KU LEUVEN

Living in two worlds.

Factors affecting the acquisition of a
new cultural and linguistic identity.
A case study of a Flemish family moving to India.

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I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts' code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

Abstract

When moving abroad, a migrant needs to adjust to a new culture and a multilingual life. Therefore, he or she has to acquire a certain degree of intercultural personhood (Kim, 2008, p. 360). In the present study, we ask ourselves which factors affect the acquisition of a new cultural and linguistic identity, thereby focusing on variables relating to culture, language, motivation and psychological developmental stage. In order to find an answer to our research question, we carried out a qualitative-descriptive case study, documenting the integration process of a five-headed Flemish (Belgian) family emigrating to India. The data were collected through both qualitative semi-structured interviews and diaries, and analysed in an extensive thematic content analysis. Our results show that the acquisition of an integrative intercultural personhood is strongly influenced by the degree to which the migrant opens up to his or her host culture (*savoir être*, cf. Byram et al., 2002, p. 12). Relatedness, as defined by Ryan and Deci (2000, p. 73), also plays a major role in the acculturation process. Also, a migrant with high perceived linguistic competence develops a more substantial intercultural personhood than a migrant with lower perceived linguistic competence.

Keywords: acculturation process, intercultural personhood, natural adaptability, second culture acquisition, second language acquisition, Self-Determination Theory

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धन्यवाद

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0 General introduction

"In short, humans use language to form, maintain, and transform their cultures. Language is a critical semiotic tool with which humans construct and exchange meaning" (Holtgraves, Kashima, Kashima & Kidd, 2014, p. 2)

In this thesis, we document the personal development process of individuals moving abroad, studying the case of a Flemish (Belgian) family emigrating to India. We closely consider the way in which our participants integrate language as well as culture in their new identities. The main focus of this thesis is second language acquisition with a strong focus on second culture acquisition, which are essential parts of any acculturation process. Aiming to describe the second language acquisition process of our five participants, the emphasis is on their perceived linguistic level, not on their actual level. For instance, we do not verify how many words our participants acquire in their new multilingual environment, but we focus on the communicative competence that they perceive to have acquired. Since we concentrate on one single family, we were able to analyse their case exhaustively and enter their personal environment. Apart from the relevance of our study for scientific research in general, the topic strongly suits our personal interests. Fascinated by interculture, we are interested in following the process of moving abroad from a close-up perspective.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: in our theoretical framework (1), we provide an overview of the terminology that is pertinent when describing an integration process: culture (1.2.1), language (1.2.2), motivation (1.2.3) and psychological developmental stage (1.2.4) research are dealt with. In Section 1.3, we apply this theoretical framework to our specific case. Next, we move on to a methodological chapter (2), where we present the design of our case study and justify our decisions. After visually representing data collection chronology in Section 2.2, we explain what type of research we opted for (2.3). Then, we enlarge on the data collection instruments that we used in the pre (2.4.1) and post expatriation phases (2.4.2) of data collection. Finally, in Section 2.5, we address some issues concerning confidentiality. In the third chapter, we elaborate how we analysed and quantified our self-collected data using the NVivo student version software (3.2). In addition, we demonstrate how we tried to remain objective as a researcher at all times (3.3). Our data, which are strongly related to the factors of our theoretical framework (1), are presented in great detail in the fourth chapter. Data presentation (4.3) is preceded by a presentation of the family's case (4.2). The fifth chapter, where we interpret our data in a more subjective way, constitutes the thesis' main chapter. Not only do we describe how our participants gradually adapt to their new lives (5.2), we also pay attention to the idiosyncratic factors that influence the attitude of each of them (5.3). In Section 5.4, next, we focus on our participants' general profiles as they appeared from our data. Willingness to integrate or *savoir être* (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002), relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 73) and perceived linguistic competence (Clément & Bourhis, 1996 as cited in Yu &

Shen, 2012, p. 74) will prove to be major influencers for the growth in intercultural personhood (5.5). We round off the thesis with a general conclusion (6). In Appendix, we include an example of an interview schedule (8.1), a list of the codes that we used in our data analysis (8.2), the data collection instructions that we sent to our participants (8.3), and the data collected in both the pre (8.4) and post expatriation phases (8.5).

1 Theoretical framework

1.1 Introduction

As the focus of our study is on the acquisition of a new cultural and linguistic identity when moving abroad, we now discuss the components of a typical acculturation process. First, we describe the role of culture in that process (1.2.1), after which relevant notions from second language acquisition research are introduced (1.2.2). Motivation research, and hence the influence of motivation on the integration process, is highlighted in Section 1.2.3. We add a relatively modest section on developmental psychology research (1.2.4). Finally, in Section 1.3, we elaborate how our theoretical framework will be applied to data collection, analysis and interpretation.

1.2 Acculturation

Acculturation is "cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture" ("acculturation", 2018). Based on Ward and Kennedy (1999, p. 660), we distinguish between two different forms of cross-cultural adaptation: *psychological adaptation* ("psychological well being or satisfaction") and *sociocultural adaptation* ("the ability to [...] acquire culturally appropriate skills and to negotiate interactive aspects of the host environment"). Since *academic adaptation* is generally given little attention in research (Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 73), we do not enlarge on this third form of adjustment.

Psychological adaptation is described by Ward and Kennedy (1999, p. 660) as "emotional" or "affective" adjustment. This adjustment type has to do with "personal flexibility, internal locus of control, relationship satisfaction, approach-oriented coping styles, and use of humor" (Ward & Kennedy, 1999, p. 661). Migrants may avoid facing their new situation, and they often face feelings of anxiety and loneliness (Ward & Kennedy, 1999, p. 661). Following Ward and Kennedy (1999, p. 661), psychological adjustment can be measured with the dominant *Zung Self-rating Depression Scale*, created by Zung (1965), and with the *Profile of Mood States*, as developed by McNair, Lorr and Droppleman (1971). However, both measuring devices date back from fifty years ago.

Sociocultural or "behavioral" (Ward & Kennedy, 1999, p. 660) adaptation is "the entirety of *the phenomenon of individuals who, through direct and indirect contacts with an unfamiliar environment, strive to establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment*" (Kim, 2008, p. 363). Unlike for psychological adjustment, the focus here is on a whole society. According to Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000, pp. 50, 61), host and heritage cultural identity are independently variable in acculturation. When the aspects from the host and the heritage culture are combined (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 422), a *fused intercultural identity* comes into existence, as Croucher and Kramer (2017, p. 97) explain in their *Cultural fusion theory*. As a result, migrants grow towards

intercultural personhood, which is defined by Kim (2008, p. 360) as "a way of relating to oneself and others that is built on a dynamic, adaptive, and transformative identity conception—one that conjoins and integrates, rather than separates and divides". An intercultural personhood can be obtained by "the interrelationship of intercultural stress and subsequent adaptation and growth" (Kim, 2008, p. 365). Minghuan (1999, p. 18) argues indeed that migrants need two worlds: "[i]f immigrants lose their own cultural or ethnic characteristics, they lose the most valuable treasure they have". However, those two worlds can only be fused provided that the host and heritage societies are tolerant with each other (Minghuan, 1999, p. 19).

1.2.1 Culture

Although *culture* can be defined in numerous ways, the consensus seems to be that it is collective and thus shared by all its members (Vauclair, 2009, p. 63). In cross-cultural psychology, culture has mainly been investigated "by focusing mainly on cognitive systems comprising different concepts such as values, attitudes, and beliefs" (Vauclair, 2009, p. 62).

Values are those elements that an individual finds precious and that form a guideline in his or her life. Smith and Schwartz (1997 as cited in Vauclair, 2009, p. 64) distinguish between values on the individual (*micro*) and cultural (*macro*) level. Individual values "indicat[e] which values are personally important to [individuals]" (Vauclair, 2009, p. 65), while cultural values "represent[] the socially shared ideas of what is desirable or good and right in a society" (Vauclair, 2009, p. 65). A cultural value can hence be democracy, the caste system, health insurance and the relation between religion and society; an individual value is, for instance, daily contact with others, clothing and the importance of family. The question is, however, whether these so-called distinctive types of values are actually all that different (Vauclair, 2009, p. 67). Vauclair (2009, p. 67) herself notices that this is the case. Schwartz, Verkasalo, Antonovsky and Sagiv (1997, p. 7) distinguish between the following ten "universal motivational types": power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity and security. We observe indeed that these value types comprise both cultural and individual values: for the value type *security*, for instance, the values of family security (individual value) and national security (cultural value) coexist (Schwartz et al., 1997, p. 7).

Attitudes and beliefs (cf. supra), as well as behaviours, externalise the values discussed in the previous paragraph. *Attitudes*, first, tend to change more easily than the deeply rooted values on which they are based (Hills, 2002, p. 3). Since marriage, for instance, is considered an important event in India, Indians generally have a negative attitude towards divorce and remarriage (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1126). Similar to attitudes, *beliefs* are determined by values, and "people typically feel their own cultural beliefs and practices are normal and natural, and those of others are strange, or even inferior or abnormal" (Hills, 2002, p. 4). Examples of beliefs are *samsara*, the Hindu belief that one is constantly reborn, and *karma* (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1133). Regarding *behaviours*, Vauclair (2009, p. 64) states indeed that "[s]hared

values are general guidelines which regulate behaviour of its members" and that those "[n]ew members are explicitly and implicitly taught what is appropriate or socially desirable". That Hindus in India "are expected to go on a *yatra* (pilgrimage) at least once a year" (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1128) is an example of a value externalised in a behaviour.

1.2.1.1 Second culture acquisition

We have now defined culture as a collective way of life, which does not only externalise itself in values, but also in attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. When moving abroad, migrants need to familiarise themselves with the host country's culture, thereby expanding their heritage culture, which is an already existing system (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 8). In *second culture acquisition* (SCA), the learner "does not conceive of the second culture as comprising a separate labeled system" (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 3). While the learner is more conscious of what needs to be acquired for *second language acquisition* (SLA, cf. 1.2.2.1), he or she is less conscious of the skills needed to acquire the host country's culture (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 8).

According to Byram et al. (2002, p. 5), a migrant needs to acquire *intercultural competences* and thus develop the "ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality". Those competences are divided into five components (*savoirs*) that need to be acknowledged: *savoirs*, *savoir s'engager*, *savoir être*, *savoir faire* or *savoir apprendre*, and *savoir comprendre* (Byram et al., 2002). *Savoirs*, first, is "knowledge of how social groups and identities function and what is involved in intercultural interaction" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 7). *Savoir s'engager*, next, is the "critical awareness" that the migrant has of his host and heritage culture (Byram et al., 2002, p. 9). The next component, *savoir être*, includes opening up to the host culture and being curious to broaden one's horizon (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12), while *savoir faire* includes being able to operate the acquired cultural knowledge in real life (Byram et al., 2002, p. 13). From our data interpretation (5.4.1), it will become obvious that *savoir être* or willingness to integrate appears to be a main influencer for the acquisition of a meaningful intercultural identity. In this thesis, we do not concentrate on *savoir comprendre*, or the "ability to interpret a[n] [...] event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to [...] events from one's own" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 8). This fifth component is less relevant for the present study, since we only collected data for our participants' first three months abroad, during which their intercultural perception remained rather superficial.

1.2.1.2 Sociocultural differences in behaviour

Acquiring a second culture can be quite challenging when the host culture and the heritage culture do not have identical values and attitudes. After all, when the learner does not see the differences between sociocultural norms or values in the two cultures, misunderstandings can occur. However, it will become clear in Section 1.2.3.1 that those sociocultural difficulties decline when the learner has a higher degree of integrativeness (Ward & Searle, 1991 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74; Ward & Kennedy, 1993 as cited in

Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74). In this thesis, we distinguish between on the one hand cultural differences as they are enlarged on in travel guides and by anthropologists (*objectively described cultural differences*), and on the other hand differences as they are perceived in practice (*perceived cultural differences*). Differences of the latter category can give rise to cultural misunderstandings (cf. supra). Both types of differences between India (more specifically the state of Karnataka) and Belgium are discussed extensively in Section 4.3.1.2.

1.2.1.3 Culture shock and reverse culture shock

Differences between the host and the heritage culture do not only lead to cultural misunderstandings, they can also result in *culture shock* and *reverse culture shock*.

Culture shock is "the process of initially adjusting to a new cultural environment" (Pedersen, 1995 as cited in Presbitero, 2016, p. 28), and it can "either minimize or prolong the adaptation period" (Presbitero, 2016, p. 28) since it "is significantly but negatively related to both psychological and sociocultural adaptation" (Presbitero, 2016, p. 33). Oberg (1960 as cited in Roskell, 2013, p. 156) represents culture shock by a U-curve and distinguishes between four stages: the first one is called the *honeymoon stage*, as the individual is euphoric and is fascinated by his or her host culture. In the second stage, the *crisis stage*, the migrant can feel lost, depressed and homesick (Oberg, 1960 as cited in Roskell, 2013, p. 156). However, "the individual begins to adjust to the new cultural environment" (Oberg, 1960 as cited in Roskell, 2013, p. 156) in the third stage (*recovery stage*). The fourth and final stage of culture shock is called the *adjustment stage*, since the cultural adjustment of stage three is completed (Oberg, 1960 as cited in Roskell, 2013, p. 156).

The phenomenon of *reverse culture shock* is not frequently looked at in research (Presbitero, 2016, p. 29). In contrast to culture shock, "the adjustment process [in reverse culture shock] focuses on the difficulties of re-adapting and re-adjusting to one's own home culture after one has sojourned or lived in another cultural environment" (Gaw, 2000, p. 85). Another difference with culture shock is that culture shock is primarily a matter of sociocultural factors, while reverse culture shock is of a more psychological nature. After all, the migrant has a different view on his or her heritage culture after having lived abroad. Reverse culture shock can be measured by using Seiter and Waddell's (1989, p. 25) *Reentry Shock Scale*, which consists of sixteen items that need to be evaluated using a Likert-type scale (Seiter & Waddell, 1989, p. 11). Following Seiter and Waddell (1989, p. 26), one of the statements that migrants need to evaluate is: "When I returned home I felt generally alienated".

Presbitero (2016, p. 35) claims that the effects of (reverse) culture shock on adaptation are reduced by *cultural intelligence* (CQ), which is "the capability of an individual to function effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity" (Earley & Ang, 2003 as cited in Presbitero, 2016, p. 30).

1.2.2 Language

Apart from a foreign culture, the migrant often needs to acquire a foreign language in order to "achieve" a *voice* or "to make [him/her]self understood by others" (Dong & Dong, 2013, p. 163). Making oneself understood is crucial, since language confidence and proficiency can contribute to sociocultural and academic adaptation (cf. 1.2.2.3). Therefore, we concentrate in this section on general second language acquisition (1.2.2.1), literacy and perceived identity (1.2.2.2), perceived linguistic competence (1.2.2.3) and home factors that are beneficial for second language learning (1.2.2.4).

1.2.2.1 Second language acquisition

According to Libben and Lindner (1996, p. 3), successful *second language acquisition* (SLA) is associated with second culture acquisition (SCA, cf. 1.2.1.1). When learners acquire a second language (L2), they are not required to develop a completely new system, while that is necessary for foreign culture acquisition (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 3). That is because L2 learners are aware of what exactly they need to acquire, namely the phonetics, phonology and syntax of the target language (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 8). However, alongside those three language components, "learner[s] must also acquire new cultural knowledge and a set of culture-specific constraints on linguistic behaviour" (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 1). Defining SLA as the acquisition of only phonetics, phonology and syntax is indeed a rather narrow definition. After all, lexis, pragmatics and intercultural competences need to be acquired too (cf. 1.2.1.1).

The participants in our case study are L2 learners who will become multilingual when they emigrate to India. We need to notice, however, that the terms *multilingualism* and *bilingualism* are strictly separated in recent research on multilingualism (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 158). Hence, *bilingualism* purely refers to mastering exactly two languages, while *multilingualism* refers to mastering "more than two languages" (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 158). Multilingualism can be divided into two different types: *individual multilingualism* (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 135) and *social multilingualism* (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 37). As the notions suggest, the former refers to multilingualism of individual learners, while the latter refers to multilingualism of a whole society (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, pp. 37, 135). Having Hindi and English as its official languages, India is an example of the latter category (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 40). Apart from opposing individual and social multilingualism, one can also distinguish between multilingualism that is simultaneous and multilingualism that is subsequent (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 142). Stavans and Hoffmann (2015, p. 140) nuance the idea of becoming multilingual, by stating that it is unlikely that the learners have equal proficiency levels for every component in the languages that they master (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 140).

1.2.2.2 Literacy

Migrants use their L2 in order to "accomplish particular discrete tasks" (Schleppegrell & Colombi, 2002, p. 1) in their host country, although Schleppegrell and Colombi (2002, p. 1)

argue that literacy is much more than that. Furthermore, there is not one general conception of literacy: it is a combination of several social languages (Schleppegrell & Colombi, 2002, p. 162) and it correlates strongly with perceived linguistic competence (1.2.2.3), integrative motivation (1.2.3.1), autonomy (1.2.3.2), relatedness (1.2.3.2) and *ideal L2 self* (1.2.3.3). After all, literacy is in line with the desire to function autonomously in the society and to establish a greater degree of relatedness with the host culture. Since literacy correlates with perceived linguistic competence and relatedness, it will appear to be a major factor in the acculturation process of our participants (cf. 5.5). The willingness to function in a society is also closely connected to the process of identity formation. When migrants perform a literacy task in their L2, their *perceived identity* may be different than when they perform that same task in their mother tongue (L1) (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 419). Those migrants are said to be "less attached to the host culture compared to those who report[] feeling no change" (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 419). According to Panicacci and Dewaele (2017, p. 420), perceived identity can be tested using the *Bilingualism and Emotion Questionnaire* (*BEQ*) (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). One of the questions that is asked in that questionnaire is: "Do you feel like a different person sometimes when you use your different languages?" (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003, p. 6). This is a question that we also asked the participants in our case study in order to document their perceived identity (cf. 4.3.2.2).

1.2.2.3 Perceived linguistic competence

In this section, we elaborate on factors that possibly affect a migrant's integration process, such as linguistic competence. Following Clément and Bourhis (1996), Yu and Shen (2012, p. 74) define *linguistic confidence* as "one's confidence in being able to communicate in an adaptive and efficient way when using the L2". However, in this thesis, the term *perceived linguistic competence* is used instead of *linguistic confidence*, since we do not test the actual proficiency level of our participants (for instance by assessing their CEFR levels): we concentrate on the communicative competence that they perceive to have acquired. Yu and Shen (2012, p. 73) claim that a lack of perceived linguistic competence in the target language makes it harder to acquire the L2. In addition, perceived linguistic competence (as well as language proficiency and integrative motivation, cf. infra) plays a major role in sociocultural as well as academic adaptation (Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 72). This finding is not surprising, since migrants who master the L2 become more self-reliant.

"[H]igher levels of perceived competence and lower levels of L2 anxiety" (Denies, 2015, p. 114) are related to *willingness to communicate* (WTC), or "[w]hether a person is willing to communicate with another person in a given interpersonal encounter" (McCroskey & Richmond, 1987, p. 129). Indeed, learners who are anxious to use their L2 have lower perceived linguistic competence than learners who are not (Denies, 2015, p. 114). Therefore, the learners who are said to have a low WTC (MacIntyre, Noels & Clément, 1997 as cited in Denies, 2015, p. 116) are caught in a vicious circle of avoiding communication and creating fewer opportunities for themselves to improve their language proficiency level. It

follows that education "should also stimulate [learners'] willingness to communicate (WTC) in the language they are learning" (Denies, 2015, p. 111).

1.2.2.4 SLA and home factors

Apart from perceived identity and perceived linguistic competence, home factors can also affect the acculturation process. After all, home factors can influence SLA, which in turn has an impact on the overall integration process.

First, "successfully raising children to speak two languages very much depends on the parental language input patterns" (De Houwer, 2007, p. 421). Although De Houwer (2007) uses the term 'parents', it is appropriate in our case study to opt for the term 'caretakers'. Therefore, the family's Indian housekeeper, to whom the children talk daily (cf. 4.2.2), falls under that category too. Next, watching television in the L2 can aid learners to improve their L2 proficiency level (Dixon, Zhao, Quiroz & Shin, 2012, pp. 542, 545)[1]. The next home factor that can influence SLA is the socioeconomic status of the L2 learners' parents and family, since "children from more advantaged homes have more advanced language skills than children of the same age from less advantaged homes" (Hoff, 2003, p. 1376). The last home factor that can influence SLA, as reported by Dixon et al. (2012, p. 544), is the "parental educational level". Hammer, Farkas and Maczuga (2010, p. 78) found indeed that "children of more educated mothers had higher receptive vocabulary knowledge than the children of less educated mothers".

As for the next factor, immersion, learners who are not immersed in their L2 experience more problems than those who are (Walker & Haddon, 2011, p. 349). Talking with natives is beneficial for learners' proficiency level (Walker & Haddon, 2011, p. 349), since learners create "opportunities" for themselves "to receive feedback" (Walker & Haddon, 2011, p. 350). However, most of Walker and Haddon's (2011, p. 349) participants suggest that it is quite challenging to find native speakers of their L2 with whom they can communicate. Our last notion, *community support*, is used to indicate how fundamental it is in a specific community to learn a specific language (Dixon et al., 2012, p. 548). Although research on community support is scarce and the impact of the community would be modest (Dixon et al., 2012, p. 548), community support appears to be rather important in our case study (cf. 4.3.2.4).

1.2.3 Motivation

We have now discussed the role of culture and language in the acquisition of a new cultural and linguistic identity. In this section, we focus on motivation, which influences the effort that migrants make in order to acculturate to their host country. It is also said to "have a bearing on how learners interpret, relate and respond to the learning context" (Walker & Haddon, 2011, p. 346). However, MacIntyre et al. (2003, p. 591) argue that motivation is more essential in L2 situations than in L1 situations.

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[1] However, that is not the case for children between two and three years old (Dixon et al., 2012, p. 545).

In the next sections, we enlarge on motivation research carried out by Gardner and Lambert (1959) (1.2.3.1), Ryan and Deci (2000) (1.2.3.2) and Dörnyei (2005) (1.2.3.3). It becomes clear that motivation cannot be separated from identity.

1.2.3.1 Integrative versus instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959)

Gardner and Lambert (1959) distinguish between two types of motivation: integrative and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation is a stronger type of motivation than its instrumental counterpart since the former contributes to SLA, while the latter does not (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, p. 271). Moreover, integrative motivation corresponds positively with academic and sociocultural adaptation (Yu, 2010, p. 315). After all, integrative motivation is bolstered by "the desire to achieve L2 proficiency in order to be a member of and develop a sense of belonging to L2 community" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74; Lightbown & Spada, 1999 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74). As a matter of fact, learners are more motivated when they "desire to learn a L2 for the purpose of communicating with members of the L2 community" (Denies, 2015, pp. 114-115) and thus have a high level of *integrativeness* (and willingness to communicate, cf. 1.2.2.3) (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74). Higher levels of integrativeness and motivation are associated with "an increasing number of contacts within the host community" (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999, p. 219). This *intercultural contact*, finally, would decrease sociocultural difficulties (Ward & Searle, 1991 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74; Ward & Kennedy, 1993 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74).

1.2.3.2 Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000)

In the previous section, we discussed some less recent insights from motivation research; with Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory, we now move on towards a more recent point of view. According to Ryan and Deci (2000, p. 69), motivation is a variable concept: "people are moved to act by very different types of factors, with highly varied experiences and consequences". Acting out of intrinsic motivation means "doing an activity for the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 71). It is the opposite of extrinsic motivation, where the activity is not considered to be satisfying in itself and the satisfaction is external (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 71). Since motivation is a highly variable concept (cf. supra), it can be stimulated or undermined by three different factors: *autonomy*, *competence* and *relatedness* (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 68). "[R]elatedness, the need to feel belongingess [sic] and connectedness with others, is centrally important for internalization" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 73). This belongingness is in literature often referred to with the terms *psychological home* (Sigmon, Whitcomb & Snyder, 2002 as cited in Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948) and *sense of belonging*. *Sense of belonging* is the "subjective and dynamic sense of being part of a social group or a place (either physical or imaginary)" (Black, 2002 as cited in Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948). It is not only strongly influenced by migrants' life satisfaction (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 947) and well-being (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 949), but also by their personality characteristics (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 419). For instance, extraverted migrants would take more social initiative than migrants

who are neurotic (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 425). We assume that 'neurotic' in this sense concerns migrants 'with an introverted personality'. In addition, migrants who are extraverted, agreeable, open to experience (*savoir être*, cf. 1.2.1.1) and conscientious tend to be more emotionally stable than neurotic migrants (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 425). In this sense, 'neurotic' is synonymous with 'anxious'.

1.2.3.3 L2 motivational self system (Dörnyei, 2005)

A more recent theory on motivation than the Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) is provided by Dörnyei (2005). According to him (Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 105-106), the three most important sources of motivation for the L2 learner are the *ideal L2 self*, the *ought-to L2 self* and the ongoing L2 learning experience. In this thesis, we concentrate on the first two concepts. The *ideal L2 self* is the self that "a learner would like to become in terms of language ability and use" (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159). It corresponds to integrative and intrinsic motivation (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159; cf. 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2) and correlates strongly with *literacy* (cf. 1.2.2.2). Although Huang, Hsu and Chen (2015, p. 35) argue that "*[o]ught-to L2 self* takes a prominent role in predicting the learning efforts", the *ideal L2 self* is said "to be the strongest motivator for language learning" (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159). After all, the difference between the *ideal L2 self* and the *ought-to L2 self* is that the motivation of the latter is instrumental and extrinsic (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159; cf. 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2): the L2 learner tries to fulfil external expectations, such as those of his or her parents, the school, or society in general (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159). One typical statement that researchers use in order to receive more information about the learner's *ideal L2 self* is: "Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English" (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009, p. 91). According to Higgins' (1987, p. 322) self-discrepancy theory, learners are "vulnerable to *dejection-related emotions*" if they "possess[] [a] discrepancy" between their *actual self* and their *ideal L2 self*.

The last notion that we discuss is the *anti-ought-to-self*, which stands for the self that one is in order to do the opposite of what is expected (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 171). "[L]anguage learners need the strong will to succeed in the face of challenges" in order to be successful (Liu & Thompson, 2018, p. 39). That is why the *anti-ought-to-self* is a major motivator according to Thompson and Vásquez (2015, p. 172).

1.2.4 Psychological developmental stage

As we stated in our general introduction (0), we strive to enter the De Bakker family's personal environment. Since our participants all have different ages, this section is concerned with the three developmental stages that match those ages (cf. developmental psychology): childhood (1.2.4.1), adolescence (1.2.4.2) and adulthood (1.2.4.3). As becomes clear in the next sections, schoolchildren, adolescents and adults do not have the same level of cognitive development, and thus, for instance, the same capacity for abstract thinking. The age difference between our participants hence has consequences when we draw

conclusions concerning their acculturation process. Although we do not provide a specific section on age-related psychosocial development in the data presentation chapter (4), developmental psychology plays a major explanatory role in both Sections 4 and 5.

1.2.4.1 Childhood

Childhood is the period between the age of six and twelve, although there is a remarkable difference between children who are six and twelve years old (Marcoen, 1997, p. 227). Following Craeynest (2000, p. 141), the schoolchild experiences strong emotional stability and vitality. As for cognitive development during this stage, the schoolchild cannot only distinguish between fantasy and reality (Craeynest, 2000, p. 134), he or she also learns to think in a more abstract way (Craeynest, 2000, p. 135). Another point suggested by Craeynest (2000, p. 135) is that schoolchildren can take into account several factors at a time and can therefore nuance a situation. They are also capable of reversibility thinking, which means that they can mentally revert a situation to what it was like before (Craeynest, 2000, p. 135).

On the social level, schoolchildren, other than preschoolers, prefer to hang out with peers instead of adults (Craeynest, 2000, p. 137). They learn a great deal from each other and are highly social and flexible (Marcoen, 1997, pp. 251-252). Between the age of six and eight, children hang out in informal groups without firm membership. Children from ten and eleven years old, by contrast, already strive to more conformity (Marcoen, 1997, p. 225). Friendships give schoolchildren the insight that they belong to a larger community than just their family (Marcoen, 1997, p. 254). According to Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory (cf. 1.2.3.2), the most essential motivator for the schoolchild would therefore be relatedness.

1.2.4.2 Adolescence

The term *adolescence* can refer to the period between twelve and sixteen, as well as to the period between twelve and eighteen (Marcoen, 1997, p. 260). The adolescent has an *interim status* between childhood and adulthood (Craeynest, 2000, p. 143), and he or she needs to construct an identity in relation with the social context (Marcoen, 1997, p. 299). Since the adolescent tries to find his place in society, he or she leaves the safety of his family (Craeynest, 2000, p. 143), thereby favouring peers to adults (Marcoen, 1997, p. 268). According to Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory (cf. 1.2.3.2), the most fundamental motivational factor for the adolescent would therefore be autonomy. Following Marcoen (1997, p. 273), an adolescent's cognitive development is impressive: he or she learns to think further than reality, and can also focus on what is abstract and hypothetical (Craeynest, 2000, p. 150). As the adolescent likes to experience new sensations, he or she likes exploring new ways of life, travelling and meeting new persons (Craeynest, 2000, p. 161). Finally, Marcoen (1997, p. 287) notices that the transition from childhood to adulthood is more difficult in a complex culture (like ours) than in primitive cultures.

1.2.4.3 Adulthood

According to Marcoen (1997, p. 411), adults are characterised by their high level of responsibility. The path of men and women splits up after adolescence. Therefore, men are said to focus on their job, while women favour their children and relationship (Marcoen, 1997, pp. 310-311). However, we find that clear-cut opposition between adult men and women rather stereotypical, as the situation is no longer that undifferentiated. We underline for that reason that the source used, Marcoen (1997), even when a continuously seminal work in Dutch-speaking developmental psychology literature, dates back from twenty years ago.

Adulthood can be subdivided into different eras: adults until 22 years old are said to be in the first era, *preadulthood* (Levinson, 1986, p. 5). During this phase, an individual grows "to the beginnings of a more independent, responsible adult life" (Levinson, 1986, p. 5). The second era, *early adulthood*, ranges from the age of 17 to the age of 45: in that phase, adults simultaneously have most energy and stress, since a great deal of adults are confronted with parenting responsibilities (Levinson, 1986, p. 5). Levinson (1986, p. 5) argues that adults in this era need to "make crucially important choices regarding marriage, family, work, and life-style". Next, adults from 40 until 65 are said to be in their *middle adulthood* (Levinson, 1986, p. 6). Most adults in that third era are seen as seniors in their living environment, since they become responsible for the generation of young adults (Levinson, 1986, p. 6). The fourth and last era commences at the age of 60 and is called *late adulthood* (Levinson, 1986, p. 6).

1.3 Theoretical framework applied to case study

We now apply the factors introduced in Section 1.2 to our case study. Culture, first, is an inevitable aspect in the present study, since we describe the cultural identities that our participants assume when moving to India. With a few exceptions, Belgium and India have quite different values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, which gives way to numerous sociocultural differences. Listing those sociocultural differences is crucial in order to observe what differences the De Bakker family observes (*savoirs*, cf. 1.2.1.1) and how it deals with them (*savoir s'engager*, cf. 1.2.1.1). As we stated in Section 1.2.1, our participants will probably "feel their own cultural beliefs and practices are normal and natural", while the Indian beliefs and practices "are strange, or even inferior or abnormal" (Hills, 2002, p. 4). They see themselves faced with the challenge of becoming aware of the Indian values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, in short the Indian culture. In the children's (international) school, the focus is on being "respectful to other cultures" (TISB, 2018).

Apart from the Indian culture, our participants also need to acquire a new language and thus a new linguistic identity. Our participants are ESL (English as a Second Language) learners: while the younger son has to acquire English, the elder daughters have to improve their English in order to perform literacy tasks in their educational environment (*school*

literacy). While the children learn English, the parents will take Hindi courses in order to perform certain tasks, such as going to the store and greeting the Indians. Although we claimed in Section 1.2.1.1 that learners are less conscious of what cultural components need to be acquired than of the linguistic components (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 8), this might be slightly different for our participants. Not only are the differences between India and Belgium particularly striking, our participants focus their attention more on culture than average expats, since the former are explicitly asked to do so. Sophie, the elder daughter (°2003), writes indeed at the end of data collection:

> ik ben heel blij dat ik dit kon doen want dit laat mij zo denken over veel dingen en ja dat is goed he

> *I am very happy that I could do this because this makes me like think about many things and yes that is good you know* (March 2018, week 10)

In Section 1.2.3, we looked at the impact of motivation on the adjustment process. Looking at motivation is fundamental in our case study too, since we notice significant differences between the motivation levels of our participants. The younger son, for instance, does not want to emigrate to India at all, whereas his parents look forward to it. As our participants have different ages, they can be categorised in the three developmental stages discussed in Section 1.2.4: two of them are adults, two are adolescents, and our fifth participant, Vince, is a schoolchild. Jos and Karen, the two adults of the De Bakker family, are both in their *midlife transition*, which "terminate[s] early adulthood and [...] initiate[s] middle adulthood" (Levinson, 1986, p. 7). As for the adolescent, then, we stated in Section 1.2.4.2 that he or she tries to construct an identity in relation with the social context in which he or she is located (Marcoen, 1997, p. 299). It can therefore be hypothesised that our two adolescent participants, Sophie and Louise, will experience a more complex identity formation process than their peers not living in foreign cultures.

1.4 Conclusion

In order to understand why one person expatriating to another country develops a more substantial intercultural personhood than another person originating from the same culture, a diversified theoretical framework is needed, as we have demonstrated in this chapter. The adjustment process is a highly complex process which interacts with four distinct factors: culture (1.2.1), language (1.2.2), motivation (1.2.3) and psychological developmental stage (1.2.4). We hypothesise that those factors affect the acquisition of an intercultural personhood in our different participants to a larger or lesser extent. In the next chapter (2), we elaborate how we operationalised our theoretical concepts, and collected and analysed the data for our study.

2 Methodology

2.1 Introduction

In our theoretical framework (1), we outlined existing insights in acculturation research, concentrating on culture (1.2.1), language (1.2.2), motivation (1.2.3) and developmental stage (1.2.4). From here on, the focus is on the study that we carried out in order to provide answers to our research question. In this chapter, we describe the methodological design of our case study, starting by data collection chronology (2.2) and the type of research that we opted for (2.3). In Section 2.4, we describe how this type of research externalised itself in the data collection instruments that we used in both the pre (2.4.1) and post expatriation phases (2.4.2), and how those instruments are related to the concepts introduced in our theoretical framework (1). Next, in Section 2.5, we justify how complex confidential questions in our case study were dealt with. Section 2.6 concludes this methodological chapter.

2.2 Data collection chronology

In this thesis, we document the case of the De Bakker family, a Dutch-speaking family moving to India. A more detailed description of the De Bakker family, which consists of two adults and their three children, is provided in Section 4.2. In order to document the integration process of our five participants, we collected data over a period of five months. Following Yang and Kim (2011, p. 327), our "participants were interviewed both before and after going abroad": our data for the first two months of data collection were indeed gathered in November and December 2017, when the family still lived in Flemish Brabant, Belgium (pre expatriation phase); the data for the final three months were gathered when the family had arrived in India (post expatriation phase). We offer a visual representation of the two phases in Figure 1, making reference to months and exact days.
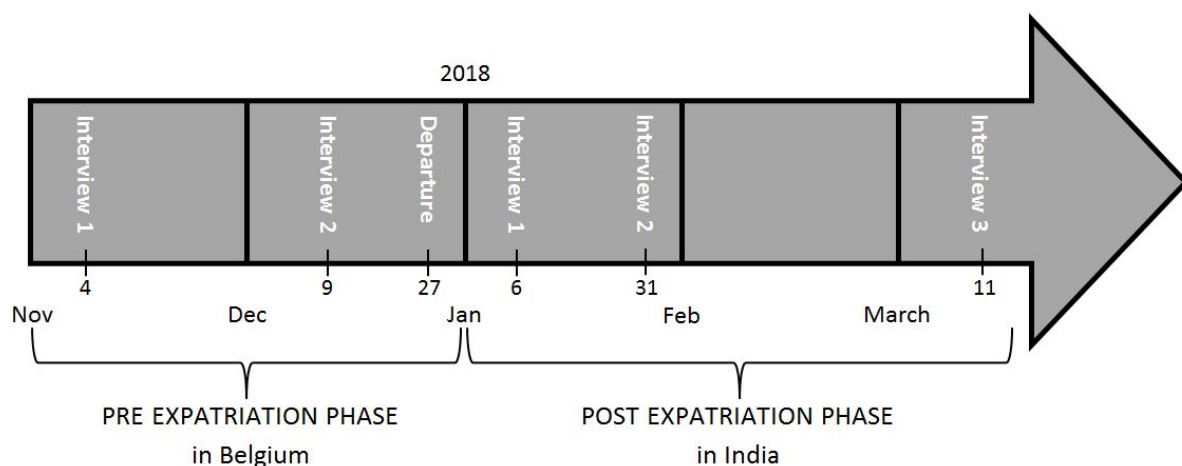

Figure 1. Data collection chronology

For reasons of feasibility and within the confines of this thesis, we could only document the De Bakker family's further acculturation process from January 2018 until the middle of March 2018.

2.3 Approach

Our research question, namely what factors foremost affect the acquisition of a new cultural and linguistic identity, called for qualitative and descriptive research. We opted for a qualitative study, since "[t]he purpose of all qualitative research is understanding some part of the human experience" (Donalek, 2005, p. 124). According to Donalek (2004, p. 410), several traditions exist in qualitative research: phenomenology, the grounded theory, the case study, history and ethnography. We decided to subscribe to the tradition of the case study, since its focus is on one specific person or group, which can offer an insight in a wider domain (Donalek, 2004, p. 410). In this thesis, the specific person or group in question is the De Bakker family: we compare the cases of our five participants, as we hypothesise that the manifold factors that we identify in our theoretical framework (1), namely culture (1.2.1), language (1.2.2), motivation (1.2.3) and age-related psychosocial development (1.2.4), influence the acquisition of an intercultural personhood differently for all five of them. The data collection instruments frequently used in case studies are "[o]bservations, interviews, self-reports, documents, questionnaires, records, artifacts [sic], etc." (Donalek, 2004, p. 410).

2.4 Data collection instruments

In the previous sections, we presented the chronology (2.2) and the approach (2.3) of our case study. We now elaborate how the qualitative approach of our comparative case study externalised itself in the use of the data collection instruments in both the pre (2.4.1) and post expatriation phases (2.4.2).

2.4.1 Pre expatriation phase

In the first phase of data collection (pre expatriation phase), we interviewed the family members twice. For the first interview, in November, we spoke to all five family members. That long interview had a primarily orienting function, since we endeavoured to collect data about the pending move abroad. We asked the family practical questions about "[its] reasons for going abroad" (Yang & Kim, 2011, p. 327) and the duration of stay (4.2.1), its house in the compound (4.2.2) and the children's international school (4.2.3), in order to present its case in Section 4.2. The questions that we asked in the November interview were also linked to the factors influencing the development of an intercultural personhood (1). Therefore, we asked our participants whether they looked forward to expatriating to India, and whether that had been their first reaction or not (4.2.4). After all, the acquisition of an intercultural identity might be influenced by *savoir être* (cf. 1.2.1.1), or the degree to which the migrant opens up to the host culture (Byram et al., 2002, p. 12). As for the cultural

component in the acculturation process (1.2.1), we asked our participants whether they knew any cultural differences between Belgium and India, in order to see whether they were aware of the degree of difference between their heritage and host culture (1.2.1.2) and of the cultural aspects that they needed to familiarise themselves with (1.2.1.1). We also wanted to know how they prepared themselves for those cultural differences between Belgium and India (1.2.1.2). We did not ask specific questions concerning culture shock and reverse culture shock (1.2.1.3), which is more relevant for the post expatriate phase (2.4.2). For the next main factor, language (1.2.2), we asked our participants some practical information about the L2 that they would have to acquire in India and the way in which they would do that (1.2.2.1). We did not ask any questions about literacy, which is concentrated on more in Section 2.4.2. Next, in order to map our participants' perceived linguistic competence, which plays a fundamental role in L2 situations (1.2.2.3), we asked them to which extent they believed to have acquired competences in English and whether they felt confident when speaking the target language, since four of our participants already spoke the L2 to a larger or lesser degree (1.2.2.3). For the last aspect of SLA, namely home factors, we informed ourselves about aspects of the family's future home situation: its house staff and the language(s) that they would speak at home (1.2.2.4). However, this aspect is also highlighted more in the post expatriation phase (2.4.2). Since motivation (1.2.3) is the third factor that can affect the acculturation process, we tried to assess whether our participants were motivated to integrate in the culture or not (1.2.3.1). *Autonomy*, *competence* and *relatedness*, concepts from Ryan and Deci's (2002) Self-Determination Theory, were focused on more in the post expatriation phase (2.4.2). Last but not least, we gathered information about the aims that our participants set for themselves in order to acculturate to the Indian culture (*ideal L2 self*, cf. 1.2.3.3). We did not ask specific questions about psychological developmental stage (1.2.4) in neither of the two phases. However, bearing developmental psychology research in mind was crucial when preparing the semi-structured questionnaires, since we tried to enter our participants' personal environment and all questions were therefore structured at a level accessible for them. For Vince, for instance, we concretised our questions about Indian culture by showing him pictures of an Indian building and of a decorated elephant.

In the middle of December, we interviewed Sophie, Louise and Vince for a second time in order to check whether they had changed their minds about (one of) the subjects discussed in November (cf. supra) or whether they desired to clarify some of the statements that they had made. For the December interview, we chose to interview the children only, since Jos and Karen had indicated in an informal conversation that they had not changed their minds. Furthermore, the focus of data collection was on Sophie, Louise and Vince, and to a lesser extent on Jos and Karen. For Jos, we do not have data for the post expatriation phase. Although Karen often focuses on the children in the post expatriation data, the documentation of her life as a mother is rather exhaustive.

The reason why we chose to interview our participants is that "interview studies [...] investigate participants' identities, experiences, beliefs, life histories, and more" (Talmy &

Richards, 2011, p. 1). "[I]nvestigat[ing] [our] participants' identities" (Talmy & Richards, 2011, p. 1), their cultural and linguistic identities in particular, is indeed one of the aims set for this case study. Following Peters and Halcomb (2015, p. 6), both the November and December interviews were semi-structured[2], as we "ha[d] some predefined questions or topics but then probe[d] further as the participant respond[ed]", which "can produce powerful data that provide insights into the participants' experiences, perceptions or opinions". According to Donalek (2005, p. 125), the final question in a qualitative research interview is often: "Is there anything more you would like to tell me?", which we asked in one of the interviews (Karen) recorded in November, and in two of the interviews (Sophie and Louise) recorded in December. We did not ask this in the other cases for several reasons: we noticed for instance that the participants became less concentrated, saying less and less, and began showing signs of lack of inspiration, or indicated that the themes most relevant to them had already been discussed. Both interviews were recorded with the audio software tool Audacity, and the protocols are included in Appendix (8.4). Since we were not in possession of appropriate film equipment, body language descriptions are not included in the protocols. That can be confusing at some stages, for example when our participants said something as a reaction to a gesture or facial expression.

2.4.2 Post expatriation phase

The second phase of data collection (post expatriation phase) was a more intensive one. Karen, Sophie, Louise and Vince informed us about their lives in India from January through March 2018. For that phase, we sent the family members some open-ended suggestions for data collection (8.3), in which we encouraged them to make their messages as detailed and personal as possible. We also emphasised that incorrect answers did not exist, that they could change their opinions at any time, that that was something natural to happen. We already suggested some first specific questions and themes for their first days and weeks in India, in order to assure ourselves that our self-collected data would be pertinent for this particular case study, and also in order to cope with lack of inspiration. However, looking at the natural adaptability of our participants, we allowed for an unexpected turn in our data. After the first weeks, we continued suggesting topics that can be linked to our theoretical framework (1).

Unlike Yang and Kim (2011, p. 327), the questions in the pre and post expatriation phases of our case study were not identical, since questions about life in India could not be answered in the pre expatriation phase yet. In order to present the case in Section 4.2, for instance, we informed ourselves about our participants' general lifestyle and the ways in which they kept in touch with their Belgian friends and relatives. Another topic that was dealt with is school life, since the school can also influence the children's SLA process. In order to document our participants' SCA (1.2.1.1), we tried to get to know as much as possible about their daily lives and the activities that they did in India. Therefore, we could determine

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[2] For an example of a semi-structured interview schedule, see Appendix (8.1).

whether they participated in typical Indian activities or stuck to their European lifestyle. As for the differences between Belgium and India, we explicitly asked our participants what differences they perceived and we looked at the ways in which they dealt with them (1.2.1.2). For our next concept, culture shock (1.2.1.3), we asked the family how it related to its new life. Near the end of data collection, for instance, we asked Sophie and Louise in respectively their tenth and ninth week:

> Is er iets in India waaraan je met de beste wil van de wereld niet kan wennen?

> *Is there something in India to which you cannot accustom with the best will in the world?*

However, most data for this concept were not explicitly asked for. Reverse culture shock (1.2.1.3), next, was less relevant for us, since the case study did not run long enough to gather data for the family returning to or visiting Belgium. Yet, we asked our participants what they would act like when visiting Belgium in June 2018, and whether they thought they would have to adapt to Belgium when they did. As for language (1.2.2), we concentrated on how the family acquired the L2 and on the difficulties that it experienced in that SLA process (1.2.2.1). In order to map their perceived linguistic competence (1.2.2.3), we also regularly asked our participants what their English proficiency level was like and whether they felt hampered when speaking English. For literacy (1.2.2.2) and SLA and home factors (1.2.2.4), next, we did not ask our participants specific questions. However, we tried to inform ourselves about those aspects by observing their lifestyles. For motivation (1.2.3), such as the components of Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory (1.2.3.2), we also relied to a large extent on the context of our data. However, in order to conclude whether our participants were integratively or instrumentally motivated (1.2.3.1), we explicitly asked them what drove them in wanting to integrate in India, and whether they were more motivated to learn English in India than they had been in Belgium. For instance, we asked Sophie in the second week of data collection:

> Wat is eigenlijk de voornaamste reden waarom je je Engels wil verbeteren?

> *What is actually the main reason why you want to improve your English?* (week 2)

The notion of *ideal L2 self* (1.2.3.3) was specifically focused on in the last weeks of data collection, when we asked our participants what they expected themselves to look like some weeks or months later, and whether they were at the point where they had thought they would be three months earlier.

Our participants were asked to either write down or record their experiences in India, corresponding to their personal preferences. Sophie, the elder daughter, chose to write her experiences down in a diary, which is included in Appendix (8.5.2). The screenshot below is an example of a (translated) diary entry (Figure 2).

new year's drink. Out of the 20 people, we only knew a couple. There was also a girl from my age who goes to the same school and who is in the same grade. I started talking to her and she told me a couple of basic things about the school. Later that night mum and dad went out so we had to stay in the hotel. It was the first time that we were in the hotel without mum and dad. Of course S. [the Indian housekeeper] was there too she ate with us and then we came to know a lot about her. She lives in a house with 12 and they only have 2 bedrooms so 4 persons sleep in the 2 bedrooms and the others sleep in the hallway. I feel so bad for her because we complain about a lot while she does not complain and she has much less than we have… . The next day we went to leela palace

Figure 2. Translated diary entry (Sophie)

In order to work with authentic data, we did not correct possible writing errors when quoting from our data in the data presentation chapter (4). We tried to transcribe and translate those self-collected data as truthful as possible, respecting hesitations and slips of the tongue. However, for the translated quotations, we did not maintain colloquial language. Unlike Sophie, Louise, the middle daughter, chose to record her experiences in India. Figure 3 illustrates what a transcribed speech recording looks like.

differences. So … with my friends in Belgium, I mostly talked about … parties or something, or about … meeting up or something, you know like when you can meet up, and things like that, and here … when there is a test, they are constantly asking one another questions. That is quite strange, because in Belgium we did that maybe before the exams, but for tests we were like: "Yes, you know … it does not matter!". Um … Um yes, am I going to behave differently with the Indians? No, I do not think so. Of course I keep a low profile now for a bit, because first I am going to learn English, so that I do not say the wrong things and all that, but I think I will just behave I I … yes, I behave the same, I think. I really hear a lot from my friends in Belgium; they very often ask like: "How is it going there in India?" and then most of the time I answer: "Hot … and English", ha ha.

Figure 3. Translated protocol of speech recording excerpt (Louise)

According to Chenail (2011, p. 252), blogs can be of use in qualitative research since they are personal. Therefore, we had access to what our participants thought and felt at regular intervals in time (Chenail, 2011, p. 252). The latter is important in the present case study, since psychology is deeply interwoven in it. Both Sophie and Louise sent us the data on a weekly basis. While they were asked to report their lives as open and spontaneously as possible, we needed to establish control from time to time. That is why we sent our participants questions and statements to which they could react, as is presented in Figure 4.

What do you think of the following statements?

- I hope to further improve my English.
- I think that I have adapted completely to my new life in India.
- I learn English because I have to.
- I feel home in India. (If so: I have to make a great effort for that.)
- I want to learn English because I want to be able to talk to Indians.
- It is harder for me to adapt to India than for Vince (because he is younger).
- I think that the move to India was exciting.
- I wished that I could live here for the rest of my life.

Figure 4. Translated examples of data elicitation statements

Those questions and statements, which were related to the notions in our theoretical framework (1), could provide information on Sophie's and Louise's acculturation process. They were different for each of our participants, "because the questions were derived from their previous reflections" (Yang & Kim, 2011, p. 327). We requested for instance clarifications on the reason why they had made a certain statement.

While data collection was similar for Sophie and Louise, data for Vince were collected in a different fashion. Since he appeared too young to document his feelings towards his life in India autonomously, we initially wanted to ask Karen to write her observations down. However, she told us several times that Vince did not tell her much at the beginning of the post expatriation phase:

> Dus euh, het heeft geen zin, ik vroeg hem elke dag: "Hoe is't geweest?", hij wou niks, daar kwam niks uit.

> *So um, there is no point, I asked him every day: "How was your day?", he did not want to, he did not say anything.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

It follows that we depended for Vince's data on initially planned Skype calls (using a webcam). In most interviews, Vince was accompanied by a family member who sat next to him so as to structure the interview for him at a level accessible to him (cf. Figure 9). In the first interview, it was Louise whom he sat next to, and in the second interview, it was Karen. In the third and final interview, Vince was not accompanied. We do not think that Vince's (not) being accompanied had an influence on the way in which he spoke to us or on how free he felt while recording the interview. In that final interview, which we conducted in March, we also spoke with Louise and Sophie, one after the other. We also let Sophie and Louise write round-off diary entries in which they could reflect on their two first months in India. In our choice to combine diary entries and interview data, we follow Knapp and Knapp (1972 as cited in Rosner, Namazi & Wykle, 1992, p. 249), who favour the combination of

both data collection instruments over interviews only. This is a most valuable piece of advice which we took to heart and which indeed contributed to collecting richer data.

Similar to the semi-structured interviews in November and December (2.4.1), the voice calls were recorded with Audacity. We experienced some problems due to slow Internet connection, especially in the first interview, where inaudible words and passages are represented by "( )" (8.5.3.1). When we only spoke with one participant at the same time, we use 'G' for the participant in question and 'I' for ourselves. In the interviews in which we spoke to several participants at the same time, we use 'I' for ourselves, while our participants are identified by their first names. All data for this phase (written blog posts, protocols of interviews and of speech recordings) are included in Appendix (8.5).

2.5 Confidentiality

Dealing with personal information, it is important to respect our participants' anonymity and guarantee confidentiality (Wiles, Crow, Heath & Charles, 2008, p. 417). For that reason, the family members' names (first names and surname) are all pseudonyms. After all, Wiles et al. (2008, p. 422) suggest that pseudonyms are still the conventional way to preserve anonymity. When our participants mentioned names of third parties, for instance in our interview data, we decided to transcribe only the first initial of that name:

> Die hebben kinderen: S., en S. en … nog andere, A. en zo
>
> *They have children: S., and S. and … other children, A. and so on* (Louise, Jan 2018, interview 1)

In our data, any names (e.g. Belgian place names, name of the compound, name of the children's school in Belgium) which make the family possibly identifiable were consistently replaced by 'X', such as in:

> Ik heb da programma laten ver- vergelijken, hé, X is geen gemakkelijke school
>
> *I made them com- compare the programme, you know, X is not an easy school* (Karen, Jan 2018, interview 2)

We excluded some few passages (using […]) which are very personal and at the same time irrelevant for our analysis, or which only contain 'noise'. However, we are aware that "[c]omplete confidentiality in research is impossible because the purpose of gathering data is to obtain new knowledge, to synthesise this knowledge and to disseminate it" (Wiles et al., 2008, p. 426).

2.6 Conclusion

In this methodological chapter, we first presented the chronology of data collection in our case study (2.2). Next, we justified why we used the quantitative-descriptive method in order to gather data (2.3). Section 2.4, next, highlighted the data collection instruments that

were used in the two phases of data collection: in the pre expatriation phase (2.4.1), we only interviewed our participants, while we combined semi-structured interviews and semi-structured diaries in the post expatriation phase (2.4.2). We also aimed to clarify the link between our data collection instruments and our theoretical framework (cf. 1). We ended this chapter with some remarks about confidentiality in Section 2.5. The total duration of all our spoken data (i.e. interviews and speech recordings) is seven hours and a half. In data collection, we attempted to obtain an overall picture of our participants' new lives. However, it was not always effortless, since we had to take into account a time difference of four hours and a half in the post expatriation phase, which resulted in postponing our voice calls several times. Besides, we had to bear in mind that our participants led their own lives in India and that they did not have unlimited time. In the next chapter (3), we explain how we analysed the data gathered during the five months of data collection.

3 Method of data analysis

3.1 Introduction

As stated in the second chapter, we collected our data (interview data and diary entries) over a period of five months. In this chapter, we discuss how those self-collected data were analysed, also providing some concrete examples. We explain that we made use of NVivo, a software tool provided by KU Leuven (3.2). In Section 3.3, next, we elaborate how we remained objective during the entire qualitative data analysis. A brief conclusion is provided in Section 3.4.

3.2 Procedure

In an exhaustive thematic theoretically grounded content analysis, we described patterns and developments observable in our participants and compared their overall profiles as developers of intercultural personhood. We formulated codes to attach to our data. Those codes, of which the full list is provided in Appendix 8.2, were based on the concepts mentioned in our theoretical framework (1). Thus, in order to document *culture shock* (1.2.1.3), for instance, we used the following codes: 'honeymoon stage', 'crisis stage', 'recovery stage' and 'adjustment stage'. An extract such as Figure 5 would be labelled as 'crisis stage'.

> We stepped into the car and left for the hotel. We had to drive for an hour. In the beginning of the ride we saw quite a lot of green and there was not so many dirt. But a couple of minutes later when we passed a sort of control, we saw what India is really like. Dirt everywhere and the traffic is very chaotic. Cows just walked on the street, cows are holy animals here in India. That means that you just have to let them do their thing, and that also means that we cannot eat beef stew for the coming 6 months.

Figure 5. Example of a translated extract coded as 'crisis stage'

For the process of linking the labels to quotations in our data, we used the software tool NVivo (Figure 6).
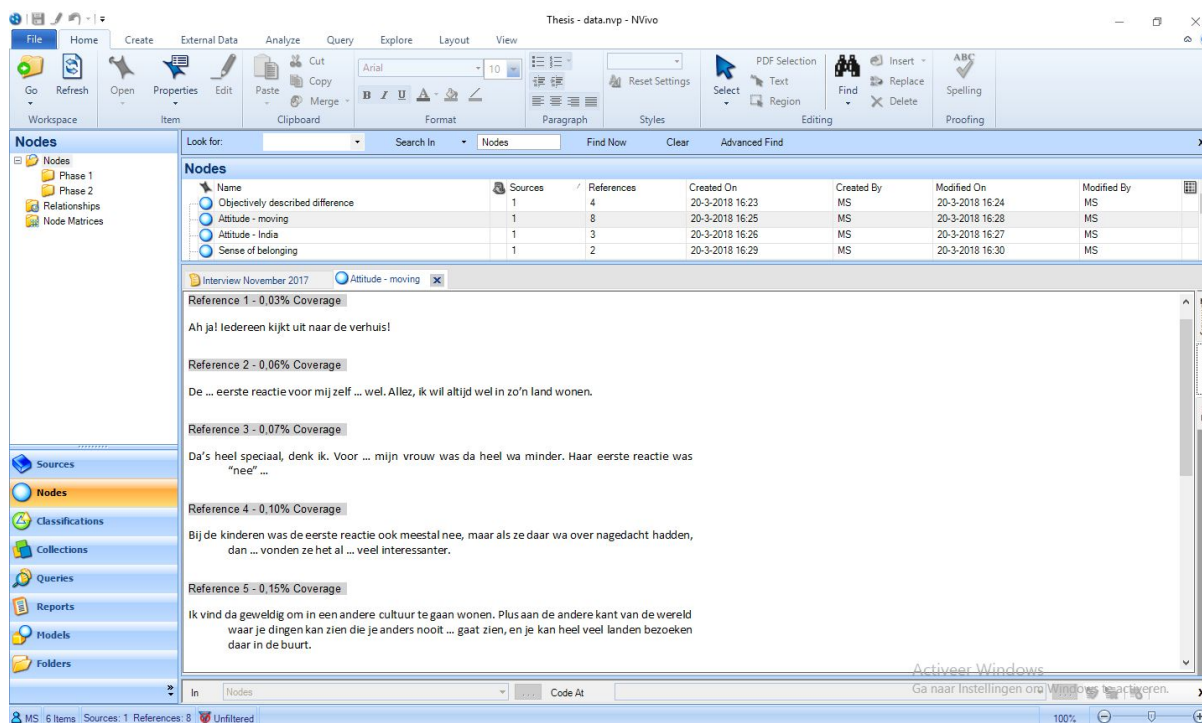
Figure 6. NVivo user interface

NVivo is a software package specifically designed to facilitate the analysis of and pattern discovery in larger qualitative data sets, since it can classify textual information in qualitative data, using codes and categories ("NVIVO", 2018). Hence, we quantified our qualitative data, and gained insight into the frequency of occurrence of particular topics, theoretical concepts or appreciations of themes in our full data set. This frequency plays a significant role when giving a balanced answer to our research question, since it is an indication of the weight of the factors that influence the growth in intercultural personhood. Also, theoretical concepts with high frequency in our data set are discussed more elaborately in the data presentation chapter (4). The number of labels that we could link to our data was highly dependent on the type of extract, since some extracts are more compact than other. As for the labels, the semi-structured diaries were generally more informative than the semi-structured interviews. However, while the semi-structured interviews contained proportionally fewer labels, they were more informative when it comes to practical information about the family's life, such as the activities that they planned and their general well-being. Although labels such as 'attitude' are not explicitly discussed in our theoretical framework (1), they were crucial in order to give an exhaustive representation of our participants' lives abroad. Furthermore, they were used in order to explore the more general patterns and developments in our participants and to identify observable tendencies and patterns (cf. 5).

Examples of the labels that we created are 'fused intercultural identity' and 'perceived linguistic competence'. For the codes describing feelings expressed by our participants, we based ourselves on the six basic emotions from psychological research, as expressed by

Ekman, Friesen and Ellsworth (1972 as cited in Ekman, 1992, p. 550): 'fear', 'happiness', 'anger', 'sadness', 'surprise', and 'disgust' or 'contempt'. We also included the codes 'gives energy' and 'absorbs energy' for emotions that do not belong to the basic emotions, such as 'frustration'. In Figure 7, we exemplify the quotations from Vince's November interview that were labelled as 'disgust'.
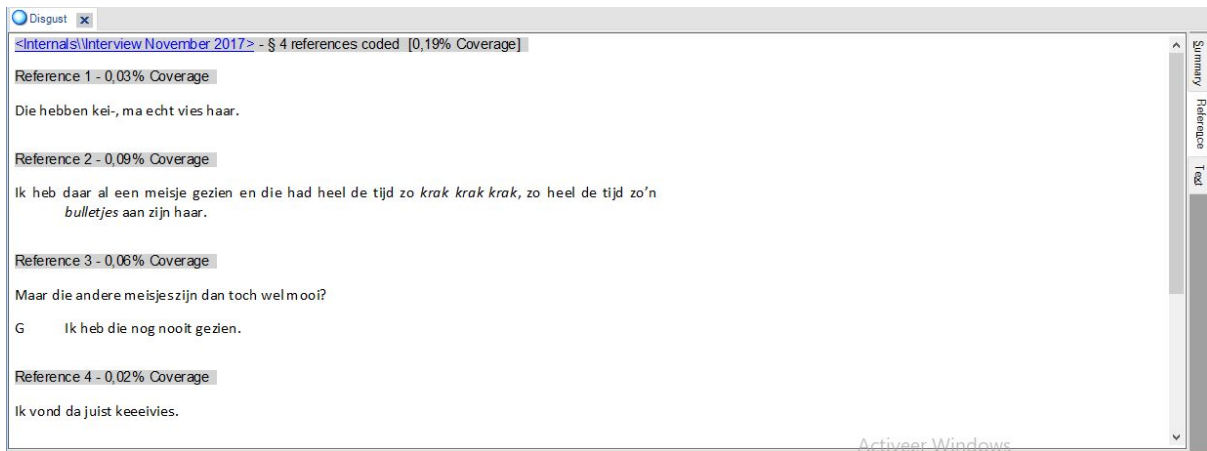
Figure 7. NVivo quotations labelled as 'disgust' (November interview Vince)

In Figure 8, next, we give an example of the quotations from Sophie's week seven blog post that were linked to the label of 'gradual adaptation'.
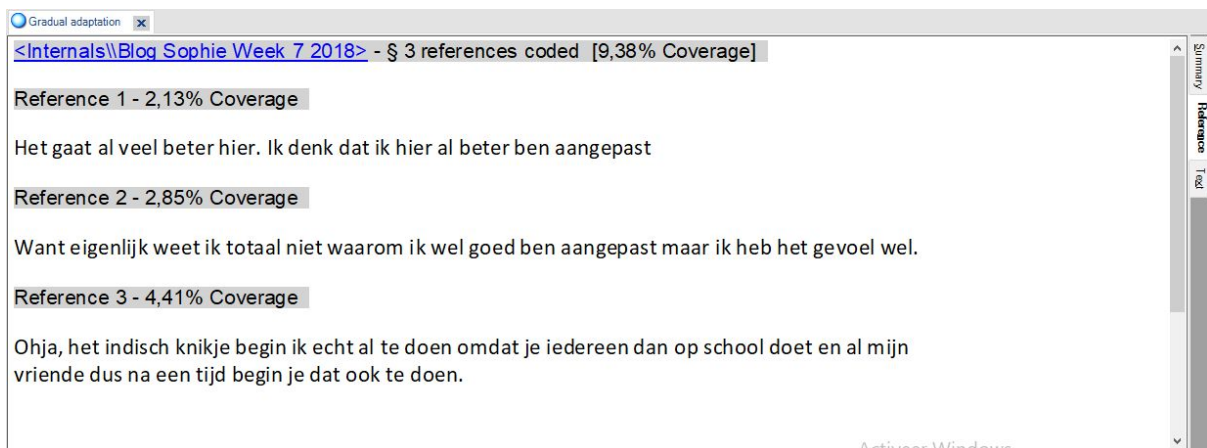
Figure 8. NVivo quotations labelled as 'gradual adaptation' (week 7 blog Sophie)

The labels were linked to one particular sentence in case the participant changed the topic the entire time; however, when the participant talked for a longer time about a topic that is comprised by one label, we attached the label to the entire substantive unit (cf. Figure 5).

Using the codes, we were not only able to compare the data from the pre expatriation phase to those from the post expatriation phase (cross phase analysis), but also to interdependently compare data from one phase to each other (within phase analysis). Thus, our participants' answers to the question whether they desired to emigrate to India or not were compared for the November and December interviews (pre expatriation phase). For

the post expatriation phase too, the data were compared interdependently, for instance when looking at signs of culture shock.

3.3 Objectivity

During both data collection and data analysis, we strived to act as anthropologists at all times, which implies that we kept a low profile during data collection, in which we attempted not to put words in the mouth of our participants or influence our data, as is demonstrated in Figure 9.

343	I	Vince, you did not want …
344	Vince	Yes?
345	I	… to go to India, right? How do you like it now?
346	Louise	Yes, you did not want to go to India.
347	Vince	Okay. I did not want to go to India. That is true.
348	Louise	And how do you like it now?
349	Vince	I like it!
350	I	Do you like it, Vince?
351	Vince	Yes.
352	I	Why is that? Is it different from what you expected it to be?
353	Vince	Because I have already made three … I have already made three friends.
354	I	Yeees.
355	Louise	That speak English, ha ha.

Figure 9. Translated non-directive interview excerpt (Louise and Vince)

However, remaining objective was not always evident as became particularly obvious at the time of the pre expatriation phase interviews with Vince. As he did not want to leave for India at all (cf. 4.2.4), he did not make the effort to talk much and he gave only particularly brief answers, which is a statement in itself. In order to collect some data for Vince for the pre expatriation phase and in order to make the interaction continue, we adopted a more subjective, semi-directive tone in those two interviews. In Figure 10, we illustrate how we provided more appreciative and semi-directive input to which Vince could react when he gave brief answers to our questions.

3102	I	Never a police officer. Don't you find that strange then?
3103	Vince	I did see one in Belgium, you know!
3104	I	And … Do you like it that they … that we have police officers and … India has not?
3105		Or … do you also want India to have police officers?
3106	Vince	Actually I do not know.
3107	I	Actually you do not know. But that is quite strange, isn't it? That is very different. Did
3108		you see other things that were different?
3109	Vince	No.
3110	I	Not really, no.
3111		Not everything can be different, you know. And did you eat Indian food?
3112	Vince	Not yet.
3113	I	Not yet. It is very good. I ate it once and I find it very very very good.
3114	Vince	Yes.
3115	I	So actually I am very jealous of you.
3116	Vince	I find it very bad.

Figure 10. Translated semi-directive interview excerpt (Vince)

From the moment Vince arrived in India (post expatriation phase), he commenced talking more and we were able to adopt a purely objective tone again. The contrast between the interaction in Figure 10 and the interviews in the post expatriation phase (Figure 11) could not be more pronounced.

2046	I	… very different perhaps. Is it very different?
2047	Vince	Um, whe- when we went to Bangalore city, um the first thing was there was
2048		there were many traffic jams …
2049	I	Hmhm?
2050	Vince	… and then and then there were very dirty things …
2051	I	Oops, what was it?
2052	Vince	… on the street, and then a a cow was just eating from it.
2053	I	And what was it then those dir- those dirty things?
2054	Vince	Um, it was like all … it it smelled like fish and all that …
2055	I	Hmm.

Figure 11. Translated objective interview excerpt (Vince)

Remaining objective was not only challenging because one of our participants did not tell us much, but also because we know the De Bakker family well. According to Howe and Moses (1999, p. 40), "[i]nterpretive (qualitative) research is *intimate* insofar as it reduces the distance between researchers and participants in the conduct of social research". We think, however, that this has been an advantage rather than a drawback. After all, we established a relationship of trust with our participants, in which they felt comfortable and in which they did not mind sharing their personal feelings and thoughts.

A general and final remark concerning objectivity is that we avoid evaluative terms such as 'better acculturated', 'weakness' and 'strength' in our data interpretation (5). We use 'more' and 'less' instead, for instance when expressing that one participant has 'acculturated more' or 'less' than the other.

3.4 Conclusion

We started this chapter with an introduction (3.1), after which we explained in detail how our data were analysed. The focus was on the comparative character of our analysis, the NVivo software and the corresponding codes which were attached to our data (3.2). Finally, in Section 3.3, we explained that we endeavoured to be as objective as possible and that we attached great importance to not influencing our participants. We remark that creating the labels for our data was not evident. In order to verify our annotations, we annotated each passage in our data twice. Hence, we assessed whether we assigned the same labels to our data both the first and the second time. Since we carefully read through our data in order not to miss any crucial elements in our participants' acculturation process, we already started to see some patterns. Those patterns are documented in the next chapter (4).

4 Data presentation

4.1 Introduction

We now present the data that we gathered for both the pre and post expatriation phases. The multiple illustrative excerpts and corresponding comments in this chapter are framed by a clear structuration. We start by providing some background information about the De Bakker family's case (4.2). In a section on acculturation (4.3), we present our theme by theme analysis, covering three factors from our theoretical framework (1): culture (4.3.1), language (4.3.2) and motivation (4.3.3). We chose not to create a separate section for the fourth factor (psychological developmental stage, cf. 1.2.4). Although we do not explicitly integrate information from developmental psychology research in this chapter, we bore the concept in mind during the whole data analysis process. By including the most obvious quotations from our data, we attempt to provide convincing evidence for each claim that we make. In the selection of the excerpts, we ensured to pay equal attention to each of our participants in order to obtain a well-balanced representation of their lives abroad. In general, we also attempted not to include the same excerpt more than once, but looked each time for new excerpts that could illustrate new substantive elements. We end the data presentation with a brief conclusion in Section 4.4. The numerous excerpts in this chapter aim to bring the family's story to life and immerse the reader in it.

4.2 Presenting the case

4.2.1 The De Bakker family

In the present case study, we focus on a Belgian family originating from the province of Flemish Brabant. The De Bakker family consists of five family members: father Jos (°1975), mother Karen (°1975) and three children. The elder daughter (Sophie) was born in 2003, the middle daughter (Louise) in 2006, and the younger son (Vince) in 2010. Jos and Karen expatriate with their children to India on 27 December 2017. Their moving to India is an active choice, as Karen states:

> 'k Was ook een bekke uitgekeken op België. Ik denk da wij mensen zijn die zo af en toe eens moeten verhuizen.
>
> *I was also getting a little bored of Belgium. I believe that we are people who need to move from time to time.* (Nov 2017)

Jos, too, clarifies that moving to India is something that he actively wants:

> Ik wil altijd wel in zo'n land wonen. Da's heel speciaal, denk ik.
>
> *I always want to live in a such country. That is very special, I think.* (Nov 2017)

It is indeed not the first time that the family members move abroad, as they lived in Prague, Czech Republic, from June 2009 until December 2013. However, it is the first time that they will reside in Asia. The exact duration of stay in India is undetermined, although the family signed a three-year contract. After three years, there are two options: the family may either come back to Belgium, or it may emigrate to yet another country.

4.2.2 Living in a compound

The De Bakker family moves to Whitefield, near Bangalore, situated in the state of Karnataka (South West India), which it visited during a *house hunting trip*[3] in the summer of 2017. Nicholson (2002, p. 13) mentions that Bangalore, except for Mumbai, is India's most international city. It is known for its industry, commerce and science, hence the name 'The Silicon Valley of India' (Gloaguen & Duval, 2012, p. 252). Blasi et al. (2017, p. 856) confirm indeed that Bangalore is "home to countless software, electronics and business-outsourcing firms". Furthermore, the city is not known for its tourism, as Bangalore is not culture-oriented and does not have a historical centre (Gloaguen & Duval, 2012, p. 266). When it comes to the language of Karnataka, Jos and Karen say that the state is bilingual, since both Hindi and English are commonly spoken.

Unlike their stay in Prague, our participants live in a compound among other expats who primarily originate from Sweden and France, but also among (international) Indians. They have an Indian housekeeper, to whom is referred as 'S.' in the next sections. Since Indian traffic is radically different from European traffic, they also have an Indian driver, to whom we refer as 'P.' in our data.

4.2.3 Attending an international school

From the second week of data collection, Sophie, Louise and Vince attend The International School of Bangalore (TISB), which is comparable to the international school that they attended in Prague (ISP). Although the school claims to be strict and its educational level appears to be much higher than that of the average Flemish school, TISB appears to be less strict than the De Bakker family initially expected it to be. As for the nationalities of the students in the school, 454 out of 985 students (46.09%) are Indian (TISB, 2018). However, according to Sophie, Louise and Vince, most of the students at TISB originate from India:

> Er zijn maar maximum 5 europeanen in mijn jaar. Dat vond ik wel raar want het is een internationale school waar mensen van over heel de wereld naartoe komen als ze verhuizen.

> *There are at its most 5 europeans in my grade. I found that quite strange because it is an international school where people from the whole world come to when they move.* (Sophie, Jan 2018, week 3)

---

[3] During the *house hunting trip*, the family members visited among others Bangalore city and the children's new school.

There are several differences between TISB and the average Flemish school. For instance, TISB looks at the children's age in September and not in January. Sophie, who is in her third year of secondary school in Belgium, is hence in her second year in India. Louise, who skipped a grade in Belgium and who is in her first year of secondary school, is also in India in her first year of secondary school. Finally, Vince, who is in his second year of primary school in Belgium, is still in his second year of primary school in India. Also, the children sometimes have a day off on Thursdays and have classes on Saturdays instead.

In their first week at TISB, Sophie and Louise immediately go on a four-day field trip: while Sophie goes to a nature reserve, Louise visits the city of Hampi. According to Louise, the school also matches newcomers to a *Buddy*, a fellow student who is supposed to aid the newcomer in question:

> da's … een meisje … die mij gaat helpen om de school te leren kennen, en mij helpen met de vakken.
>
> *that is … a girl … who she is going to help me to get to know the school, and help me with my courses.* (Jan 2018, week 3)

Parents are invited into the school: not only does Karen regularly talk with the school's English coordinator, she also attends information evenings (for instance concerning Sophie's and Louise's field trips) and parent-teacher conferences.

4.2.4 Attitude towards the moving abroad

When we interviewed the De Bakker family for the first time in November (pre expatriation phase), one of our aims was to inform ourselves about its attitude towards the moving to India.

Jos, to begin with, argues that he looks forward to moving abroad, which was also his first reaction. He is attracted by moving abroad because he is passionate about travelling and exploring foreign cultures:

> Ik vind da geweldig om in een andere cultuur te gaan wonen. Plus aan de andere kant van de wereld waar je dingen kan zien die je anders nooit … gaat zien, en je kan heel veel landen bezoeken daar in de buurt.
>
> *I think that it is great to go and live in another culture. Plus on the other side of the world you can see things you would never … see here, and you can visit many of India's neighbouring countries.* (Nov 2017)

Differently from Jos, Karen did not initially want to emigrate to India. However, after having called a friend who had moved to India two years before, she started seeing it differently:

Van: "Oké, ik kan mijne yoga daar doen, ik ga wa vrijwilligerswerk" - [...] "Plus ik ga vooral een héél stuk van de wereld … kunnen zien, en dan nog samen me mijn kinderen".

Like: "Okay, I can do my yoga there, some voluntary work" - [...] "Plus above all, I will be able to … see a large part of the world, and all that together with my children". (Nov 2017)

She also believes that having lived in Prague before makes it easier for them to expatriate to the much further away Karnataka, which Sophie, the elder daughter, confirms:

da's daarom da ik het ook wel wil doen, omda ik weet dat de vorige keer da we verhuisd waren, da ik het ook wel leuk vond daar.

that is also the reason why I want to do it, because I know that last time when we moved, I liked it there too. (Nov 2017)

However, in both the November and December interviews, she admits to have mixed feelings about moving to India. The same applies to Louise, who states in November:

't Was zo *wisselvallig*, zo … soms zo van: "Ja, da's wel leuk" ma een andere keer van: "Ja, ja dan toch weer nie …" want … dan moet ge zo al u vrienden hier laten en … just een nieuwe school en dan nog een nieuwe school …

It was changeable*, like … sometimes like: "Yes, that is nice" but another time like: "Yes, yes it is not quite that nice …" because … then you have to leave all your Belgian friends behind and … only just a new school and then a new school again …* (Nov 2017)

When Louise says that she recently changed schools, she means that she has just made the transition from primary school to secondary school. The mixed feelings that she mentions still appear to be present in the December interview. On the one hand, moving to India becomes scarier to her in December than it was in November, as it comes closer; on the other hand, she likes the prospect of moving abroad:

ik heb ook zo al is gedroomd dat het zo … da we nie gingen, en toen da vond ik ook nie leuk

I dreamt once that it like … that we did not go, and I did not like that either (Dec 2017)

Vince is our only participant who, both in November and December, does not desire to move at all:

Ik wil echt niet gaan!

I really do not want to go! (Nov 2017)

It should be remarked that Vince (°2010) is also our only participant who does not remember having lived in the Czech Republic:

> hij was … drie jaar als we teruggekomen zijn [in 2013]. Dus hij weet … hij weet da nie meer … en hij is ook de enige die niet wil gaan

> *he was … three years old when we came back [in 2013]. So he does not … he does not remember … and he is also the only one who does not want to go* (Jos, Nov 2017)

4.3 Acculturation

As the family members move to India, they need to acculturate to its culture without losing sense of safety, relatedness or direction in that integration process. In Section 1.2, we defined *acculturation* as "cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture" ("acculturation", 2018). Jos, Karen, Sophie and Louise all emphasise that they are willing to open up to the Indian culture (*savoir être*, cf. 1.2.1.1). During the post expatriation phase, Louise tells us for instance that her parents purchase small statues of Buddha and other deities. However, since they also desire to retain their Belgian identities, they want to maintain double cultural identities. The next quotation of Sophie is an example of that *fused intercultural identity* (Croucher & Kramer, 2017, p. 97; cf. 1.2) or the will to develop a balanced *intercultural personhood* (Kim, 2008, p. 360; cf. 1.2):

> Wel openstaan voor die dingen ma ook gewoon onze dingen voort blijven houden.

> *Open up for those things but also just continue doing things of our own.* (Nov 2017)

Sophie's statement is exemplified by her attitude towards Indian clothing:

> Zeker hun kleding is wel mooi allemaal verschillende kleuren en ook een verschillende stijl van kleren en dat vind ik speciaal. Ik zou het zelf niet echt aandoen denk ik.

> *Especially their clothing is quite beautiful all different colours and also a different style of clothes and I find that special. I would not really wear it myself I think.* (Feb 2018, week 8)

At one particular moment, she even seems to be neither Belgian neither Indian:

> Het is heel raar maar ik heb geen enkel idee wat er nu aan het gebeuren is in belgie noch in india eigenlijk.

> *It is very strange but I do not have any idea about what is happening in belgium nor in india actually.* (Feb 2018, week 7)

At certain moments, she insists on feeling Belgian, for instance when we asked her whether she would support Belgium or India in a soccer match. Also, she does not want to look like

an Indian person, regretting that she is already too tanned. She also tells us that she and her family members need European instead of Indian food from time to time.

As for Louise, she wants to retain her Belgian identity:

> 't Is nie da'k daar zo me een … stippeke op m'n hoofd ga rondlopen, ha.
>
> *I am not going to walk around with a … dot on my forehead, ha.* (Nov 2017)

In our third interview in India, however, she explains that they had to paint a *bindi* on their foreheads when visiting a local temple. In her seventh week in India, she claims that, although she would not wear traditional Indian clothes in daily life, she would wear it for Indian festivities. When we asked her in the same week whether she would support the Belgian or the Indian team in a soccer match, she replied:

> ik dénk … da ik wel zou supporteren voor België, omda ja … ik heb daar … heel lang gewoond, ook vóór Tsjechië heb ik daar nog gewoond. Da's zo mijn geboorteland, dus ik denk da 'k wel … voor België dan zou supporteren. Ma stel het is India tegen een ander land, dus nie België, dan zou 'k wel voor India supporteren natuurlijk. [...] Ma als het België tegen India zou zijn, zou 'k voor België supporteren denk ik, of voor allebei of zo
>
> *I think … that I would support Belgium, because yes … I have … lived there for such a long time, I also lived there before the Czech Republic. It is like my country of origin, so I do think that I would … support Belgium then. But let us presume that India plays against another country, so not Belgium, then I would support India of course. [...] But if it were Belgium against India, I think that I would support Belgium, or perhaps both* (Feb 2018, week 7)

In that case, she would also strive to maintain her Belgian and Indian identities (double cultural identity), but always favouring her Belgian identity, since Belgium is her "country of origin".

As for the younger son, Vince, Karen remarks that he loses his interest in Belgium and in speaking to the Belgian persons whom he knows at the beginning of the post expatriation phase. When we asked him whether he sometimes thinks about Belgium, we did not completely understand his answer. We think that he pretends to be in Belgium when he is exhausted:

> Nee, haha. Alleen [...] als ik me ( ), dan doe ik da nie. Als ik zo keimoe ben dan dan vertel- doe ik zo'n beetje alsof. [...] ma bij België zijn er nie zoveel muggen.
>
> *No, ha ha. Only [...] when I ( ), then I do not do it. When I am like very tired then then I tell- pretend a bit. [...] but there are fewer mosquitoes in Belgium.* (March 2018, interview 3)

In the next sections, we describe our participants' acculturation process in terms of culture (4.3.1), language (4.3.2) and motivation (4.3.3).

4.3.1 Culture

4.3.1.1 Second culture acquisition

When moving to India, the family members need to familiarise themselves with the Indian culture. As stated in Section 1.2.1.1, they see themselves faced with the challenge of acquiring cultural knowledge and operating that knowledge in real life (*savoir faire*, cf. Byram et al., 2002, p. 13). It is likely that the family members "feel their own cultural beliefs and practices are normal and natural, and those of others are strange, or even inferior or abnormal" (Hills, 2002, p. 4; cf. 1.2.1). Prior to their move, Jos and Karen talk about India and its culture with Sophie and Louise, but since Vince avoids India as a subject of conversation, they do not insist on talking about it with him:

> Want hij weet het toch nie, hij gaat da pas zien als hij daar aankomt … dan zal hij wel zien, redelijk snel dat da allemaal meevalt en euh … dat da geen problemen zijn. En met de oudsten praten we erover hé, wa we daar gaan doen en euh. [...] Over de school.

> *Because he does not know, he will only see it when he arrives … then he will soon see that it is not so bad after all and um … that there are no problems. And we talk about it with the elder of course, what we will do there and um. [...] About the school.* (Jos, Nov 2017)

The family also purchases travel guides in order to read more about the Indian culture, although Sophie and Louise do not read them:

> ik vind da ook zo: "Ge zijt nu in België, ge moet van … België genieten. Ge moet nu nie in de boeken gaan zitten … over India". Da's, da da kunt ge in India nog doen, ha.

> *I am like: "You are in Belgium now, you have to … enjoy Belgium. Now is not the time to bury your nose … in books about India". You can, you can still do that that in India, ha.* (Louise, Nov 2017)

Although Sophie says in December that she has commenced following an Indian YouTuber who makes statements about Indian religion, her wanting to learn more about Indian culture remains limited.

In the post expatriation phase, we notice that Jos and Karen take the children to temples, local markets and villages in the surrounding states of Goa and Kerala:

> veel weet ik nog nie echt over de Indische cultuur, ma daar … daar zorgen mama en papa voor, zij zorgen da wij daar meer over te weten komen door naa- tempels te gaan bezoeken en zo.

> *I do not really know much about Indian culture yet, but … Mum and Dad make sure that we do, they make sure that we get to know more by going to- visiting temples and so on.* (Louise, Feb 2018, week 7)

In order to celebrate Holi, for instance, they participate into Bangalore's *Color Run*. Sophie confirms in week six that they attempt to become acquainted with the Indian culture:

> In het weekend gaan wij meestal iets doen met de familie want daarom zijn wij ook naar hier gekomen. Voor de nieuwe cultuur enzo. Te zien.
>
> *In the weekend we mostly go and do something with the family because that is why we came here. To explore. The new culture and all that.* (Feb 2018, week 6)

We can thus state that our participants open up to their second culture (*savoir s'engager*, cf. 1.2.1.1).

One of the difficulties when acquiring a second culture is that learners often do not know what acquiring that culture actually implies (Libben & Lindner, 1996, p. 8; cf. 1.2.1.1). However, Jos seems to be well aware of what he has to learn. He argues that the Indian culture - the work culture as well as the living culture - is utterly different from the Belgian culture, and when he explains that Indians avoid face-threatening language, also in professional contexts, he concludes:

> Dus ma dan, da ga ik dan moeten leren, hé. Anders kan je nie met die mensen euh … samenwerken, hé.
>
> *So but, that is what I will have to learn. Otherwise you cannot um … work together with those people.* (Nov 2017)

He identifies the cultural difference in question between heritage and host culture and is aware that he will need to acquire the Indian way of communicating negative news.

4.3.1.2 Sociocultural differences in behaviour

When we interviewed our participants in November, they all emphasised that their lives in India would be completely different from their lives in Belgium (*savoirs*, cf. 1.2.1.1). Vince was the only one who did not believe so, although he visited India six months earlier during a *house hunting trip*. The traffic was the only essential difference with Belgium that he thought of. Travel literature and anthropological literature list a great deal of differences between Belgium and India. In the next paragraphs, we give an overview of the most fundamental objectively described cultural differences.

A first essential cultural difference between Belgium and India is that Indians consider the left hand the 'toilet' hand (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1108), and therefore only eat or touch holy objects with their right hand. Furthermore, Indians do not use cutlery (Gloaguen & Duval, 2012, p. 99), which Sophie, Louise and Vince all mention in the post expatriation phase:

hier eten ze met hun handen, dat vind ik eigenlijk echt heel onbeleefd maar daar kunnen zij niks aandoen want dat is gewoon een stuk van hun cultuur.

they eat with their hands here, actually I really think that it is very impolite but it is not their fault because it is just part of their culture. (Sophie, Feb 2018, week 7)

Louise states that she has to eat with her hands on her trip to Hampi, during her first week at school. Apparently, it is also the case during lunch breaks at TISB, where students who do not want to eat with their hands should ask the canteen staff for cutlery. Louise explains:

Ma zo met de handen eten wordt voor mij zo al normaal, soort van, dus … ja da's zo soort van, da's nie zo … vies of zo meer. Dus op school als ge dan zo … brood me curry, ik eet da nu nog wel nie, ik mix da nog wel nie me mijn handen, da doe ik nog steeds me een vork en me een mes. Of ja, vork en lepel

But eating with my hands has already become normal for me, sort of, so … yes it is sort of like, it is no longer … dirty or something. So at school when you have … bread with curry, I do not yet eat it, I do not yet mix it with my hands, I still do that with a fork and knife. Or yes, fork and spoon (March 2018, interview 3)

Although most of Vince's friends at TISB eat with their hands during lunch breaks, Vince tends to ask for a knife. When he tells us about their Belgian acquaintances' baby, he is astonished:

En dan is het zo pasta met saus en dan eet die da nog steeds met zijn handen. [...] Dus … die doet da nog nie eens met een vork of zo, hé.

And then they eat pasta with sauce and then he still eats with his hands. [...] So … he does not even do it with a fork or something, you know. (March 2018, interview 3)

Apart from not using cutlery and only eating with one's right hand, it is normal for Indians to negotiate prices, even on public transport (Nicholson, 2002, p. 340), and to give tips for every type of service (Nicholson, 2002, p. 341). Another difference with Belgium is that it is considered impolite to refuse hospitality in India, which is an unusually hospitable country (Nicholson, 2002, p. 340). Jos, Sophie and Louise confirm indeed that the Indians are kind, polite and optimistic:

Bijna nooit zeggen die nee!

They almost never say no! (Louise, Nov 2017)

Indians also call our participants 'sir' and 'madam', which both Sophie and Vince mention as a cultural difference:

Als we bij't vliegtuig waren. Dan zei de meneer: "Meneer Vince"!

When we were on the plane. That man said: "Sir Vince"! (Vince, Jan 2018, interview 1)

Next, while Belgium does not have a case system, it is still officiously present in India (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1127). Indians also attach great importance to marriage, and "divorce is still not granted by courts" (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1126), which is something that Louise notices:

> bijvoorbeeld onze kokkin, die is sam- die was samen gezet me diemand door haar familie, ma eigenlijk … ze is daar dan mee getrouwd … ma eigenlijk vindt … zij da … totaal geen leuke man, ma … als ze gaan snij- scheiden bedoel ik, dan … gaat z'ook nie genoeg geld hebben, dus ze móét wel … samen blijven

> *for instance our cook, she is toge- she was put together with somebody by her family, but actually … so she married him … but actually she … does not find him … a nice man at all, but … if they div- divorce I mean, then … she will not have enough money, so she can only … stay together* (Feb 2018, week 8)

This is very different from Belgium, where divorce is legal. Religions in Belgium and India are also completely different, since 80.00% of the Indians are Hindus, who believe in karma and reincarnation (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1107). That cultural difference externalises itself as Louise notices in week six that Indians visit temples, and Sophie mentions in week five that most Indians paint a *bindi* on their foreheads, varying in colour, form and size, depending on the god in which they believe. When we asked Sophie and Louise whether they noticed that Hindus go on a pilgrimage (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1128), they both did not. Because of the Hindu value of *ahimsa*, the absence of the will to kill (Gloaguen & Duval, 2012, p. 114), cows in India are holy animals and hence cannot be killed. In her first week in India, Sophie writes indeed:

> Er liepen ook gewoon koeien over de straat, koeien zijn heilige dieren hier in India. Dat betekend dat je de koe gewoon moet laten doen, en dat betekend ook dat we geen stoofvlees meer kunnen eten voor de komende 6 maanden.

> *Cows also just walked on the street, cows are holy animals here in India. That means that you just have to let the cow do its thing, and that also means that we cannot eat beef stew for the coming 6 months.* (Jan 2018, week 1)

Next, hygiene is said to be poor in India, and "[m]edical care is basic in various areas" (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1206). We asked Louise whether she noticed this cultural difference:

> de hygiëne is hier ça va, alleen op de straten is het heel vuil, en daar zijn rivieren me schuim, en ja, ma voor de rest zo … eigenlijk is de hygiëne buiten de compound is nie zo s- … goe

hygiene is okay here, only in the streets it is very dirty, and there are rivers with foam, and yes, but except for that … actually hygiene outside the compound is not that gr-… good (Jan 2018, week 4)

Due to poor hygiene, "water-borne illnesses are common" in India, and "[a] number of insect-borne diseases are present, particularly in tropical areas" (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1206). Jos considers illnesses as the dengue virus, rabies and malaria indeed as typically Indian. The children mention several times that they have to beware of mosquitoes, which means among others that they need to sleep under a mosquito net every night. When it comes to polluted water, Vince tells us that they can never drink tap water, and that they have to use bottled water when cleaning their teeth. They also need to ensure not to swallow water while swimming in the swimming pool of the compound hotel. As for rabies, Vince is surprised that it is dangerous to keep pets such as cats and dogs in India:

> Wow, da's keiraar: als een hond u krabt en die is ziek, en ge doet geen spuitjes, ben je dood.
>
> *Wow, it is so strange: when a dog scratches you and it is ill, and you do not get injections, you are dead.* (March 2018, interview 3)

The next objectively described cultural difference is that it is considered "polite to remove shoes before entering homes and places of worship" (Blasi et al., 2017, p. 1107), which Louise confirms in weeks four and six:

> In België deden we zeiden z'ook zo van: "Ja kom, schoenen uit, 't is hier juist gepoetst" ma hier is da echt zo wel: "Nee nee nee, nie me u schoenen binnengaan, want 't is hier proper", ma da's zo elke dag.
>
> *In Belgium too we did they said like: "Yes come on, shoes off, the floor has just been cleaned" but here it really is like: "No no no, do not enter with your shoes on, because it is clean", but really like every day.* (Feb 2018, week 6)

The family members also have to take their shoes off when they visit temples. Sophie, however, does not assume that this is utterly different from Belgium, since most Belgians take their shoes off as a sign of politeness. Next, the De Bakker family mentions the chaotic traffic repeatedly as an important difference between heritage and host culture. Also, Indians drive on the left. Vince's quotation on Indian traffic is telling:

> Die mogen kiezen hoe die rijden.
>
> *They can choose how they drive.* (Nov 2017)

Since Jos and Karen are not allowed to drive themselves, they have their own driver (cf. 4.2.2). Karen says in week four that going by car takes a long time, since they drive one hour over twenty kilometres on average:

als ge hier naa de winkel moet, zij deen uur en half kwijt. Eum … als ge handdoeken wilt gaan kopen, zijde drie uur kwijt.

when you have to go to the store, you lose one hour and a half. Um … when you want to go and buy towels, you lose three hours. (Jan 2018, interview 2)

Gloaguen and Duval (2012, p. 253) mention indeed that traffic jams in India are exceptionally long. Louise also clarifies that most Indian roads are unpaved. Nicholson (2002, p. 340) describes India as a relatively poor country with a large number of beggars, which Louise confirms, since she often sees poverty on her way to school. When Sophie tells us something more about their Indian housekeeper (S.), she mentions an aspect of poverty too:

Natuurlijk was S. erbij zij is mee met ons gaan eten en dan zijn wij veel van haar te weten gekomen. Ze is met 12 in huis en ze hebben maar 2 kamers dus er slapen 4 mensen in de 2 kamers en de rest slaapt in de gang. Ik vind dat super erg voor haar want wij klagen dan over veel terwijl zij niet klaagt en veel minder heeft dan ons

Of course S. was there too she ate with us and then we came to know a lot about her. She lives in a house with 12 and they only have 2 bedrooms so 4 persons sleep in the 2 bedrooms and the others sleep in the hallway. I feel so bad for her because we complain about a lot while she does not complain and she has much less than we have (Jan 2018, week 2)

In week five, she notices that poverty in Bangalore city is the worst in alleys. However, in week ten, she concludes:

ik denk dat india niet overall arm is. De mensen hebben hier een andere manier van leven en nee dat is niet het ''rijk'' leven dat wij hebben maar zij klagen niet, zij vinden het leven normaal. [...] De sloppenwijken zijn wel iets anders, dat vind ik echt wel erg.

I do not think that india is poor overall. People here have a different way of living and no that is not the "rich" life that we have but they do not complain, they find that life normal. [...] It is different for the slums though, I regret that very much. (March 2018, week 10)

What strikes Sophie in her first week in India is the following:

We hebben ook met de kuisvrouw (NAAM: S.) gepraat. Zij is iets rond de 30 jaar en ze heeft al een kind van 16. Dat vind ik wel raar.... en ook een beetje erg want dat betekend dat ze op een heel jonge leeftijd is bevallen.

We also talked to the housekeeper (NAME: S.). She is about 30 years old and she already has a child of 16. I find that quite strange…. and it also makes me feel a bit bad because that means that she gave birth at a very young age. (Jan 2018, week 1)

The Indian climate, which has six different seasons (Gloaguen & Duval, 2012, p. 21), is also different from the Belgian climate, which has only four seasons. The heat, however, is something to which our participants adapt quickly:

als't 27 graden is, dan heeft Sophie zoiets van: "Hoh, 't is hier koud!" dus we zijn hier eigenlijk echt al een klein beetje aan't wennen aan euh de warmte.

when the temperature is 27 degrees, Sophie is like: "Wow, it is cold here!" so actually we really are adapting a bit to um the heat already. (Louise, Jan 2018, week 1)

Indians tend to wear scarves and caps even when the temperature is fifteen degrees, which would be considered a nice early spring day to Belgian standards.

Despite the fact that a large number of the objectively described cultural differences are externalised in their lives, Sophie and Louise stress that the Indian culture is fairly different from how it is presented in travel guides and on the Internet. For instance, Louise finds it strange that there are numerous camels on pictures of India, while she has not seen any in real life. The family members also mention several differences that we did not see described in the travel guides and to which we can refer here as "perceived cultural differences".

First, Indians would be more affectionate than Belgians:

Ze zijn hier ook heel aanhangerig want alle meisjes lopen hand in hand en knuffelen elkaar vaak. [...] in belgie zouden ze dat niet echt doen.

People here are also very affectionate because all girls walk hand in hand and hug each other often. [...] in belgium they would not really do that. (Sophie, Feb 2018, week 7)

Second, Indian beauty ideals are moderately different from the Belgian. For instance, Sophie says that Indians lighten their hair. Also, Indians use a product called 'whitening' in order to bleach their skins:

er is een zalfje, op … hier … om witter te worden, en bij België is er een zalfje om bruiner te worden.

they have an ointment, on … here … to become whiter, and in Belgium they have an ointment to get a tan. (Vince, Jan 2018, interview 2)

Indians and Belgians also look different when it comes to physicality: Vince finds it strange that (almost) all Indians have black hair and brown eyes, while he himself has blond hair.

According to Sophie, Louise and Vince, Indians are surprised when they see a person with blond hair.

As for Indian authority, Sophie says:

> de polities in India doen echt niks eigenlijk. [...] wij hebben ook zo polities zo daar vanachter aan de … *bus stop* … en dan zo 's morgens, staan ze zo me vijf … vijf me- vijf politieagenten daar. [...] Vier van de vijf zijn aan't praten, en d'andere staat met een fluitje gewoon zo wa te fluiten op mensen die voorbijkomen, die eigenlijk zo totaal niks verkeerd doen

> *the police in India actually really do not do anything. [...] we also have like police officers over there at the …* bus stop *… and then in the morning, it is five of them … five off- five police officers. [...] Four out of five are talking, and the other one just blows the whistle when people pass by, people who actually do not do anything wrong* (March 2018, interview 3)

In November, Karen mentions that women do not have a favourable position in society in India, which is something that she experiences herself during the post expatriation phase. When she is in trouble, she is required to act as follows:

> dan moet ik gewoon zeggen: "Ik zal *sir* gaan halen" [...] en dan is alles opgelost. [...] Daar hebben ze schrik van. Ma ik heb eigenlijk weinig te zeggen.

> *then I just need to say: "I will get* sir*" [...] and then everything is solved. [...] They are afraid then. But I have actually little say.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

A particularly striking cultural difference for Karen is Indian communication. For instance, when the furniture is delivered and some components of it are broken, she needs to be rude in order to make the suppliers want to listen to her and confess that the furniture is indeed broken. She notices quickly that being rude in order to bring about something is considered normal in India, although she finds this quite challenging:

> Ik vind da toch ne moeilijke, om de mensen op die manier euh te behandelen, terwijl voor hier is da dus doodnormaal.

> *I find that quite hard, treating people um that way, while it is dead normal here.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

When she sees other expats being rude to Indians, she cannot imagine that she could ever be that harsh herself. Next, there is an essential difference between body language in Belgium and India, since Indians shake their heads when saying no. Both Louise and Sophie adopt that body language feature soon after they expatriate:

> ik begin het al te doen omdat de helft van mijn klas die doet da, dus nu begin ik da ook al zo een bekke te doen. Ik begin daar al aan te wennen, dus als mama dan zo

vroeg is iets zo, en dan knikte ik zo en dee ik zo da knikje me mijn hoofd, zo heen en weer en mama zei zo: "Ah, ge krijgt het ook al over!"

I already start to do it because half of my class do it, so now I've already started doing it a bit too. I start getting used to it already, so when Mum once asked something, and then I nodded and I did the nodding thing with my head, you know back and forth and Mum said like: "Oh, you already start to do it yourself!" (Louise, January, week 4)

The next perceived cultural difference is the Indian products. First, Louise's classmates tell her in her first week at school that Indian chocolate is not tasteful and that she should bring chocolate from Belgium. In week three, she explains that all products in India are different from those in Belgium, and that she still has to adapt to it. Next, she notices that Indians often make presents themselves, instead of purchasing them. Sophie, the elder daughter, misses Belgian clothing chains, which often do not have a store in Bangalore city. The Indian kitchen, too, is different from the Belgian kitchen, since Indians eat rice and curry for lunch and supper, and they have naan bread. Above all, Indian dishes tend to be considered spicy by the average Belgian.

During the *house hunting trip*, Sophie notices that India is a colourful country with copious flowers and ornaments, which she likes. Elephants, for instance, wear makeup and Indian clothes. In November, when we show Vince a picture of an Indian elephant wearing makeup, he is surprised:

Da vind ik toch raar.

I think that is strange. (Nov 2017)

Elephants wearing Indian clothes is the first thing that he mentions when we asked him in week four whether he has perceived any strange things in India.

Apart from the above-mentioned differences, there are numerous subtle differences between India and Belgium, such as the buildings (for instance the houses) and television programmes. The currency of India is Rupee (₹), and Indians use inches instead of the metric system and Fahrenheit instead of Celsius. A final minor cultural difference, which concerns the school bus, is mentioned by Louise:

Da's zo'n gele bus zoals in de films, in de plaats van een echte normale bus.

It is a yellow bus like in the films, instead of a real normal bus. (Jan 2018, week 2)

As we stated in Section 1.2.1.2, all those differences between the Indian and the Belgian culture can result in sociocultural difficulties. Karen provides an example:

> W'hadden gezegd: "Ah ja, moeten ne *springbox* hebben". Eum, ne *springbox* in India, hé da was onze eerste *communication gap* dan, is eigenlijk een een plank, een houten plank me een dikke matras op.
>
> *We said: "Oh yes, need a* springbox*. Um, a* springbox *in India, huh so and that was our first* communication gap*, is actually a a plank, a wooden plank with a thick mattress on it.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

She emphasises that other miscommunications have occurred as well.

4.3.1.3 Culture shock and reverse culture shock

Following Pedersen (1995 as cited in Presbitero, 2016, p. 28), we defined culture shock in Section 1.2.1.3 as "the process of initially adjusting to a new cultural environment". We distinguished between the honeymoon stage, the crisis stage, the recovery stage and the adjustment stage (Oberg, 1960 as cited in Roskell, 2013).

In the pre expatriation phase, Karen supposes that suffering from culture shock is inevitable for all five of them:

> Da is gewoon een ... cultuurshock denk ik, als we daar gaan aankomen. Buiten de school ... Daar kunde niemand op voorbereiden.
>
> *It will just be a ... culture shock I think, when we arrive there. Except for school ... You cannot prepare anyone for that.* (Nov 2017)

After all, when they visited a local Indian flower market during their *house hunting trip*, Karen woke up at night because of the accumulation of impressions:

> Da was nie normaal, wa da ge daar zag, wa da ge daar rook
>
> *It was not normal, what one saw there, the way it smelled there* (Nov 2017)

However, since she feels exhausted due to external circumstances, she tells us in her fourth week in India that she does not lay awake at night anymore. In fact, we do not have sufficient data for Karen to conclude whether she suffers from culture shock or not, but we do not think so. After all, she talks very openly to us in our second interview (31 January 2018), and it seems to us that she adapts quickly. Moreover, she actively wants to live in India, and during the pre expatriation phase, she thoroughly prepares herself for the move.

Sophie, the elder daughter, does not go through the honeymoon stage of culture shock, as she does not think that her life in India is more exciting than her life in Belgium. Upon her arrival, she immediately finds herself in the crisis stage. At the very end of data collection, she admits:

> Op veel momenten in het begin wou ik gewoon zo snel mogelijk terug naar belgie.

There were many moments in the beginning when I just wanted to return to belgium as quickly as possible. (March 2018, week 10)

It is striking that Sophie, in her first weeks, often sits in her room on her own, and she focuses on the negative aspects of living in India: hygiene is poor, she is not able to eat beef stew for six months, and she goes to a school that she finds vulgar. She also emotionally rejects the fact that Indians eat without cutlery. However, after having lived in India for one month, she clearly is in the recovery stage of culture shock:

Het leven hier is veel anders en dat vind ik juist interessant, ik ben blij dat ik niet veel over india had opgezocht voor dat we naar hier kwamen want het is leuker om het in het echt me te maken dan misschien hoge verwachtingen te krijgen.

Life here is very different but that is what I find interesting, I am happy that I did not look up much about india before we came here because it is nicer to experience it in real life than perhaps get high expectations. (Jan 2018, week 4)

When we asked Sophie after having lived in India for three months whether there was something to which she could not accustom, she answered:

Het verkeer ga ik denk ik echt nie meer aan kunnen wennen, haha. [...] Hebt ge't verkeer al gezien hier? Da's kei-erg.

I am not going to get used to the traffic, ha ha. [...] Have you seen the traffic already? It is really bad. (March 2018, interview 3)

Apart from the traffic, she seems to adapt quickly to her new life, as she writes that her life in Belgium seems further and further away (adjustment stage). She notices:

Wonen hier heeft mij wel veranderd, op een goede manier wel want ik apprecieer de kleine dingen hier en ik ben ook veel rustiger geworden. Geen idee waarom haha maar het is zo.

Living here has changed me, in a good way because I appreciate the small things here and I have become much calmer. No idea why ha ha but that is how it is. (March 2018, week 10)

In her very first week in India, Louise, the middle daughter, finds herself in the honeymoon stage. After all, she likes her life in India better than her life in Belgium. We should add, however, that that might also be because she experiences the move as a holiday during the first days. During her second week, however, she gives us a down-to-earth impression of her first week at school, from which it becomes clear that she does not find herself in the honeymoon stage of culture shock any longer:

Wel euh, het is zo wel … een bekke raar omda ge al die namen moet vanbuiten leren, en 't zijn zo … vreemde namen, en er zijn zo mensen op't school die zo naar u kijken want ze kennen u dan nie. Ma voor de rest voelt het als gewoon … school.

Well um, it is like … a bit strange because you have to learn all those names by heart, and they are like … strange names, and there are people at school who like look at you because they do not know you. But except for that it feels like just … school. (Jan 2018, week 2)

We come across a similar statement in week nine:

het is nog steeds hetzelfde, snapt ge? 't Is 't is een andere cultuur en zo, ma … 't Is nog steeds hetzelfde: ge staat op, ge gaat naar school, dit en dat en da. Ma 't is wel spannender omda, als ge in de auto zit, dan is da wel veel spannender dan in België natuurlijk.

it is still the same, you see? It is it is a different culture and all that, but … It is still the same: you get up, you go to school, this and that and that. But it is more exciting though because, when you are in the car, then it is of course much more exciting than in Belgium. (March 2018, week 9)

Although the situation is new to Louise, she is clearly not overwhelmed by it. For her, going to school in India and in Belgium is not that different, although she perceives some differences. For instance, she cannot accustom to the Indian climate, and when we asked her what the weirdest thing is that she has seen so far, she replies:

we hebben dan iemand zien fietsen met dan … hele … veel bagage, haha, op achterop want die bagage was zo'n hele grote zak, ma echt supergroot, da was echt twee keer zo hoog als zichzelf. En … dan was da helemaal vol, dus ik snap nie hoe dat die daarmee kunnen fietsen

so we saw somebody cycling with … so … much luggage, ha ha, behind him because that luggage was a very big bag, but really like very big, it was twice as high as he himself. And … it was completely filled, so I do not understand how they can cycle like that (Jan 2018, week 3)

However, she does not experience a crisis stage of culture shock at any moment. The way in which she sees herself seems to be determined by important cultural differences between Belgium and India:

't heeft me nie compleet veranderd, ma toch wel een heel groot deel, omda dit is helemaal anders, de andere kant van de wereld en zo.

It did not completely change me, but it did to a great extent, because this is totally different, the other side of the world and all that. (March 2018, week 9)

We conclude from our data that Louise does not find herself in the honeymoon stage (except perhaps for a very brief period of time) nor in the crisis stage, immediately proceeding to the adjustment stage of culture shock.

When we asked Vince, the younger son, after his first week whether India was utterly different from what he had imagined, he convincingly answered that it was completely different indeed. In his first week, he seems to be in the honeymoon stage of culture shock. Similar to Louise, that is probably due to the fact that his life in India seems to be a holiday. Karen tells us at the end of January that they were visiting Bangalore city, when Vince suddenly shouted: "I want to go back to Belgium!". He explains why he said that:

> Ma er waren toch allemaal vieze dingen, en het stonk superhard.
>
> *But there were a lot of dirty things, and it smelled horrible.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

Besides, Karen says that Vince touches everything, and that he constantly needs to clean his hands for that reason, which makes him panic. The streets are also busy and dirty, Indians drive on the left and they blow the horn almost permanently:

> Da komt allemaal, al die zintuiglijke dingen komen samen, en toen was em echt, toen heb ik ook gezegd van: "Oké, nu stop het, we gaan iet eten en we rijen direct terug naar huis".
>
> *It all comes, all those sensory things come together, and at that moment he was really, so at that moment I said like: "Okay, now stop it, we are going to eat something and we drive home straight away".* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

Except for that moment resembling a crisis stage, Karen says in week four that Vince has found his way in India and she thinks that he is happy there. In our third interview (11 March 2018), he still says that it stinks in Bangalore city and he almost feels sick when he visits it. Although Vince remarks that India is completely different from Belgium, and he is sometimes overstimulated by sensory impressions, he very quickly adjusts to his new life, apparently without going through the honeymoon or the crisis stage of culture shock.

When it comes to *reverse culture shock* (cf. 1.2.1.3), we cannot use the *Reentry Shock Scale* proposed by Seiter and Waddell (1989, p. 25) since data collection ceases before the De Bakker family returns to Belgium either to reside there or to visit relatives and friends. However, we ask our participants how they think they that will behave when they return to their country of origin:

> Ik denk nu niet dat ik mij weer moet gaan aanpassen aaan belgie als ik er naartoe ga in de zomervakantie, en als ik mij moet aanpassen dan zou dat heel vlotjes gaan denk ik.

I do not think that I will need to adapt to belgium again when I go there during the summer holidays, and if I need to adapt then it will go smoothly I think. (Sophie, March 2018, week 10)

When we asked Louise after her first week in India whether she thought that she would ever find Belgium strange, she replied:

ik denk da'k nooit zou denken van: "Ja amai, België, da's wel een klein bekke vreemd!", ma ik zou wel … denken van: "Ah ja! Jua. Jua". Haha. Ik zou mij zo voelen zoals … ik in België was, zo gewoon … normaal is dat we … Ma … denken da België vreemd is, zou ik nu wel nie hebben

I do not think that I would ever think like: "Yes wow, Belgium, how strange!", but I would … think like: "Oh yes! Yeah. Yeah". Ha ha. I would feel as if … I was in Belgium, just like that … it is normal that we … But … thinking that Belgium is strange, no I do not think so (Jan 2018, interview 1)

She only thought that she would need to adapt to the Belgian climate again. When we asked her in the last week of data collection how far her life in Belgium seemed, she answered:

Mmm, héél ver weg, allez ja, snapt ge? 't Is nie da ik zo … direct, als ik terug naar mijn leven in België ging, da'k direct … terug zou weten wat … er aan de hand was en zo

Hmm, very far, yes, you see? It is not as if I … immediately, if I went back to my life in Belgium, that I immediately would … know what was … going on again (March 2018, week 9)

However, when we asked Louise whether she thought that she would experience difficulties to adapt to her Belgian life again, her answer was:

Nee, ik denk dat da allemaal vanzelf gaat gaan, want ik heb daar nog steeds wel echt vier vijf jaar gewoond, hé, dus 't is nie als ge daar … een jaar of zo weg van zijt, da ge ineens … niks meer weet, dus ik denk wel dat da allemaal vanzelf gaa gaan. Alleen misschien soms zo tegen een paar mensen Engels praten, ma ja, ha ha.

No, I think that it will all come naturally, because despite everything I have lived there for four five years, you know, so it is not when you leave … a year or so, that you suddenly … do not remember anything, so I do think that it will all come naturally. Perhaps only talking in English to a couple of persons, but yes, ha ha. (March 2018, week 9)

We conclude from both Sophie's and Louise's argumentations that they do not think that they will suffer from reverse culture shock when returning to Belgium.

4.3.2 Language

4.3.2.1 Second language acquisition

Following Stavans and Hoffmann (2015, p. 138), we stated in Section 1.2.2.1 that language learners, including our participants, are multilinguals. For all five of our participants, we define their multilingualism as subsequent (Stavans & Hoffmann, 2015, p. 142), as Dutch is their L1, and the languages spoken in the multilingual city of Bangalore, English and Hindi, are acquired later (L2). In the first phase of data collection (pre expatriation phase), Jos and Karen plan on taking Hindi courses in India since they already master English. As for Sophie, Louise and Vince, learning Hindi is not a priority, since they should first concentrate on learning English at TISB, where they have IELTS (International English Language Testing System) courses. Karen, Sophie and Louise, as ESL learners, experience problems understanding Indians when they do not see their interlocutor in question, since Indians tend to have a fast speech pace. When Sophie talks about the Indian English accent, she says:

> da's zo grappig Engels.
>
> *it is funny English.* (Nov 2017)

After having lived in India for a month, Karen claims that Sophie is fluent in English again. When it comes to Louise, Karen tells us that her pronunciation is improving spectacularly, and that it seems to come back from the time when she lived in Prague. We notice indeed for both girls that they use more and more English vocabulary in Dutch as data collection progresses. Louise says at the end of data collection that her best friend in India is the one who has always been there for her and who has aided her when she experienced difficulties speaking or understanding English. She provides some examples of those difficulties in the weeks before. First, the Indian names are rather hard to remember:

> Maar de namen die zijn wel moeilijk, zoals Shweta, en Metra, en Sashi. [...] Da's nie zo makkelijk zoals hier [in België].
>
> *But the names are quite difficult, like Shweta, and Metra, and Sashi. [...] It is not as easy as it is here [in Belgium].* (Jan 2018, week 2)

After two months, she manages much better remembering and pronouncing Indian names. In week three, we asked Louise whether she dreamt and thought in English, which was not the case. She provided an example from her mathematics course to illustrate it:

> als ik dan iets moet uitrekenen, dan reken ik da eerst me Nederlandse getallen, dus *één twee drie* in plaats van *one two three*, en dan … zeg ik da gewoon in't Engels – het antwoord – dus dan moet ik dus dan duurt soms wel een klein beetje lang, terwijl ik eigenlijk wel het antwoord weet.

when I have to calculate something, then I first calculate it using Dutch numbers, so één twee drie *instead of* one two three*, and then … I just say it in English - the answer - so then I have to so sometimes it takes quite long, while I actually know the answer.* (Jan 2018, week 3)

When she feels that she does not sufficiently master her L2, she makes use of compensation strategies, such as explaining or paraphrasing the word in question:

Bijvoorbeeld als ik wil afspreken, zeg ik zo van: "Do you want to go in the weekend to the swimming pool?", ma ik weet nie echt hoe dat da noemt, dus dan … probeer ik da zo soort van uit te leggen.

For instance when I want to meet up, I say something like: "Do you want to go in the weekend to the swimming pool?", but I do not really know what it is called, so then … I try to sort of explain it. (Jan 2018, week 3)

Vince, then, has a Belgian friend who also lives in the compound and who is in the same grade as him. That friend can translate the most difficult English words for him during his first weeks at TISB. Karen thinks that having a Belgian friend is an advantage for Vince. Vince claims that he finds English dull and that he does not like speaking his L2. However, after a month, Karen has a conversation with Vince's English coordinator at school, who praises his L2 proficiency level. For instance, he even makes the same homework as his classmates. While Vince, during his first month at TISB, is still allowed to speak Dutch with his Belgian friend, he is only allowed to speak English from that moment on:

ik heb al twee keer met dieje coördinator gesproken [...] en die zegt: "Hij [Vince] zwijgt nog heel veel, maar ge ziet hem denken …".

I spoke with his coordinator twice [...] and he says: "He [Vince] still remains silent very often, but you see him thinking …". (Jan 2018, interview 2)

As he had a high level for reading in Dutch (in his Belgian school), he tries to read everything in English, which makes him understand a great deal. Although Karen says that his pronunciation is not always correct, it starts improving. Sometimes, he even corrects her English pronunciation:

ik mag nie zeggen: "Tenk you", ik moet zeggen: "Thank you"

I should not say: "Tenk you", I should say: "Thank you" (Karen, Jan 2018, interview 2)

During that same interview, however, Karen stresses that Vince generally only understands school-related English vocabulary, since that is something which he actively learns at school, and that he mostly remains silent when he has to speak English. There is one exception: one day when Vince was awaiting the schoolbus to come, he was scratched by a dog. Since rabies is a frequently occurring illness in India (cf. 4.3.1.2), he needed to be injected in an

Indian hospital where he did not understand the doctors' language. Moreover, he is afraid of injections:

> z'hebben me vijf man hem eigenlijk vier keereuh … tegen … vastgepakt … en dieje op da bed geklemd, en dan spuiten gegeven, dus die jongen was … zó in paniek [...]. Ma euh, op een gegeven moment is hem beginnen roepen: "Stop it, please, stop it!" [...] da was midden in zijne paniek eigenlijk dat hem dan toch Engels sprak.

> *actually they grabbed him four times um … to … and they put him to that bed, and then they gave him injections, so he was panicking … so much … [...]. But um, at a certain moment he began shouting: "Stop it, please, stop it!" [...] actually while panicking he suddenly spoke English.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

4.3.2.2 Literacy

Although Schleppegrell and Colombi (2002, p. 1) argue that literacy is more than "learning to read and write in order to accomplish particular discrete tasks", it can be defined that way (cf. 1.2.2.2). On her trip to Hampi, Louise has to accomplish some specific tasks in English:

> Toen we die dag aankomen, zeiden ze ook dat we eum … in't Engels een dagboekske moesten schrijven over dag één, twee, drie, ma in't Engels natuurlijk, dus da vond ik wel wa moeilijk. En we moesten ook voor geschiedenis euh alles opschrijven over de Tungabhadra Dam, en alle andere monumenten die we gingen zien.

> *When we arrived that day, they also said that we um … had to keep a little diary in English about day one, two, three, but of course in English, so I found that quite difficult. And for history um we also had to write down everything about the Tungabhadra Dam, and all the other monuments that we were going to see.* (Jan 2018, week 2)

Overall, for Sophie, Louise and Vince, those particular tasks tend to restrict themselves to the school context (*school literacy*). For Sophie and Louise, those activities include "[e]xpress[ing] themselves" in "oral activities, PowerPoint presentations, essays, debates and practical work" (TISB, 2018). Jos and Karen learn Hindi in order to perform literacy tasks, such as going to the store (cf. 1.2.2.2). Therefore, Karen desires the courses to be as practical as possible:

> Jos die zit ook op op 't bureau, diene moet andere dingen kunnen zeggen, ma da ik naa de winkel ga en ik moet kunnen zeggen: "Wa kost da?", da moet hij eigenlijk nie weten, bijvoorbeeld.

> *Jos is also at at the office, he should be able to say other things, but when I go to the store I should be able to say: "How much is that?", while he should not really know that, for instance.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

In Section 1.2.2.2, we also stated that migrants who feel different when they use their L1 and their L2 would attach differently to their host culture than migrants who do not feel different (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 419). After all, as it generally means that expats feel less attached to their host culture, their intercultural personhood is less likely to develop. In week six of the post expatriation phase, we asked Louise whether or not she felt like a different person when she speaks English than when she speaks Dutch, thereby basing ourselves on Dewaele and Pavlenko (2001/2003, p. 6):

> Eigenlijk wél. Dan voel ik mij heel anders. Ik kan het nie echt beschrijven, ma … dan voel ik mij gewoon een andere persoon, ja, en ik ik … ik klink blijkbaar ook héél anders als ik Engels praat. Da's wel grappig, haha.
>
> *Actually I do. Then I feel very different. I cannot really describe it, but … then I just feel like a different person, yes, and I I … apparently I also sound very different when I speak English. It is quite funny, ha ha.* (Feb 2018, week 6)

She also claims:

> ik denk da ik in België iets vreemder was, dan was ik gek, hyperactief
>
> *I think that I was a bit stranger in Belgium, where I was crazy, hyperactive* (Feb 2018, week 6)

However, she immediately nuances this statement by explaining that she knew her Belgian friends better. We decided not to ask Vince any questions about his perceived identity, since we assumed that, given his age, the concept would be too abstract for him to comment on.

4.3.2.3 Perceived linguistic competence

The notion of *perceived linguistic competence*, which was highlighted in Section 1.2.2.3, is said to be equally proportional to sociocultural and academic adaptation (Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 72). In the pre expatriation phase of data collection, we attempted to assess information about the De Bakker family's perceived linguistic competence. Jos, first, has high perceived linguistic competence, using English at his workplace in Belgium almost every day. Also in India, English is the lingua franca at his office. Karen also says that she can perfectly express herself in English. Although the family has not lived abroad since 2013, Sophie's English proficiency level is relatively high, since she received English education at The International School of Prague (ISP). Moreover, she is in her third year of secondary school in Belgium, which means that she has been taught English at school for two years. Her high perceived linguistic competence becomes clear from the following quotation:

> Ja, mijn Engels is wel goed.
>
> *Yes, my English is quite good.* (Nov 2017)

She tells us in the post expatriation phase about the IELTS test that she passed a couple of days earlier:

Jua, viel mee. Alleen het praten was een beetje moeilijker, ma da was dan wel oké.

Yeah, it was not too bad. Only speaking was a bit harder, but it was quite okay. (March 2018, interview 3)

Although following natural sciences courses in English is tough since she does not master the subject-specific English notions, she does not experience a great deal of problems speaking English:

Het engels hier is wel cava, nu neem ik engelse bijles maar mensen vragen waarom ik dat pak omdat ik bljkbaar heel goed ben erin. Mijn engels is zowiezo verbeterd tegenover de eerste dag. Maar mijn verstaan van het indisch engels blijft hetzelfde, datis heel moeilijk om te verstaan. Ik denk en droom wel nog niet in het engels maar mensen zeggen dat dat wel gaat komen.

English here is okay, I take IELTS courses now but people ask why I take them because apparently I am very good at it. My english has certainly improved since the first day. But my comprehension of indian english stays the same, it is very difficult to understand. I do not think and dream in english yet but people say that that will come soon. (Jan 2018, week 4)

Later, in our third interview, she explains that she experiences difficulties understanding metalinguistic concepts, such as 'prepositions'. In her ninth week in India, she writes that her English is fairly satisfactory:

Op school is alles wat beter aan het gaan, ik begin al wat meer te kunnen volgen.

Things are getting better at school, I start catching up. (March 2018, week 9)

As we stated earlier, perceived linguistic competence is equally proportional to academic adaptation (Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 72). Finally, when we asked Sophie at the end of data collection what she herself thought of her English, she replied:

Ca va, denk ik [...] nog wel. Ik denk da ik veel fouten maak, ma … Pfft [...] ze weten da ik [...]. Ze weten da da ik nie superengels kan, dus … Da dis dan dan wel normaal, denk ik?

Alright, I think [...] yes, alright. I think that I make a lot of mistakes, but … Pff [...] they know that I [...]. They know that I am not great at English, so … That is quite normal then, I guess? (March 2018, interview 3)

Louise, the middle daughter, is in her first year of secondary school in Belgium, which means that she has not been taught English at school yet. Like Sophie, she went to an English-speaking school in Prague. However, since she was seven years old when she returned to Belgium, she claims no longer to be fluent in her L2:

> Ik begrijp wel wa ze zeggen ma als ze zeggen van: "Ik heb da ge- …", zo iets in't Engels zeggen en dan zeggen zo: "Ja, en wa heb ik nu precies gezegd?". Da vind ik wel moeilijk.
>
> *I understand what they say but when they say like: "I did i- …", something in English and then they ask: "Yes, so what did I say exactly?". I find that quite hard.* (Nov 2017)

She claims that her receptive language skills are better than her productive skills. Despite Louise's worries about her English proficiency level, her perceived linguistic competence still appears to be relatively high. In her first week at school, she immediately goes on a four-day field trip to the city of Hampi. Their tour guide speaks English:

> Ze sprak wel snel, ma het was … voor de rest was't wel verstaanbaar Engels, ma … voor mij nie want ze … 't was een beetje moeilijk, ze zei allemaal moeilijke woorden en zo, dus … da gaat wel moeilijk worden, Engels. Alhoewel, ik kan wel al goed praten me vriendinnen en zo, da's wel makkelijk ma als ze dan zo les beginnen geven, dan gaat het wa moeilijker.
>
> *She spoke quite fast, but it was … except for that it was understandable English, but … not for me because she … it was a bit difficult, she used difficult words and so on, so … it is going to be a challenge, English. However, speaking with my friends and so on is fine, so that is quite easy but when they like start teaching, then it is harder.* (Jan 2018, week 2)

Louise appears to be well aware of her English proficiency level, and she is capable of differentiating between for instance English spoken in school contexts and English as a peer group language. In week two's speech recording, Louise also worries about passing exams and tests in English, since the assignments are in English too. After passing her first test in English in week three, she confirms that it was hard and that she did not understand what was in the assignment. However, she is not discouraged by it, since she perceives that her English has improved a little already. When she has to take an IELTS test in the same week, she says:

> Eum, voor luisteren … had ik een 25 op 25. En op schrijven, eum, had ik ook al heel goe, ma die hebben we dan wel nog nie teruggekregen. Maar ik denk da ik daar ook wel heel goe op ga hebben, want da's wel … vrij makkelijk.
>
> *Um, for listening … I had a 25 out of 25. And for writing, um, I also scored very well, but we have not got the result yet. But I think that I will have a very good result for that too, because that is … quite easy.* (Jan 2018, week 3)

Despite her good result in week three, she is still rather unsure about her English in week five:

Eum … het goeie … is … euh daar [in België] kon ge me iedereen gewoon wel praten en zeggen wa ge wilt; hier [in India] is het moeilijker omdat da … Engels is, allez ja, da ga na een tijdje wel beter worden, ma nu is da echt moeilijk eigenlijk. Oké ja, valt nog wel mee.

Um … the good thing … is … um there [in Belgium] you could just speak to everybody and you could say what you want; here [in India] it is harder because it is … English, you know, it will improve after a while, but now it is actually still very difficult. Or yes, it is alright. (Feb 2018, week 5)

When we asked Louise a week later whether she behaves differently with Indian than with Belgian company, she replied:

Nee, ik denk het nie. Natuurlijk ga ik mij nu nog effe rustig houden, want ik ga eerst nog effe Engels leren, zoda ik nie de verkeerde dingen zeg of zo, ma ik denk ik ga mij gewoon ik ik … ja, ik gedraag mij gewoon hetzelfde, denk ik.

No, I do not think so. Of course I keep a low profile now for a bit, because first I am going to learn English, so that I do not say the wrong things and all that, but I think I will just behave I I … yes, I behave the same, I think. (Feb 2018, week 6)

Week eight seems to be a turning point for Louise, since she commences to be positive about both the English language and her English proficiency level:

mijn Engels is al héél veel verbeterd dan in't begin. Natuurlijk … Ik ben nog nie … klaar, hé, ik moet nog heel veel verbeteren, ma … het is toch al veel beter dan in't begin.

my English has improved a lot since the beginning. Of course … I am not … ready yet, you know, I still need to improve a lot, but … it is already much better than in the beginning. (Feb 2018, week 8)

When Louise did her week eight recording, the container with the family's belongings had just arrived, something which made her very happy. This happiness was reflected in what she said about learning English. When we asked Louise to what extent she liked English on a scale from one to ten (where one is not at all and ten is very much), she answered:

Nnn- acht! Acht, (da dis dus echt), want ik vind het heel leuk om Engels te praten, super-superleuk, want dan kunt ge me iedereen communiceren en … Vreemd genoeg vind ik da leuker dan … Nederlands, ik weet nie waarom want ik vind het gewoon leuker [...]. ik vind Nederlands praten me mijn vriendinnen nu op dit moment makkelijker want ja, ik ben slechter in … Engels, ma … als ik beter Engels kan, denk ik da ik … het wel … zo ongeveer even leuk zal vinden natuurlijk.

Nnn- eight! Eight, (really), because I really like speaking English, really really like it, because then you can communicate with everybody and … Oddly enough I prefer it

to … Dutch, I do not know why but I just prefer it [...]. Perhaps now at this moment talking Dutch with my friends is easier because yes, I am worse at … English, but … if I will be better at English, I think that I … ill like it exactly the same of course. (Feb 2018, week 8)

One of the reasons why she desires to improve her English is that she is in an English-speaking school. Looking back on her SLA process in week nine, she knew from week three that her English would be fine:

ik ben trots geweest toen ik mijn Engels examen had afgelegd, want da was heel makkelijk, dus ik dacht van: "Ja, da gaa wel allemaal goe komen"

I was proud when I passed my English exam, because it was very easy, so then I thought: "Yes, it will all be fine" (March 2018, week 9)

During our last interview in March 2018, Louise says that she will need to pass an IELTS exam in the near future, which she does not find challenging at all. This is an indication of high perceived linguistic competence.

Vince, then, who is in his second year of primary school in Belgium, never had English courses at school. He is also too young to remember that he attended an English-speaking school in Prague. Although he takes English initiation courses on a weekly basis from October to December 2017, his perceived linguistic competence is still remarkably low in both November and December. From the following quotation, it becomes clear that he considers the English language a barrier to be socially active in India:

Ik vind da niet leuk om twee jaar naar India te gaan en en en dan kan ik bijna met … tegen niemand praten.

I do not like going to India and and and not being able to … to talk to anyone. (Nov 2017)

When we assured Vince in December that he would make friends in India easily, his answer revealed low perceived linguistic competence once more:

Nee! Want ik moet Engels tegen die zeggen, hé.

No! Because I have to speak English to them, you know. (Dec 2017)

However, during our second voice call (post expatriation phase), Karen states that Vince's English proficiency level is already more than satisfactory. When he said that he does not understand everything, we asked him how long it would take him to do so:

Nog één week, ha.

One more week, ha. (Jan 2018, interview 2)

In March 2018, we interviewed Vince again and we asked him how his English was:

> ik kan het.
>
> *I speak English.* (March 2018, interview 3)

He claims to speak English with his friends all the time, and to understand everything. He even states:

> Da gaa keigoe. Soms soms als ik in de douche zit, en dan en dan praat ik met iemand, dan lijkt da soms dat dat er zo iemand … Nederlands spreekt. [...] Da da is keiraaraar. En dan kan ik zo: "Ah ja, da is het".
>
> *It goes very well. Sometimes sometimes when I take a shower, and then and then I talk to somebody, then it seems like somebody is … speaking Dutch. [...] It it is very strang- strange. And then I am like: "Oh yes, that is it".* (March 2018, interview 3)

4.3.2.4 SLA and home factors

In Section 1.2.2.4, we stated that home factors positively influence SLA (Dixon et al., 2012). Vince tells us in November 2017 that television programmes in India are mainly English-spoken, which Louise confirms in week eight. According to Dixon et al. (2012, pp. 542, 545), that would accelerate Sophie's, Louise's and Vince's SLA processes. Another element that would boost their L2 level is speaking English with their caretakers (De Houwer, 2007, p. 421). Although the children do not speak English with their parents, they speak their L2 with their Indian driver and with their Indian housekeeper at home on a daily basis. Sophie, Louise and Vince claim to be on excellent terms with the housekeeper. Hence, talking English with her might positively influence their English language acquisition as well. According to Sophie, not speaking Dutch even affects her Dutch proficiency level (subtractive multilingualism):

> mijn nederlands is heel wat achteruit aan het gaan omdat wij zo goed als geen nederlands meer praten want thuis met de maid praten wij ook engels
>
> *my dutch is getting worse since we do hardly speak dutch anymore because at home we also talk english with the maid* (Feb 2018, week 6)

As we stated in Section 1.2.2.4, the impact of the community also seems relevant in this case study. For Vince, the community support in the compound seems to be important; for his parents, it is the support provided by the school community which is important. As for Sophie and Louise, they are supported by their *Buddies* (fellow students) at TISB (cf. 4.2.3).

4.3.3 Motivation

4.3.3.1 Integrative versus instrumental motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959)

In Section 1.2.3.1, we stated that integrative motivation is equally proportional to SLA (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, p. 271). Jos appears to have high integrative motivation:

> Hier ook, wil ik da wel proberen, een aantal … basis euh … woorden en … simpele zinnen misschien leren hé, om goeiedag te zeggen en naar de winkel te gaan en eum … ja, zoiets!

> *Here too, I want to try it, learning a couple of … basic um … words and … simple sentences perhaps you know, greeting people and going to the shop and um … yes, something like that!* (Nov 2017)

He wants to learn some Hindi in order to integrate in the Indian culture. Learners with high integrativeness (Denies, 2015, pp. 114-115) are said to be more motivated (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74). Karen is also driven by integrative motivation: she finds it important to know the host country's language, something which she considers respectful. In week four, Karen confirms indeed that she and Jos have a Hindi teacher. According to Louise, Jos and Karen teach her, Sophie and Vince some Hindi words and phrases as well. Louise clarifies that their parents have some basic linguistic knowledge of Hindi, but that their driver mostly translates Hindi to English when they go to town together.

In her second week in India, we asked Louise whether she is more motivated to learn English in India than she was in Belgium:

> 'k Ben meer gemotiveerd omdat iedereen daar [in India] Engels spreekt, dus dan moet ik da wel leren, en … dan wil ik da ook wel graag leren. Want het is wel een interessante taal eigenlijk, en dan kan je … met iedereen communiceren, bijna in iedereen met de wereld, omdat Engels zo een … een grote taal is wa iedereen spreekt.

> *I am more motivated because everybody there [in India] speaks English, so I have to learn that, and … then I also want to learn it. Because actually it is quite an interesting language, and you can … communicate with everybody, almost with everybody in the world, because English is a … a big language that everybody speaks.* (Jan 2018, week 2)

From the moment Louise resides in India, English (and the culture that is connected to Indian English) gets a new meaning. Since being able to communicate with others is crucial for her, she has a high level of *integrativeness*. She states in week four that she may decide to learn Hindi as well when she has acquired a higher proficiency level for English.

When it comes to English proficiency, we give Louise and Sophie several statements to which they can react. One of our statements is: "I learn English because I have to". From the girls' reactions, it becomes clear that their motivation to learn English is primarily integrative. After all, they desire to learn English in order to communicate with the Indian community. Learning English is not something that they must do (*ought-to L2 self*), but something that they actively want themselves (*ideal L2 self*). Louise says:

> Ik leer Engels nie omdat het moet, ik leer het vooral omdat eum … het dan makkelijker is om te communiceren me vriendinnen, en met P. en met S., dus … nee, 't is nie omdat het moet. Tuurlijk, mijn IEL-klas, daar leren we dingen … die ja … daar leren we nog meer dingen. Da is natuurlijk wel omda het moet, en om het makkelijker voor ons te maken. Inderdaad, ik leer Engels om met Indiërs te praten, zoda ik … ja … ja … omda dik dan zo, ja, ik kan dan zo nieuwe vrienden maken en zo.

> *I do not learn English because I have to, I learn it primarily because um … it makes it easier to communicate with friends, and with P. and with S. , so … no, it is not because I have to. Of course, in my IEL class, we learn things … that yes … we learn still more things. Of course that is because we have to, and to make it easier for us. I learn English to talk to Indians indeed, so that I … yes … yes … because then I can like, yes, I can make new friends and all that.* (Feb 2018, week 8)

Sophie's reaction is relatively similar to Louise's:

> Eigenlijk vind ik het wel leuk om engels zoveel te praten. Ik leer engels hier dus niet omdat het moet, ik sta er wel voor open want bijna iedereen in de wereld kan engels praten en dan kan ik dus communiceren met mensen van andere landen.

> *Actually I like talking english that often. So I do not learn english here because I have to, I open up for it because almost everybody in the world can talk english and so now I can communicate with people from other countries.* (March 2018, week 9)

As they are driven by integrative motivation, Louise and Sophie are expected to acquire the L2 more easily (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, p. 271). Although our participants want to integrate in the Indian culture and show high levels of integrative motivation, we need to bear in mind that they also want to retain their Belgian identities (cf. 1.2 and 4.3).

4.3.3.2 Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000)

The factors that affect motivation according to Ryan and Deci (2000, p. 68) are *relatedness*, *autonomy* and *competence* (cf. 1.2.3.2). In Section 1.2.2.2, we stated that literacy (cf. 1.2.2.2) corresponds with that desire to function as an autonomous individual and the urge to feel more related to the foreign culture. When it comes to autonomy, we notice that it plays a role for Vince: what he likes most about living in India is that he can walk alone in the streets of the compound to go and play with his friends. Having friends with whom he can talk and play (relatedness) is also a strong motivator for him. Since he thinks in November

that he will not be able to communicate in English, relatedness undermines his motivation to emigrate to India:

> Ik vind da niet leuk om twee jaar naar India te gaan en en en dan kan ik bijna met … tegen niemand praten.
>
> *I do not like going to India and and and not being able to … to talk to someone.* (Nov 2017)

When we called Vince after his first week in India, the importance of having friends became clear once more:

> Ik heb al … drie vriendjes!
>
> *I have already made … three friends!* (Jan 2018, interview 1)

A couple of minutes later, we asked him whether he liked being in India, which he did. When we asked him why he liked it there, while he did not initially want to go to India, his answer was:

> Want ik heb al drie … Ik heb al direct vriendjes gemaakt.
>
> *Because I have already made three … I immediately made three friends.* (Jan 2018, interview 1)

The reason why he likes his school is also because he has a great number of friends there. Relatedness seems also important for Louise, who, in her first week (when she has not attended school yet), does not like not to have any friends. In her third week in India, her attitude has radically evolved: she would not want to move back to Belgium, since she does not want to leave her Indian friends behind. However, near the end of data collection, she tells us:

> Ik zou hier … persoonlijk zou ik hier nu nie echt blijven wonen willen blijven wonen, want ik mis mijn vriendinnen heel heel heel hard.
>
> *I would … personally I would not really want to stay here, because I miss my friends very very very much.* (Feb 2018, week 8)

She clarifies that her Belgian friends make her want to go back. In week nine again, she emphasises that she sometimes wants to return to Belgium because of her friends:

> Ik heb nu allemaal gezegd da da det makkelijk ik heb nie gezegd da det zo makkelijk is of zo, het is nog steeds moeilijk omda al mijn vriendinnen zitten in België, allez ja mijn echt vriendinnen vriendinnen, dus … da's soms wel echt nie leuk op sommige momenten, ma op andere momenten denk ik van: "Ja, het is wel leuk om hier te blij-zijn".

> *I said that it is easy I did not say that it is easy or so, it is still difficult because all my friends are in Belgium, you know my real friends friends, so … that is really hard at certain moments, but at other moments I am like: "Yes, it is nice to st- be here".* (March 2018, week 9)

Moreover, in week eight, she explains that Belgium is her *psychological home* (Sigmon, Whitcomb & Snyder, 2002 as cited in Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948; cf. 1.2.3.2):

> ja, 't is mijn … 't is … het land waar ik geboren ben natuurlijk, dus da's zo wel … mijn echte thuis, snapt ge?

> *yes, it is my … it is … the country where I was born of course, so it is like … my real home, you see?* (Feb 2018, week 8)

Still, she would miss India because she would miss the friends whom she made there. In week three, she tells us that she still dreams about Belgium and her Belgian friends at night, but that she hopes that those dreams will cease after a while.

Relatedness also appears to be fundamental to Sophie, who is immediately included in a group of friends on the field trip in her first week. Although Sophie, in her fourth week, claims to start feeling home in India, she says that it is not like Belgium. For reasons of relatedness, she would return to Belgium, which she calls her home, if that was possible. First, all her relatives and friends reside in Belgium, and second:

> De soort van vrienden is wel anders hier, ik weet niet of het ligt aan dat ik hier nog niet lang ben of iets anders maar ik voel dat de vriendschap niet hetzelfde is.

> *The type of friends here is quite different, I do not know whether that is because I have not been here for a long time but it feels like the friendship is not the same.* (Jan 2018, week 4)

As her friendships in India are not equivalent to those in Belgium, she would prefer to return. In week seven, she says:

> ik mis hun [haar Belgische vrienden] wel heel hard, vooral s'avonds, dan denk ik altijd aan dingen van in belgie en realiseer ik mij dat ik hun heel hard mis. Overdag denk ik niet veel aan belgie, als ik aan belgie denk zijn het de momenten dat ik alleen ben. Sos als ik zo zie dat iedereen zo is zoals voor dat ik ben weggegaan twijfel ik soms wel ofdat ze zelfs nog aan mij denken.

> *I miss them [her Belgian friends] a lot, specifically at night, then I always think of things in belgium and I realise that I miss them a lot. During the day I do not think of belgium, when I think of belgium it is when I am alone. Sometimes when I see that everybody is the same as before I left I doubt whether they even still think of me.* (Feb 2018, week 7)

When Sophie reflects on her time in India at the end of data collection, she writes:

> In het begin dacht ik ook dat de vrienden nooit echt goeie vriendinnen worden maar ik had het wel fout.
>
> *In the beginning I also thought that these friends would never really be good friends but I was wrong.* (March 2018, week 10)

Relatedness is also referred to as *psychological home* (Sigmon, Whitcomb & Snyder, 2002 as cited in Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948) and *sense of belonging* (Black, 2002 as cited in Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015, p. 948). As we stated in Section 1.2.3.2, extraverted and open migrants encounter more emotional stability than anxious migrants (Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 425). In our November interview, Karen emphasises several times that Jos, Sophie and Vince are all open and flexible individuals who adapt quickly. When we asked Louise whether she hopes to have a Belgian classmate in TISB, she appears to be open to other cultures too (*savoir être*, cf. 1.2.1.1):

> als't zo … een Belg is, ma 't is echt zo'n … ja, geen leuk iemand [...] en als da dan zo een Indiër is en die is echt heel héél leuk, dan zou ik wel d'Indiër leuker vinden, ook al … heeft die een andere afkomst en zo …
>
> *if it is … a Belgian, but it is not really … yes, a nice person [...] and if it is an Indian and it is a very very nice person, then I would prefer the Indian, although … he is from another origin and so on …* (Dec 2017)

She confirms this after her second week at school, when she has realised that she is the only Belgian student in her grade. In week four, Karen says that all the other parents in the compound tell her that her children are incredibly open and flexible. Although Jos stresses in the pre expatriation phase that Sophie and Louise, who remember having lived in Prague, open up much more to moving abroad than most adolescents, including Vince, Karen tells us that Vince opens up as well. He acts as if that is trivial, although he does not know the language yet, to which she adds that children do not necessarily require a language in order to play together:

> Dus in da dopzicht heeft hem wel de juiste leeftijd om het te doen [...] én de juiste instelling, hij is heel open [...] hij is helemaal nie verlegen … Hij kan zijn manneke wel staan zo, hé [...] terwijl als ge een introvert kind hebt, da's moeilijker, denk ik.
>
> *So in that respect he has the right age to do it [...] and also the right attitude, he is very open [...] he is not shy at all … He can stand up for himself, you know [...] whereas it is harder if you have an introverted child, I think.* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

According to Karen, Vince even ceases to compare his life in Belgium to that in India. He does not cogitate about his life in Belgium anymore; he does not even desire to skype with Belgians whom he knows. Although we stated in Section 1.2.4.1 that the schoolchild is

capable of undoing a situation in his or her head (Craeynest, 2000, p. 135), this is something which Vince does not do. On the contrary, he lives in the moment, without recollecting memories of Belgium. In our second interview, Karen herself also claims to be a person who does not look behind from the moment a decision has been made, neither will she regret having made the decision in question.

4.3.3.3 L2 motivational self system (Dörnyei, 2005)

We introduced the notion of *ideal L2 self* (Thompson & Vásquez, 2015, p. 159) in Section 1.2.3.3. During our November interview, Louise makes clear what her *ideal L2 self* looks like:

> Hier … is het heel anders dan in India [...] ma … ik ga me daar snel kunnen aanpassen denk ik.
>
> *Here … it is very different from India [...] but … I think that I will adapt quickly.* (Nov 2017)

In her second week in India, she tells us about TISB, the international school:

> Ik denk da'k mij daar wel snel thuis ga voelen, want … iedereen heeft mij warm ontvangen.
>
> *I think that I will feel home soon, because … everybody received me warmly.* (Jan 2018, week 2)

She confirms her statement in her third week again, claiming that she has numerous friends already and that the teachers treat her kindly. In our December interview in the pre expatriation phase, it also becomes clear that she believes that her English will improve quickly from the moment she lives in India:

> Na nen tijd wel, ma in't begin ga ik daar - omda ik nie goe Engels kan - ma daarna ga ik daar goe me kunnen praten en zo.
>
> *After a while yes, but in the beginning I will - because I am not good at English - but after a while I will be able to talk to them and all that.* (Dec 2017)

In the final week of data collection, we asked Louise how she sees herself in the weeks and months after data collection is finished:

> Over een paar maanden zie ik ik mij als een eum meisje … da euh … da … beter Engels kan spreken … en … da heel graag hier zou willen blijven, ma mijn vriendinnen gaan dan wel al een bekke dichter zijn, snapt ge?
>
> *In a couple of months I I see myself as um a girl … who um … who … has become better at English … and … who would very much like to stay here, but my friends are going to be a bit closer then, you see?* (March 2018, week 9)

She claims to be at the point where she hoped to be three months before, that is at their arrival in India. Following Higgins (1987, p. 322), we can thus conclude that there is no discrepancy between her *actual self* and *ideal L2 self*. We also asked Louise whether she thought that she would ever be like one of her classmates who originates from the United States but who seems Indian to outsiders:

> Ja, ik denk wel da ik zo gaa worden, allez, ik wil da nie zo graag worden, ma ik denk het wel. Allez ja, ik nie, ik wil geen racist zijn of zo hé, nie ma ik … ja …
>
> *Yes, I do think that I will become like her, you know, I do not want to become like that, but I think I will. You know, I do not, I do not want to be a racist or so, but I … yes …* (March 2018, week 9)

Although Louise thinks that she will eventually look as if she has never lived anywhere else but in India, it is a self that she does not desire to be. Sophie, the elder daughter, writes after having spent ten weeks in India:

> Ik denk dat ik wel op een punt sta waar ik twee maand geleden dacht dat ik zou staan.
>
> *I think that I am at the point where I thought to be two months ago.* (March 2018, week 10)

She supposes that she will find it hard to move back to Belgium after a while:

> Ik denk als ik terug ga verhuizen naar belgie ik het ook moeilijk ga vinden want veelkans voel ik mij hier dan thuis. Maar nu is dat moment nog niet gekomen.
>
> *I think that when I move back to belgium I will find it difficult too because there is a big chance that I will feel home here by then. But that moment has not come yet.* (March 2018, week 10)

When we asked Sophie in week four what she would be like at the end of data collection, her answer was:

> Ik denk dat over een anderhalve maand mijn engels weer verbeterd is en de vriendschap veel beter is geworden
>
> *I think that in one month and a half my english will have improved again and that the friendship will have become much stronger* (Jan 2018, week 4)

At the end of data collection, she describes what her *ideal L2 self* looks like:

> Ik wil mijn engels heel erg verbeteren en als dat zelfs lukt, als ik terug verhuis dat ik vloeiend engels kan spreken zonder veel fouten. Mijn engels is wel vrij goed vind ik zelf maar het kan wel nog beter, ik zou het een 7/10 geven.

I want to improve my english a lot and if that is even possible, when I move back that I can speak english fluently without many mistakes. My english is quite good I think but I can still do much better, I would give it a 7/10. (March 2018, week 9)

Similarly to Louise, Sophie's *actual* (Higgins, 1987, p. 322) and *ideal L2 selves* are similar.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we provided a theoretically substantiated narrative of a Flemish family's intercultural and multilingual experiences on moving to India. We gave some background information about the De Bakker family's case (4.2), first, after which we looked into how their individual acculturation and SLA processes developed, and views of themselves as intercultural persons somewhere on the way towards intercultural personhood evolved (4.3). As it appears, none of the family members experienced a true culture shock, moving on to adjusting to their new lives rather easily. We believe that providing this amount of detail on each child's multilingual and intercultural trajectory has provided a sound ground for now turning to an exploration of the more general tendencies that appear to arise from our data (5).

5 Data interpretation

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we interpret our data set by connecting it to the concepts discussed in our theoretical framework (cf. 1). In general, we noticed that the De Bakker family integrated quickly in the Indian culture. We do not find this surprising as our participants are flexible and naturally adaptable individuals who lived abroad before. However, our participants emphasised that they will always retain their Belgian identity (at least partly). We start this section by outlining the gradual adaptation of our participants (5.2). Then, we discuss for each of our participants which factors strongly influence the adaptation to their new (multilingual and multicultural) environments (5.3). In Section 5.4, we describe some general profiles observable in our participants. Afterwards, we describe which factors concentrated on in our theoretical framework (1) turn out to be most essential when adapting to a second culture (5.5). Our last section contains a brief conclusion on the interpretation of our data (5.6). In order to explore the general patterns and tendencies that are described in this section, we adopted a bird's eye view: we intensively read through our data at different moments in time. In addition, we used NVivo in order to determine the frequency of occurrence of our labels as linked to the theoretical concepts. The combination of those two analysis methods gave us an insight into the weight of the factors investigated in the first chapter.

5.2 Gradual adaptation

As for our participants' new lives abroad, we notice that they gradually adapt to it, since they adapt more and more every week. Due to WhatsApp group chats, Karen feels as if she has immersed herself into her expat life before she even lives in India. As far as Vince is concerned, Karen says after a month of living in India:

> diejen is helemaal in da leven, da dis ongelooflijk eigenlijk
>
> *he is completely in the flow of this life, actually it is incredible* (Jan 2018, interview 2)

Louise, the middle daughter, says in her speech recording of the first week:

> Elke dag … had ik iets meer het gevoel … da det toch nie echt vakantie ging zijn.
>
> *Every day … I realised a bit more … that it would not quite be a holiday.* (Jan 2018, week 1)

One of the moments she realises that living in India is not a holiday is when she starts skyping with her friends from Belgium. When we asked her near the end of data collection whether she felt as if she was gradually adapting to the Indian culture, she answered:

> Ja, want ik ben hier al lang, dus … da's zo nie zo … nieuw voor mij of zo.
>
> *Yes, because I have been here for a long time already, so … it is not that … new for me or so.* (March 2018, week 9)

Her answer to our question on how she feels compared to her first week in India is:

> Ik voel mij heel anders omdat, ik kan nu al veel beter Engels, en ik ben India al een beetje meer gewoon.
>
> *I feel very different because, I am much better at English now already, and I have accustomed to India a bit more already.* (March 2018, week 9)

When it comes to Sophie, week seven seems to be a turning point for her integration process:

> Het gaat al veel beter hier. Ik denk dat ik hier al beter ben aangepast maar ook niet, het ligt dubbel. Want eigenlijk weet ik totaal niet waarom ik wel goed ben aangepast maar ik heb het gevoel wel.
>
> *Things here are going much better already. I think that I have adapted better but I also have not, it is double. Because actually I do not know at all why I have adapted well but I feel like I have.* (Feb 2018, week 7)

The next week, she makes clear that she really starts to appreciate India:

> Maakt niet uit waar, wanneer,... op een of andere manier is india altijd mooi.
>
> *Does not matter where, when,... in one way or another india is always beautiful.* (Feb 2018, week 8)

In week nine, it is thus not surprising that she claims to have adapted to her life as an expat:

> Ik heb mij wel goe aangepast aan dit leven, niet dat het hier zwaar is om aan te passen hoor. Ik voel mij wel al wat meer thuis hier in india maar ik denk niet dat ik mij ooit helemaal hier thuis ga voelen.
>
> *I adapted quite well to this life, not that it is hard to adapt you know. I feel a bit more home in india but I do not think that I will ever feel home completely.* (March 2018, week 9)

In her reflection in week ten, finally, Sophie writes that the Indian culture is one of the components to which she accustoms.

5.3 Idiosyncratic influencers of attitude

From our thematic content analysis, it has become clear that the gradual adaptation of each of our participants to their new environments is strongly affected by one idiosyncratic

factor. That factor appears to have a significant impact on the overall stance of our participants towards India and moving abroad. For Vince, for instance, having friends is the only factor that actually matters. The reason why he does not initially want to emigrate to India is because he thinks that he will not be able to talk to anybody and thus make friends. However, when we call him for the first time since he has moved, he immediately tells us that he has made three friends already. It is striking that he repeats it in all of the three interviews. Having friends turns the complex situation of moving abroad into a positive experience: it does not only make him like the compound, but also the international school. It even makes him appreciate their moving abroad, which he dreaded at first. As we stated in Section 1.2.4.1, relatedness is utterly important to schoolchildren, who are said to be highly social (Marcoen, 1997, pp. 251-252).

Louise's attitude towards their moving abroad, then, is strongly determined by being able to communicate with others, and by the weather. Regarding the weather, we notice that it is a recurring subject when she talks about India to her Belgian friends:

> ze vragen heel veel van: "Hoe is het daar in India?" en dan antwoord ik meestal: "Warm … en Engels", haha.

> *they very often ask like: "How is it going there in India?" and then most of the time I answer: "Hot … and English", ha ha.* (Feb 2018, week 6)

The weather is sufficiently essential to her to mention to her Belgian friends. Therefore, she is also interested in knowing what the weather in Belgium is like when she talks to her Belgian friends. The weather is, she claims in week nine, the only thing to which she has not been able to adapt yet. It is also because of the warm weather that she finds celebrating New Year's Eve in Goa strange. However, in week six it is the reason why she would like to stay in India:

> Langs de ene kant mis ik België heel hard, want … ja, het is België, mijn geboorteland, ik heb daar keilang gezeten. Langs de andere kant is 't hier warmer, dus zou ik hier wel willen blijven.

> *One the one hand I miss Belgium a lot, because … yes, it is Belgium, my country of origin, I have been there for such a long time. On the other hand it is warmer here, so I would not really mind staying here.* (Feb 2018, week 6)

It strikes us time after time that the weather is fundamental to her. As a final example, one of her happiest moments in India is when it starts to rain for the first time after they have moved:

> ik was zo aan't denken van, want het was zo al keilang keiwarm [...] en ik was zo aan mijn zeteltje zo, zeteltje bij het raam, was ik zo aan't zitten, ik dacht zo van: "Het zou toch keileuk zijn als't zo als g'hier zo kunt zitten, een boek lezen [...]". En dan is het

… uiteindelijk, is het dan beginnen regenen [...]. En dan … was ik waren wij zo keiblij, en S. was daar dan ook en die was zo van: "Huh?".

I was thinking like, because it had been so hot for such a long time [...] and then I sat in my chair, chair at the window, I was sitting there, I thought like: "It would be so nice if you could sit here, reading a book [...]". And then it … finally, it started raining [...]. And then … I was we were so happy, and S. was there too and she was like: "Huh?". (March 2018, interview 3)

As for Sophie, having a new experience seems essential to her and therefore influences her attitude towards moving abroad. After having lived in India for seven weeks, she writes for instance:

Ik heb wel het gevoel dat ik nu iets aan het meemaken ben wat veel mensen willen meemaken maar misschien niet kunnen, dus ik ben blij dat we verhuisd zijn naar hier

I feel like I am experiencing something that many people want to experience but can't, so I am happy that we moved here (Feb 2018, week 7)

Two weeks later, she writes:

De verhuis naar india geeft ons een nieuwe belevenis. Ik zou hier niet heel mijn leven willen wonen maar toch wel lang genoeg om een goede belevenis op te doen.

Moving to india gives us a new experience. I would not like to live here my whole life but long enough to gain a good experience. (March 2018, week 9)

Similarly to Vince, relatedness seems a major factor for Sophie. For instance, one of her concerns in November is that she will not have her relatives and friends nearby:

Zo als er bijvoorbeeld hier iets gebeurt, dan kunnen wij der nie echt snel bij zijn

For instance if something happens, we cannot really be on the spot soon (Nov 2017)

At the end of data collection, she confirms indeed:

Ik denk dat ik India ni leuk vond in het begin door de verandering... geen familie dichtbij of vriende. Zo ineens opnieuw beginnen.

I think that I did not like India in the beginning because of the change… no family or friends close. Suddenly starting again. (March 2018, week 10)

At the beginning of data collection, she does not want to stay in India since she does not have any close friends there. However, at the end of data collection, she realises that her Indian friends are better friends than she expected them to be, which makes her feel home.

5.4 General profiles

In this section, we describe general profiles that we notice in our participants for the following four factors: culture (5.4.1), language (5.4.2), motivation (5.4.3) and psychological developmental stage (5.4.4).

5.4.1 Culture

When it comes to culture, we compare the acquisition of an intercultural identity for our participants who all go through different stages in the process of culture shock. For Karen, we stated in Section 4.3.1.3 that she does not suffer from culture shock. Louise and Vince seem to be in the honeymoon stage for a negligible moment, but very soon proceed to the adjustment stage. Sophie, then, who is in the crisis stage at the beginning of the post expatriation phase, evolves after a couple of weeks to the recovery stage and later to the adjustment stage. So, where Sophie experiences what it is like to be in the crisis stage of culture shock, Louise and Vince go through the honeymoon stage for a moment. Although some of our participants suffer from culture shock while other do not, and almost all four of them run through different stages, they soon overcome their culture shock and they all develop their intercultural personhood to a similar degree as demonstrated towards the end of data collection. There are several possible reasons for that interpretation: first, our participants are all particularly open persons (*savoir être*, cf. 1.2.1.1) who lived abroad before. They are flexible and quickly adapting individuals with a conjoining stance and high cultural intelligence. Second, in the pre expatriation phase, it already becomes clear that they are well aware of the differences between Belgium and India (*savoirs*, cf. 1.2.1.1). Since they know that they will stay in India for a couple of years, they attempt to accustom to their new situation and deal with the cultural differences in a future-oriented way (*savoir faire* and *savoir s'engager*, cf. 1.2.1.1). One of our participants, Vince, does not remember having lived abroad, and he does not initially think that his life in India will be different from that in Belgium. Still, when he is in India, he does not experience culture shock. That might be because Vince does not compare his life in Belgium to that in India, and because he completely immerses himself in his new life.

5.4.2 Language

As for our participants' individual SLA processes, we discover two profiles: four of our participants (Jos, Karen, Sophie and Louise) have basic or advanced knowledge of English, while Vince is the only one who lacks prior knowledge. It is remarkable that he is also the only one who remains silent for a long time, while the others attempt to speak English in order to communicate, sometimes making use of compensation strategies (cf. 4.3.2.1). However, it became clear in the previous section that Vince's lack of English proficiency at the beginning of the move is not an obstruction to acculturate and to make friends of his age.

5.4.3 Motivation

Motivation is the third factor that we discuss in this section on general profiles. Jos, Karen, Sophie and Louise are fairly motivated to adopt a new lifestyle, while Vince does not initially want to expatriate at all. Against all odds, we notice in our case study that Vince's lack of motivation is not a disadvantage to develop an intercultural personhood in India. His attitude changes very quickly from the moment he arrives in India. We believe, however, that his lack of motivation turns the pre expatriation phase into a highly unpleasant period, as he has the prospect of moving abroad, which he dreads. We assume that Vince manages to adapt quickly since he is still so young.

We cannot compare the influence of extraverted and introverted personalities on the acquisition of an intercultural identity as all five of our participants are extraverts. Since they are extraverted, they are not shy, do not turn inward and make friends easily. We notice, for example, that Sophie, Louise and Vince call their classmates 'friends' from their first week at school.

5.4.4 Psychological developmental stage

Concerning psychological developmental stage, three profiles arise: Jos (°1975) and Karen (°1975) are adults, Sophie (°2003) and Louise (°2006) are adolescents, and Vince (°2010) is a schoolchild. Broadly speaking, we notice that the adults in our case study prepare themselves more substantively to the moving abroad than the adolescents, and the adolescents prepare themselves more substantively than the schoolchild. As a result, we think that Jos and Karen, in the pre expatriation phase, have a more realistic image of their new lives than Sophie and Louise, who have in turn a more realistic image of their new lives than Vince. In the post expatriation phase, the topics discussed in our participants' data reflect their developmental stage. While Karen (and Jos in the pre expatriation phase) focuses on practical issues, Sophie and Louise concentrate on their school and friends, and Vince is most interested in playing with his peers. As our participants acquire their intercultural identities in similar ways, we conclude that age-related psychosocial development is not a major influencer for the growth towards an intercultural personhood (cf. 5.5).

5.5 General influencers of acculturation

Based on the data presented in the previous chapter, we create a visual and hierarchical representation of the importance of several factors on the acquisition of an intercultural personhood. In doing so, we attempt to provide an answer to our research question, namely what factors affect the acquisition of a new linguistic and cultural identity when moving abroad (Figure 12).
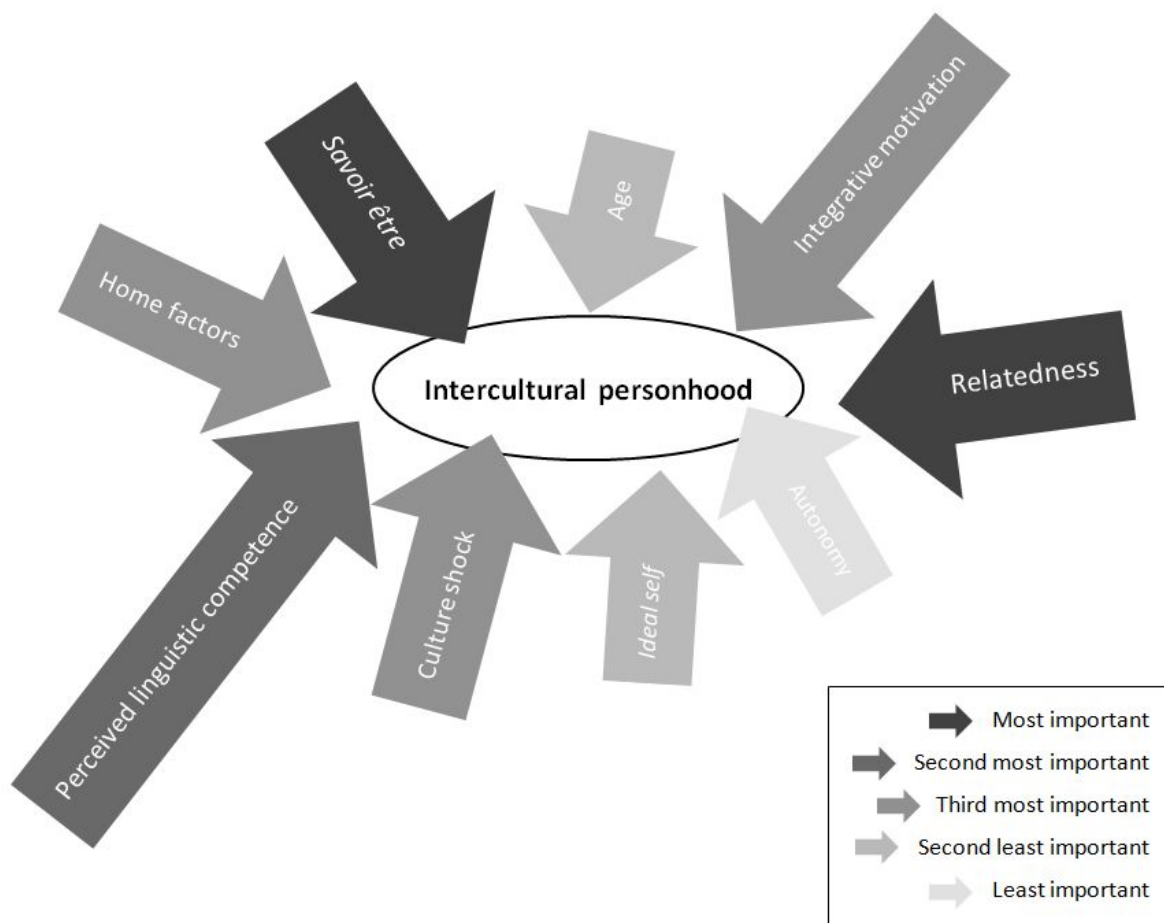
Figure 12. Visual representation of acculturation influencers

The most crucial influencer according to our case study is the attitude of the migrant: an expat who is flexible, who opens up to the culture (*savoir être*, cf. 1.2.1.1) and is willing to integrate will develop a more substantial intercultural personhood. Relatedness, feeling home, having people to turn to is also a major factor: as long as our participants do not have close friends in their host country, they do not feel related to India and desire to return to Belgium. The opposite is also true, since having close friends in India makes them want to stay there. Perceived linguistic competence (including literacy) seems to influence the development of intercultural personhood to some extent, but not as strongly as *savoir être*, willingness to integrate and relatedness do. It is specifically encouraging for giving the learner to want to communicate with members of the foreign culture, in a first phase in situations frequently occurring in daily (school or societal) life. The image of the *ideal L2 self* thus becomes more an image of somebody living in the culture than that of somebody visiting the region as a tourist. The remaining factors presented in Figure 12 all appear to be less important for the acculturation process than the factors discussed above.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter concentrated on the interpretation of the data gathered for this case study. Starting with a detailed description of the individual learning idiosyncratic trajectories of five members of one Flemish family moving to India (5.2 and 5.3), we have now been able to distill main factors affecting each of their processes towards the growth in intercultural personhood (5.4). *Savoir être* or willingness to integrate, relatedness and perceived linguistic competence appear to have the highest bearing on the acquisition of an intercultural identity when living in a foreign culture.

6 General conclusion

In this qualitative-descriptive study, we documented the case of a Flemish (Belgian) family moving to India. Following Kim (2008, p. 360), the aim set for the study was to attempt and identify which factors foremost appear to affect the extent to which migrants come to develop intercultural personhood when in a new multilingual and multicultural environment. In doing so, we started with a complex theoretical framework where we defined the theoretical concepts relevant to describe an acculturation process (1). Not only culture (1.2.1), but also language (1.2.2), motivation (1.2.3) and research in developmental psychology (1.2.4) was focused on. In the second chapter, we presented our methodological design, enlarging on data collection chronology (2.2), the type of research that we opted for (2.3), our data collection instruments (2.4) and questions of confidentiality (2.5). Chapter three explained how the data were analysed, thereby using the NVivo student version software (3.2). We also attached importance to the way in which we strived to be as objective as possible (3.3). In Section 4, we presented our self-collected data, which we interpreted in the fifth chapter. We concluded that opening up to the culture (*savoir être* or willingness to integrate, cf. Byram, Gribkova & Starkey, 2002) and relatedness (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 73) appear to have the highest bearing on the development of intercultural personhood when living in a foreign culture. High perceived linguistic competence (Clément & Bourhis, 1996 as cited in Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 74) is also a major influencer when acquiring an intercultural identity.

The options for future research are numerous, as the present study could be repeated with other families moving to different countries and continents. We strongly recommend combining different types of data, like we did, since one can still rely on one data type in case of possible shortcomings of the other. We also suggest working with semi-structured data, since one can structure data collection without denying participants the freedom to bring into the research process personally relevant issues. We think that it would be interesting to replicate this study with participants who have acquired a high (near-native) proficiency level of their host country's language prior to their moving abroad: it would be intriguing to assess how native proficiency level of the language in question affects their integration process differently from what we could observe in our case study. While we were, within the confines of this thesis, only able to analyse our participants' first three months abroad, we suggest to lengthen this phase. Furthermore, it would be utterly enriching to visit our participants in their new living environment and observe directly for ourselves how and to what extent their self-perception of intercultural personhood matches our observations. Finally, future research could concentrate on the more exact determination of the interrelationship between Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-determination theory and growth in intercultural identity.

Although the thesis discussed a specific case, it bares relevance to similar situations in which migrants emigrate for an extended period of time and see themselves faced with the challenge of building up a new life, living between two cultures at first and gradually acquiring a new cultural and linguistic identity when circumstances are favourable and chances for integration via education or work present themselves. In our general introduction (0), we cited Holtgraves et al. (2014, p. 2): "[i]n short, humans use language to form, maintain, and transform their cultures. Language is a critical semiotic tool with which humans construct and exchange meaning". In other words, if the host country manages to create a sense of belonging for migrants and give them the opportunity to improve their linguistic capacities, migrants will develop willingness and self-confidence to venture on the journey towards true intercultural personhood.

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