The Relationship of Socio-Economic Status and Length/Medium of English Instruction with Individual Differences and English Proficiency in Pakistan

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A number of non-linguistic variables associated with learners themselves have been a focus of researchers' attention for many years now with respect to their relationship with second or foreign language learning success. Often referred to as 'individual differences' (e.g. Ellis 1994, Skehan 1989), they include a range of cognitive, affective and social-psychological variables, the most researched of those probably being motivation. Work has progressed to the point where models are being proposed of the interrelationships of such variables with each other and with outcome proficiency, such as the PPP model (Wen and Johnson 1997), and the socio-educational model (Gardner 1985, Gardner and MacIntyre 1992).

However, notable in its rarity of inclusion in studies of this type is social class (or socio-economic status, SES). There are at least three possible reasons for this. It may arise in part because many leading studies have been conducted in second language learning situations which, though certainly not classless, do not exhibit gross extremes of class-related differences between learners which might be seen as potentially affecting learning – e.g. the Canadian and US studies of Gardner and his associates, though Van der Keilen (1995) sees fit to control for it and Fazio and Stevens (1994) actually include it. Language learning researchers cannot research 'all' personal variables associated with individual learners: they are limitless. Naturally they focus on ones which common sense or past research suggests might have an effect in the particular situation they are concerned with. Having said that, studies such as that of Pierson et al. (1980) in Hong Kong or Feenstra and Santos (1970) in the Philippines have also omitted SES as a factor, even though the former recorded it and these are societies where it might well be more relevant (and be related to medium of education as in our study). There has perhaps been a 'follow-my-leader' syndrome at work, in that researchers have simply replicated in new situations the studies of pioneers such as Gardner without rethinking what variables might be relevant in the new 'milieu'.

The present study is concerned with Pakistan, a society where even the casual observer would notice that class, with its inseparable economic dimension, plays a crucial role in almost all aspects of life. With respect to children learning English, upper class parents have vastly more resources to devote, in terms of paying for schooling in different schools (see below), buying English books and other resources (e.g. satellite TV) for home use, and travel to English speaking countries. Above all, mostly upper class parents speak English at home and with friends in certain circumstances, and often at work, since the more prestigious jobs often involve the use of English, so for

their children this is an English as a second (rather than foreign) language environment, with plenty of exposure to the target language outside the instructional setting of school, no doubt developing the BICS side of English proficiency (Cummins 1983). At the other end of the spectrum, lower class parents have no money for any special support in English, may only be semi-literate, and do not themselves know English: their children encounter English only as a subject in school (i.e. a foreign language), and may have to do forms of work out of school that limit the time they can spend on homework etc. For these reasons one would expect a strong relationship between SES and English language proficiency achieved by a child in his/her late teens.

Second, the neglect may be due to the distance of SES from the effect of interest – language learning success. As Wen and Johnson (1997) and Ellis (1994) point out, SES, like sex, is a variable whose effects, if it has any, are unlikely to be direct. One does not generally imagine that a learner's biological sex has any direct influence on their language learning: rather any effect is via various mediating concomitants of that sex - differential attitudes, interests, opportunities etc., largely dictated by society – which we often sum up in the term 'gender'. Similarly we would not probably imagine any effect of SES as arising directly from that class categorisation itself, but from some concomitants of SES in terms of opportunities, attitudes and so forth. It is of some concern to our research to investigate what these might be, and whether its distance from the effect of interest means it has therefore only a weak influence.

Finally, a factor in the neglect of SES could be its immutability. Researchers interested in classroom-relevant research may pay more attention to variables which have some likelihood of being 'modifiable' by teachers, parents or learners themselves (e.g. Wen and Johnson 1997). Many of the more often studied attitudinal and affective variables have this characteristic, while SES, though not genetically influenced in the way that intelligence, language learning aptitude and a number of personality are, is of course in many societies very difficult to alter. However, we are of the opinion that there is no point in blinding ourselves to the effect of a variable simply for this reason: in order to stay dry when we go out we will not only make sure we have an umbrella (modifiable) but also consult the weather forecast for information on the weather (unmodifiable).

There has of course been some recognition of the role of SES in SLA. Gardner (1985) for example has the concept of 'social milieu', though it is broadly defined and although claimed to influence the effects of variables closer to the outcome, such as various attitudes and motivational orientations, has often played the role of a constant rather than a variable in particular studies in particular settings. It refers more to the overall social setting in which learning takes place rather than differentiating social aspects of it such as SES to see their effects as variables.

More specifically Burstall (1975) found positive correlations between SES and both achievement and attitudes among UK school children learning French. Skehan (1990) in a more recent small scale study obtained a similar result. Olshtain et al. (1990)

in a study a little nearer to our situation investigated 196 learners of L2 English in Israel making a distinction between learners that were in socio-economic terms advantaged and those that were disadvantaged. They too found a relationship with L2 achievement. However, they were able to make more of a suggestion about the mechanism of the effect of SES. They measured Cognitive Academic Level Proficiency (CALP) in L1 Hebrew, and found that this in fact also differed for the social groups and correlated better with L2 achievement than motivation or various attitudes. CALP is a concept derived from the work of Cummins (1983) and encapsulates the sort of language knowledge and skills needed for academic work - predominantly reading and writing where reference can be made to explicit knowledge – contrasted with the sort of abilities needed for real time context-embedded oral communication (termed Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills or BICS). This study therefore suggests that the more socially advantaged students did better in L2 by virtue of transferring their L1 CALP to L2 work, which was predominantly of the context-disembedded type. However, results favouring the lower class have also been found (Fazio and Stevens 1994), in this case explicable by the fact that the proficiency measured was more of the BICS than CALP type.

Alongside variables associated with learners themselves, the instructional input they receive is also widely regarded as a key factor in language learning. Many aspects of this have been and are being researched, often at the micro level of what specific types of task, materials, class organisation, presentation, feedback etc. provided by a teacher have more or less beneficial effects on attitudes and/or success (e.g. Ellis 1994). However, often in studies of motivation and other individual differences it has been a constant rather than a variable – a situation not true in Pakistan where we take into account a macro dichotomy in instructional input. In Pakistan broadly learners progress through one of two educational routes up to the stage when they attend College, the level of students in this study (if they reach that stage at all). Either they go to English medium school or Urdu medium. Each of those alternatives internally provides a reasonably homogeneous but quite different learning experience with respect to several key aspects of English.

Urdu medium schools are predominantly government schools, with very small fees which almost everyone can afford, but with very limited resources (though less so in private Urdu medium schools). In the government Urdu medium schools English is started at age ten and taught purely as a subject within the English class itself while in the private Urdu medium schools English is started from age 5 and is taught again purely as a subject within the English class. English medium schools are semi-governmental and all charge considerable fees to attend as well as selecting students on the basis of an entrance exam. Facilities (e.g. books, audio-video) are better than in the state schools, with teachers more often foreign-qualified, but teaching methods are often very much the same and could be characterised as CALP-oriented. However, the striking contrast is that English is begun from age five as a compulsory subject and used widely in the teaching of all subjects in the

school, not just in the English class. In fact some attenders of these schools would have started English from as early as age 3 at nursery school. By College level (age 17+), the age of learner we are targeting, English is compulsory for all students continuing their education.

It can be seen then that what we call 'medium of instruction' in Pakistan in fact conflates a number of variables. It involves both medium, in the narrow sense of how widely the target language is used in classes in all subjects in a school, and length of instruction prior to age 16+, both affecting the amount and types of exposure to English that students receive: here the greater amount of comprehensible input in English medium schools should be a massive advantage (Krashen 1982), as also the longer period of formal instruction (Long 1983), and the combinatin of the two specially effective (Spada 1986, Gradman and Hanania 1991). The difference is also one of the age of starting to learn, which has especially attracted research attention as it is related to the issue of whether there is a critical period for starting to learn a language before which the language may be learnt in a different way psychologically. The age marking the end of the critical period is variously claimed to be as low as age 6 (Long 1990) or as high as puberty (Scovel 1988) but in any case this places Pakistani English medium students within the period and most Urdu medium learners probably pass the end of it. There are conflicting views and findings on the benefits of the early start (Singleton 1989, Ellis 1994), and there is some evidence that actually the later start is more beneficial in the context of formal instruction and in the acquisition of CALP (e.g. Burstall 1975, Harley 1986, Cummins and Nakajima 1987). Finally, the medium variable overlaps the state-private dichotomy since English medium schools are of the latter type and Urdu medium more the former, though not exclusively. This distinction has rarely been studied though where it has in other countries the advantage is to the private sector, not necessarily due to superior teaching methods but rather better facilities and smaller classes (Scholfield and Gitsaki 1996).

Though our prime interest was in SES and medium of education, as argued above we wished also to consider a representative range of other ID variables which might be expected to be relevant in Pakistan and interrelate with those. We selected a set of twelve variables falling in the area of motivation, attitude and affect, drawing on the experience of previous studies, especially those of the Gardner tradition (e.g. Anisfeld and Lambert 1961, Spolsky 1969, Gardner and Lambert 1972, Teitelbaum et al. 1975, Muchnick and Wolfe 1981, Pierson et al. 1980) including those few conducted in the same region (Pakistan - Mansoor 1993, Bangla Desh – Haque 1989, India – Lukmani 1972).

Motivation as a general psychological concept is often defined with some notion of effort at its core, so we wanted to assess this: arguably any effects of instruction or of SES-related attitudes will have an impact on learning and consequent proficiency via the effort put in. This variable is often referred to as motivational intensity in language learning research, though in fact the focus of language motivation researchers'

attention has traditionally been far more on the reasons for learning languages (Gardner 1985). Among these we included the two very general reasons which loom large - instrumental and integrative orientations (Gardner and Lambert 1959, Clément, Gardner and Smythe 1977). The former concerns functional reasons for learning, such as to follow a career where the language is required, to pass exams, facilitate foreign travel etc. while the latter concerns interest in and desire to become more like members of the target language community. While the limitation of orientations to just these two undifferentiated types has received considerable criticism (Clément and Kruidenier 1983, Chihara and Oller 1978, Oxford and Shearin 1994, Drnyei 1994), and studies particularly using open-ended and interview formats rather than closed item questionnaires have uncovered reasons for learning that do not fall clearly in either of those types, these two suited our purpose for two reasons. First, these two retain a firm place in more recent theoretical formulations (e.g. Drnyei 1994), and many of the other reasons for learning that have been identified are unlikely to be particularly dependent on SES – e.g. liking the teacher, thinking the language an easy subject to take, or having an intrinsic interest in the types of activities done in class. Furthermore, they have often been uncovered in studies of students choosing or not to continue studying an L2, a choice which does not exist in our situation (e.g. Ramage 1990, Ushioda 1993). Second, including these two orientations afforded the opportunity to throw further light on the contested issue of which orientation is most related to successful language learning. Though early work in Canada suggested that integrative orientation produced the better results (Gardner and Lambert 1972), other contexts where integration is less of a real possibility have shown an advantage for the instrumental orientation, e.g. the Philippines (Feenstra and Santos 1970) India (Lukmani 1972) and Hungary (Drnyei 1990).

Apart from the above we also targeted two other variables widely included within the definition of the construct of motivation or seen as strongly associated with it (desire to learn English and attitude to learning English). Beyond that we included the following set often previously claimed or found to affect proficiency (some on occasion defined as part of motivation) and likely to be SES related (unlike, for example, cognitive and personality variables such as language learning aptitude, intelligence, field dependence and so forth) making a set of 12 ID variables in all: attitude to English speaking people, interest in foreign languages, English class anxiety, need for achievement, parental encouragement, cultural identity, ethnocentrism (the last three are most recently seen as part of the social milieu by Gardner, though since we studied them as learner perceptions, we treat them as IDs).

Research questions

These can be summarised as following:
What is the relationship between SES and length/medium of instruction on the one hand, and English language proficiency on the other?

What is the relationship between a range of 12 learner ID variables (described above) and English language proficiency?
What is the relationship between SES and length/medium of instruction on the one hand and a range of 12 ID variables on the other?

For the first research question we could predict, as argued above, that higher SES and English medium schooling should be related to greater English proficiency. For the second research question we hypothesised that relationships would be found parallel with those predominantly found in past studies in other situations – i.e. positive relationships for all except for English class anxiety for which the relationship could well be negative (MacIntyre and Gardner 1991, Krashen 1982), as also for ethnocentrism and cultural identity, variables that are in some respects antipathetic to integrativeness (Ellis 1994, but contrast Pierson et al. 1980). However we could hypothesise little about the relationship between SES and length/type of instruction on the one hand and the 12 IDs on the other.

Methodology

Subjects

250 Pakistani students participated, but due to incomplete responses in the end the data from 217 was able to be included. Participants were almost all Muslim, speakers of a variety of related Indo-European first languages and Urdu, the national language and language of education other than English. They were aged 17 or slightly older and studying at eight colleges in Lahore (Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore College for Women, Baghbanpura College for Women, Islamia College for Women, Islamia College for Boys, LUMS, Lahore. Government College for Boys, Lahore, Dial Singh College, Lahore). The colleges were chosen so as to obtain a sample including more or less equal numbers of males and females, and of the three SES levels identified (see below), and to fully reflect the spectrum of the student English learner population of a major city in Pakistan, both from an English and Urdu medium educational background. The age was chosen so as to involve students who were mature enough to respond sensibly to the items in the questionnaire, and who had learnt English for long enough for the explanatory variables of interest to be able to show some effect on proficiency. The make-up of the sample is shown in table 1.

Table 1. Composition of the sample of student subjects

Lower class		Middle class		Upper class	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
40	32	30	47	32	36
Urdu medium	English medium	Urdu medium	English medium	Urdu medium	English medium
71	1	52	25	0	68

Instruments for quantifying the Variables
English Language Proficiency

This was measured in three ways: by administering a past Cambridge First Certificate exam (1995) and a cloze test (Lapkin and Swain 1977), and from the scores they had obtained in the most recent Intermediate Annual Examination in English which the subjects had taken (covering composition, grammar, translation and set texts). On submitting the scores from all these to a principle components analysis, one component emerged overwhelmingly underlying all these measures, accounting for 64% of the variance. Hence, it was felt justified for further computation to employ the standardised factor score of each subject on that one component as an overall measure of their relative English proficiency (running between approximately –2 and +2, with Mean = 0 and SD = 1).

Socio-economic Status (SES)

No standard instrument for determining SES in Pakistan was available, so after consultation with a local sociologist subjects were categorised into three classes, upper, middle and lower, based on a set of specially made indices of the type commonly used in social science research. This comprised parents' educational level, father's occupation and salary (since few mothers proved to have paid jobs), and district of residence, information about which was elicited via questionnaire. The classification of occupations used reflected the realities of Pakistan rather than of western countries where standard classifications exist: e.g. farmers, street vendors, drivers and white-washers counted as lower class; school teachers, small business men, accountants and welfare workers were treated as middle class; army officers, doctors, pilots and civil servants were regarded as upper class. Place of residence was also used because in cities in Pakistan it is generally easy to identify distinct areas occupied by people of different socio-economic levels.

Length/medium of English Education

As described above, length and medium of English education form an inseparable nexus in Pakistan, and this was recorded for each subject as a dichotomous categorisation: English medium or Urdu medium schooling. This was determined via a questionnaire question.

Motivation, Attitude and other Individual Difference Variables

The twelve ID variables were measured using inventories of multiple choice or 5 point Likert rating scale items derived ultimately from the Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (Gardner 1985, Gardner and MacIntyre 1993) and other studies such as Mansoor (1992), Lukmani (1972), translated into Urdu and modified after piloting. A translation-back-translation procedure described by Brislin and Lonner (1973) was used to ensure the validity of the translation. An example of an adaptation to local conditions is the addition of the

following item to the motivational intensity inventory: 'I go to the British Council or American Centre to borrow English books: a. very often, b. occasionally, c. never.'

Integrative orientation (reference group: English speaking Pakistanis). Eight items concerned with respondents' English learning goals associated with acquaintance with or assimilation to English speaking Pakistanis in ideas and status. The local population of second language English speaking Pakistanis was chosen as a more relevant reference group for learners in Pakistan than native English speakers from the UK or USA, who are remote and unfamiliar to many in Pakistan. English speaking Pakistanis are most analogous to the French speaking Canadians in Gardner's studies of learners of French, in being the obvious local group speaking the target language. However, there are many differences which illustrate the strong relativity to particular situations of notions such as integrativeness. In Pakistan it must be noted that this group is best characterised as second language English, or bilingual, rather than native speakers of or dominant in the target language. Furthermore, this group is differentiated socially rather than just linguistically: its members are in fact the upper class of our study. Third, though English is an official language of Pakistan along with Urdu, the culture of the country is not predominantly English, but Muslim.

Instrumental Orientation. Eight items covering respondents' utilitarian English learning goals such as for: career, university study, travel, exams.

Motivational Intensity. Nine items focussed on the effort the learner claims to expend on learning English, in terms of home study time, volunteering in class, going over marked assignments etc. Persistence was not a relevant issue since these subjects had no choice but to continue studying English.

Desire to Learn English. Eight items mostly relating to choices a respondent would hypothetically make with respect to English (e.g. 'If I had the opportunity to watch an English play, I would: a. definitely go, b. go only if I had nothing else to do, c. not go').

Attitude to Learning English. Ten items, half positively worded, half negatively, rating learners' interest in and liking for learning English.

Attitude to English Speaking People. Five items rating English people in the West for honesty etc. They caused some problems especially to lower class students who commented that they had never met such people; however they seemed able to respond on the basis of seeing such people in films or on TV, so this variable was retained. For them English is an FL, and this reference group is as unfamiliar as for Drnyei's (1990) subjects.

Parental encouragement, both Active and Passive (Gardner 1968), as perceived by learner. Ten items covering respondents' ratings of parents' attitudes to their children learning English, concrete rewards given for success, and actual support in terms of supplying English books at home or personally helping with English.

English Class Anxiety. Five items concerned with respondents' nervousness speaking English in class.

Interest in Foreign Languages. Ten items concerned with respondents' desire to know other languages. That implicitly includes English.

Cultural Identity. Five items focussed on how far respondents feel that speaking English makes a person less of a Pakistani. In fact this is more a measure of the perceived cultural threat of English, than of what cultural identity per se the respondents claim for themselves.

Ethnocentrism. Ten items. Some concern respondents' perceived threat of foreign influences to Pakistani culture and values, others concern loyalty to family and the like. They do not refer to English by name.

Need for Achievement. Ten items concerned with respondents' claimed dedication to doing any task to the highest possible standards.

An alpha reliability analysis performed on the responses to each set of items which supposedly collectively measures a single variable produced high values for all variables (±>.7) except for ethnocentrism (±=.63). The last could be because the ethnocentrism items, though taken over from other studies, did not appear to form an entirely natural set, though by the standards of other published studies this is also acceptably high (e.g. the alphas in Wen and Johnson 1997 range from .42 to a maximum of .7).

Though criticisms are often made of questionnaires as instruments to measure attitudes and the like (e.g. Oller 1981, Scholfield 1995), we feel the construct validity of the instrument is not only inherited from the work of others (Gardner and Tremblay 1994) but also supported by the fact that on specific items where it was well known what the response should be we did in fact obtain that response. e.g. no lower class students claimed to have parents who spoke to them in English and very few claimed parents who helped them with English homework.

Procedure

All instruments were administered in class time with the cooperation of the class teachers. However students were assured that their responses would remain confidential, were for research purposes only, and would not be made available to their teacher. The researcher was available to answer any queries from respondents.

Results

What is the relationship between SES and length/medium of instruction on the one hand, and English language proficiency on the other?

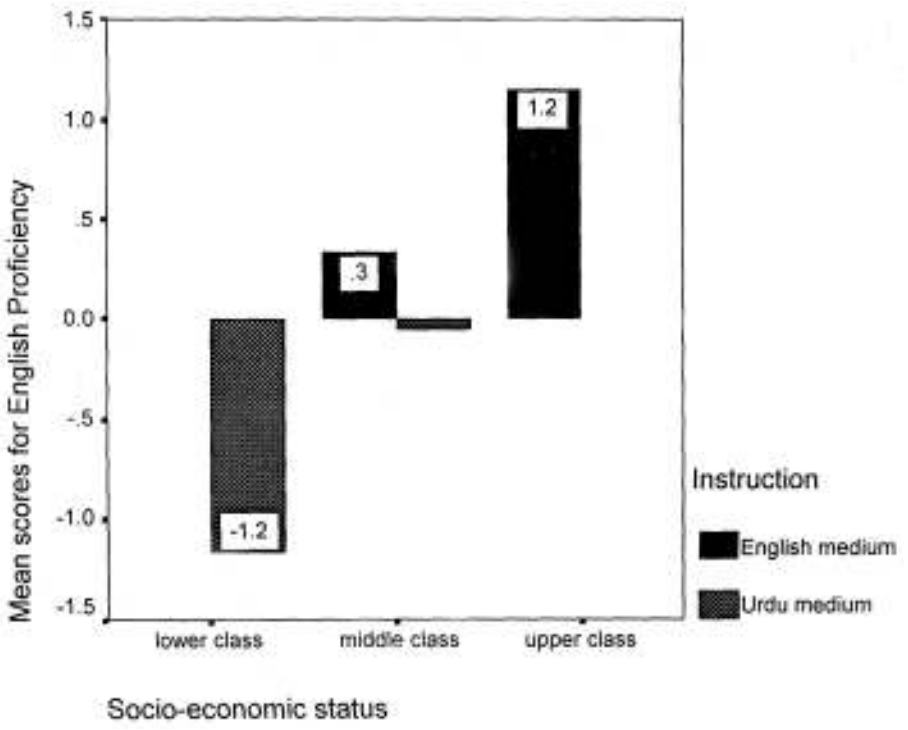
Instruction type is in fact highly predictable from SES in our sample, as common experience would lead us to expect (lambda with instruction dependent = .723, $p<.001$). In fact the upper class students exclusively go to English medium schools, with all that entails, but hardly any lower class students do. Consequently stepwise multiple regression was used to ascertain if these two variables have both a collective and independent effect on the DV proficiency. In fact together they account for 88.2% of the variance in proficiency ($F=797$, $p<.001$). Furthermore, they both emerge as independent factors in the stepwise procedure. SES emerges as the stronger predictor (beta = .821, t= 21.1). Medium comes second (beta=-.143, t=-3.7). From figure 1 we can see that the effects are as expected, with higher SES and English medium yielding higher proficiency (the sole lower class English medium student is omitted here as it would otherwise be misleading).

We do learn two new things, however. First we find that SES is the dominant factor above medium of instruction, in contrast with Fazio and Stevens (1994) who in a different situation found the effect of SES wiped out by that of school. While the general result, that higher class students do better on proficiency of the CALP type, following formal instruction, matches those of Burstall (1975) and Olshtain et al. (1990), the fact that the advantages associated with SES outweigh those associated with the type of school and length of instruction is quite a remarkable result for a variable generally neglected in the EFL and SLA literature, though of course it may be a feature of the Pakistani teaching/learning situation not to be found in all such situations. Prima facie it is due to the better material resources to aid English, and the partly English speaking home environment associated with higher class homes. It may even reflect a general advantage from the point of view of formal schooling of the type of language experienced in the home in any of the languages spoken there (Bernstein 1972). However, we will explore below how all the other explanatory variables of our study may connect with this.

Secondly we learn that the type of school nevertheless does have an independent influence on outcome proficiency, despite being strongly associated with SES. This supports our expectation that length of instruction, quality of school facilities and amount of exposure in school generally have an effect (consistent with Gradman and Hanania 1991). Though we cannot throw any definitive light on the issue of the critical period, since age of starting is confounded with other factors in our study, this does not agree with the studies that give an advantage to later starters (e.g. Burstall 1975). We speculate that any such effect is submerged by the fact that the early starters mostly attend better equipped schools and get wider exposure to the language in school than do the later starters, as well as many of them getting more exposure at home, being of higher SES. Thus the possible consideration that 'formal learning environments do not provide learners with the amount of exposure needed for the age advantage of young learners to emerge' (Ellis 1994: 489) which perhaps applied in the study of Burstall does not apply in

English medium schools in Pakistan.

Figure 1. Relationship between SES, medium of instruction and English Proficiency.



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What is the relationship between a range of 12 ID variables and English language proficiency?

Table 2. Pearson correlations of 12 ID variables with each other and with English Proficiency.

	Instr. Or.	Mot. Intens.	Desire Learn	Attit. Learn	Attit. Eng. P.	Parent. Enc.	Class Anx.	Cult. Ident.	Inter. in FLs	Ethno-Centr.	Need Ach.	Eng. Prof.
Integrative Orientation	.261 p<.001	.660 p<.001	.663 p<.001	.653 p<.001	.215 p=001	.640 p<.001	-.809 p<.001	-.764 p<.001	.615 p<.001	-.012 ns	.027 ns	.346 p<.001
Instrumental Orientation		.124 ns	.166 p=.014	.093 ns	.125 ns	.046 ns	-.166 p=.014	-.143 p=.035	.151 p=.026	.020 ns	.053 ns	.142 p=.037
Motivational Intensity			.852 p<.001	.850 p<.001	.272 p<.001	.862 p<.001	-.676 p<.001	-.611 p<.001	.640 p<.001	-.040 ns	.072 ns	.802 p<.001
Desire to Learn English				.902 p<.001	.361 p<.001	.865 p<.001	-.645 p<.001	-.561 p<.001	.647 p<.001	.001 ns	.031 ns	.829 p<.001
Attitude to Learning Eng.					.246 p<.001	.898 p<.001	-.609 p<.001	-.534 p<.001	.631 p<.001	-.071 ns	.013 ns	.821 p<.001
Attitude to Eng. People						.277 p<.001	-.293 p<.001	-.228 p<.001	.227 p=.001	.165 p=.015	.064 ns	.230 p=.001
Parental Encouragement							-.633 p<.001	-.572 p<.001	.626 p<.001	-.066 ns	.072 ns	.824 p<.001
English Class Anxiety								.961 p<.001	-.610 p<.001	-.125 ns	-.023 ns	-.753 p<.001
Cultural Identity									-.548 p<.001	-.059 ns	-.009 ns	-.693 p<.001
Interest in Foreign Langs										.041 ns	.017 ns	.720 p<.001
Ethnocentrism											.055 ns	-.005 ns
Need for Achievement												.013 ns

From the correlation matrix table 2 we can see that four of the five variables usually seen as most intimately associated with the concept of motivation all correlate strongly positively and significantly with proficiency (i.e. integrative orientation, motivational intensity, desire to learn English and attitude to learning English). This is as we would expect from previous research.

The exception is instrumental orientation whose correlation is much lower, though still significant at the .05 level. If we deconstruct the variable and look at the relationship between the responses for individual items and SES, we find this result is largely due to there being a significant positive relationship only for one item of the eight used to measure instrumental orientation, the one that related to English being the language of the respondent's future career ($r = .265$, $p < .001$). The other items correlate with $r < .12$ non-significantly. Furthermore, this item is also the only one of the eight which correlates markedly with SES ($r = .242$, $p < .001$), since of course this goal is only really available as a reality to the upper class and some members of the middle class in Pakistan. It therefore may be interpreted as achieving a significant relationship with proficiency purely indirectly through it being a higher class goal, and as we have seen class in itself

strongly related to proficiency.

These results are of course independent of the overall levels of the variables recorded. As a % of the maximum score available to attain, in fact instrumental scores the highest (86.6%), with the other four scoring in the middle sixties. This shows that overall these learners had high instrumental orientation: it was just not related so strongly to successful learning as measured by outcome proficiency as were the other variables. Superficially this supports the view that has in the past at times been promoted that integrative orientation is more effective in promoting foreign language learning than instrumental orientation (Gardner and Lambert 1959). However, we will explore this result further in relation to SES and medium below. Furthermore it is counter to the result of Lukmani (1972) who found in Mumbai (Bombay) a stronger effect of instrumental orientation than of integrative: this cannot be explained entirely by the different SES composition of her Marathi-medium educated sample, which corresponded most closely with our Urdu medium students, but may be due to location and time and the fact that they were all female. The result is also contrary to Haque (1989), who found instrumental orientation to correlate more strongly than integrative with proficiency, though this may be explained by the fact that the reference group for the integrativeness was not local English speaking Balgladeshis, and his sample was all Bengali-medium educated. However, our finding is similar to Mansoor (1993) in the same location as ours, with similar subjects. Even in quite close studies, then, we may echo Clément and Kruidenier: 'It is probable that contextual or "cultural" factors have contributed in producing the conflicting results obtained in studies of orientations' (1983: 276)

The core motivational elements of attitude to learning English and desire to learn English attitudes also correlated strongly with proficiency, as predicted by many past studies in widely varying situations (e.g. Gardner 1985, Burstall 1975, Haque 1989).

Of the four other English-related variables, parental encouragement to learn English also recorded a high and significant positive correlation with proficiency, attesting to the value of this in Pakistani society. Scores were generally higher for items related to parental attitudes than actual help, though the best correlation for an individual item was related to the latter ('My parents communicate with me in English'), showing the benefit of active and not just passive parental involvement (cf. Gardner 1985). Class anxiety, though overall lower than most other variables (mean 57.5%), as expected was negatively related to proficiency: higher anxiety goes with lower proficiency, showing that confidence is a key part of language learning. Attitude to English people in the West has a much weaker positive relationship possibly due to the lack of direct familiarity of many of the respondents with members of this reference group, and the fact that it was the people rather than the language that was being evaluated. Indeed this points to how crucial to one's results is the choice of reference group for the measurement of attitudes and integrativeness, in situations like this where more than one English

speaking community is potentially available. Finally cultural identity, whose items were worded in terms of the perceived threat of English to the respondent's Pakistani identity, has a strong negative relationship as expected, though the actual level of threat perceived was one of the higher results (mean 70.4%).

Finally, of the three more general explanatory variables only interest in foreign languages exhibited a strong correlation, perhaps because the main foreign language which respondents would have had in mind would be English (and indeed the mean score of 65.6% was almost identical with that for attitude to learning English 64.4%). Ethnocentrism and need for achievement both had virtually zero relationship with proficiency. The former result is perhaps due to the fact that many of the items in the inventory related to family values rather than ethnocentrism in the most obvious sense, and the scale was low in reliability. The second is maybe due to the fact that this variable is general, not specific to language, though it has been prominent in other studies (e.g. Drnyei 1990).

What is the relationship between SES and length/medium of instruction on the one hand and a range of 12 ID variables on the other in their effect on proficiency?

Here we attempt to see the interplay between our two key explanatory variables, SES and medium of instruction, and the set of 12 variables related to motivation, attitude etc., and so gain a clearer picture of why the former have the effect they do.

One common approach to this is to assume no explanatory-dependent distinction among the variables and simply submit them to factor analysis. i.e. we assume that proficiency could affect orientation and so on as much as the other way round: this is plausible for many pairs but not typically ones involving SES or medium. If we do this, regardless of whether we include proficiency with the 12 variables, or SES and medium, we always obtain one very clearly dominant factor on the scree plot. Putting in all fifteen variables on equal terms, we merely reveal that this one factor accounts for 56.1% of the variance. All the variables are loaded on this one factor with values more extreme than ±.77 except for need for achievement and ethnocentrism (approximately 0) and attitude to English people in the West (.344) and instrumental orientation (.188). These four are indeed the variables that stand out in Table 2 as less well intercorrelated with the others. If on the other hand we choose to select and rotate the four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, thus accounting for 78.5% of the variance, we merely end up with most variables, including proficiency, heavily loaded on the first factor, and the above four loaded on one or other of the other factors. This demonstrates that eight of the twelve ID variables pull together with SES and medium of instruction in their relationship with proficiency. To reveal more, it therefore seemed more informative to assume proficiency to be the dependent variable potentially explained by the rest and use stepwise multiple regression analysis to illuminate what is going on.

First of all, though we saw above that ten of the twelve variables were related to proficiency when considered separately, if we take into account their intercorrelations and enter them in a stepwise multiple regression analysis along with SES and medium, we find that once again SES and medium come out as the dominant factors. The procedure goes only to a third step where it includes parental encouragement, which only narrowly beats motivational intensity for inclusion. After that no further variables have any significant independent relationship with proficiency. This is once again a remarkable indication of the power of SES in the Pakistani learning situation. In fact SES alone accounts for 87.4% of the variance in proficiency and the three variables together cover 88.5% ($F=549$, $p<.001$).

However, in order to see what is going on we need to tease apart the reasons for this. If a variable gets excluded in a stepwise regression it is broadly either because it has no relationship with the DV, which we have seen is true of ethnocentrism and need for achievement, which we will not consider further, or because it has a relationship with the DV only by virtue of being related to other variables, already picked out by the stepwise procedure for their stronger relationship with the DV. It is this last consideration which clearly drives out most of our variables.

In fact if we examine the partial correlation information in the tables of excluded variables from the multiple regression we see that once SES is included on the first step, three of the variables central to the concept of motivation - integrative orientation, desire to learn English and attitude to learning English - are heavily affected. When their correlation with SES is discounted their relationship with proficiency falls below .1. i.e. they are strongly correlated with SES and so have no independent relationship with proficiency once SES is included. This matches Burstall (1975) though the cultural situations and reasons are different. It is entirely explicable since we have seen that the upper class in Pakistan is a second language English speaking community. Hence integrative orientation for upper class learners is in effect the goal to integrate with their own social group which of course will be exceedingly strong, given the normal social forces of solidarity. In fact the mean integrative orientation score for the upper class is way greater than that for the other two classes, which are differentiated by a much smaller margin (upper: 35.2; middle: 22.5; lower: 20.0; max 40). Similarly, their attitude to learning English and desire to learn English will be strongly positive since being able to speak English fluently is a clear social marker of the prestige group to which they belong, though here the middle class means are closer to those of the upper class than to those of the lower class. This all perhaps throws light on the social aspirations of the middle class: they appear to have attitudes and desires with respect to English nearly as strong as those of the upper class, but cannot realistically aspire to integrate with that class. By contrast the lower class learns English entirely as a foreign language and is so socially distanced as to have no aspirational reasons for such strong favourable attitudes to learning English. Among the other variables, attitude

to English people in the West, cultural identity and English class anxiety all also fall below .1 in their partial correlation with proficiency on the first step showing they too are closely related, positively or negatively, with SES. Once again this can be readily explained from the nature of the SES in Pakistan. The upper class par excellence have the disposable money to travel to English speaking countries and meet English native speakers and so develop favourable attitudes to them. And being members of an English speaking elite within Pakistan, they are not likely to see English as a threat to their Pakistani identity. For them, learning English would be moving towards a state of additive bilingualism (Lambert 1974). Finally, the experience of speaking English at home and often being in an English speaking situation will make them confident when speaking also in class. The lower class is of course the opposite in all these ways with the middle class somewhere in between, though on all these three variables the middle class means are very close to those of the lower class with the upper class clearly distinct.

On the second step, when medium of instruction is included, the variables left with highest independent relationship with proficiency are motivational intensity and parental encouragement (partial correlations .179 and .181). Since the latter is marginally greater, it gets picked and the former, being heavily correlated with it, gets excluded. This testifies both to the strong relationship of the effort these respondents claim to put into learning with the amount of encouragement they get from their parents (cf. Gardner et al. 1999 in Canada), rather than with any other aspect such as orientation or anxiety, and to the fact that both these are somewhat independent of the type of school or SES (despite parental encouragement being also strongly related to SES). Possibly this ultimately reflects the strength of family structure in Pakistan and the attention children pay to their parents, not always paralleled in the West. There is a parallel with the result of Jiyono and Johnstone (1983) who, also in a far Eastern context, found parental encouragement in various forms a strong predictor of language proficiency, in fact leaving no further variance explained by SES, albeit the L2 was not English, but the standard language of Indonesia.

The variable left with most chance of inclusion at the end of the procedure is interest in foreign languages ($p=.068$). In the account above the one maverick variable left out which we need to comment on is instrumental orientation. The way this operates in our subjects can best be seen graphically in contrast with integrative orientation which, as we have seen, is strongly related to SES.

Figure 2. Relationship between SES, integrative orientation and English proficiency.

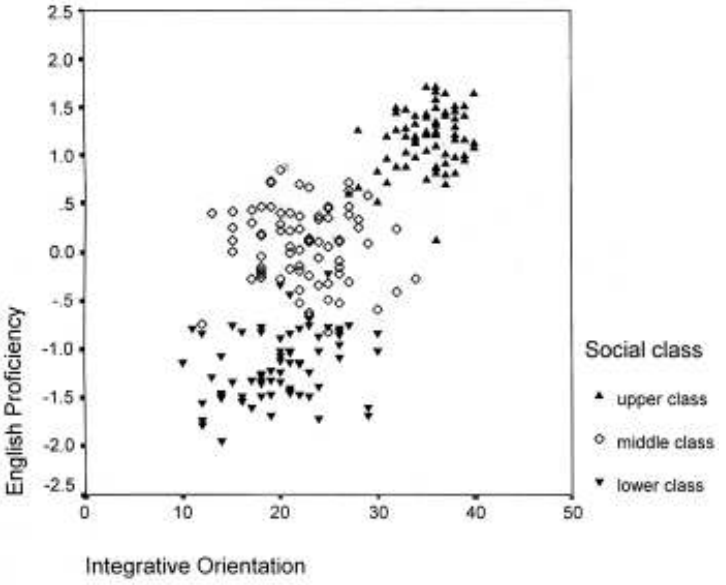
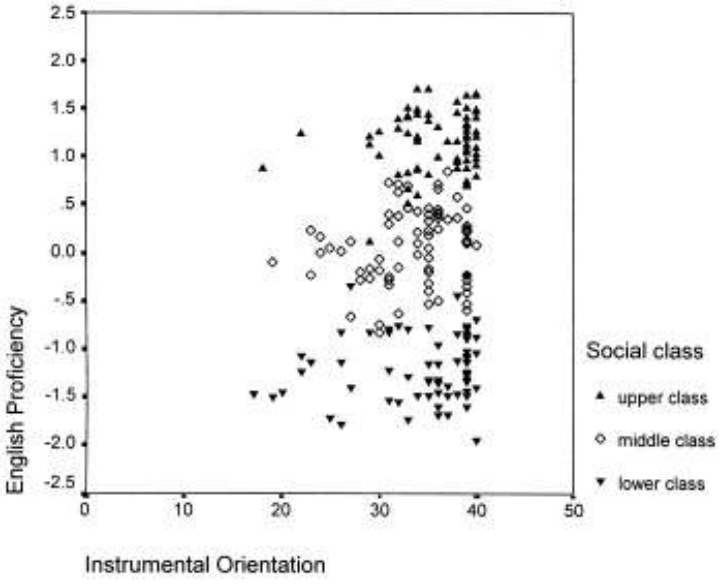


Figure 3. Relationship between SES, instrumental orientation and English proficiency.



It is very apparent from the diagonal spread of figure 2 that integrative orientation relates positively with English proficiency, and that this follows SES which also correlates

with English proficiency. In graph 3 however, the more vertical pattern with some visible ceiling effect shows that all SESes tend to high scores for instrumental orientation (max 40), conflicting with the view that 'the less contact there is between the learners and the target language community… the more likely the learners are to display an instrumental orientation' (Hotho and Reimann 1998:132). However this does not relate so well with English proficiency since near maximum scores for strength of instrumental orientation can correspond to proficiency scores from the lowest to the highest. Clearly in this context having strong practical reasons for learning English is a feature of all classes, but it is only those of higher SES who are able to turn this into achievement of higher English proficiency. It is also noticeable that instrumental orientation correlates only poorly with motivational intensity ($r=.124$, $p=.068$), or indeed with many of the other relevant ID variables (contrast the correlation of integrative orientation with motivational intensity: $r=.66$, $p<.001$). This suggests that instrumentality does not translate even into strong positive attitudes or effort expended on learning and consequent proficiency, unless integrative orientation and its concomitants are present as well.

Overall, then, we find that although all our fourteen explanatory variables are strongly correlated with each other, bar instrumental orientation, ethnocentrism and need for achievement, it is possible to isolate empirically three distinct kinds of property with some independent power to predict outcome English proficiency (though we must of course hold back from categorically saying they cause it). First and strongest there is SES which is intimately connected with integrative orientation and a range of attitudes closely or distantly allied to motivation and also to English class anxiety. Second there is length/medium of instruction. Third there is parental encouragement, which has a more intimate connection with motivational intensity in its contribution to proficiency.

We can summarise the model that we arrived at empirically as in Figure 4. However, that had been arrived from a statistical procedure in which all the explanatory variables were entered in one block in a stepwise multiple regression, with the sole assumption that proficiency is dependent, and without regard for any logical dependencies of one explanatory variable with another or any hypothesised causal order. For example, conceptually one might have expected integrative orientation as well as parental encouragement to contribute to intensity. Now, given the existence of models in this area which include many of our variables and incorporate predictions about causal order and relative distance from outcome proficiency (e.g. Wen and Johnson 1997, Gardner 1985), we decided to test our findings against such a model, using the block entry stepwise regression technique (cf. Jiyono and Johnstone 1983, Fazio and Stevens 1994). In this technique one forces explanatory variables (singly or in groups) into the regression procedure for consideration of the significance of their effect on the dependent variable in a fixed order, working back from those supposed to have the most direct impact on it to those supposed to be more distant (and so in principle less strongly related to the dependent variable). If the model (instantiated here as the order of entry) is supported, then the amount of variance explained by those variables picked for

inclusion should go steadily down as each block of variables is added, reflecting a principle that variables more indirect in their effect have a weaker effect. We tried various models with similar results. A typical one which we believe is consistent with much of the literature and especially Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret (1997) would regard effort (motivational intensity) as closest to learning and hence outcome proficiency, so tested in the first block. This is usually seen as directly influenced by the core attitudes desire to learn English and attitude to learning, and by anxiety. At next remove come the orientations together with two other attitudes – one related to languages more widely, the other to English more widely. After those come any other learner variables included, and finally environmental factors such as SES.

Table 3. The degree to which variance in English proficiency is accounted for by 14 explanatory variables tested in decreasing order of hypothesised directness of causal connection.

Block	Conceptual distance from proficiency	Variables considered for their relationship with English proficiency	Variables picked as significant predictors	Total variance explained (%)	Additional variance explained
1	Motivational variable closest to learning	Motivational intensity	Motivational intensity	64.1	64.1
2	Attitudes and affects with most direct connection with effort	Desire to learn English Attitude to learning English English class anxiety	English class anxiety Attitude to learning English Desire to learn English	72.2 77.9 78.8	14.7
3	Orientations and other attitudes involved in motivation	Integrative orientation Instrumental orientation Attitude to English People Interest in foreign languages	Interest in foreign languages Attitude to English People	80.5 80.9	2.1
4	Other student explanatory variables closer to the social milieu or general psychological	Parental Encouragement Cultural identity Ethnocentrism Need for achievement	Parental Encouragement	81.5	0.6
5	Environmental variables 'outside' the learner	SES Medium/length of instruction	SES Medium/length of instruction	87.8 88.7	7.2

We can see here that the total variance explained is virtually the same as that by our empirical three-predictor model above, only a wider range of variables get included as responsible. Forcing the order of consideration of explanatory variables to follow an order of supposed directness of effect means that intensity, anxiety and various attitudes that got excluded in our analysis now get included, and indeed accord closely with

accounts of integratively motivated situations elsewhere, although integrative orientation itself gets forced out by the prior inclusion of strongly correlated variables like desire to learn English. However, they do not account for so much variance that SES, medium and parental encouragement, all forced to be considered later, have no additional explanatory power of their own. In fact it is remarkable that while the added % of variance explained by each block of variables decreases as one would expect with increasing distance over blocks 1-4, confirming the model, in the last block SES accounts for a massive leap in the % accounted for. This reversal remains a feature of the result even if, for example, medium of instruction is forced to be entered first before motivation, more in line with the model of Gardner and MacIntyre (1992) rather than the PPP model which puts institutional variables at a distance.

We are therefore driven to the conclusion either that the principle that variables more indirectly linked to a dependent variable have weaker effect is wrong, or that models which place SES at the furthest distance from proficiency are wrong, at least for Pakistan. This is not a result that has been observed as far as we know in other studies including SES and using multiple regression (e.g. Cummins et al. 1990, Jiyono and Johnstone 1983). We interpret it as a sign that in Pakistan SES primarily has its effect more than just as an influence on attitudes and parental roles, but also more directly in the form of degree of informal exposure to the target language (which we did not measure separately), this factor being in some models (e.g. Gradman and Hanania 1991, Gardner and MacIntyre 1992) placed close to outcome proficiency. The comparison with Fazio and Stevens (1994) is instructive: in their Canadian study SES had an effect also in part put down to concomitant exposure, the difference being that it was lower class that had greater exposure and affect BICS. This demonstrates again how wider aspects of the social milieu can affect even the way a variable such as SES behaves.

Further Exploration

In a further exploration of the data we included sex as a variable. This proved to alter nothing of what has been described above, as it had no significant overall relationship with English proficiency (contrary to other studies in other situations e.g. Wen and Johnson 1997, Burstall 1975, Sung and Padilla 1998), nor with any other of our variables except instrumental orientation ($t=196$, $p<.001$). Males had considerably stronger instrumental reasons for learning English related to future jobs, university study and travel abroad. This is explicable given the nature of Pakistani society, with the wide expectation that, despite the prominence of women in a few professions such as teaching, women are not destined to pursue careers in which English would be a relevant feature. It matches a result in quite a different situation (Ludwig 1983) but conflicts with Abu-Rabia and Feuerverger (1996) who found instead that Canadian-Arab females had higher integrative orientation to learn English than males and Muchnick and Wolfe (1981) who found females more positive on a wide range of attitude and motivation variables. As we could anticipate from the discussion earlier, males' stronger instrumentality appears to make no overall difference to their English achievement (but see below).

Since SES emerged as such a dominant factor, we also explored how far the picture above differed for each SES separately. A stepwise multiple regression including the 12 variables plus sex entered as one block demonstrated some differences. Once SES and medium are excluded, the outcome English proficiency of the upper class is predicted significantly only by integrative orientation, showing that this does have some predictive force even within this class. English class anxiety comes close to inclusion, perhaps showing that for this group this variable is the most independent of the tight-knit and SES dependent constellation of other integrative and attitude variables. Anxiety is more purely affective in nature than any other of the variables we included, and perhaps the most genuinely individual and dependent on the specific personality of a student more than their SES. For the middle class with SES and medium excluded nothing else emerges as significant.

For the lower class interestingly sex and integrative orientation are selected, with males achieving higher outcome proficiency than females. This contrasts with the more common finding in other contexts that females are better language learners (e.g. Burstall 1975). One might have thought that perhaps this would be due to differential parental encouragement, with a culture-related favouring of male children (Mansoor 1993), but in fact the scores of males and female are very similar for this in the working class group. Rather it is instrumental orientation, as we saw above, which correlates with sex to produce this effect. So we can say that although job, university and travel-related reasons for learning English seem to play a very weak role in fostering English proficiency for the group considered as a whole, they do have a subsidiary gender-dependent role within the working class. This constitutes the only crumb of support we can find for the view that for FL learners instrumental orientation may be more potent whereas for SL learners (upper class in our study) it will be integrative (Drnyei 1990).

Conclusion

In part this study has confirmed what the casual observer familiar with Pakistan would have expected to be the case from the start. For all the manifold reasons mentioned earlier, SES has an overwhelming effect on English learning success in Pakistan, as does, to a lesser extent, the type of school attended. As with all our results we cannot glibly generalise this to learning situations round the world: our findings may well be specific to the social and cultural milieu in Pakistan, and of course are constrained by the choice of variables we made for inclusion in the study. However, several aspects of the findings have import for SLA research.

First, in particular, it is notable that a variable as 'far back' from the learning processes of learners as SES is in any model one might draw up (e.g. Wen and Johnson 1997, Gardner 1985) nevertheless dominates the effects of variables usually regarded as more directly connected to effort, learning and so outcome proficiency (e.g. motivational orientations, class anxiety) while another such variable, sex, has little effect. If we had not measured SES and medium of instruction, we would of course have

tended to put down the development of higher proficiency just to the 'usual suspects' of integrative motivation, various attitudes and so on. However, our study shows how misleading such conclusions can be. There is no support for the view cited by Ellis 'the relationship between the social/cultural milieu and L2 proficiency …. is an indirect one, whereas that between integrative motivation and proficiency is more direct and, therefore, stronger' (1994: 237). In Pakistan the effects of the latter are very likely themselves explained best by SES. It is this background, almost entirely of birth, that is largely responsible for the degree of a learner's integrative orientation, favourable attitudes, low anxiety etc. which lead to proficiency. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that it is those that primarily mediate to produce the higher English proficiency rather than the other concomitants of SES – such as the facilities and opportunities with respect to English in the home, creating an additional world of uninstructed input for upper class learners.

Second it is remarkable that despite the strong relationship of SES with medium of instruction, and so with starting age and length of English education, medium, roughly equivalent to exposure to formal instruction, does still emerge as having an independent effect, dominating the effects of all the remaining variables included. This effect in favour of an early start emerges despite some previous evidence to the contrary. With respect the Gardner's socio-educational model (1985), this could be seen as emphasising the independent role of the 'formal learning context' which is one of the components recognised in that model. However, our finding that parental encouragement constitutes a third major independent factor prompts greater prominence to this in models such as Gardner's where this is seen largely as an intermediary element between the social milieu and attitudes. This does not of course invalidate that model, any more than does our finding with respect to the strength of SES, since it is seen as anyway 'continually undergoing change and development, as new relevant information is uncovered' (Gardner and Tremblay 1994: 525).

Third, with respect to the debate over the relative advantages of instrumental or integrative orientations, we clearly find in favour of integrative orientation, or perhaps the combination of both. However, for the reasons just stated, we have to interpret such a finding with new caution. Given the strong and dominant relationship of SES with integrativeness, we argue that the stronger relationship between integrative orientation and proficiency than that between instrumental orientation and proficiency that we find may in this study not be entirely due to the inherent motivational power of those goals subsumed under the notion of integrativeness, and their impact on effort, and on consequent learning, as other studies often assume. Rather it my be due to the already mentioned other advantages associated with higher SES and the fact that the reference group for integrative orientation is the upper class, rather than any group distinct from all the learners being considered. However, this argument must be tempered by the finding that within the lower class considered separately integrative orientation is still a predictor of success.

This study inevitably suffered from the limitations that affect all studies done in the Gardner tradition (Oller 1981): for instance it relied solely on questionnaire-type elicitation of information about a set of traditionally recognised types of motivational orientation, attitude etc. rather than any other available methods (Hotho and Reimann 1998: 139) and despite the fact that attitudes are usually regarded as modifiable (Baker 1988) it makes the assumption that attitudes measured concurrently with outcome proficiency are those that obtained over the years earlier when the learning was occurring that produced that proficiency (cf. Hotho and Reimann 1998, Gardner et al. 1999). Indeed potentially this could account for the apparent ineffectiveness of instrumental orientation, if in fact subjects would have scored in a different way on this variable at earlier stages of learning English. Furthermore, as Wen and Johnson remark 'The variables affecting language learning outcomes function together as a system' (1997: 28). Hence, as we have shown, there is limited value in looking at their individual effects separately. Nevertheless, it is never possible to include 'all' relevant variables and clearly there is room in the Pakistani context to explore variables we did not include. Leading among those we would suggest are the following. L1 proficiency might be considered to see if it relates to English proficiency and how far this impacts on the effects of SES etc. Though in the Pakistani context a learner's L1 is not a straightforward variable, since the true L1 of many people is in fact a dialect of Punjabi, Pushtu or any of many other languages, we would regard Urdu as the main contender for study here, since if not a learner's L1 it will usually be their first L2 and is the main language taught in school other than English and so a vehicle for development of CALP which potentially could be exploitable in the English class as well, though in English medium schools the reverse might in fact occur. Second, a wider and better differentiated range of orientations could be considered, including intrinsic as well as extrinsic ones (Ramage 1990, Crookes and Schmidt 1991), to see for example if this varies for the type of school. Finally there needs to be worked on the learner strategies and variables of the learning process itself both in and out of school to illuminate exactly how SES, medium and the various IDs have their effects on outcome proficiency (Hotho and Reimann 1998), and indeed whether there any factors working the other way round (outcome affecting process, cf. Ushioda 1993).

Finally, we would like to point out two key pedagogical implications from our research. First, the fact that despite their strong inter-relationship SES and medium of instruction, and so starting age and length of English education, do still emerge as having an independent effect on outcome proficiency has implications for educational policy makers. Clearly the economic and social structure of a country cannot be changed, except very gradually over a long period, and largely by factors outside of governmental control. Hence improvement of English learning success by that means is not something that can readily be engineered. Furthermore, it may be a vain hope to attempt to alter learners' attitudes and integrative orientation without a change in the class system, since they seem so dependent on it. However, a change in the educational system to implement an earlier and compulsory start to English in state Urdu medium schools, bringing them more in line with the English medium ones, is more achievable.

It would be harder of course to generalise the amount of exposure and quality of facilities of English medium schools, but these too should be addressed as it is possible that these might be the crucial factors in enabling the early start to be effective.

Second, the fact that parental encouragement emerged as a distinct factor in the overall analysis and was specially tied to motivational intensity in its effect on proficiency suggests a second way forward, one that teachers themselves can implement. Through parent teacher meetings or even home visits they can draw parents' attention to the value of their encouragement in promoting the effort their children put in and especially at lower social levels suggest cost free ways in which with parents can do more in this area. An important component of this is the provision of English story books and the like for practice at home: the specific item concerned with this correlated with proficiency especially highly for the working class females, the lowest proficiency group. Teachers need to devise some sharing out of English materials for home use to children whose families cannot afford them, if any cheap source is available. They can use pictures from old English magazines which are easily available in the markets and are really cheap. On the other side of the coin our study suggests that there is little purpose in teachers in the Pakistan context imbuing students with greater awareness of practical purposes in learning English, i.e. strengthening their instrumental orientation, as this will have little effect. Most students are already aware of these reasons and this does not seem to strongly influence their achievement, being ineffective perhaps without other social and educational advantages being present as well. Though prima facie there was some support for the idea that working class females might improve if these purposes were drawn more to their attention, we feel that the career aspirations of women fall in a socio-cultural area hard for the teacher to influence.

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