

A Sociological Perspective on Motivation to Learn EFL:
The Case of *Escuelas Plurilingües* in Argentina

by

Verónica Lifrieri

B.A., University of Buenos Aires, 1993

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Hispanic Linguistics

University of Pittsburgh

2005

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This thesis was presented

by

Verónica Lifrieri

It was defended on

April 6, 2005

and approved by

Robert DeKeyser, Ph.D.

Scott F. Kiesling, Ph.D.

Alan Juffs, Ph.D.

Robert DeKeyser, Ph.D.
Thesis Advisor

A Sociological Perspective on Motivation to Learn EFL:
The Case of *Escuelas Plurilingües* in Argentina

Verónica Lifrieri, M.A.

University of Pittsburgh, 2005

This study explores the effects of socio-economic background on attitudes towards L2 motivation within Gardner's (e.g. 1985, 2000, 2001, 2002) Integrative Motivation framework. Recent findings by Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) and Csizér & Dörnyei (2005) have cast doubt on the explanatory power of *integrativeness* for monolingual contexts of language learning. While the authors propose a reformulation of the concept based on the learners' construction of "possible selves", this thesis stresses the need to delve deeper into the origins of such representations to better understand FL learners' attitudes and motivation. Socio-economic background is thus proposed as a potentially fruitful avenue of investigation. Despite the current emphasis on contextualized motivation (Clément & Gardner 2001, Dörnyei 2001b, Gardner 2002, McGroarty 1998, 2001, Spolsky 2000), and strong indications from sociology about the impact of social stratification on human behavior (Grusky 1994), no systematic empirical work shows how socio-economic status may impinge upon FL motivation. To investigate the socio-economic dimension of motivation, two questionnaires were designed based (1) on Gardner's (1985) *AMTB* and (2) on Bourdieu's (1986) tripartite conceptualization of capital. Parental occupation was also used as an additional measure of socio-economic level. Both questionnaires were administered among 39 fourth-graders (9-10 years of age) enrolled in EFL intensive classes in six public so-called Plurilingual Schools in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Though not conclusive or generalizable due to the reduced pool of respondents and the novel testing conditions and instruments, this study

gives some evidence in support of a predictive role of economic capital and parental occupation on motivation. Overall, more economically disadvantaged EFL learners showed more positive attitudes towards the benefits of learning English to attain present and future goals, and they were more generally motivated to learn the language as well. Possible interpretations of these results in light of Bourdieu's 'habitus' as well as the potential effects of parental expectations and performance anxiety are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. BACKGROUND	5
2.1. What is Motivation?.....	5
2.2. Language Learning Motivation.....	9
2.2.1. The Socio-Educational Model: Integrative Motivation	12
2.2.2. The Puzzle: Integrativeness in EFL Learning.....	18
2.3. Understanding Social Stratification: The Contributions of Pierre Bourdieu	26
3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	35
3.1. Setting.....	35
3.2. Participants.....	38
3.3. Instruments.....	41
3.4. Data Collection and Analysis.....	45
4. RESULTS	55
4.1. The Four Main Models	55
4.2. The Sub-Components of Motivation	58
4.3. Contact with English outside the classroom	60
5. DISCUSSION.....	62
5.1. The economic dimension of motivation	64
5.2. The cultural dimension of motivation.....	75
5.3. What about integrativeness then?	77
5.4. Limitations	80
APPENDIX A.....	84
Motivation Questionnaire (Spanish version)	84
APPENDIX B.....	87
Motivation Questionnaire (English version).....	87
APPENDIX C.....	90
Socio-Economic Questionnaire (Spanish version)	90
APPENDIX D.....	92
Socio-Economic Questionnaire (English version).....	92
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	94

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: <i>Distribution of participants per school in each district</i>	39
Table 2: <i>Mean scores of motivation variables (N=39)</i>	47
Table 3: <i>Mean scores of socio-economic variables</i>	49
Table 4: <i>Summary of significant correlations for motivational components</i>	55
Table 5: <i>Summary of regression coefficients for the four models with and without the outlier ...</i>	56
Table 6: <i>Summary of significant correlations with motivational sub-components</i>	59

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: <i>Distribution of mean scores in the three motivational components</i>	48
Figure 2: <i>Distribution of Economic and Cultural Capital</i>	50
Figure 3: <i>Distribution of Mother's Past/Present Occupation</i>	51
Figure 4: <i>Distribution of Father's Past/Present Occupation</i>	52
Figure 5: <i>Frequency of Internet Use</i>	54
Figure 6: <i>Distribution of responses to the statement 'Studying English is important for me because then I will be able to earn more money when I work' by economic capital</i>	68

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the principals, English teachers, children and parents of the participating public schools in Buenos Aires who contributed to my fieldwork one way or another. Special thanks to Beatriz Seveso, the Coordinator of *Escuelas de Modalidad Plurilingüe* at the Buenos Aires Bureau of Education, for her insights and interest in my project. I will always be in great debt to all those who either at home in Argentina or here in Pittsburgh gave me invaluable support and strength during the research and writing stages - and especially to Dr. Robert DeKeyser for putting up with a stubborn Argentinean. Finally, the fieldwork for this thesis was made possible by a Graduate Student Field Research Grant awarded to the author by the Center for Latin American Studies, UCIS, University of Pittsburgh.

“This world is the site of an ongoing struggle to tell the truth of this world”
Pierre Bourdieu¹

1. INTRODUCTION

That the degree of success in acquiring a second or foreign language (L2) is to a large extent determined by learners’ individual differences such as aptitude and motivation remains an established fact in applied linguistic research (e.g. Baker 2001, Gardner 2001, Gass & Selinker 2001). Though undeniably psychological phenomena, these differences cannot be explained on purely mental grounds. As remarked by McGroarty,

“until linguists develop better means of describing the interrelationships between the individual and group psychosocial, cognitive and linguistic aspects of language acquisition and teaching and the opportunities and constraints of the social contexts surrounding language acquisition and development, they cannot hope to address the most intellectually challenging and practically significant aspects of language learning and teaching” (1998: 592).

Language acquisition thus being so much an internal process as it is a socially and culturally embedded activity, the study of individual differences can only benefit from locating itself at the intersection of mental and contextual variables affecting human behavior (McGroarty 2001). L2 motivation research has long acknowledged the interplay of these two sources of variability. General motivational paradigms in psychology like expectancy-value and goal theories have provided substantial groundwork (Dörnyei 1999). Nevertheless, some of the most influential constructs and studies in L2 motivation have sprung from social psychology, which actually includes external factors in the analysis of intrapersonal processes (Dörnyei 2001a).

A case in point is Gardner’s (e.g. 1985, 2000, 2001, 2002) Integrative Motivation framework, which has been widely used to examine L2 motivation particularly in bilingual or second language (SL) settings. By adding attitudes towards various interpersonal/intergroup dimensions

¹ From Wacquant (1989).

of ethnolinguistic experience, this model effectively weaves the social and the psychological into a more inclusive motivational construct. However, a recent study conducted in Hungary (Dörnyei & Clément 2001, Dörnyei & Csizér 2002, and Csizér & Dörnyei 2005) has revealed a major shortcoming of *integrativeness*, the fundamental link between attitudes and motivation in Gardner's framework. While its predictive value was confirmed, integrativeness was found to be short of explanatory power in foreign language (FL) contexts. Customary interpretations of the term entail the existence of an identifiable native community of speakers in the learner's environment with which s/he would identify and interact in some way. Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) and Csizér & Dörnyei (2005) rightly argue that these conditions do not typically obtain in FL learning, and even less so in the case of English as a global lingua franca. The authors then propose a reformulation of integrativeness based on the hypothesis that learners are motivated to learn a language to enact "possible selves". In other words, language is used to construct an image or identity congruent with some socio-culturally sanctioned traits.

My thesis is born out of a need to delve deeper into the nature of these representations of the self in order to explore their possible roots. I believe that, while thought-provoking, the hypothesis sketched by Z. Dörnyei and K. Csizér only scratches the surface of integrative tendencies in FL settings. It generates questions such as what determines the positive or negative quality of these traits in the learner's mind, what instigates "the desire to reduce the perceived discrepancies between the learner's actual and possible self" (2005: 29), and how these discrepancies come about. Given the current emphasis on expanding the traditional social scope of motivational models to encompass macro-social variables (e.g. Clément & Gardner 2001, Dörnyei 2001b, Gardner 2002, McGroarty 1998, 2001, Spolsky 2000), socio-economic background constitutes one potentially fruitful avenue of investigation. Surprisingly, despite the overwhelming evidence

that social stratification affects multiple aspects of behavior (Grusky 1994), there seems to be no systematic empirical work showing how socio-economic status may impinge upon language motivation.

With the aim of exploring the socio-economic dimensions of L2 motivation, a survey was conducted among a cohort of 39 fourth graders (9-10 year-olds) taking EFL intensive classes at six public *Escuelas Plurilingües* (Plurilingual Schools) in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina. This inquiry was led by the hypothesis that, in a highly stratified society like the Argentinean one, the acquisition and use of EFL is perceived as a socially prestigious practice which symbolizes membership in higher status groups. L2 motivational patterns can then be affected by the learners' drive to identify with those practices on the basis of their knowledge of what they mean and represent. Following Bourdieu's (1985, 1986, 1989) status-based approach to social stratification, the individuals' internalized knowledge and perception modes (i.e. 'habitus') of status differences is shaped by their socialization in given socio-economic positions in the social space. The socio-economic background of young EFL learners thus result from their family's accumulated volumes of economic, cultural and social capital.

Therefore, my main research questions were as follows: Does the family's possession of a larger amount of any given type of capital lead to more generally motivated EFL students? If so, which type of capital, i.e. economic, cultural or social, has a stronger impact on motivation to learn? If motivation is understood as affected by a complex of attitudes and orientations towards EFL, are there any significant correlational patterns between the types of capital and the individual components of the motivational model?

By adapting Gardner's (1985) *Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB)* and designing an *ad hoc* questionnaire based on Bourdieu's tripartite conceptualization of capital, I collected data on

the motivation and socio-economic backgrounds of EFL learners. Though not conclusive or generalizable due to the reduced pool of respondents and the novel testing conditions and instruments, the major findings here give some evidence in support for a predictive role of economic capital and parental occupation on motivation. In my study, more economically disadvantaged EFL learners showed more positive attitudes towards the benefits of learning English to attain present and future goals, and they were more generally motivated to learn the language as well. Interpretations of these results in light of Bourdieu's 'habitus' as well as the potential effects of parental expectations and performance anxiety are discussed.

This thesis is organized as follows. I start by providing a background on the study of motivation in general and of language motivation in particular. This leads into a description of Integrative Motivation within Gardner's Socio-Educational Model of L2 acquisition, which sets the stage for presenting the puzzle of integrativeness in FL contexts as emerging from Z. Dörnyei and K. Csizér's research in Hungary. After fleshing out my arguments for the need of exploring the effects of socio-economic background on EFL motivation, I go on to map Bourdieu's approach to social stratification in the field of sociology and explain its relevance for understanding EFL motivation. Section III describes the methodology implemented in my study and the results obtained from statistical analyses. In the last section, I discuss my findings and how they might contribute to reformulate integrativeness in FL settings. In the course of my analysis, I suggest prospective lines of further investigation.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. What is Motivation?

When asked about the factors which influence individual levels of success in any activity – such as language learning –, most people would certainly mention motivation among them. Motivation is indeed very often invoked as a lay term to describe our attitude towards the most mundane activities in our lives. It ultimately refers to questions about the mechanics of human behavior: its inception, focus and maintenance. Let us tap our intuitions for a moment then. We can safely say, I believe, that most of us would see a ‘motivated’ person as one driven by a ‘motive’ or ‘reason’ to perform a given task with interest, dedication and perseverance. However rudimentary this definition may sound, it captures some dimensions of how motivation experts have characterized the phenomenon.

Motivation has been studied in different fields from varied perspectives and for philosophical as well as practical reasons. Not surprisingly, the interest in defining its nature can be traced as far back as the philosophers of ancient Greece. And since after all, the ultimate enigma to unveil is the causes of human behavior, it was within psychology that motivation studies found fertile land to flourish. According to Reeve (2005), the early history of the field was successively dominated by three major theoretical approaches to motivated behavior: Cartesian ‘will’, Darwinian ‘instinct’, and Freudian ‘drive’. With the advent of the cognitive revolution and a growing concern for socially-contextualized issues, these attempts at all-encompassing explanations gave way to atomistic theorizing. A myriad of ‘reduced’ frameworks thus bloomed in the 1960s-1970s as a reaction to questions about specific aspects of motivated behavior.

Most of the research in this field continued within psychology – where grand theories had reigned before. Yet, rather than trying to adopt a holistic approach, psychologists started to concentrate on certain motivational factors in more clearly defined domains of human activity (Reeve 2005). The motivated individual became a cognitively active human being affected by internal as well as external processes. A concomitant result of this shift was the spread of motivation as a focus of enquiry to related sub-disciplines such as educational and social psychology.

Back to our initial question, then, how is motivation currently construed? Several terms (such as the ones appearing in the first paragraph) are to be repeatedly spotted in different formulations of the concept: motives, goals, effort, persistence. Beyond that, motivation remains, using Dörnyei's words, "one of the most elusive concepts in the whole domain of the social sciences" (2001a: 2). This can be explained by the fact that motivation and its manifestations are located at the intersection of the psychological, the physiological and the social realms of human action. The intricacies of each realm obviously combine and overlap to make each act a complex bundle of relationships.

Researchers seem to agree on some general criteria. Dörnyei (2000b) indeed suggests that common ground among motivational theories is limited to three key issues: choice, persistence and effort. Take, for instance, the assumption that motivated behavior is influenced by intra- as well as extra-individual factors (e.g. Dörnyei 2001a, Järvelä 2001, Pintrich & Schunk 2002, Reeve 2005). Ferguson follows this distinction by defining motivation as "internal energizing states [which lead] to the instigation, persistence, energy, and direction of behavior, [where] direction is provided by environmental cues and by the individual's goals" (2001: 980). He

further distinguishes between motivational disposition and arousal: whereas the former seems to be a personality trait, the latter is a process triggered by actual contextual circumstances.

Conversely, for Reeve (2005), the internal dimension of motivation is not constituted by states but by processes called ‘motives’, namely needs, cognitions and emotions. Not only do these arouse motivation, but they also direct and sustain action; they can change over time or even overlap. Internal motives additionally interact with environmental conditions which can shape and/or set off motivated action. The external dimension then consists in ‘incentives/deterrents’ arising from the individual’s context. What is understood by context varies with the activity in question. But, in general terms, it amounts to a micro-macro continuum which ranges from the immediate setting to broader social categories.

Hence, although there is consensus on the existence of the internal and external sources of motivation, conceptualizations differ somewhat as shown above. Whereas some may see motivation as “a more or less stable, inborn, or acquired personality characteristic”, others conceive of it as “a psychological process in which personality traits interact with characteristics of the environment as perceived by the individual” (Lens 1996: 445).² Additionally, controversy has evolved around other empirical and theoretical issues. The main empirical preoccupation has been how to establish the existence and level of motivation, i.e. whether to hinge on observation of verbal (interviews and questionnaires)/nonverbal behavior, or physiological reactions. An observed behavior cannot be directly equated with intra-individual states or processes (Beck 2000, Ferguson 2001).³ So, it has been argued that departures from neutral stances (or “affective zero”) may be taken as evidence of ‘desire/aversion’ from which motivation can then be inferred.

² Lens (1996) calls them “content” vs. “process” theories.

³ As Ferguson illustrates, “people can eat when feeling unloved, and individuals may refrain from eating when motivated to seek social approval, obtain a job, or participate in a political hunger strike” (2001: 981).

In the theoretical domain, the demise of comprehensive paradigms has left the field in a seeming mayhem of disconnected atomistic views. Reductionist models indeed focus on very well defined dimensions of motivation to the exclusion of others. Importantly, this allows for the enhancement of conceptualizations and predictions within a given model. However, since attempts to incorporate these “mini-theories” into more comprehensive frameworks are few and far between, diverse research strands develop separately and rarely interact or converge. A case in point is Gardner’s Integrative Motive for the study of language learning motivation developed within the social psychological tradition which was mostly applied independently for 20 years until recent proposals for its inclusion in broader models such WTC (in MacIntyre *et al.* 1998) and Self-Determination Theory (in Noels 2001).

Another currently debated theme in motivational studies is the integration of individualistic and contextual – or even societal – approaches to motivation. Psychologists today recognize the need to anchor human motivation to the social and cultural environment (Dörnyei 2001a, Reeve 2005). As a result, they focus on individual behavior set in different areas of activity (e.g. school or work) and in different interaction networks (e.g. the family or the peers). In educational psychology, this tendency has been gaining force since the 1990s, once cognitive scientists recognized the importance of looking at motivational and emotional differences among learners. Socially and culturally grounded approaches to learning motivation have sought to bring together “the notions of self and context” in a way that acknowledges the non-static nature of motivation and the effect of environmental factors on cognition (Järvelä 2001).

Despite important advances in this direction, the investigation of contextualized motivation to learn still constitutes a “challenge” (Dörnyei 2001a, Järvelä 2001). The next two sections explore an almost untrodden avenue of research within this new perspective: the macro-contextualization

of motivation to learn languages. To this end, I begin by briefly describing the evolution of language learning motivation as a field to concentrate on its dominant theoretical paradigm, Gardner's Socio-Educational Model. After establishing the value of this approach for the analysis of socially contextualized motivation, I point to its main unresolved puzzle: the interpretation of integrativeness in FL learning contexts. To address this, I examine the relationship between external societal factors and L2 motivation. Here I demonstrate the need for social theory in social psychology if we intend to better explain integrativeness.

2.2. Language Learning Motivation

Even though, throughout its history, motivation to learn a second/foreign language (L2) has been very much influenced by work in educational psychology and psychology proper, the field developed somewhat independently of major trends in these disciplines – at least in its beginnings. In fact, it was not until articles like Crookes & Schmidt (1991) that applied linguists looked at educational and psychological frameworks more seriously and systematically. This so-called 'educational shift' was advocated as a means to focus on the learner and his/her immediate learning context since it was believed that L2 motivation should aim to address the more specific concerns of teachers in the classroom (Dörnyei 2003b). The downside of this almost exclusive concern with pedagogical environments has been a disregard for more contextually inclusive views of language learning which have just now begun to re-emerge.

Generally speaking, two main reasons may have contributed to the 'independent' route taken by L2 motivation. On the one hand, L2 motivational scholars established early on that learning a language bore distinctive characteristics which set it apart from general learning situations.

Dörnyei explains that “the mastery of a L2 is not merely an educational issue, comparable to that of the mastery of other subject matters, but it is also a deeply social event that requires the incorporation of a wide range of elements of the L2 culture” (2001a: 46). Language can be taught at school. But, on top of being a complex symbolic system for interpersonal communication, it crucially constitutes a marker of identity. The acquisition of a L2 thus necessarily implies more than building knowledge on a subject matter, so motivation cannot be considered solely on educational grounds (Dörnyei 1994a, 2001a, Gardner 1985, 2002).

On the other hand, largely due to this dual social and psychological nature of language, the study of L2 motivation fell almost exclusively under the purview of social psychology. In the Preface to the *Handbook of Social Psychology* (2003), Delamater defines social psychology as inherently interdisciplinary since it sits at the confluence of individual and social processes.⁴ That motivation to learn a language fits in the overall program of the field is apparent. The ‘sociological’ allows to zoom out of the psychological individual, and situate him/her in a broad social landscape where s/he interacts with other individuals and groups of individuals. Meanwhile, the ‘psychological’ would provide the tools for following the meanderings of the mind to glimpse at the so-called affective side (i.e. attitudes and perceptions) of that social interaction.

Not surprisingly, the marriage between social psychology and L2 motivation stemmed from academic interest in a bilingual/bicultural society like Canada, where language learning is a key social event. Although some literature on bilingualism had been flirting with social psychological themes, it was not until Wallace Lambert and Robert Gardner’s approach to

⁴ “Psychologists often emphasize processes that occur inside the individual, including perception, cognition, motivation, and emotion, and the antecedents and consequences of these processes. (...) Sociologists have traditionally been more concerned with social collectivities (...). *Social Psychology* is the study of the interface between these two sets of phenomena, the nature and causes of human social behavior. Both intra-individual and the social context influence and are influenced by individual behavior.” (p. xi)

language learning in Canada in the 1950s that L2 motivation became inextricably tied to that field (Dörnyei 2000, Gardner 2000, 2001, 2002). They placed motivation on the map of SLA by positing it as a strong predictor of L2 achievement – after language aptitude (Gass & Selinker 2001) –, thus being the first to establish a link between attitudes and motivation.⁵

Gardner has pursued this line of research since then, and delved more deeply into the nature of this new-found source of individual variation. Not only did his work greatly contribute to the establishment of L2 motivation as a field of study, but it also laid theoretical and methodological foundations for more than 20 years of scholarly efforts. Gardner's classic book, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation* (1985), fleshed out his Socio-Educational Model for language acquisition – including the novel concept of integrativeness –, and provided researchers with a reliable measurement instrument, namely the *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB)*.

Despite the diversification of empirical and theoretical pursuits in the field, the explanatory power of the original model – and its additions from other theories (see, for example, the expanded model in Tremblay & Gardner 1995, and in Dörnyei 2001a) – is still recognized and used to understand especially the motivational implications arising from learners' attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers (Dörnyei 1994a, 2003b). Proof of this is the overriding presence of Gardner's 'Integrative Motivation' in the literature. Data collected from diverse contexts and through diverse research designs consistently point to a salient 'integrative' component in learners' attitudes towards learning the language.⁶ In the theoretical realm, the widely accepted

⁵ “[T]he most important milestone in the history of L2 motivation research has been Gardner and Lambert's discovery that success in L2 learning is a function of the learner's attitudes towards the linguistic-cultural community of the target language (...), one which rightfully influenced the motivation research of the next decades” (Dörnyei 1994b: 519).

⁶ Recent examples include Dörnyei & Clément 2001 and Dörnyei & Csizér 2002 for foreign language learning, and Gardner *et al.* 2004 for second language learning.

relevance of the construct is reflected by its inclusion within attempts at more comprehensive models of acquisition and use of L2s such as the Self-Determination (Noels 2001) and Willingness To Communicate models (MacIntyre *et al.* 1998).

Compelling evidence for the worthiness of the model has also come from Masgoret & Gardner (2003), a large-scale meta-analytical study on research within the Gardnerian paradigm. It involved carrying out correlations over 75 sets of survey data obtained with the same or comparable tools (i.e. the *AMTB* and slight variations) and under the same conceptual frame (i.e. the Socio-Educational Model). Although measures of achievement varied, because of the great amount of data and the strict criteria of selection, the results are quite indisputable. In essence, the authors found strong support for the predicted relationships between attitudes, motivation and achievement.

Having asserted its current scholarly appeal and major contributions, let us now go on to examine Gardner's proposal more in detail to understand the rationale behind its components and their interrelationships.

2.2.1. The Socio-Educational Model: Integrative Motivation

Unlike cognitive and situated approaches, Gardner's conceptualization of L2 motivation – and, ultimately, acquisition – brings together a triadic relationship between affect, the individual, and the social context. The basic major tenet underlying the Gardnerian proposal is then that

“language is a defining behavioral feature of a cultural group, and thus acquiring the language involves taking on patterns of behavior of that group. As a consequence, an individual's attitudes toward that group and toward other cultural groups in general will influence his or her motivation to learn the language, and thus the degree of proficiency attained” (Gardner 2002: 160).

So, individuals are not just cognitive beings in a social vacuum or constrained to classroom contexts. They interact with members of their own and other groups; they make and act upon

judgments deriving from those interactions; they experience languages as a socio-cultural event in an infinite number of contexts. All these factors have a bearing on individual dispositions to learn a language, which means that the degree of motivation will be affected by the learner's 'situation' in the social world.

As pointed out before, the most influential innovation of this model has been the claim that attitudes can shape learners' behavior in the acquisition process. Some have mistakenly construed this as a presupposition that attitudes can *determine* L2 attainment.⁷ However, though unquestionably central to Gardner's conception of L2 motivation, affect does not *directly* predict or influence linguistic attainment (Gardner 2000, 2001, Masgoret & Gardner 2003). Rather, affective components are either mediated by or subsumed within motivation proper, which has been defined as a complex of "effort, desire and positive affect [towards learning the L2]" (Gardner 2001: 6). Attitudes are necessary but insufficient indirect conditions for linguistic attainment. Only when paired up with motivation proper do attitudinal tendencies relate to the levels of student engagement in language learning, and to attainment.

Attitudes constitute a pervasive theme in the social psychological literature as they are used to see how individuals relate to their social environment. According to Beck, "an attitude is a positive or negative affective response directed toward a specific person, object, situation" (2000: 358).⁸ Simply put, we want what we like and avoid what we dislike. Individuals respond to these stimuli with feelings which range from more intense and reactive ("emotion") to less intense and more diffused ("mood") ones (Kelly 2004). And the nature of these experiences also shapes the belief system from which we approach interactions and activities. In looking at how

⁷ In fact, this issue was discussed in Crookes & Schmidt (1991) and in the 1994 MLJ debate (e.g. Dörnyei 1994a/b, Gardner & Tremblay 1994a/b, Oxford 1994).

⁸ Some later elaborations of the concept added cognition ("ideas and perceptions about the attitude object") and conation ("action") to the definition, but affect remains the most important component (Beck 2000).

affect influences judgments of outgroups, for example, Wilder & Simon (2004) highlight the effect of different affective states on attention and cognitive processing.

Translated into Gardner's framework, positive affect towards a L2 and its community of speakers is supposed to boost motivation levels to learn the language by promoting feelings of integration with that group. This means that learners who have constructed a positive image of outgroup members are predicted to be more receptive of (or even drawn to identify with) the outgroup's culture and values, thus evidencing greater willingness to adopt the outgroup's language. This so-called 'Integrative Motivation' encompasses not only affect, but also goals and motivation proper (Gardner 2001).

In its earlier versions, the Socio-Educational Model (Gardner 1985, Gardner & MacIntyre 1993) basically conceived of language acquisition as a recursive process comprising of at least four causally related dimensions of analysis: the social, the individual, the learning context, and the outcomes. It proposed that the 'Cultural beliefs' associated with L2 learning in a given community would ultimately yield linguistic and non-linguistic results. The inclusion of 'Non-linguistic outcomes' allows for a dynamic interpretation of the acquisition process by which affective results reinforce (positively or negatively) learner's individual differences in subsequent stages of learning.⁹ Four mediating composite variables, 'Intelligence', 'Language aptitude', 'Motivation' and 'Situational anxiety', were hypothesized as sources of individual differences with direct impact on achievement. Even though Gardner explicitly recognized the possible role of other factors "such as attitudes and personality", their effect was argued to be channeled through the four clusters above (Gardner 1985: 147). Additionally, the model included

⁹ "[B]ut it should be noted that [these outcomes] themselves are influenced by prior cognitive (intelligence and language aptitude) and affective (motivation and situational anxiety) characteristics." (Gardner 1985: 149)

a distinction in terms of language learning contexts, where ‘Informal language experience’ refers to naturalistic learning and ‘Formal language training’ to instructional settings.

The goal of the model was to provide a more or less comprehensive – though not exhaustive – view of language acquisition. Research applying the Gardnerian approach then followed two paths. Some studies were intended to enhance the model as a whole (together with strengthening the *AMTB*) by looking at variables which reflected other theoretical approaches. An example of this is Tremblay & Gardner (1995) which incorporated measures based on attributional, goal-setting and expectancy theories as possible mediators (“motivational antecedents”) of achievement.¹⁰ Yet, the bulk of scholarly work showed a tendency to isolate the “Integrative Motive” for its independent application as a motivational framework. The debates and findings emerging from these studies have led to modifications which rendered the current formulations of “Integrative Motivation” as found in Gardner (2000, 2001), or Masgoret & Gardner (2003).

Concretely, Integrative Motivation can be seen as postulating a two-level conceptualization. At the ‘lower’ or psychological level, L2 motivation is defined as effort (i.e. continuous energy devoted to learning the L2 showing persistence), desire (i.e. an aspiration to attain a given objective), and affect (i.e. enjoyment of the activity).¹¹ In the *AMTB*, these aspects correspond to three clusters of variables: Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn the Target Language, and Attitudes toward Learning the Target Language. They, in turn, are regarded as subcomponents of Motivation, the principal source of individual differences related to achievement.

At the ‘higher’ or social level, motivation acknowledges the weight of external factors or, in other words, the intergroup-interpersonal context. So, although psychological factors play a

¹⁰ Although the holistic results of the model were reinforced by these additions, the core of “Integrative Motivation” was confirmed as a powerful predictor (Gardner 2001).

¹¹ These three components represent behavioral, cognitive and affective qualities respectively (Gardner & Tremblay 1994a, Dörnyei 2000a).

salient role directly connected to achievement, motivation is additionally conceived of as a socially-fueled phenomenon. This social level can be further characterized on the basis of a micro-macro distinction. The micro-social dimension would focus on the *contextually* situated individual, i.e. on the more immediate factors of the learning situation such as the teacher and the class. This is captured in Gardner's framework by Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, a component whose variables measure two attitudinal subcomponents: Evaluation of the Teacher and Evaluation of the Course.

The macro-social dimension, on the other hand, would refer to the *socially* situated individual, i.e. to broader social influences such as language status or contact with L1 speakers. In the *AMTB*, this dimension is covered by including Integrativeness, the component that sets Gardner's approach apart from other more educationally or psychologically geared constructs. The variables proposed to measure this "openness to identify, at least in part, with another language community" bundle together in three subcomponents called Attitudes toward the Target Language Group, Integrative Orientation and Interest in Foreign Languages (Masgoret & Gardner 2003: 127).

As mentioned before, these two social dimensions of motivation recognize the existence of factors outside of the learner's mind which affect his/her disposition for the task of learning a language. Micro and macro contexts are necessarily interconnected since, for instance, attitudes toward the teacher as a representative speaker of the target language in the classroom will influence judgments about the target language community as well. So, in the framework, Integrativeness and Attitude toward the Learning Situation are predicted to correlate with each other. At the same time, it is intuitively appealing to posit that the community and the classroom depict different social worlds to a certain extent. Some patterns of interaction typical of one

context will be reproduced in the other while some other patterns might be contested or counteracted. The framework attempts to capture these differences by keeping the micro and macro contexts separate into two components.

Besides these two social levels, other factors external to Integrative Motivation are also expected to support Motivation. Instrumental Orientations fall in this category. Since Gardnerian motivation is instigated by goals, both Integrative and Instrumental Orientations occupy an important place in his framework. Language can obviously be learned for reasons other than cultural proximity. So, some learners might be more pragmatically driven in the sense that L2 skills are translated into practical benefits related to better employment and business opportunities, access to higher education, and the like. Though seemingly uncontroversial, Instrumental Orientations have been at the center of a long-standing – and, at times, heated – debate among motivation scholars.¹² Gardner has repeatedly emphasized that instrumental orientations were never meant to be regarded as a type of motivation comparable to Integrative Motivation. The instrumental-integrative dichotomy refers to “practical” or “interpersonal” goals whose “function is *merely* to arouse motivation and direct it” (Dörnyei 2000a: 426, emphasis mine).

Summing up, the methodological and conceptual scaffolding of Gardner’s Integrative Motivation presents a closely-knit host of factors which predicts differences in the levels of proficiency attained by language learners. Crucially, motivated behavior is endowed with both social and psychological foundations, which provides for a more integral view of the learner and a bridge from one level to the other. Of course, this framework is not devoid of lacunae. The object of the

¹² See, in particular, the objections raised in Crookes & Schmidt (1991) and Dörnyei (1994a), and the rebuttal in Gardner & Tremblay (1994a).

next section is to address some fuzzy areas which have more recently drawn scholarly attention in light of new empirical evidence.

2.2.2. The Puzzle: Integrativeness in EFL Learning

The initial preoccupation with explaining motivation in the Canadian bilingual context certainly helped to foster work on Integrative Motivation, but also brought about an undesired side-effect. The ‘Canadian theme’ became so paradigmatic in Gardnerian research that little attention was paid to other contexts and their own peculiarities. More concretely, given the keen interest in this bilingual community, most L2 motivational researchers became primarily concerned with SL rather than FL learning – and, in particular, with the acquisition of French by English speakers.

The FL-SL distinction, by the way, is not new to applied linguists, so we need not go too far in search for definitions. It roughly hinges on the combination of three dimensions: the context of learning (mostly formal in FL, and mostly informal or naturalistic in SL), the presence of native (SL) vs. non-native (FL) target language speakers, and use (SL) vs. non-use (FL) of the language for public communication (Crystal 1997, Long 1996).

So far, however, the classification of FL-SL contexts in motivational studies has been primarily based on arguments as vague as availability of the language in the learners’ environments or its (non)official status (cf. Gardner 2001, 2002, Masgoret & Gardner 2003). On these grounds, some scholars have stressed the incongruence of translating findings from bilingual to monolingual settings (e.g. Dörnyei & Csizér 2002, Dörnyei 2003b) whereas others have responded by raising objections as to the truly bilingual character of some Canadian locations (e.g. Clément & Gardner 2001, Gardner 2001, 2002). These opposing views certainly evince a lack of unified and rigorous criteria.

Empirically, some interesting work has been carried out in monolingual and bilingual communities taking ‘language availability’ as a measure of the FL-SL distinction. The basic hypothesis is that, if there is a distinction between SL and FL contexts, more (SL indicator) or less (FL indicator) contact with the L2 and its native language speakers will be reflected in measures of Integrative Motivation – and ultimately achievement. Masgoret & Gardner’s (2003) comprehensive meta-analysis, on the one hand, found little support for differential motivational outcomes due to a moderating effect of ‘availability’. Since all the studies analyzed were carried out in Canada, the presence of the L2 in each area was determined by census data.

In contrast, some different patterns emerged in Dörnyei & Csizér (2002), a nationwide “repeated cross-sectional” study conducted in Hungary in 1993 and 1999. Here, ‘availability’ was operationalized as ‘direct contact with the L2’ (both in quality and quantity) and ‘indirect contact with the L2’ (or interest in the foreign culture). Looking at the data presented by the authors, one notes that direct and indirect contact decreased (except indirect contact with Russian) at the same time that measures of integrativeness went down (except for English). Unfortunately, the authors do not correlate these variables in their study, so this is merely derived from a reading of their tables. Their actual correlations in fact indicate that direct contact is more strongly related to motivation and attitudes than indirect contact, which points to a difference between SL and FL contexts.

Assuming that ‘availability’ makes a difference for motivation as found by Dörnyei & Csizér (2002), Gardner’s Integrative Motivation has to face two important puzzles which I would like to take up here. One is how to interpret the notion of integrativeness in the absence of a community of native target language speakers, namely, in FL contexts. If learners’ motivation involves attitudes towards the language and its speakers, these attitudes must evidently be constructed

upon some contact between learners and the L2. Issues such as whether the L2 is more or less present in daily life, or who its native speakers are and how they are perceived should then entail a crucial difference in affective responses.

A second – though related – issue is the status of the language to be learned. Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) show that learners' attitudes toward Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs) – or lingua francas – differ from those toward other languages. Among Hungarian students, the scores of 'instrumentality' for English and German (both considered lingua francas in Hungary) are markedly higher in comparison to non-LWCs. This seems quite intuitive as the chief motive for a LWC to develop and be learned is argued to be undeniably pragmatic.

A LWC can be defined as a language used for purposes of communication across linguistic borders among peoples from different speech communities (Wright 2004). In most cases, LWCs spread regionally due to contact between contiguous geographical areas (e.g. Russian or German in Eastern Europe). But conquest, trade and access to ideas have widened the territorial basis of LWCs by transplanting them far from their original native sites (e.g. Spanish in Latin America). In more recent times, especially due to technological and communication advances, the world has been transformed into a global village, which concomitantly gave rise to a new kind of LWC sometimes called 'world English'.¹³ The process of English spread as a lingua franca can be traced back to the British Empire (Wright 2004). Since the beginning of the 20th century, the United States' preeminence as a worldwide political, economic, cultural and technological power has reaffirmed the status of English as a lingua franca, and also strengthened its position by expanding its scope of influence.

¹³ A detailed analysis on the rise and spread of English as a world LWC is logically outside the scope of this paper. However, numerous publications have addressed this trend. One of the best sources for updated information is the *World Englishes* journal. Wright (2004) also includes a chapter with a thorough account of the phenomenon.

This scenario surely turns the notion of integrativeness even more elusive. First, can we legitimately speak of ‘integration’ at all? If, even in the case of non-global lingua francas, it is argued that they are “bound with utility and not with identity” (Wright 2004: 117), the answer should be ‘no’. Since identification lies at the heart of integrativeness and the purpose of learning a lingua franca appears to be communication rather than identity, then students’ motivation should be mostly driven by instrumental reasons. Indeed, as mentioned above, Instrumentality does emerge as a powerful predictor of learning an LWC in the Hungarian case.

Paradoxically, though, the most significant finding in Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) runs counter to this observation. In their investigation, Integrativeness overrides the predictive value of other factors (including Instrumentality) in all five languages, thus establishing itself as the best predictor of both language choice and intended effort. Moreover, for English in particular, the mean scores for Integrativeness are considerably higher than those for the other languages – even than those for German, the regional lingua franca.

The second question is then who learners can be said to be ‘integrating with’. To Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) – and again in Dörnyei (2003b) and Csizér & Dörnyei (2005) –, the source of integrativeness would lie mainly within the confines of the learner’s mind. They suggest that learners *identify* (rather than *integrate*) with “the cultural and intellectual values associated with the language” (2002: 453). This identification process, which builds upon the social psychological notions of “possible selves” (i.e. “ideal self” vs. “ought self”), would be found in the individual’s representations of (un)desired personal attributes.

Even if we embrace the idea of “possible selves”, we are left wondering about the origins of this social image. For a desire to acquire certain characteristics of the L2 to arise, learners should first have regular access to the L2 culture. Direct contact with native speakers of the L2 (either face-

to-face or through the media) cannot be assumed in FL contexts. Besides, in the case of a global LWC like English, the concept of native speech community seems to become even more diffused. Indirect contact (operationalized precisely as ‘cultural interest’ in this study), on the other hand, is not so strong a predictor of motivational outcomes. So, how does Integrativeness then become such a good measure of language motivation and attitudes? And why are students’ scores on Integrativeness higher for English?

It is surprising that, after recognizing the suitability of Gardner’s motivational model for investigating “broad societal macro-processes” (2002: 425), the authors do not return to this for a social interpretation of their results. McGroarty rightly points out that “self and social context are mutually influential; all selves are socially situated, including the selves of language learners” (2001: 74). Therefore, the surrounding social realm should provide learners with direct experiential material as the motivational antecedents of their cognitions and affect.¹⁴

My hypothesis then is that, if there is a group characteristically associated with the L2 in the learner’s closer social environment, his/her attitudes toward integration would be most likely related to this group – even though its members are not native speakers. In the case of English as a LWC, it is worth noting that L2 acquisition and use often grant “social prestige” (Nielsen 2003). That is, in a given society, some individuals have easy access to EFL learning – and most likely to native English speakers – because of their socio-economic position, which allows them to travel, to watch cable TV, to use Internet, to attend private schools, etc. Others, in contrast, are more or less deprived of that access. As English becomes associated with groups possessing more social, cultural or material resources, individuals are likely to treat such a practice as a symbol of status. In contrast to bilingual settings, groups in this scenario would be *socio-*

¹⁴ From a psychological point of view, Tremblay & Gardner define “motivational antecedents” as “factors that cannot be readily perceived by the external observer but still influence motivational behavior through their cognitive or affective influence” (1995: 507).

economically rather than *ethno-linguistically* defined.¹⁵ Yet, the dominant-subordinate relationship between them is still marked partly by their linguistic practices.

True, in more egalitarian societies, English has been losing its elitist qualities due to widespread access to EFL learning. The reason could be that education, as a means to obtain human capital which can lead to social mobility, is more evenly distributed among individuals. However, in many parts of the world, schooling has not reached the whole population yet. Or, even if it has, the state education system might not offer much in the form of EFL courses. This then opens a chasm between those social groups which can afford private education and those who cannot. As pointed out by Wright, “cultural globalization is, like any other forms of globalization, a phenomenon that splits the world into haves and have nots” (2004: 154). English is certainly the language of the new globalized community. But, to the “have nots”, it may still be as alien as globalization itself.

The social grounding of integrativeness that I propose here turns out to be in consonance with two observed trends in applied linguistics in general, and L2 motivation in particular. On the one hand, renewed emphasis has been put on the crucial role of socio-contextual – or ‘environmental’ (Gardner, 2002:168) – factors such as gender, socioeconomic status, cultural milieu or family characteristics, in learning a L2. After years of mostly concentrating on micro (pedagogical) aspects, researchers are starting to broaden the scope of investigations and make room for socio-structural aspects as well. Many reviews have clearly stated either the importance of and need for research in this direction (e.g. Clément & Gardner 2001, Dörnyei 2001b, 2003b, Gardner 2002, Spolsky 1999). As a result, some empirical work has begun. Gardner *et al.* (1999), for instance, investigated the impact of the socio-cultural milieu (including parental

¹⁵ In this respect, Bourdieu remarks that “in some social universes, the principles of division that, like volume and structure of capital, determine the structure of social space are reinforced by principles of division relatively independent of economic or cultural properties, such as ethnic or religious affiliation” (1986: 743, fn. 4).

encouragement) in later L2 learning experiences to find that contextual factors do seem to influence motivational outcomes and achievement.

On the other hand, this ‘social shift’ is accompanied by a return of comprehensive models. A case in point is Willingness To Communicate (WTC) (e.g. MacIntyre *et al.* 1998) which, in contrast with reductionist perspectives, offers a fairly encompassing view of L2 communication. The model includes all possible dimensions, be it social, linguistic or psychological, by means of constructs and variables which are the result of long-standing scholarly efforts in various areas of study (Dörnyei 2001a/b). Importantly enough, it maps out Gardner’s integrativeness with respect to other variables, among which we find socio-structural ones. It explicitly posits the prediction that socio-economic status acts upon individuals by affecting their motivation to learn the L2 (Dörnyei 2001b).

Although this linkage between status variables and integrativeness comes from the strand of social psychological literature which grapples with interethnic contact, the effects of socio-structural factors is not restricted to the interaction between different ethno-linguistic groups, as pointed out above. The placement of individuals in social groups (or classes) and the interaction of these groups among themselves in the broad social arena has been largely the focus of sociological endeavors. Sociologists have traditionally dealt with issues of class and social stratification in their search for explanations of social inequality. Indeed, as Grusky puts it, “one would be hard-pressed to identify any aspect of human experience that sociologists have not linked to class-based variables in some way” (1994: 19).

Given the interrelationship between social and linguistic phenomena, issues such as social class and status have garnered attention from linguists, too. The field of sociolinguistics has indeed been born out of these concerns. However, the sociolinguistic study of this interrelationship has

not been short of criticism on the basis of the often uncritical, superficial or even poorly theorized application of sociological constructs within the so-called ‘variationist’ or ‘quantitative’ paradigm dominant in the field (Ash 2002, Cameron 1990).

In the field of education, both social stratification and motivation have had a long history as independent avenues of research – which have even crossed at times. Although applying other frameworks and assessing general (not language) motivation, a few studies have been carried out using socioeconomic variables. Results seem far from conclusive. Pintrich & Schunk, in their comprehensive volume on motivation, state that “children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds *typically* display lower academic motivation (...)” (2002: 389, emphasis mine). However, the same authors cite a study conducted by Stipek and Ryan (1997) which reported similar motivational levels for all children. Among an ethnically diverse sample of preschoolers from different socioeconomic backgrounds in the United States,

“(...) the results revealed almost no motivation deficits for the economically disadvantaged children. Indeed, motivation assessments revealed a favorable picture for most children. (...) [M]ost children, whatever their family economic situation, enter school with considerable enthusiasm, self-confidence, and willingness to take on learning challenges.” (1997: 721)

In contrast, Meece (2002) enumerates several factors – namely, lack of resources, different socialization patterns, lack of incentives, poorer school infrastructure and lack of role models – which would support the hypothesis that motivation to learn is at least different in students from low socioeconomic backgrounds when compared to middle-class children.

As per the study of how social stratification affects education (and vice versa), an extensive body of research attests to the centrality of this question. According to Buchmann & Hannum’s (2001), the impact of family background or school-related factors on educational achievement, or the opportunities for social mobility resulting from formal schooling have been some key areas of inquiry encompassing industrialized as well as less-industrialized or developing settings.

Relevant to my purpose in this paper are investigations focusing on family background (e.g. socioeconomic status). In this respect, following the same authors, initial results obtained in the 1960s and 1970s painted a different picture for developed versus developing societies. In short, family background turned out to be a better predictor of educational achievement than school factors in developed societies while the opposite was found true for developing countries. This was debunked by later studies which documented similar patterns for both contexts by considering, for instance, culture-specific measures of socioeconomic status or the effects of variance in family background.

This brief review of findings in education together with “the simple empirical observation that class background affects a wide range of individual outcomes (e.g. consumption practices, lifestyles, religious affiliation, voting behavior, mental health and deviance, fertility and mortality, *values and attitudes*)” (Grusky 1994: 19, emphasis mine) highlights the need to explore, as I attempt to do here, the possible effects of social stratification on motivation to learn EFL. The next section provides a theoretical background to frame my study within a current model of stratification research in sociology, and to subsequently inform the interpretation of results.

2.3. Understanding Social Stratification: The Contributions of Pierre Bourdieu

The most superficial look at modern societies would yield the observation that individuals are not only clustered in groups based on some criteria of differentiation, but also that some of these groups are ranked hierarchically. As Kerbo (1996) points out, differentiation does not imply hierarchical arrangement. It is when the criteria for differentiation are allocated a certain value (in terms of power or prestige, for instance) that a ranking or stratification of positions ensues as

a function of the possession or lack of a given asset.¹⁶ But, assets may not be available to everyone on an equal footing. Since “*all* known societies have been characterized by inequalities of some kind” (Grusky 1994: 3), we can conclude that social stratification is a pervasive phenomenon. It has prevailed as a foundational characteristic of human social organization throughout history, thus rendering equality as a relative term. Because of its deeply ingrained and normalized nature, stratification acts as a mental filter that permeates our experiences with the social world – including our innermost motivations.

Simply put, social stratification consists in the ‘institutionalization’ of inequalities.¹⁷ This means that the unequal distribution and access to assets does not occur randomly; it is governed by institutionalized procedures within a system which determines which assets are valued, the value of those assets, and the relation between positions and assets (Grusky 1994, Kerbo 1996). Each stratification system can differ to the extent that these three mechanisms function on the basis of distinct differentiation criteria and asset value assignment. Moreover, the distribution of assets can be realized via ascription (i.e. heritage) or achievement (i.e. merit) (Kerbo 1996). To illustrate, race or nobility titles (as long as they cannot be bought) can be considered ‘ascribed’ assets whereas a school degree and consumer goods are generally regarded as ‘achieved’.

The nature of the assets in question seems to be highly varied. As exemplified by Grusky (1994), scholars have argued that inequalities underlying stratification systems can arise from economic, political, cultural, social, honorific, civil and human assets. This multiplicity of sources would indicate that strata should not be treated as uniform groupings of individuals with the same kind or amount of valued assets occupying the same social positions. However, according to Grusky (1994), students of stratification have tended either to *reduce* these complex systems to one of

¹⁶ The term ‘assets’ is here synonymous with ‘resources’ or ‘goods’, as in Grusky (1994).

¹⁷ Some have proposed ‘structured inequality’ as a more illustrative term to refer to stratification because arguably it better underscores the basis and dynamics of the phenomenon (e.g. Heller in Kerbo 1996).

the sources listed above or to *synthesize* them under a single criterion (e.g. occupation) which would subsume several sources. The social space thus emerges as neatly made up of “mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories” of individuals called ‘classes’ (Grusky 1994: 17). These should be only thought of, in Bourdieu’s (1985) words, as “classes on paper” – rather than “actual” or “probable” classes –, i.e. a theoretical construct which facilitates the analysis of social groups. Inasmuch as members lack class identification and consciousness, and do not mobilize behind class-based interests, they do not belong to an “actual” class (Bourdieu 1985, Grusky 1994).

Operationalizing social class has special relevance for the study and interpretation of integrativeness in FL contexts relative to socio-economic backgrounds. Grusky (1994) presents a contrast between two main traditions in sociological research: those who conceive of classes as categorical boundaries in society, and those who argue for “gradational” groupings rooted in (mostly statistical) measures of status and prestige. Briefly, gradational approaches center round patterns of behavior (or practices) which signal that some individuals consistently share more or less prestigious lifestyles or habits. Given that, as stated above, EFL learning and use can be seen as a mark of privilege borne by those with higher status in society, gradational approaches would obviously provide a more suitable basis for studying linguistically-based differences.

Grusky (1994) argues that the three main avenues of theoretical development in gradational work can be basically distinguished by the degree of overlap between class and status. While, at one end, Weberian analyses inquire about the discrepancies between both notions (with class as the productive source, and status as the consumption side), Giddens’ structuration theory strikes some balance by seeing them as “related in historical and contingent ways” (1994: 20). At the other extreme, Bourdieu sees ‘class’ as so entrenched in individuals that it becomes inseparable

from their practices and lifestyles. *Status groups* resulting from the agglutinating effect of these practices are Bourdieu's *classes*. Classes underlie individual cognitive schemas in that they guide (or motivate) people's actions and interpretation of the social world by reflecting commonly shared dispositions rooted in group experience (Bourdieu 1985, 1989, Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, Grusky 1994). In short, socio-economic status and socio-cultural practices – among which language figures prominently – are not so neatly discernible.

The contributions from Bourdieu's reproduction theory are particularly fit to frame the language learner's attitudes and motivation in formal schooling within a status-based perspective. This theory stands out due to its concern with education and linguistic competence as salient institutionalized means of unequal distribution of power in the forms of knowledge and social networks (Swartz 1997, Wacquant 1989). Educational systems are not considered neutral vehicles of social advancement. They are instead instrumental to the crystallization of existing social structures of domination and subordination (Foster 1986). Because they are built upon – rather than counter to – and actively engage in recreating dominant values and beliefs, educational institutions crucially *reproduce* and *legitimize* traditional cultural norms and class differences (Swartz 1997). A product of education and linguistic socialization, linguistic competence is thus not equally attainable by all (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989). The L1 repertoires of linguistic tools vary upon the individual's socialization in a given social position, which means that language ability can be enabling for some while disabling for others. However, linguistic differentiation not only affects the L1; it can also extend to FLs, for example, when these are long absent from public education, and thus become a privileged asset.

A key notion in Bourdieu's perspective relating education and language to the formation of status groups is that of cultural capital. This type of capital is seen as a central resource in

obtaining and maintaining differential power and prestige in society (Bourdieu 1986, Smith 2001). Individuals compete for hierarchical positions not only by accumulating wealth (i.e. economic capital), but also by accumulating knowledge (i.e. cultural capital) and social connections (i.e. social capital) (Swartz 1997). That is, in opposition to purely economic views which consecrate monetary rewards as sole ‘profitable’ assets (given their conception of individuals as *interested* profit maximizers), Bourdieu brings attention to other non-material (or symbolic) rewards, namely cultural and social capital (1986, Brubaker 1985, Foster 1986). The immaterial, non-economic nature of these forms of capital does not prevent their monetary conversion under certain specific circumstances since, as Bourdieu puts it, “priceless things have their price” (1986: 242). Crucially, however, they are also *autonomous self-interested* means of acquiring privilege, and as such not “mere epiphenomena of economic interests” (Brubaker 1985: 751). What imbues cultural and social capital of symbolic power is precisely their veiled (unconscious) appearance as *disinterested* “handshakes or shrugs” (Bourdieu in Brubaker 1985: 755).

Capital, in its different forms and volume, then constitutes the substance on the basis of which “principles of differentiation or distribution” generate the structure of society at a given moment. Capital is equated with power because it ultimately grants individuals the monopoly over gate-keeping practices to preserve the dominant distributive status quo: “the kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are *powers* that define the chances of profit (...)” (Bourdieu 1985: 724, emphasis mine). Capital can additionally be considered symbolic insofar as acquiring it requires some cognitive dispositions to appreciate it and grasp its meaning, and accumulating it requires being able to sort the hurdles of implicit dominant structures. In sum, our social positions result from the complex interrelationship between ‘having’ and ‘knowing’.

Common practices (such as using a FL) play a crucial role in this vision of society since they basically translate capital into observable phenomena which ultimately realize subjective (or internal) and objective (or external) conditionings. That is, the sharing of certain habits and lifestyles positions individuals closer or farther from each other, thus perceptually partitioning the social space into groups and subgroups (Bourdieu 1989, Brubaker 1985).¹⁸ Broadly speaking, it is the combined forces of group socialization into distinctive dispositions, and the system's reproductive tendencies – externally limited opportunities to those which we are mentally 'tuned' to perceiving as possible – what drive the performance of certain practices over others (Bourdieu 1985). If learning and using a FL like English traditionally fall within the possibilities of privileged social groups, members of other groups would not be capable of dissociating prestige and power from linguistic practice. Only individuals in more privileged positions (i.e. with higher amounts of capital) would be attuned to considering English an attainable asset. Of course, structures are “products of history that can be changed, with more or less difficulty, by history” (Bourdieu 1985: 739). That is, status differences arise from historical relational processes, namely competition over power, domination, and legitimization. But, even in the advent of structural changes (e.g. the incorporation of FL teaching to public schooling), modes of perceptions and interpretation acquired under previous conditions would tend to be reproduced. The origin of 'observable tendencies' (i.e. practices) to behave in ways consistent with the rules of the social system is “habitus”. By using this psycho-social notion, Bourdieu attempts to capture the constructive and reproductive aspects of cognition in its interaction with the social environment. This can then be a crucial fulcrum to explain how motivation to learn a FL may build on internalized constructions of social reality and recreate them in the undertaking of a

¹⁸ Bourdieu makes it clear that distance among agents does not preclude or foster cross-mobilization since “alliance between those who are closest is never *necessary*, inevitable (...), and alliance between those most distant from each other is never *impossible*” (Bourdieu 1985: 726, emphasis in the original).

particular activity. Many definitions of ‘habitus’ have been put forward either by Bourdieu himself throughout his *oeuvre* (see, e.g. Foster 1986) or by his several interpreters (e.g. Brubaker 1985, Wacquant 1989, Calhoun *et al.* 2002). To quote one, Brubaker maintains that

“[t]he habitus is defined abstractly as the system of internalized dispositions that mediates between social structures and practical activity, being shaped by the former and regulating the latter” (1985: 758).

So, habitus contributes to the preservation of the status quo by fulfilling a double function. On the one hand, given its social roots, the cognitive schema generates practices congruent with socially learned predispositions. In this sense, habitus is “socially structured” (Bourdieu 1989: 18). On the other hand, internal representations are also used to decode the array of other individuals’ practices during the act of perception. By assigning symbolic meaning to these practices, individuals are engaged in structuring social reality. Then, habitus is simultaneously a productive engine or, in other words, a “structuring structure” (Bourdieu 1989: 18). According to this conceptualization, if experience with a FL is mediated by status differences, individuals would be less predisposed (or motivated) to acquire it when such a practice does not pertain to their environment. But, in showing lower motivation to learn, these learners would be additionally ascribing social meaning (i.e. prestige) to the activity by affirming its capacity for differentiation.

The concept of ‘habitus’ has been the target of some criticism particularly on two fronts: its seemingly all-encompassing function, which would undermine its explanatory value, as well as the deterministic aura it casts over the whole theoretical approach. These critiques have in turn been disputed by Bourdieu himself or his defenders. For instance, regarding the first claim, habitus has been argued to be closer to a “metatheoretical” construct meant to draw attention to other (or internal) dimensions of social stratification besides socio-structural ones (Brubaker 1985). The second claim has been opposed by arguments stressing the “enabling” potential of

habitus (e.g. Calhoun *et al.* 2002), and its adaptive capabilities when expectations do not perfectly fit structural conditions (e.g. Brubaker 1985, Swartz 1997). Used with caution, however, habitus may still contribute analytical insights.

To conclude, this section presented a status-based approach to social stratification that rests on three main concepts: capital in its different forms (i.e. economic, cultural, and social) as a predictor of differential social positions, shared practices as observable performance of group membership, and habitus as an analytical construct to interpret the internal disposition toward certain practices (such as language) as related to social positions. In light of this theoretical framework, the case of EFL learners who belong to a highly stratified society where English constitutes a prestigious practice brings up some specific questions about their motivational drives and integrative tendencies.

First, does the family's occupation of given social positions actually affect the general motivation levels of EFL students? Generally speaking, as pointed out in Grusky (1994), social stratification has been shown to permeate into wide-ranging aspects of human behavior. Motivation is then very likely to be affected as well. The predicted effect depends to some extent on the theoretical approach. Following Bourdieu's reproduction theory, we should expect a positive correlation between expectations and effort to succeed in EFL learning, and social status as shown by different economic, social and cultural capital volumes. Because of the strong reproductive tendencies of 'habitus', individual aspirations are biased by socialization experiences. The possession of higher amounts of capital should enable these learners to understand the possibility of securing a marker of status such as EFL.

If this assumption is correct, the second question is: does any type of capital have a stronger influence on motivation? Cultural capital could be a suitable candidate due to its crucial link with

education. The possession of knowledge by the family would lead to the transmission of an appreciation and search for the accumulation of this kind of capital. The acquisition of a language obviously represents a cultural resource. But the role of economic capital cannot be ruled out since English can be viewed as a marketable skill as well. Finally, a third question concerns the links between Gardner's model itself and stratification under these novel testing conditions. That is, do the components and/or subcomponents of Total Motivation display any significant correlational patterns with given types of capital? Intuitively, for instance, economic capital might be positively correlated with Instrumental Orientations to achieve monetary rewards while cultural capital might show a positive correlation with the learning activity itself (e.g. Attitudes towards learning the TL or Interest in Foreign Languages).

To find some answers to these questions, I conducted a survey study among children learning EFL in public schools in Argentina. The following sections then describe the methodology implemented to explore the connections between the broader socially stratified environment as conceived by Bourdieu and Gardnerian motivation to learn a L2.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Setting

As pointed out above, motivational research applying Gardner's model has been mostly carried out in developed countries where the L2 is more directly available in the community. This has left many parts of the world – together with their distinctive sociolinguistic landscapes and intricacies – out of the motivational map, and more often than not leads to erroneous generalizations about the factors involved in motivated behavior towards L2 learning. In other areas of linguistics, this gap has not gone unnoticed. In an issue of *World Englishes* entirely dedicated to exploring the role of English in South America, “the other forgotten continent” (in addition to Africa), Friederich & Berns bring this situation to international academic attention by claiming that

“[w]ith the exception of the economic and political ups and downs of these relatively young countries as they come of age, little information goes out to the general population around the world about the 340 million inhabitants of South America” (2003: 85).

My study aims to expand our knowledge of motivation to learn EFL by focusing on the particularities of one of these peripheral societies, thus adding to the traditional repertoire of cases under investigation.

One of the “forgotten” South American nations alluded to in Friederich & Berns (2003) is Argentina, located in the southernmost tip of the continent. With around 40 million inhabitants spread over 1,452,229 square miles, it is one of the largest countries in the region. Its ethnic composition is primarily of European origin (97%), which reflects the strong impact of migratory waves throughout its history. Due to its privileged geographical position and salient political and

economic role, the capital port city of Buenos Aires and its suburbs have always been an attractive pole for both domestic and foreign settlers. It presently stands out as the country's most densely populated urban center.

From the standpoint of my study, Buenos Aires combines several cultural, educational and socioeconomic features which make it particularly interesting. On the one hand, the history of direct contact with English-speaking communities can be traced back to the 19th century, when British businesses sprouted principally in Buenos Aires. Business sectors such as banking, railways, meat industry and farming became strongholds of British capital (Cortés-Conde 2003, Nielsen 2003). The British community set up its own neighborhoods, churches, social clubs and schools, which distinctively separated them from other groups. Their prestige, emanating from wealthy group members, was passed on to their language and, although their power and status has gradually waned, their schools continue to be a model of bilingual education in the country.¹⁹ On the other, Argentina is a developing country with a highly stratified society which offers wide variation in its structural composition. First, it has a long tradition of middle class sectors with high social mobility and access to foreign speakers through media, travel and work.²⁰ Second, in recent years, the country has experienced a deep economic crisis that impacted upon some segments of traditional middle classes – now called “the new poor” – which have lost their economic capital while preserving their social and cultural capital. Third, in May 2003, 54.7% of the total population was below the poverty line and 26.3% was considered indigent (INDEC 2003). For these sectors, the situation is radically different. Besides the fact that their basic needs are not catered for, any contact with the English-speaking community abroad is practically non-

¹⁹ It should be noted that, in Argentina, the term ‘bilingual schools’ is applied to diverse forms of education which include some amount of EFL ranging from a few hours a week to a percentage of the curriculum’s content areas being taught in the FL. British schools are, notwithstanding, looked up to as top educational institutions. For a thorough report on EFL teaching in Argentina, see Eays (1999).

²⁰ See Friederich (2003) for middle-class attitudes towards EFL.

existent. Moreover, as the rates of unemployment and underemployment remain high, their ability to speak English makes little or no difference in their prospects of real employment.²¹

In the midst of this bleak socioeconomic context, in 2001, the City of Buenos Aires launched a pilot program called *Escuelas Primarias Bilingües* ('Bilingual Elementary Schools').²² The program introduced more intensive foreign language learning (two hours per day, four days a week) in twelve elementary public schools located mainly in lower middle class and poor neighborhoods of the city. The languages taught are English, French, Italian and Portuguese.²³ Since children in these schools were already attending morning and afternoon classes (*Escuelas de Jornada Completa*), the implementation of this language program did not involve an extension of the class schedule. It started in first grade and was progressively instituted in higher grades as those children advanced through elementary school. The program came to supplement and increment the minimum two-hour-a-week requirement of foreign language instruction established by the 1996 Federal Law of Education for fourth graders and above.²⁴

Public education has always been considered a major channel for advancing social equality. However, this program is a pioneering effort in the Argentinean public school system in that its main objective, as claimed by the government, is to promote equal educational opportunities for FL learning among disadvantaged children.²⁵ Access to acquiring linguistic skills in a FL is thus officially regarded as a socio-economic divider, a situation that requires state intervention in the form of language policy. In fact, before 2001, intensive FL learning in Buenos Aires was

²¹ In May 2003, the unemployment and underemployment rates were 15.7% and 18% respectively according to INDEC (2003).

²² See Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (2001b).

²³ Although German is also officially included in the program, no school is teaching the language at the moment. As expressed by the program's authorities, no school has selected that language of instruction yet (personal communication).

²⁴ For outlines of the federal policy on FL education, see Armendáriz (2000), Eyars (1999), Nielsen (2003).

²⁵ In Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (2001a), the document which originally set forth the rationale and implementation guidelines for the program.

reserved for sectors which were able to afford some sort of private education or language tutoring.

According to policy documents, the program acknowledges not only the “instrumental” but also the “formative” importance of FL learning as a way both to foster multicultural integration and understanding, and to enhance L1 acquisition. These goals motivated the 2003 resolutions by which these schools were re-named *Escuelas de Modalidad Plurilingüe con intensificación en lenguas materna y extranjeras* (‘Plurilingual Schools with intensification in L1 and FL’).²⁶ The original pool of 12 schools additionally rose to 22, which secured the existence of one Plurilingual School in each one of the city’s school districts.²⁷ This setting then presented the ideal chance of enlisting EFL learners from more disadvantaged groups who were engaged in more intensive language learning, but without promising conditions for future socio-economic advancement based on these linguistic skills. Besides, the lack of much direct or indirect contact with ‘real’ native speakers also made these schools an interesting site to go in search for answers to my research questions.

3.2. Participants

The participants in this study were 39 fourth graders (approx. 9-10 years of age) who had been taking EFL classes as part of the Program of Plurilingual Schools since first grade. They were attending the six schools where the EFL program was initially implemented in 2001, so these children were the oldest in the program since it began (see Table 1 for the number of participants

²⁶ See Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (2002, 2003a/b).

²⁷ Of these 22 schools, 13 teach English, 3 French, 3 Italian, and 3 Portuguese. Visit http://www.buenosaires.gov.ar/areas/educacion/niveles/primaria/programas/bilingues/map_gif.php?menu_id=11376 for a map of the City of Buenos Aires showing the distribution of Plurilingual Schools with the languages taught per school district.

in each school). The choice of age/grade was based on two criteria. First, children in fourth grade (as opposed to those in lower grades) have already had a rather equal (‘leveling’) experience in formal schooling. The rationale behind this was to avoid the initial greater disparity between the backgrounds of more or less socio-economically disadvantaged children when they start elementary school (e.g. literacy levels). Second, because these children have had the longest exposure to the foreign language and are the most mature in the program, they were expected to better reflect on their attitudes towards learning English and to provide more accurate responses in general.

Table 1: *Distribution of participants per school in each district*

District	School	Total number of participants
No. 5	No. 13 “Fray Mamerto Esquiú”	7
No. 6	No. 11 “José F. Moreno”	8
No. 8	No. 15 “Provincia de Salta”	3
No. 11	No. 22 “Hipólito Bouchard”	6
No. 19	No. 15 “Evaristo Carriego”	5
No. 21	No. 6 “República de la India”	10

The selection was conducted on a voluntary basis since parents were required to provide informed consent for their children’s participation in the study.²⁸ Given the low number of signed consents received, it was not possible to apply any strict selection criteria on the sample itself. In terms of socio-economic status, the location of the schools as well as informal reports by principals and teachers indicate that children come from varied social, cultural and economic backgrounds towards the lower ends of the social scale.

²⁸ The effects of self-selection bias introduced by the requirement of signed parental consent will be elaborated on in the Discussion section of this thesis.

The schools included in the survey are located in six different contiguous school districts in the southern outskirts of the city, historically regarded as containing some of the poorest areas. Actually, these neighborhoods share few attributes with the more urbanized city center, and resemble more peripheral landscapes characteristic of *Gran Buenos Aires* (the Greater Buenos Aires Area).²⁹ None of them is a ‘shanty-town’ school proper in the sense that they are not in the heart of these extremely poor neighborhoods catering mostly for its inhabitants (other non-plurilingual schools indeed fulfill this function). Nevertheless, since they are situated close to shanty towns, some of the children actually live there or at their fringes (‘peripheral’ students). Meanwhile, some others come from the vicinity of the schools (‘non-peripheral’ students), where families reside in either working-class or lower middle-class neighborhoods, or sometimes in housing projects (e.g. School No. 6) or as squatters (e.g. School No. 11).

In addition, it is interesting to note that some of the child population belongs to distinct ethnolinguistic groups. This is the result of immigration from neighboring countries attracted by Argentina’s seemingly booming economic opportunities during the 1990s. The most outstanding examples are Bolivians and Paraguayans (e.g. in School No. 22), for whom Spanish might not be their mother tongue.³⁰ School authorities pointed out that in these cases families tend to show a stronger belief in the advantages of education for social mobility in mainstream Argentinean society as evinced by their involvement in their children’s educational progress.

²⁹ Many of these schools are situated near General Paz Avenue, a beltway which separates the capital City of Buenos Aires (formerly known as *Capital Federal*) from the surrounding districts administered by the Province of Buenos Aires.

³⁰ Immigrants from these countries often speak Quechua and Guaraní respectively.

3.3. Instruments

To collect data on motivation to learn EFL, a questionnaire (see Appendix A and B for a complete version of the Motivation Questionnaire in Spanish and English) entirely written in Spanish was developed on the basis of Gardner's *AMTB* (1985). It consisted of 38 statements which were evaluated by participants on a reduced Likert scale of three points ('yes', 'maybe yes; maybe no', 'no') in order to minimize the children's choice burden (Dörnyei 2003c). Many of the statements included in the questionnaire had to be adapted to the context of EFL learning in Argentina's Plurilingual Schools. Statements were completely rephrased to tap into the experiences of learners in this particular environment, and their attitudes towards non-native speakers of English in Argentina, i.e. the domestic outgroup hypothesized to be associated with the language. A few items gathering data on attitudes about language learning in general were translated into Spanish from the original ones in the *AMTB*.

Apart from the wording of statements, this questionnaire departs from Gardner's *AMTB* in other respects. Importantly, the one component in Integrative Motivation which measures micro-contextual variables, namely Attitudes towards the learning situation, was left out here because of the concentration of my study on the macro-contextual dimension of L2 motivation. Also, a component called Orientations (see 3 below) was created for this study to assess the effect of contextual variables on reasons to study the language. No such component is proposed by Gardner – although the variables making up this component do appear in Gardner's model (see Gardner 2000, 2001).

Resembling Gardner's model, the items can be grouped into seven subcomponents, which in turn form part of three components as shown below. After a *post hoc* reliability analysis was conducted, some items from the original questionnaire were eliminated since they rendered

either the components or the subcomponents highly unreliable. In total, 8 items were deleted to strengthen the internal consistency of the Motivation Questionnaire, namely items 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, and 37 according to the questionnaire presented in Appendix I. The 30 items which remain part of the model – because they yielded acceptable reliability values – are provided in parenthesis below. Next to them, I provide the Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient for the item groups.³¹ The final version of the Motivation Questionnaire with its (sub-) components (and descriptions of the item groupings) is then as follows:

1. *Integrativeness Component* measured by

(a) Attitudes towards the target language (TL) group (Items 5, 15, 21, 31; $\alpha = .60$), i.e. attitudes towards the qualities and habits of non-native Argentinean speakers of English as a better socio-economically positioned group;

(b) Interest in foreign languages (Items 4, 7, 25, 27, 38; $\alpha = .63$), i.e. a general preference for language learning; and

(c) Integrative Orientation (Items 3, 12, 28, 32; $\alpha = .66$), i.e. a desire to strengthen or build ties with in- or out-group members;

2. *Motivation Component* measured by

(a) Motivational intensity (Items 13, 22, 33, 35; $\alpha = .55$), i.e. the amount of effort expended on learning EFL;

(b) Attitudes towards learning the TL (Items 19, 29, 34; $\alpha = .70$), i.e. the affective response to learning English, and

³¹ According to Dörnyei (2003c), these coefficients should normally be above .70, but not lower than .60 even in the case of small item scales like the ones contained in this questionnaire. As can be observed from the reported coefficients, only two of the (sub-)components fall below .60 which points to some lack of reliability in the instrument used.

(c) Desire to learn the TL (Items 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30; $\alpha = .54$) i.e. the degree of commitment to learning; and

3. *Orientations Component* measured by

(a) Integrative Orientation (see 1(c) above), and

(b) Instrumental Orientation (Items 10, 17, 24, 36; $\alpha = .65$) i.e. the inclination to learn EFL for pragmatic reasons.

To collect data on the socio-economic background of the respondents, a second questionnaire (see Appendix C and D for a complete version of the Socio-Economic Questionnaire in Spanish and English) was constructed, also in Spanish. It was divided into 4 sections representing topic areas: (A) Parents' Occupation, (B) Parents' Education, (C) Leisure-time Activities, and (D) Friends' Activities. Each one contained 6 questions except for (D) which had 5. The total number of questions included in the original questionnaire was 23. Some of them were either yes-no or multiple-choice questions while others were open-ended.

The questions were aimed at measuring Bourdieu's conceptualization of economic, cultural and social capital as previously defined. An *ad hoc* questionnaire was constructed to measure these concepts for the study.³² In practical terms, two main guiding principles had to be especially taken into account for the development of this new instrument: respondents' age, and time constraints. On the one hand, the questions had to be answerable by 9 or 10 years-olds. Because of this, they tapped into children's knowledge about concrete activities and family habits as an indirect measure of their family's socio-economic status. On top of that, children's attention span is rather limited, and they were expected to fill in two questionnaires in a short period of time. In

³² Because of the respondent's young age and restrictions on the questions imposed by Argentinean authorities, it was not possible to use standard instruments to obtain socio-economic data.

sum, the final version of the questionnaire resulted in a compromise between these constraints and the reliability of the measures.

One of the project's goals was then to test the reliability of this new measuring tool. To this end, a *post hoc* reliability analysis was performed. Some questions were ultimately eliminated from the analysis due to the low internal consistency of these measures. Of particular importance here is the fact that the component measuring social capital had to be discarded altogether since its measures were highly unreliable ($\alpha = .039$). This degree of unreliability most probably resulted from the difficulty of eliciting such complex type of information from children.³³ In Bourdieu's theory, nonetheless, the primary "principles of hierarchy" are the distribution of economic and cultural capital (Swartz 1997: 192). Since social capital is theoretically predicted to be obtained as a by-product of economic and/or cultural gains, the removal of questions measuring it directly does not jeopardize the theoretical soundness of the model.

The final components of the Socio-Economic Questionnaire are described below. In parenthesis, I report the question numbers and the *post hoc* Cronbach's alpha coefficients corresponding to each question group.

A. *Economic Capital* (Items a1a, c1b.2, c1b.4, c1b.7, c1c, c2b.1, d1d.1; $\alpha = .61$) measured as

- (i) parental employment status (i.e. employed or unemployed),
- (ii) paid recreational activities (classified as activities that require money or not),
- (iii) ownership of technology (i.e. computer or video games); and

B. *Cultural Capital* (Items b1a, b1b, b2a, b2b, c1b.2, c2a; $\alpha = .51$) measured as

- (i) parents' reading of newspapers (i.e. type and frequency),
- (ii) cultural recreational activities (i.e. going to the movies), and

³³ Even for adult questionnaires, the concept of 'social capital' has not been easy to operationalize and measure. Generally speaking, data on social capital are obtained by means of lengthy questionnaires (see, for example, Narayan & Cassidy 2001), which were not possible to implement here due to the characteristics of my sample.

(iii) access to the Internet (i.e. frequency of use)

(C) *Father's Past/Present Occupation* and (D) *Mother's Past/Present Occupation*, two other possible predictors of stratification, were included in the questionnaire in the form of two open-ended questions about the parents' present or previous job/s (Items a1b and a2b respectively). The aim in this case was to explore the predictive value of these widely accepted indicators relative to economic and cultural capital.

3.4. Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this study were collected on different dates in late August 2004. Because Plurilingual Schools belong to the public system, I first had to secure authorization for my study from authorities at the city's Bureau of Education. After that, I visited some of the schools with the purpose of being introduced to principals and language teachers. I had informal talks with them about the aim and nature of my study. I also obtained information about the characteristics of the schools' population and environment. During this stage, I was always accompanied by the Coordinator of Plurilingual Schools, Beatriz Seveso, who also became an invaluable source of details about the program itself.

On a second round of visits, I distributed the informed consent forms either among the children themselves or, when not possible, among the language teachers. I explained and answered questions about the purposes of the study, the nature of the questionnaires and the actual administration procedure to be followed. In the case of teachers, I provided them with some additional background so that they would be able to address parents' queries or concerns more confidently. At that time, I scheduled a date for my return to the schools (which, due to time

constraints, mostly ranged from 2 to 4 day intervals) in order to collect the forms and conduct the survey.

Both questionnaires were filled in during a single session lasting approximately 45 minutes during class time. They were not completed in the actual classroom since many of the children were not authorized to participate or had not brought the signed consent forms to school. Although I was responsible for explaining and overseeing the procedure, the Coordinator was always present at the administration, and many times assisted me in giving directions to the children or responding to their questions.

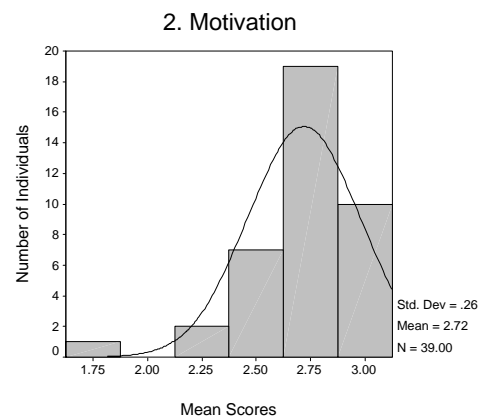
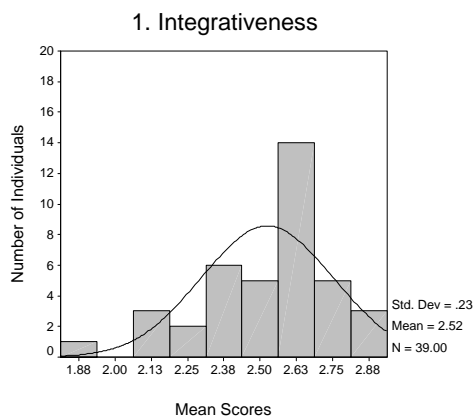
The data obtained were then coded and results entered into a SPSS database for statistical analysis. For this, the scales for negative statements in the Motivation Questionnaire were first reversed. All the responses were coded 3 for 'yes', 2 for 'maybe yes, maybe no', and 1 for 'no'. Multi-item scores were then computed for each subcomponent and component as well as for the total number of responses in the questionnaire by calculating the average of parallel items in each group. Four dependent composite variables were created in this manner from the Motivation Questionnaire: (1) Integrativeness, (2) Motivation; (3) Orientations, and (4) Total Motivation. All the values of these variables range from 1 to 3, with 1 being the lowest score and 3 being the highest. Table 2 presents means and standard deviations for the four dependent variables.

Table 2: Mean scores of motivation variables (N=39)

<i>Motivation Variables</i>	Mean Scores
1. Integrativeness	2.52 (.23)
2. Motivation	2.72 (.26)
3. Orientations	2.66 (.34)
4. Total Motivation	2.57 (.19)

Standard deviations in parenthesis

As can be seen, mean values are rather high across variables. After an examination of histograms and frequencies, it was noted that the sample is indeed skewed towards the highest end of the score range (see Fig. 1 below). That is, most scores tend to be 3 or very close to 3 – except for Integrativeness which exhibits a tendency towards a more normal distribution. The percentages of responses with an average score above 2.75 are indeed overwhelmingly high for Motivation (64.2 %), and for Orientations (59%). In addition, the scores corresponding to Orientations were more dispersed than the scores of the other variables as shown by its higher standard deviation.



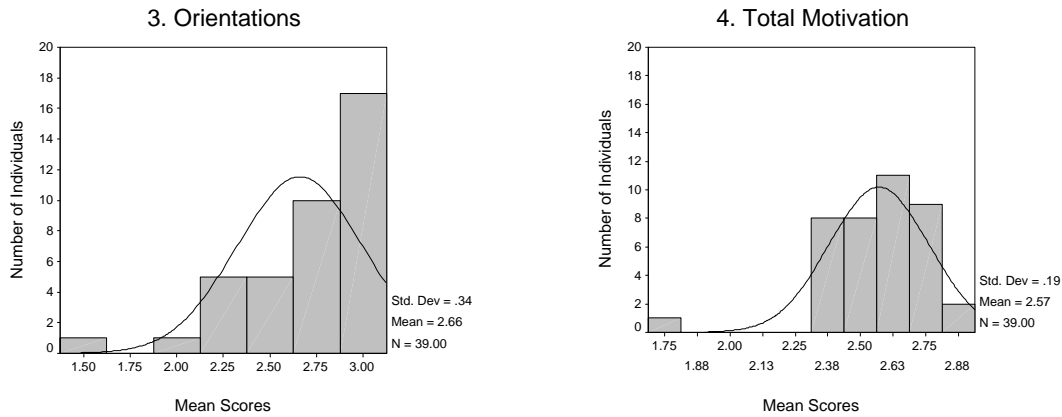


Figure 1: Distribution of mean scores in the three motivational components

The responses to the Socio-Economic Questionnaire, on the other hand, were coded following different procedures and scales. The procedures for codification were based on the type of question. Multiple-choice questions were coded ‘0’ for ‘unchecked’ and ‘1’ for ‘checked’ boxes, ‘1’ for ‘no’ and ‘2’ for ‘yes’ responses, and on a larger numerical scale – with ‘1’ always being the most negative response – in the case of information about the frequency of an activity. For open-ended questions, a criterion was first established before codification proper. Since questions about recreational activities were meant to measure the family’s economic resources (beyond basic needs), responses were coded ‘1’ for ‘in-city, no money’, ‘2’ for ‘in-city, money’ and ‘3’ for ‘out-of-city, money’. It was assumed that traveling outside the city would require the most money, so these responses obtained the highest score, i.e. ‘3’.

Two composite independent variables were thus derived from the questionnaire data: (A) Economic Capital, and (B) Cultural Capital. Here, again, multi-item scales were calculated for each variable by averaging the scores of constituent items which were hypothesized to measure each socio-economic dimension. In Table 3, I present the means and standard deviations of these variables. The scales for each one differed in that Economic Capital ranged from 2 to 10 whereas

Cultural Capital ranged from 2 to 20. These two variables evince comparatively similar degrees of dispersion.

Table 3: Mean scores of socio-economic variables

	Mean Scores	Total N
<i>Socio-Economic Variables</i>		
a. Economic Capital	5.8 (2.10)	39
b. Cultural Capital	10.1 (3.93)	39
c. Father's Past/Present Occupation	3.70 (1.39)	37
d. Mother's Past/Present Occupation	3.4 (2.09)	30

Standard deviations in parenthesis

In contrast to motivational variables, histograms in Fig. 2 show that Economic and Cultural Capital variables are slightly skewed towards the lower end of the spectrum. As a result, approximately 60 % of the respondents are located in the lower half of the score range for both variables. This would indicate that the sample is characterized by more individuals with comparatively smaller amounts of economic and cultural capital, which is consistent with the prediction about the type of population enrolled at the schools in the survey. As discussed earlier, most of the schools are located in poor areas and thus the children belong to more economically and culturally deprived families.

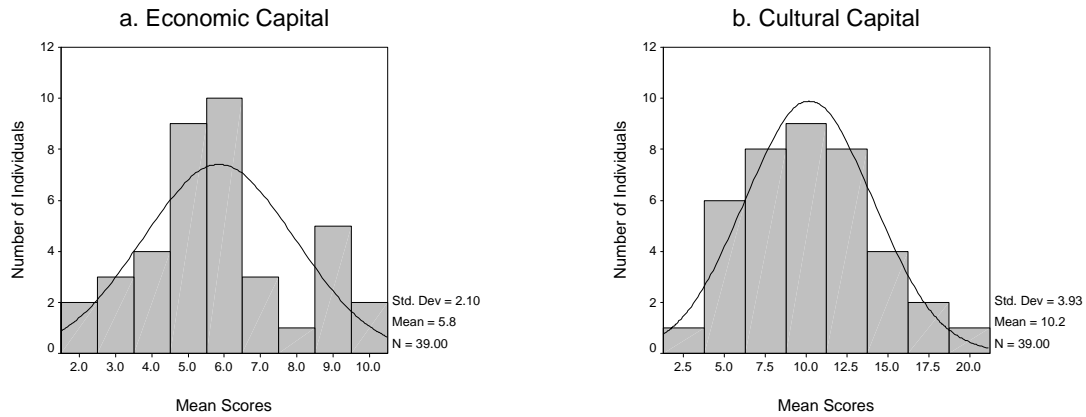


Figure 2: Distribution of Economic and Cultural Capital

The responses on the father’s and mother’s past or present occupation were coded on the basis of a shortened version of Hollingshead’s (1975) “Occupational Scale” as follows: 1 = ‘menial service workers’ (e.g. janitors and maids), 2 = ‘unskilled workers’ (e.g. waiters/waitresses), 3 = ‘semi-skilled workers’ (e.g. bus drivers), 4 = ‘skilled workers’ (e.g. mechanics), 5 = ‘clerical/sales workers and small owners’ (e.g. cashiers), and 6 = ‘minor professionals’ (e.g. secretaries and teachers). The choice of this scale over others solely responded to practical matters. It indeed provides a finely grained distinction of occupational categories suitable for a sample with individuals who are predicted to have or have had jobs mostly towards the less skilled end of the occupational spectrum.

Two additional independent variables, (C) Father’s Past/Present Occupation and (D) Mother’s Past/Present Occupation, both ranging from 1 to 6, were obtained. As seen in Table 3 above, even though the mean values are very similar, the disparity in standard deviations stands out. The standard deviation for Mother’s Past/Present Occupation is noticeably larger than that for Father’s Past/Present Occupation. After looking at frequencies, some patterns emerge. The occupations of mothers in the sample are rather polarized as seen in Fig. 3. Out of 30 valid

responses, 36.7% have/had mostly menial jobs – which generally means they do the cleaning at somebody else’s household by the hour –, while 40% have/had more highly qualified positions – i.e. jobs as clerks or salespeople – according to the occupational scale used here. These two categories make up 76.7 % of the valid responses in the database.

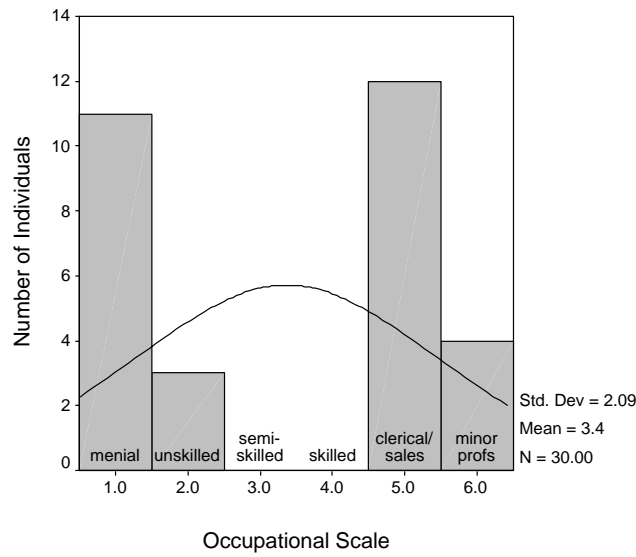


Figure 3: Distribution of Mother’s Past/Present Occupation

Contrastively, out of 37 valid responses about the father’s occupation, only 21.6% fall in these ‘extreme’ job categories. Fathers’ jobs are actually more evenly distributed across the different categories although they tend to concentrate around middle-range jobs, i.e. semi-skilled and skilled ones, which represent 59.4% (see Fig. 4 below).

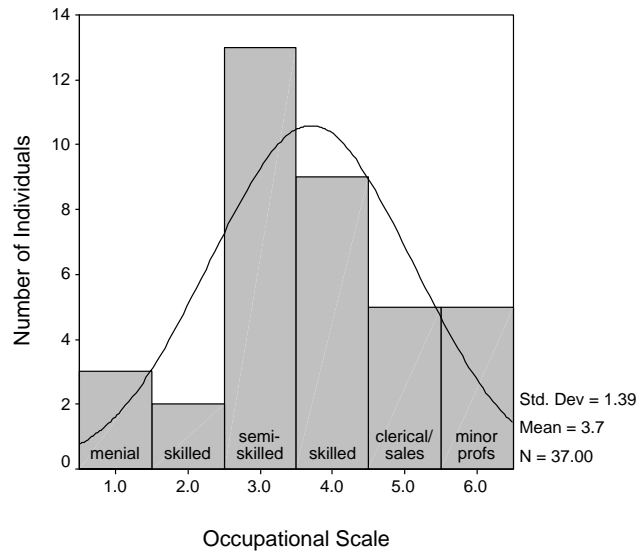


Figure 4: Distribution of Father's Past/Present Occupation

As described in the Instruments section, before submitting the data to final statistical analysis, reliability was tested in order to establish the internal consistency of the measures in both questionnaires.³⁴ As a result, some items were left out to achieve higher consistency levels. In addition, correlations were run among the four socio-economic variables to detect any strong relationships among them which could point to non-independent measures. None of the relationships turned out to be statistically significant, which further supports the initial assumption that these variables measure independent dimensions of socio-economic background. Both correlations and multiple regression analyses were then performed between the explanatory and dependent variables to determine if any of them are significantly related, and which socio-economic predictors can better explain the variance in motivational scores. Four different regression models were tested. In all cases, the independent variables were (a) Economic Capital, (b) Cultural Capital, (c) Father's Past/Present Occupation, and (d) Mother's Past/Present

³⁴ Factor analysis was not possible due to the small size of the dataset.

Occupation. The respective dependent variables in each of the four models were: (1) Integrativeness, (2) Motivation, (3) Orientations, and (4) Total Motivation.

Some additional correlations were calculated to explore another two relevant sets of possible relationships: those between socio-economic background and motivational sub-components, and those between contact with the FL outside the classroom and motivation. For the first analysis, the socio-economic variables were correlated against the constituent multi-item scales of the main motivational variables as listed above. The purpose was to zoom in on what specific components of the motivational construct are more prone to be influenced by socio-economic factors. Therefore, the relationship of the independent variables and the subcomponent areas of the dependent variables was assessed by correlating (A) Economic Capital, (B) Cultural Capital, (C) Father's Past/Present Occupation and (D) Mother's Past/Present Occupation against the constituent multi-item scales of the motivational components, namely (1a) Attitudes towards the target language (TL) group, (1b) Interest in foreign languages, (1c) Integrative Orientation, (2a) Motivational intensity, (2b) Attitudes towards learning the TL, (2c) Desire to learn the TL, and (3b) Instrumental Orientation.

For the second analysis, Frequency of Internet use was assumed to measure contact with English. This was measured by multiple-choice question c2a in the Socio-Economic Questionnaire. The range of responses and their assigned codes were as follows: 1 = 'never', 2 = 'almost never', 3 = 'once or twice a week', 4 = 'three or four times a week', 5 = 'everyday'. As Fig. 5 shows, the distribution of responses was, however, rather polarized. While 33 % of the respondents reported no use of Internet at all, 20.5 % reported everyday use. The results of the correlation between Internet use and component variables (1) to (4) as well as sub-components variables (1a)-(1c), (2a)-(2c) and (3b) are provided and discussed below.

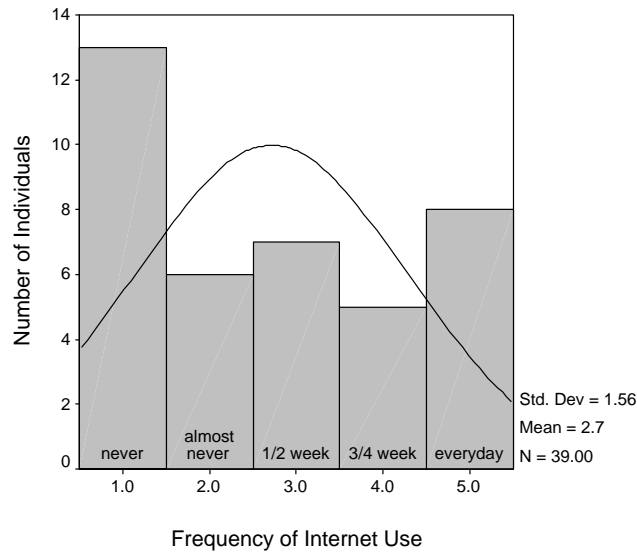


Figure 5: *Frequency of Internet Use*

Finally, it should be pointed out that, after looking at the histograms and raw data of motivational responses, it was noted that case # 32, in fact, surfaces as an outlier since most of its total scores for the composite variables are considerably lower in comparison to the ones calculated for the other cases in the sample. The statistical tests were then conducted twice, with and without Case # 32, to capture the variability due to this isolated case which, in a bigger sample, could represent an actual tendency. The results are then reported for both. Because of the small size of the database on which the present study relies, cases like this one cannot be overlooked since its representativeness can only be ruled out after a larger survey is conducted. While this question awaits empirical corroboration, the implications of a population with the characteristics of Case # 32 are considered here as well.

4. RESULTS

4.1. The Four Main Models

Before conducting regression analyses, the independent and dependent variables were correlated to investigate any significant relationships between the families’ socio-economic background and motivation to learn EFL. Table 4 below offers a summary of the correlated variables whose Pearson coefficients came out as significant. The N was 39 for the whole dataset and 38 when the outlier was omitted.

The first relationship to be confirmed by the tests was that between Economic Capital and Orientations. The r coefficients were significant either using the whole dataset or after deleting the outlier (case # 32). When the outlier was omitted, the coefficient attained even better results, with r even reaching significance at the .01 level. These variables are negatively related, which means that as Economic Capital increases, Orientations scores decrease and vice versa. In addition, Economic Capital was found to be significantly related to Total Motivation. The r coefficient was significant at .05 when Case # 32 was not included. Again, the variables were negatively correlated, so when Economic Capital goes up, Total Motivation scores go down and vice versa.

Table 4: Summary of significant correlations for motivational components

	Orientations		Total Motivation	
	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32
Economic Capital	$r = -.382^*$	$r = -.510^{**}$	---	$r = -.389^*$

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Four regression models were then tested to examine which independent variables can better predict the variance in the dependent variables. Table 5 summarizes the relevant information about the regression models by providing the constant value (or intercept), standardized regression coefficients, standard errors of unstandardized coefficients in parenthesis, the model's R-square (or its goodness-of-fit), and the N after listwise deletion. Results mostly supported the findings obtained through correlational analyses as described above. In contrast, though, it should be highlighted that significant results were attained only when the outlier was eliminated from the dataset.

Table 5: Summary of regression coefficients for the four models with and without the outlier

	Integrativeness		Motivation		Orientations		Total Motivation	
	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32	With Case # 32	Without Case # 32
Constant	2.542 (.205)	2.576 (.194)	2.680 (.231)	2.746 (.177)	3.248 (.293)	3.334 (.219)	2.680 (.173)	2.737 (.114)
Economic Capital	-.231 (.025)	-.338 (.024)	.151 (.028)	.000 (.022)	-.298 (.035)	-.548* (.027)	-.166 (.021)	-.495* (.014)
Cultural Capital	.249 (.013)	.196 (.012)	.303 (.014)	.269 (.011)	-.078 (.018)	-.223 (.014)	.211 (.011)	.131 (.007)
Father's Past/Present Occupation	-.135 (.042)	-.073 (.040)	-.289 (.048)	-.245 (.037)	-.139 (.060)	-.035 (.046)	-.111 (.036)	.024 (.024)
Mother's Past/Present Occupation	.112 (.022)	.229 (.022)	-.197 (.025)	-.013 (.020)	-.192 (.032)	-.005 (.025)	-.265 (.019)	-.071 (.013)
R²	.159	.202	.170	.120	.224	.380	.180	.266
Total N	29	28	29	28	29	28	29	28

* $p < .05$; standard errors in parenthesis

Model 3, with Orientations as the dependent variable, was the only model to reach significance (.022 at the .05 level). With an R^2 of .380, this model explains 38 % of the variation in the score for Orientations. According to the constant value, Orientations are 3.334 when all the other variables are equal to 0. This actually shows the negative effect of the socio-economic variables since the value of Orientations would be above the scale maximum if the effect of those variables were suppressed. Among the independent variables in the model, only Economic Capital emerges as the best predictor of variation, with its value being significant at $p < .05$ (and very close to $p < .01$). That is, we can be 99.5% certain that the relationship between Economic Capital and Orientations is not due to chance, but that these variables actually change in tandem within the model. The Beta coefficient for Economic Capital is also the highest, thus confirming its important predictive role. More specifically, the unstandardized B coefficients show that for every point of increase in the 9-point scale of Economic Capital, the score of Orientations goes down by .75 on a 3-point scale if all the other variables in the model are kept constant.

Although Model 4 does not achieve the same level of prediction as a whole like Model 3, Economic Capital does stand out again as the best estimator of changes. The dependent variable now is Total Motivation as a holistic measure of most aspects subsumed within Gardner's Integrative Motivation. With a significance value of .030, the explanatory power of Economic Capital is significant at a .05 level. So, with a high degree of certainty, we can then conclude that the variation in these two variables is due to their interrelationship. The comparatively high value of the Beta coefficient with respect to the coefficients of the other variables in the model provides further evidence for the significant predictive power of Economic Capital. Since both variables are negatively linked, when Economic Capital increases, Motivation declines, as in the

case of Orientations (Model 3). In more concrete terms, when the level of Economic Capital rises by 1 unit on a 9-point scale, Total Motivation score decreases by .032 on a 3-point scale.

Another interesting result is the almost significant effect of Cultural Capital on Motivation when the outlier is included in the regression model. With a value of .118, this predictor is close to reaching significance at the .1 level. The potential relationship between Cultural Capital and Motivation seems to be a positive one, unlike the others described above. According to the unstandardized coefficients, there is an indication that the score of Motivation would increase by .023 on a 3-point scale whenever Cultural Capital increases by 1 unit on a 19-point scale.

Summing up, though, Economic Capital appears as the only measure of socio-economic level that is significantly related to – and can predict the variation in – aspects of L2 motivation, namely Orientations and Total Motivation.

4.2. The Sub-Components of Motivation

Given the overall lack of significant outcomes, I examined the data more in depth by running another set of correlations. This time, in an attempt to establish any further potentially significant connections in the dataset, I used the sub-component parts of Integrativeness, Motivation and Orientations as the dependent variables. In doing so, I expected to shed light on what specific – and more basic – aspects of more or less motivated behavior may vary as a function of cultural and economic status. Table 6 presents the significant relationships arising from these correlations. As before, tests were performed with and without Case # 32. In contrast to the results based on the component variables (which were quite similar with or without the outlier), the correlations using sub-component variables which yielded significant coefficients were very

much determined by whether Case # 32 was included in the dataset or not. The outlier therefore played a much more relevant role at the lower sub-component layer than at the higher component layer in this motivational model.

Table 6: Summary of significant correlations with motivational sub-components

	Attitude towards TL group		Integrative Orientation		Instrumental Orientation	
	With Case #32	Without Case #32	With Case #32	Without Case #32	With Case #32	Without Case #32
Economic Capital	---	---	---	---	-.495**	-.556**
Father's Past/Present Occupation	---	---	---	-.337*	---	---
Mother's Past/Present Occupation	-.396*	---	---	---	-.388*	---

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

With the presence of the outlier, the relationships that resulted in significant correlations were as follows: at the .01 level, Economic Capital and Instrumental Orientation (-.495) and, at the .05 level, Mother's Past/Present Occupation and Attitudes toward the TL group (-.396), and Mother's Past/Present Occupation and Instrumental Orientation (-.388). The direction of the correlations in all cases was negative. This implies that, in my sample, when the value of one variable increases or decreases, the value of the correlated variable moves in the opposite way. In other words, for instance, the more skilled occupation a child's mother had/has, the less integrative attitudes the child will hold toward Argentine non-native speakers of English and also the less pragmatic view of L2 learning s/he will have.

When the outlier is removed, of the significant relationships found across the entire sample, the only one that remains so (and even becomes stronger with $r = -.556$ at .01) is that between Economic Capital and Instrumental Orientation. Mother's Past/Present Occupation ceases to

relate to any of the dependent variables at any level of significance. In contrast, it is Father's Past/Present Occupation that now gains weight but – surprisingly enough – with respect to the integrative dimension. This independent variable actually becomes significantly related to Integrative Orientation at .05 with $r = -.337$. In this version of the dataset, variables are negatively correlated as well.

In conclusion, as in the case of the main models, a number of relationships were found between the socio-economic variables and the sub-components of motivation. All significant correlations, with or without the outlier, are negative. Some significant correlations with attitudinal responses are observed when the student's mothers or fathers have or had a better job. The other relevant correlational results point to connections of socio-economic background with types of reasons for studying the language.

4.3. Contact with English outside the classroom

Correlations were additionally conducted to test whether actual contact with the language in a context other than the classroom influences any of the sub-component or component variables of motivation. Frequency of Internet Use was then taken as a measure of extra-curricular linguistic activity. When the outlier was included in the sample, Frequency of Internet Use was found to be significantly correlated at .01 with Attitude toward the TL group ($r = .440$), and at .05 with Interest in Foreign Languages ($r = .328$) at the sub-component level, and with Integrativeness ($r = .323$) at the component level. Since the first two variables (together with Integrative Orientation), as sub-components of Integrativeness, contribute their scores towards the component score, the last finding does not seem so surprising. However, when Case # 32 was

removed, even though Frequency of Internet Use remained significantly related to the same sub-component variables – with slightly smaller coefficients (.410 and .338 at .05 respectively) –, the correlation with Integrativeness ceased to be significant at all.

Interestingly enough, the significant correlations described in the previous paragraph were positive. So, unlike the outcomes obtained using composite predictors of socio-economic background, Frequency of Internet Use increases or decreases in the same direction as the variables it correlates with. In my sample, then, children's attitudes and their interest in other languages vary as they have more or less access to the Internet, which allows for contact with the foreign language. The more frequent contact of this kind children have, the more integrative their attitudes become and the more their interest is bolstered.

5. DISCUSSION

In previous sections, it was shown that Integrativeness, a central concept in the Gardnerian model of motivation, has proven to have strong predictive power in FL learning according to Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) and Csizér & Dörnyei (2005). The leading question was then what this concept actually taps into given that learners in these contexts do not interact with a community of native speakers. Power and prestige have been obviously suggested as drives behind this tendency towards integration (e.g. Csizér & Dörnyei 2005). If the use of a given language is mostly considered the prerogative of some high-status group, it follows then that L2 competence can afford speakers with entrance into more dominant spheres of society. The potential of language for social distinction generates extra incentives to engage in the learning activity regardless of whether status-group members are native or non-native speakers.

However, in the Hungarian case, the authors insist on placing the source of this incentive in “internal” representations of the self. The L2 learner, devoid of social contextualization, seems to be portrayed as randomly desiring to possess certain attributes which would make her “agreeable” or “professionally successful”, for example (2005: 29). This rather socially unproblematized view of the individual constructing an ideal image regrettably divests her of a socialization history. To illustrate how problematic Csizér & Dörnyei’s argument can be, one wonders what determines the positive or negative quality of these attributes in the learner’s mind, what instigates “the desire to reduce the perceived discrepancies between the learner’s actual and possible self” (2005: 29), and how these discrepancies come about.

Csizér & Dörnyei’s (2005) explanation of integrativeness in terms of possible selves indeed touches upon the core of the definitional problem – but, in my opinion, only superficially. Both in SL and FL contexts, there must be some internal aspiration to acquire attributes of an ‘ideal’

persona through language learning. The quid of the question, though, is not the *existence* of mental desires to develop those traits. What matters most is to identify the underlying forces that unconsciously give shape to and cause ideal selves to emerge. If not considered or taken for granted, those forces remain veiled behind a purely psychological conception of integrative behavior which is born and dies within the individual's mind. As Bourdieu put it, that can only be an unreal, inoculated view of the individual since

“[o]nly in imaginary experience, which neutralizes the sense of social realities, does the social world take the form of a universe of possibles equally possible for any possible subject. Agents shape their aspirations according to concrete indices of the accessible and the inaccessible, of what is and is not ‘for us’, a division as fundamental and as fundamentally recognized as that between the sacred and the profane” (in Calhoun *et al.* 2002: 287).

In short, the learner's experience in and with her social reality must influence her expectations and construction of an ideal self. A loose reference to “power and prestige” as that found in Csizér & Dörnyei's (2005) discussion does not link social world and psychological mind; it merely puts them side by side. The complex interactions between these dimensions can begin to surface when a more encompassing approach is adopted.

A logical consequence of framing the learner within Bourdieu's (e.g. 1985, 1986, 1989, Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992) theoretical agenda, as done here, is the need to explore the external constraints which may act upon her internal propensities or ‘selves’. By gathering information about young EFL learners' economic and cultural backgrounds as well as their parents' employment, and correlating that information with motivational scores, this study constitutes a first approximation to the understanding of social-psychological interactions. At the end of section II, I sketched some rough theoretically-informed hypotheses about the possible relationships between motivation and the possession of socially-valued assets. These hypotheses were merely speculative given the dearth of previous empirical data. The following discussion of results is guided by those questions and hypotheses, but only in a general sense. Due to the

exploratory nature of this study, my ultimate aim is essentially to capture and attempt to explain any patterns or relationships emerging from the data.

5.1. The economic dimension of motivation

By and large, a crucial finding in my study is that the strongest predictor of motivation among this cohort of EFL students is the volume of economic capital in the family. More concretely, the relatively more or less material advantages of some children according to the measures used here can explain the variability in the type and strength of reasons to study the language (i.e. Orientations), but also in the overall inclination to acquire the language (i.e. Total Motivation). This does not come as a surprise. Even though Bourdieu criticizes views of social stratification that focus *solely* on the economic side of struggles over power, economic differentials are still the “dominant principle of hierarchy” in his own approach (Swartz 1997: 137). Proof of this is the contention that any other form of capital is potentially convertible into monetary resources (Bourdieu 1986).

Yet, strangely enough, the relationship between economic capital and motivation for the respondents in my sample appears to somewhat defy the logic of habitus, the cognitive schemas that contain information about individual possibilities in the social sphere. Intuitively, because these mental dispositions are positively correlated with practices that reflect social positions, Total Motivation should correlate *positively* with economic capital. However, that is not what emerges from my dataset. Why does Total Motivation wane as the financial situation of the learners’ family in my sample improves, then? Even Case # 32 does not affect this trend – although its presence limits the weight of economic capital and enhances the predictive power

of cultural capital. Taken in isolation, this trend would be challenging to explain, to say the least. But, observing the effect of economic factors at more disaggregated levels can bring some light into this puzzle.

Orientations in general and instrumental ones in particular also hinge to a great extent on amounts of economic capital in the sample. Children lean towards pragmatic reasons for undertaking the learning activity when their families' material possibilities are more limited. Likewise, other possible indicators of economic capital, namely mother's and father's occupation, also display a negative correlation with instrumental and integrative orientations respectively.³⁵ For children whose mothers or fathers occupy *less* qualified jobs, the inclination to pursue EFL learning is *more* clearly dominated by either pragmatic or integrative goals. To gain some insights into the causes of the seemingly counter-intuitive negative relationship between economic background (both economic capital and occupation) and orientations, let us analyze the responses to this section of the questionnaire more in detail.

Of the four statements included in the Instrumental Orientations sub-component, items 10 and 36 refer to shorter-term goals (i.e. doing well at school and pleasing one's parents) whereas items 17 and 24 allude to more distant future career goals (i.e. access to college education and better-paying jobs). In general, EFL is overwhelmingly regarded as a positive contribution towards the attainment of shorter-term goals. With a greater percentage of children *always* replying 'yes' – rather than 'no' or 'maybe' – to items 10 and 36, there is little doubt that nine-year-olds are strongly motivated to learn English for practical reasons rooted in their immediate circumstances. Economic background does not seem to seriously affect children's desires to get good grades and act upon their parents' expectations. However, we should note that worse

³⁵ As before, the sign of the correlation coefficient remains unaltered by either the inclusion or omission of Case # 32. Nonetheless, the correlation between mother's occupation and instrumental orientations only reaches significant levels when this case is included in the sample.

economically-positioned children appear to be more certain about the utility of English to attain these goals. For example, about eighty-five percent of the children with mothers in lower-ranked occupational categories provided affirmative answers against fifty-nine percent when mothers occupied higher-ranked categories.

Stipek & Ryan (1997), conducting research on younger learners' general motivation, similarly found that economically-advantaged preschoolers could be more vulnerable to the effects of motivational decay.³⁶ Motivational levels in this study declined over time mainly as a function of a decrease in academic enjoyment and self-confidence. The authors referred to this as *performance* anxiety. L2 experts, in contrast, speak of *language* anxiety, which tends to be construed independently of parental pressures as “negative experiences in L2 contexts, where students may begin to associate the L2 with feelings of apprehension” (Gardner *et al.* 1997: 345). Although parental encouragement was found to effectively neutralize language anxiety (e.g. Gardner *et al.* 1999), parent's behavior might alternatively be felt as too demanding, and thus prove detrimental to learners' motivation.

Performance anxiety as described in Stipek & Ryan (1997) could then be a key to explain the variation in attitudes towards practical school-related reasons between children with different amounts of material wealth. The stronger effect of performance anxiety among children from families with better economic standing might thus derive from higher parental pressure for and expectations of academic success. This hypothesis certainly needs further empirical investigation, but it would be congruent with the assumption that, as the parents' economic position improves, aspirations for their children's socio-economic progress would be perceived

³⁶ The authors measured socio-economic status by means of parents' questionnaires on educational level and income. Additionally, it should be noted that Stipek & Ryan's (1997) results were not obtained using the Gardnerian motivational model. Even though due to all these differences their findings may not be straightforwardly comparable to mine, I believe the similarity of trends merits attention – and more in-depth investigation.

as more attainable. This perception would arise from the interaction of our inner knowledge about social positions (i.e. habitus) and our possibilities in the social world. Given that educational attainment is seen as a crucial factor affecting income distribution, these parents would probably demand better academic performance from their children. Unfortunately, if this holds true, for some of them, this might negatively impact their motivation by triggering high anxiety levels.

Future goals, in contrast, exhibit a rather different pattern which would, nonetheless, contradict the commonsensical intuition that “lower-socioeconomic students (...) may not comprehend that, if they get a good education, they increase their chances of securing college acceptance, good jobs, and financial stability” (Pintrich & Schunk 2002: 190). On the one hand, a large majority of the children in my database seem to perceive EFL learning as a strong positive influence on their access to college education (item 24). Importantly, responses are slightly more optimistic among less economically advantaged individuals. To illustrate, affirmative responses were obtained from more than seventy-eight of the children whose mothers were classified in lower-ranked jobs and from about sixty-two percent of those with mothers in higher-ranked jobs. On the other hand, regardless of economic background, a majority of the children who completed the survey are either pessimistic or unsure about the benefits of learning English as a way to secure better-paying jobs (Item 17). It is worth noting here that, among children from better economic backgrounds, negative/hesitant and affirmative responses are more evenly distributed (see Fig. 6 below).³⁷ For those in lower economic positions, responses are leaning towards the more optimistic end.

³⁷ The scale of Economic Capital was reduced to two categories, namely ‘Low’ and ‘High’, for ease of exposition. The cut-off value on the original 2-10 point scale was set at 5 (not the exact midpoint of the scale). This means that the trend exhibited here could actually reflect an underestimation.

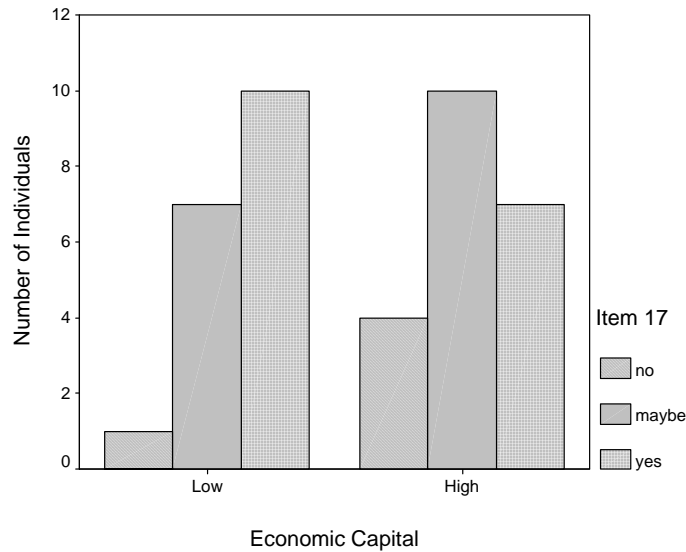


Figure 6: *Distribution of responses to the statement ‘Studying English is important for me because then I will be able to earn more money when I work’ by economic capital*

One plausible account for negative or hesitant stances about the usefulness of English for long-term goals could simply be the respondents’ young age. That is, they may regard college and jobs so distant in their future that they cannot relate their present activities to reasons which lie so far ahead in time. Their attitudes would, in this case, reflect doubts about a distant future. But, the intriguing split of responses into contradictory trends with English being viewed as beneficial for college access, but not for better employment undermines the explanatory value of age alone. Of course, we could entertain the hypothesis that the variation itself is the product of uncertainty. Children may have just provided random answers when pressed for it. Although this is always a possibility in survey research, especially when dealing with young populations, I do not think this is the case here. The intermediate option “maybe” was explicitly included in the questionnaire to avoid this problem. By comparing the number of ‘maybe’ and ‘yes’ responses in Fig. 6 for example, we see that most children with low Economic Capital preferred the affirmative option over the intermediate category. So, although only more empirical evidence

would resolve this dilemma, I will outline a hypothetical explanation based on theoretical formulations and historical data.

This third option could be based on Bourdieu's "hysteresis effect", that is to say a delay in the accommodation of cognitive structures to new external structural conditions in the aftermath of swift societal changes (Brubaker 1986, Swartz 1997). In other words, the reproductive tendencies of habitus can override its adaptive power so that adaptation to new conditions may lag behind. This temporary lack of synchronicity can result from, for instance, "a 'structural mismatch between aspirations and real probabilities' caused by educational expansion without parallel expansion and upgrading of job requirements in the job market" (Swartz 1997: 112). In Swartz' (1997) reading of Bourdieu, postwar Algeria serves to illustrate how "aspirations for higher education credentials that were rewarded by real job opportunities in an earlier period became frustrated by the growing 'structural mismatch' between education supply and labor-market demand".

In this respect, the Algerian example may be said to resemble the Argentinean situation after the deep crisis that swept its economy in 2001. Prior to the crisis, there was a general belief in the improvement of employment opportunities (and income equality) through education, which is by the way explicitly set forth in the rationale of the EFL program.³⁸ Due to the critical state of the

³⁸ "Este proyecto se origina en la convicción de que cuando se encara la enseñanza intensiva de lenguas extranjeras como una política de desarrollo a largo plazo y la escuela provee las condiciones propicias, los niños pertenecientes a sectores de bajos recursos tienen más posibilidades de contar con *herramientas sólidas para superar su condición económico-social y acceder a mejores oportunidades personales, laborales y sociales.*" [This project emerges from the conviction that when the intensive teaching of FLs is considered a policy of long-term development and schools offer the appropriate conditions, children belonging to disadvantaged sectors have more possibilities to count on *sound tools to overcome their socio-economic condition and access better personal, labor and social opportunities*] (Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires 2001a: 3, emphasis mine). Also, "(...) la incorporación de una segunda lengua en el currículum de escuelas públicas, principalmente aquellas ubicadas en los sectores más desfavorecidos como resultado de *una política de equidad*, eleva la calidad de la enseñanza; (...) la enseñanza de una lengua extranjera desde los primeros grados (...) favorece el logro de competencias *para desempeñarse en el futuro en diferentes ámbitos* (...)" [the incorporation of a second language in the curriculum of public schools, especially those located in more highly deprived sectors as the result of *a policy of equality*, raises the quality of

country's economy after 2001, unemployment became rampant. And here is where Bourdieu's "structural mismatch" between the benefits of English for education and employment may be useful. A generalized pessimism about securing better jobs due to English knowledge has not necessarily affected its value to access higher education. Children still consider English useful to seek educational development although qualifications in general (and language skills in particular) might no longer be a great advantage in the job market, where chances are limited under any circumstances. The traditional appeal of education for social mobility might not have waned even in the face of bleak employment prospects.

The other subcomponent of Orientations, i.e. Integrative Orientations, also holds a negative relationship, but with father's occupation (when Case # 32 is removed from the database).³⁹ With regard to parental roles in the development of attitudes, Gardner (1985) draws attention to some evidence which would show stronger parental influence on children's opinions when families belong to lower socio-economic strata. Unfortunately, there seems to be little knowledge about how father involvement in particular may affect children's motivation and school performance (Pintrich & Schunk 2002). My results indicate, however, that fathers with less prestigious jobs might have a bearing on children's attitudes to a certain extent. It is hard to comment on the nature of this effect from my data, but perhaps these fathers believe more strongly in the symbolic value of English for the attainment of social status. Qualitative research in the form of interviews with parents and children would be necessary to gain more profound insights.

Similarly, mother's occupation also appears to be related to the formation of attitudes about speakers of English. For the adaptation of Gardner's (1985) original questionnaire, it was

education; the teaching of a foreign language at early stages favors the achievement of competences *to perform in different areas in the future*] (Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires 2001b, emphasis mine).

³⁹ Although Economic Capital is not significantly correlated with Integrative Orientations, coefficients are also negative.

hypothesized that the TL group in a foreign context like the Argentinean one was formed by indigenous L2 speakers of English rather than by native speakers. The statements included characteristics which were supposed to generate a desire for identification, mostly in terms of material possessions. For children whose mothers perform lower ranked-jobs (and might even be employed by such groups), English tends to be associated with such characteristics. Generally speaking, this would support my original assumption that English represents a prestigious practice typical of high-status groups, at least in the minds of more deprived individuals. Children in better economic positions may perceive English as a more widespread phenomenon which is not necessarily the privilege of higher status groups.

Throughout this analysis of significant interactions between economic variables and certain motivational components, it was made evident that more disadvantaged children tend to express comparatively more optimistic views about the contributions of learning EFL to their present and future life chances. In general, they exhibit a higher proportion of affirmative responses or a more even distribution of affirmative-negative responses than more advantaged children. The analysis of response trends at disaggregate levels was intended to show that lower socio-economic status does not necessarily imply lower expectations. This apparent counter-intuitive statement was explained individually against the backdrop of previous findings or theoretical refinements. I hope that the arguments I provided in each case were convincing enough. Assuming that, it is time now to return to the broader issue that opened up this section: the negative impact of economic capital on motivation to learn EFL.

No doubt the amount of families' economic resources matters for the attitudes of these children. Several measures point to the differential effect of having vs. not having as many financial possibilities as other children. Paradoxically, the inconsistent behavior of the database due to

Case # 32 might be reassuring. With or without the outlier, the fact remains that some economic predictor makes a difference. The measures used might simply be capturing diverse aspects of the phenomenon. It seems important then not to circumscribe the questions on economic background to a single measure like occupation. Children do not always know exactly what their parents do for a living, for instance. They might just be able to provide a general description of their parents' activity.⁴⁰ This is worse for parents with lower economic status due to their lack of employment stability, and less easily defined job labels. But, in trying to avoid this problem, data can be made less reliable because questions have to tap into financial information indirectly. As shown here, a possible way to counteract this effect could be to carefully widen the scope of the questionnaire and construct multi-item scales.

Practices related to differential financial capabilities are varied. One of them can actually be learning a language. The hypothesis that EFL use in Argentina has come to be linked with higher status groups seems to be supported by my data. The more disadvantaged the respondents were the more economically distant from EFL speakers they placed themselves. These children apparently construe the community of speakers as wealthier, which in a way reflects Bourdieu's characterization of habitus as "a sense of one's place" plus "a sense of the place of others" (1989: 19). Their view of the social world builds on regular experiences and perceptions of that world. And, it is quite obvious that three years in the EFL program have not sufficed to eradicate some durable correlations between English and high status. Though they have been offered the chance to access English on a daily basis through the Plurilingual Schools Program, a divide persists in most children's minds between them and typical L2 speakers.

For children with lower socio-economic status, Total Motivation to learn the language appears to be greatly fueled by aspirations to further their educational (and, less clearly, work-related) goals

⁴⁰ As I learned while administering the questionnaires for this study.

as well as by prospects of immediate academic or parental rewards. The relationship between father's occupation and integrative attitudes also shows that, in addition, they might be willing to learn English in order to forge friendships with other children. In a much cited study on orientations, Clément & Kruidenier (1983) actually found that English and French speakers learning Spanish in Canada were primarily influenced by the same types of orientations: pragmatic goals (i.e. educational or professional), affective goals (i.e. making friends) and academic goals (i.e. acquiring knowledge).⁴¹ The authors claim that "the emergence of orientations [to second language acquisition] is, to a large extent, determined by who learns what in what milieu" (1983: 288). This last statement is compatible with an interpretation of 'milieu' in terms of status groups. In the same Argentinean EFL program, there is a tendency for orientations among more disadvantaged children to pattern comparably, which suggests they are socialized in different environments.

As orientations and attitudes towards the TL group increasingly grow more positive and strengthen (with decreasing economic power), students in my study become more *integratively* motivated to learn English in consonance with predictions coming from the Gardnerian model. A few arguments have been put forward throughout this section with the aim of clarifying some specific negative effects of economic capital on attitudes and orientations. I take up those arguments here to address the broader issue of motivational outcomes. First, it was pointed out that *performance anxiety* due to higher parental expectations might be adversely affecting motivational levels among more advantaged individuals. From a Bourdieusian perspective, this would be reasonable to expect of individuals for whom possibilities of intergenerational mobility through education might be more tangible. That parental behavior bears on their children's

⁴¹ In their sample, children were also drawn to learn the L2 for traveling, but this orientation was not tested in my own study.

attitudes, anxiety levels and performance at school is consistent with findings obtained by other researchers, as mentioned above. Gardner *et al.* (1999), for instance, reports meaningful interactions among these variables. The authors summarize their results by asserting that “parents play a role in the development of reactions toward the learning situation as well as in the language learning efforts of their children” (1999: 433). Unfortunately, my study does not measure anxiety, but a deeper understanding of its “facilitating and debilitating” effects for children with diverse backgrounds is much needed.⁴²

Second, I introduced Bourdieu’s notion of *hysteresis effect* to explain different attitudes towards education and work-related goals (in Brubaker 1985, and Swartz 1997). In a more general sense, the divergent motivational outcomes of more as opposed to less disadvantaged students can also be the result of a different adaptive response to shifting perceived possibilities in the social scene. Without longitudinal data on attitudes, it is hard to determine the direction of change, i.e. whether children’s views in any socio-economic group are becoming more pessimistic or more optimistic than before. Based on historical facts, I would favor the conjecture that children’s views of English and English learning hinge on their particular socio-economic circumstances as follows. The downward trend of social mobility in Argentina only became more crudely perceptible after 2001 as the neoliberal mirage of the 1990s vanished overnight. Because lower middle classes bore the hardest brunt of socio-economic deterioration, less disadvantaged children might have thus been faced with shrinking possibilities early on (and more bluntly). To them, English might not buy them much, especially when not strongly associated with higher economic status. In the eyes of more disadvantaged children, conversely, English might symbolize some privileged access to desirable characteristics. Given a chance to ‘acquire’ this

⁴² Here, I draw from Scovel’s distinction of language anxiety as it appears in Gardner *et al.* (1997: 344).

linguistic symbol, they might be positively biased by their perception of its advantages while not totally aware of its real contributions. This hypothesis, though, awaits empirical corroboration.

5.2. The cultural dimension of motivation

The most notable absence of predictive value in my study is for cultural capital. As previously noted, it does not contribute explanatory value as a significant factor in the equation towards Total Motivation at any level. A strong intuitive and theoretical prediction was that English would be construed as a desired cultural asset, and thus possibly correlated with higher volumes of cultural capital in the family. Some limitations of my study (see below for a detailed comment) may have obviously placed constraints on my findings. Information on parents' educational attainment or years of completed schooling, the most accepted measures of cultural level, could not be obtained. Some measures are additionally confounded with economic resources as well. In sum, unsurprisingly, the data obtained through this part of the questionnaire exhibit a high degree of unreliability. Both measurement weaknesses and sample size can have led to these results. In any event, contrary to expectations, cultural capital did not emerge as a predictor of motivation, orientations or attitudes in my study although more research would be desirable.

Given the exploratory aims of this study, it is important to note the almost significant effect of Cultural Capital on the Motivation Component since this could guide future deeper examination of the relationship. This component of the Gardnerian model is supposed to measure motivation per se. If taken separately, motivation as a complex of affect, effort and desire becomes detached from contextual influences. It particularly focuses on what Dörnyei (1994a) has termed

“learner’s level” motivation because it reflects his/her internal frame of mind for approaching the activity. Under these assumptions, then, the family’s attitudes towards cultural activities such as reading newspapers or attending cultural events might be acting upon the learner’s psychological predisposition to learn. By setting examples and providing an environment in which cultural activities are valued, the family engages in the “domestic transmission of cultural capital” as envisioned by Bourdieu (1986: 244). In the author’s perspective, cultural capital in this subtle “embodied state” becomes intangible and almost irreducible to direct monetary compensation.⁴³ Children appropriate it implicitly in the course of their upbringing as a sort of “cultural competence.” With regard to learning English, this cultural competence may provide some children with an unconscious inclination to more actively engage in acquiring knowledge. It would be interesting, for example, to compare language and general motivation among individuals with different socialization experiences to discern whether language motivation indeed shows distinctive trends.

Also, within the cultural dimension, it is important to analyze the motivational effects of contact with the language and its speakers in more naturalistic contexts. I pointed out before that one way in which children gain exposure to a foreign language outside the classroom is the use of internet. Apart from tapping into the cultural and attitudinal dimensions of motivation, internet use can be problematic as a measure of language ‘availability’ because it is confounded with economic capital to a certain extent. That is, internet access is possible mostly for children whose parents can afford to purchase a computer and home internet service, or to pay for internet surfing at a public place. Very few public schools offer those amenities, and even when they do, they restrict it to class use only.

⁴³ In its two other forms, objectified and institutionalized, cultural capital can be more directly convertible into economic capital. See Bourdieu 1986 for a discussion about these three forms of cultural capital.

Despite these shortcomings, internet use rendered some interesting correlations which hint at its beneficial role in learning foreign languages. It is meaningfully related to interest in the language and attitudes towards its speakers. In the first case, it can be that as regular contact with English increases, its status as a global lingua franca becomes more established, and this ultimately affects motivation to learn it. Its relationship with attitudes towards the TL group is less clear, though. Remember that the TL group is here formed by fellow nationals with a better status within the same monolingual community. According to my data, as students use internet more often, they seem to become more aware of the status and prestige of English. This is merely speculative at this point. Given the increasing massive access to the internet (even in developing countries) and its central function in communication across cultures and dissemination of information, it should figure more prominently in research on FL motivation.

5.3. What about integrativeness then?

The Gardnerian model of Integrative Motivation emerged from research in multilingual contexts of SL learning like Canada. In a recent formulation, Gardner defines integrativeness as “a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community” (2001: 5). Studies applying Gardner’s framework in FL settings have underscored the need for a distinction between SL and FL contexts by pointing to the limitations of such definitions of integrativeness for understanding monolingual societies. However, no serious debate ensued from this obvious inconsistency until Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) published their study on Hungarian students. Surprisingly enough, Integrativeness was found to be the best predictor of effort and language choice even in the case of English, a global LWC no longer

easily attached to a community of native speakers. The authors hence speculated that integrativeness in monolingual societies could be understood as the adoption of an “ideal self” identity. A much awaited elaboration of that initial hypothesis finally came out this year in Csizér & Dörnyei (2005). However, it fell short of satisfyingly delving into and expanding the initial theoretical proposal.

As remarked before, interpretations of integrativeness that rely solely on the notion of “possible selves” can be problematic. Although the ultimate aim of redefining the concept is to address *contextual* differences between SL and FL students, Dörnyei & Csizér’s (2005) explanation circumscribes the phenomenon to the *mental* realm. This immediately brings up the question of why and how these “selves” originate and develop, which the authors do not tackle in any systematic, clear manner. Some consideration of factors affecting the formation of integrative attitudes (or possible selves) in foreign settings is still lacking. In light of this state of affairs, I introduced social stratification as a basic differentiation system in society which promotes attitude formation (or identity construction). Since language use is unquestionably tied to social class and status, motivation to learn a L2 should also be influenced by membership in certain socio-economic strata. If so, unlike the theory of “possible selves”, Bourdieusian habitus could offer a similar psycho-socially grounded construct, albeit articulated within current empirical and theoretical sociological research.

Through this study of EFL learning in Plurilingual Schools in Buenos Aires, I showed that inquiring into social stratification can illuminate aspects of the cognitive formation of attitudes and predispositions to L2 learning. Regardless of whether we call this “habitus” or “possible selves”, the crucial influence of external societal forces on our internal tendencies cannot be overlooked without unrealistically idealizing the learner. I strongly believe Bourdieu’s

contributions lend themselves particularly well to this analysis because of their foundation on a mental-social relational perspective. The findings obtained here by operationalizing Bourdieu's tripartite concept of capital and the interpretative possibilities the theory offers reveal how this gradational approach to social stratification can depict a finely-grained picture of L2 motivation. Social stratification conceptualized in the Bourdieusian tradition does influence motivational levels to learn EFL. Economic capital was found to outperform both cultural capital and parents' occupation, and thus establish itself as the most powerful explanation of Total Motivation. A primary distinctive marker of social status in Bourdieu's theory, economic capital includes material possessions and monetary possibilities. The EFL learners in this study whose families accumulated given amounts of this capital type exhibited consistent intra-group patterns of L2 motivation, which would point to the reproductive effects of 'habitus'. A surprising highlight is that, contrary to expectations, children of poorer economic backgrounds tend to be more optimistic and motivated about learning English. This demands more thorough investigation given its implications for teaching and language policy. If performance anxiety plays a role, teaching efforts to bolster motivation can only succeed with appropriate parental support. In the realm of public policy, the incorporation of intensive language programs seems to be well-founded. Children of lower strata display enthusiastic attitudes towards EFL learning, which would ultimately produce higher attainment outcomes.

In spite of this important finding, an effect of the socio-economic measures on Integrativeness alone could not be ascertained. The prediction that this concept would be particularly susceptible to distinctive social positions is not supported by my data. The next section in fact identifies some shortcomings of this study which could have seriously undermined potential meaningful associations. Nevertheless, the significant correlations between parental occupation and

Integrativeness provide some source of hope for further exploration. Parents' general attitudes and involvement in their children's learning activities can arguably generate durable unconscious predispositions among learners. The relation between parents' habitus and rearing practices, and their joint impact on L2 motivation could add a fruitful avenue of research to the motivation agenda.

5.4. Limitations

Lastly, a few words should be said about some important limitations to the scope and applicability of the results discussed here. Some were pointed out in the course of the previous exposition, but others call for clarification. As in any scientific endeavor, the first constraining factor derives from the method employed. In research on L2 motivation and attitudes, questionnaires have become a widespread and almost the default method of data collection.⁴⁴ The lure of obtaining an enormous amount of data in a short period of time makes this method so attractive. Its alleged unreliability is counteracted, in part, by the use of standard instruments like Gardner's (1985) *AMTB* which have been thoroughly tested, strengthened and modified to suit different purposes and contexts. However, there are other sources of weaknesses as well. Dörnyei (2003c), for one, pinpoints and succinctly explains the pros and cons of questionnaire research. To him, the main areas of concern are lack of depth in elicited content (obviously a trade-off with time and quantity), and respondents' performance problems such as biases, carelessness or fatigue.

⁴⁴ The need and advantages of adopting alternative (qualitative) methods in the study of L2 motivation is addressed in Kalaja & Lappanen (1998), McGroarty (1998) and Spolsky (2000), for instance.

Working with young populations can certainly make matters worse. Children have shorter attention spans which can lead to more unintentional errors or demotivation to answer; they may have a harder time interpreting statements; they might be more liable to produce positive responses or to overgeneralize their opinions due to their restricted experience. Although all these issues were taken into account while designing and adapting the questionnaires in my study, performance problems on certain questionnaire items were actually observed during actual administration. I was able to provide clarifications and help children with their problems whenever they voiced them explicitly. However, some of them may not have done so.

The measurement of socio-economic background was particularly sensitive to these issues. As mentioned in previous sections, the Socio-Economic Questionnaire was designed for this study, and had to be approved by the Argentinean school authorities. To comply with the latter and make sure that children would know the information requested, some content could not be directly elicited (for example, items asking about material possessions were ruled out) and questions had to be kept fairly simple (for example, reading newspapers was used as a proxy for parental educational level). The low levels of reliability were likely the aggregate of both factors (i.e. indirectness and simplicity) together with confounding effects. Readers should then be wary of the novel – and consequently rather experimental – nature of the Socio-Economic Questionnaire.

Another important caveat is related to the generalizability of results. On the one hand, my questionnaire items were either adapted or conceived to suit both my theoretical assumptions and the context of the study. The data was intended to reflect the opinions and situation of a particular group of students under specific circumstances of EFL learning. This evidently restricts the possibility of generalizing my findings beyond this sample. Additionally,

comparability with similar studies is weakened to a certain extent by the use of differently worded test items and the elimination of one *AMTB* component, namely Attitudes towards the learning situation.⁴⁵

On the other hand, my population sample suffers from a serious (though uncontrollable) problem of representativeness. Both the number and type of respondents were highly constrained by the requirement of signed parental consent – but more specifically because of the length and content of such document. In certain national and socio-economic contexts, this predictably results in a biased pool of participants which tends to include children of literate parents who are sufficiently involved in their children's education – not to mention other characteristics such as the parents' legal status and reading comprehension skills. The implications of this would merit a long discussion. For the sake of brevity, let me just say that my findings are unfortunately confined to a small proportion of the students in this EFL program with almost invariably high levels of motivation.⁴⁶ The lack of statistical significance in some correlations and regressions can very well stem from these sampling limitations as well.

With regard to the statistical analyses, it is worth adding that the significant correlations obtained in this study do not entail causal relations. As it is well-known, correlations just establish a connection between two variables which, if strong enough, is inferred to be less attributable to chance. If any causal interpretations were offered on the basis of significant correlations throughout the discussion of results, these were merely intended as hypothetical suppositions founded on previous research which must be subject to empirical testing.

⁴⁵ The omission of this component may have also led to an under- or over- estimation of the total motivation scores since, according to Gardner's (2000) model, the different components of Integrative Motivation are interrelated.

⁴⁶ This may be a reason why Case # 32 stands out as an outlier in my database since it evinces comparatively lower scores than most other respondents.

My final comment in this section goes to the subjective dimension brought to scientific work by the researcher as a socially and ideologically situated individual herself. Hopefully, the reader was not misled into construing the views or interpretations here as unaffected by my own position in several ‘fields’. Although the use of surveys and statistical analysis may have created that illusion, I believe it is important to remember that

“[t]he idea of a neutral science is a fiction, and an interested fiction, which enables one to pass as scientific a neutralized and euphemized form of the dominant representation of the social world that is particularly efficacious symbolically because it is partially misrecognizable” (Bourdieu in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 51)

Actually, in the course of developing this project, my perspectives were transformed many times and in various ways, especially after hearing the voices (both personally and through the data) which I attempted to bring to the fore here. This work is the result of one informed interpretation of those voices – or my ‘truth’, as the quote opening this paper forewarns.

APPENDIX A

Motivation Questionnaire (Spanish version)

<i>¿CUAL ES TU OPINION EN CADA CASO? Por favor, leé las siguientes oraciones y poné una cruz debajo de una sola (1) de las tres opciones de la derecha.</i>	“Sí.”	“Quizás sí; quizás no.”	“No.”
1. Los argentinos que hablan inglés son muy simpáticos.			
2. Aprender un idioma es divertido.			
3. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque así puedo hacer nuevos amigos.			
4. Me gustaría poder conversar con gente en otro idioma.			
5. Los argentinos que saben inglés viven en barrios más lindos.			
6. Para la clase de inglés, estudio lo menos posible.			
7. Quisiera aprender bien otro idioma.			
8. Contesto muchas preguntas de la maestra de inglés.			
9. Para mí, estudiar inglés es aburrido.			
10. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque así me va mejor en las otras clases de la escuela.			
11. Los argentinos que saben inglés se van de vacaciones a otros países.			
12. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque mis amigos escuchan canciones en inglés.			
13. Me esfuerzo muy poco para hacer bien los deberes.			
<i>Seguí en la próxima página...</i>			

¿CUAL ES TU OPINION EN CADA CASO? <i>Por favor, leé las siguientes oraciones y poné una cruz debajo de una sola (1) de las opciones de la derecha.</i>	“Sí.”	“Quizás sí; quizás no.”	“No.”
14. Las clases de inglés son una parte importante de la escuela.			
15. Los argentinos que saben inglés tienen mucha plata.			
16. Me gustaría ver programas en inglés en la tele para practicar.			
17. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque así voy a poder ganar más plata cuando trabaje.			
18. Si pudiera elegir, no estudiaría inglés, estudiaría otro idioma.			
19. Cuando termine la escuela, voy a dejar de estudiar inglés.			
20. Estudio inglés en mi casa para aprender más rápido.			
21. Los argentinos que hablan inglés son muy inteligentes.			
22. Cuando mi maestra de inglés me da los deberes corregidos, los guardo sin mirar los errores.			
23. Quiero tener más horas de inglés en la escuela para aprender más.			
24. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque así voy a poder ir a la universidad cuando sea más grande.			
25. Si no enseñaran idiomas en la escuela, estudiaría algún idioma igual después de la escuela.			
26. De todas las clases de la escuela, inglés es la que menos me gusta.			
Seguí en la próxima página...			

¿CUAL ES TU OPINION EN CADA CASO? <i>Por favor, leé las siguientes oraciones y poné una cruz debajo de una sola (1) de las tres opciones de la derecha.</i>	“Sí.”	“Quizás sí; quizás no.”	“No.”
27. Quisiera poder leer cosas en otro idioma.			
28. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque los chicos de otras escuelas aprenden inglés.			
29. Me encanta estudiar inglés.			
30. En la clase, prefiero que la maestra hable sólo en inglés.			
31. Los argentinos que saben inglés tienen autos caros.			
32. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque mis amigos también saben inglés.			
33. Si tengo problemas para entender algo en la clase de inglés, busco ayuda enseguida.			
34. Odio el inglés.			
35. Cuando escucho una canción en inglés, presto mucha atención para tratar de entender.			
36. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque así mis padres están contentos.			
37. Estudiar inglés es muy divertido.			
38. Voy a seguir aprendiendo otros idiomas.			
ESTE ES EL FINAL DEL PRIMER CUESTIONARIO. ¡Gracias!			

APPENDIX B

Motivation Questionnaire (English version)

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION IN EACH CASE? <i>Please, read the following statements and put a cross under only one (1) of the three options on the right.</i>	“Yes.”	“Maybe, yes; maybe not.”	“No.”
1. The Argentines who speak English are very nice.			
2. Learning a language is fun.			
3. Studying English is important for me because then I can make new friends.			
4. I would like to be able to talk with other people in another language.			
5. The Argentines who speak English live in nicer neighborhoods.			
6. I study as little as possible for my English class.			
7. I would like to learn another language well.			
8. I respond to a many of my English teacher’s questions.			
9. To me, learning English is boring.			
10. Studying English is important for me because then I can do better in my other school classes.			
11. The Argentines who speak English go on vacation to other countries.			
12. Studying English is important for me because my friends listen to songs in English.			
13. I work very little to get my assignments right.			
<i>Continue on the following page...</i>			

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION IN EACH CASE? <i>Please, read the following statements and put a cross under only one (1) of the three options on the right.</i>	“Yes.”	“Maybe yes; maybe not.”	“No.”
14. English classes are an important part of school.			
15. The Argentines who speak English have a lot of money.			
16. I would like to watch TV programs in English to practice.			
17. Studying English is important for me because then I will be able to earn more money when I work.			
18. If I could choose, I wouldn't study English, I would study another language.			
19. When I finish school, I'll stop studying English.			
20. I study English at home to learn faster.			
21. The Argentines who speak English are very intelligent.			
22. When my English teacher returns my corrected assignments, I put them away without looking at the mistakes.			
23. I want to have more hours of English at school to learn more.			
24. Studying English is important for me because then I will be able to go to college when I'm older.			
25. If I didn't have language classes at school, I would study a language after school anyway.			
26. Of all the classes at school, English is the one I like the least.			
<i>Continue on the following page...</i>			

WHAT IS YOUR OPINION IN EACH CASE? <i>Please, read the following statements and put a cross under only one (1) of the three options on the right.</i>	“Yes.”	“Maybe yes; maybe not.”	“No.”
27. I would like to read staff in other languages.			
28. Studying English is important for me because children from other schools learn English.			
29. I love to study English.			
30. In class, I prefer that the teacher speaks only in English.			
31. The Argentines who speak English drive expensive cars.			
32. Studying English is important for me because my friends also speak English.			
33. If I have trouble understanding something in the English class, I seek help right away.			
34. I hate English.			
35. When I hear a song in English, I pay a lot of attention to try and understand the lyrics.			
36. Studying English is important for me because then my parents are happy.			
37. Studying English is a lot of fun.			
38. I'm going to continue studying other languages.			
THIS IS THE END OF THE FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE. Thanks!			

APPENDIX C

Socio-Economic Questionnaire (Spanish version)

A1.	
(a1a) ¿Trabaja tu papá?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(a1b) ¿De qué trabaja tu papá?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
(a1c) Si está desocupado, ¿cuál fue su último trabajo?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
A2.	
(a2a) ¿Trabaja tu mamá?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(a2b) ¿De qué trabaja tu mamá?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
(a2c) Si está desocupada, ¿cuál fue su último trabajo?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
B1.	
(b1a) ¿Lee el diario tu papá?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(b1a) Si tu respuesta fue ‘SI’, ¿con qué frecuencia lee el diario?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Todos los días. <input type="checkbox"/> 2 o 3 veces por semana. <input type="checkbox"/> Sólo los domingos.
(b1b) Si tu respuesta fue ‘SI’, ¿qué diario o diarios lee?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
B2.	
(b2a) ¿Lee el diario tu mamá?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(b2a) Si tu respuesta fue ‘SI’, ¿con qué frecuencia lee el diario?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Todos los días. <input type="checkbox"/> 2 o 3 veces por semana. <input type="checkbox"/> Sólo los domingos.
(b2b) Si tu respuesta fue ‘SI’, ¿qué diario o diarios lee?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
<i>Seguí en la próxima página...</i>	

C1.	
(c1a) ¿Salís a pasear con tus papás?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(c1b) ¿Adónde van con más frecuencia?	<i>Marcá la/s respuesta/s correcta/s.</i> (c1b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> A la plaza. (c1b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> Al cine. (c1b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> Al teatro. (c1b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> A un parque de diversiones. (c1b.5) <input type="checkbox"/> Al shopping. (c1b.6) <input type="checkbox"/> A un club. (c1b.7) <input type="checkbox"/> A otros lugares. ¿Cuáles?
(c1c) ¿Adónde saliste durante las últimas vacaciones de invierno/verano?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
C2.	
(c2a) ¿Usás Internet?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(c2a) Si tu respuesta fue 'SI', ¿con qué frecuencia usás Internet?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta..</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Todos los días. <input type="checkbox"/> 3 o 4 veces por semana. <input type="checkbox"/> 1 o 2 veces por semana. <input type="checkbox"/> Casi nunca.
(c2b) Si tu respuesta fue 'SI', ¿dónde usás Internet?	<i>Marcá la/s respuesta/s correcta/s.</i> (c2b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> En tu casa. (c2b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> En un negocio/cybercafé. (c2b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> En la escuela. (c2b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> En la casa de un amigo o familiar.
D1.	
(d1a) ¿Con quiénes jugás después de la escuela?	<i>Marcá la/s respuesta/s correcta.</i> (d1a.1) <input type="checkbox"/> Con parientes. (d1a.2) <input type="checkbox"/> Con amigos del barrio. (d1a.3) <input type="checkbox"/> Con amigos de la escuela. (d1a.4) <input type="checkbox"/> Con amigos de otros lados. ¿De dónde?
(d1b) ¿Tus amigos tienen Internet en su casa?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> (d1b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> La mayoría. (d1b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> Algunos. (d1b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> Unos pocos. (d1b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> Casi ninguno. (d1b.5) <input type="checkbox"/> Ninguno.
(d1c) ¿Jugás a los videojuegos con tus amigos?	<i>Marcá la respuesta correcta.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> SI. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(d1d) Si tu respuesta fue 'SI', ¿dónde juegan?	<i>Marcá la/s respuesta/s correcta/s.</i> (d1d.1) <input type="checkbox"/> En tu casa. (d1d.2) <input type="checkbox"/> En la casa de tus amigos. (d1d.3) <input type="checkbox"/> En la casa de tus parientes. (d1d.4) <input type="checkbox"/> En un negocio. (d1d.5) <input type="checkbox"/> En otro lugar. ¿Dónde?
(d1e) ¿Adónde salieron tus amigos durante las últimas vacaciones de invierno/verano?	<i>Escribí tu respuesta en este espacio.</i>
LLEGASTE AL FINAL. ☺ ¡Muchas gracias por tu ayuda!	

APPENDIX D

Socio-Economic Questionnaire (English version)

A1.	
(a1a) Does your father work?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(a1b) What does your father do?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
(a1b) If he is unemployed, what was his last job?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
A2.	
(a2a) Does your mother work?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(a2b) What does your mother do?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
(a2b) If she is unemployed, what was her last job?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
B1.	
(b1a) Does your father read the newspaper?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(b1a) If your answer was 'YES', how often does he read the newspaper?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Every day. <input type="checkbox"/> Twice or three times a week. <input type="checkbox"/> Only on Sundays.
(b1b) If your answer was 'YES', what newspaper/s does your father read?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
B2.	
(b2a) Does your mother read the newspaper?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(b2a) If your answer was 'YES', how often does she read the newspaper?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Every day. <input type="checkbox"/> Twice or three times a week. <input type="checkbox"/> Only on Sundays.
(b2b) If your answer is 'YES', what newspaper/s does she read?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
<i>Continue on the following page...</i>	

C1.	
(c1a) Do you go out with your parents?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(c1b) Where do you go more often?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer/s.</i> (c1b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> To the park. (c1b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> To the movies. (c1b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> To the theater. (c1b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> To an amusement park. (c1b.5) <input type="checkbox"/> To a shopping mall. (c1b.6) <input type="checkbox"/> To a club. (c1b.7) <input type="checkbox"/> To other places. Which one/s?
(c1c) Where did you go during your last winter/summer school break?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
C2.	
(c2a) Do you use Internet?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(c2a) If your answer was 'YES', how often do you use Internet?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Every day. <input type="checkbox"/> Three or four times a week. <input type="checkbox"/> Once or twice a week. <input type="checkbox"/> Almost never.
(c2b) If your answer was "YES", where do you use Internet?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer/s.</i> (c2b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> At home. (c2b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> In a shop/cybercafe. (c2b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> At school. (c2b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> At a friend's or relative's.
D1.	
(d1a) Who do you play with after school?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer/s.</i> (d1a.1) <input type="checkbox"/> With relatives. (d1a.2) <input type="checkbox"/> With friends from the neighborhood. (d1a.3) <input type="checkbox"/> With friends from school. (d1a.4) <input type="checkbox"/> With friends from other places. From where?
(d1b) Do your friends have an Internet connection at home?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> (d1b.1) <input type="checkbox"/> Most of them. (d1b.2) <input type="checkbox"/> Some of them. (d1b.3) <input type="checkbox"/> Only a few of them. (d1b.4) <input type="checkbox"/> Almost none of them. (d1b.5) <input type="checkbox"/> None of them.
(d1c) Do you play video games with your friends?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> YES. <input type="checkbox"/> NO.
(d1d) If your answer was 'YES', where do you play?	<i>Mark the appropriate answer/s.</i> (d1d.1) <input type="checkbox"/> At home. (d1d.2) <input type="checkbox"/> At a friend's. (d1d.3) <input type="checkbox"/> At a relative's. (d1d.4) <input type="checkbox"/> In a shop. (d1d.5) <input type="checkbox"/> In some other place. Where?
(d1e) Where did your friends go during the last winter/summer school break?	<i>Write your answer in the space below.</i>
YOU HAVE REACHED THE END. ☺ Thanks a lot for your help!	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Armendáriz, A. M. (2000). Política y planificación lingüística en Argentina con proyección al MERCOSUR educativo: multilingüismo y equidad. *Linguagem & Ensino*, 3(1), 139-156.
- Ash, S. (2002). Social Class. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pp. 402-421). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (3rd ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters LTD.
- Beck, R. C. (2000). *Motivation: Theory and Principles* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and Society*(14), 723-744.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*(1), 14-25.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Brubaker, R. (1985). Rethinking Classical Theory. The Sociological Vision of Pierre Bourdieu. *Theory and Society*(14), 745-775.
- Buchmann, C., & Hannum, E. (2001). Education and Stratification in Developing Countries: A Review of Theories and Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 77-102.
- Calhoun, C., Gerteis, J., Moody, J., Pfaff, S., & Virk, I. (2002). *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cameron, D. (1990). Demythologizing sociolinguistics: why language does not reflect society. In J. E. Joseph & T. J. Taylor (Eds.), *Ideologies of Language* (pp. 79-93). London, UK: Routledge.
- Clément, R., & Gardner, R. C. (2001). Second Language Mastery. In H. Giles & W. P. Robinson (Eds.), *The new handbook of language and social psychology* (2nd edition ed., pp. 489-

- 504). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Clément, R., & Kruidenier, B. G. (1983). Orientations in Second Language Acquisition: I. The Effects of Ethnicity, Milieu, and Target Language on their Emergence. *Language Learning*, 33(3), 273-291.
- Cortés-Conde, F. (2003). "Who is it that can tell me who I am?" The quest for ethnicity in the Anglo communities of Buenos Aires. *World Englishes*, 22(2), 103-121.
- Crookes, G., & Schmidt, R. W. (1991). Motivation: Reopening the Research Agenda. *Language Learning*, 41(4), 469-512.
- Csizér, K., & Dörnyei, Z. (2005). The Internal Structure of Language Learning Motivation and Its Relationship with Language Choice and Learning Effort. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(i), 19-36.
- Delamater, J. (Ed.). (2003). *Handbook of social psychology*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Dörnyei, Z. (1994a). Motivation and Motivating in the Foreign Language Classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 78(iii), 273-284.
- Dörnyei, Z. (1994b). Understanding L2 Motivation: On with the Challenge! *The Modern Language Journal*(78), 515-523.
- Dörnyei, Z. (1999). Motivation. In B. Spolsky (Ed.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics* (pp. 525-532). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2000a). Motivation. In M. Byram (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning* (pp. 425-432). London, UK: Routledge.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2000b). Motivation theories. In M. Byram (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning* (pp. 432-435). London, UK: Routledge.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001a). *Teaching and Researching Motivation*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001b). New Themes and Approaches in Second Language Motivation Research. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 21, 43-59.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2003a). Introduction. *Language Learning*, 53(s1), 1-2.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2003b). Attitudes, Orientations, and Motivations in Language Learning: Advances in Theory, Research, and Applications. *Language Learning*, 53(s1), 3-31.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2003c). *Questionnaires in Second Language Research: Construction,*

- Administration and Processing*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Clément, R. (2001). Motivational Characteristics of Learning Different Target Languages: Results of a Nationwide Survey. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 400-432). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Csizér, K. (2002). Some Dynamics of Language Attitudes and Motivation: Results from a Longitudinal Nationwide Study. *Applied Linguistics*, 23(4), 421-462.
- Eayrs, M. (1999). *The British Council Landmark Review: Argentina*. Retrieved 03/2004, from <http://www.britishcouncil.org/english/amerigo/argentina>.
- Ferguson, E. D. (2001). Motivation. In W. E. Craighead & C. B. Nemeroff (Eds.), *The Corsini Encyclopedia of Psychology and Behavioral Science* (Vol. 3, pp. 980-983). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Foster, S. W. (1986). Reading Pierre Bourdieu. *Cultural Anthropology*, 1(1), 103-110.
- Friederich, P. (2003). English in Argentina: attitudes of MBA students. *World Englishes*, 22(2), 173-184.
- Friederich, P., & Berns, M. (2003). Introduction: English in South America, the other forgotten continent. *World Englishes*, 22(2), 83-90.
- Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Gardner, R. C. (2000). Correlation, causation, motivation, and second language acquisition. *Canadian Psychology*, 41(1), 10-24.
- Gardner, R. C. (2001). Integrative Motivation and Second Language Acquisition. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 1-20). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.
- Gardner, R. C. (2002). Social Psychological Perspective on Second Language Acquisition. In R. Kaplan (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 102-169). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, R. C., & MacIntyre, P. D. (1993). A student's contributions to second-language learning. Part II: Affective variables. *Language Teaching*(26), 1-11.
- Gardner, R. C., Masgoret, A., Tennant, J., & Mihic, L. (2004). Integrative Motivation: Changes During a Year-Long Intermediate-Level Language Course. *Language Learning*, 54(1), 1-34.

- Gardner, R. C., Masgoret, A., & Tremblay, P. F. (1999). Home Background Characteristics and Second Language Learning. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 18*(4), 419-437.
- Gardner, R. C., & Tremblay, P. F. (1994a). On Motivation, Research Agendas, and Theoretical Frameworks. *The Modern Language Journal, 78*(3), 359-368.
- Gardner, R. C., & Tremblay, P. F. (1994b). On Motivation: Measurement and Conceptual Considerations. *The Modern Language Journal, 78*(4), 524-527.
- Gardner, R. C., Tremblay, P. F., & Masgoret, A. (1997). Towards a Full Model of Second Language Learning: An Empirical Investigation. *The Modern Language Journal, 81*(3), 344-362.
- Gass, S. M., & Selinker, L. (2001). *Second Language Acquisition. An Introductory Course* (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Grusky, D. B. (1994). The Contours of Social Stratification. In D. B. Grusky (Ed.), *Social Stratification. Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective* (pp. 3-35). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1975). *Four Factor Index of Social Status*. Unpublished manuscript, Dept. of Sociology, Yale University.
- INDEC (Ministerio de Economía de la Nación). (2003). *Encuesta Permanente de Hogares [Ongoing Household Survey]*. Retrieved 10/28/2003, from <http://www.indec.mecon.ar>.
- Järvelä, S. (2001). Shifting Research on Motivation and Cognition to an Integrated Approach on Learning and Motivation in Context. In S. Volet & S. Järvelä (Eds.), *Motivation In Learning Contexts: Theoretical Advances and Methodological Implications* (pp. 3-14). Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Kalaja, P., & Leppanen, S. (1998). Towards a discursive social psychology of second language learning: the case of motivation. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia, 16*, 1-10.
- Kelly, J. R. (2004). Mood and Emotion in Groups. In M. B. Brewer & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Emotion and Motivation* (pp. 95-112). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kerbo, H. R. (1996). *Social Stratification and Inequality. Class Conflict in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (3rd ed.). New York, NYC: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Lens, W. (1996). Motivation and Learning. In E. de Corte & F. E. Weinert (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Developmental and Instructional Psychology* (pp. 445-451). Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- Long, M. H. (1996). Foreign Language Acquisition, Process of. In E. de Corte & F. E. Weinert (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Developmental and Instructional Psychology* (pp.

- 511-519). Oxford, UK: Pergamon.
- MacIntyre, P. D., Clément, R., Dörnyei, Z., & Noels, K. A. (1998). Conceptualizing Willingness to Communicate in a L2: A Situational Model of L2 Confidence and Affiliation. *The Modern Language Journal*, 82(4), 545-562.
- Masgoret, A., & Gardner, R. C. (2003). Attitudes, Motivation, and Second Language Learning: A Meta-Analysis of Studies Conducted by Gardner and Associates. *Language Learning*, 53(1), 123-163.
- McGroarty, M. (1998). Constructive and Constructivist Challenges for Applied Linguistics. *Language Learning*, 48(4), 591-622.
- McGroarty, M. (2001). Situating Second Language Motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 69-91). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Curriculum Center.
- Meece, J. L. (2002). *Child and Adolescent Development for Educators*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
- Narayan, D., & Cassidy, M. F. (2001). A Dimensional Approach to Measuring Social Capital: Development and Validation of a Social Capital Inventory. *Current Sociology*, 22(2), 199-209.
- Nielsen, P. M. (2003). English in Argentina: a sociolinguistic profile. *World Englishes*, 22(2), 199-209.
- Noels, K. A. (2001). New Orientations in Language Learning Motivation: Towards a Model of Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Integrative Orientations and Motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and Second Language Learning* (pp. 43-68). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i, Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center.
- Oxford, R. L. (1994). Where Are We Regarding Language Learning Motivation? *The Modern Language Journal*, 78(4), 512-514.
- Pintrich, P. R., & Schunk, D. H. (2002). *Motivation in Education: Theory, Research and Applications*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Reeve, J. (2005). *Understanding Motivation and Emotion* (4th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. (2001a). *Proyecto Escuelas Bilingües, Primer Ciclo [Bilingual Schools Project, Grades 1-3]*. Unpublished manuscript, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. (2001b). *Resolución No. 786: Creación*

- del Programa "Escuelas Primarias Bilingües de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires" [Creation of the Program "Bilingual Elementary Schools of the City of Buenos Aires].*
Retrieved 04/01/2005, from
http://www.buenosaires.gov.ar/areas/leg_tecnica/boletines/20010606.htm.
- Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. (2002). *Resolución No. 2736: Transformación del "Programa Escuelas Bilingües en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires" en el "Programa Escuelas de Modalidad Plurilingüe con intensificación en lenguas materna y extranjeras" [Transformation of the "Program of Bilingual Schools in the City of Buenos Aires" into the "Program of Plurilingual Schools with intensification in L1 and FLs"]*.
Retrieved 04/01/2005, from
http://www.buenosaires.gov.ar/areas/leg_tecnica/boletines/20021024.htm.
- Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. (2003a). *Decreto No. 140: "Programa de Escuelas de Modalidad Plurilingüe" ["Program of Plurilingual Schools"]*.
Retrieved 04/01/2005, from
http://www.buenosaires.gov.ar/areas/leg_tecnica/boletines/20030227.htm.
- Secretaría de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. (2003b). *Resolución No. 1063: Incorporación al Reglamento Escolar el Capítulo correspondiente a las Escuelas de Modalidad Plurilingüe [Incorporation of the Section on Plurilingual Schools into the School Regulation]*. Retrieved 04/01/2005, from
http://www.buenosaires.gov.ar/areas/leg_tecnica/boletines/20030521.htm.
- Smith, P. (2001). *Cultural Theory: An Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.
- Spolsky, B. (2000). Language Motivation Revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, 21(2), 157-169.
- Stipek, D. J., & Ryan, R. H. (1997). Economically Disadvantaged Preschoolers: Ready to Learn but Further to Go. *Developmental Psychology*, 33(4), 711-723.
- Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture & Power. The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tremblay, P. F., & Gardner, R. C. (1995). Expanding the Motivation Construct in Language Learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 79(4), 505-518.
- Wacquant, L. J. D. (1989). Toward a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), 26-63.
- Wilder, D., & Simon, A. F. (2004). Affect as a Cause of Intergroup Bias. In M. B. Brewer & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Emotion and Motivation* (pp. 113-131). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Wright, S. (2004). *Language Policy and Language Planning*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.