite, and they speak Spanish. So, I know I can get away with not understanding Euskara.*" Researcher #3 mentioned more or less the same.

Some of the researchers referred to their impression that "*Basque is a very difficult language*" (Researcher #5). When asked if he tried to learn Basque, he explained that he has not, "*because it is impossible, really hard to learn*". He knows this from his son, who is fluent in Spanish but does not like speaking Basque because of how challenging he finds it to learn it. Researcher #8 also sees Basque as difficult to learn and in his words, he is not learning Basque because "*life is too short...*". Moreover, he added that in the city where he lives it does make no difference, because of the prominence of Spanish.

A lack of interest in learning languages in general was another reason for not learning Basque. For some, their lack of interest in learning Basque is due to having a network of friends who are mainly mother tongue Spanish speakers. Questioning the usefulness of learning Basque, Researcher #14 said that no one ever came up to him and said a whole sentence in Basque.

Researcher #24 mentioned that he once had the intention to learn Basque, and then he took classes but he did not like the approach. He prefers to learn grammar first, but the focus of classes was mainly speaking and memorizing sentences without knowing exactly what they were saying. Those classes did not cater his needs as a learner with a preference to learn grammar fist before starting to speak.

As for reasons for learning or wanting to learn Basque, some of the researchers said they would like to learn or improve their knowledge of Basque, but are not able to do so due to time restraints. Researcher #17 told that if he had the time, another reason for wishing to learn Basque is "*because of living in Euskadi and it's an official language of here...*"; "*not for practical reasons but it's a local language and why not*". Similarly, he would like his children to learn Euskera because they live in the Basque Country. Some of the researchers said they find Euskera interesting with its unique tenses and structure, and would be willing to learn. One of them added that he

has a Basque-speaking network of friends, and he thinks that it is a shame that he does not speak Basque after several years in the Basque Country.

4.1.3.3. Attitudes towards multilingualism

The questionnaire also contained eight items about the attitude towards multilingualism which are shown in Figure 4.9. Overall the respondents are strong supporters of multilingualism which is not surprising because they are multilingual persons themselves (see section on language competence 4.1.1).
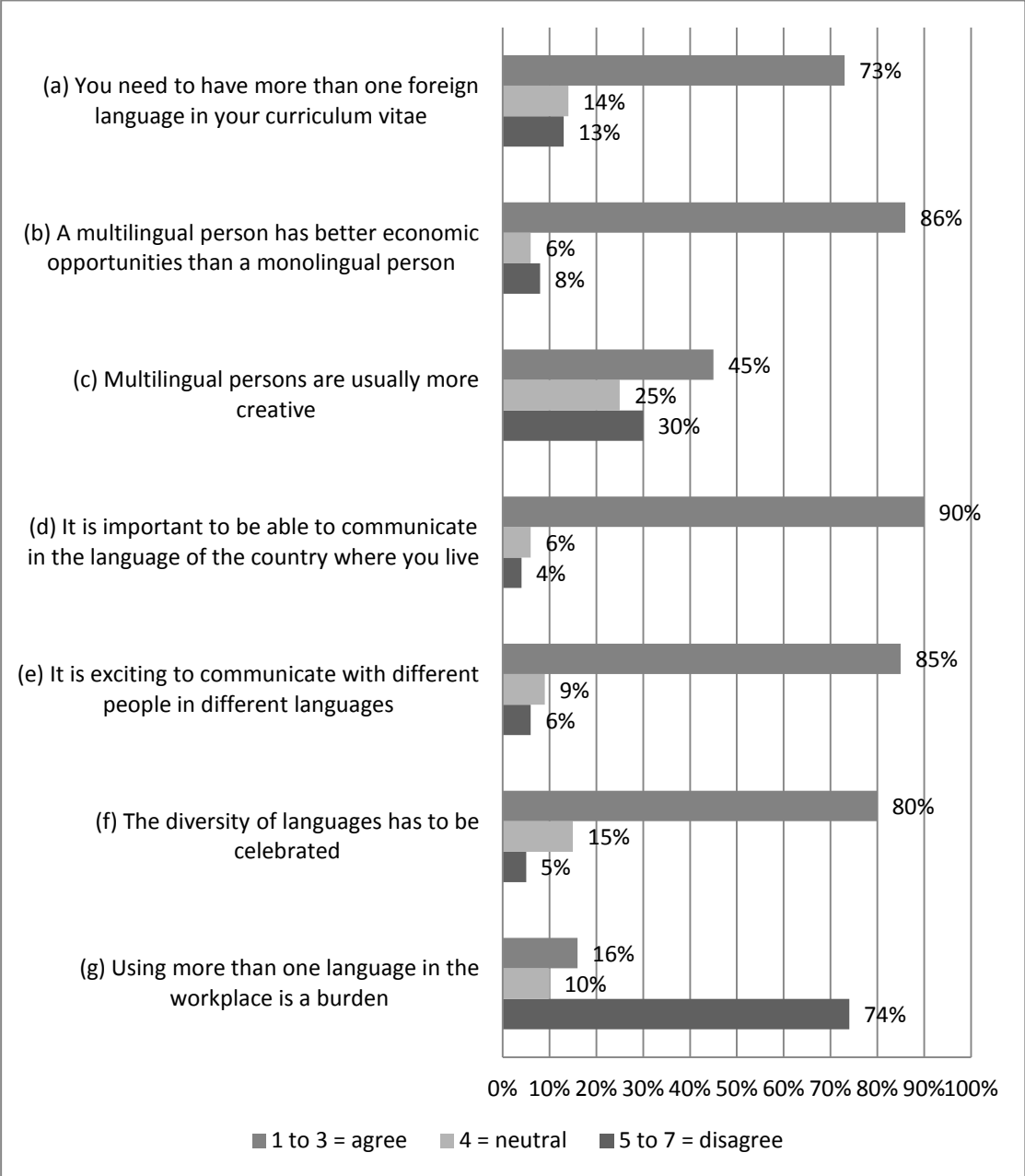
Figure 4.9   Researchers' attitude towards multilingualism (n=69)

As can be seen in the figure of all respondents 73% believe that "*you need to have more than one foreign language in your curriculum vitae*" (item a). Similarly, 86% of respondents believe that "a *multilingual person has better economic opportunities than a monolingual person*" (item b) and 90% of these researchers think that "*it is important to be able to communicate in the language of the country where you live*" (item d), even though this opinion is not reflected in their knowledge of Basque. Also a very high percentage of 85% believe that "*it is exciting to communicate with different people in different languages*" and a similar percentage, 80%, believe that "*the diversity of languages has to be celebrated*". Slightly less, 74%, of respondents disagree that "u*sing more than one language in the workplace is a burden*". The results for these eight items confirm that these foreign researchers see multilingualism as an asset, rather than a burden in the workplace.

4.1.3.4. Summary

The three sets of language attitudes that emerged were: firstly, almost all researchers regard English as a language that allows everyone in science to communicate equally. Further, these researchers believe that that the goal is to communicate, not to speak English perfectly. Researchers who took part in this study do not think "*the use of English is a disadvantage for non-native English speakers*" (64%), nevertheless, 79% of the respondents believe that "*the use of English in science is a great advantage for native English speakers*". Even so, English seems to be widely accepted by almost all of the respondents as the language of science and as the international language. At the same time, an overwhelming majority of them believe that it is important to communicate in the language of the country where you live, although they do not feel the pressure from locals to speak Basque or Spanish. Almost an equal number of researchers (68% vs. 70% respectively) believe that working in Spain is perfectly possible without any knowledge of Spanish and Basque.

Researchers are more inclined to learn Spanish, as it is also reflected in their language competences. Their personal, practical, and ideological reasons for not learning Basque are a lack of time and energy, and a preference for Spanish due to it being spoken widely around the world versus Basque which is limited to the Basque Country. Furthermore, it was clear that if they already speak Spanish, they are understood by everyone in the workplace and in society at large, and in general

people do not have the expectation for these foreign researchers to be able to speak Basque. They also mentioned that they see it as a difficult language, and often teaching methods are not suited for their needs.

Those who would like to learn Basque, however, gave the following reasons: Basque is an official language of the region, to better understand people and the culture, have Basque-speaking friends, and that there are the possibilities to learn. Understanding more about these researchers' opinions can perhaps help to devise strategies that promote learning Basque among all of them.

Section 4.1 presented the results for this group of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country for the dimension of the multilingual speaker, in terms of, first, language competence in different languages, second, intercultural competences according to various dimensions and, third, language attitudes.

With regards to their language competence, the data clearly indicate that researchers are a highly multilingual group. In addition to other languages, researchers are proficient speakers of English, many of them speak Spanish, but with varying levels, and almost none of them speak Basque.

Researchers are a group with a high level of intercultural competence thanks to intercultural encounters, mobility experiences, and speaking different languages. Intercultural competence is reflected, amongst others, in the way they interact with different cultures, and the way they think and behave in their everyday life.

Results show that English is embraced as a bridge between people of different languages and cultures. In addition, results demonstrate that respondents lay greater emphasis on content than on form, a notion will be further looked into in section 4.2.3 of this chapter. Although English was expected to be the common language, results show that knowledge of other languages is regarded as useful for foreign academic researchers.

4.2.   THE WHOLE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE: LANGUAGE USE AND FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE PRACTICES

The focal point of this section is language use, an aspect related to the whole linguistic repertoire, the second dimension of the theoretical framework Focus on

Multilingualism (as discussed in Chapter 1). The research question that will be answered in this chapter is the following:

RQ 2. What are the main characteristics of language use of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

Sub-research questions:

RQ 2.1. Which languages do foreign researchers use in the workplace?

RQ 2.2. Which languages do foreign researchers use in private life?

RQ 2.3. Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?

The questions will be answered in two steps. First, language use is divided according to five different daily tasks in an academic workplace in order to describe the frequency of the use of English, Spanish, Basque and other languages. This will result in a general overview of multilingualism in the workplace. The second step concerns the use of languages in private life. Thereafter, an analysis will be presented of some flexible language practices, that is, on the one hand, the influence of one language on another language and, on the other hand, the use of more than one language to carry out an activity or its use in the same situation. The aim is to show how these multilingual researchers use their languages flexibly and naturally via examples provided during the interviews.

4.2.1. LANGUAGE USE IN THE ACADEMIC WORKPLACE

In this section, the following research sub-question is addressed:

RQ 2.1. Which languages do foreign researchers use in the workplace?

As is well-known, academic researchers carry out various tasks. Not only do they carry out and participate in research projects, as part of which they write articles or book chapters and hold presentations, but they also teach and carry out various administrative duties. Obviously, they interact with co-workers in the workplace, and they collaborate with other researchers both locally, nationally and internationally. Researchers do not need to be physically present to be able to contribute to carrying out a research project. For instance, they can join a meeting via a virtual call, keep in

touch with collaborators through an online application, assist in research elsewhere through the use of the facilities of their research centre, or maintain and develop their networks at a distance. During their work, researchers use a combination of different means of spoken and written communication, which can be summarised under the umbrella term 'language use in the academic workplace'.

Here language use is approached by applying a division into five basic activities (adapted for the academic workplace from Kingsley, 2010): 1. writing articles, 2. giving presentations, 3. writing emails, 4. formal meetings, and 5. informal chatting with colleagues. Among these researchers, language use concerns English, Spanish, Basque and other languages. The results presented here are mainly based on the online questionnaire, but some further detailing of the results is possible from the interview data. Almost all foreign researchers who took part in this study are recruited to come to work in the Basque Country to carry out research as their main and often only task, and they have no or very few teaching duties. One important reason for this is that they work in one of the Basque Excellence in Research Centres (BERCs) where there are no undergraduate students; this is the case for a majority of 45 (62%) of 73 researchers who filled in the online questionnaire and 16 of the 28 researchers who participated in face-to-face interviews. The other researchers have their work place in one of the universities: 28 (38%) researchers who filled in the questionnaire and 12 who participated in face-to-face interviews, but also among those several have no teaching duties.

For these academics, research is thus their predominant task, or as Researcher #21 explained: "*Ikerbasque people don't have to teach, particularly if they are outside the university*". A number of researchers do supervise one or more PhD students, or work closely with a post-doc, but very few teach at undergraduate or master's level. For this reason, in the questionnaire there was no question about "teaching". However, the few who do teach, have mentioned during the interviews examples about language use with their students, as the medium of instruction in their class and a few examples will be given later.

English as the dominant language is one of the main characteristics of language use among these foreign academic researchers who work and live in the Basque Country. Researcher #14 confirmed that English is the only language at work, similar to when

he previously worked in another non-English speaking country. Researcher #14 added as what he called a personal reason, that it is difficult for him to discuss work in another language than English. He remarked that he would have been exhausted within ten minutes if the interview had been in a language other than English. Similarly, Researcher #3 stated "*everything work related is in English*". Regardless of the country where they work, the default language of the workplace for these academics is English. Working in an international group with various national backgrounds, for most of them gives a justification for the use of English as the only language they share, as the academic lingua franca. The consequence of this intensive use of English in their daily academic work is that for Researcher #12, as he says, English has become the most important language in his life, more than his own first language or the languages of the host society.

A question in the questionnaire asked the respondents to specify which language they use for the five abovementioned activities related to their academic workplace. These are activities that they commonly engage in, and that are an important part of their daily life. The results for this question about language use in these different activities are summarised in Figures 5.1 to 5.5 below and the results will be discussed one after the other.

4.2.1.1 Language use: writing articles

In today's world, as is well known, the predominant language of academic publishing is English (see also Chapter 1, and section 4.1.3.1. in this chapter). So, it is no surprise that English emerged as almost the only language for writing and publishing articles for almost all researchers as can be seen from Figure 4.10 below.

How often do you use English in writing an ARTICLE or other publication? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

Other languages: 93% / 7%
Spanish: 95% / 5%
English: 0% / 100%

Legend: Sometimes, rarely and never | Often and always
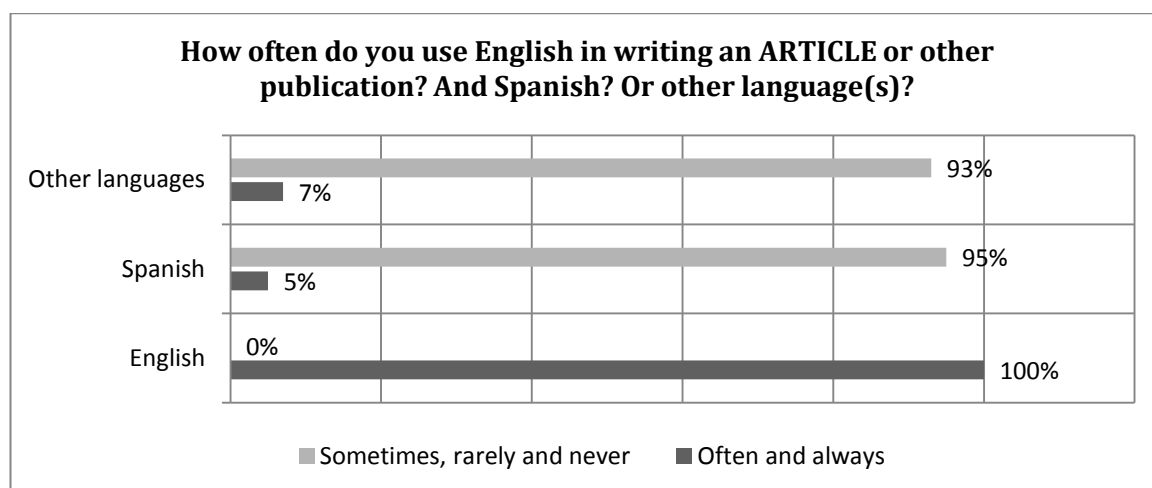
Figure 4.10 Researchers' language use in the workplace: (1) Writing an article (n=72)

The choice of the language for writing an article, a book chapter, or a book, may depend on the language of the publication, but in this sample, all respondents use English in writing articles or other publications. More specifically, 80% (56) stated that they 'always' use English in writing an article or other publications, whereas 20% stated that they 'often' use English. It is observed that when it comes to the use of Spanish or other languages for writing an article, the findings show almost the complete opposite in comparison with English.

One respondent stated to 'always' use Spanish in publications and only 4% 'often' use Spanish, which is rounded to 5% in in Figure 4.10. Overall 95% of the respondents hardly use Spanish in writing an article or other publications, which can be specified as 67% who ´never´ use Spanish, 21% 'rarely' use Spanish, and 6% 'sometimes' use Spanish.

The outcomes for "other language", that could be, Basque, French, Russian, Chinese, etc. are similar to the use of Spanish. In this case 5% report 'often', and one respondent answered to 'always' use another language (rounded up this comes to 7% in the figure).

Overall 93% of the respondents hardly use another language in writing an article or other publications. The details are that 65% 'never' use another language, 18% 'rarely', and 11% 'sometimes'.

During the interviews the question about the language used for publishing articles was also asked and the overwhelming majority of researchers reported that they "always" or "almost always" use English. For example, Researcher #20 stated that "*for science this is general*", Researcher #5, in a similar way answered: "*you cannot publish anything that is not in English*". During the interviews the researchers did not mention anything special about writing in Spanish, Basque or other languages and it was also not an issue that was explored further.

4.2.1.2. Language use: writing emails

The answers to the question about the languages used to write emails differs substantially from language use in academic articles as can be seen in Figure 4.11.
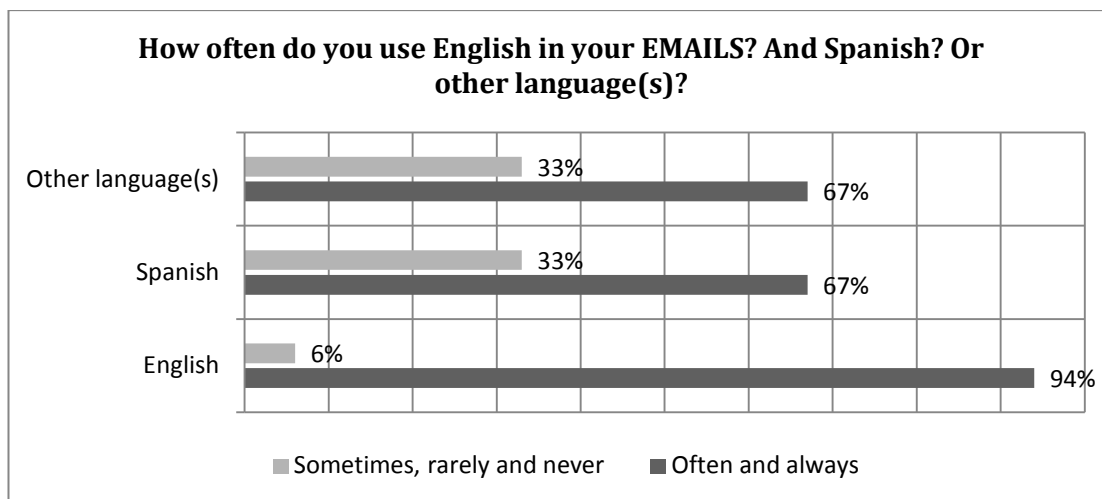
Figure 4.11   Researchers' language use in the workplace: (2) Writing emails (n=72)

In Figure 4.11 the percentages for the categories 'often' and 'always' were taken together and compared to the sum of adding up the categories of 'sometimes', 'rarely' and 'never'. Obviously, English is the dominant language of communication in emails because 94% uses it. Looking at the details of the results it shows that in their emails 25% 'always' uses English and 69% 'often'. Another 6% of the respondents answered 'sometimes' for English, but no respondent indicated that they 'never' use English.

There is a higher presence of Spanish and other languages in emails than in academic publications, which makes sense given the more personal and individual character of email. In emails the use of Spanish or 'other languages' on average has the same in outcome. In terms of the sub-categories it turns out that there are some differences. There is 3% (2) of the respondents 'always' use Spanish in their emails, 30% (21) 'often', 23% (16) 'sometimes', 26% (18) rarely, and 19% (13) never use Spanish in their emails. Similarly, 3% (2) of the respondents 'always' use other languages in their emails, 30% (19) 'often', 22% (14) 'sometimes', 33% (21) 'rarely' and 13% (8) 'never' use another language in their emails. These results make clear that in emails Spanish and other languages are used to a substantial degree.

4.2.1.3. Language use: giving presentations

Oral presentations are another common feature of the type of work activities that is done by academic researchers. Almost all of them engage regularly in presenting

their work. The answers to the question about the language used for presentations are given in Figure 4.12.

How often do you use English in PRESENTATIONS? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

Other language(s): 91% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 9% (Often and always)
Spanish: 90% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 10% (Often and always)
English: 3% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 97% (Often and always)

Legend: ▪ Sometimes, rarely and never   ▪ Often and always
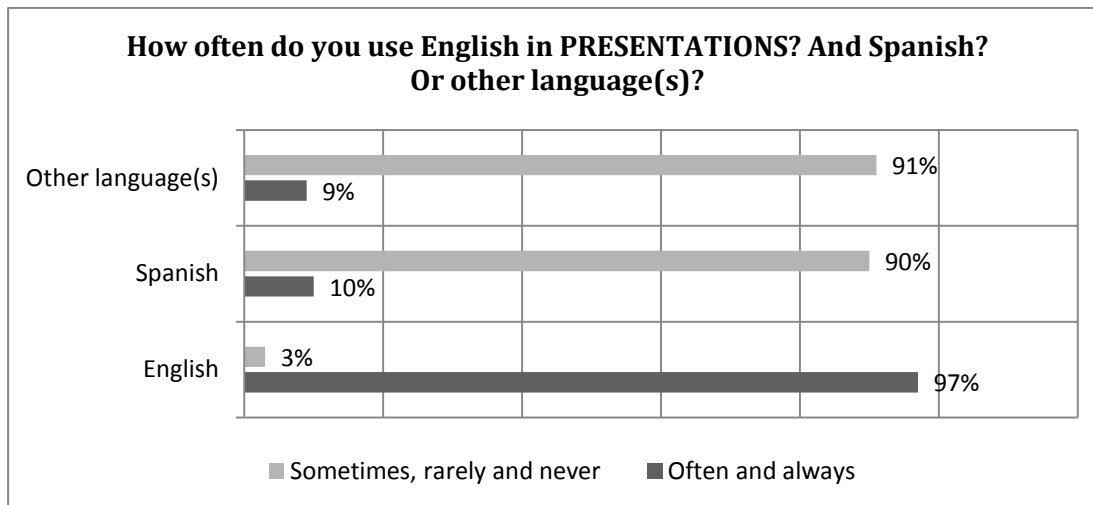
Figure 4.12   Researchers' language use in the academic workplace: (3) Presentations (n=72)

For presentations, the most commonly used language is again English. Figure 4.12 shows that 97% 'often' or 'always' uses English when presenting. In more detailed terms, 3% (2) of the respondents 'sometimes' use English in presentations and no-one answered ´never´. Among those who use English in presentations regularly 26% (19) answered 'often' and 71% (51) 'always'. This means that all researchers use English for presentations, which is the same as for writing articles.

There is also a similarity for giving presentations between the use of Spanish and other languages. In detailed percentages: 59% (41) of the respondents 'never' use Spanish in presentations, 21% (15) 'rarely', 10% (7) 'sometimes' and 10% of the respondents 'often' use Spanish in presentations. The percentages for other languages are almost the same: 56% (37) of the respondents 'never' use other languages in presentations, 27% (18) 'rarely', 8% (5) 'sometimes', 6% (4) 'often' and 3% (2) of the respondents 'always' use other languages in presentations. This is also similar to writing articles, although the use is much lower. Overall, English is preferred as the language for giving presentations, even "*over my first language*" (L1), as Researcher #4 explained.

4.2.1.4. Language use: meetings

The language use during formal meetings is much less a personal choice than language use in emails, and the results presented in Figure 4.13 also show a different pattern.

How often do you use English in MEETINGS? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

- Other language(s): 89% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 11% (Often and always)
- Spanish: 71% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 29% (Often and always)
- English: 13% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 87% (Often and always)

■ Sometimes, rarely and never ■ Often and always
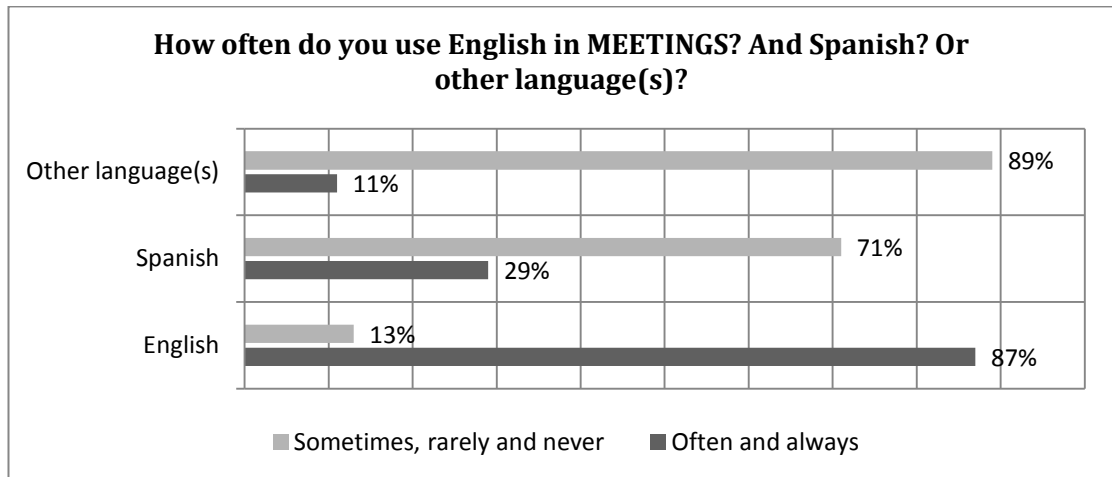
Figure 4.13   Researchers' language use in the academic workplace: (4) Meetings (n=72)

English, although with a slightly lower frequency than in the previous activities, is the dominant language of communication also in formal meetings because 87% uses it 'always' or 'often'. In more detailed terms, 38% (27) of the respondents 'always' use English in meetings, 49% (35) of the respondents 'often' use English in meetings, 8% (6) of the respondents 'sometimes' use English in meetings, 4% (3) 'rarely' use English in meetings, and one of the respondents 'never' uses English in meetings.

When it comes to Spanish, among these respondents 29% do use Spanish in meetings, that is, 26% (18) 'often' use Spanish in meetings and 3% (2) 'always' use Spanish. However, 71% does not or hardly uses Spanish in meetings, that is, 19% (13) 'sometimes', 14% (10) 'rarely' and 39% (27) 'never'.

As for other languages, 11% of respondents do use other languages, that is, 8% (5) 'often' use other languages in meetings and 3% (2) 'always' use other languages in meetings. However, 89% does not or hardly uses other languages in meetings, that is, 20% (13) of the respondents 'sometimes', 21% (14) 'rarely', 48% (32) 'never'.

From these answers it becomes clear that Spanish and other languages are more frequently used in meetings than in writing papers or when giving a presentation, but less often than in writing an email. Meetings at work, of course, include lab meetings for some researchers. Researcher #13 explained during the interview that their lab meetings are basically in English, but at the same time clarifying that *"official things are in English, non-official in Spanish"*. This comment leads to the next topic, which is informal talk.

4.2.1.5. Language use: informal chatting

In chatting informally at the work floor, Spanish is used quite a bit more often than in the activities discussed before as can be seen in Figure 4.14.

How often do you use English when INFORMALLY CHATTING with colleagues? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

- Other language(s): 73% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 27% (Often and always)
- Spanish: 54% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 46% (Often and always)
- English: 23% (Sometimes, rarely and never), 77% (Often and always)

Legend: ■ Sometimes, rarely and never   ■ Often and always
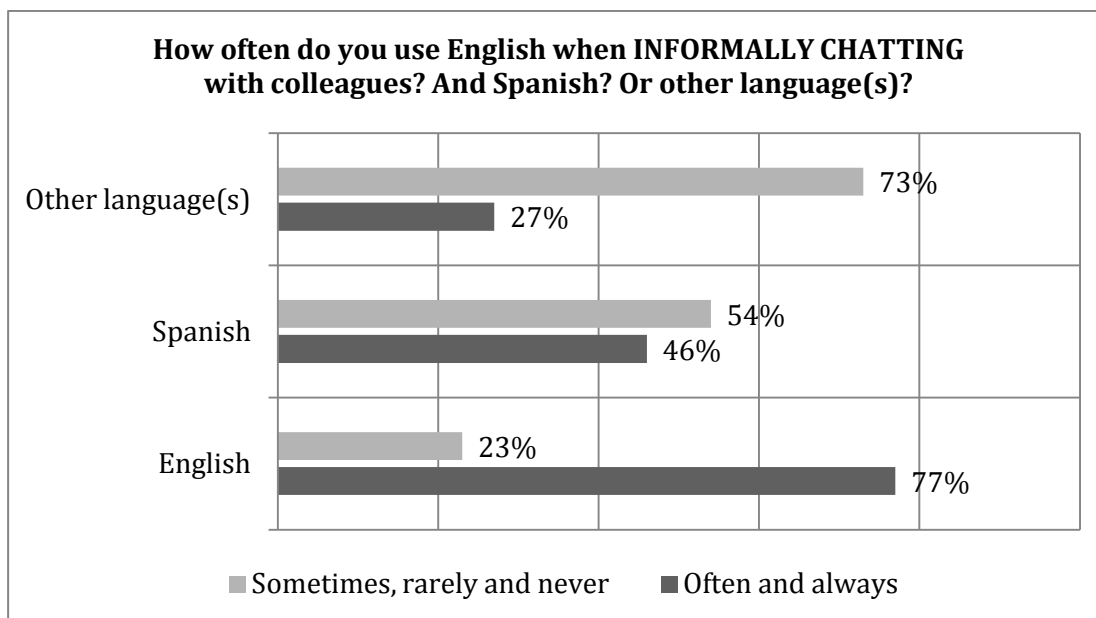
Figure 4.14   Researchers' language use in the academic workplace: (5) Informal chatting (n=72)

When informally chatting with colleagues English is again the dominant language of communication because 77% uses it 'always' or 'often'. In more detailed terms, 23% (16) of the respondents 'always' use English when informally chatting, 54% (38) of the respondents 'often' use English when informally chatting, 16% (11) of the respondents 'sometimes' use English when informally chatting with colleagues, 4% (3) of the respondents 'rarely' use English when informally chatting with colleagues, 3% (2) of the respondents 'never' use English when informally chatting with colleagues.

When it comes to Spanish, among these respondents 46% do use Spanish when informally chatting with colleagues, that is, 42% (30) of the respondents 'often' and 4% (3) 'always' use Spanish when informally chatting with colleagues. However, 54% does not or hardly uses Spanish when informally chatting, that is, 15% (11) 'sometimes', 18% (13) 'rarely' and 20% (14) never.

As for other languages, among these respondents 27% do use other languages when informally chatting with colleagues, that is, 21% (13) 'often' and 6% (4) 'always' use other languages when informally chatting with colleagues. However, 73% does not or hardly uses Spanish when informally chatting, that is, 16% (10) 'sometimes', 31% (19) 'rarely' and 26% (16) 'never'.

The answers given during the interviews confirm that the language predominantly used in work-related activities, including informal situations, is English. For a large majority English is the most common language of interaction with colleagues.

4.2.1.6. Language use: Spanish and Basque

Given that the context of these workplaces is the Basque Country, it makes sense to look a bit deeper into the use of these two official languages. The issue at stake is if researchers use Basque and Spanish as languages of the academic workplace and, if so, the extent to which both languages are used and with whom. Of course, it depends on the language competence, the interlocutors' language competences, and also on the patterns that are developed with interlocutors. For instance, Researcher #15 indicated that he uses both English and Spanish. Even if Researcher #9 said that at work he "*always*" uses English, because they are a small, international group of six researchers including PhD students and post-docs, he later added that, in fact, he does use Spanish during lunchtime with colleagues who are native speakers of Spanish. Likewise, even if Researcher #4 first said that he almost always interacts with colleagues in Spanish: *Once in a while when we have a visitor who doesn't speak Spanish, and then we all switch to English. That's no problem then.*" Further, he added that he is not able to give scientific presentations in his first language (L1) and for that purpose he prefers to use English or also Spanish.

Researcher #10, similarly, told that a number of his colleagues and students are from the Basque Country, and are speakers of Basque. Because he cannot speak Basque,

they communicate a bit in Spanish and also many times they make "*an effort to speak in English, even if it costs them a little bit*".

Researcher #10 speaks both Spanish and English at work and sometimes they "*switch*" between the two. He elaborated that: "*It depends a bit on me, too. Because there are days in which I can express myself very good in Spanish and I see that everyone understands me, and then some days I am a bit more tired, and it costs you more. And I switch to English.*".

Depending on researchers' own competence in Spanish, the use of Spanish was more or less frequent in these workplaces and this mainly concerns Spanish for informal communication. A number of examples can be given of different activities as they were mentioned by the researchers.

(a) Daily interaction: Researcher #1 mentioned that she uses Spanish in daily interaction with most people in her department at the university, adding that her department is almost exclusively Spanish speaking. Interestingly, she made clear that she uses Spanish mainly with persons who are older and have senior positions in the department. However, she feels less comfortable using Spanish in more formal academic registers. She said she would be able to publish in Spanish, but feels insecure. She remembers struggling when she arrived to the Basque Country, and wanted to speak English as much as possible due to lack of competence in Spanish. Similarly, Researcher #17 said that the better her Spanish has gotten over time, the more she interacts with colleagues in Spanish.

(b) Administrative and technical issues: Researcher #18 explained that in his workplace "*only when technicians come it's either Basque or Spanish.*" When that is the case, somebody else, a Spanish or Basque speaker, takes care of it. This was confirmed by Researcher #9, who is a native Spanish speaker, and he said that you need Spanish to solve administrative problems. Since he is the only Spanish speaker in their research group, he is the one who needs to solve them.

(c) Teaching: There were some researchers, who stated that their interactions are almost exclusively in Spanish, but in reality they also use other languages, again this is due to language competences of their interlocutors, or the teaching language. This is the case of Researcher #12, who teaches both in English and Spanish. The language in which he talks to his students, and they to him, depends on the student

and on the language of the course. Thus, during classes which are in Spanish, in principle everything is in Spanish.

Researcher #11 at work, uses more Spanish than English and also in her private life. For her the exception are the few seminars she teaches, one year she taught in Spanish, and another year in English. So, depending on course requirements, she can adjust the language to the students who would first approach to her in Spanish, after the switch of instruction language they communicate with her in English. It shows that language use patterns are not fixed and can be flexible.

Overall, what can be observed here is that the speakers of Spanish as a first language (L1) tend to have most of their oral interactions with Spanish-speaking colleagues in Spanish. As academics, they publish their articles in English. They also use English in interactions with colleagues, students and post-docs, for the reason that "*the majority do not speak Spanish*" (Researcher #1), or it might be because of the composition of the department or research group (Researcher #8) or interactions with visitors (mentioned by Researcher #4 and #12).

Researcher #6, #7 and #14 mentioned they always use English at work as they either do not speak Spanish, or only have a basic knowledge of Spanish, or as Researcher 14 stated: "*Otherwise people wouldn't understand me…Because Spanish and [his L3] are mixed in my head and it can be very confusing.*" Lack of competence in Spanish is thus one reason for using English.

As an official language of the Basque Country, Basque is widely used at the universities and also in some of the research centres, but its frequency of use depends on the type of department, research group or lab, the number of local versus international students and teachers or researchers. However, as the results show, it is not common for foreign academic researchers to use Basque.

There are also other languages than English, Spanish and Basque that are used in the academic workplace. The respondents to the questionnaire reported that there are occasions that those other languages are being used, for example, when two (or more) researchers share the same first language (L1). In such cases that language can be used with a colleague, a PhD student or a visitor. An example was given by Researcher #16, who used to work with a technician who spoke the same L1 and he was often trying to create occasions to speak in his L1 with her. What happens

commonly is, as explained by Researcher #2 that researchers switch from one language to another – i.e. English to Spanish or vice versa –when someone enters a conversation who does not speak the language used until that moment. Researcher #21, illustrated the same phenomenon *"at work, if we're two-three [of the same nationality], it's [L1] and as soon as somebody walks in we switch to English. Switching between [L1] and English is no problem."* This issue of *how* researchers make flexible use of their languages will be taken up in more detail in the next section.

Besides the different situations of language use discussed so far, it is also clear that the language used in interactions often depends on the interlocutors. Researcher #15, who supervises two PhD students, explained, that for him it depends on which of the two PhDs he is talking to: with one he uses English and with the other Spanish. Obviously, when a group of researchers shares more than one language between them, there may be multiple languages during interactions. This is the case of Researcher #25 who mentioned that *"For instance, with the French post-doc, recently we were talking in Spanish and we realised we were speaking in Spanish whereas it would normally be English, and sometimes French...."* In the next section, more examples of the use of multiple languages in everyday life of researchers will be presented.

4.2.1.7. Summary

The questionnaire and interview data presented above shed light on language use in the workplace, in particular in the five activities directly associated with academic life. The detailed results presented above can be summarised as follows. Researchers are using predominantly English in their workplace. English is almost the only language used for publications and for giving presentations. In writing emails, in meetings and especially informally chatting also other languages play a role. In the first place Spanish, to some extend other languages, usually the L1 of the researcher, and to a limited extend Basque. As Researcher #25 pointed out, in his research group they are all international, *"with lots of people from all over the world, also visitors from all over the world"*. For him, but clearly also for others, this circumstance makes English the default language at work. Moreover, as soon as someone in the group cannot speak the local language, they all will switch to speaking English. The presence of English is undisputed; however, it does not mean that other languages do

not have a presence in the workplace. During the interviews, too, the immediate answer of the majority of the researchers is that they almost exclusively use English at work, but when they are asked a follow-up question about the details, they come up with examples of times when they speak languages other than English.

4.2.2. LANGUAGE USE IN PRIVATE LIFE

In this section the results are reported about the languages the respondents speak in their private life in order to answer the following research sub-question:

RQ 2.2. Which languages do foreign researchers use in private life?

Questions were asked about the language use in four situations: at home, with children, with their friends, and in the community. A distinction was made between, on the one hand, the first language (L1) of the respondent and on the other hand, using a language that was not their L1, which could be English, Spanish, Basque or another language. The results for language use in private life are presented in the figure below.
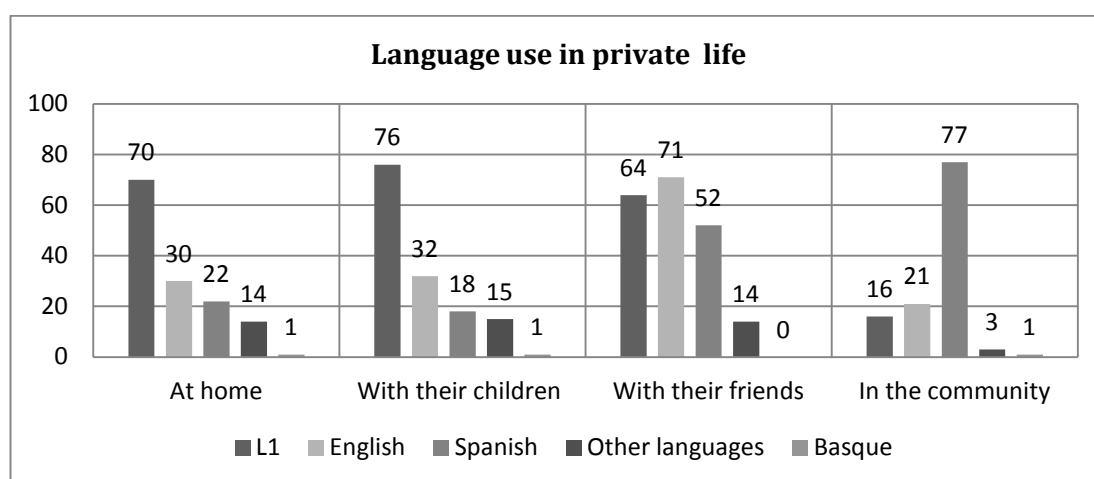
Figure 4.15   Language use in private life (n=72) (more than 100% per category because more than one language could be chosen)

The results in Figure 4.15 show that for most researchers (70%) their L1 is also their home language or at least one of the languages of the home. Their L1 is also the language they use with their children (76%), this can be the only language used or in combination with other languages. The L1 is used slightly less often with their friends (64%), which makes sense because it regards a more diverse group of people

and with friends they also commonly use English (71%) and/or Spanish (52%). In the community where they live, however, they use predominately Spanish (77%), and obviously the L1 and/or English are used much less. The graph shows that around 15% of researchers answer to use another language at home, with children and with friends, however, not or hardly in the community. Among this group of academic researchers with an international background, Basque does only exceptionally play a role in the language use in their private life.

A question was also asked, to those who have children, whether the children learn Basque, and the results show that 59% learn Basque, and 15% do not learn Basque, but also 18% said that their children do not live in the Basque Country, and another 9% indicated that their children are beyond school age. If a recalculation is made about the respondents with children who live in the Basque Country and are of school age, then it is found that 80% learn Basque and 20% do not.

The next sub-sections will provide some examples that give some more qualitative detail to these percentages.

4.2.2.1. At home

Researcher #21 mentioned that he sometimes uses the three languages which he has in common with his partner: his first language (L1), Spanish [which is his partner's L1] and English. His partner is in favour of each using their mother tongues, but he finds it tiring. "*Her [his L1] is very good, but slow, that's slow for me, so we speak most of the time English, but she hates it. She finds it stupid. Because we speak each other's languages… But it is quite tiring… It changes, it depends on tiredness and if I don't know the word or it is something complicated I switch to English and we get stuck with English.*".

Researcher #14 shared that he learnt his partner's L1, although he is not fluent, he understands the language very well. Today his partner's L1 is the only language she speaks at home with their children: "*75% of the time I'm really sure what's happening, the other 25% I'm completely lost*". He added that his partner's family understands him, "*because I think they're more used to the mistakes I make.*".

The next example, also from Researcher #14, illustrates well how the situation of different languages used at home can be for a foreign academic researcher, and the example also demonstrates how they handle four different languages with their

children: "*Our house is very messed up because: I'm speaking in [his L1]; [my partner] is speaking in [her L1], and the children alternate between Spanish, [their L3], [his L1] and [her L1]. So it depends. If the children are speaking by themselves, or if we're at a table and they're having a conversation, among themselves about school, they could either be having a conversation in [their L3], which is the language of the country where they used to live, or Spanish. So you're paying attention to this just to see what they're talking about. Even if they're saying something in [their L3], I tend to answer in [his L1].*"

Similarly, in Researcher #22's home, there are multiple languages in use, and they, too, have a unique way of communicating. Researcher #22 explained that in their previous country of residence, he was forcing more his L1, because he knew that all the world around his children, TV and kindergarten were in language of their previous country of residence. At the time his idea was that the children needed to learn his L1 at home, and speak language of their previous country of residence outside. That latter language was something which would be coming naturally, because it was used throughout their whole social life. After they moved to the Basque Country, he thought, because he read a couple of articles about languages and psychology which claimed that more than three languages can sometimes be problematic with children, at the same time, "*which doesn't mean that it is a problem but it might be; that kids then start mixing up things and do not really realise the differences between languages, and so on.*" So, he thought that in the Basque Country, children would learn language of their previous country of residence, and Spanish and Basque, which are now their first three languages, and his L1 is the fourth language. He said he did not want to enforce a fourth language, but it remains one of their home languages.

Researcher #14 made an interesting remark about the way that his children associate places with languages. Inside the house, the children use his partner's L1 and with him they speak in his L1. In the car, he uses his L1, but outside in the presence of others they all use Spanish.

The questionnaire data indicated that the L1 is the language used most widely at home and with the children (see Figure 4.15), but there are exceptions such as Researcher #10. He speaks English or Spanish with his children, both of which

languages are not his L1, and he "*barely speaks*" his first language, because it has gone to "*the background*" and is almost completely replaced by English, both in his private life and at work.

4.2.2.2.With friends

The interview results confirm that researchers' language choice with friends depends almost completely on whom they are with and also where they are. It is obvious that the participants distinguish between their home language(s), the language of work, and the language of different interactions.

Researcher #5 told that with two of their close friends from the Basque Country, he and his wife speak a bit of Spanish, a bit of English, and a bit of his first language (L1), but they always end up speaking his L1 with a friend from his country of birth about issues related to that country and its politics. For him the L1 remains the language he expresses himself best in. He also mentioned that if it is a relaxed setting, such as at home and with friends, he feels more at ease to use Spanish, but in professional settings he uses English where he has to react "*quickly*".

4.2.2.3. In the community where they live

As was reported in Figure 4.15 in the community where they live over three-quarter (77%) of these researchers speak Spanish and only one of the respondents speaks Basque. The first language (L1) is used by 16%, English by 21% and another language by 3%.

Researcher #3 shared his frustration about when he tries to speak Spanish. He finds it a bit annoying when he orders something in Spanish, people immediately reply in English, saying that the same thing happened in a country where he previously lived, too: "*You talk to someone and you just say one sentence and they know immediately that you're a foreigner and they immediately switch to English, they don't wait for you to practice...*".

Sometimes there is no choice, but to 'survive' without being able to use English. Researcher #18 gave the example that he hears Spanish all the time in the community, and when he reads Spanish he noticed that words are similar to English... "*[So,] you start to understand even if you don't study it.*" He said that he did not use Spanish with his colleagues "*but when I go to [town] centre nobody speaks English so I have to survive…at least have to speak some [Spanish]...*".

For the group of researchers who participated in the interviews English also appears to be the language frequently used in the wider society. This is in contrast with the outcome of the questionnaire that showed that the L1 and English are used less than Spanish. Of course, this will also depend on where researchers live and work (urban versus rural), and on their language competence.

4.2.2.4. Language use with native speakers of English

After discussing different aspects of language use in the academic workplace and in private life, the next topic is a more specific issue about the use of English in communications with native speakers of English. The results reported above show that English is the predominant language of the workplace, also orally in meetings and during informal chatting, (see Figures 4.13 and 4.14). It is also known (see Chapter 1) that for second language speakers using English with native speakers may lead to an increase in anxiety. Thus, there could be a difference between daily communication in English with native or with non-native speakers. In the questionnaire two questions were specifically asked to find out more about this issue.

The first question aims to find out more about the amount of English used with native or with non-native speakers. The results are shown in Figure 4.16.
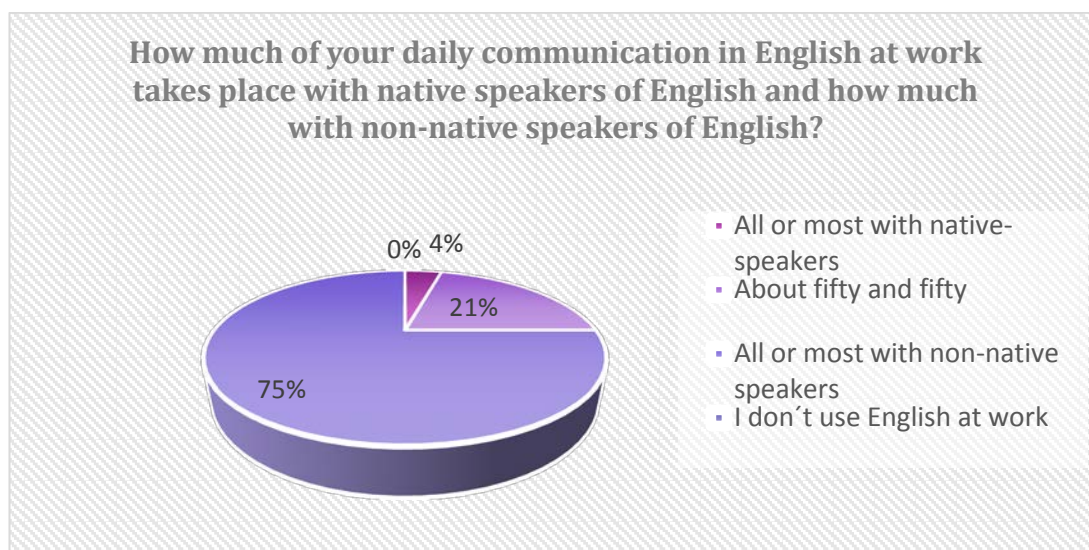
Figure 4.16   Daily communication in English at work: with native English speakers versus non-native speakers of English (n=72)

Figure 4.16 shows that three-fourths (75%) of researchers answered that all or most of their daily communication in English at work takes place with non-native speakers and only 4% said that all or most communication takes place with native speakers. The remaining 21% replied that about half of their communication is with native speakers and half with non-native speakers. Communicating with native speakers is thus not predominant among this sample.

The second question concerns the ease of communication with native speakers of English. The results are presented in Figure 4.17.
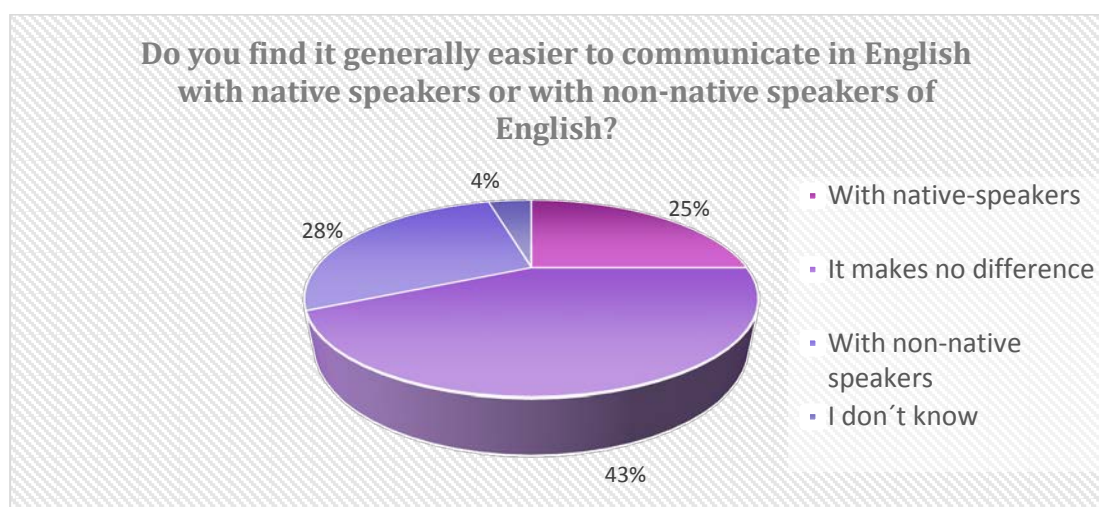
Figure 4.17   Ease of communicating with native English speakers vs. non-native speakers of English (n=72)

As shown in Figure 4.17, 43% of respondents claim that it makes no difference to communicate with native English speakers or non-native speakers; 28% of the respondents find it easier to communicate in English with non-native speakers, 25% with native speakers, and 4% said they did not know. Although it could be argued that the more interaction one has with native speakers of English, the easier communicating with them in English gets, the results do not confirm this assumption.

4.2.2.5.   Summary

In this section the researchers' language practices at work, and in private life have been analysed in the four situations of the home, with children, with friends and in the community. Researchers' language practices included which languages they use and with what frequency these languages are drawn upon in specific situations.

Obviously, not all the languages that these researchers are proficient in are also used in the workplace. Knowledge of local languages, according to the researchers tends to have a positive influence on an interpersonal level, but they do not have direct impact on their academic work. Also, speaking local and other languages seem to help interpersonal relations, which can have positive reflections in the work environment.

As the results sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 show, it is difficult to look at the languages in isolation, and the Focus on Multilingualism approach advocates to look at the languages of a multilingual speaker at the same time, instead of one by one. The next step is to examine the flexible language use of these foreign academic researchers, who are all multilingual speakers, and use all languages in their repertoire. In this way a more nuanced and detailed picture can be provided.

4.2.3. FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE PRACTICES

The sections above have sought to provide an answer to the second research question, which was (RQ 2): *"What are the main characteristics of language use of foreign academic researchers who live in the Basque Country?"* There was, however, a third sub-question and in this section that sub-question will be answered:

RQ 2.3. Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?

Here the focus shifts towards flexible language practices of multilinguals, in particular during informal speech. The results concerning flexible practices were only obtained through the face-to-face interviews. The researchers were asked about the use of elements from the languages in their linguistic repertoire in a conversation. They were invited to present specific examples both in and outside the workplace, and to provide reasons in favour or against cross-linguistic and translanguaging practices. As will be seen below, the answers they provided demonstrate a substantial awareness of the interaction between languages, especially in spoken language.

During the interviews, the technical term "translanguaging" was avoided. Instead, the researchers were asked whether they *"sometimes use more than one language at a time in a given conversation"* in order to investigate how these multilinguals use their

languages in communication situations. Based on the interview data, it is possible to identify both when and why researchers felt the need to use specific elements from other languages or why they code-switch, and also to find out about their opinions on translanguaging as a practice. The results presented below show that researchers tend to translanguage more at home than in the workplace. As it will be seen in the following examples, in some cases it can be referred to cross-linguistic transfer of single elements from other languages and in others the use of elements from other languages takes place at the discourse level and can be identified as translanguaging (Cenoz and Gorter, 2011; 2015).

It has been reported in section 4.1.1 on language competence that these researchers are able to speak multiple languages. Their examples below show that transfers between their languages occur in different directions. The following examples are chosen to indicate such different directions of language transfers.

4.2.3.1. Cross-linguistic influence

Here, a series of examples will be presented that show how the researchers reported on using transfers from one language into another and the other way around.

Transfers from L2 (English) to L3 (Spanish)

- Researcher #11 indicated that many times researchers use terminology or jargon from English (L2) while they are speaking Spanish (L3) or another language, including his own first language (L1).

- Researcher #12 referred to the same phenomenon when he stated that he did not need a Spanish word for specialised terminology because *inserting* English (L2) terms while using Spanish (his L3) was a common practice for him.

- Researcher #25 also said more or less the same: "*here the general conversation might be Spanish [L3], then you go onto something more scientific, and you change. It's also for the vocabulary, you don't [need to] have the technical words in Spanish.*"

One of the most common situations where researchers are flexible with the use of their languages is when they talk about work. Almost all researchers use field-specific terminology in English, regardless of what the main language of the conversation is.

Transfers from L3/L2 (English/Spanish) to L1

Above the preference of researchers to use English (L2 or L3 for many) technical terminology even when the main language was different was discussed. There are also other times when language transfers occur, for example, when researchers are talking about things not related to work, or with their family and in their close circles. Some examples can be given.

- Researcher #7 said that when he arrived in the Basque Country, during a conversation which was all in his first language (L1), "*queso de cabra*" [Spanish: goat cheese] slipped from his tongue and he "*had to use it in Spanish*", which was "*strange but it happens.*" His explanation is repeated exposure to the Spanish (L3) as a way of saying it.

- Researcher #8 in similar vein told that some words come easier to him in Spanish (L3) nowadays, perhaps also due to more exposure.

- Researcher #12, explained that he and his partner speak "*[L1] mixed with Spanish [L3] words*". In addition, he said that some words would come in Spanish (L3) or English (L2), because he hears them primarily in Spanish and English, even when he goes regularly to his home country. Moreover, Researcher #12 claimed that he replaces some words also because of tiredness and then cannot remember the words.

- Researcher #14 gave an example of a specific word that he uses all the time, even when speaking his L1: instead of saying "*yes*", he always says "*sí*" in whichever language he speaks. This has happened since the time that he met his partner, and he now says that "*the yes is messed up*" for him.

- Researcher #5, too, uses the Spanish word "*todo*" instead of "*every*" or "*all*" and according to him he sometimes uses "*a kind of mixed language of Spanish and English*".

Transfers from L1 to L2/L3 (English/Spanish)

Transfers can, of course, also occur from the first language (L1) to second language (L2) or third language (L3), whether those are English or Spanish. The examples below show that, when speakers have limitations with their L2 or their L3, they may use a word or words from their L1. This may sometimes be intentional when a word

or concept matches their communicative purpose better, or when their interlocutors have difficulties with the main language of communication.

- Researcher #7 mentioned that his family uses more than one language at a time "*all the time*" and he explained that: "*There are some words better described in a certain language, and then if my kids know it, my wife would know it, then we would use it.*" He and his wife try to keep the languages of the household separate, but when their children do not understand a word, he would "*put the word in [their mother's L1]*". For them using more than one language at a time helps the communication.

- Researcher #3, when speaking to his parents, speaks as much as possible his parents' L1, which for him was not his L1 when he grew up, but when he speaks he may be substituting some words with his own L1. He believes this might show his limitations in his command of the L1 of his parents.

- Researcher #1 told about her home situation where they often combined parts of two languages to form one new word. She explained that she had tons of examples, such as when her daughter uses Spanish (L2) words, while giving them suffixes from their L1. She said that she sometimes will correct her daughter, but often leaves it because they are a part of their ongoing conversation.

- Researcher #10 mentioned that when he is missing vocabulary in Spanish, and in order to clearly express himself, he sometimes just says what he wanted to say in Spanish and then repeats it immediately thereafter in English, because then he is more sure "*to use exactly the words and concepts I want to use*".

Various researchers (such as #7, #8, #10, #14, #16) made remarks about the fact that some words or concepts are better or easier explained in one language than in another, or convey more or another meaning, and some researchers think that certain concepts may not be present in the other language. Researcher #16's argument was that he alternates languages "*when I encounter a situation where some words can be better understood in its original language or making a joke...*" For him using a concept to better explain its meaning facilitates the communication and this can apply to the work place as well as to private life.

As it can be seen in the examples, the findings confirm the results by Cenoz and Gorter (2011, p. 8) that "cross-linguistic influence is a multidirectional phenomenon".

4.3.2.2. Translanguaging

The researchers as multilingual speakers also gave various examples about how they use their whole linguistic repertoire in informal interactions. These examples of interactions show how they mix languages and how they sometimes create a hybrid speech pattern.

- Researcher #17 elaborated on how she believes languages function and how some expressions exist in one and not in another language, and also on how she uses her own languages, and why. She perceived languages as "*a way to interpreting and communicating the reality; communicating the relationship between the things, in different languages... If you can speak more than one language, you're able to observe the reality in different ways...*" Speaking different languages, and combining them in her speech gave her the opportunity to perceive the world through "*a larger window*".

- Researcher #25 and his wife speak the same languages, thus at home, their main language of communication is his first language (L1), but they "*mix everything*" and use "*the most efficient and precise words and expressions by putting structures, words or even sentences in [L2] or in English [L3] or in Spanish [L4]*" depending on what they wish to communicate. They are able to create a highly hybrid speech pattern which makes an efficient conversation possible. He mentioned further that depending on the topic a certain language can dominate. Thus, Spanish is used for exclamations: "*they come in Spanish and it's even difficult to express them in [his L1] sometimes.*" He uses his second language (L2) for when they talk about logistics, like going to the post office, because of its extended vocabulary for things related to logistics in general. They also prefer English for certain other topics, and they "*mix all the words*".

- Researcher #22, who claims to have two first languages, has similar language mixing interactions with his brother. He referred to his conversations with his brother as "*çorba*", Turkish for soup, using it as an idiomatic expression for "*a pretty good bowl of languages*", especially when it is made with his two L1s. He speaks with his

children at home also in his two mother tongues, and then he sometimes "*throws in*" some Spanish (L3). It usually happens when he comes home after work in the evening, when he is tired: "*sometimes you want to say something and this particular expression in one language is maybe one millisecond quicker than in the other one, so you just say it in the other language.*" He said that as he knows that his children and wife understands both of his L1s, then he does not really care if he says half of the sentence in one language and the rest in another.

In general, the researchers made clear during the interviews that before "*throwing in*" words, expressions, or whole sentences in another language, they are careful that their interlocutors can understand them. This seems to be a common concern and something these researchers are aware of because they want to make sure that they are being understood. This is also the case with Researcher #16 who explained that sometimes people do not understand him when he changes languages too quickly or when the others do not expect it, and thus he cannot get his message across. Researcher #17 remarked that she is also flexible with the way she uses her languages. She said that moving between languages had been her way of speaking for a long time. She was aware that some people were not used to alternating languages so much and that, "*they get totally lost and cannot keep up with the conversation. Some people do not have this flexibility or have not developed it.*"

- Researcher #23 had noticed that it is common for people to alternate between Basque and Spanish every other sentence, and he sometimes cannot tell where they are starting one language and finishing the other. He sees this as proof of a high-level of proficiency in both languages. He cannot do it himself other than in some simple conversation openers, given his "*low level of Basque and Spanish. Maybe someday.*".

- Similarly, Researcher #10 said that he does not alternate between Spanish and English, mainly because, he thinks his Spanish is not good enough. In a way, translanguaging is perceived as a phenomenon that occurs when speakers are fluent in the languages in question.
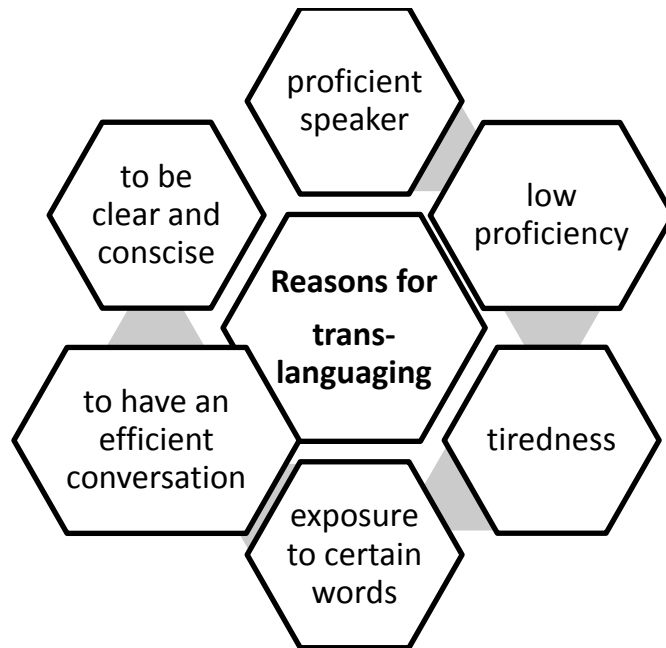
Figure 4.18   Reasons given for translanguaging

The figure summarises the reasons researchers give for using resources from the languages in their whole linguistic repertoire for communicative purposes. Researchers' attitudes to translanguaging are not always positive, and some researchers try to avoid it and this relates to their understanding of languages and language ideologies. Below, some of the reasons given not to translanguage are presented.

In contrast other researchers, among those researchers #4, #15, #19, and #20, explained that they tried to avoid translanguaging as much as possible, by not using elements from other languages in their linguistic repertoire in a given sentence or conversation. A selection of the answers they gave are presented as a list below.

- Researcher #4 was one of the interviewees who said he and his partner consciously avoid "*that way of speaking*", especially at home, "*because when you have kids it's important that you don't switch languages when you speak to them because otherwise, they mix the languages.*" He advocates that each parent should speak his or her first language to their children so that children do not mix the languages. His children's school is in the medium of his L1. When they switch the context, he observes that they also switch the language, and do not think about the other language: "*when they have the Spanish or [one of his partner's L1s] chip on, and it is very difficult to think about the word in another language.*"

- Researcher #15, too, is against "*switching*" between his L1 and English [his partner's L1], although it sometimes happens, he does not want to do it and he tells his children not to switch. They speak what he called a "*deviation*" with his daughters: "*I'm very straight about speaking in [his L1] to them... but when my wife is around some [his partner's L1] slips*."

- Researcher #19 said, referring to flexible language practices, "*it's absolutely a familiar thing and it's not for me. I try not to*." She does not like "*the sound of that*", especially when people "*put certain one word from another language*". She admitted "*Occasionally it might come, you don't find the right word, it's possible but I try to avoid that.*". She observed the phenomenon in an immigrant community in one of the countries where she used to live. There they spoke a "*very mixed language*" which she thinks is "*very irritating*" and "*not clean language*". Her opinion rests upon the belief that such use of language is improper or demonstrates lack of proficiency.

- Researcher #10 believes that as his proficiency improves, he has less need to use words from other languages.

- Researcher #20 said that when you share two languages with someone you are having a conversation with, because you know a word or concept in one language and not in the other one, you just switch from one language to another, "*but it starts to be a mess*". He moved from his birth country when he was a child and particularly since that experience, he said that "*when you go to speak with somebody who you only have one language in common, he misses those parts. It's better to keep them in an order.*".

The reasons given for not translanguaging are summarised in the figure below.
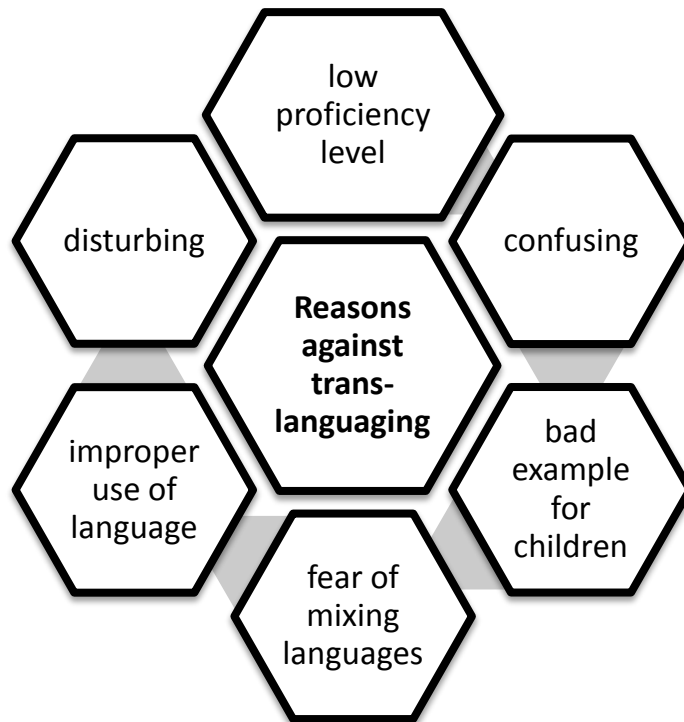
Figure 4.19   Reasons given for not translanguaging

4.3.2.3.   Summary

Common reasons for translanguaging, as identified in the examples provided by the researchers and summarised in the figure above, are: exposure, not knowing a word or expression in target language, when a concept can best be expressed through a different language, to have the most efficient conversation possible, to express experiences, feelings and thoughts more concisely, tiredness, language competence, the non-existence of certain concepts in certain languages, and the tendency to use work-specific terminology in English. All these reasons show how multilinguals maximise benefitting from their whole linguistic repertoire when they allow transfers from one language to another, establish connections between languages, and sometimes communicating in a hybrid pattern.

In contrast, some of the reasons for avoiding translanguaging are identified by these researchers as experiencing it as a low proficiency level, finding it disturbing or irritating and not liking how it sounds, keeping languages in order, a fear of mixing languages and seeing it as a bad example for the children. These reasons are indicative of how multilinguals themselves may treat their languages in isolation due to deep-seated beliefs about how languages function. It seems that reasons for not

translanguaging, or not allowing any cross-linguistic influence, are always intentional, based on a conscious decision made by the speaker.

A final observation is that, some of these researchers translanguage intentionally and others do so unintentionally. The ones who use translanguaging on purpose said that, for instance, they "*pull those [words] out*" [of the other language] (Researcher #14). Examples of unintentional translanguaging were, for instance, a word or expression being "*one millisecond quicker*" (Researcher #22). Although some speakers have reservations for using more than one language at a time in a conversation, if allowed, translanguaging occurs naturally amongst multilinguals and results show that it facilitates communication. Transfers between languages in different directions have been demonstrated in researchers' examples.

Section 4.3. will explore the social context in which the workplace is situated and researchers' strategies for adapting and integrating.

4.3. THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

In this section, the experiences of these academic researchers living in a foreign social context will be explored in relation to multilingualism and culture. The research question to be addressed is:

RQ 3. What is the relationship of foreign academic researchers with the local work context of the Basque Country?

This section relates to the third dimension of the Focus on Multilingualism model, namely the social context. Again, the data obtained from the online questionnaire are reported first, as well as more in-depth insights given during the face-to-face interviews when the participants were asked questions about distinguishing aspects of culture in their workplace, the community where they live and the wider society of the Basque Country and as well as Spain. Obviously, multilingualism and culture of the workplace are influenced by the surrounding local culture, and they are somehow framed by local policy and practices. Throughout this section, data will be showcased that can emphasise some of the key aspects of the local culture as experienced by the researchers, and what it means for them to work as a 'foreign academic researcher´ in the Basque Country.

The section is organised as follows: 1) Researchers' opinions on local culture and cultural differences. During the interviews, researchers were explicitly asked to compare their personal current experiences to the different workplaces and societies where they had been in the past. 2) Researchers' integration and adaptation in their academic workplace and in the local context of the Basque Country. Part of the discussion is about strategies that can be adopted to help communication in a multicultural and multilingual work environment.

4.3.1. OPINIONS ON THE LOCAL CULTURE AND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

This section explores the similarities and differences researchers observe with regards to culture in terms of working habits, what the local research system looks like, the dimensions of communication style and social behaviour. All of this will be compared to their experiences of the same aspects they have had in other contexts in the past.

The answers these researchers give about cultural differences have to be read bearing in mind that it depends upon their own cultural background to begin with and upon their past experiences, as well as on the specific local context in which they currently live and work. It is not possible to simply take researchers' answers at face value and generalise their views, because as will become clear, they show considerable differences among each other.

The researchers compare the Basque Country to different places where they have lived before, but they also compare to different job levels and positions. For example, they compare their experience as a university student versus being a senior level researcher today, or, for example, they compare a job they had in industry versus the academic work they do today. Another factor to bear in mind is the cultural proximity or cultural distance when a researcher gives reasons for differences.

The reason for reporting these differences here is not to create or reaffirm stereotypical images of the local or of other cultures, scientific or social, but to shed light on where researchers might have found challenges, and which aspects they have

had to adapt to, issues that would probably be unproblematic and mainstream for a local researcher.

With these preliminary comments in mind, the figure below presents the opinions of the researchers on nine items related to work and local culture as they were obtained from the online questionnaire.
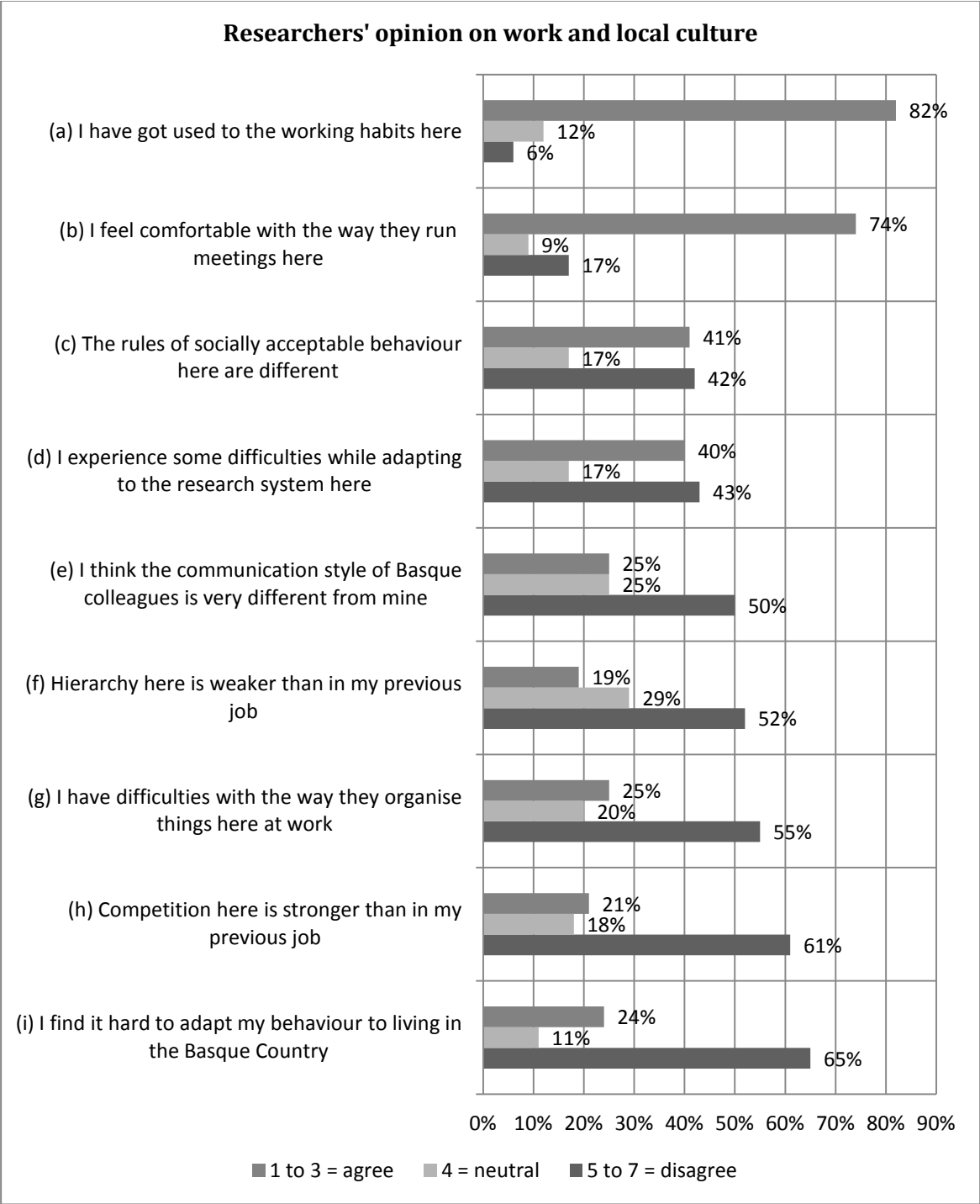
Figure 4.20   Researchers' opinion on work and local culture (n=66)

The results in Figure 4.20 can be briefly discussed. It becomes clear that almost all researchers have got used to the working habits (82% agree with item a), and also feel comfortable with the way meetings are run (75% agree with item b), at the same time 65% disagrees with the statement that they find it hard to adapt their behaviour to living in the Basque Country (item i).

About half or slightly over half agrees to the statements about differences in communication style of Basque colleagues (item e: 50% agrees, 25% is in between and 25% disagrees), a weaker hierarchy than in the previous job (item f: 52% disagrees, 29% is in between and 19% agrees) and difficulties with the way they organise things here at work (item g: 55% disagrees, 20% is in between and 25% agrees). Slightly more researchers disagree (61%) with the statement about a stronger competition here than in the previous job (item h).

Opinions are rather divided when it comes to the statements about different rules of socially acceptable behaviour (item c: 41% agrees and 42% disagrees) and about experiencing difficulties while adapting to the research system (item d: 40% agrees and 43% disagrees).

This overview of the results for the items gives a first impression of the opinions of the researcher. In the following part of this section, these results will be supported and contrasted with further qualitative data from the interviews, where researchers also told about their opinions and experiences in relation to work, the local culture and cultural differences. The outcomes will be grouped a bit different from the list of items and will be discussed under four headers: 1) working habits, 2) the research system, 3) communication styles, and 4) also rules of social behaviour (see Figure 4.21).

1. Working habits	2. The research system	3. Communication styles	4. Social Behaviour
• Working hours and attitudes to work • Meetings and presentations • Writing style	• Research centres • Internationalisation • Scale of research • Publishing articles • Funding • Contract types	• Directness vs. indirectness • Degree of politeness	• Formality vs. informatlity • The role of family • Socialising and openness to foreigners

Figure 4.21   Researchers' opinions on working habits, the research system, communication style and social behaviour

4.3.1.1. Working Habits

A number of illustrative excerpts from the interview data on working habits will be reported here. As was shown in Figure 4.20 a large majority of 82% of researchers answered that they have got used to the working habits in the Basque Country (item a) and 74% of respondents feel comfortable with the way meetings are run in the Basque Country (item b). However, less than half (45%) agree that they have some difficulties with the way they organise things here at work (of those, 20% indicate an in between point of view, and 25% have (real) difficulties; see item g).

i.   Working hours and attitudes to work

The researchers report two obvious differences from what they were used to in regard to specific habits, which are working hours and the coffee and lunch breaks. For them these habits portray certain attitudes in relation to work. One of the differences that stand out concerns what a regular working day looks like. For instance, when researchers start and finish work: for some of these foreign researchers it means that they start later at work and also that they finish later in the Basque Country. Also mentioned, by extension thereof is the time for lunch and also what they eat: in previous jobs lunches would be earlier and shorter and food would be just a sandwich at desk versus now having lunch much later, and having lengthy lunches (Researcher #8 and #22 both mentioned this). Further it was mentioned that the frequency of coffee breaks is different and those are governed by less rules and regulations, and are less clock-like; it includes what they talk about during breaks: here also politics and football versus before only about work. In general, the researchers welcome these differences in habits and view them positively. They

describe them as signs that their colleagues are work-oriented but at the same time can be relaxed, enjoy their work and be part of a laid-back culture. At the same time these researchers also notice different attitudes to life and work between their direct colleagues who come from different backgrounds.

ii. Meetings and presentations

Researchers note differences in how meetings are held and how presentations are structured in their workplaces in the Basque Country versus other contexts they have experienced. Some of them find that meetings are frequent and often long, with broad discussions and no clear agenda for the meeting (Researcher #5). About presentations, Researcher #23 made some observations at length, based on his local experiences. He is one of the organisers for an external speaker series in their research centre and they bring researchers from different universities in Europe, the United States and Spain. He noted that in those academic presentations, there are different styles and different ways of how scholars go about presenting their research. Moreover, there are differences with regards to presenters' expectations about what content or information one should present in an academic seminar, how the content is expected to be presented, what types of information to present, or an issue such as; do you present all at once and take questions at the end, or, do you to take questions during the presentation or, in some cases, do you even take questions at all. Problems might arise when there is a mismatch between the expectations of an invited speaker and the audience, or with the culture of a research centre. He learnt that it is crucial to try to find out ahead of time the kind of expectations the invited speaker has, and then try to match those up with the local audience. His opinion is that this is something that hosts need to take into consideration when they invite speakers from different backgrounds.

iii. Writing style

Another issue discussed during the interviews are differences in writing styles. For instance, grant writing reflects differences between cultures and research contexts, as was observed by Researcher #14. In general, as Researcher #21 notices the writing style can be "*more to the point or around a topic*". He elaborated that English is often more direct in written texts and comprised of short sentences, although when it comes to spoken communication it requires that one is able to read between the lines.

Spanish, on the other hand tends to have longer sentences. Thus, structure of writing in English as a second language (L2) is influenced by the first language (L1) of the author, which may sometimes create serious problems between researchers. This can be frustrating, as he explained with the following example by Researcher #21 about one of his mother tongue Spanish-speaking colleagues: *"he writes one sentence that is one paragraph, I told him that I would add some commas, but he said 'it's a question of style' when it clearly isn't. We had very serious fights about it"*. He adds that it can also be enriching to see how people write, and it can open up a space for fruitful discussion about cultural differences.

4.3.1.2. The Research System

After the researchers' experiences of working habits, now the research system in the Basque Country will be discussed from the point of view of researchers.

In Figure 4.20, it was seen that 40% of the researchers have had some difficulties in adapting to the research system in the Basque Country (item d), 17% is neutral, and 43% did not have difficulties. During the interviews further questions about the research system were asked. The answers are about a number of different issues which can be divided into the following sub-sections: i. research centres, ii. internationalisation, iii. scale of research, iv. publishing articles, v. funding mechanisms, and vi. contract types.

i.   Research centres

In general, the researchers mentioned that the type of research centre where they work are similar in any country, or as Researcher #21 put it: *"This is not Spanish science, it is an international concept"*. Differences, according to Researchers #21 and #24 are more institute specific or between universities and research centres rather than cultural or between countries.

Various researchers work in one of the Basque Excellence in Research Centres (BERC), and they mentioned the following main characteristics of these centres compared to a university: a stronger international work environment, a much smaller size, simpler paperwork, *"faster and easier to get things done"* (Researcher #20), fewer permanent researchers, a multidisciplinary focus, separate research groups, and a strong reliance on external funding. The third-party funding implies that they do not receive a group budget and they are completely dependent upon external grants.

In the institute where Researcher #20 is based, they receive a certain amount of funding for the infrastructure from the Basque Government and also for the research groups. The group leader is an Ikerbasque Research Professor who is fixed, but the technicians and the remaining expenditure comes from their grants they have obtained in open competition. He explained that is a usual international arrangement. Research in science has similar goals everywhere, but because it is expensive, there is an emphasis on acquiring external funding and additional sources of support, to keep the laboratories going, and this can best be achieved by obtaining results. Such a way of organising science is similar in most parts of the world.

To work in one of the research centres also usually means that there are no or only a few students, although it can depend on the size of the centre (as Researcher #9 explained). Most of the researchers who work at a research centre have little to no teaching, and for Researcher #3, "*this is the most important advantage*" compared to working at the university. In the centre he is 100% free to dedicate all his time to research. In contrast, Researcher #21 claimed that he would have had more freedom as a full professor in his country of origin – but he also said that with more freedom come more responsibilities – and for him there is a good balance in his work in the Basque Country. The specific nature of the work depends on each research centre, and how each researcher perceives their current work circumstance also depends on their previous experiences.

The similarities in how research centres operate around the world also imply that when a researcher moves to the Basque Country not that much changes for them work-wise (mentioned, among others, by Researcher #21). Overall, these researchers appreciate the positive attitude towards science they observe in the region (Researcher #19), which includes a recognition of their contribution to local development (Researcher #22). Another aspect mentioned was the ease of networking in the region (Researcher #18), which helps to develop scientific directions, or new research and new technologies. Researcher #19 expressed that nowadays universities in Europe are becoming more of a kind of company rather than a university "*in the way they are managed by people who don't have any connection with science*". She had observed that in the Basque Country there is still a lot of respect for science and researchers. Her programme manages to attract people

from all over the world and she said that the researchers who come here are treated very well.

ii.   Internationalisation

Various researchers, among them Researchers #5 and #8, mentioned a lower degree of internationalisation of the universities as a problem in the Basque Country. This is reflected, among others, in the limited number of international students and staff. Researcher #5 argues that one of the reasons for establishing Ikerbasque was to help make the research institutions more international, and still he is the only international senior Research Professor in his university department. According to his estimate of the ratio of Spanish-national versus foreigners among Ikerbasque researchers initially and in later years, he believes that the focus is shifting towards attracting more Spanish researchers who have obtained international experience (i.e. returnee academics).

In the Basque Country, Researcher #8 does have PhD students from abroad; "*I try to recruit people who are the best, from around the world.*". Researcher #10 said that they are participating in a European network and they had international students, "*but it's not so easy to attract foreign students or post-docs*" because of issues with the recognition of degrees obtained from another country. He explained the complexity of the procedure of "homologation", the approval of certificates and diplomas by the educational authorities. Researcher #15, too, believes that, although it may gradually be changing, "*the bureaucracy*" is not favouring many foreigners to come to the Basque Country. Some existing procedures do not make it easy to recruit international students or post-docs.

Researcher #15 argues that internationalisation is further hampered because there is a sense of isolation from the rest of Europe from an economical and cultural integration point of view. He argues that the region could benefit "*from a European mind*" that comes with exposure to different cultures and languages. This is something he had where he carried out his PhD and had his first job: "*although the lab wasn't the most advanced, it was a nice international lab and different languages were around.*". He claims that becoming more culturally open is a prerequisite for amplifying the scale of research, which is the next point of discussion.

iii.   Scale of research

According to Researcher #15, there is a lot going on in the Basque Country professionally, but there is not the same drive to get to the global scale, like in Barcelona or Madrid. Those cities are better known on a global level also in scientific terms. Comparing the scale of research in his previous institution and his current institution, Researcher #15 notes that the academic environment was more enriching in his previous work. He talks about "*seeing big, global science*", and as doing predominantly "*cutting edge projects*", which attract "*driven PhD students*". Here he misses those elements, which equals institutional support for big projects. He believes that it is always good to have cutting edge science in mind, and go for both, "*higher end fruit*" and "*lower end fruit*". According to him *"You cannot always have high end fruit, because that means you would have millions of Euros supporting your lab every year. So you have to balance the two"*. As it turns out the scale of science is directly related to the available amount of both institutional and financial support.

iv.   Publishing articles

This sub-section will focus on what researchers have said about publishing articles as part of the research system, helping to understand what the experiences are of these researchers. Whether researchers are required to publish a certain number of articles per year depends on their specific post in a research centre or in the university. Researcher #5 mentions the three-yearly Ikerbasque assessments which consider the number of publications. He states further that in addition to Ikerbasque's assessments, his host institution also reports on their publication performance.

Researcher #5 was informed after his first assessment that he needs to publish more, to which he wrote a letter saying, in addition to the financial difficulties, as an applied engineer, with the current size of his group, it is not possible for him to meet that requirement. According to him, different assessment criteria should apply to different fields.

Researcher #14 also notes that in his field, and due to the size of his group, publishing two to four articles per year "*is a lack of understanding*", because it is just not possible, and he adds that he does not know how strictly this criterion will be applied when it comes to his evaluation next year. Other criteria could be taken into

consideration for the assessment, such as the characteristics of the field, the size of the group, and the (international) network of collaborators.

Along the same lines, Researcher #12, #14 and Researcher #22 claimed that the research system in Spain is designed to promote quantity, not quality, and therefore quality is at stake. The researchers are feeling the pressure is on quantity of publications and then what happens as Researcher #14 explains, is that a researcher may cut the research short and says "*let's publish now*". In his opinion they still do a good job, but the pressure is frustrating.

This circumstance can create an imbalance between the internal, permanent staff at the university and other researchers. Researcher #12, who works at a university, indicated that incentives to publish are weak for professors at the universities in the Basque Country. There are fixed standards of the number of publications for those who want to get promoted or to become a permanent staff member. This implies there is this some incentive for them to publish, but there is no punishment for "*not doing anything*" once they become permanent staff members.

Researcher #14 is of the opinion that even if there is a rule to publish certain number of articles, it is obvious that publishing helps researchers to increase their standing in the scientific community, and it helps for post-docs to get an academic position. Researcher #15 is more concerned with publishing "*a relatively good job*", than only focusing on the number of articles.

v.   Funding

Availability of funding in the Basque Country is mentioned by many researchers, for instance, Researchers #4, #5, #14, #15, #16, and #22, as an obstacle when it is limited and it gets in the way of attracting researchers as well as doing "*bigger science*". Different aspects were mentioned by these researchers about funding: the amount, application schedules, transparency and hierarchy.

The available amount of funding is the first thing that comes to Researcher #4's mind as a difference from his previous workplaces. Although the questionnaire results show that 61% of respondents do not think that competition here is stronger than in their previous job (see item h in Figure 4.20), this researcher argues that competition for grants is high because there is not a lot of funding, and so researchers have to

focus on publishing frequently based on smaller grants, rather than publishing less frequently, such as only after three years and then yielding more important results in longer term. Researcher #5 gave a similar answer and mentioned that that the economic crisis that hit Spain in 2008 got worse in 2010 and worsened even further, and, when the interview was carried out in 2016, Spain had not recovered from the crisis. Under these circumstances it is hard for him and other researchers to meet the requirements Ikerbasque has for senior Research Professors. These requirements include obtaining competitive funding and grants, establishing their own research group, and publishing frequently. He has to find his grants from industry, which has its own requirements, and this adds further responsibilities to him and his team.

Researcher #15 explained that an added complexity is that the limited availability of funding in the Basque Country, makes it more difficult to attract researchers. He recalled that the availability of funding was not an issue in the country where he previously worked. Researchers #14 and #16 echoed the same opinion.

Researcher #15 and #22 do not link the scarcity of funding to the economic crisis, but they think that limited funding is a sign of how much weight society, and policy makers, put into science. The result is how much a government is keen to invest in scientific research. In Researcher #15's previous county of work science is more associated with society than it is here. He thinks that the more cultural weight of doing something for the society through science, the more funding available. The more financial resources for research, the more cutting edge infrastructure as a result.

Furthermore, Researcher #22 distinguishes two different approaches that are guiding investment: investing into research that pays off over a long time, that is fundamental science, versus investing in applied research that is relevant in the short term.

Researcher #22 acknowledges that in the Basque Country they have a bit of an advantage compared to the rest of Spain, because for funding possibilities they have the Basque Government in addition to the Spanish Government. Nevertheless, taken together this is far from the funding opportunities which he would have had in some other countries, which leads to "*limiting the possibilities that they have and the freedom to think about cutting edge, excellent science*". It forces him to move towards applied, industrial research rather than doing fundamental research which is

his real field of expertise and the reason he came here. The scarcity of regional and national funding makes the researchers more often rely on European funds, which are highly competitive and difficult to receive. He expressed that they need "*to hunt funding here and there*" and "*to put together enough money to do the research.*".

Researcher #23 appreciates that it is easier to convince people that studying certain problems are more important in Europe than in his country of origin, even though it may be a little easier to pursue science over there because there are more financial resources invested in the science system.

Researcher #8 notes that his group receives funding from the Basque Government and he observes that the availability of funding, and competition around it, depends on specific subjects. While some areas may receive more support, others may find it more difficult to find funding opportunities.

Researcher #14 thinks that more than the scarcity of funding, a bigger issue is the irregularity of calls for proposals. With regards to the scheduling of funding, he argues that calls are not announced enough time in advance, the call may coincide with holidays, and they tend to come with short deadlines. Overall it makes planning, grant writing and good work more difficult. Perhaps he is experiencing this as a foreign researcher, in which case there could be a gap to fill to accommodate foreign researchers.

In terms of transparency and hierarchy, Researcher #7 said that understanding the way Spanish science works is very different in his personal experience compared to science in his previous country of work: "*to kind of understand this and the way to behave has also been very difficult.*". Researcher #7 can compare the science system in the Basque Country with the another academic context that he has experience with and he observes that the latter is a little bit more progressed in terms of the way higher education system is constructed, in the way grants are provided, and how people are employed. In terms of grants, it is "*more transparent and most of the people have equal accessibility to the grant, here it's not the case*". He believes that rather than the total amount of funding, the issue is more about how the money is being distributed. Similarly, Researcher #14 has concerns about transparency and the influence of being a foreigner. On transparency, he said "*it's hard to understand why*

some decisions are made". He thought that it would be nice if also foreign researchers could take part in the decision making process, since it is a rather small scientific community and there is a lot of potential to improve things. However, he does not feel "*that voicing your opinion in this direction [as someone who moved here] is really accepted*". He believes that it also depends on the level one is in the scientific hierarchy. His reflection refers back to the statement about hierarchy as mentioned in Figure 4.20 (item f): 52% of the researchers do not think that hierarchy here is weaker than in their previous job, 29% are neutral, 19% think that it is weaker.

vi.   Contract types

The last sub-section of the research system is about contract types, especially temporary contracts, because they may put a constraint on the life as a researcher. Researcher #14 has the intention to stay in the Basque Country until his children finish high school, but he does not feel secure about his future because he does not have a fixed contract. He feels insecure because his contract may not be renewed and there are fewer opportunities to stay, and "*they are very competitive in general*".

Researcher #23 added as an argument that when you are younger, moving around is easier: "*But once your kids get into school, and you sort of need that permanence, then this mobility model becomes a bit more of a mismatch with what people's experiences are like. And you see that at the centre here. We have trouble recruiting more established researchers.*" He sees a lot more young researchers.

Researcher #23, has the perspective of a researcher working at one of the research centres (BERCs), said that it is a little less certain how to make a long-term career out of science in the Basque Country and in Spain, because some of the traditions for funding a long career or establishing oneself in the academic stage seems to be harder: "*And we're not that well integrated with the university.*". There is a clear distinction between BERCs and universities and for him it is not clear how the centres "*get into the academic side of things*".

Researcher #5 is an Ikerbasque research professor at a university, but in his position he is treated somewhat different from other researchers and professors in his department. For instance, he can only attend general meetings or department board

meetings as an observer, but he cannot vote. However, he is aware that this is a specific circumstance and may depend on the centre or university department.

After discussing the researchers' experiences with the research system, in the next section communication styles will be discussed from the point of view of researchers.

4.3.1.3. Communication Styles

According to the questionnaire findings reported in Figure 4.20, there are 50% of participants who do not think that the communication style of Basque colleagues is very different from their own, another 25% think it is different, and 25% is neutral (item e).

This issue of the communication style is explored based on the information provided during the interviews discussing the two related themes of i. directness versus indirectness and ii. degree of politeness.

i.   Directness versus indirectness

The interview data show that these researchers perceive differences with regards to directness or indirectness in communication in the workplace. Some researchers characterise the communication style as indirect while others rather think it is straightforward.

For instance, in Researcher #3's country of origin, they tend to be quite frank: "*as long as you formulate a criticism constructively, it is culturally acceptable, it is completely normal.*" However, in comparison, he finds that in the Basque Country, "*I very often perceive that criticism as such, no matter how constructively reformulated, isn't well seen*". He does not analyse whether this is a widespread practice, but for him it creates misunderstandings and sometimes leads to frustration.

Researcher #21 mentioned that people at work complain a lot about his directness and they attribute this to characteristics of his nationality. He says that if he reads something that is of poor quality, he will say that it is bad without beating around the bush. His directness did lead to a serious problem with a post-doc from another part of the world. He was not aware of this cultural difference before, until he was told by a Spanish colleague. He told him that in Spain people already adopt a less direct communication style, but the communication style in the post-doc's country is even more indirect, and that he needed to adapt his style. Now he tries to adjust himself to

people from different backgrounds, and their communicative needs, but he finds it difficult especially when he is stressed and rushing from one meeting to another, or when he is busy.

Researcher #25 is an interesting case because he grew up bilingually and experienced two cultures simultaneously. As a consequence, he sees himself as having different styles of communication. The first is extremely direct, as in "*you just say things as you would perceive them*", and the second is more indirect, "*you need to read between the lines*". It depends on the context, but the former style can be perceived by others as extremely aggressive. In the workplace he mostly uses the first direct style, but "*maybe in a bit smoother way*". He gave one concrete example from work: "*when responding to reviews, reviewers' comments, and if there's a Spanish person, I realise how, you know the Spanish way is so much more trying to make it smooth, saying 'oh, thank you so much for raising this point...*" whereas with his "*style number one*" he would respond more directly to the content. When asked how it is to work with different styles and how his personal style is perceived in the workplace, he answered that he misses that kind of feedback, "*especially in cultures that don't have that more confrontational, kind of direct communication*", and he may have to ask people which he has a good relationship with how his style is perceived.

Researcher #16 can be placed on the indirect side of a directness-indirectness continuum. He comes from a country where, as he formulates it "*it's always good not to express what you really think. It's quite indirect.*". He gave an example of an extreme case of what could happen in his country of birth: your supervisors can always be smiling to you and then one day they tell you that you are fired... "*It's quite important to read between the lines and to understand what kind of feeling they have and in [a previous country of work] I think it's more direct than [his country of birth].*". He is not certain where the Basque Country fits between the two countries, partly because of his current work environment. His current research group is "*a complete mix*" of cultures and it is not truly Spanish or Basque, but then this also applied to his previous workplace. He has not gotten used to directness "*I feel really embarrassed still. I try to understand but it's tough for me to accept some direct expressions...*". He tries to express himself more openly, but he is not sure if he is successful enough.

Researchers have to be aware of such differences in communication, adapt their communicative practices to those of their interlocutors, and be open for dialogue. Ideally, this should, of course, apply both to local and foreign researchers.

ii.   Degree of Politeness

According to Researcher #11, there is a different equilibrium of politeness in every country. For example, in her country of origin, the way to ask questions involves more "*please*", "*would you mind*", instead of saying "*give me*", or "*tell me*". Similarly, she said, "*if you push someone in the metro, and if you don't apologise, you're very rude*", whereas here people do not expect you to apologise in such a scenario, but if you do, they would say "*don't worry*". Another example is that bartenders in the Basque Country and in Spain would just say "*tell me*" instead of "*what would you like?*" What is considered polite and impolite varies from one context to another, and perhaps it is also a question of language; in her first language (L1) small words are used, which are not necessary here, and "*you adapt somehow*", and "*you get used to that*".

4.3.1.4. Rules of Social Behaviour

Now the focus will shift to the rules of social behaviour, which includes the analysis of the researchers' experiences of the local culture and of cultural differences.

The questionnaire data reported in Figure 4.20 above demonstrated that 65% of the participants do not find it hard to adapt their behaviour to living in the Basque Country (item i). In item (c) about rules of social behaviour it was seen that about half of the respondents agrees and the other half disagrees (41% versus 42% and 17% neutral). Interview data about the rules of social behaviour is summed up here under the following three labels: i. formality vs. informality, ii. the role of family, iii. socialising and openness to foreigners. These are some of the cultural differences identified by the researchers which they are aware of and need to adapt to.

i.   Formality versus informality

Researcher #8 has teaching experience in different countries and he observes differences in presenting ideas, the enthusiasm of students, and relates this to degrees of formality and informality of social behaviour. He notices in the country where he has recently started teaching, that students stop him every few seconds, asking him

questions, and he finds this fantastic. In contrast, in a previous country where he used to teach, he explained that students are reserved and this made it difficult for them to ask questions. In the Basque Country, he found a mixture of both behaviours. For instance, students call their professors by their first name, but then at the same time they realize there is a barrier of hierarchy between them. The barrier is not as clear in his country of origin and this became quite a culture shock for him at the beginning. By the same token, in his country of origin, the students would be more informal and they were also quite demanding in their expectations of him. In the Basque Country, he experiences that there is more of a teacher-pupil kind of relationship even at university, but he also observes certain differences between the courses offered at research centre, which are more international, versus the courses he teaches on campus, where most of the students are from the region.

Another aspect somewhat related to being more formal and strict or not, is the issue of punctuality. A number of researchers (Researcher #5, #11 and #23) compared the adherence to appointed times and noticed differences with some other European country. At the same time, Researcher #11 thinks it is "*also a question of the individual*", and she does not really want to generalise it to the whole local context. According to Researcher #23, meetings usually started a bit later in the Basque Country than in his previous country of work, "*but not that much, not according to the stereotypes, maybe five minutes later.*".

ii.   The role of family

Researcher #8 notices that students in the Basque Country have closer ties with their family and they tend to go home for the weekend. They also stay with their parents much longer than they do back in his home country, whilst in other places they might be studying at a university far away from home, and thus leave home much sooner.

Researcher #10 thinks that the way children are brought up is different from what he is used to. His ideas and ways in regards to upbringing his children are also influenced by his encounter with the local culture. For example, he mentioned that "*the way people treat children here is very abundant, very positive… they overwhelm them [children] with presents.*" At the beginning he was critical of this practice, because "*my cultural defined way of thinking was that there's the danger of over-spoiling and breaking the character of the child, but this is actually not true.*". He

said that children are surrounded by attention and parents are active in the way they deal with their children, and that it is constructive. He gave another example with regards to how children are brought up in the Basque Country: the after school activities. In his country of origin, parents pick up their children from school and they go home, and there can be some extracurricular activities completely separated from the school, such as sports or music. In the Basque Country, in contrast, he sees, probably also due to better weather "*people would stay around school so that their children play together... It's really considered important here, the capacity of children to connect with friends. To learn to be a part of a social group.*". He finds this a very strong element of social behaviour and he has never experienced that elsewhere. At first he was not sure if this kind of element of raising a child was so important, but now he sees only benefits to it.

iii.   Socialising and openness to foreigners

How, where and when in terms of the manner, the places, and the days these researchers are used to socialising with others are often different in the countries they have worked or where they are from. Researcher #5 and Researcher #9 told that in their country of origin, people invite close friends and new friends alike to their homes, and their homes are a place for socialising, whereas in the Basque Country people "*prefer socialising in bars*". Researcher #5's experience is that people do not socialise easily with and they are not very open to foreigners in the Basque society. Researcher #9 had very similar experiences.

Researcher #6 does not have many interactions with the local culture in general and "*it is very very hard to enter the local community*". He further explained that "*They grow up together from the age of 2-3 years... and then when you try to enter, it is very hard.*". It is a reference to the close-knit '*cuadrilla*' culture, which was also brought up by Researcher #9, who indicated that while in [city in Spain], it is easier to go out, meet new people and see them again another time. Similarly, Researcher #12, who lives in a small Basque town expressed that "*You have to be introduced by someone in the Basque Country*".

In contrast, Researchers #2, #13, #16, #21 and #24 note that the locals are open to foreigners, and are more used to meet foreigners than in their countries of origin and their previous workplaces. Researcher #16: "*They're usually more helpful trying to*

pay attention.". However, both Researchers #2 and #24 came to accept the culture of ‘*cuadrilla*’, as Researcher #2 expressed it *"we know we will never belong to that level of social cohesion, and we must be satisfied that, we can be friends of people here, but we will not get that closeness that the natives have within them and it's a matter of accepting.".*

Researcher #13 is among the few foreign people in the small Basque town where she lives, and she finds that the locals: "*have been quite welcoming, also with the children*". He mentioned further that "*some people say that Basque people are insular, that they don't want to meet other people*", but that it has not been her experience at all. According to her people are interested in others and they want to talk to them.

Researcher #21, too, shared that he and his partner were lucky in their Basque town. However, at the university even after over seven years, he has not spoken to 90% of the faculty, he reflected: "*I am [nationality] and I'm distant, too.*".

Meeting people and having social contacts is experienced differently. Researcher #1 said it was a culture shock for her to have to "*kiss people you meet for the first time*" and she found it rather frustrating. For her it was especially important because it is gender-related, and she sees it as "*demeaning towards women*". She explained that "*men can keep their handshake, while women are expected to kiss*". Researcher #1 further noticed that it would be perceived strange if she refused to kiss or she would be regarded as "*a clueless foreigner*" who does not know how things are done.

Also Researcher #14 expressed his feeling of discomfort with meeting a person and the kissing as a greeting; for him this is a cultural trait that is completely unknown. For example, when he takes his children to school, and he meets some of the other parents there, he is afraid that he may have offended some people because he did not want to kiss or he was uncomfortable with a touch on his shoulder and he moved his shoulder away. Even his friends, to whom kissing comes natural, have started to shake his hand instead, and "*this is even more strange because we're friends and to shake hands, it's even more uncomfortable for me.*".

4.3.1.5. Summary

In this section, researchers' opinions and experiences of the local culture and cultural differences were analysed and grouped under the four headings of working habits, the research system, communication styles and rules of social behaviour.

First, with regards to working habits, it could be observed that working hours, work and life balance, writing style, the way meetings are held and how presentations are structured differ from country to country. In general, the researchers view working habits and culture in the region positively, while they become more aware of what attitudes to life and work are brought by their colleagues from different backgrounds, and even when writing in English, the second language (L2) for a majority of these researchers, this is influenced by their first language (L1). They also have learned to be open to guests from abroad when it comes to differences in expectations.

Second, in the research system, the nature of the actual work depends on the specific institution. In general, research centres are organised in similar ways around the world. In terms of the local culture, some practices differ considerably, but inside the research system, academic practices are alike everywhere. The research centres in the Basque Country are characterised by the researchers as international, bringing together academics and researchers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. At the same time, some administrative procedures, and also the amount of available funding make it more difficult to attract international PhD students, post-docs, as well as more established researchers.

The amount of financial and institutional support also determines the scale of science. Researchers have to learn how science in the region and in Spain works and how to behave, which sometimes can be difficult. About the assessment of the researchers, some of them believe that rather than focusing solely on the number of publications, other criteria could be taken into consideration such as the specifics of the field or the size of group.

Third, regarding communication styles, each researcher has a different perception of directness and politeness, depending on where they are from and their previous experiences. The findings show that what is considered polite and impolite changes from one culture and/or language to another; and this is something that researchers gradually get used to and adapt. Researchers are aware of nuances in communication

styles, and adapt their communicative practices to those of their interlocutors. Ideally, this type of awareness should apply both to local and foreign researchers.

Fourth, for the rules of social behaviour there are some differences, such as the hierarchy between teachers and students, the role of family and how to bring up children; those may all be sources of culture shock for researchers, sometimes they are also a source of frustration, but sometimes they see the benefits of those practices and adopt them, and other times they require getting accustomed to, and often differences are individual and not generalisable.

All these four aspects of the local culture and cultural differences are examples of the differences researchers come across with on a day-to-day basis and to which they need to adapt when they are settling in a new sociocultural context.

The goal of this section was to investigate researchers' experiences of the social context in relation to aspects of multilingualism and culture. By doing so, this section provided a space for researchers to voice their opinion. The research questions tackled were concerned with foreign academic researchers' experiences of working in the Basque Country. They relate to the social context, which is the third dimension of the Focus on Multilingualism model.

4.3.2. INTEGRATION IN THE WORKPLACE AND SOCIETY

This section explores researchers' integration in and adaptation to the academic workplace and the local society. A question about integrating and adapting was asked in a general way during the interviews and the researchers gave a range of answers. A summary of the factors mentioned by the researchers as having an effect on their sense of belonging and adaptation to the workplace and the local society is presented in Figure 4.22. The factors will be discussed one by one.

Factors influencing integration and adaptation	1) speaking local languages
	2) networks in the community
	3) international networks

Figure 4.22   Factors influencing integration and adaptation

1. Speaking the local languages is an obvious factor that helps integration and adaptation of these researchers in their workplace and in the community. Various researchers, among them Researchers #4, #5, #11 and #24 spontaneously mentioned 'language' during the interviews as an important factor that aids adapting. Both Researcher #4 and #11 can speak Spanish and they see themselves as well-integrated in society. Researcher #24 stated that he always values learning about the culture of the host country and becoming integrated into it, including by learning the new language. Similarly, Researcher #5 gave as his opinion that it is important to be able to speak the local languages in diverse aspects of life, and there he included his professional life. He added "[a common language] increases academic performance, and helps your social life.".

There are also researchers who are in a way at the other end of the continuum, such as Researchers #14 and #19 because they do not really feel at home in the new society. They may integrate well in the new workplace, because in that context the main language of communication is English for them, but they have no or a lower level of Spanish and Basque and do not integrate well in the wider community. Their experience is that not speaking the local languages gets in the way of integrating to a fuller extent. For instance, Researcher #19 says that she feels at home to a lesser extent than her husband does, because she has a problem with learning the language, and she says it is entirely her own fault. Likewise, Researcher #14 does not blame the people or the society but he blames himself for not being integrated well, because he has not learnt Spanish, and then communicating is more difficult, because, "it is really hard when you have to rely solely on English when you want to speak to other people".

2. Developing local networks is another, related factor that helps researchers' adaptation and integration in Basque society. One can begin to actively participate in the local social and cultural life of the town. Researcher #10 sees himself as well-integrated and he does not feel like an outsider in the town where he lives, although he acknowledges that his knowledge of Euskera (Basque) could be improved, because it is a typical Basque town where a lot of the social communication is in Euskera. He follows traditional instrument lessons at a local music school, which is appreciated by locals: "*This kind of life, the pueblo structure, is strong in the Basque Country; people go to play music outside; the fiestas, we are playing in a concert with the people of the town. The dialogue it has created is nice*.". Researcher #10 further explains that by sending his children to the *ikastola* (a Basque-medium school) it made him integrate a lot more, because at the *ikastola* they meet parents, make friends, and share concerns as members of the parent organisation of the school.

Researcher #19, who works at one of the research centres (BERC), said that she has developed some professional connections with people at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) which are mostly for research purposes, and she collaborates closely with two research groups since she moved to the Basque Country. Having those local collaborators and making connections she identifies as a positive factor that influences her adaptation and integration not only in the workplace, but also in society.

In their lives, personal ties are an important component of integration. An example by Researcher #11 shows how important it is to have family and friends at a place, despite not living there anymore. For her this would mean that she maintains a connection with that (former) place. The opposite, but the same logic applies to one of her previous countries of residence: she is less connected to that place since the majority of her friends and family are not there anymore. Researcher #11 explained that "*it takes a lot of time to have non-professional friends. It's a question of time, to go to make sports, learn language... to be open I guess...*".

Researcher #24 experiences that it is harder to develop friendships through social activities not related to work. Both his foreigner and local friends are mainly researchers.

Researcher #3 explained that while living in the Basque Country may not necessarily be *"home"*, *"it is also close enough"*. He, nevertheless, pointed out that it was unthinkable to become politically active here, an issue echoed by Researcher #11, who said: *"You never completely belong. Your opinion will always be considered external opinion when you speak about some topics, such as politics."*. In general, Researcher #3 does not have problems with integration outside the workplace since people he and his wife meet are generally friendly and open, and the country where he was born is usually well-perceived by the local people he meets.

The extent of integration can also depend on the background of an individual, for example whether a person comes from a multilingual country or not, which was a point as raised by Researcher #23. He made observations about his housemates and colleagues and reflected on himself, when he noticed that *"it can be harder for people to integrate and they behave a little bit differently if they come from a more monolingual country."*

3. International networks are another, almost contrasting factor which is significant in the researchers' lives and which influences the way they adapt to the workplace and the local community. Due to their type of research work all of them have many contacts and work with collaborators all over the world, as was explicitly mentioned by Researcher #14. He said that he currently has a chance to return to his previous country of residence where he can use instruments that he does not have in his laboratory here. Researcher #14 shared that having international contacts and being mobile has made his and his family's life more exciting.

Researcher #3 has lived and worked in five different countries and he explained that *"in each country you have to learn a new system and readapt and this is quite tiresome."*. He, however, told that, although technically he moved to different countries, he moved in academic environments, which are quite international – also in the Basque Country, and that interacting with people from different backgrounds is something he is very much used to. For researchers such as Researcher #3 and #14 they are well-integrated in the workplace, but there is less need to strongly integrate in the local community.

Quite a few researchers, including Researcher #25, had a message for students who consider doing a PhD in order to have an academic career. Researcher #25

underlined the importance of being aware that the job market is going to be international, that you need an international network and that you have to be ready to be mobile. A downside of academic mobility, as experienced by Researcher #23, is the difficulty of establishing and maintaining a family in a local community. He said that mobility does not always work out well and in his case it did not: "*When you're young especially... It's great, if you get to go to different places and experience how the work goes in different countries, but later on when people are asking you to go, to pursue a job in some other country, just to stay in your career, it's not that much fun*".

Several researchers mentioned that the nature of temporary contracts, which are common in this type of workplaces, forces researchers to be mobile and can be an obstacle for integration, not so much in the academic workplace but more in the local community. Researcher #24 acknowledges that thanks to mobility and having a large international network of contacts, he thinks in general people become more tolerant, more aware of different cultural sensitivities and more creative in their research (see also section 4.1.2 for a discussion of some of these aspects). It is the way in which he has learnt to handle different types of problems, obtained practical knowledge by overcoming challenges, and as he said, those skills may not always be transferable to other contexts. Researcher #24, elaborated on this aspect of non-transferable, country-specific knowledge and skills, and how it requires an extra effort to learn how things function in each new setting. The time and energy he has spent to adapt to those experiences makes him "*not an expert to fight with other guys who are specialists and who have lived all their life doing that and they did not spend the time and energy to adapt to other things*". Researcher #24, thus, believes that networks and mobility can give a person flexibility, but it may make one less of a specialist.

A relevant aspect for better integrating in the workplace was for Researcher #23 "*knowing how the science system works*", which was related to his experience living in different places and dealing with different people.

4.3.2.1. Strategies adopted to facilitate communication in a multicultural and multilingual work environment

Due to perceived cultural differences in the workplace or in the wider social context, actions and reactions tend to be evaluated through a personal, sociocultural lens, and

certain attitudes may be taken for granted because of growing up in a certain way, as Researcher #3 explains.

Some researchers have stated that the culture of the Basque Country is not all that different from what they were used to beforehand, and that this relative cultural proximity meant that they did not come across any critical issues. Researcher #25 initially underestimated the cultural differences, and he thought that the variability of personalities or characters was a bigger cause of some misunderstandings and conflicts that he had. It took him some time to become aware that some of those miscommunications and misunderstandings may have arisen from having been brought up in different cultural contexts and there are important differences also within Europe: "*Maybe not necessarily to values, but ... how you organise your daily life, how you socialise, and so on.*".

Misunderstandings can occur easily in situations where people communicate through the medium of a second or third language. Misunderstandings can also arise regardless of a shared mother tongue. Part of being a foreign researcher is settling in a new environment – one that is likely to be different in terms of language(s) and culture(s), with a different set of understandings between researchers from different backgrounds. Both interlocutors ought to be aware that there can be a different set of expectations, ways of being and behaving, thus a different meaning behind an act or a word. For instance, directness vs. indirectness, politeness vs. impoliteness, as some of the examples shown above, can all cause misunderstandings and conflict.

It is of utmost importance to realise that concepts and ideas may convey a different meaning in different contexts, and thus can be perceived differently. Thus, in order to be on the same page it is important to ask for clarifications, explanations, or definitions. These researchers overall show a high awareness of cultural sensitivities and cultural practices, and they expressed that they take into consideration cultural differences when they communicate with people, thus maximising the possibilities of constructive dialogue.

They mentioned various strategies that align closely with indicators of intercultural competence, such as recalculating and readjusting to one's surroundings. In the course of time, researchers get used to the fact that things are done differently and they learn how to react (Researcher #25), and they adapt to their contextual

circumstances and differences, which may mean adopting new approaches and practices. When interlocutors have a higher awareness of cultural sensitivities, mutually, they can get along more easily without obstacles, as the findings could showcase.

Another strategy employed by Researcher #18 is focusing on what connects researchers from different backgrounds: their common needs. He stated that the more years of experience researchers from different continents had, the more diversity, and the faster they learn to live together.

4.3.2.2. Summary

The section began with an analysis of cultural differences as observed by researchers in the workplace and in the larger society. It has to be underlined that the data is based on researchers' lived experiences, and they can help to understand the kinds of challenges academics, and other high level professionals might experience in new contexts. All researchers have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and they each compare the Basque context with their own unique experiences. The goal was to showcase the kinds of differences that these researchers perceive. In the results, aspects were discussed such as directness and indirectness, what is regarded as polite or impolite, and how one culture is perceived in comparison to another. With regards to their workplace experiences, researchers adopt a number of strategies to coexist in a multicultural and multilingual work environment. The interconnectedness of language and culture ought to be underlined because many of the examples given show that language and culture go hand in hand (such as writing, ways of communicating, socially organising). The section concluded with a look at researchers' integration in the workplace and the local society, and at factors that helped or hindered their integration and the strategies they adopt to facilitate communication. The role of intercultural competences in multilingual and multicultural societies and workplaces becomes relevant. The next chapter will discuss the results obtained in this research.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

This chapter will be organised according to the three main research questions of this study and it will discuss the key findings in relation to previous research. The focus of this study is on foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country who are multilingual and intercultural speakers. The emphasis is on exploring their language practices, and their experiences in the workplace and the wider social context. The following main research questions and sub-questions were formulated (see the next table).

Table 5.1 Research questions of this study

1. (RQ1) What is the linguistic and cultural profile of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

    1.1. To what extent are these foreign researchers multilingual?

    1.2. What are the intercultural competences of foreign researchers?

    1.3. What are foreign researchers' attitudes and ideologies towards various languages?

2. (RQ2) What are the main characteristics of language use of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

    2.1. Which languages do foreign researchers use in the workplace?

    2.2. Which languages do foreign researchers use in their private life?

    2.3. Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?

3. (RQ3) What is the relationship of foreign academic researchers with the local work context of the Basque Country?

    3.1 What are foreign researchers' opinions about cultural aspects of the local work context?

    3.2 How do foreign researchers see their integration in the workplace and the local context?

All research questions were investigated using an online questionnaire and in-depth face-to-face interviews as data collection instruments. Both tools were developed in

English. Through the questionnaire general quantitative trends amongst the participating group of international researchers could be shown, while the face-to-face interviews allowed for going deeper into their language profiles and cultural experiences.

The discussion in this final chapter will be structured taking the three main research questions as the point of departure and using the three sub-research questions for the sub-sections. Accordingly, Section 5.1 discusses the extent to which foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country are multilingual, the characteristics of their intercultural competence and the language attitudes and ideologies. Section 5.2 discusses the characteristics of the language use in the workplace and in private life. Section 5.3 discusses foreign researchers' relationship with the broader social context; this includes the experiences with the workplace and the local culture. Some of the limitations of the study and possible future studies are included in Section 5.4. The final section (5.5) contains the general conclusion.

5.1. The multilingual researcher

In this section the first research question and its three sub-questions will be discussed.

RQ1. What is the linguistic and cultural profile of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

The first sub-question was "*To what extent are these foreign researchers multilingual?* The question specifically looks at the language competence of the foreign researchers and it aims to provide a language profile of these researchers as multilingual speakers. The results as reported in Chapter 4.1 made clear that the group of researchers who participated in this study are highly multilingual. This was reflected, first and foremost, in the number of languages they can hold a conversation in. Only one-fifth (19%) have conversational abilities in just two languages, all others speak at least three languages. One-third (35%) can converse in three languages, another one-third (30%) in four languages and the others (16%) can speak five or more languages. The results also shed light on which languages researchers are able to speak. The results made it clear that these researchers have a diverse linguistic background. In addition to their first language (L1) and English, they are

often able to speak the languages of the places they have lived before, or where they studied or worked, and sometimes languages that are for some reason of personal interest to them.

The focus of the questionnaire was on English, Spanish and Basque, in order to obtain a self-report about the four skills – understanding, reading, speaking and writing – for each of those three languages. Their self-evaluated competences in English show that they are highly proficient in all four skills (over 90% chose a high to native level).

The majority of the researchers claim to be able to speak Spanish, one of the official languages in their current work context. Overall, the self-evaluated competences show that it varies from one individual to another, and there is variation between the four skills. Some were already able to speak Spanish before moving to the Basque Country, and others have started learning Spanish after they made the move. Some of them indicated that it is relatively easy to learn Spanish, because they speak a language from the same language family, such as Italian or Portuguese.

As could be expected, the questionnaire findings confirm a difference between receptive skills (i.e. understanding and reading) and productive skills (speaking and writing) in Spanish. Receptive skills may develop with exposure to a language, but productive skills require a more active use of the language. Especially those with a "lower level" or a "medium level" in Spanish claim that they can understand or read Spanish better than they can speak and/or write it. From these results, it can be deducted that a majority of the researchers does not speak Spanish as often as they are exposed to it.

During the interview, it was possible to find out more details about the speaking skills. This helped to find out some interesting points about their speaking skills and what a certain levels of proficiency allows them to accomplish in their work and in their everyday lives. For example, at a lower level they are able to have basic communication with others in Spanish or to do shopping, but not much more. In contrast, those who indicated to have a high level in Spanish could express themselves clearly and perhaps made a mistake here and there, but it was not a real

issue. This interview question about the speaking abilities allowed tapping into some of the "hidden knowledge" of these multilinguals.

With regard to Basque, the other official language in researchers' work context, the results show that a majority of the researchers (84%) have never studied Basque. These researchers have not started learning Basque, and they claim they do not know any Basque. However, it can still be assumed that they are exposed to the language to some extent through their work and/or in their everyday life, or if they have children who go to school, through their children. As a minimum, they have at least some familiarity with Basque.

The second sub-research question was "*What are the intercultural competences of foreign researchers?*". Through this question, the researchers' opinions on cultures and their intercultural competences were explored. The results of the questionnaire showed that these foreign academic researchers are also intercultural aware individuals, meaning they have a high level of intercultural competence, which is thanks to having had many intercultural encounters, the experiences of mobility between different countries and, as was shown above, being able to speak several different languages. This intercultural competence is reflected in the opinions they expressed about items on different aspects of culture. It was for example found that all of them (100%) "*like to have experience of several cultures*" or almost all (97%) "*like to discover other people´s culture*". The scores on most items about opinions on culture (as reported in section 4.1.3) were above 75% positive, the only exceptions were the items about "to surround myself with local people as much as possible" (50% agrees) and about "most of my close friends are from my own culture" (35% agree). These last items showed that these researchers have a wider cultural orientation than only the local culture or their own. In general, there they show an openness towards different cultures, adapting the way they use their languages to their interlocutors and new environments, and in general their experiences of multicultural teams.

Further analysis of researchers' opinions on cultures was carried out via the four dimensions of the model on intercultural competence by Deardorff (2006): 1) attitudes, 2) knowledge and comprehension, 3) desired internal outcome and 4) desired external outcome (see Figure 2.1 in section 1.1.2). In this way, light could be

shed on positive attitudes, curiosity and discovery, the researchers' cultural self-awareness and sociolinguistic awareness.

Overall, this demonstrates that the researchers are able to bring new perspectives to their work and to their respective institutions. In particular, the dimension of knowledge and comprehension and the dual aspects of cultural self-awareness and sociolinguistic awareness are useful and important for foreign academic researchers in their everyday and work life. It is worthwhile to delve a bit deeper into these two aspects of cultural self-awareness and sociolinguistic awareness.

According to Deardorff (2006; 2011) cultural self-awareness is about how one sees their surroundings and how one relates to the cultural context and how one positions oneself in the world in general. The researchers were presented with three different possible self-identifying labels about the cultures to which they belong and a fourth was added based on the results of the interviews. Thus, the researchers have expressed four distinct, but at times overlapping categories: (1) "in-between", characterised by *rootlessness, constantly adjusting and re-adjusting*), (2) "world citizen", which implies *taking something from everywhere*, (3) "national", indicating belonging to a '*nationality but not being nationalistic*', and (4) "European", as being *connected to common values and diversity*.

The first category, "in-between", can also be referred to as a 'something of everything' category. The researchers who chose this self-identification reported a change of self and a change of the idea of home, while not belonging exclusively to either their past or present contexts. As a result, they may feel a sense of 'rootlessness'. Some of them think it is a shame, some believe it is liberating, or both at the same time. They feel somehow in-between, rather than showing strong signs of affiliation with either their past, or present contexts, nevertheless, having being shaped in multiple contexts add something from everywhere to their sense of self. It is a matter of constant adjusting and re-adjusting, to every new place, adding another layer of richness to their being.

The researchers who choose to call themselves a "world citizen" had similar arguments, noting that every place they lived becomes a part of them and shapes their identity, hence their attachment to their country of origin and desire to go back

fluctuates similar to what was found among the researchers in Fahey and Kenway's study (2010).

Those who primarily identify as "national" with the country they originally come from, gave as reasons that they are sharing a language, and they share cultural differences and certain perspectives on life or upbringing. It is also related to the way one thinks and behaves, to a passport, to close friends, or frequently visiting the country of origin, which can include following politics and news, the importance of having roots but for most distinguishing it clearly from being nationalistic.

There were also those who identified primarily as "European" and they expressed they feel a strong connection to Europe thanks to having experienced living and working in a number of European countries, where they appreciate its diversity and its common values.

Although the level of intercultural competence of these foreign researchers before living abroad is unknown, the results are in line with the claims of Cots et al. (2016). They found that experiences abroad, combined with learning languages and intercultural encounters will form a firm basis for intercultural competence that can continue to develop and which can lead to further change. As Coste and Simon (2009) argued, identity building is an intricate process for the individual in the context of globalisation. Because cultural identities are dynamic, multiple, and exist within a changing social context; identity is not static and fixed, rather, it is dynamic and changes with ongoing life experiences. Over time, as one experiences various intercultural encounters and challenges, one´s cultural identity may be transformed into one that is substantially different from what it used to be. Through exposure to and internalisation of different cultures and due to having worldwide contacts, individuals can experience different ways of learning, viewing and reacting to the world. This transformation becomes reflected in their self-identification as well.

Change occurs both in the everyday lives and in the professional lives of researchers. Many changes are very subtle; requiring a high level of awareness of one self and of others, and it is difficult to be able to track such subtle changes through an interview. Every day experiences at work and in daily life require that researchers reflect on their past, the choices they have made in life and their ways of doing things. It is not

just outward looking and criticising how things are done, but also an inward journey, of adapting and not resisting change, but rather welcoming it; looking from the outside, seeing things that do not work so well in either of their contexts, and bringing a different perspective, standing somewhere in between.

In addition to the exposure to and knowledge of multiple languages, foreign academic researchers are exposed to multiple cultures. Even if some of these researchers may not consider themselves as multicultural individuals, i.e. identify with two cultures or more, their cultural identities cannot be reduced to simply belonging to *x or y* culture. Their cultural identities cannot simply be explained with one culture only (for instance, the culture of the place where they were born or grew up). Influence of other cultures on their sense of self cannot be underestimated.

As a result, their sense of belonging may change drastically over time and to give an answer to the question '*where are you from?*' or '*where is home for you*?' is not as easy or straightforward for most of them, regardless of the categorisation they feel more drawn to. Similar to the findings of Fahey and Kenway (2010), for the majority of researchers in this study, "home" is not tied to their country of origin, or to another nation-state. Home, thus, is not necessarily where one was born, or where one's ancestors came from, and passports can be seen as merely instrumental.

Mobility is on a rise and is more common than ever, and different cultures are so intertwined that even self-definitions vary considerably. The question "*How do you define yourself?*" can be asked instead of presenting a predefined label. Many studies use concepts such as 'home' country and 'host' country (i.e. Kreber and Hounsell, 2014; Winch, 2015). However, in the case of people who have changed countries and have moved from one country to the next, and who lived in different countries for varying periods of time, and thus were immersed in multiple cultures, it may be better to propose that they have, what could be called a 'root culture'. They would not want to consider themselves as nomads, foreigners, or guests, and instead of using a label such as 'home country' or 'home culture', the term 'root culture' can be used.

The root culture can come into play at this stage for explaining cultural identities of '*wandering scholars*' (Pietsch, 2010), in other words, mobile people. The root

culture is where one takes off from, what guides a person, their perceptions, visions, and points of view, which are the base to shape this root culture. Roots are beneficial to one's sense of being, as it was appreciated by researchers' in this study. Roots can be seen as a window that opens to the world, and a window that makes one grounded. It influences primary steps, then as one moves on and takes further steps, these roots are fed by 'other´ cultures and the window may open more, one gets a fuller view, and wider perspectives. Which is also why, academic mobility is seen as crucial for an academic career; it can make an academic researcher less ethnocentric.

Sociolinguistic awareness is the second component related to intercultural competence that will be elaborated. There is a clear link with the foregoing, because, as Edwards (2009, p. 20) states, language and identity are 'ultimately inseparable'. Researchers, as competent multilinguals, show a high level of sociolinguistic awareness. These researchers are able to transform their work and build bridges between cultures. Even though miscommunications are easy to arise in situations where people communicate through the medium of a second or third language, or with non-native speakers, such miscommunications are expected, and they are a kind of normal events, and that they even happen when speakers share the same first language. Instead of expecting a full knowledge of all linguistic and cultural nuances, which is obviously unrealistic, it seems more beneficial for multilinguals to change such expectations, if they exist. Multilinguals may be reminded that there may be different understandings and expectations among interlocutors, and that they simply ought to be aware of them to clarify meaning as needed. Being aware of the existence of different perspectives, understandings, and ways of communicating, and knowing how to respond to differences is a useful skill. It is of utmost importance to realise that almost every word or concept can carry a different meaning or have another weight in different contexts, and thus can be understood differently. Therefore, it is important to keep asking for clarifications, explanations, or definitions, to be on the same page with the other person(s). Speakers ought to clarify what they mean, clarify if they understood something correctly, clarify if the person understood them correctly as well to reach their communicative goal. It is not necessary to know every linguistic and cultural nuance to do this.

When interlocutors mutually have a high level of sociolinguistic and cultural awareness, they can minimise getting into difficult situations, as it was showcased in some of the findings presented in the results chapter. Communication is a two-way street and it is co-constructed. An awareness from all parties involved aids interaction and leads to effective communication. In this way, people from different backgrounds may communicate effectively.

Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that sociolinguistic awareness is included as a component of this model of intercultural competence. The approach to language competence is closely linked with intercultural competence. Language learning can be informed by analysing real life examples, and language awareness and competence can be improved by critically analysing such cases.

From the researchers' profiles, it can be seen that their everyday and work life are influenced and shaped by the context in which they live, meeting people from different backgrounds, as well as being able to speak different languages. Languages, intercultural encounters, and mobility expose individuals to different ways of being, and can lead to change; change due to getting used to things done in a different way, adapting, or comparing practices, and changing ways and opting for an alternative. Intercultural encounters can help to see that one way is not the sole way and can make people less ethnocentric. Results showed that intercultural encounters, languages, and mobility are a chance to get a gist of other cultures from first-hand experiences, a way to provide comparisons and choices; to give a larger window through which to view the world and to change daily habits.

Mobility has been proposed as a way to increase employability of students and academics. Staying in another country with a different language and culture involves adapting to the changing circumstances and situations. It requires language learning and developing competences of social actors, which play a vital role in the process of socialisation (Coste and Simon, 2009). In this study, it was found that mobility shapes the identities of the researchers and it leads to enhanced intercultural competence. This is beneficial for individuals who live and work together in culturally and linguistically diverse societies and workplaces. The findings are especially relevant when one wants to overcome some of the negative connotations of mobility and build awareness about its value.

The third sub-research question was "*What are foreign researchers' attitudes and ideologies towards various languages?*", here in particular issues related to the use and acquisition of English, Basque and Spanish are explored. These issues can be specified as attitudes towards, first, the use of English as lingua franca in academia; second, towards the learning and use of Basque and Spanish; and third towards multilingualism. This section will discuss those three issues as part of this third sub-research question.

First, concerning the foreign researchers' attitudes towards English, almost all of them believe that English provides a common language that it is the language of science, and that allows everyone in science to communicate equally among those who are able to speak it. At the same time, they acknowledged that the use of English in science is a great advantage for native speakers of English. Even so, English seems to be widely accepted by almost all as the only language of science and as an international useful language, even if this sometimes places locals in a foreigner position in academia. Today, it is taken for granted in academia that being highly skilled in the English language is a requirement, because it is the language that grants access to this group of high-level academic professionals. The role of English in academia is in general perceived positively. The researchers believe that the goal is to communicate, and it is not necessary to speak English perfectly. With regards to their own language competence, the findings suggest that exposure to different varieties of English can be a relief for second language speakers of English who may feel discouraged from speaking because of their (strong) accent. It reminds them that the primary goal is to communicate with others, not to speak the language perfectly.

Secondly, researchers acknowledge that speaking solely English is not enough in their local context and an overwhelming majority of the researchers believe that it is important to be able to communicate in the language of the country where you live, although they do not feel pressured by locals to learn to speak Basque (or even Spanish).

In respect to the use of Basque and Spanish, researchers are more inclined to learn Spanish than Basque, which also becomes clear from their self-reported language competences in these two languages: almost all have at least basic skills in Spanish and most have quite a good or an excellent level of Spanish. This is not the case for

Basque, in which only few researchers have some competence. Several personal, practical, and ideological reasons for not learning Basque were given. In order of importance those reasons are: 1) lack of time and energy, 2) Basque is limited to the Basque Country whereas Spanish is spoken around the globe, 3) preference for another language or languages, 4) already being a speaker of Spanish and being understood by everyone in the region, 5) the idea that people do not have the expectation from them to speak it, 6) the impression that Basque is a difficult language to learn, 7) no interest in learning Basque, 8) having only or mainly Spanish-speaking friends, and 9) seeing teaching methods as not being suited to their personal learning needs.

There are also some researchers who would like to learn Basque and these are some of the reasons given: 1) it is an official language of the region, 2) to better understand the culture, 3) having Basque-speaking friends, 4) because it is not obligatory to learn Basque, but it remains an option.

Languages are a crucial part of identity, and especially regional languages, because speaking such a language is a chance to bring to the forefront an aspect of identity, that an 'outsider' would need other reasons for learning a regional language, or a heightened language awareness. In the context of the Basque Country, where foreign academics have an option to learn either Basque or Spanish, as the results that were obtained here suggest, that it is due to time constraints (or other reasons as outlined above), that the majority of researchers is more inclined to choose to learn Spanish if they already do not know it. Understanding researchers' opinions for or against learning Basque can help the authorities to devise strategies and campaigns that promote learning Basque in order to extend the learning of Basque amongst foreign academic researchers, leaving it optional to avoid being seen as a burden, but as a viable, attractive option. Finally, as the results indicate, these researchers have strong positive attitudes about multilingualism, the main reason being that they are all multilinguals themselves.

5.2. The multilingual repertoire

In this section, the second research question and its three sub-questions will be discussed.

RQ2: What are the main characteristics of language use of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country?

The second research question explored the issues surrounding language use and the section is structured according to the answers for the three sub-research questions. First, "*Which languages do foreign researchers use in the workplace?*" and second, "*Which languages do foreign researchers use in their private life?*" The goal here was to explore the de facto language use of this group of foreign researchers and in particular, the role of English as an academic lingua franca, but obviously it included the use of other languages. English is the language shared by all of these researchers and it is used as the lingua franca in academic work settings, but it is not used exclusively because other languages are used as well. Language use in private life is often also multilingual and can include English.

The third sub-question was "*Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?*". The answers have shed light to the functions fulfilled by flexible language practices both in the workplace and wider social context. Consequently, it is seen in the analysis that flexible use of language is one of the signs of effective language practices of multilinguals. This section will look into these three sub-questions separately. The questions below were examined in detail in the results chapter, and it provided a picture of how foreign researchers as multilingual speakers use the different languages and the role of flexible language use. The Focus on Multilingualism approach (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011b, 2014) advocates studying the different languages of multilinguals as a whole, not in isolation.

5.2.1. Languages used in the workplace

The outcomes contribute to a clearer understanding on the use of English in the workplace of these foreign researchers. The results confirm clearly that English is widely used in this type of academic workplace, as it was corroborated in the five activities directly associated with academic life, as well as the confirmation that English is seen as the international language of academia and science. English is almost the only language used for writing articles and giving presentations, and exceptionally other languages are used. Spanish and some other languages play a more substantial role when informally chatting, during meetings and for writing

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emails. English is the preferred default language at work because it is a requirement when you have an international research group and for the use with frequent visitors from abroad.

Other languages do have some presence, even though they do not appear as clearly in the questionnaire results. The immediate answer of the majority of the researchers is that they almost exclusively use English at work, but, once they are asked to elaborate on their answers, they usually supply examples of many times that they speak languages other than English.

The fact that English is the predominant language in the workplace, which confirms the findings of similar studies (e.g. Angouri, 2014; Gunnarsson, 2014; Kankaanranta, 2005), can be explained by primarily pragmatic and technical reasons for the use of English. There are some effects of using English on the quality of interpersonal communications, on collegiality and personal relations, especially when English is spoken as a second language, or used between non-native speakers of English, which could be further investigated. It may be argued that English can be a bridge between people, but at the same time, it can also hinder developing closer relations with colleagues. To aid communication, when speakers of different languages interact through the medium of English, they may use some local expressions from their own language and then translate the literal meaning to their interlocutors in order to get the exact meaning of the expression across. Knowledge of languages other than English, and sociocultural awareness, are useful to support communication in the workplace.

5.2.2. Languages used in private life

The second sub-question *"Which languages do foreign researchers use in private life?"* was the point of departure for the analysis of the situations of the home, with children, friends and in the community. At home, with children and with friends frequently more than one language is in use, which includes usually the first language of each researcher as well as English. Most of the researchers speak Spanish in the community, only one uses Basque. The children may learn the first language, but also Spanish, and sometimes, depending on the age, also Basque. Knowledge of local languages tends to have a positive influence on interpersonal

relations, which can reflect positively back on the work place. The results showed that it is difficult to look at the languages in isolation.

5.2.3. Dominant language practices

Besides investigating the dominant languages practices, also the functions of flexible practices were looked into in Chapter 4 when answering the sub-research question: *Which elements from their whole linguistic repertoire do foreign researchers use?* Flexible language use can be regarded as one of the signs of effective language use of multilinguals. One of the highlights of the findings is that when researchers interact with those they share a common language or languages with, they may select items from any language they prefer depending on the topic, to have a more efficient conversation. Using the exact words or concepts allows them to express themselves clearly and concisely.

For some, this flexible language use is a sign of a high level of proficiency, as a practice that is employed by fully competent multilingual speaker, whereas some others may, in contrast, regard it as a lack of it. In fact, those who intentionally avoid flexible language expressed strong dislike towards it, because it *sounds irritating*, is *messy*, *unclean* language and a *deviation*, and thus they try to keep their languages pure, because of fear of mixing languages in the case of their children, and not being understood.

As the results point out moving between languages, or translanguaging, can be both intentional and unintentional, whereas trying to avoid translanguaging and not allowing for cross-linguistic influences is intentional and a conscious decision.

Treating languages in isolation due to core beliefs and language ideologies may hinder language acquisition. In order to maximise benefitting from the whole linguistic repertoire, as a norm, multilinguals ought to be taught to allow transfers from one language to another, be aware of the connections between languages and to accept communications in more hybrid ways.

5.3. The experience of working in the Basque Country

The third research question was:

RQ3: What is the relationship of foreign academic researchers with the local work context of the Basque Country?

The results provided for the third research question in Chapter 4 looked at the experiences of these foreign researchers of living in the local context of the Basque region. The main research question aims to shed light on researchers' real life experiences in this social context. The question was further specified in two sub-questions: *What are foreign researchers' opinions about cultural aspects of the local work context?* and *How do foreign researchers see their integration in the workplace and the local context?*

The two sub-questions are summarised here together. The investigation provided an opportunity for researchers to express their opinions and views on issues related to the broader social context, as well as about their own workplace, which was always in a highly specialised research centre or in a department and research group at the university.

The results could show that the foreign researchers involved in this study observe a number of differences with regards to working habits (such as working hours), work and life balance, writing style, the structure of meetings and presentations, the research system (such as administrative procedures), the availability of funding, the scale of research as well as differences in communication styles and some aspects of social behaviour.

In general, these foreign researchers view the working habits and the culture in the Basque region as positive, and they value the different attitudes that their colleagues from different backgrounds bring to the workplace. The notion of what a ´research center´ is, as part of the research system, is similar around the world. Such centers are characterised as predominately international, bringing together academics from diverse backgrounds. Obviously, each researcher brings their own unique experiences and cultural background, and thus, each may experience the local context differently, although there seems to be consensus around certain themes.

What can be noted is that for foreign researchers, the opportunities for a definitive stay seem often limited. Researchers who would do not have a permanent position but would like to have one, think it is difficult to find opportunities for a permanent stay. A "*less romantic side of academic mobility*" is felt through the experience of 'otherness' (Morley et. al, 2018, p. 550). This negative connotation of academic mobility rose only during one of the interviews, and in relation to the difficulty of establishing a family and needing more permanence at later stages of one's career. However, it was not expressed in terms of what Morley et. al, (2018, p. 550) have suggested: "*the feeling of de-territorialisation, loss of fixed national identification and loss of stability*". Overall, there is a degree of acceptance by these researchers that their positions will be considered as being external, and that somehow they will never completely belong.

Settling in the new environment is part of being a foreign researcher, a context that is likely to be different in terms of languages and cultures. Having a different set of understandings and expectations may lead to frictions between the newcomer and interlocutors who are established. When interacting, if both interlocutors are aware and accept that there are multiple ways of being, behaving, and interpreting, cultural differences may cease to be seen as a source of problems, and potential disturbances. Researchers need to be aware of such nuances in communication styles, and adapt their communicative practices and social behaviour to those of their interlocutors. Ideally, this type of awareness should apply both to local and foreign researchers.

Researchers adopt a number of strategies to integrate into their new socio-cultural environments. Some of those are personal strategies, but the management of research institutes and the wider higher education authorities of the region can contribute by acknowledging and taking action on cultural differences. The interconnectedness of language and culture ought to be underlined. Many examples were given by the researchers that show the links: writing, ways of communicating, socially organising, and so on. Here the role that intercultural competences can play in multilingual and multicultural societies and workplaces becomes relevant.

When intercultural education would be better incorporated in language classrooms, it can teach children, youth and adult learners, the necessary knowledge, the skills and

behaviour, which are useful for in living and working in a multicultural society and workplace.

5.4. Some limitations and suggestions for future research

In this study, face-to-face interviews and an online questionnaire were used to collect the data. This is a kind of mixed method approach, which has advantages over using only one of the two approaches. However, the number of individual interviews (n=28) was limited as was the number of researchers who answered the online questionnaire (n=74). Still, together they provide a good reflection of the target group of foreign researchers who work in the Basque Country. A limitation is that due to the process that had to be followed, it is not clear who of the interviewed researchers also filled in the online questionnaire. In the project there was a focus on the individual experiences of the researchers who were studied through a personal face-to-face interview, but those experiences could have been studied more in-depth. A selection of a few 'case studies' could have given the possibility to gather more detailed individual language histories, work experiences and cultural encounters and thus provide further details. Every researcher and their language history can tell a lot about their beliefs about languages and their experiences with cultures. Although it was not feasible in this project, perhaps the data could have been enriched further by asking those cases to keep a diary about their language use and cultural experiences, or to carry out some observations in actual workplaces. Those now are suggestions for future research.

Another similar study could have been to do a comparative study; locals or individuals with a short year abroad experience could be compared to foreign researchers to better understand the influence of short and long-term mobility on multilingualism and intercultural competence.

5.4.1. Recommendations

Based on the results and conclusions of this study a number of recommendations can be made for the science policy in the Basque Country, which also can be relevant for other similar regions.

Orientation course: Once newcomers start their positions in the Basque Country, they could be offered an introduction course to the language and culture of the

region. This potentially can encourage interest in learning languages and help to promote the learning of Basque among foreign academics.

Buddy scheme: A buddy scheme for newly arriving foreign researchers could be created. In such scheme a foreign researcher is matched with a local researcher or a well-established foreign researcher in the Basque Country.

Networking: The number of networking possibilities to ensure researchers are given the possibility to meet fellow researchers could be increased.

Ongoing support: Researchers should regularly be made aware of the possibilities that are provided for ongoing support, and they should be reminded who to turn to when they require assistance.

Involvement in decision-making processes: Foreign researchers' outlook on life is shaped by diverse experiences, which can make their direct input valuable for the research system. The system could benefit from offering regular opportunities to researchers to express their experiences and to find solutions especially for sociocultural, language related, or other challenges.

Assessment: Some researchers believe that rather than focusing mainly on the number of publications and finance obtained, other qualitative criteria could be taken into consideration such as differences between specialised fields, composition of research group, and quality of network of collaborators.

Professional development: Courses could be offered, both aimed at local and international staff members, to enhance intercultural competence.

Foreign academic researchers do have an incredible amount of international experience at their disposal. Many of them have worked in some of the top institutions worldwide. Attracting talent has been an important focus of the science policy; however, the focus needs to include maintaining talent for the long run. These recommendations overall can contribute to ensuring satisfaction for a long-term mutually beneficial engagement.

5.5. General conclusion

This research project has been undertaken to address a gap in the knowledge on multilingualism and intercultural competence of foreign researchers in the academic workplace. First, the analysis confirms that foreign researchers are a highly multilingual group with high intercultural competence, and positive attitudes towards multilingualism.

Researchers as a group have obtained the high intercultural competences thanks to intercultural encounters, mobility experiences and speaking different languages. Intercultural competence is reflected, amongst others, in the way researchers interact with different cultures, and the way they think and behave in their everyday life. It is also noted that researchers become less ethnocentric. Those who go beyond their limited realities – of their hometowns, come to realize multiple ways of being/doing and become more "accepting" and "welcoming" of differences, rather than viewing them as absurdities, and it even enables one to adopt different ways of doing, or being, which in turn shapes one's identity. The experience of moving beyond one's immediate circle opens doors to new realities.

Further, this investigation provides a deeper insight into the relationship between language and culture, as both are an indispensable part of one another. Language can be a gateway for understanding culture and vice versa. Intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence can be enhanced as part of language learning and teaching. "*We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools.*", as Martin Luther King Jr. once said. In contemporary societies, where one is faced with global challenges, it is vital to possess intercultural competence to learn to live together (Deardorff, online; 2006; 2009).

This study also shows that English is no longer a language attributed to a particular society or country, but it is embraced by many, and a first step to opening doors to and being accepted in a global job market. It is an unmissable bridge between people of different languages and cultures, but it is not the only language; knowledge of other languages and sociocultural awareness are regarded as useful for foreign researchers.

As far as language use at work and in private life is concerned, and despite predominantly using English in work-related activities, it was found out that foreign academic researchers often resort to other languages when informally chatting with colleagues. Although knowledge of local languages, tends to have a positive influence on an interpersonal level, that knowledge does not have a direct impact on academic work. However, scientific findings should also be made available in local languages regardless of the context and shared with the public at large through various channels for the benefit of local communities. The use of scientific findings should not be limited to an academic elite. In addition, speaking local and other languages seem to help interpersonal relations, which can have positive reflections in the work environment.

Furthermore, foreign academic researchers employ flexible language practices trying to be clear and concise, and to have efficient conversations. In order to draw a realistic image and have realistic expectations of multilingual speakers, this study argues similar to other studies that multilinguals' competences must not be evaluated against monolingual speakers. Actually, multilinguals use all of their resources, meaning more than one language at a time in real communication and within the same conversation. These foreign researchers lay greater emphasis on content than on form. Language teaching and learning strategies ought to be informed by valorising the notion of whole linguistic repertoire, and by applying flexible language use. Studying multilinguals, such as these foreign researchers, can help to understand how others can learn languages and enhance their language skills.

Although speakers may sometimes have reservations for using more than one language at a time in a conversation, if allowed, it occurs naturally amongst multilinguals and results show that it facilitates communication. Transfers between languages in different directions are demonstrated in researchers' examples. The analysis of how researchers as multilingual speakers use their whole linguistic repertoire in informal interactions and how they create hybrid speech patterns, can guide developing language tools aimed at enhancing multilingualism.

Finally, the results shed light on foreign academic researchers' experiences of working and living in the Basque Country, and their strategies for integrating and adapting. It has to be underlined that the data is based on researchers' lived

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experiences, which can help to understand the kinds of difficulties academics, and other high-level professionals might experience in a new working and living context. Policies can be devised to help these professionals adapt to a new workplace and a new wider social context. If foreign researchers' needs are taken into consideration in decision-making, it can help to maintain talent. It can help a sense of belonging, adaptation and integration into the institutions. In future studies it could be investigated how institutions perceive the science program and their own position in such programs.

This study has sought to demonstrate the various dimensions of the relationships between multilingualism and intercultural competence in the academic workplace of foreign academic researchers.

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Appendix 1: Informed Consent form (for interview)

Universidad
del País Vasco

Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

Consent to participate in an interview as part of the PhD-research project:
"Foreign academic researchers in the multilingual context of the Basque Country"

1. I volunteer to participate in a research project carried out by PhD researcher Özge Özoğul under supervision of Dr. Durk Gorter, PI of the Donostia Research Group on Education and Multilingualism (UPV/EHU).
I understand that the project is designed to gather information among foreign academic researchers about their multilingual competences, language practices, intercultural competences and experiences. I will be one of approximately 30 people being interviewed for this research project. The project also includes an online questionnaire for which I may be approached.

2. My participation in this project is voluntary. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time. If I decline to participate or withdraw from the study, no one will be told. I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by PhD researcher Özge Özoğul. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview. I am aware that an audio tape of the interview will be made, but I have the right to ask for destruction of the recording in case I state things I would not like to be recorded.

4. I understand that I will not be identified by name in any reports or publications using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

5. I have read the explanation provided to me and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I have retained a copy of this consent form.

_____ _____
(My Signature)   (Date)

_____ _____
(My Printed Name)

Signatures of the researcher and her supervisor:

For further information, please contact:
Özge Özoğul, email: ozge.ozogul@gmail.com, tel: 667 09 41 72
or Dr. Durk Gorter, email: d.gorter@ikerbasque.org, tel: 688 65 57 68

Appendix 2: Invitation to participate in the questionnaire

Below I copy the text of the "invitation email" which we would like you to send on behalf of Özge Özoğul and myself to all the non-Spanish nationals in your respective databases.
The researchers can click the link to anonymously answer the questionnaire.

If you have any further questions, please let me know.
Please, can you also let me know once you have sent the emails and how many?

Thank you so much for your support and collaboration.
Warmest regards,
Durk

The invitation e-mail to be send:
Dear researcher,

We would like to invite you to participate in an online questionnaire that is part of a research project carried out by PhD-candidate Özge Özoğul, under the supervision of Dr. Durk Gorter, Ikerbasque Research professor and PI of the Donostia Research Group on Education and Multilingualism (UPV/EHU).

Their study aims to obtain a better understanding of how foreign researchers in the Basque Country use languages in general and in the academic workplace in particular. Your opinions on languages and your cultural experiences are also important.

Your participation would be much appreciated.

Please complete the questionnaire through the following link:
http://www.encuestafacil.com/RespWeb/Qn.aspx?EID=2099033

Answering the questionnaire should take 10 to 15 minutes. The deadline for the questionnaire is Wednesday, 16th March 2016.

Your responses will remain anonymous and confidential.

If you have any questions about the research project, please contact the principal investigator, Dr. Durk Gorter by e-mail at d.gorter@ikerbasque.org

Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

[sign as usual]

Appendix 3: Interview schedule

Interview on multilingualism and intercultural competence of foreign academic researchers in the Basque Country

Interviewer: Özge Özoğul

Interviewee:

Date:

Opening: (A) My name is Özge Özoğul, I'm originally from Cyprus, and I'm a PhD student at the UPV/EHU. My PhD research is about the multilingualism and intercultural competences of foreign academic researchers who live in the Basque Country. My supervisor is professor Durk Gorter and he thought it would be a good idea to interview you, to explore a few individual stories first before moving on to using a more quantitative online questionnaire. (B) I hope to use this information to develop a better understanding of multilingualism and intercultural competence by knowing academic researchers, like you, better. (C) I would like to begin by asking you some questions about your background. We will then move onto your languages, and end with cultural experiences.

A. **General demographic information**

1. Age

2. Current position

3. How long have you been living in the Basque Country?

4. What made you choose to come here?
a. How long do you intend / plan to stay?

5. Where are you originally from?
Probe- Have you moved within …?

6. Have you previously lived abroad? Yes!
a. If yes, where and for how long? (Could you please also specify from when to when?)
b. Was it for your academic career? - Have you lived in anywhere else than places you have r. experience?

7. Do you see yourself as an expat? Expatriate academic? Long-term expatriate? A transnational academic? Academic nomad? Foreign academic?

8. Are you married or in a relationship?
a. If yes, where are they from?
b. Do you have children?

9.　　Do you feel at home in the Basque Country?

a. Do they check up on your wellbeing, on how you're doing? How would it have helped for your integration?

10.　　What are the advantages/disadvantages of living in the Basque Country?

B.　　**Languages**

1.　　What is your first language?

2.　　How many other languages do you speak?

3.　　How well do you speak those languages (English, Spanish…)?

4.　　Which languages do you speak on a daily basis at work?

a.　　When are you insecure about your English? Do you have any difficulties with regards to using English in the workplace?

b.　　Are your articles checked by a native-speaker before publishing?

c.　　Do you find yourself learning new vocabulary?

C.　　**Alternating languages**

1.　Do you sometimes use more than one language at a time in a given conversation?

a.　　Can you give an example? Who were you communicating with, what was the topic, and in which languages?

b.　　Is it a common practice?

2.　　What is your opinion about using more than one language in a given conversation or context?

a.　　What do you think it signals?

b.　　Why do you think bi- or multilinguals do that?

D.　　**Intercultural Competence**

1.　Have you worked in Belgium before moving abroad?

2.　　Which differences do you observe? In workplace? In academic life (between disciplines)? Related to languages… etc. work ethic, differences between colleagues from different countries?

3.　　Which cultural differences stand out?

4.　　How important are cultural differences for you?

5.　　Do you have any experiences with misunderstandings because of language?

6.   Do you have any experiences with misunderstandings because of cultural differences?

7.   Are some people better communicators? Because of language skills and understanding cultures better…

8.   Where do you place yourself?

9.   Can you think of any ways in which your own ideas have been influenced by encounter with the beliefs and practices of people from other cultures?

10.   How do you identify yourself? X nationality, European, world citizen?? In-between?

11.   What might be the benefits and disadvantages of having a strong sense of a fixed cultural identity?

12.   Is the idea of nationality important to your identity? Explain why it is or isn't important.
a. Do they check up on your wellbeing, on how you're doing?
b. How would it have helped for your integration?

9.   What are the advantages/disadvantages of living in the Basque Country?

Closing

(*Maintain Rapport*) I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know?

(*Action to be taken*) I should have all the information I need. Do you know anyone similar to you that I can also interview? Would it be alright to contact you if I have any more questions? Thanks again…

Appendix 4: Questionnaire
PAGE 1

Languages and cultural experiences of foreign researchers

1.- Your languages

Thank you for agreeing to fill out this questionnaire. It consists of 6 pages and covers questions about the use of your languages in general, in your workplace, your opinion on language and cultural experiences.
Please answer all questions, it takes 10-15 minutes, but if you are interrupted you can continue later.
In this section we would like to learn more about the languages that you speak.

1. Which language did you learn to speak first as a child? Please, fill in below. (You can write more than one language name in the box if you grew up speaking more than one language.)

2. In what other languages are you able to hold a conversation? Please, fill in below.

3. How well do you know English? Please evaluate for all four skills: understanding, reading, speaking and writing [from 1 = no knowledge to 10 = native level]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Understanding										
Reading										
Speaking										
Writing										

4. How well do you know Spanish? Please evaluate for all four skills [from 1 = no knowledge to 10 = native level]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Understanding										
Reading										
Speaking										
Writing										

5. Have you ever studied Basque?
  Yes → yes opens table as Spanish & English
  No

Next Page-> 17%

PAGE 2
2.- Language use in general

In this section we would like to learn more about the languages that you speak with your family, friends, and in the community where you live.

6. Which language(s) do you usually **speak** at home?
       My first language (mother tongue)
       English
       Spanish
       Basque
       Other language(s) (Please specify)

7. Do you have children?
       Yes → **opens Q about lang use**

Which language(s) do you usually **speak** with your child(ren)?

☐ My first language (mother tongue)

☐ English

☐ Spanish

☐ Basque

☐ Other language(s) (Please specify)

        [   ]

       No

8. Do you have a partner?
       Yes → open Q about language and about background partner

---

Which language(s) do you usually **speak** with your partner?

       My first language (mother tongue)

       English

       Spanish

       Basque

       Other language(s) (Please specify)

Where is your partner from?

       Basque Country

       rest of Spain

       Other country

       No

9. Which language(s) do you usually **speak** with your friends?
       My first language (mother tongue)
       English
       Spanish
       Basque
       Other language(s) (Please specify)

10. Which language(s) do you usually **speak** in the community where you live (for example, in a shop, bank, bar, restaurant, or other service situations)?

My first language (mother tongue)
English
Spanish
Basque
Other language(s) (Please specify)

11. Please, indicate the average percentage of time that you are currently **exposed** to the following languages. (The percentages are approximate, but should add up to 100%)

English
Spanish
Basque
Your first language (if different)
Other languages

12. Can you indicate how often you use the sources below to follow the **news or get information**?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
Global sources					
From my home country					
From Spain					
From my local surroundings					

13. Can you indicate how often you use English for the following activities?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
Read books or magazines in your free time					
Watch TV programs or movies					
Using online social networks					
Generally for activities in your free time					

<-Previous Page Next Page-> 33%

PAGE 3
3.- Language use in the workplace

In this section we would like to learn more about the way that you use languages at work.

14. How often do you use English in writing an ARTICLE or other publications? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
English					
Spanish					
Other language(s)					

15. How often do you use English in your EMAILS? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
English					
Spanish					
Other language(s)					

16. How often do you use English in PRESENTATIONS? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
English					
Spanish					
Other language(s)					

17. How often do you use English in MEETINGS? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
English					
Spanish					
Other language(s)					

18. How often do you use English when INFORMALLY CHATTING with colleagues? And Spanish? Or other language(s)?

	1. Never	2. Rarely	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Always
English					
Spanish					
Other language(s)					

19. If you use language(s) at work other than English and/or Spanish, please fill in below.

20. How much of your daily communication in English at work takes place with native speakers of English and how much with non-native speakers of English?
   All or most with native-speakers
   About fifty and fifty
   All or most with non-native speakers
   I don´t use English at work

21. Do you find it generally easier to communicate in English with native speakers or with non-native speakers of English?
   With native-speakers
   It makes no difference
   With non-native speakers
   I don´t know

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PAGE 4
4.- Your opinion on languages
Now we would like to learn your opinion on languages.

22. Please read the following statements and tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with them.

1 = Completely agree 2 3 4 5 6 7 = Completely disagree

You need to have more than one foreign language in your curriculum vitae

English provides a common language that allows everyone in science to communicate equally

Learning Spanish is just a burden for me

Working in the Basque Country requires a minimum knowledge of the Basque language

Multilingual persons are usually more creative

The use of English is a disadvantage for non-native English speakers

Using more than one language in the workplace is a burden

The diversity of languages has to be celebrated

You don't have to speak English perfectly, because the main goal is to communicate

It bothers me that my colleagues speak Basque among each other

Working is Spain is perfectly possible without any knowledge of Spanish

A multilingual person has better economic opportunities than a monolingual person

It is important to be able to communicate in the language of the country where you live

The use of English in science is a great advantage for native English speakers

It bothers me that my colleagues speak Spanish among each other

Learning the Basque language would be a waste of time for me

It is exciting to communicate with different people in different languages

When you work in science, wherever you live, knowing only English is enough

The dominance of English in science has caused a serious imbalance among scholars

It bothers me when people speak Basque during meetings

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PAGE 5
5.- Your opinions on cultures and behaviours
In this section we would like to learn your opinions on cultures and behaviours.

23. Please read the following statements and tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with them.

1 = Completely agree 2 3 4 5 6 7 = Completely disagree

I like to discover other people's culture

I find it hard to adapt my behavior to living in the Basque country

Competition here is stronger than in my previous job

I think Basque colleagues' communication style is very different from mine

I like to have experience of several cultures

I try to surround myself with local people as much as possible

I enjoy working with people who speak different languages

I adapt the way I use my language when communicating across cultures

I experience some difficulties while adapting to the research system here

I work differently with people from other countries than with people from my home country

The rules of socially acceptable behavior here are different

I adapt easily to new environments

I feel comfortable with the way they run meetings here

The creativity of a team increases when people from different cultures are present

I have got used to the working habits here

I enjoy being immersed in the local culture

Hierarchy here is weaker than in my previous job

Most of my close friends are from my own culture

I usually look for opportunities to interact with people from other cultures

I have difficulties with the way they organize things here at work

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PAGE 6
6.- Information about you
Please fill in the below general information about yourself. (Please, don´t forget to click Finish-> to finalize the questionnaire).

24. What is your age?
    35 or younger
    36-40
    41-45
    46-50
    51-55
    56-60
    61-65
    66 or older

25. Please indicate your gender.
    Female
    Male

26. What is your country of origin?

27. In which countries have you lived for at least one year or more?

28. How many years in total have you been studying or working outside the country where you were born?

29. How long have you been living in the Basque country?
        <1 year
        1 to 2 years
        2 to 4 years
        4 years or more

30. Which research centre are you based in?
        One of the universities
        One of the BERCs Basque Excellence Research Centres
        One of the CICs Cooperative Research Centres
        One of the Technology Corporations
        Other research institution

31. In which field of science do you work?
        Natural sciences = Physical
        Engineering & technology
        Medical sciences = Life &
        Social sciences & Humanities
        Other (Please specify)
((according to Ikerbasque annual report))

Thank you for your participation.

If you have any questions about the research project, please contact the principal investigator, Durk Gorter, by e-mail: d.gorter@ikerbasque.org

Please click Finish-> to complete the questionnaire.