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Beliefs in Action: Ideologies, Motivations, and Capital among English as a Second Language Learners

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BELIEFS IN ACTION: IDEOLOGIES, MOTIVATIONS, AND CAPITAL AMONG

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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ABSTRACT

Beliefs In Action: Ideologies, Motivations, And Capital Among

English As A Second Language Learners

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Language learning motivations among immigrants are tied – via language ideologies – to socio-economic position, social networks, and problems encountered by the language learners in their everyday lives. Research into immigrants' reasons for language learning has often overlooked these factors (see Klassen & Burnaby, 1993, and Norton, 1995), but I offer in this thesis that the above factors are foundations for many immigrants' language ideologies - beliefs that people have about language. These language ideologies are, in turn, the foundations upon which one's motivations to learn a language are based. Using a Bourdieuvian paradigm, where inequitable positions of power exist through the unequal accumulation of cultural, social, economic, and linguistic capital, this thesis examines the everyday lives of immigrant ESL (English as a Second Language) learners and ties these behaviors to instrumental or integrative motivational orientations for learning English. An instrumental motivation is one in which a person learns a language in order to accomplish some goal or task, while an integrative motivation is one in which a person learns a language to further assimilate themselves into the target community.

Specifically, this research examines the social networks of my study participants, as well as how and with whom they use English, as it has been shown that individuals tending toward integrative motivations to learn a language are more likely to interact with native speakers of the target language (Gardner, 1983). It was found that the integrative / instrumental paradigm, which is widely used in second language research, is restricted in its abilities to account for the motivations of all of my participants, thus pointing to the limits of using just an instrumental / integrative paradigm for studying the issues associated with learning ESL, and highlighting the usefulness of an anthropological approach via the use of participant observation methodology.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION / BEGINNING THOUGHTS

As an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor at the College of Southern

Nevada, I have often wondered about the lives of my students outside the classroom, as

well as what led them to Las Vegas, Nevada. I had many questions ranging from their

reasons (or motivations) for learning English and their use of English outside the

classroom to whether their ESL classes helped them achieve their goals. I had general

ideas about why they were studying English (usually for economic benefit), but I could

never find out if their dreams and goals were realized. It was these questions that initiated

my research project, and as I collected data I was able to refine these questions into those

useable for research purposes.

Part of this process was to assess the research site of the study, Las Vegas,

Nevada. A report in the *L.A. Times* by Powers (2008), and based on information from the

Brookings Institution (Singer, 2006) stated that "Las Vegas has the largest percentage of

people struggling with English", and that "almost 20% of the population are foreign

born". Information from the U.S. Census Bureau supports these statements, with data

reporting that 33% of the Las Vegas population do not speak English at home, and half of

these report that they do not speak English "very well". As such, local ESL classes can

play an important role for those wishing to learn English. Although typically from Latin

America, ESL students have come from around the globe. To take just one of my classes

of nineteen students as an example, thirteen (six from Mexico, five from Cuba, and two

from Guatemala) spoke Spanish as their first language. Of the others, one was from

China, four from Africa, and one from Iraq. Ages ranged from the mid-twenties to the

mid-sixties. Thirteen of them were women from all the geographic areas mentioned above. In other classes, students have ranged from twenty-two to fifty-nine years old. Though most have been from Mexico, I have also taught students from other areas of Latin America, the Philippines, Micronesia, South Korea, Japan, Eastern Europe and Russia, and these are just the students I have taught personally.

My students may not represent the ESL students at the college as a whole because I generally teach lower level classes. (According to one of the language lab administrators, higher level ESL students tend to be from Japan, Russia, and various European countries.) Clearly, that students from certain geographical areas are generally higher or lower level ESL students, raises questions concerning class, educational background, socio-economic position, and other social factors. For example, the educational system in some countries requires the study of English, so students coming from one of those areas will have an advantage over others when studying English. Because they would presumably learn English more quickly, they would also then be able to obtain access to opportunities requiring the use of English (such as obtaining employment). Not all students studying English may be seeking employment as well. Upper class students may have no need of a job, and therefore may be taking ESL classes for other reasons.

I explore how their social positions contribute to their language ideologies, which then provide a foundation for their motivations to study English. Language ideologies, to be more fully explained in the next chapter, can be briefly described as beliefs about language, including what knowing a particular language can do or get for someone. For example, all of my research participants are from another country, where English is not a

lingua franca. All of the participants are also now living in the United States, where English is used more than any other language. The participants are now living in a country that predominantly uses a language the they are not native speakers of. This forms a large part of the participants' socio-economic positions, because their lack of ability to speak English can be a limiting factor in terms of their opportunities for upward mobility, or social networking. The participants believe that their inability to speak English is a limiting factor, (which is what makes this belief a language ideology), and are attempting to make up for this short-fall by learning English. The participants' beliefs in the power or restrictions connected to knowing a language is a language ideology, and their language ideologies are forming their decisions to learn English. However, having a language ideology does not necessarily directly inform a student's motivation for learning English. For example, students who may not be seeking employment may still believe that learning English can be a tool to find employment, although that is not what they are learning it for.

All of the students believe that knowing (or in some cases the process of learning) English will benefit them in some way. This is a language ideology they all have. How they believe knowing or learning English may benefit them depends a large part on their current socio-economic positions, and their future goals. Students seeking employment and are taking ESL classes to help them achieve this goal believe that knowing English will give them access to those employment opportunities that they are seeking.

Because I am interested in students' reasons for learning English, following others, I categorized their reasons for learning English into two types of motivations, called integrative and instrumental motivations (see Dornyei, 1990, Gardner, 1960, 1983,

1985, 2001, Gardner and Lambert, 1959, Gardner and MacIntyre, 1991, Gonzales, 2010, Mori and Gobel, 2006, Okada etal., 1996, Oxford and Shearin, 1994, Rafzar, 2005) (these are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2). An integrative motivation is one in which a person learns a language to further integrate themselves into the host community. An instrumental motivation is one in which one learns a language because of what knowing that language can get for someone. It was presumed that one of the main motivations to learn English was for economic gain such as a (better) job, a prime example of an instrumental motivation. It seemed likely that a majority of the participants would have these instrumental motivations, leaving other types of motivations to people without (in this case) the need for employment. Motivations to learn a language are situated in the socio-economic and geographic positions of my participants. In order to understand this, as well as the language ideologies behind the participants' motivations to learn English, it was important to examine the socio-economic positions of the participants.

Motivations to do anything can be about achieving future goals. In the case of an ESL student who is learning English to improve his opportunities for employment, he hopes to transform his knowledge of English into a job. This begs the question of how one undertakes such a transformation. It is with this idea in mind that we can use Bourdieu's construct of capital to describe what happens at this point. By taking English classes, a student is acquiring linguistic capital that can be exchanged for other kinds of capital in an American marketplace. The student who takes English classes in order to improve his chances of obtaining employment is acquiring linguistic capital in order to exchange it for economic capital.

That this student believes learning English will help him accomplish his objectives is a linguistic ideology. This ideology, combined with both his current socio-economic position and where he wants to be socio-economically in the future, informs his motivations (in this case, instrumental) to learn English. The mechanism with which he hopes to someday exchange his ability to speak in English (his linguistic capital) for a job (economic capital) occurs in Bourdieu's construct of a marketplace.

The goal of the research was to explore qualitatively the lives of ESL students. While much quantitative data exists on language usage in U.S. populations, "the numbers are silent on why individuals have or have not learned English, the personal experience of barriers, and the individual agendas which affect a range of issues related to effective participation in education, employment, and other areas of everyday life" (Klassen & Burnaby, 1993). The purpose of this research was to explore this gap in knowledge. I wished to understand the language ideologies behind students' personal motivations for studying English, the social factors at play in their decisions, and their actual usage of English outside the classroom. With these data I show that real world English speaking practices are a reflection of their language ideologies and motivations for learning, which have in turn been informed by those very same ideologies. I also correlate certain social behaviors with their motivational orientations.

Accordingly, this paper attempts to answer questions not asked by others who have worked on motivational orientations. Whereas others have looked at motivations and their connection to performance, I am looking at the socio-ideological foundations for forming their motivations. The anthropological methodologies used (the combination

of questionnaires, interviews, and participant observation) are well suited to searching for answers to these questions.

Thesis Outline

In Chapter 2, I will define the types of motivational orientations I examined in my study, and how those have been shown to effect the behavior of second language learners. I will also examine Bourdieu's concepts of capital, specifically linguistic capital, and how his concepts serve as a good model for examining the motivations of language learners. Much research on language learning motivations do not involve traditional anthropological methods. Chapter 3 is a description of the methods I used to obtain data from my research participants (questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, social network exercises, and short answers), and why those particular methods were useful to this study. Chapters 4 through 5 focus on the data collected. I begin with an overview of the background data on the participants acquired via the questionnaires. In different chapters I then focus on the particular types of motivations that influence some of my research participants' decisions to learn English. I first examine the concept of motherhood in Chapter 4, a motivation which has heretofore not been identified in the research literature. I find that motherhood (or more generally parenthood) can play a role in the language learning motivations of women, and (in part) can explain the discrepancies between men and women in terms of English language level and employment status, as discussed above. Then in Chapter 5 I examine how the social networks of the research participants illustrate the motivational orientations behind their learning of English. It is known that students with integrative motivations are more likely to engage members of the host language community, and that students with instrumental

motivations are not (Gardner, 1983). I show how these motivational orientations are represented in their social networks by looking at the nature of the participants' relationships with native English speakers. The majority of the participants demonstrate non-integrative motivations for learning English. Finally, in Chapter 6, I examine a couple of participants who demonstrated motivations of other than an instrumental type. These two participants were a minority among my research participants. One of these participants showed evidence of having integrative motivations, based on the relationships developed among native English speakers. The other participant demonstrated having neither instrumental nor integrative motivations for learning English. Her example shows that the integrative/instrumental paradigm for understanding motivational orientations for learning languages is not all-inclusive, even for a non-native speaker of English living in an English speaking country. In Chapter 7, I will review the significance of this research and detail suggestions for further exploration.

CHAPTER 2

MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS, LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES,

LINGUISTIC CAPITAL

Motivational Orientations

Motivation has long been thought to be an important factor in second language research. The research is tied to what are called motivational orientations, first introduced by Gardner and Lambert (1959), and are defined as types of goals for learning another language. Their paper was geared toward the differences between high and low achievement language learners. Up until this time, it was generally thought that success in language learning was due to intelligence, aptitude, or education. Thirty years earlier, it was argued by Henmon (cited in Gardner, 1960) that success in language learning would someday be predicted by aptitude tests. In those thirty years other ideas such as motivation and motivational orientations came forth to accommodate the lack of success of aptitude tests in predicting successful language learning,. Thus, it was Gardner and Lambert (1959) who first assessed two motivational orientations, called instrumental and integrative orientations, and their relationships with successful language learning.

An instrumental orientation is a subject's motivation to learn based on "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language" (Lambert, 1974, pg 98), and an integrative orientation motivates a person to learn a language due to "a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other language group" (pg 98). Therefore, an instrumental orientation can be defined as viewing the target language as a tool to be used to facilitate or accomplish other activities. Examples of an instrumental orientation would be learning a language in order to read or translate texts,

be able to get around on a trip (ask for directions, beer, bathrooms, etc.), or be able to obtain (better) employment. Another example of this instrumental orientation comes from some of the research subjects, whose primary motives for learning English were ultimately for their children's benefit. On the other hand, a person with an integrative orientation would view language as an integral part of a culture, and a person with this orientation would have a desire to identify as part of the culture of that group. These orientations are not mutually exclusive, and - as everyone's situation is unique - the particular circumstances regarding their orientational motivations will also be unique.

Other factors have been identified that can affect the language learning experience. Some of these are related to integrativeness and instrumentality, while others are more concerned with the learner's personality. For example, factors have been examined that look at the attitudes of learners toward the target language community (Gardner, 1985), the influence and pervasiveness of cultural media (films and books, for example) from the target language community on the learner (Clement and Kruidenier, 1983), and the strength of the target language community (demographically, or socio-economically) and the impact of this on the attitudes of language learners (Giles and Byrne, 1982). More immediate influences can also affect the learner's motivations to study a language. Familial and peer group attitudes can facilitate or hinder learning activities (Gardner et al., 1999, and Spolsky, 2000), as well as even more personal measures of self-confidence and anxiety (Clement et al., 1994).

Although important to keep these other factors in mind, much more research has been done regarding the importance of integrative and instrumental orientations in second language acquisition. It has largely been shown that having an integrative orientation

rather than an instrumental orientation leads not only to more success in language acquisition, but also to differences in their language learning behaviors (Oxford and Shearin, 1994; Gardner, 2001; Cote, 2004). It has also been demonstrated that integratively motivated students are more likely to practice the target language, volunteer in the classroom (Oxford and Shearin, 1994), and interact with members of that language community they are studying (Gardner, 1983). This is because having high integrative motivation reflects an active and affinitive interest in the language being studied (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1991).

It has been demonstrated that differences in motivational orientations can also be attributed to differences in the learner's social situation. For example, research on motivations has suggested a split between second language learners and foreign language learners, a split based on their social and geographic locations at the time of learning. Second language students are those who are studying a language of the host community in which they are living, and foreign language students are those who are studying a language of a community they are not living in. Therefore, a second language is one that is "learned in a location where that language is typically used as the main vehicle of everyday communication for most people…[and] a foreign language is one that is learned in a place where that language is not typically used as the medium of ordinary communication" (Oxford and Shearin, 1994). For example, a student studying English in the United States would be considered an English as a Second Language (ESL) student, but a student studying English in Russia would be considered an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) student. It is thought that the motivational orientations differ between these groups due to circumstances of distance. That is, foreign language learners may

have little integrative orientation because of their lack of proximity to the host country of the language being learned (Dornyei, 1990). It is thought that because of their lack of experience or knowledge with that community, they are unable to have sufficiently strong attitudes toward that host country to develop strong integrative motivations. In general, for them, it is instrumental motivational orientations that provide the impetus for learning.

We have seen how motivational orientations for language students can differ based on where they are learning a language. It has been shown that they can also differ on what language is the topic of study. That is, different languages can be cause for different ideas about what can potentially be gained (such as a job, or integration and acclimation into another society). In a study of Filipino students of foreign languages, Gonzales (2010) demonstrated how students' motivational orientations differed, depending on which language they were studying. Students of Japanese, for example, were motivationally oriented toward career enhancement, while French learners were oriented toward affiliation with foreigners. A previous study by Okada, Oxford, and Abo (1996) demonstrated something similar. They showed that American learners of Japanese were more integratively motivated than American learners of Spanish. Despite having the same location, learners' motivational orientations in both studies differed in degree and type depending on the language they were studying. In this sense, although the students' (in the respective studies) geographic circumstances were very similar to one another, the opportunities that each language represented differed, and they differed because of what the language represented in regard to their own socio-economic situations. This idea that one's circumstances can impose or limit the type of motivational orientation available to

a language learner is a springboard for the own study. I examine the socio-economic circumstances around participants in order to distinguish a pattern or correlation with their motivational orientations and their particular lives as ESL students. One of those correlations is found in looking at gender.

Although the study involves English as s*econd* language students, who are studying English in Las Vegas, Nevada, I would like to mention some studies involving *foreign* language students, as they highlight differences in motivational orientations among students based on gender. It has been found that gender differences can exist where motivational orientations are concerned. In his study of Filipino foreign language learners, Gonzales (2010) showed that the females in his study were more motivated than the males to learn a foreign language for reasons of affiliation and cultural integration with foreigners. Feng (2010) too found higher levels of cultural (integrative) motivation among Chinese female EFL learners. Although others have found no significant differences in motivational orientations when looking at gender (see Engin, 2009), "the results of statistical analyses imply that there is a significant difference between male and female students in... integrativeness" (Mori and Gobel, 2006, pg 8). This variability found in the differences between male and female students as well as between foreign language learners and second language learners in regard to their motivational orientations is in part a product of the context, or socio-economic circumstances within which they are learning, as well as of which doors they think are open or closed to them, due to those same, socio-economic circumstances. For example, more than one of the female subjects pointed to their children as the main reason for learning English – their motivations were instrumental in nature, as a product or limit of their role as a mother in the United States.

Research in second language acquisition has demonstrated that differences in the motivational orientations of learners exist, and that these differences can fall along integrative and instrumental orientations. It has also been shown that the social situation of the learners can restrict or impose the type of motivational orientation that facilitates language learning. Although questionnaires have been useful in identifying the motivational orientations of language learners, few of these studies have looked at the activities of students beyond what they answer on questionnaires. By looking beyond just questionnaires, and also collecting logs, conducting interviews, and engaging them in their daily lives via participant observation I am able to obtain a better understanding of how their motivational orientations are a product of their socio-economic positions as exemplified by their daily actions, routines, and behaviors.

Language Ideology

In order to further examine a learner's motivational orientation, it is useful to discuss the concept of language ideology. The term *language ideology* has different strands of thought by researchers. Generally, "language ideologies… refer to the kinds of cultural assumptions or beliefs that speakers hold about [the language they use]: its relation to the world, its relation to their sense of self, its relation to other languages, and so forth" (Handman, 2009:635) (see also Silverstein 1979, Woolard 1998). However, the language ideologies that I am interested in are about those languages used by other communities. Specifically, I am interested in the language ideologies that people studying English have about English, and how those ideologies serve as a foundation upon which their motivational orientations are based. Kroskrity (2004) broadly defines language ideology as "…beliefs, or feelings about languages as used in their social worlds". This

connection between a language and the world in which it is used is a salient aspect of what composes a language ideology. They are not just ideas about language. They are ideas about use.

More useful to the study, Schieffelin et al. (1998) highlight beliefs about the value of forms of talk as comprising language ideologies. This is an important distinction in relation to the study: the language ideologies I am concerned with are about what people believe a language, the English language, can get for someone. That is, the belief that by studying a particular language (in this case English) one can attain a goal (such as employment, or affiliation with a society) is a language ideology. Because these beliefs about language are tied to one's goals, these language ideologies are both very personal and functional in that they are grounded in the lives of those who hold them. Therefore, these language ideologies ultimately inform their motivations for studying a particular language. In other words, language ideologies are a part of one's motivational orientation for learning a language. For example, many students stated their reason for studying English was to find (better) employment. Other students expressed a desire to learn English in order to help their children. Their beliefs in English as a vehicle to help accomplish their goal are language ideologies. Motivations to learn a language can be seen as a type of, or facet of, a language ideology. The distinction between the two is slight. For the purposes of this research, everybody has language ideologies, but only those who are learning a language can have motivational orientations to learn said language. The difference between a motivation and ideology exist in the actions undertaken by those who hold them. In this way motivations are directly involved with

real world actions and situations, whereas language ideologies are the cognitive foundations behind those motivations.

Language ideologies can and have also been considered as beliefs separate from practice (Irvine 1998). For the purposes of this study, however, I will examine language ideologies as rooted within practices, as do others (see Spitulnik 1998, Heath, 1989, Rafzar, 2005). I am interested in how these ideologies are practiced or performed via language usage outside the classroom. From this foundation of ideologies as rooted within practices, various approaches have been used, ranging from neutral uses of the term (Kroskrity, 2004) to the critical (how language is used to mask power relations or support them) (Silverstein 1996, Phillips 1998). These ideas about the utility of language highlight that language can also be seen as a reflection of power structures (Wodak, 2007). That language can be used for (or against) political gains entails that "language is intricately related to beliefs, opinions and ideologies" (Wodak, 2007:1). Woolard (2004) describes four major strands of ideology, one of which is particularly salient for this thesis - (language) ideology as rooted in the interests of a particular social position. Social position and power are related, and the language ideologies the participants express are a reflection of how power relations tie in with social positioning.

My interest in language ideology is situated in the social-economic positions of the participants – immigrants of limited English proficiency who have decided to increase their knowledge of English presumably (but not necessarily) because it is valued for economic or other reasons (such as cultural affiliation). Thus, the socio-economic positions of the participants in the study also inform their motivational orientations, as do their language ideologies. By looking outside the classroom (in terms of collecting data

regarding their socio-economic positions) I can obtain a better picture of how the participants have formed their motivational orientations. Furthermore, because language ideologies can be seen as rooted in practices, I look outside the classroom by also observing them as they live their lives, via participant observation, in order to ascertain if and how their motivation orientations are demonstrated by their behaviors.

<center>**Linguistic Capital**</center>

The belief that the English language has value, in that by learning English one's life can improve (such as by finding employment or affiliating oneself with American society) is a language ideology. By putting these ideologies into action, via enrolling in an ESL class, the students in the study are attempting to acquire *capital*, specifically, *linguistic capital*. The term *linguistic capital* is used to describe the value of linguistic expressions, utterances, and languages, the value of which exists in what Bourdieu calls a linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1991).

The difference in quantities of capital is a notion Bourdieu uses to help explain the discrepancies in power relations that exist among people. Capital can exist in both material forms (such as money or real estate) and symbolically (such as language or the status conferred by an educational degree). Capital, in the form of these material and symbolic goods, is used to increase one's own value in a particular field or market or be employed in a system of exchange for other types of capital which have value in other fields or markets. Bourdieu defines different types of capital as well, such as economic capital (money, investments, or property), social capital (social networks one is usually born into), and cultural capital (culturally acquired knowledge and skills), each type attributing to those who have acquired them "powers which define the chances of profit

<center>16</center>

in a given field [or marketplace]" (Bourdieu, 1991:230). The value of capital exists in a field or marketplace. Cash, the material form of economic capital, has value in an economic field or marketplace. However, this economic capital can also be exchanged for other types of capital that have value in other marketplaces. Economic capital can be used to enroll in an ESL class, with the goal of acquiring linguistic capital in an American marketplace, which is what the participants in the study have done.

What is referred to as one's socio-economic position is, in Bourdieuvian terms, a product of the degree to which one has acquired these different types of capital (economic, social, and cultural). Having more economic capital (by having more cash, investments, or property) increases one's economic position as compared with others. Bourdieu's notions of capital are useful in that they highlight the discrepancies in power relations between the ESL students in the study and American society at large (see Norton, 1995), and thus, point to their motivational orientations. ESL students by definition lack linguistic capital in that they do not have mastery over the English language, the standard language of the United States. This lack of linguistic capital may restrict them from being able to gain economic capital (such as certain types of employment), or the types of social capital that might lead them to employment and greater economic success. U.S. born citizens generally have an advantage in that they have greater linguistic, social, and cultural capital and are able to exchange their capital for economic success in ways that ESL students, mostly immigrants, cannot.

One of the more popular reasons many of the research subjects have stated for studying English was to find (better) employment. For these students, their desire to acquire linguistic capital by learning English is to eventually exchange it for greater

economic capital on what could be called the labor marketplace by finding (better) employment. Some students may wish to learn English in order to learn more about or affiliate with American society. These students are attempting to acquire linguistic capital in order to exchange it for cultural capital, and therefore have integrative motivational orientations. Of course, it is entirely possible (and perhaps likely) to have more than one motivation for learning a language, as the two orientations I am considering are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, motivations for learning can change over time, or situation. If one moves to another country and needs a job, that person may have a motivation to learn a language he or she did not have before. Becoming pregnant and having children might provide another reason for an immigrant to learn a language.

Whichever orientation(s) a student may have, they are a culmination of the language ideologies the student has, and the socio-economic position the student is currently situated in. The language ideologies are a guide to what people think they can gain by learning a particular code (in the study, this code is Standard American English, or SAE, because this is the code taught by the instructors at the site of the study, not because this is the necessarily the code sought after by the students), and the socio-economic positions of the students can be seen as a reflection of the (Bourdieuvian) capital they have and do not have. Together, these ideologies and social positions are necessary elements of what makes up one's motivational orientation for learning the English language.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The research participants in this study were English as a Second Language (ESL) students at the College of Southern Nevada in Las Vegas, Nevada. There were a total of sixty-six participants in the study, ranging in age from eighteen to sixty-six. They ranged from the lowest level classes to the highest level classes offered by the ESL program. For the purposes of the study I divided them into two broader levels: low level and high level. Low level students were comprised of students belonging to the first four ESL classes (ESL 110, 111, 120, and 121) in the ESL program, and high level students to the last two classes (ESL 138 and 139). Based on discussions with other ESL instructors, it was decided that this was the best way to divide the participants into two groups, because although still taking ESL classes, high level (writing) students are on the verge of being able to join the rest of the student population of mostly native English speakers, whereas students in the first four classes are learning English grammatical structures. There are fourteen non-elective ESL classes from the beginning level class (ESL 110) until the last level class (ESL 139). (See Appendix 1 for a flow chart of ESL classes at the college). After passing the last two classes, students are allowed to take English 101 or the ESL equivalent, and thus can be enrolled in mainstream classes with English speaking natives. The last two classes are writing focused, and are taught after all of the grammar classes have been completed. For these reasons, they are considered to be high level students in the study.

Data Collection

I obtained data in three steps/methodologies. The first step involved a self-reporting questionnaire (Appendix 2), with which both quantitative and qualitative data could be gathered and analyzed statistically. I also gathered written texts by the participants. The second step was to engage in participant observation with participants selected after an initial analysis of the questionnaire data. The third step was to conduct semi-structured interviews with those same participants. A social networking exercise was also to be completed during this interview phase.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires have a long history in social science research (Bernard, 2006), and have been used as a data gathering device because of the high number of people who can be reached with them. There were two main reasons for using questionnaires. One reason was that much data about their background could be obtained with relative ease from many people. The second reason for using questionnaires was to create a sampling frame from which to select students to participate in interviews and participant observation.

However, a disadvantage that pertained directly to the research was the lack of follow up I could have with certain questions. That is, if a participant answered a question that I wished to follow up with, I would not be able to (until later), because I was generally not present when a participant answered the questionnaire. Because I also used participant observation and interviews as the data collection methods, this disadvantage was somewhat mitigated. Perhaps the biggest disadvantage (see Bernard, 2006) in using a self-administered questionnaire was that because of my absence I had no control over how the participants understood the questions. As a preventative measure, before the study began the questionnaires were given to five test subjects in order to find

any points of misunderstanding or confusion so that I could correct them beforehand. Consequently, although there were some errors in a few of the completed questionnaires (presumably due to participants' confusion or misunderstanding of some questions), it can be assumed that the majority of questionnaires were completed accurately (Brenner et al, 2003). Furthermore, for those participants that I later interviewed, I was able to clarify any possible misunderstandings about the questionnaire with them and correct their responses accordingly. It should be kept in mind, however, that there is no way to control for the participants' perceptions regarding the questionnaire, vis-à-vis the effect the researcher might have on the participants (Bernard, 2006).

The first step in gathering data was to have current ESL students from different classes of both high and low level ESL classes answer questionnaires (see Appendix 2). Participants were recruited using convenience sampling in two ways. In one method, after finding an instructor with a class time that I could be available for, an instructor would let me in to his class to introduce myself and the research project and give the students the questionnaires. In some cases, the students were given questionnaires by another instructor if I could not be available. Others (past students of mine) were recruited through email or by chance. For example, if I saw a student in a hallway on campus, I would ask her if she was interested in helping me with the research project. Most of the questionnaires were self-administered, with students taking them home and bringing them back to class. In some cases when school was not in session or the term was ending, participants took home and later mailed the questionnaires back to me. By using this sampling method, I was able to recruit both high and lower level students as I was able to

gain access to students in the highest level ESL classes I would not have met otherwise, as I generally do not teach higher level classes.

The questionnaires themselves were divided into four sections. The first section was designed to obtain general information regarding participants' personal histories. The second, third, and fourth sections were divided into questions regarding home life, work life, and school life, respectively. A Spanish as well as English language version was provided to those students who wished to complete the questionnaire in Spanish. Questionnaires were not made available in any other languages due to constraints of time and the unknown linguistic background of what at the time were future participants. Spanish was chosen as an alternative language because it is the first language of a large number of ESL students in Las Vegas, NV. In fact, thirty-four, or fifty-one percent, of the participants in the study spoke Spanish as their first language, the other forty-nine percent being divided into fifteen other languages. The questionnaire was translated into Spanish by a native speaker, then back translated by another native speaker to check for accuracy.

After the questionnaires were completed, the data was organized and analyzed using Filemaker Pro. Data examined included information on gender, age, native country, native languages, time in the U.S. and in Las Vegas, who participants lived with, and employment status both now and in the past

Text Collection

Text collection plays a large role in anthropological research. It has been a resource for studying culture, and also as a way to record a disappearing culture. According to Bernard (2006), approximately 80% of the work Boas published on the Kwakiutl were translations of their language texts. Although the aims of this study were

not as vast, I used texts to capture the participants' perspectives on their day to day lives. Along with the questionnaires, I asked students to write a paragraph on two topics. One was an answer to the question "Why are you studying English?" The students were also asked to write a short entry on how they spent a typical day. The reason for obtaining these was to get an understanding of what the students thought their own motivations were for studying, and also to find out what the salient aspects of a typical day might be for them. Topics discussed in these short essays were then coded into different categories (see Appendix 3), which enabled me to look for shared themes and situations among the participants, such as the lack and therefore need of basic computer skills as well as the role motherhood plays in their motivational orientations.

Participant Observation

Participant observation gained popularity as an anthropological method in the field with the work of Boas and Malinowski in the early 20th century, even though it had been used previously, such as by Frank Cushing, when he studied the Zuni in the late 1800s (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). It is a method of research where the researcher spends time with the participants he is studying, taking part in their daily lives, in order to collect data firsthand. Although not the only qualitative method, participant observation is useful because it situates the researcher in the same day-to-day context as the participant. In recording the occurrences that transpire, information that may not be acquired otherwise is captured for future analysis, and patterns previously unseen can then come to light.

Participant observation was chosen as a research methodology to see for myself how the research participants spent their time and to whom they spoke what language. Language choice has been tied to motivation by looking at why people study certain

languages (Gonzales 2010). By interacting with students in their everyday environments I could witness how their motivational orientations inform their behaviors in terms of whom they interact with on a daily basis. That is, I wished to see how their motivational orientations might help generate their social networks. I anticipated that integratively oriented students would have a larger English speaking social network than an instrumentally motivated student, since it is known that integratively motivated students are more likely to interact with members of the language community they are studying (Gardner 1983). Integratively motivated students, it was supposed, would either seek out or at least not avoid English speaking environments, and therefore, their English speaking networks would be larger.

This methodology was chosen to allow me to acquire a deeper eye-witness perspective on which languages were used, and with whom, in an actual day of their life than I could achieve by collecting questionnaires, social networking exercises (discussed below), or their short essays. After the initial analysis based on the questionnaires was completed, thirty-nine participants who fit the criteria (female students who did not live with their parents) were divided into high and low level groups and were randomly selected via a random number generator and invited to participate in the next step of the research, which was a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Female participants were chosen due to an analysis of the questionnaire data (explained in Chapter 4), in which it was found that the employment rate of women remained unchanged no matter the ESL class level, but that the employment rate of men rose as ESL class level rose (as might be expected). This begged questions of why women were not becoming more employed as their English got better. I spent two

sessions of four hours each with each student. In exchange for their participation, I would tutor them one hour for each session spent with me[1].

This second step, participant observation, was the most difficult to accomplish. It was easier to obtain permission from the lower level students than the higher level students. I think this was because I was teaching lower level students at the time of the study, and all of the research subjects that eventually engaged in participant observation were former students of mine. The higher level students were obtained from other classes and did not know me well enough to wish to spend time with me. As another instructor reported to me, one of his students was "creeped" or "weirded out" by the idea of me following her. Another factor which contributed to the difficulty of obtaining compliance to do participant observation was that all of the subjects were to be women, and I am a male. Finally, a third factor may have been that in return for their participant observation time, I was to tutor them, which may not have been advantageous enough for many of them. If they were good students, they might have felt that it wouldn't be worth their time to let me "observe them". However, upon checking their past grades it was found that all of the students who let me observe them received either an "A" or "B" grade in the class we shared.

It was eventually decided to just focus on the lower level students, since it was difficult to engage in participant observation with a large enough sample of higher level students. Although *easier* to obtain permission to join them (rather than the higher level students) in their daily lives, it was not strictly *easy*, as many refused or did not answer

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[1] The decision to tutor them rather than offer monetary compensation for their time was chosen to attract those students with high or powerful motivational orientations, the idea being any data collected would more likely show patterns useful to the research. Although great in theory, this did not always work out in actuality.

back. They were randomly selected, but due to the high rate of rejection (even for the lower level students), I eventually had to solicit every lower level student, and accept whoever accepted the invitation, a form of convenience sampling researchers might call "desperation sampling". In most cases, two participant observation sessions were completed with each participant. (See Appendix 4 for a table of the participants who engaged in participant observation).

Difficulties encountered included some students not wanting to let me in their homes. Any negative effects of not being able to witness their home life was mitigated by them reportedly using their native languages at home (and so that aspect of the reason for conducting participant observation in their homes was somewhat nullified). However, this did limit my observations of other actions, such as answering the phone, going online, and watching TV or reading. Another problem was that for those students who let me in their homes, our entire time together would be spent in their homes, with me being treated as a guest. It is known that a potential drawback of participant observation is that the participant may alter their behavior due to the presence of a researcher (Bernard, 2006). Fortunately, this only generally occurred in the first sessions with them. By the second session, I think they felt comfortable with my presence, and would carry on with their daily lives in a more normal fashion.

Interview and Social Networking Exercise

Depending on where the participant observations were taking place, I would conduct an interview and social networking exercise, either during the first or second participant observation session. The semi-structured interviews I conducted were designed to get more detailed information on both their background and current living

situations. Typically, I would meet the participant at their home, school, or a coffee shop and ask them questions based off of the interview sheet (see Appendix 5). At times I would conduct small informal interviews by asking participants questions during participant observation as well.

At the end of these sessions, participants were also asked to complete a social networking exercise (see Appendix 6), which was designed to graphically show who they spoke what language with, and how often, thus giving me a broader picture of their linguistic lives than what I was able to witness in participant observation. This step was designed to provide another tool with which I could identify their motivational orientations. The reasoning was that those who had integrative motivational orientations would have a higher number of English speakers (especially on their personal relationship side) on their graph than those participants with instrumental orientations.

To do this I showed them a paper with concentric circles on it, each circle representing a level of closeness to the participant, who was represented as the center of the circles. The paper was also divided into two halves, with the left half reserved for professional relationships (such as a dentist, boss, or employees), and the right half reserved for personal relationships. They were asked to place post-notes representing the people they interacted with within the circles, with those closest to the participant in life, being closest on paper. After this step was completed I asked for information about those on the post-notes, such as what language they spoke, how often they interacted, and what language they used with them.

Using these varied methodologies allowed me to gain an understanding of the two aspects of their lives I was interested in. I wished to know what kind of relationships they

had with members of the U.S. born English speaking community, and what kind they had

with members of their own linguistic community. I also wished to know what their socio-

economic situations were, and how these informed their motivations for learning English.

Through participant observation and interviews, I was also able to come across a

motivation to learn not based on the learner's benefit, but on their child(ren)'s, discussed

in Chapter 4. By learning how the students were situated socio-economically, I attempted

to determine if their motivational orientations would be seen in their social networks they

had developed since coming to Las Vegas, which we will see in Chapter 5. However, not

all participants shared the same motivational orientations, and in Chapter 6 I discuss the

motivations of two participants who were unique in that regard, one because she showed

signs of having integrative motivational orientations, and the other because she did not fit

into the instrumental / integrative paradigm.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANT DATA AND THE ROLE OF MOTHERHOOD ON LANGUAGE

LEARNING MOTIVATIONS

General Background Data on the Participants

As I stated earlier, I was able to refine the original broad research questions after

some initial data collection using self-reported questionnaires. I received questionnaires

from 66 students enrolled in the ESL program at the College of Southern Nevada in Las

Vegas, Nevada. There were 22 men and 44 women in the study. This is fairly

representative of the classes I have seen at CSN, which are usually populated by more

women than men. The students who answered the questionnaires ranged from the lowest

to the highest level ESL classes. Here are some of the background data on the

participants: 34, or 51% of the sample were native Spanish speakers; the others were a

mix of native speakers of 15 different languages, and originated anywhere from Africa to

Asia to Europe (see Appendix 7 for a breakdown of these data). The average age of the

participants was 34.4 years, and they ranged from 18-66 years in age. The median age

was 36. The average time spent in the United States was 6.8 years. It was found that the

lower level students in the study had spent an average of 2.2 years studying English at the

time of the study, while higher level students had studied English for an average of 7

years. 43 of the 66 students in the study had at least some college experience in their

native country.

Because motivations to learn a language are in part founded upon one's socio-

economic position, I focused on the data concerning employment. I decided to remove

the data concerning young (20 and under) ESL students who were living with their

parents and not working, so as to not skew these data. This left 59 students, 20 males, and 39 females. Of these, 14 of the 20 men (70%) were working at the time of this study, and 29 of the 39 women (74%) were working. Although the percentages in terms of employment and gender are almost equal, 5 of the 14 men (36%) spoke their native language at work (with either their boss, coworker(s), employee(s), or customers), while 15 of the 29 women (52%) worked at a place where they could use their native language. This suggests that the women in my study tend to work at places within their language community, and men are more prone to work outside of it. The reasons why could be various. Women in general may find it more difficult to get work, and so must rely on their social networks (which are presumably mostly comprised of members of the same language community). Their roles as wives may have also been a factor. For example, I know that some women were specifically not allowed (by their husbands) to work in certain places.

I also looked at the relationship between the participants' time in the United States and their education levels in relation to their employment status. In terms of time spent in the United States, it was found that the unemployed spent slightly less time on average in the U.S. (6.53 years), than did the employed (6.84 years). Moreover, previous education experience seemed to have little or no effect on current employment status. Students who had gone to college in their native country, (whether graduating or not) had an employment rate of 67% (28 of 43) versus 61% (14 of 23) for those who had never attended college. Of the 29 women who were employed, 22 (76%) had at least some college experience, whereas half of the men who were employed had at least some college experience. A variety of factors might account for this discrepancy. The data

could suggest that education was more important for the women in the study to obtain a job, versus the men. Also, cultural factors could also be at play; some of the women might not be expected to work, or even go to school, so these two factors might be positively correlated in this regard. Furthermore, men might be more likely to take jobs with low education requirements. These are just some of the reasons for the differences between male and female students in their day to day lives.

The most interesting data to come out of the questionnaires were about current employment status, gender, and English class level. It was found that in the lower level classes, 7 of the 13 men (54%) were employed, and 16 of the 25 women (64%) were employed. In the higher level classes, all of the 8 men were employed, but only 13 of the 19 women (68%) were employed. If potential employment is a motivation for learning English and language ability in English is beneficial to obtaining employment, you would expect that as English ability increases, so might employment for ESL students. This pattern was clearly observed with the men in my study. However, the women did not display this trend.

It was due to this finding that it was decided to focus on the female ESL students. If women are presumably learning English to get a (better) job, why are they not more likely to become employed as they increase their language proficiency in English? There can only be two reasons. One is that women are not learning English to acquire employment (an instrumental motivation), but are doing so for another (possibly integrative) motivation. Another reason is that they have more trouble finding employment no matter what their English speaking ability is. Either of these reasons can be a factor of the participant's cultural background. Women may be subjugated to the

home, or at least to only certain types of jobs. The importance of motherhood may be a factor, although this may be more biological than cultural. These reasons alone could account for the lack of employment found among the female students.

It was also decided that the focus should be on female students who were not dependents of their parents. This decision was taken because the reason for focusing the research on women was due to their employment status, and it was felt that any young woman living with her parents would not have the need to find employment, as their living expenses would presumably be paid by their parents. There was a concern that if such a student did have an instrumental (financial) motivational orientation, it would be clouded from view as their activities might not reflect their motivational orientations, and so only the remaining female students not dependent on their parents were invited to participate in the participant observation and interview portions of the research.

Because of this discrepancy between the men and women in my study, I looked for socio-economic differences among the women that my questionnaire could tell me. For example, I looked at what their home life might be like by asking whom they lived with. 20 of the 29 employed women (68%) lived with a husband or two parents, but 10 of the 15 unemployed women (66%) did as well. This means the reasons concerning employment status for women existed elsewhere, and is the point at which I began the more qualitative aspects of this research.

The Effect of Motherhood on Language Learning Motivations

Motivations to learn (a language) are complicated things. They have been studied using a variety of models, one of which is the instrumental / integrative paradigm used for this research. One of the few efforts to look beyond motivations at the factors that

influence them, this thesis holds that motivational orientations are negotiated in complex ways, based on the goals of the people who have them and the socio-economic positions they hold. For example, in this research it was found that motherhood and regret influence and are influenced by the motivational orientations of learners and that social networks can be demonstrative and informative of one's motivational orientation(s).

The idea of motherhood presented itself as a motivating factor for learning English among some of the women in the study. Although "…mothering is mostly associated with the daily care of children" (Dreby, 2006, p. 35), it is also an overwhelming experience, especially for immigrant women (Nystrom and Ohrling 2003). At least part of the reason for this is because one of the key issues that immigrants face is how to rear their children in a new country (Kwak, 2003). Questions of how best to assimilate into the host country are raised, and these questions can be about language use. Children of immigrants are often brought up in more than one language, the language(s) of their immigrant parent(s), and the host language (Prevoo et al, 2011). Often, the amount of exposure children have to these languages is based on parents' socio-economic factors (Oller and Eilers, 2002), education level (Van Tubergen and Kalmijn, 2009), and ethnic identity (Extra and Yagmur, 2010). All of these factors can have an influence on their language ideologies regarding both their native languages and the language of their host country. Furthermore, motherhood is not just about daily child rearing activities, but also about long term activities, such as securing the best interests of their children (Illanes, 2010).

Because the responsibilities of raising children largely fall to females, it should not be surprising that motherhood was a factor in deciding to learn English for some of

the female research participants in the study. In fact, all but two mothers in the study spoke at least some English with their children, suggesting that the responsibility of motherhood was a motivating factor for their learning English: they were either learning it to help their children learn English, and/or they were learning it to better navigate their new host country, in this case the United States, for their children's benefit. Both reasons most likely applied. Although children usually pick up the host language more quickly than their immigrant parents and in fact will correct their parents' English, it has been demonstrated that the use of the host language by parents at home increases when children reach primary school, and this use can stimulate the usage of the host language vocabulary in children as well (Prevoo et al, 2011). Other evidence suggests that immigrant parents' reasons for learning English are also to help guide their children to (academic, and later economic) success (Martinez and Wang, 2007). For example, that the educational system (and the host society at large) communicates the importance of the host language as important for children's academic success may have an effect on their motivations for learning English as well as on their language use at home (Hammer et al, 2009).

That motherhood served as a motivating factor in learning English was supported by survey data, and then further illustrated through participant observation and interviews. Almost half of the women in the study reported having offspring, and 23% of the women in the study (10 of 44) reported that they were learning English to help their children or to communicate with their family. Although almost half of the 22 men reported having children, only one of the men in the study stated that they were learning English for reasons of family. In their reports of daily activities, although more men than

women reported spending time with family, it was only the women who reported on engaging in child rearing activities. That some women assumed the role of the main child-rearer became apparent in some of the participant observation sessions I engaged in.

Below I will speak about two women, most of whose time was spent taking care of their children and other domestic activities. One of the women is from Korea and the other from Columbia, so it is important to understand the cultural values associated with motherhood from the perspective of these two communities. Gender role ideology regarding the raising of children in both Korean and Latino culture is very similar and revolve around the woman as caretaker of the children and the man with securing resources for the family. These ideologies found in both Korean (see Kim et al, 2006) and Latin (see Illanes, 2008) communities about gender roles and parenting were seen in the data collected in the study.

Introducing Jenny

First, let me introduce Jenny[2]. Jenny is a 41-year-old married Korean mother of three children. Quality and practicality guide many of her decisions, including how she presents herself. She keeps her hair neck length and disregards high fashion clothing as unnecessary. She enjoys the small events in life that make her laugh, and many of her conversations relate these funny incidents or stories, accompanied by her laughter. Jenny does not work. She has the job of raising their children and considers this to be her primary responsibility. Her Korean-born husband works as a dealer in a casino and as a real estate agent.

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[2] Pseudonyms will be used throughout this study.

Before she had had children, when she first came to Las Vegas (and the United States), she was interested in learning English because she was "living in the U.S." After asking other members of the Korean community in Las Vegas about where to take English classes, she was shocked and surprised at their responses. She was told not to bother learning English because the classes were filled with non-English speakers. Also, they said she would not need English to get a job. These ideas held by other members of her linguistic community were statements about their beliefs regarding linguistic and economic capital. In their estimation, only a modicum (if any at all) of linguistic capital, as gained by learning English, is needed to acquire economic capital. In point of fact, her sister, who had been living in Las Vegas before Jenny came here (and who had helped put Jenny and her husband together), had been working (and still does) as a casino dealer, without the benefit of speaking much English. (After approximately 20 years of living in Las Vegas, her sister did decide to take an ESL class at CSN, and was put in the lowest level class per her placement test score. She quit within the first week due to anxiety).

Jenny did not adhere to the view that learning English was a waste of time. She thought that if she were going to be living in the U.S. she should learn English, and she felt very strongly about this. Her reasons here were instrumental in nature. She wanted to be able to communicate with those around her. I have seen no evidence for an integrative orientation in anything she has explicitly stated or that I have seen, which I will discuss later. Eventually, her reasons for learning English grew, due to having children. She has explicitly stated that she needed to learn English to help her children grow up in the U.S. These activities included helping them with their homework, signing them up for activities, or discussing their education with their teachers. For example, the weekday

participant observation sessions with her consisted of her dropping off her kids at school and running errands until she would pick them up again, at which point she would have them do homework while she prepared dinner.

Even though her motives for learning English grew because she had children, the instrumentality of them did not. By learning English, she was acquiring linguistic capital to be used on a linguistic marketplace located in the United States. However, her reasons for acquiring linguistic capital were not, in this case, to exchange it for anything benefiting her. Instead, she wished to exchange the linguistic capital that she would earn by learning English for an increase in the cultural capital of her children. In learning English, she could help her children more fully engage in activities that would require parental supervision or engagement, activities I mentioned earlier. This assistance, to her, would help increase their ability to succeed as U.S. born children by increasing their cultural capital. Although increasing one's cultural capital can be seen as an integrative orientation, Jenny is attempting to ultimately increase her *children's* cultural capital, and so *her* motivations remain instrumental.

Introducing Danielle

Another woman whom I conducted participant observation with had a similar outlook on learning English. Danielle is from Columbia but married an American and now lives in Las Vegas with her one year old child. She is thin (she taught dance in Columbia) and keeps her hair long. She seems to always present herself fashionably and attractively. Although a mother, she seems young-at-heart herself and once talked about how she was thinking of getting a tattoo of a pre-Columbian artifact.

Like Jenny, she did not work and spent most of her time taking care of the household and child. Most of her time is spent at home. When she goes out it is usually to go shopping, run errands, or go to the park with her son. She rarely spends time with friends, as she seems to have few of them in Las Vegas (see social networks section in chapter 5). When she does go out, she tends to avoid both English speakers and speaking English. That is, she often goes grocery shopping at stores that employ Spanish speakers, but if she needs to go to an English speaking supermarket she will speak as little as possible to the employees. Her reasons for learning English are based on the same two reasons that Jenny has: the fact that she lives in an English speaking country and that she wants to promote the welfare of her child. These two factors have formed the reason Danielle has stated for learning English, which is to help her son. Furthermore, Danielle seems to go out of her way not to use English, but like Jenny, does so when necessary. On one of our outings she wished to sign her son up for swimming lessons, so we went to a recreation center. Before speaking to the receptionist, she prefaced her conversation with "I don't speak English very well, but I…" When I asked her about this, she said that she always begins a conversation like this when she needs to speak English to someone she does not know.

Her lack of enthusiasm in interacting with English speakers points to a lack of an integrative motivational orientation. She has specifically stated that the welfare of her child is the primary reason for learning English. Although this motivation is based on the successful and future integration of her child, her reason also represents an instrumental motivational orientation because it is not for her own integration that Danielle is learning

English, but for her child's. Like Jenny, Danielle's goal is to increase her child's cultural capital, rather than her own. Thus, her motivations are also instrumental in nature.

Motherhood

Both Jenny and Danielle had reasons for learning English other than seeking employment. These motivations are in part formed by their social positions as mothers married to working men. Their roles as mothers mean much of what they do is geared toward satisfying that role. That they are married to working men relieves them from the responsibility of working themselves. Their desire to learn English and therefore acquire linguistic capital, though instrumental, was not to exchange it for economic capital. Their goal is to exchange it for their childrens' cultural capital, so that their offspring may have the best possible life in the U.S.

A child can have such an important impact on a mother's life, so in a sense it is not surprising that children provide a very important reason for studying English. However, as this vignette illustrates, motherhood can also be a powerful motivator even for those without children:

> I'm sitting in a Starbucks, waiting for one of the participants to meet me for an interview. Bambi walks in, and she looks very different from how I used to see her in class. In class she would either come before or after work, as she was usually dressed in her hotel work clothes, where she worked as a housekeeper. Today, however, she looks like she has stepped out of a fashion magazine, wearing high heels, (presumably) designer blue jeans, make up, and large dark sunglasses. Our interview gets underway, and the conversation turns to her reasons for learning English, and I expect to hear she's learning to get a better job, or to make her way around better in the United States, when she instead says that she is learning English so that she can help her *future* children.

Bambi is from Cuba, and was 32 years old at the time of the study. Sometimes her work schedule would get in the way of her being able to come to class, but she was an intelligent student who would assimilate the rules of English grammar into practice. At the point in her life that the interview took place she was married but without children, yet her future children still provided her with a motivation to learn English.

A common theme regarding the lives of immigrant women and their decisions to learn English is motherhood. A life changing experience for any woman, motherhood can shape the decisions and actions of immigrant women even more so, and even when they have not yet had children. The host of changes an immigrant must endure (a new location, new rules, new people, and a new language), also extend to an immigrant's child. It is known that motherhood can be a reason for immigrating to the United States (Hangen-Zanker, 2008), and so once here, motherhood continues to provide a guiding force in the decisions of many immigrant women.

That motherhood can be a motivating factor is unique in that it differs from other motivations in terms of how it plays out via the instrumentality or integrativeness of the motivation, and also when looking at the kinds of capital ultimately sought. In examining motivational orientations of either integrative or instrumental types, the assumption has always been that learning a language is for the learner's benefit. However, I have shown that when motherhood serves as the primary condition underlying a motivation to learn, the primary beneficiary of the newly learned skill is not the student, but the student's child(ren), or in some cases, their non-existent children. These decisions indicate the students' language ideologies. The ESL students realize the importance of learning English, and how as mothers they will be in a better position to assist their children. By

learning English, these (potential) mothers will be in a better position to navigate their new home (the United States) for the benefit of their children. In Bourdieuvian terms, the linguistic capital being gained by the parents is to be exchanged for increased social and cultural capital to be gained by the children, so that the children may later exchange their acquired capital for economic capital later in life. This chapter has focused on motherhood and its relationship to motivational orientations. Next, I will examine the social networks of the participants and show how they can be demonstrative and constitutive of one's motivational orientations.

CHAPTER 5

INTEGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

We have examined how motherhood can be a motivating factor of the instrumental type, and also how one's motivational orientations can be reflected in and created by behaviors such as embracing or avoiding contact with speakers of English. Remember that integrative motivations are associated with certain behaviors among language learners (see Oxford and Shearin, 1994, Gardner, 2001, and Cote, 2004). For example, Gardner (1983) demonstrates that students with integrative motivational orientations are more likely to seek out speakers of the target language for interaction. Therefore, one who has an integrative orientation toward learning English would be more likely to seek out and communicate with the host community by engaging in and creating relationships with members of that community. One who does not have an integrative motivational orientation to learn English would be more likely to avoid the host community, as we saw with Jenny and Danielle.

In this chapter I will discuss the data gathered from the participants through participant observation and social network exercises to analyze the degree of connection to the host community, with the premise that those with many or deep ties to the host community (as measured by relationships with native English speakers) are more likely to have such ties due to integrative motivational orientations. Those students without such ties are more likely to have instrumental motivational orientations for learning English.

Immigrants are in a unique situation in that they are generally located outside the host community, even though they may share and be subjected to the same institutions

(such as those belonging to the government or educational system, for example). Access to the host community on a social scale may not be easy, especially when a language barrier is in place, as is the case with the participants in this study. Furthermore, immigrants can have access to a community most members of the host community do not have, and that is the cultural or ethnic or linguistic community of the immigrant. It is for these reasons that the social networks of the participants were examined. They are constitutive of, and perhaps informing of, the choices available to an immigrant.

Social Networks

Motivational orientations are demonstrated in social networks. The social network, developed by Barnes (1954) and used in much social science research, is useful in the study because it was developed to "explain individual behavior…which cannot be accounted for in terms of…group membership" (Milroy, 1991). Diagramming the social networks of the research participants enabled me to understand their behaviors regarding the degree of integration they have made into the host community. Specifically, I wanted to understand how they used English as part of their day-to-day life and with whom. I defined their social networks as the people they had contact with on a regular basis. In order to ascertain the make up of their social networks, I used participant observation, interviews, and social network exercises to ascertain quantity and quality of the relationships the participants in the research had with members of their native language community and the target language community.

In regard to the social network exercises, I had participants diagram their social networks into two halves, one made up of personal contacts, the other of professional (or non-personal) contacts. On small sticky notes they would place the names or occupations

of their contacts on either side of the diagram to denote either personal or professional affiliation. Closeness of the relationship was denoted by how close the participant put their contact to the center of the diagram. For example, both Jenny and Danielle put their family contacts closest to the center of their diagrams, since they were the people they spent the most time with. Participants also wrote down what language(s) they used to communicate with the people in their social networks.

Jenny and Danielle and the Role of Regret

A prominent theme stood out among two of the participants and had an impact on their formation of their social networks; Jenny and Danielle both had feelings of regret that were connected to their current situation of living in the United States. Although Jenny and Danielle were the only two people to communicate emotions of this sort when discussing their respective emigrations, it was a powerful force for them, as emotions are not only "products of migration, but as also constitutive of these experiences" (Swank and Boehm, 2011). Later, when we focus on their social networks, we shall see how these emotions played a role in their experiences regarding integration, as "those who regret emigration report fewer friendly contacts with inhabitants of the host culture" (Boekestijn, 1988).

As you recall, Jenny and Danielle share some characteristics regarding their situation in the U.S. Jenny is a Korean who married a Korean-born already living in the United States, moved to the United States, and then had children. Danielle is a Columbian who married a native English speaker from the United States, moved to the United States, and then had a child. Both of them have stated that they regret their decision to come to the United States, but for differing reasons.

44

Jenny spoke of the lack of independence and freedom she had, both when living in Korea and under the supervision of her mother, and then again in getting married and having children in the Unites States, which has created new familial relationships and duties to which she feels obligated. Jenny has expressed dismay at the irony of trading her lack of freedom in Korea due to filial obligations to her mother for lack of freedom in the United States due to obligations of motherhood and matrimony.

Similarly, Danielle has said, "if I knew what it would be like here, I would've never married my husband [and thus come to the U.S.]". With this statement one may think she just regrets marrying her husband, but I contend that her regret is tied to the fact that it was because of their relationship that she left Columbia. Her husband's work requires him to live abroad for large periods of time, and so far she has found the experience unpleasant. Before coming to the United States she had lived in the Philippines with her husband, and she said that she had hated living there. Based on our discussions I sensed a fairly strong sense of ethnocentrism within her, as she clearly preferred living in Columbia, and as we will see, always tries to conduct her life in Spanish.

Although the causes for their feelings of regret differed, in neither case did either Jenny or Danielle mention the United States as a desirable place to be. Danielle preferred life back home in Colombia to apparently anywhere else, whereas for Jenny, location wasn't so much an issue as was the situation of being obligated to her children and to a lesser extent, her husband, and thus still not attaining the independence she thought she would gain by leaving her mother in South Korea. There was no "at least I'm in the U.S." type of sentiment from Jenny. I suggest that their feelings of regret and lack of

enthusiasm for living in the United States were reinforced in the ways in which they would generally avoid communicating in English. These feelings of regret regarding living in the United States, whether due to ethnocentrism (on Danielle's part) or lack of independence (on Jenny's part) to a certain extent helped form their motivational orientations for learning English. They used English only when necessary, usually as dictated by the needs of their family. This points to instrumental motivational orientations because both Danielle and Jenny avoided contact with English speakers, and also because they interacted with the host community primarily due to their status as mothers and wives. We will now see how their emotional experiences with regret had an impact on the formation of their social networks.

Jenny's Social Network

The personal half of Jenny's social network consisted of family and friends that she regularly communicated with. The professional side of her social network included teachers from her children's school, other ESL students, and so on. If participants used English with people related to them both professionally and personally, they could be looked at as (potentially) having integrative motivational orientations for learning English. If the participant in question used primarily their native language whenever possible, or in both their professional and personal relationships, they could be seen as lacking an integrative motivational orientation.

This latter situation was the case with Jenny. I was able to ascertain with whom Jenny uses English or Korean. With her children and husband she usually uses Korean, although her children would often reply to her in either language. (Being born and raised in Las Vegas, her children have a native command of English). Outside her immediate

family, her social network is largely composed of Koreans, with whom she speaks Korean or English. This information was obtained from her social network exercise diagram. She speaks English with a few of her friends, but these English speaking friends make up a minority of her personal relationships. She has met most of these English speaking friends either through ESL classes or because they are parents of children who go to the same school as her own children. Looking at the professional side of her social network exercise diagram, we see that the majority of her professional relationships are with people with whom she communicates only in English.

Although a part of the local Korean community, she often complains about her Korean friends and her relationships with them. Many of her relationships with fellow Koreans have ended badly, always due to some immoral, untrustworthy, or unethical behavior on her friend's part. Despite this, she does not use English as a way of expanding her native English speaking social network. Even though she does have English speaking friends, all but one of them are foreign born. English is used between them because it is a common language. Of her few English speaking friends, one is Japanese, the other Vietnamese, and the third Mexican. It is noteworthy that she has no American-born friends, when considering her motivational orientations. I contend that this stems from her regrets regarding the decisions that led her to living in the United States which have informed her motivational orientations for learning English. For example, when she needs to speak with English speakers to get things done, she uses the minimum of English to do it:

> One day Jenny and I are running some of her errands, one of which is to pick up one of her children from school. While waiting for her child, she decides to pay for the next session of her child's school program. She needs to use English to talk with the school secretary, and signs her child

up for the next session after waiting for the secretary to finish doing something. As she steps away from the secretary's window to wait for her child to finish with class, the secretary, attempting to make small talk, says "Sorry I kept you waiting and that I was so disorganized" but Jenny just responds with a smile and continues walking away. Later, when I ask her about this, she says she did not understand what the woman had said.

This vignette demonstrates typical behavior for Jenny. She has developed the habit of only using English when necessary and avoids any unnecessary interactions. Unlike Danielle, Jenny's regrets do not stem from any ethnocentric sentiments. In fact, she distances herself from fellow Koreans as well as the host community rather than seeking out native Korean speakers as Danielle maintains ties with native Spanish speakers. It is possible that she regards anyone outside the family unit as a (potential) hostile, as other emigrant women have done (Ley, 1981).   Past research (Gardner, 1984) contends that behavior such as this stands in opposition to someone with an integrative motivational orientation to learn English.

Danielle's Social Network

If we look at Danielle's social network, a similar picture emerges. Except for me, the entirety of her relationships listed on her social network exercise were on her personal relationship side. Although she talked about how she had work-from-home duties such as arranging air flights and such for her husband, that she listed no one on the professional network side of the social network exercise suggests that she speaks to no one regularly or that they were of so little consequence that she did not list them. This could have an effect on her integration into U.S. society as she is rarely forced to interact with native English speakers on any regular basis.

A small majority of Danielle's social network live in her native Columbia. She communicates with her friends and family still in Columbia via email, Facebook, or

telephone, a few of them on a daily basis. Of her social network residing in the United States, she uses English with about half of them. However, this half lies on the outskirts of her social network, and so communication with them is infrequent, and usually in the presence of her husband, as she met them through her husband and are primarily her husband's friends. Like Jenny, Danielle's friends in Las Vegas are few, but unlike Jenny, all of Danielle's close friends also speak her native language. English is rarely used within her social network. When possible, she shops at Spanish speaking stores and sees Spanish speaking business people and medical practitioners. She is also shy about using English, as we saw (in Chapter 4) when she went to a recreation center to sign her son up for swimming lessons. The effect of regret is a very tangible one where Danielle is concerned. The choices she makes regarding her interactions with the host community (that she avoids the host community) due to her regrets concerning her immigration to the United States make her ever more isolated, thus further reinforcing the influence her regret has on her life in the United States. Like Jenny, Danielle is a housewife whose responsibilities include raising their child and taking care of the house. Also like Jenny, her decision to avoid using English whenever possible illustrates the instrumentality of her motivations. Acquiring broader English speaking social networks was not a dominant factor in guiding either Jenny or Danielle to study English.

Maria's and Julia's Social Networks

Jenny and Danielle were not the only participants to display behavior demonstrating a lack of an integrative motivation toward learning English. During the research, I was able to attend two parties hosted by participants Maria and Julia. Although I did not get to know Maria or Julia as well as Jenny and Danielle, the

experiences I did get to have with them told me that they experienced U.S. society differently.

One of the parties was hosted by Maria and her husband. Maria is a Colombian who had married a Chilean and had three children: two teenage daughters and an older son in his 20s. Maria was in her late forties and her husband a little older than her. Both her and her husband had similar personalities, in that they tended to smile a lot, and were generally jovial. I remember them joking with each other about rooting for different teams during a soccer match, which was the occasion for their party: a barbecue held during a soccer match on television to which friends and family were invited. There was a mix of 30 to 40 year old adults as well as their children (who were in their early 20s or younger). All members of the party but two (an older gentlemen and I) were native Spanish speakers. The older gentleman was a sixty year old native English speaker, and he came with his Hispanic wife, who was approximately twenty years his junior. He would usually speak in Spanish, however. It seemed that most of the older generation had immigrated to the United States at some point with their children.

In terms of language ability, in general, the younger the person, the better grasp of English they had. For example, the two daughters of the hosts (and their friends) were all fluent English speakers, English being the language taught in schools. The young men who were in their early twenties at the party had a good command of English, but not a native level. Most of the older adults (those in their 40s, 50s, and 60s) spoke only or mostly Spanish. Spanish was the language of choice for most members of the party. The exception to this was the children, who would at times speak English to each other but were always spoken to in Spanish by the adults. That all but two of the guests at the party

were native Spanish speakers points to a lack of integrative motivations toward learning English for Maria. However, because I do not know if it was she or her husband who did the inviting, it is certainly possible there are native English speakers in her social network, that none of them came to the party suggests that either their number is few or that their English speaking friends are kept separate from their Spanish speaking friends.

When asked to complete the social network exercise, few people in her social network on her personal side were native English speakers. The ones who were were mothers of her children's friends. She did say, however, that her husband knew more native English speakers than she did, although these were mostly through his cleaning business, so they too would be considered professional relationships rather than personal relationships, according to her.

The other party I attended was hosted by Julia and her boyfriend. Julia is a student who came to the United States from Cuba. At the time of the study she was in her late thirties, and was living with her boyfriend in a house that he had bought. Similar to the other party, everyone in attendance was a native Spanish speaker. Unlike the other party, no guests were family members of the host. In fact, many of the guests seemed to know each other from working at a local casino. The guests ranged from their 20s to their 60s, and many (perhaps the majority) were of Cuban descent. Except for me, there were no native English speakers present. Spanish was spoken exclusively at this party, except when people were speaking to me. However, only the younger members of the party, in their forties or thirties and lower, did this. The elder members of the party, those in their fifties and sixties, would or could only speak Spanish to me. Furthermore, as this seemed

to be more of a work-related party than a family-oriented party (as was Maria's), there were no children present.

In both of these experiences with Maria and Julia and the data collected from the other participant observation sessions, including the social networking exercises, I saw no evidence of integrative motivational orientations, based on the lack of interaction with native English speakers when there was no obligation to (except for the fact that I was invited to the two parties described above).

A facet of the immigrant experience is that certain social networks (such as those comprised of people who share language or experiences) are more available to immigrants, and other social networks (such as those comprised of members of the host community) less available to them. Despite sharing in the immigrant experience, Maria and Julia were grouped together, and Jenny and Danielle together, because of the similarities that were found within these two groups, and the differences between them. Maria and Julia stated that they were learning English for reasons regarding work. Jenny and Danielle were not learning English to find employment or improve their employment situation, but because they wished to be capable mothers. It is possible that Maria and Julia had similar motivations regarding the power of motherhood. However, they never talked about motherhood being a motivation factor (and because the idea of motherhood had not yet introduced itself to me as a theme, I did not ask). Another major difference between the two groups was the effect regret had on Jenny and Danielle, but not Maria and Julia. Once again, it is possible that earlier in their immigrant experiences Maria and Julia had experienced similar feelings of regret and isolated themselves somewhat from

the host community[3], an experience certainly imaginably for one of this group. But if that were the case, they showed no signs of it when I met them, as they had large (Spanish speaking) social networks, and although not engaged much with the host community, were definitely part of *a* community. But despite the differences between these four people, all showed signs of instrumental motivational orientations, although the underlying reasons for these instrumental motivations differed. This is not to say that all of the participants showed signs of solely having instrumental motivational orientations, however.

All of them held language ideologies through which they saw learning English as beneficial. Maria and Julia believed that learning English would help them acquire or improve upon their employment situations. They wished to exchange their growing linguistic capital for economic capital. Jenny and Danielle believed that learning English would help them raise their children. They wished to exchange their growing linguistic capital for an increase in their *childrens'* cultural capital. Jenny and Danielle may have held similar language ideologies about English (that learning English could increase one's economic opportunities), but this is not what guided their behavior. Rather, it was through the status of motherhood that learning English became a goal. This speaks to the importance of examining one's socio-economic position (Mother, not mother, employed, unemployed, for example) when examining the underlying causes of learning another language.

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[3] Later in the research, when I became aware of motherhood as a motivating factor, and regret as a limiting one, I tried to contact Maria and Julia to discuss these topics, but was unable to talk to them.

CHAPTER 6

INTEGRATIVE AND OTHER MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

While the vast majority of the participants showed instrumental motivations, not all did. Two of the participants exhibited motivational orientations that differed from the rest. One of them, Eileen, demonstrated signs of having integrative motivational orientations more than any other participant I encountered. Another, Britt, had motivations that fell outside of the integrative / instrumental paradigm. Both Eileen and Britt, like the others, shared in the immigrant experience of finding their way in a place with new institutions, people, and language. What differentiates them from the others in the study (Maria and Julia, and Jenny and Danielle) is the way in which they perceived and utilized their social networks.

Eileen's Integrative Motivations

One of the research subjects reported having more personal relationships with native English speakers than any other participant. Eileen is a 24 year old from Russia. She has married a U.S. citizen. However, I am unclear on their relationship status, as she is very reluctant to speak about her husband or anything to do with her home life. Eileen is bright and very sociable, and it seems it would be easy for her to make English speaking friends and acquaintances. She said approximately a third of her friends spoke English. Her reporting of these relationships occurred later in the study and was in contradiction to what she had said when I first interviewed her, much earlier in the study[4]. At that point, when conducting the social network exercise, she showed that only

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[4] It is possible that this discrepancy is due to lapses in memory, or that she changed her self-reported data to fit how she perceived herself; it is also possible that the increase in relationships with native English

a small percentage of her personal relationships were with English speakers, and she was surprised that her own self-reported data showed this. Since then, it seems that her social network has expanded to include native English speakers.

When asked what her life would be like without English, she expressed distress at the notion. She exclaimed that without English, she would have no friends, no shopping, and no social life, and also that she would not be able to work. She seemed to have a clear idea of how English was useful, i.e., the types of capital that linguistic capital could be exchanged for, and much of that use was for social reasons. When asked about where she has met the people she considers her friends, she said she had met most of her Russian friends either by accident (I was witness to one of these accidental meetings at a mall) or through the Russian Orthodox church she goes to regularly. She also stated that she has met most of her English speaking friends from the gym. Whether her English speaking friends approached her first or not is unimportant. At the very least, she was receptive to engaging in a conversation with these people, which is indicative of having integrative motivational orientations. Remember that both Jenny and Danielle actively avoided contact with English speakers. The fact that Eileen was at least willing to speak to people who approached her illustrates a difference we can link to their differing motivational orientations.

During participant observation sessions, interviews, and the social networking exercises, I was able to collect evidence suggesting both integrative and instrumental motivational orientations for some of the subjects in the study. Jenny and Danielle in

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speakers is due to her increased knowledge of English and the confidence that comes with greater English proficiency. Finally, this change in her reported data may have been a product of greater self-awareness of her social network brought about by being a participant in this project, which enabled her to examine her life from a more objective perspective not normally utilized.

particular presented the best evidence against having integrative orientations. They

actively sought to avoid encounters in English. The linguistic capital they had acquired

was not, for the most part, exchanged for an increase in social capital (by broadening

their social networks). The data I collected from Maria and Julia also showed a lack of

integrative orientation, in that almost no one in their social circle (as evidenced by the

guests at their respective parties) were native speakers of English; so in their case as well,

linguistic capital was acquired for other purposes such as to increase their economic

capital. Eileen's experiences showed something very different. She does not avoid

interactions in English (unlike Jenny and Danielle), and her social circle is now

comprised of a substantial section of English speakers (something Jenny, Danielle, Maria,

and Julia have not shown). She wished to exchange her linguistic capital for an increase

in not only economic capital (she was trying to find a job, as were other participants), but

social capital as well; her acquisition of English enabled her to expand her English

speaking social networks in ways the other students showed no evidence for.

Britt's Motivations

We have seen how Danielle's and Jenny's regrets regarding living in the U.S.

informed their motivations for learning English. Let me introduce Britt, so that we may

see a contrast in her regard for living in the U.S. At the time of the study, Britt was a 56

year old wife and mother, who had come to the U.S. from Argentina when she married

her American husband almost 30 years before. Although I met her in one of the lower

level classes, she had a fluent command of English because of the length of time she had

spent here. By fluent, I mean that she could communicate with anyone about most anything without pause. However, her English was prone to grammatical errors[5].

Something happened with Britt that helped me understand her motivational orientations for learning English. During the study Britt had left Las Vegas for Texas with her husband, only to come back about 6 months later, alone, as she and her husband were getting divorced. She moved in with a friend, a Cuban woman, and tried to begin a new life in Las Vegas, starting by looking for a job. Her experiences were significant in two ways. The first was her reasons for moving back to Las Vegas. She had lived in Las Vegas for many years and had raised her family here, though at this point her children were all adults, some with children of their own. Two of her children with families had moved to California, leaving her with her youngest son of around 20, who was then looking for work in Las Vegas and living on his own. The rest of her family (parents, siblings) remains in Argentina. Thus, her social network is comprised almost entirely of friends she has met while living in Las Vegas. When I asked her why she had not moved back to Argentina (where she would have more familial support), she said that the U.S. was her home now. There was no reason for her to go back. That she thought about the U.S. like this is not indicative of an instrumental motivation for learning English. She had by this time fully integrated into U.S. society to the extent she was capable. That her social network was comprised mostly of Spanish speakers demonstrates her maintaining her cultural roots. Nor were her reasons for learning English to do with finding work (an

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[5] I have found this pattern common among ESL students who have lived in the U.S. for a long time. They are able to use English in a multitude of situations, and in a way that seems natural, without the stops and frequent pauses of a typical foreign language learner. The problem these students have is that they have produced grammatical errors in their speech, and after years of producing these errors, the errors have become an essential part of their English, and is therefore very difficult to correct. This is called fossilization (Han, 2004).

instrumental motivation). Although she has worked in Las Vegas, at the time of the study she was a student and had not been working or looking for work. Coming back to Las Vegas after her divorce, she needed to find a job to support herself. It seemed a never-ending quest, as she spent a part of almost every day looking for work. During one of our participant observation sessions together, we went to Kinko's, as she normally did, to go online and look for work. She would write down information about any jobs she was interested in, and then call or email the employers if required. She was very frustrated and unhappy with this situation, but felt that there was nothing else she could do.

When I asked her why she thought it was so difficult to find work, her response was unexpected. She thought her trouble finding a job had to do with age discrimination, and the general state of the economy. She made no mention of her lack of English ability. This was surprising to me because so many students in the study (over 80%) have stated that English is the major obstacle to finding a job. As with most people in the United States, a modicum of English ability is needed in order to find employment. Such is the case with Britt, who was looking for employment of any type, especially those jobs found in the service sector. Here was a former ESL student looking for a job and having trouble finding one. It seemed to me that she would fit into this category of finding employment as a motivating factor to learn English, and therefore, the lack of English ability being a reason for her having trouble finding a job. However, she did not perceive her situation this way. This was not due to an over-estimation of her abilities as an English speaker. On the Likert scale about English proficiency in the questionnaire (see Appendix 2), she gave herself a 3 out of 7 (7 meaning advanced) for general English ability. Based on her past experience working in Las Vegas, she thought that the only thing that had changed

between when she used to work in Las Vegas and finding a job now was her age. Therefore, according to her, it must have been her age (and other non-linguistic factors, such as the high unemployment rate) that acted as the limiting factor in her search for employment.

She utilized her social network to help circumvent these limiting factors. Most of her social network is comprised of native Spanish speakers although she is quite comfortable speaking English. Despite her ability to speak English, it was the use of her Spanish speaking social network that she used to help her find a job and afford her a place to live. At this later stage in the study she was living with a Cuban woman she had worked with years ago and become good friends. Her Spanish speaking social network was also on the lookout for jobs for her. In fact, I was witness to one of these phone calls that eventually led her to employment at a local casino:

> We just get back to Britt's apartment from running some errands at Walmart when she receives a phone call which she takes in Spanish. During the call she grabs a piece of paper to write some notes down, and after the short call is finished proceeds to finish putting her shopping away. While doing this, she tells me (in English) that the call was from a friend of hers she used to work with and that her friend's boss (a casino manager) is looking for someone to work in a casino restaurant as a server or hostess. After she finishes putting everything away, she then calls the boss's phone number, and leaves a message on his voicemail using a polite register of English.

She used her Spanish speaking social networks to find an English speaking job. She is able to function in both Hispanic circles which form the basis of her personal social network, but also to engage fully with English speaking circles, which form the basis of her professional social network.

Her motivations for learning English have not been instrumental. When she was an ESL student she had no inclinations of ever working again. It was not until her unexpected divorce that she became interested in finding work, and yet during this time she did not think that her lack of English ability was an impediment, as she felt fully acculturated. So what had her motivations been? Her motivational orientations lay neither within what are called instrumental or integrative orientations. Rather, they had to do with a desire to learn. Britt had also taken Spanish language classes before taking ESL classes. That she was a native speaker of Spanish did not deter her, as she simply wanted to know more about the rules of the language because it interested her. In the same manner, she took ESL classes, not to satisfy any goal such as finding a job (she had not been looking for one) or to integrate into American society (she had already been living in the U.S. for almost 30 years), but simply to learn, and afford her whatever pleasures she derived from such activities. Thus, the research with Britt demonstrates the utility of looking beyond instrumentality or integrativeness when looking at motivational orientations.

Eileen and Britt, like the other participants portrayed in this study, are immigrants, and as such had to overcome obstacles that we can view via a Bourdieuvian framework as a way to gain capital in a new marketplace. Examinations of their social networks revealed how and why they chose to gain capital. Unlike the other participants, Eileen used English to engage in a social network comprised partly of people who could only speak English to her. Although she had relationships with members of her language community (other Ukrainian speakers), she had social relationships with English speakers as well. Britt, like the other participants, had a social network comprised of members of

her own language group (Spanish speakers), and even though she used English to increase her chances of finding a job, this was not her reason for learning English. Because of her long history in the United States, she had the ability to engage in both worlds – her personal world filled with mostly Spanish speakers, and her professional world with English or Spanish speakers.

Looking at them from a motivational perspective, both Eileen and Britt demonstrated evidence for having motivations to learn English which were different than the majority of the students in the study, who largely had instrumental motivations. Eileen demonstrated having relationships with native U.S. speakers of English far more than any other participant (a sign of having integrative motivations), while Britt showed evidence of having neither integrative nor instrumental motivations. Their motivations (as are others) were couched in their socio-economic positions which may have been somewhat different than those positions occupied by the majority of the participants in the research. These differing socio-economic positions lead to differing expressions of their language ideologies concerning the power of English. Whereas some were concerned with exchanging their linguistic capital for economic capital (Maria and Julia), and others for an increase in their children's cultural capital (Jenny and Danielle), Eileen wished to exchange linguistic capital for social capital in a way no others did, and Britt wished to exchange her linguistic capital for nothing more than for personal knowledge.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION / FINAL THOUGHTS

Motivations are a point of origination for everything we do from going to school to playing sports. In the case of studying a language, however, motivations take on new significance. This is because of what (we think) knowing a language entails. For some, studying a language can mean graduating from college or passing some other educational requirement. For others, it can mean prestige or knowing how to find a bathroom in a foreign country. And for immigrants to a country it can mean the difference between finding a job and being unemployed. Immigrants hold a unique place in any community, in that they (can potentially) straddle two worlds at the same time, their own ethnic or linguistic community, and that of the larger host community. Immigrants to the United States come from a multitude of places, but they all share in the issues they face when starting anew in the United States. Although some immigrants are better equipped than others to deal with the transitions that accompany moving to another country (by being more educated, having previous experience abroad, or by knowing or having experience with the host language, for example), the focus of this research centers on one of the issues that all of the participants of this research share in, and that is the issue of learning the target language.

Where one has come from, one's experiences, are what forms the language ideologies held by that person. An immigrant moving into a new community will have ideas about how important learning the language of that community is, and these ideas will in part guide their behavior. All of the participants in the study felt that learning English would be beneficial for them (or their children) for some reason or another. Of

course, an ideology alone will not guide someone to study a language. There must be a will to do so as well. Take Jenny's (whom we met in Chapter 4) sister, for example. At the time of the study she had lived in Las Vegas for over 20 years with only a modicum of English. This language limitation must be restrictive, even though she chooses to live within those restrictions (and maybe does not even notice them). That she realizes the potential for English to be of some benefit to her is evidenced by the ESL class she signed up for but had not the will to complete.

An immigrant can have much motivation to learn the language of his or her new home. To connect with people in the host community, to navigate the social infrastructure, to find employment; in all of these, learning English in the United States becomes of use, and more importantly for the research, this is realized by the immigrant student. Learning English when in the United States can open doors otherwise closed, such as being able to interview for a position with an English speaking interviewer. Knowing a language has benefits other than just the utilitarian advantages, because a language, perhaps more than any other skill, is deeply connected to the life ways of a people. If someone wants to be more like a group of people, one of the best ways to do this, perhaps a necessary way, is to learn that group's language. Because of these two very different types of benefits, a model that can take into account these two types of end goals (one for utilitarian reasons, the other for affinity with the community) can be used when studying the motivations behind learning a language. Because language is connected to culture, studying motivations among the integrative / instrumental paradigm offers a useful perspective. The meaning behind learning a language depends both on where you have come from, where you are, and where you wish to go.

Instrumental Motivations

The presumption among most people is that ESL students are studying English so they can increase their opportunities to enrich their lives economically. This is what this study confirmed: the majority of women in this research project answered that at least one of the reasons for learning English was for reasons of employment. However, employment status could not be predicted by ESL level for the women in this study, which begged further examination of this group.

Motherhood

For some of the women, their motivations were not to find work, but to assist their children in making it through U.S. society. Jenny and Danielle both exemplified these instrumental motivations, learning English not for their own benefit, but for their children's. The assumption in research on motivational orientations has been that the beneficiary for learning a language was the person learning the language. That this research project showed otherwise could have implications for future study into motivations for learning languages, as well as how (linguistic capital) is thought to be exchanged, as Jenny and Danielle were studying English because they wished to exchange their growing linguistic capital for their children's cultural capital, rather than to benefit themselves. However, it is possible that the parents do realize a benefit for themselves as well as their children. For example, prestige can be a factor worth studying for when their children later do well in school. Much later these same parents may rely on their children for financial support when they retire. These are values known to be held highly among some of the cultural backgrounds present in some the participants in the study. If this was the case for the participants involved in the study, no signs of these

longer term self-centered motivations were observed. A longitudal study might provide

more insights regarding motherhood and motivation.

Social Networks

The nature of one's motivational orientations can also have an effect on their

interactions with the host community, which in turn, can influence and reinforce certain

motivational orientations. I measured participants' interactions with the host community

by examining their social networks. Immigrants in the United States have access to

certain social networks that most members of the host community do not. They can

associate and develop relationships with members of their own language or ethnic group

in a way that native English speakers are unable to do so. Measuring these relationships

via their social networks is useful in ascertaining the degree to which they have or have

not assimilated into their new environment. Despite them being able to connect with

members of their own ethnic or language community, there is also a need for most

immigrants to communicate with native English speakers, even if only minimally. Even

Jenny's sister, who speaks a modicum of English, needs to deal with customers at work

(most of which presumably speak English). For these reasons, studying the social

networks of the participants provides insight into their daily lives, as well as the

motivations which guide their language learning behaviors.

The social networks formed by the participants in the study were for the most part

connected to how linguistic capital was being exchanged. Students' decisions to learn

English are decisions to acquire linguistic capital with the idea that they will be able to

exchange their linguistic capital for other kinds of capital at some point in the future, such

as when students are exchanging their linguistic capital (English speaking ability) for

economic capital (employment). Linguistic capital can also be exchanged for other types of capital, such as when students exchange their linguistic capital for an expansion of their social capital by expanding their social networks. Jenny, for example, had friends that were not part of her Korean language community or the native English speaking community. One spoke Japanese, another Vietnamese, and the other Spanish, yet she developed friendships with them through the English language. In other words, she exchanged her linguistic capital to increase (however slightly) her social network. That she (or most of the participants) did not exchange linguistic capital for an English speaking social network points to the lack of having an integrative motivational orientation to learn English.

Regret

Almost all of the participants demonstrated little interaction with members of the native English speaking community. Jenny and Danielle seemed isolated from both the native English speaking host community and, to a lesser extent, their own language communities. This, I argue, stems from their regrets about coming to the United States. The negative impact of emotions such as regret must be felt by most immigrants, even if only experienced as a temporary by product of culture shock. Danielle had only been in the United States a short time compared to most of the other participants, so perhaps her feelings might have changed given time to acculturate. That Jenny still expressed feelings of regret years after immigrating to the United States speaks to the difficulties she had in adopting a new way of life. The role emotions play in the lives of immigrants can have a profound effect on how their new lives are lived, as was especially exemplified in the cases of Jenny and Danielle. Their lack of interaction with the host community further

reinforced their opinions about it being a bad idea to have come to the United States. Thus, their experiences further informed their motivational orientations, which manifested in creating experiences of isolation.

Not everyone created these experiences of isolation. For example, Maria and Julia also showed a separation between themselves and the native English speaking community. However, unlike Jenny and Danielle, they had cultivated relationships within their own language communities. That they did this suggests a lack of feelings of regret on their part at the time of the study. Perhaps this was a potential future for Jenny and Danielle. Given enough time, maybe Jenny and Danielle would eventually cultivate relationships within their own language communities, as seen with Maria and Julia.

Integrative Motivations

Out of the participants that I was able to acquire social network data from, only one showed substantive signs of engaging and maintaining relationships with members of the native English speaking community; this was Eileen. Socio-economically, her situation was very different than the others. Like others such as Maria or Julia, she was gregarious, but what separated her from the rest was her age and lifestyle. Although married, she did not exhibit feelings for the same type of obligations as did Jenny, for example. Her lifestyle was more similar to that of a working (or out of work) student. Her friends, though mostly of Ukrainian or Russian origin, also included native English speakers and other ESL students. I contend that this stemmed from her being young and relatively unattached. Her lifestyle arguably presented more environments where she had access to members of language communities outside her own, most importantly of which was the native English speaking host community. Because of her social position which

67

allowed her to form particular social networks, Eileen exhibited signs of having integrative motivational orientations. In the time period over which I interviewed Eileen, her self-reported native English speaking social network grew. Over time, her integrative orientations contributed to greater access to native English speakers, which further reinforced her integrative motivations.

Neither Instrumental nor Integrative Motivations

Britt's motivations for learning fell outside of the instrumental / integrative model. The goal for Britt's studying English was not to help get her something she did not have (and that specifically learning English could get her), nor was it to integrate herself into a native English speaking community. She just wanted to exercise her brain. In terms of her motivational orientations, she was the minority participant in the study. She was also the only participant who did not have the goals to get a job or to assimilate into U.S. society. Her needs were far different than those of her classmates as she held a very different socio-economic position. Whereas her classmates were of working age and had children or goals of economic advancement, she did not. Married and retired, well assimilated into the community, Britt's goals were about finding ways to keep occupied.

Britt was also relatively unattached, having become divorced during the time of the study, with most of her adult children living outside of Nevada. However, her social network was made up of relationships years in the making, the vast majority of which were with members of her own language community. Her ties to these people were strong enough to be able to count on them for support in her time of adversity (suddenly becoming divorced after years of marriage). These observations beg the question of how immigrants are able to utilize their access to different social networks in ways that native

English speakers are not. When Britt needed help, she went to those whom she had developed relationships with, other immigrants who spoke Spanish. She did not go to any native English speakers, nor ask help from host institutions. She tapped the resources she felt were most available to her, which in this case were other members of her language community, and immigrants themselves. So although unattached like Eileen, Britt was not building a social network in the same way that Eileen was. Thus, her social network did not exhibit a high number of native English speakers, but rather reflected a group of relationships formed years ago, perhaps when her English speaking ability was very limited. Her network differed also from Jenny's and Danielle's, who did not have relationships as Britt's in the United States.

Britt, as with the other participants, was also accumulating linguistic capital. However, she alone of the participants was not accumulating linguistic capital with the purpose of exchanging it. She had no goals regarding exchanging her linguistic capital for social capital, for example. Although she did wish to increase her economic capital, and she would exchange both social capital (in terms of her relationships giving her job leads) and linguistic capital (in terms of being able to speak English to her potential employers) to do so, this was not the purpose for her learning English. (Remember that at the time of the study she was not looking for work). Because capital exists to be exchanged in a socially constructed marketplace, it could be argued that when she was learning English, she was not increasing her linguistic capital, as she was not learning English to exchange linguistic capital, but solely for the benefit of satisfying intellectual curiosity. Of course, one could argue that she was accumulating linguistic capital but had no plans to exchange or use it. Taking an ESL class could also be a way to create relationships with other ESL

students, and thereby increase one's social network. She demonstrates the weaknesses of using certain theoretical models, be it instrumental / integrative orientations, or looking at these behaviors through the Bourdieuvian lens of gaining capital.

Although looking at age or time in the United States was not a primary focus, it is interesting to note that the one person who fell outside of the integrative / instrumental dichotomy was the person who had spent the most time in the United States. Britt had already lived so much of her life in the United States that she did not occupy the same social space as the other participants in the study. She had worked in the United States, had had adult children in the U.S., and had even retired in the U.S. by the time of this study. She felt she was past the point of needing to learn English to find a job since she had already spent much of her life here working. She was also past the point of needing to learn English to integrate into U.S. society, since she had long since done that, and had formed strong (Spanish speaking) social ties as well.

To say that her needs would differ from those of most immigrants would be understandable, based on the differences between her experiences and the experiences of most of the other participants in the study. Not only does this shed light on the limitations of a strictly motivational or Bourdieuvian model, but furthermore suggests that the lives of immigrants cannot so easily be assumed to be alike. We have seen, for example, how some immigrant students may not be learning for themselves, but primarily for the benefit of their children. Moreover, in Britt we saw motivation for something other than to eventually exchange linguistic capital for other types of capital. Simply looking at motivations for learning or the exchange of capital presumes that language learning immigrants will all conform to those paradigms and characteristics.

70

Suggestions for Future Research

The purpose of this research was to ethnographically examine students' reasons for taking ESL classes in Las Vegas, NV. This means that they were already present (and for most of them had been for some time) in Las Vegas when the study started. I was interested in why they were learning English from the point of time starting after they had arrived in the United States. Taking this project further back in time to find out why they left their native countries in the first place would provide even more information about the underlying foundations regarding their motivations to learn English. I know that the participants left their countries for any combination of various reasons – some left for religious persecution, some for financial obstacles (and because they had won a visa lottery), some because they had gotten married, and some because their family had brought them. By knowing more about the histories involved with the participants, the researcher would better understand the perceived opportunities that emigrating to the United States offered said participants. Knowing these perceived opportunities could help explain their motivational orientations for learning English.

For example, one of the participants left because of religious persecution in their native country. Could this promote an integrative orientation to learn English? That is, did he look upon the United States as a beacon of religious freedom, and if he did, would that make him want to learn English to be "more American"? Another participant from Iraq had her home blown up by American soldiers. What kind of emotional impact on her perception of Americans did she have, and how might this affect her reasons for learning English? Or take Jenny, who married and came to the United States because of the perceived opportunity of freedom the move offered her, only to find herself still without

freedom. Is it any wonder she shows no signs of having integrative motivational orientations? By digging deeper into the histories of the participants than what my own research parameters allowed me to do, one could find the foundations for constructing their motivational orientations in the first place.

To learn English as an ESL student in the United States is to acquire linguistic capital, with the purpose that it can then be exchanged for cultural, social, or economic capital. English can be seen as a type of commodity needed (especially by immigrants) to succeed in the United States, and it is from this perspective that ESL classes exist. What some of the participants have shown me is that there are other (non-linguistic) skills that are needed to succeed as well, such as knowing certain popular software programs. By learning more about what other kinds of knowledge differentiates what many U.S. citizens take for granted and what is known by immigrants can be of service to immigrants in the United States. ESL programs can take these other needed skills into account when educators are designing their course programs.

Where are they now?

I have been able to keep in touch with some of the participants you met in the study.

Jenny

Jenny has since moved to Southern California with her children. Her husband remains working in Las Vegas. The move was made for the children's educational benefit. Just before her move, Jenny asked me "Am I free yet?". Clearly, the issue of her lack of freedom still plays a large role in her behaviors. She has not found the move to be

a positive experience for her, and at last conversation said she felt lonely and that she has almost no friends there. It does highlight the significance of motherhood being a powerful factor in her life, however.

Danielle

Danielle has also moved, although she has moved with her family to Mexico, where her husband is now working. She is very happy with her move, no doubt because she is living among her native language community.

Eileen

Eileen is still studying ESL at the College of Southern Nevada, and plans to pursue a college education in the coming years. Of the students I am still in contact with, she is the only one still studying English.

Britt

Britt was able to find a job working at one of the local casinos. She has moved out of her friend's place and gotten an apartment of her own (she did not want to overstay her welcome at her friend's apartment). She enjoys her free time with friends and one of her sons who still lives in Las Vegas.

ESL FLOW CHART OF CLASSES

DRAFT

Revised 6/14/2012

NOT OFFICIAL
English and ESL Course Sequences

English 102
Composition II

=

English 114
Composition for Non – Native English Speakers

English 101
Composition I

=

English 113
Composition for Non – Native English Speakers

ESL 139
Composition

ESL 140
Advanced English Editing

Fast Track II
135, 138, 139, and 133

| **ESL 198B** Intermediate Conversation | **ESL 135** Reading/ Conversation | **ESL 138** Intermediate Writing | **ESL 133** Speech |

ESL 198B
Beginning Conversation

ESL 132
Reading III

ESL 129
Written English

ESL 128
Grammar III

Fast Track I
125, 126, 128 and 129

ESL 125
Reading II

ESL 124
Grammar I

ESL 126
Grammar II

ESL 127
Pronunciation and Listening II

ESL 123
Reading I

ESL 121
ESL IV

ESL 122
Pronunciation and Listening I

ESL 120
ESL III

ESL 111B
ESL II

ESL 110B
ESL I

Classes on the same horizontal line **can** be taken simultaneously.

ENGLISH AS SECOND LANGUAGE PLACEMENT INFORMATION

Students **MUST** take the Placement Test for English as a Second Language before enrolling in an ESL course. The test will help determinate your starting place. For more information, call 702 651-4475 or 702-651-5736

APPENDIX 2

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

(Only write this information if you would like to be interviewed or if you want to be told the results of the study).

Name:

Email:

Phone number:

ID#:

I am conducting a survey on the ESL students. I have given you this survey because I think your answers can contribute to my research The survey is totally voluntary. Also, the survey is totally confidential: your names will only be kept for my records, separate from the questionnaire itself. I will provide the research results to those of you who want them, and I will contact you when the research is complete. If you wish to participate further in an interview, please leave your contact information above. I will provide a tutoring session as compensation for your participation in an interview. Thank you for your participation.

GENERAL INFORMATION   ID#:

This section is designed to gather general background data on you so it can be referenced with other respondents to the questionnaire.

Please answer the following questions about yourself.

1. Age:

2. Sex: Female   Male

3. Country of birth:

4. How long have you been in the U.S.?

5. How long have you been in Las Vegas?

6. What is/are your native (first) language(s)?

7. What other languages do you speak, if any?

   a. Please circle the level of proficiency you have with these languages:

Language	**Beginner**						**Advanced**
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. How long do you plan to stay in the U.S.?

9. Do you plan on returning back to your home country?

   a.   If yes, when do you plan on returning?

HOME LIFE

This section is designed to gather data on your use of languages at home especially where learning English is concerned.

10. Who do you live with? (Please write your relationships with them, and their ages in the table below)
For Example:

Wife	*37*	*Spanish*
Son	*14*	*Spanish, English*
Person	**Age**	**Languages you use with them**

_____

_____

_____

_____

You may use the back of this paper if you need more room.

11. What language do you use the most at home?
12.
    a. Do you use a mix of languages together – for example, Chinese and English mixed together?   YES   NO
    b. If YES, what languages do you mix together?

13. Does anyone help you with your English at home? Who?

14. This question is about what your family and friends think of your studying English.
    a.   Who thinks it is a good idea?

    b.   Who thinks it is a bad idea, a waste of time, etc.?

15. For those who think it is a good idea, who speaks or studies English?

    a.   If they don't study English, why do you think they don't study English?

WORK LIFE

16. What was your occupation in your native country before coming to the U.S.?
17. Do you work now?   YES   NO

    a. If YES, what is your current occupation in the U.S.?

18. Please check your current yearly income: (Remember, this information is only for research purposes and will not be connected with you in anyway. If you feel you don't want to answer, that is okay, just move on to the next question.)

    $0 ___ $1 - 19,999___ $20,000-39,999___ $40,000+___

19. Do you think your income will increase due to taking ESL classes?

    YES   NO   MAYBE

    a. If YES, how much do you think your income will increase?

        $1 - 4,999 a year___ $5,000-9,999 a year___ $10,000 + a year___

20. Do you think you will be able to get a different kind of job by taking ESL classes?

    YES   NO   MAYBE

    a. If yes, what kind of job do you hope to get?

21. If you work, this question is about what languages you speak at your job., if you work. If you speak more than one at work, please write when or who you speak each language with:

For example:

customers   *English, Spanish*

boss   *Spanish*

Who I speak to   **Language(s) used**

_____

_____

_____

You may use the back of this survey if you need more room.

SCHOOL LIFE

This section is designed to gather data on your educational level, especially where learning English is concerned.

22. How many years of education have you completed in your native country?

23. Did you go to college? YES   NO
    a. If YES, did you graduate?   YES   NO

    b. What did you study?

24. How long have you been studying English?

25. On a scale of 1-7, 1 being beginner, and 7 being advanced or fluent, please report what skill level you think you are in the following areas in English:

	Beginner					**Advanced**	
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Reading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Writing		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. Listening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

26. On a scale of 1-7, 1 being "needs least improvement", and 7 being "needs most improvement", please report what skill you want to improve the most in the following areas in English:

	Beginner					**Advanced**	
a. Speaking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b. Reading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c. Writing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d. Listening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

27. Do you wish to be contacted with the results of the research when it is complete?

28. Is there any more information you would like to add that I did not ask for but you think would be beneficial to this research? If so, please explain:

29. Are there any questions that you think should be included in this questionnaire?

APPENDIX 3

TOPIC CATEGORIES FOR SHORT ANSWER QUESTION:
WHY DO YOU STUDY ENGLISH?

Category	Percentage of Women	Percentage of Men
Employment	80	90
Communication	59	68
Education	53	43
Living in the U.S.	33	32
Family	23	4
Personal enjoyment	8	7

APPENDIX 4

TABLE OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION PARTICIPANTS

Participants	Questionnaire	Why do you study English?	How do you spend a typical day?	Participant Observation Hours	Interview	Social Networking Exercise
Jenny	X	X	X	12	X	X
Danielle	X	X	X	10.5	X	X
Britt	X		X	8	X	X
Eileen	X		X	8	X	X
Maria	X			4	X	X
Julia	X			6	X	X
Bambi	X		X	4	X	

Jenny
Jenny is a Korean immigrant who married a Korean immigrant, moved to the United States, and then had 3 children. One of the participants whom I spent the most time with, she provided evidence of regret (which supported non-integrative motivations), motherhood (exchanging her linguistic capital for her children's cultural capital), and instrumental motivations.
Age: 34
Native Country: Korea
Time in U.S.: 12 years
Employment: Housewife, mother with 3 children
Participant observation time: 12 hours
Relevance to research: Evidenced themes of Regret, Motherhood, Instrumental Motivations, Exchange of Linguistic Capital for children's benefit

Danielle
Danielle is a Columbian immigrant who married an American citizen she met while he was in Colombia, moved to the United States, and then had a child. One of the participants whom I spent the most time with, she provided evidence of regret (which supported non-integrative motivations), motherhood (exchanging her linguistic capital for her children's cultural capital), and instrumental motivations.

Age: 28
Native Country: Columbia
Time in U.S.: 2 years
Employment: Housewife, mother with 1 child
Participant observation time: 10.5 hours
Relevance to research: Evidenced themes of Regret, Motherhood, Instrumental Motivations, Exchange of Linguistic Capital for children's benefit

Britt
Britt was the most interesting participant, as more than any other participant she did not fit into either instrumental or integrative motivation categories. Also, she was not studying English to eventually exchange her linguistic capital, as she was not learning for any particular motivation other than for pleasure.
Age: 56
Native Country: Argentina
Time in U.S.: 30 years
Employment: Housewife at beginning of study, divorced and looking for work at end, mother with 4 adult children.
Participant observation time: 8 hours
Relevance to research: Evidenced themes having neither integrative nor instrumental motivations, not learning to exchange linguistic capital

Eileen

Age: 24
Native Country: Ukraine
Time in U.S.: 2 years
Employment: Unemployed student looking for work. Married, no children.
Participant observation time: 8 hours
Relevance to research: Certainly one of the most gregarious participants, it is not surprising that she had the largest native-English speaking social network, suggesting an integrative (as well as instrumental) motivation for learning. Also evidenced signs of self-examination of her way of life and social network from an objective perspective due to participation in the study.

Maria

Age: 47
Native Country: Colombia
Time in U.S.: 15 years
Employment: Housewife and mother.
Participant observation time: 4 hours
Relevance to research: Though a mother, showed no signs of motherhood as motivation for learning. Social network made up of native language community. Showed evidence of instrumental motivations, though not necessarily to work, but to "get around" better in English.

Julia

Age: 36
Native Country: Cuba
Time in U.S.: 6 years
Employment: Casino worker. Single (has Cuban boyfriend).

Participant observation time: 6 hours
Relevance to research: Showed evidence of instrumental motivations (for work and the utility of English in the U.S.). Social network made up of native language community (many of which were fellow Cubans).

Bambi
Bambi also stated that her motivation for learning was due to motherhood. What is significant is that she had no children yet. She worked full time as well, another difference between her and Jenny and Danielle.
Age: 32
Native Country: Cuba
Time in U.S.: 5 years
Employment: Casino worker. Married with no children.
Participant observation time: 4 hours
Relevance to research: Also showed evidence of motherhood as motivation (even though she had no children).

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. So why don't we start by telling me about your hometown, where were you raised, for example.

2. Ok, so tell me about coming to the U.S.

 What were the circumstances of your coming here / why did you come to the U.S.?

4. Where did you first live in the U.S.? Tell me about what you thought of it…

5. Why and when did you move to Las Vegas? Tell me why you do or don't like living here…

6. Tell me about when you first studied English…

 What was your first experience like? How did you feel about studying English back then? Why? How about now?

7. Why are you studying it now?

8. How has studying English brought changes to your life?

9. What kind of changes do you or did you hope for?

10. What kind of problems, if any, has studying English caused problems for you and your life?

11. If you had to do everything all over again would you have still decided to study English? Tell me why or why not…

12. Tell me what you think of when you think of English, or learning English. What comes to your mind?

(Use these as prompts for other questions…)

APPENDIX 6

SOCIAL NETWORK EXERCISE

I will give the participants a large sheet of paper with concentric circles on it, with each circle closest to the center representing the closeness of the relationship to the participant. The participant will then place post-it notes with the names and relationship status of their acquaintances on the circles. (I will have a method of distinguishing between personal and professional relationships by having each half of the circle sheet designated as one of the two). I will also ask questions about the persons written on the post-its, such as how often the see them, what is the context of their meetings, and how they would characterize their relationship with the person (good or bad, and why). Finally, I will take a picture of the sheet when completed.

GRAPH OF PARTICIPANT LANGUAGES

Number of Participants by Native Language

87
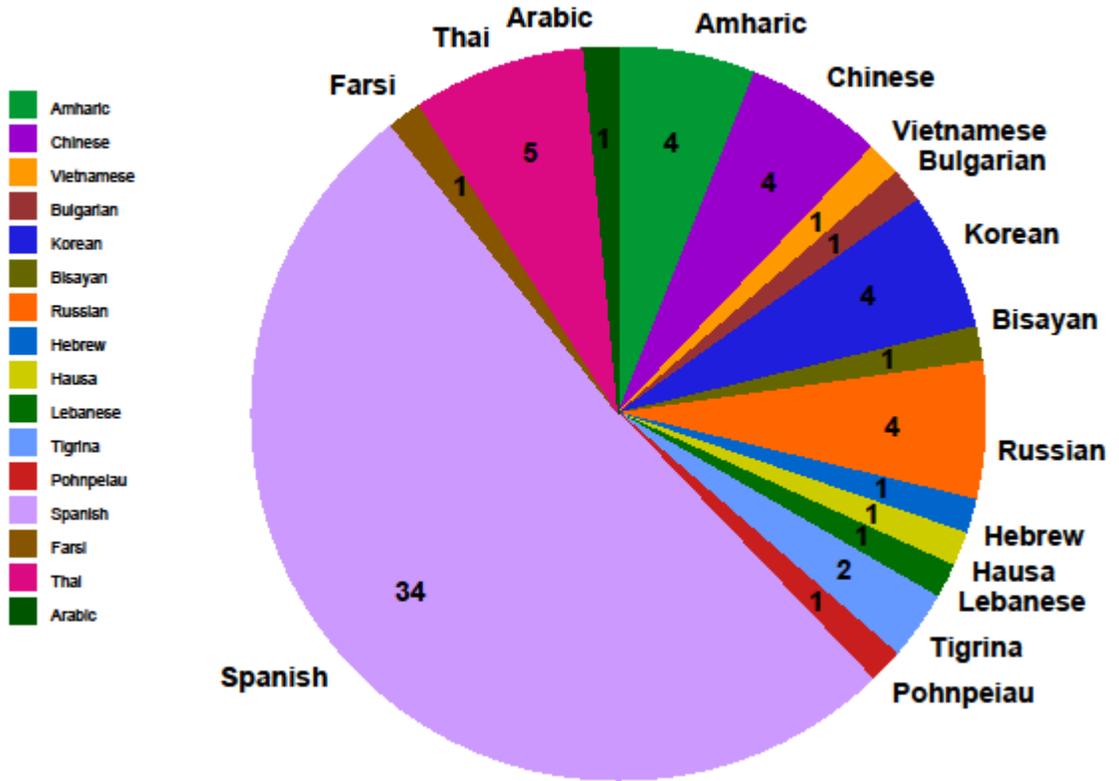
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CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

M.A. Linguistic Anthropology   University of Nevada, Las Vegas
                                           2013

CELTA (Certificate in English Language   University of Cambridge at
Teaching to Adults)   International House San Diego
                                           2000

B.A. Psychology   University of California at Berkeley
                                           1994

RESEARCH INTERESTS

-Language Acquisition/Transfer   -Underwater Archaeology
-Cognitive Linguistics   -Applied Anthropology
-Language Ideology

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

College of Southern Nevada
2003-Present   Instructor for English as a Second Language classes of various
                      levels

College of Southern Nevada
2008-2011   Instructor for both cultural anthropology and linguistic
                      anthropology courses.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2005-2006   Served as substitute for undergraduate linguistic anthropology
                      courses

International House San Diego, San Diego
Summer 2001   Taught English classes and assisted in the running of *Summer In
                      America*, a summer-camp based ESL program.

Nichibei Gakuin
1996-1997   Instructor for English classes at English school in Japan

FIELD EXPERIENCE

Past Foundation   Surveyed underwater wreckage site of the Slobodna and curated
2005   artifacts under the direction of Dr. Sheli Smith and Dr. Annalies
                       Corbin

AWARDS

U.S. State Department Critical Language Scholarship Award, 2009
UNLV Institute for Latin American Studies Fellowship, 2007
UNLV Department of Anthropology Margaret Lyneis Award, 2005

PRESENTATIONS / PUBLICATIONS

Proceedings of the International Academy of Linguistics, Behavioral and Social Science,
2005
Best Paper Award
Do Syllable Templates Constitute a Factor in Cross-Linguistic Interference During Third
Language Production?

Accepted to present research at the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies,
2009 (funding not available)
Ideas about English: Language Ideologies among ESL Learners

Southwestern Anthropology Association Conference presentation, 2011
Book Burners and Fast Talkers: Utterance Length and Interruptions from a Conversation
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