

THE ROLE OF INSTRUMENTAL AND INTEGRATIVE ATTITUDES IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT

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1. Introduction

The study of attitudes to a particular language has a long history due to the fact that the measurement of language attitudes may indicate the health of the language concerned in society (Baker, 1992). However, the examination of attitudes in bilingual education dates back to the 60's, when bilingual programmes started to be properly analysed without the hindrance of earlier –mostly politically led– misconceptions. Nowadays the presence of several languages in the school curriculum is very widespread (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000; Lasagabaster, 2001a), yet the number of studies on attitudes towards multilingualism remains minimal. Bearing in mind that 34% of the Spanish population (13 million people) live in Autonomous Communities with two official languages (Turell, 2001), and that English is also overwhelmingly taught as a foreign language, the analysis of attitudes towards the coexisting three languages seems worthy of research: the majority language –Spanish–, the minority language –Basque, Catalan or Galician–, and the foreign language –English.

This study thus analyses the attitudes of 842 Basque undergraduates towards Basque, Spanish and English with regard to their instrumental and integrative orientations. These are the two types of attitudinal orientations that have traditionally been distinguished. Integrative attitudes have social and interpersonal orientations, in other words, they reflect a desire to identify with a language and its culture, towards which the L2 learners show some empathy: there is the aim of establishing closer bonds with the L2 community and language from a personal viewpoint. The more the L2 language and culture are admired, the higher the probabilities of the L2 learning process being successful. Typical examples of an integrative attitude are found in questionnaire

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items such as “Studying French can be important to me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature” or “Studying French can be important to me because it will allow to me to be more at ease with fellow Canadians who speak French” (examples from Gardner, 1985: 179).

Gardner & Lambert’s (1972) results in Canada exerted a great influence on the attitudinal field of research, as they stated that the attitudes held towards the L2 community played a fundamental role in students’ L2 learning. Dörnyei & Clément (2000; in Dörnyei, 2001), among many others, supported this idea, carrying out a large scale study in Hungary whose conclusion was that the integrative factor played a key role in the amount of effort students put into learning an L2. An integrative orientation is found to “reflect a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture of the other ethnic group, and thus sustains the long-term motivation in learning and using a second language” (Zhou, 1999: 162). Conversely, if there is a rejection of the target language and speech community, the interactions in the L2 will be very limited. As Dewaele (2002) puts it, this entails the risk of achieving a low competence in the L2 which will lead to few possibilities or little desire of contact with the L2 community (MacIntyre & Chaos, 1996) and to a low desire to communicate in the target language (MacIntyre *et al.*, 1998).

Instrumental attitudes, however, are represented by utilitarian motives (for example better job prospects). The final objective is not to seek for integration in the target group, but rather the achievement of social acknowledgement and economic advantages (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), or just the desire to pass an exam. Typical instrumental items in a questionnaire would be “Studying French can be important for me because I’ll need it for my future career” or “Studying French can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job” (Gardner, 1985: 179).

These two types of orientations have played a paramount role in studies on second language acquisition and the degree of competence attained. The seminal works completed in Canada (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972) pointed out that the students who harboured a more integrative orientation were the ones who achieved better results in the learning of French as an L2. However, there are studies (Lukmani, 1972) which demonstrate that an instrumental orientation may exert a greater influence in some contexts. Moreover, and as Chambers (1999) puts it, the extension of this conclusion

from the Canadian context to other contexts is very questionable, as these results cannot always be extrapolated to some contexts, such as the Basque Autonomous Community (henceforth BAC), where there is no direct access to the L2 community when English is the L2 under examination. Moreover, there are studies like the one undertaken by Zhou (1999), in which after analysing language attitudes of minority groups in China, the author concludes that high integrative orientation alone is not as good a predictor of L2 achievement as both types of orientation working together.

In any case the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations seems to be more adequate for the learning of the L2 at school or university than for its learning in other contexts, as in the case of immigrants (Norton, 2000). Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that some authors (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; Dörnyei, 1994) are reticent to make this distinction, as they find it restrictive and static, when the fact is that attitude is a dynamic concept. They also support the idea substantiated in several studies that both the instrumental and the integrative orientation facilitate the L2 learning process. In this vein, Green (1999: 266) acknowledges however that this division has virtually become a linguistic law, while underlining the critiques against it and the fact that it is not applicable to every context –although it is in the case of an additive context such as Montreal where this taxonomy stems from. Or in an additive context such as the BAC, where bilingualism fosters the learning of English as an L3 (Cenoz & Valencia, 1994; Lasagabaster, 1998, 2000). In any case, the dichotomy *integrative versus instrumental orientation* still plays a fundamental role in the study of attitudes.

Nevertheless, Cook's (1999) and Grosjean's (2000) models should be considered when examining language attitudes, since they defend a positive and additive view of multilingualism, criticising the fractional view of the bilingual as two monolinguals in one person, and by extension, of the multilingual as several monolinguals. Paraphrasing Baker (1992: 137) it could be said that multilingualism should be viewed as a unified entity, that is to say, multilingualism as a language. This theoretical position assumes that the multilinguals' attitudes towards their languages as a whole (holistic approach) would differ from their attitudes towards each of the languages independently (traditional approach). This is why in this study the results obtained by means of a traditional questionnaire and by a holistic questionnaire (which

measures attitudes toward multilingualism) will be compared, the hypothesis being that the results will vary depending on the type of questionnaire.

Our main objective is therefore to examine the effect of these two orientations on the score obtained in a questionnaire on attitudes, as well as the impact of the students' L1 (whether it be Basque or Spanish) on the participants' answers. Previous studies completed in the Basque Country (Lasagabaster, 2001a, 2001b) have exhibited that students' L1 does exert a clear effect on students' attitudes towards the three languages in contact in the Basque educational system (Basque, Spanish and English), the L1=Basque students viewing the two international languages less positively and the L1=Spanish being less positive towards the minority language. Therefore in the present study four hypotheses are put forward:

HP1: Students' L1 will exert an influence on their attitudes towards Basque both in the case of integratively and instrumentally oriented items.

HP2: Students' L1 will exert an influence on their attitudes towards Spanish both in the case of integratively and instrumentally oriented items.

HP3: Students' L1 will exert an influence on students' attitudes towards the foreign language (English) when considering the integratively oriented items, but not in the case of the instrumentally oriented ones.

HP4: No differences will be observed between the two linguistic groups in either orientation once a holistic questionnaire is used.

The first three hypotheses relate to the traditional questionnaire. It is expected that the presence of both Basque and Spanish in the everyday life of the BAC will influence the results regarding their attitudes to the two official languages in both orientations, since the language issue becomes more often than not a bone of contention between these two linguistic groups (L1=Basque and L1=Spanish speakers). In contrast, no difference is expected in the instrumentally oriented attitude towards English, as this language is not present in society. However, there will be differences depending on the students' L1 concerning integratively oriented attitudes to English, as the L1=Basque speakers are afraid of the presence of international languages that may put at risk the survival of Basque (Lasagabaster, 2001b) and are characterized by a very militant attitude towards the revitalization of the Basque language (Ros, Cano & Huici, 1987). However, the fourth hypothesis is related to the holistic questionnaire, where no

differences are expected once the three languages appear as a whole and not as independent entities.

2. Methodology

2.1. The sample

The sample was made up of 842 undergraduates in the age range of 17 to 50, the mean age being 20.73. Most of them were first year (20.5%), second year (35.3%), third year (30.2%) or fourth year undergraduates (12.7%), although a few were in their fifth or sixth year (1.2%). Students had either Basque (27%) or Spanish (73%) as L1, and their specializations covered a wide range of different degrees (namely, 18 degrees): Business Studies, Art History, Basque Philology, English Philology, German Philology, French Philology, Spanish Philology, Law, Biology, Naval Machinery, Political Sciences, Audiovisual Communication, Engineering, Teacher Training, Architecture, Translation and Interpretation, History or Geography. The sample was very balanced as for gender: 50.4% were male students and 49.6% female students.

2.2. The instrument

The students completed a questionnaire (see appendix) based on an adaptation of Baker's (Baker, 1992). The subjects were given the choice of answering the questionnaire in either Basque or Spanish. In the traditional questionnaire (section 1 in the questionnaire) the ten statements concerned English, Basque and Spanish and there were other questions related to personal information (academic year, age, specialization, gender, L1, etc.). The main aim was to use the same questions concerning the three languages in order to avoid any possible bias (which could have been the case if different questions about each particular language had been asked), while at the same time it would give us the opportunity to compare the results obtained. Those items which were integratively oriented were added together and a mean score for them obtained, and the same was done in the case of the instrumentally oriented items. This procedure was also used for the holistic questionnaire (section 2 in the questionnaire).

In the traditional questionnaire the integrative orientation comprised the following four items: I like hearing Basque/Spanish/English spoken (item 1), I like speaking Basque/Spanish/English (item 3), I would not mind marrying a Basque/Spanish/English speaker (item 8) and If I have children, I would like them to be

Basque/Spanish/English speakers regardless of other languages they may know (item 10). The instrumental orientation comprised three items: There are more useful languages to learn than Basque/Spanish/English (item 5), Learning Basque/Spanish/English enriches my cultural knowledge (item 7) and Basque/Spanish/English is a language worth learning (item 9). The other three items in the questionnaire were not included in the analysis (see items 2, 4 and 6 in the appendix), because they cluster students' attitudes towards the learning process. In the holistic questionnaire the integrative orientation toward multilingualism comprised the following three items: People who speak Basque, Spanish and English can have more friends than those who speak one language (item 4), If I have children, I would want them to speak Basque, Spanish and English (item 6) and, Given the new European context, it is very important to speak Basque, Spanish and English (item 7). The instrumental orientation toward multilingualism comprised four items: Knowing Basque, Spanish and English makes people cleverer (item 1), Knowing Basque, Spanish and English helps to get a job (item 2), People know more if they speak Basque, Spanish and English (item 3) and People can earn more money if they speak Basque, Spanish and English (item 5).

A Likert-type scale was used, in which the minimum score for each item was 1 and the maximum 5. It is worth mentioning that items 4 and 5 in the traditional questionnaire were recoded, because the expected positive attitudes were just the opposite to the answers to the rest of the statements. Therefore, the answers were recorded in the following way: 1=5, 2=4, 3=3, 4=2, and 5=1.

2.3. Method

The questionnaires were completed in class and the time allowed was 20 minutes. Their answers were recorded on answer sheets, which after having been codified were statistically evaluated. The statistical analyses were carried out by means of the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

3. Results

T-tests analyses were performed in order to check whether the existing differences between the two linguistic groups were statistically significant. The following tables show the mean and the standard deviation for each linguistic group in

the three languages and in each of the two main orientations under study, and whether the differences are significant or not.

Table 1. Attitudes towards Basque.

	L1=Basque		L1=Spanish		T (*p>0.01)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Integrative orientation	19.46	1.24	14.59	3.71	28.131*
Instrumental orientation	13.11	1.58	10.61	3.42	14.278*

In the case of the minority language, the effect of the students' L1 is marked, the L1=Basque group showing more positive integrative and instrumental orientations than their L1=Spanish counterparts. Moreover, the differences between the two groups are statistically significant ($p.>0.01$) in both cases.

Table 2. Attitudes towards Spanish.

	L1=Basque		L1=Spanish		T (*p>0.01)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Integrative orientation	11.07	3.22	16.35	2.88	21.588*
Instrumental orientation	10.54	2.40	11.32	1.96	4.346*

The results obtained in the case of the majority language are just the opposite. The L1=Spanish group clearly holds more positive integrative and instrumental orientations than the L1=Basque group, the differences between the two groups being also significant in this case.

Table 3. Attitudes towards English.

	L1=Basque		L1=Spanish		T (*p>0.01)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Integrative orientation	12.72	2.95	14.57	2.87	8.195*
Instrumental orientation	10.54	2.40	11.32	1.96	4.346*

The foreign language follows the pattern obtained in the case of Spanish, since the L1=Spanish group harbours a more positive integrative orientation, but contrary to expectations, they are also more instrumentally oriented than their L1=Basque peers. Once again the differences turn out to be significant.

Table 4. Attitudes towards trilingualism.

	L1=Basque		L1=Spanish		T (*p>0.01)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Integrative orientation	11.44	2.02	11.31	2.10	0.829
Instrumental orientation	14.44	2.58	14.51	2.87	0.315

When the three languages are put forward as a whole in the holistic questionnaire, the results obtained bear no resemblance to those of the traditional questionnaire. The L1=Basque group shows slightly more positive attitudes in the integrative orientation, whereas with instrumental orientation it is the L1=Spanish group which appears more positive towards trilingualism. However, these differences are not significant, which confirms our fourth hypothesis.

4. Conclusion

The distinction between the integrative and the instrumental orientations was proposed by Gardner & Lambert (1959) concerning L2 learning. In the former, language learning takes place because one appreciates the other culture and wishes to communicate with its members, whereas in the latter, language learning has a practical or socioeconomic objective. This paper was aimed at analysing both orientations among Basque university students.

Brutt-Griffler (2002) distinguishes between English as an auxiliary language and English as an international language. In the former case, English represents the internal means of communication in a multilingual society as is the case in Nigeria or the Philippines. When it comes to English as an international language, for example in the case of Brazil, Portugal or the BAC, there is no relationship between speaking the language and assimilating an associated culture, since an international language becomes denationalized and has a basically instrumental role, namely, to ease communication between speakers of different languages. Smith (1987: 39) underlines that the use of English as an international language does not mean to:

[...] become more like Americans, the British, the Australians, the Canadians or any other English speaker in order to lay claim on the language. To take the argument a step further, it isn't even necessary to appreciate the culture of a country whose principal language is English in order for one to use it effectively. (Smith, 1987: 39)

Due to the ever more widespread presence of English in most European school and university settings, we consider that the extensive study of attitudes towards English should be borne in mind by language planners and teachers of English, as this may become “fundamental to the coherent development of appropriate pedagogies in the context of globalization and English-language hegemony” (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001: 58).

Consequently, and with regards to the traditional questionnaire, whereas significant differences between the two linguistic groups under study were expected in the two official languages in the BAC (in accordance with previous studies), it was hypothesized that this differences would vanish in the instrumental orientation towards English. Thus, the first and second hypotheses were borne out. In some attitude studies the speakers of minority languages hold positive attitudes towards their own L1 in the integrative items, but are less positive in the instrumental ones (Baker, 1992). However, there are important differences when different contexts are compared. In the case of the BAC, the students' L1 clearly determines their attitudes towards the two official languages in both orientations. However, our third hypothesis was not confirmed, since there were significant differences in the instrumental orientation towards English. Our L1=Basque speakers seem to agree with El-Dash & Busnardo (2001) when they state the following with respect to English in the Brazilian context, but which could be applied to any other context, such as the BAC:

It is not all clear, however, that English for science and technology is a neutral instrument, nor that the language, when taught through reading, is exempt of its power function. In our pedagogical practice as teachers of English in Brazil, we have become convinced that Brazilians of all ages and students exposed to all teaching methodologies remain affected by the power of English. (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001: 58-59)

Therefore the traditional questionnaire exerted a clear-cut effect on the results: The L1=Basque group viewed less positively the two international languages and supported more positively the minority language. However, when the three languages appeared as a whole in the holistic questionnaire, no differences were observed between the two groups. This clearly reflects the influence that the type of questionnaire exerts on the results. If multilingual students face holistic items, the differences do disappear.

Last but not least, it should be made clear that the distinction between integrative and instrumental attitudes is controversial. For one thing because the items used to measure them have varied in the last decades, and for another because of the varying use made of both types of orientations (sometimes kept distinct, sometimes added). As Baker (1992: 34) puts it, different people in different contexts “may validly interpret the same item in different ways. Travelling abroad, for example, could represent an integrative attitude for one person or ethnic group, an instrumental attitude for another person or group.” This is also the case in our questionnaire, but we believe that the differing responses given according to the type of questionnaire used do help us

in dealing with this controversial question. Our results clearly show that there are important differences between the traditional and the holistic questionnaires, and this is a matter which deserves further research and consideration.

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Appendix

Section 1

Here are some statements about the **Basque** language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| SA | = Strongly Agree | (circle SA) |
| A | = Agree | (circle A) |
| NAND | = Neither Agree Nor Disagree | (circle NAND) |
| D | = Disagree | (circle D) |
| SD | = Strongly Disagree | (circle SD) |

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing Basque spoken	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. Basque should be taught to all pupils in the Basque Country	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking Basque	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. Basque is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. There are more useful languages to learn than Basque	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning Basque enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying a Basque speaker	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. Basque is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
10. If I have children, I would like them to be Basque speakers regardless of other languages they may know	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

Here are some statements about the **Spanish** language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA** = Strongly Agree (circle **SA**)
- A** = Agree (circle **A**)
- NAND** = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle **NAND**)
- D** = Disagree (circle **D**)
- SD** = Strongly Disagree (circle **SD**)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing Spanish spoken	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. Spanish should be taught to all pupils in the Basque Country.....	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking Spanish	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. Spanish is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. There are more useful languages to learn than Spanish	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning Spanish enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying a Spanish speaker	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. Spanish is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
10. If I have children, I would like them to be Spanish speakers regardless of other languages they may know	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

Here are some statements about the **English** language. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

- SA** = Strongly Agree (circle **SA**)
- A** = Agree (circle **A**)
- NAND** = Neither Agree Nor Disagree (circle **NAND**)
- D** = Disagree (circle **D**)
- SD** = Strongly Disagree (circle **SD**)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. I like hearing English spoken	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. English should be taught to all pupils in the Basque Country	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. I like speaking English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

4. English is a difficult language to learn	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. There are more useful languages to learn than English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. I prefer to be taught in English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Learning English enriches my cultural knowledge	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
8. I would not mind marrying a English speaker	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
9. English is a language worth learning	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
10. If I have children, I would like them to be English speakers regardless of other languages they may know	SA	A	NAND	D	SD

Section 2

Here are some statements about the **Basque, Spanish and English** languages. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. There are no right or wrong answers. Please be as honest as possible. Answer with ONE of the following:

SA	=	Strongly Agree	(circle SA)
A	=	Agree	(circle A)
NAND	=	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	(circle NAND)
D	=	Disagree	(circle D)
SD	=	Strongly Disagree	(circle SD)

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)
1. Knowing Basque, Spanish and English makes people cleverer	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
2. Knowing Spanish, Basque and English helps to get a job	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
3. People know more if they speak Spanish, Basque and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
4. People who speak Basque, Spanish and English can have more friends than those who speak one language	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. People can earn more money if they speak Basque, Spanish and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. If I have children, I would want them to speak Spanish, Basque and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
7. Given the new European context (CEE, euros, free movement of people/goods, etc), it is very important to speak Spanish, Basque and English	SA	A	NAND	D	SD