



This is a contribution from *CULTUS : the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication* 2010 :3. © Iconesoft Edizioni – Gruppo Eurosan Italia s.r.l. TERNI- Italy

This electronic file may not be altered in any way.
The author(s) of this article is/are allowed to use this PDF file to generate printed copies to be used by way of offprints, for their personal use only.

Cultus

THE JOURNAL OF INTERCULTURAL
MEDIATION AND COMMUNICATION

IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION 2010, Volume 3

Iconesoft Edizioni
Terni - Italy

Registrazione al Tribunale di Terni
n. 11 del 24.09.2007

Direttore Responsabile Agostino Quero
Editore Iconesoft Edizioni
Finito di stampare da Tipografia Vighi & Rizzoli - Bologna
nel mese di dicembre 2010
ISSN 2035-3111

© *Iconesoft Edizioni – Gruppo Eurosan Italia srl*
via Garibaldi 89 – 05100 Terni

La realizzazione di questo volume è stata resa possibile grazie al
contributo dei *Monti dei Paschi di Siena* in collaborazione con
l'Università del Salento



CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

2010, Volume 3

IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION

Editors

David Katan

University of Salento and University of Trieste

Elena Manca

University of Salento

Cinzia Spinzi

University of Bologna

ICONESOFTE EDIZIONI

TERNI

CULTUS

the Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication

Editorial Board

Michael Agar

Ethknoworks LLC and University of Maryland, College Park, USA

Patrick Boylan

University of Roma 3 and SIETAR

Andrew Chesterman

University of Helsinki, Finland

Delia Chiaro

University of Bologna (SSLMIT), Forlì, Italy

Nigel Ewington

WorldWork Ltd, Cambridge, England

Maria Grazia Guido

University of Salento, Italy

Raffaella Merlini

University of Macerata, Italy

Robert O'Dowd

IALIC and University of León, Spain.

Anthony Pym

Intercultural Studies Group, Universidad Rovira I Virgili, Tarragona, Spain

Helen Spencer-Oatey

University of Warwick, England

Federica Scarpa
University of Trieste

Christopher Taylor
AICLU and University of Trieste, Italy

David Trickey
TCO s.r.l., International Diversity Management, Bologna, Italy

Margherita Ulrych
University of Milan, Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy



Table of Contents

Foreword	8
To be or to be perceived? Identity and Integration: an Introduction <i>Cinzia Spinzi</i>	9
A conversation on cultural identity and integration <i>Milton Bennett interviewed by Patrick Boylan</i>	17
A Bourdieusian Perspective on Identity and its Role in Second Language Acquisition <i>Niamh Kelly</i>	45
<i>Habitus</i> , self-identity, and positioning: The multifarious nature of study abroad <i>Jane Jackson</i>	65
Subliminal Messaging in Multimodal Newspaper Editing The case of the 2008 US Presidential Election on the Front Pages of the <i>New York Times</i> and the <i>Washington Post</i> <i>Anna Bianco</i>	79
MEDIATING Italy: the construction of Silvio Berlusconi's identity <i>M. Cristina Caimotto</i>	99
Negotiating LBGT identities in Italy: an intercultural perspective <i>Franco Zappettini</i>	115
Hofstede's cultural dimensions: Italian national identity in ELF usage <i>Costanza Cucchi</i>	137
Notes on contributors	159
Guidelines for contributors	163

A Bourdieusian Perspective on Identity and its Role in Second Language Acquisition

Niamb Kelly

Abstract

This paper demonstrates the need for Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory to develop a concept of the language learner as possessing complex social identities and that, by incorporating social theory into the field of SLA, researchers can begin to explore the relationship between the second language learning context and identity formation. The work of researchers who have conducted their studies within a Bourdieusian framework is presented to illustrate this. The paper acknowledges the inextricable link between language learning and identity formation and discusses the pedagogical and research implications this holds.

1. The Sociocultural Perspective of SLA

The study of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) emerged from Chomskyan linguistics and cognitive psychology in the late 1960s. Over the years, a substantial body of research has been generated in the literature on the psychological processes the second language (L2) learner goes through when acquiring a second language and the different environmental factors that impact on these processes. In an attempt to explain the differential success of the L2 learner, all of these major language acquisition theories explore learner strategies, language teaching, linguistic input and output, or affective variables that are internal to the language learner. The complex social, political, and

historical context in which the second language was learned and used and how relations of power in the social world affected the interaction that took place between the L2 learner and the target language speaker was, for the most part, ignored until the mid 1990s and 2000s, when theorists in the field of SLA (Cummins 1999, 2000; Norton 1995, 2000; Norton and Toohey 2001; Pennycook 2001) began to move away from viewing the sentence structure as the unit of analysis with the language learner regarded as “a one dimensional acquisition device” (Pennycook, 2001:143). This sociocultural approach shifted the focus of attention away from the cognitive processes of the L2 learner and how they internalise rules, and began to move towards an interdisciplinary and socially informed study of the sociocultural context in which the language learner is situated, exploring issues such as how speaking a second language can influence the social identity of the language learner and how the social context will either expediate or hinder the learning process by denying or facilitating access to the linguistic resources of the community in which the learner finds themselves.

Willet (1995) sums this up by saying that SLA looks at how the L2 learner acquires the linguistic rules of the language, whereas the sociocultural perspective looks at how, in addition to acquiring linguistic rules, they also appropriate identities, social relations and ideologies, which may inhibit or facilitate the acquisition of further L2 routines.

However, it should be pointed out that prior to the mid 1990s, the concept of exploring social variables in SLA was not completely ignored in the literature. The social approach to language learning is often accredited to Vgotsky (1978) and Bakhtin (1981), however, the first researcher to integrate the notion of social distance into SLA theory should be accredited to Schumann (1978), when he introduced the notion of social distance to explain the lack of morphological development of a Costa Rican immigrant to the United States. In his Acculturation Model, Schumann (1978) posited that societal factors such as gender and motivation, and social distance between language groups either promote or inhibit social solidarity between two groups, and can thus affect L2 development. Social distance arises when the language learner is politically, culturally or economically dominant or subordinate to the target language group, and inhibits language development. Other factors which Schumann (1978) cites as being factors of social distance include the integration pattern of the language learner, be it one of assimilation, acculturation or preservation, the cohesiveness of the L2

group, the compatibility of the two cultures and the attitudinal orientation of both groups.

Schumann's subject experienced both social and psychological distance from the target language group, thus inhibiting his ability to gain competency in English. However, while Schumann did try and study L2 acquisition from a sociocultural perspective, he considered these social and cultural factors as external to the learner and having only a marginal role to play in determining the language acquisition process.

At the same time as Schumann was looking at social distance as a variable in language development, the well known video *Crosstalk* (Gumperz, Jupp and Roberts 1979) was aired by BBC1 in 1979. This programme explored the issue of miscommunication due to racial and ethnic stratification in the workplace. A revised and expanded programme was broadcast in 1990.

2. Identity and Language Learning

The interrelationship between identity and language was already recognised in the field of sociology, particularly in poststructuralist theory:

For poststructuralist theory the common factor in the analysis of social organisation, social meanings, power and individual consciousness is *language*. Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested (Weedon, 1987: 21, emphasis in original).

However, the question of identity and its role in language learning was for the most part ignored by SLA literature until it was addressed by Wagner and Firth (1997) in a special edition of the *Modern Language Journal*, which was devoted to a debate on making SLA theory more socially informed. In their paper, they questioned the narrow view of the language learner's identity, which was framed as having one identity, that of language learner or non-native speaker (NNS), with verbal productions being compared to those of a native speaker (NS) in the target language:

The identity categories NS and NNS are applied exogenously and without regard for their emic relevance. The fact that NS or NNS is only one identity from a multiple of social identities, many of which can be relevant simultaneously, and all of which are motile (father, man, friend, local, guest, opponent, husband, colleague, teacher, teammate intimate acquaintance, stranger, brother, son, expert, novice, native speaker, uninitiated, joke teller, speaker, caller, overhearer ad infinitum) is, it seems fair to conclude, a nonissue in SLA. For the SLA researcher, only one identity *really matters*, and it matters constantly and in equal measure throughout the duration of the encounter being studied. (Wagner and Firth, 1997: 292; emphasis in original)

Responding to Wagner and Firth, Gass (1998) stated that no interrelationship between identity and L2 learning had been theoretically established and was thus not relevant to how identity affects L2 acquisition. However, other researchers (Norton 2000; Norton and Toohey 2001; Day 2002) concluded that when individuals interact, there is more involved than the transfer of information from speaker to listener; in addition to negotiating meaning, speakers also negotiate identity, a viewpoint that highlights the interplay between identity, power and L2 learning. Much of the research emerging on identity and language learning sees the language development process inextricably linked with the social and cultural context, with identities being shaped by the dynamic relationship between the fixed set of categories that mark group identity and the different identities people assume through discourse.

Thesen (1997:488) defines identity as:

the dynamic interaction between the fixed identity categories that are applied to social groupings (such as race, gender, ethnicity, language, and other, more subtle representations that are activated in certain discourse settings) and the way individuals think of themselves as they move through the different discourses in which these categories are salient.

Duff and Uchida (1997: 452) echo this view and highlight the role language plays in shaping identity, stating that:

Sociocultural identities and ideologies are not static....rather... identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language.

In her treatment of social identity, Norton (1995, 2000) argues that SLA researchers need to integrate the idiosyncratic, complex and evolving identities of the language learner into their theory, and examine how their social world and language learning context interacts with the language learning process. She posits that language learning is much more than a skill, arguing that it is a complex social practice that engages the identities of the student.

SLA theory needs to develop a conception of identity that is understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction. ... foreground the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity (Norton, 2000: 5).

Rather than using the term social identity, Norton draws on the Poststructuralist theorist Chris Weedon, using the terms subjectivity and subject positions, terms central to poststructuralist theory. This approach rejects the notion that identity is unified, fixed and coherent, stable over both time and space. Instead, it is viewed as constantly being reconstituted through communications and interactions with others in situated learning environments that reflect the lived histories of individuals. Weedon (1987: 32) defines subjectivity as “the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world”. Subjectivities that will impinge on language learning include race, gender and class. During the language acquisition process, the learner vocalises their experience, and understands it according to different ways of thinking, thereby reconstituting their subjectivities (Weedon, 1987: 33).

In attempting to understand a language learner's social identity, many SLA theorists draw on concepts pioneered by the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu. In particular, Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and

relations of power have informed theoretical discussions on identity in SLA.

3. Bourdieu's Approach to Identity and Concepts that inform SLA Theory

In order to understand how Bourdieu's theories inform discussions on identity in the field of SLA, it is necessary to first understand the concepts that underlie these theories. Specifically, I will review Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, capital, and relations of power, as it is these concepts which SLA theorists have drawn heavily on. Block (2007) describes Bourdieu's approach to identity as a dual action, where identity conditions and is conditioned by social interaction and social structures, which continuously alters and recreates identity. These social structures impose constraints on the identities of individuals, due to what Bourdieu refers to as different power relations between individuals. Bourdieu describes power in terms of capital, which is inherited from the past and constantly being created. In *The Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) makes a distinction between economic, cultural and social capital. He later added the notion of symbolic capital, as being necessary for the other forms of capital to operate. Bourdieu came up with the notion of social and cultural capital in an attempt to provide a theoretical hypothesis to explain the disparities in educational achievement of children from different social backgrounds. Economic capital, which forms the basis of the other forms of capital, was considered an insufficient explanation. It is the construct of cultural capital, and the strong link between that and the construct of the habitus, from which an individual can derive cultural capital, that has received much attention from SLA researchers. Cultural capital stems from the social background of the individual, and includes gender, level of education, skin colour, all of which can facilitate or inhibit your chances in life, and be a source of class domination. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital distinguishes between embodied (or incorporated) cultural capital, objectified cultural capital and institutionalised cultural capital. Linguistic competence (Bourdieu 1991), which he relates to social class and to the habitus, can function as an embodied form of cultural capital, and in modern society, individuals from minority backgrounds tend to possess a smaller volume of this cultural or linguistic capital, as the linguistic capital of that society

will lie in the official language used by the dominant social group, which the dominant social group can then use to buy even more symbolic power.

Acquisition of this linguistic capital, which cannot be transmitted to another individual, is done in the interest of self-improvement, and presupposes a personal cost to the individual in the form of investment of time and energy, in the hope that it will yield profits for its owner, while at the same time, function as symbolic capital. This symbolic capital can then be converted to economic and social capital, thus enabling the individual to gain access to other material capital, such as education and other valuable linguistic practices such as literacy skills, furthering their ability to access even more material resources. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital explains why minority groups will try and acquire knowledge held by the dominant group, such as acquisition of the dominant language, in an attempt to gain materials, or access to materials, that only the dominant class has access to. A typical example would be a non-English speaking immigrant family moving to Dublin, trying to acquire English, the language of educational and socioeconomic advancement, in order to gain access to the education system or the labour market. By moving to Dublin, this minority family have lost economic, cultural and social capital. Their children will be at a disadvantage in relation to children who have been socialised in the dominant culture, as it is the dominant culture which is reproduced in the schools.

This paper will discuss three areas of L2 learning that been informed by concepts pioneered by Bourdieu; namely interaction, the notion of the legitimate speaker and learner motivation. These three areas have been chosen as they all help shape the identities of the L2 learner.

4. The Notion of Interaction in Language Learning

Study of interactional routines in SLA literature looks at the importance of psycholinguistic processes involved in the interaction between L2 learners and other speakers of the L2, and focuses on the speech used by native speakers (NS) when addressing the non-native speaker (NNS). Studies revealed that, in order to facilitate the L2 learner's comprehension of the language, the NS used a simplified, often

ungrammatical, version of the language when addressing the NNS. In a seminal paper by Hatch (1978), the importance of interaction and language learning is discussed, and over the years, many SLA researchers have taken Hatch's lead and looked at the importance of interaction and its role in aiding the language learning process (Aston 1986; Braidí 2002; Doughty and Verala 1998; Farrar 1992; Foster and Ohta 2005; Gass 1988; Gass and Varonis 1985; Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991; Long 1983; Long and Robinson 1998; Lyster and Raita 1997; Oliver 1995; Pica 1994; Pienemann 1989).

However, Willet (1995) and Menard-Warwick (2005) have brought these studies to task and called for a more sociocultural approach where the focus is on the external sociopolitical context, rather than solely on the internal linguistic processes of interaction. Willet (1995) argues that studies should examine who can say what to whom, and for what purpose and in what manner is what is uttered shaped by the social context. Willett (1995), based on a case study of four children acquiring English in a mainstream classroom, demonstrates how the micropolitics of the classroom shaped how the children interacted with each other and how members of the classroom jointly constructed the L2 children's positive social identities, and ideologies, and that these identities, social relations and ideologies facilitated the conditions necessary for language development to take place.

Menard-Warwick (2005) echoes this and points out that very often individuals interacting across linguistic boundaries come from different positions within a given social structure, and drawing on Bourdieu, argues that the key point in understanding Bourdieu's contribution to SLA theory is to accept that since interactions between individuals tend to reflect the societal positions of the interlocutors, these interactions are likely to both express and reproduce the structures of society. The NS/NNS interactions that have been considered key to language acquisition in SLA theory are recognised in Bourdieu's theory as sites in which power relations are reproduced, an area which will be explored in more detail in the next section.

4.1 Bourdieu's Notion of the Legitimate Speaker and Language Learning

Bourdieu (1977, p. 648) takes SLA theory to task due to its abstract concept of linguistic competence, arguing that it must incorporate the right of the interlocutor to speak as well as the power of the interlocutor to impose reception:

Language is not only an instrument of communication or even knowledge, but also an instrument of power. One seeks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished. Whence the complete definition of competence as right to speak, that is, as right to the legitimate language, the authorised language, the language of authority. Competence implies the power to impose reception.

Due to their low level of linguistic competence, McKay and Wong's (1996) subjects struggled with the Bourdieusian concept of "the power to impose reception" (Bourdieu, 1977: 75) and thus must simultaneously acquire the right to speak while negotiating their identities. Proceeding from Norton's premise that identity is multiple, fluid and often contradictory, and furthering this by stressing that the language learner has human agency, the learner is considered to be subject to and subject of relations of power, and needs to exercise this, by focusing on discourses or establishing counterdiscourses. They extend Norton's analysis which centres on the subject positions of the L2 learner, and argue that the L2 learner, while positioned in power relations and subject to the influence of discourses, resist the position to which they are assigned, attempt repositioning or establish counterdiscourses to conduct social negotiations and form identities (McKay and Wong, 1996: 603).

Norton (2000) demonstrates how Bourdieu's notion of the legitimate speaker helps explain the natural language learning experiences of the immigrant women in her study. Angelil-Carter (1997) draws and extends Bourdieu's notion of the legitimate speaker and argues that the positions of language learners and thus their ability to claim the right to speak, will change over time, and can even change within one encounter.

Norton (1995) takes SLA theory to task for failing to recognise that inequitable power relations will limit the opportunities of the L2 learner to integrate with target language speakers, both in the formal classroom situation and in the informal environment of the target language community. It is the relations of power which will determine the opportunities the L2 learner has to speak the L2 both inside the classroom and outside the classroom with other members of the L2 speaking community.

Day (2002) also draws on Bourdieu's notion of power to explore the interrelationship between language learning, identity and social relationship of Hari, a Punjabi-speaking English language learner attending a mainstream kindergarten classroom in Canada, in the context of his relations with his teacher and classmates. Day demonstrates how the complexity of power relations in the classroom play a critical role in identities that learners can negotiate in the classroom. Despite his English language development, with the exception of his interaction with a newcomer to the class, with whom he built up a caring, trusting relationship, Hari did not have 'the power to impose reception' with his other classmates, thus limiting the kind of access and extent of participation he could have in the classroom. Due to the valued place he had with his teacher, Hari transformed his participation and played an active role in developing the position she offered him. Day (2002:109) sums up the study saying that:

Hari had different social value with different members of his class and that these evaluations influenced the identities he displayed, his access, his participation, and his opportunities for learning.

Lin (1999) demonstrates how Bourdieu provides useful tools for considering the issue of reproduction and transformation in schools by examining the notion of relations of power in the classroom by exploring whether classrooms where English is taught are places where social identities and power inequalities are reproduced or transformed. She looks at four diverse classroom situations in Hong-Kong and discusses how different classroom approaches may have different implications for the reproduction or transformation of the students' lives, and concludes that teachers must use creative and discursive practices that are appropriate to the student and congruent with the

students' identity, thus facilitating the transformation of the students' habitus and social position.

5. From Motivation to Investment

Norton (2000) challenges the notion of motivation, an important concept which SLA research use to quantify the desire of the speaker, who has a unified, coherent identity, to speak the L2. Norton (2000) argues that the notion of motivation in SLA does not capture the interrelationship between power, identity and language learning and instead builds on Bourdieu's theoretical notion of cultural capital, introducing the term investment, which she first coined in 1995, as a better indicator in explaining language use. The construct of investment:

conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space (Norton, 2000:11).

Norton's data shows how the L2 learners' motivation to speak is mediated by investments related to the learners' social identity, which may conflict with their motivation to speak. An understanding of motivation in the SLA literature should incorporate this and acknowledge that motivation is not a fixed personality trait, but an ever-evolving trait which needs to be understood in the context of the learners' complex learning environment with reference to relations of power which will determine the learners' opportunity to interact with the target language community. She argues that students invest in linguistic capital, in the hope that, in doing so, will enable them acquire and gain access to symbolic and material resources, that would otherwise be unattainable. In Norton's (2000) narrative of five female immigrants in Canada, she argues that their investment in English gives them the power to claim the right to speak, opens up their ability to acquire

symbolic and material capital, which consequently will alter and enhance their perception of self and their future ambitions. Other researchers who adopt Norton's notion of investment include Angelil-Carter (1997), Ibrahim (1999), McKay and Wong (1996) and Potowski (2004).

Potowski (2004) draws on Norton's concept of investment to explain how students' identity investments may accelerate or hinder their language use in a dual immersion classroom and goes on to say:

Individuals' investment in using a given language can seem at times contradictory, depending on the relationship they have with a given interlocutor and the facets of their identity that they wish to portray at a particular moment (Potowski, 2004:77).

if students' identity investments compete with their investments in developing the target language, or if the classroom environment denies them opportunities to participate in ways that are acceptable to them, their target language growth will not be as great as educators might hope (Potowski, 2004: 95).

McKay and Wong (1996) adopt and revise Norton's concept of investment in their longitudinal study of adolescent Chinese immigrant students in the United States. They expand on the notion of investment-enhancement and argue that identity-enhancement and agency-enhancement are also powerful indicators in L2 development. McKay and Wong's study highlights the need to study the interrelationship between discourse and power in SLA; what they call viewing the language learner from a contextual perspective.

5.1 Pedagogical Implications

Acknowledging that issues of power and identity are intertwined with the language learning process, it follows that SLA theory that incorporates the complex social identity of the language learner can be used to inform language pedagogy in ways that will enhance and facilitate the L2 learning process.

Menard-Warwick (2005), echoes Norton (1995) and Thesen (1997) and stresses that for successful language learning to take place, it is necessary for teachers to design curricula that incorporates, engages and identifies with the learners' identity in the teaching and learning process and ensure that the programme is congruent with the various identities of the learner, such as their lived experiences, class background, ethnic history and societal position that learners bring with them to the classroom, while at the same time being congruent with the futures to which they aspire.

Discussing how classrooms might identify with learners' identities, Pennycook (2001) cites Jewell (1998: 4) who argues that the content of English as a Second Language (ESL) textbooks and many ESL classrooms is still "a world in which young, heterosexual, middle-class, well-educated people live in big houses and travel and shop incessantly". For effective L2 learning to take place, it is vital that textbooks and classroom content identify with the L2 learner. Norton (1995) expands this notion stating that teachers must constantly adapt the curriculum to fit the changing needs of the students as their identities continue to change over the time and space they inhabit.

Norton (1995, 2000) stresses the need for teachers to understand why their students are there, and help students become aware of the unfair power relations of societies. They need to complement the students' learning situations outside of the classroom by teaching students the language necessary to interact with the various environments and enable them to raise their voices against the unfair power relations. Teachers need to be aware of the opportunities (or lack of) available to students to interact with other speakers of the target language outside of the classroom. The good language learner depends not only on what they do as individuals to enhance their learning experience, it also depends on their ability to access the social networks of the target language speakers and teachers need to facilitate access to these social networks. As a means to achieve this, Norton (1995: 26) proposes a classroom-based social research framework as a means to "engage the social identities of students in ways that will improve their language learning outside the classroom and help them claim the right to speak". Norton (2000: 152) defines class-room based social research as collaborative research that is conducted by L2 learners in their local communities, under the guidance of their language teacher.

Teachers must ensure that social identities and unequal power relations are not reproduced in the classroom, and, in the words of Lin (1999: 393), must see if students and teachers are conducting language classes “in the reproduction or in the transformation of the students’ social worlds”. If the habitus of the L2 learner is incongruous with that of the school or classroom, then social stratification will be reproduced rather than transformed. Because language is a key agent in the transformation of identities, teachers should encourage students to engage in talk. Language educators must develop their students’ agency of identity, and must enhance the language learning experience by implementing strategies to encourage the student to consider how their identity is either constructed or constrained in communities of practice and encourage them to claim the right to speak.

Day (2002) recommends practices such as collaborative learning, oral story telling, peer tutoring and buddy systems as pedagogical practices that will help give the child a voice in the classroom, and help foster a sense of community in the classroom by facilitating social relations and friendships in the classroom.

However, it is worth noting that, in interviews with teachers of language minority children, teachers displayed a great awareness of the need to adopt the various pedagogical approaches discussed above in order to help embrace the needs of the language minority student and facilitate their learning process and their ability to interact with their peers. Interviews with teachers showed that they were mindful of how well students succeed in learning English and how well they succeed academically will be greatly dependent on the English language support they receive, and the pedagogical practices they encounter in the ESL (English as a Second language) and mainstream classes. However, all teachers cited a number of obstacles, such as lack of suitable materials, adequate teacher-training, coupled with time and space restraints, which limit what they themselves can do to enrich the educational experience of the student. Teachers felt challenged to address the difficulties these children face which hamper their academic achievement. Teachers commented that many of the ESL textbooks available were contextually meaningless to students, transmitting the values of the dominant host culture and did not acknowledge the socioeconomic reality of the student.

5.2 Implications for Future SLA Research

To provide an enhanced understanding of identity and L2 learning, SLA research needs to incorporate a sociocultural perspective into its theories. Block (2003) proposes that SLA research which relies more on learners' accounts of their own experiences would be a suitable way to incorporate the sociocultural perspective into SLA theory. This is referred to as the narrative approach. Block (2003: 131) argues that a narrative approach:

is more informed by social theory than applied linguistics, and that it represents a shift from seeing outcomes of encounters with languages only in linguistic or meta-cognitive terms to seeing them in sociohistorical terms. For example, rather than focus on the acquisition of morphemes, this research examines whether or not learners are able to become fully participating members of the communities of practice they wish to join.

Block, citing Mitchell and Myles (1998) goes on, however, to argue that research should not only look at L2 development embedded in its social context, it should also address the linguistic side of SLA and the learning path being followed, saying that the desired research approach should combine the two contrasting perspectives of the social context and the cognitive and linguistic aspects of SLA.

6. Conclusion

This paper has discussed the importance of the relationship between identity and the acquisition of a second language, demonstrating how Bourdieu provides us with tools which can facilitate our understanding of how learning and speaking an L2 can influence the formation of the social identity of the language learner and the transformation of their social lives. The need for SLA theorists to incorporate this sociocultural perspective into the linguistic and cognitive aspect of their research is evident from the studies presented here. The learners' lived experiences, class background, ethnic history and societal position must be regarded as constituting the very fabric of their lives, and must be acknowledged

and incorporated into pedagogical practices in the classroom in order to facilitate the learning process.

References

- Angelil-Carter, S. 1997. "Second Language Acquisition of Spoken and Written English: Acquiring the Skeptron". *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, pp. 263-287.
- Aston, G. 1986. "Trouble-shooting in Interaction with Learners: The More the Merrier?" *Applied Linguistics*, 7, pp. 128-143.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1981. *The Dialogical Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Block, D. 2007. "The Rise of Identity in SLA Research, Post Firth and Wagner (1997)", *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, Focus Issue, pp. 863-876.
- Block, D. 2003. *The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. "The Forms of Capital". In: Richardson, J.G. (ed). *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-258.
- Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford, UK: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. "The Economics of Linguistic Exchanges", *Social Science Information*, 16, pp. 645-668.
- Braidi, S. 2002. "Reexamining the Role of Recasts in Native-Speaker / Nonnative Speaker Interactions". *Language Learning* 52; 1, pp. 1-42.
- Corson, D. 2001. *Language Diversity and Education*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cummins, J. 2000. *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Clarendon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Cummins, J. 1999. "Biliteracy, Empowerment, and Transformative Pedagogy". In: J.V. Tinajero, and De Villar, R.A. (eds.). *The Power of Two Languages: 2000*. New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 9-19.
- Day, E. (2002). *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Doughty, C. & Varela, E. 1998. "Communicative Focus and Form". In C. Doughty & J. Williams (eds.). *Focus on Form in Classroom Second*

-
- Language Acquisition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 114-138.
- Duff, P. , & Uchida, Y. 1997. "The Negotiation of Teachers' Sociocultural Identities and Practices in Postsecondary EFL Classrooms". *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, pp. 451-486.
- Farrar, M. 1992. "Negative Evidence and Grammatical Morpheme Acquisition". *Developmental Psychology*, 28, pp. 90-98.
- Foster, P. & Ohta, A.S. 2005. "Negotiation for Meaning and Peer Assistance in Second Language Classrooms". *Applied Linguistics* Vol. 26, Number 3. pp. 402-430.
- Gass, S. 1998. "Apples and Oranges: Or Why Apples are not Oranges and don't need to be, A response to Firth and Wagner". *The Modern Language Journal*, 82, pp. 83-90.
- Gass, S. 1988. "Integrating Research Areas: a Framework for Second Language Studies". *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 9, No. 2., pp. 198-217
- Gass, S. & Varonis, E.M. 1985. "Speech Modification to Non-native Speakers". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. Vol. 7, No. 1., pp. 37-57.
- Gumperz, J.J., Jupp, T.C. & Roberts, C. 1979. "Crosstalk: A Study of Cross-cultural communication". London: National Centre for Industrial Training in association with the BBC.
- Hatch, E. 1978. "Acquisition of Syntax in a Second Language". In J.C. Richards (ed.) *Understanding second and foreign language learning: Issues and approaches*, pp. 34-69. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Hawkins, M. 2005. "Becoming a student: Identity Work and Academic Literacies in Early Schooling". *TESOL Quarterly*, 39, pp. 59-82.
- Ibrahim, A. 1999. "Becoming Black: Rap and Hip-Hop, Race, Gender, Identity, and the Politics of ESL Learning". *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 349-369.
- Jewell, J. 1998. "A transgendered ESL learner in relation to her class textbooks, heterosexist hegemony and change". *Melbourne Papers in Applied Linguistics*, 10, pp. 1-21.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. E., & Long, M. H. 1991. *An introduction to second language acquisition research*. New York: Longman.
- Leki, I. 2006. "Negotiating Socioacademic Relations: English Learners' Reception by and Reaction to College Faculty". *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*. Vol. 5. Issue 2, pp. 136-152.

-
- Lin, A. 1999. "Doing English-Lessons in the Reproduction or Transformation of Social Worlds?" *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 393-412.
- Long, M. H. 1983. "Native speaker / non-native speaker conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input". *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 126-141.
- Long, M. & Robinson, P. 1998. "Focus on Form: Theory, Research and Practice". In C. Doughty & J. Williams (eds) *Focus on Form in Classroom Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-41.
- Lyster, R. & Ranta, L. 1997. "Corrective Feedback and Learner Uptake. Negotiation of Form in Communicative Classrooms". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 20, pp 37-66.
- McKay, S. & Wong, S. 1996. "Multiple Discourses, Multiple Identities: Investment and Agency in Second-Language Learning among Chinese Adolescent Immigrant Students". *Harvard Educational Review*, 66, pp. 577-608.
- Menard-Warwick, J. 2005. "Both a Fiction and an Existential Fact: Theorizing Identity in Second Language Acquisition and Literacy Studies". *Linguistics and Education*, 16, pp. 253-27.
- Mitchell, R. & Myles, F. 1998. *Second Language Learning Theories*, London: Edward Arnold.
- Norton, B. 2000. *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. New York: Pearson Education.
- Norton, B. 1995. "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning". *TESOL Quarterly*, 29 (1), pp. 9-31.
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. 2001. "Changing Perspectives on Good Language Learners". *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 307-322.
- Oliver, R. (1995). Negative Feedback in Child NS-NNS Conversation. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 17, pp. 459-81.
- Pennycook, A. 2001. *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pica, T. 1994. "Review Article. Research on Negotiation: What does it Reveal about Second-Language Learning Conditions, Processes, and Outcomes?" *Language Learning* 44 (3), pp. 493-527.
- Pienemann, M. 1989. "Is Language Teachable? Psycholinguistic Experiments and Hypotheses". *Applied Linguistics*, 10, 52-79.
- Potowski, K. 2004. "Student Spanish Use and Investment in a Dual Immersion Classroom: Implications for Second Language Acquisition

-
- and Heritage Language Maintenance”. *Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 88, no. 1, pp. 75-101.
- Schumann, J. 1978. *The Pidginization Process: a Model for Second Language Acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Thesen, L. 1997. “Voices, Discourse, and Transition: In Search of New Categories in EAP”. *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 487-511.
- Vygotsky, L. S. 1978. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wagner, J. & Firth, A. 1997. “On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research”. *Modern Language Journal*, 81, pp. 286-300.
- Weedon, C. 1987. *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. London: Blackwell.
- Willett, J. 1995. “Becoming First Graders in an L2: An Ethnographic Study of L2 Socialization”. *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 29. No. 3, pp. 473-503.

