

## Extensive Reading for Korean EFL Learners: Motivation as an Investment in Cultural Capital

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### ■ Abstract ■

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This study describes the process of implementing an after-school extensive reading program for Korean high school students. During a two-year period, the researcher set up an extensive reading program as an extracurricular activity for a group of Korean high school students who volunteered to participate in the program. In addition, the program operated as a teaching practica for MA TESOL students who were enrolled in the course as partial fulfillment for their MA degree. In order to practice their teaching skills in an authentic learning environment, the MA students took on the role of the teachers of the extensive reading program. The MA students met with the high school students once a week for approximately eight weeks each semester and guided them with extensive reading activities based on the weekly reading assignments. Drawing from the researcher's observations, excerpts from the MA students' online journals along with excerpts from a semi-structured interview with a high school student and his mother, this study concludes with implications to consider for implementing an extensive reading program for Korean high school students.

Key words : extensive reading, motivation, investment, cultural capital

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Extensive reading(ER) has been considered to be an effective approach to providing L2<sup>1)</sup> learners with a broad exposure to the target language in natural contexts. The idea of encountering the

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1) In this study, L2 refers to both ESL as well as EFL learning.

target language in meaningful contexts while at the same time obtaining information on a wide variety of topics through literature seems to provide a holistic approach to L2 learning. According to Nuttall(1982), ER offers a broad exposure to the target language and is second only to acquiring the language by living among its native speakers. In other words, "extensive reading in a second language was to provide a broad-spectrum panacea for language learning ills, particularly those endemic among learners living in non-native speaking cultures"(Green, 2005, p.305).

Most ER studies have revealed the positive effects of ER for L2 learners(Cho & Krashen, 2001; Day & Hitogushi, 2004; Iwahori, 2008; Janopoulos, 1986; Kweon & Kim, 2008; Renandya et al., 1999; Tanaka & Stapleton, 2007). Furthermore, researchers have consistently shown a high level of enthusiasm for ER due to its affective approach in helping learners to develop a positive attitude and a strong motivation for reading extensively in L2(Day & Bamford, 2002; Mason & Krashen, 1997; Leung, 2002). According to Day and Bamford(2002), developing a strong motivation and a positive attitude toward reading are important contributing factors for ER. Factors such as attractive, easy reading materials, attitude toward reading in L1, attitude toward the L2 culture, and the learners' sociocultural environment(i.e. influence of family, friends, and learning context) contribute toward helping L2 learners to increase their motivation to read extensively in L2.

Despite the significant role that motivation plays in ER, studies focusing on motivation and ER have mostly examined the influence of reading materials and how the students were motivated to read due to the interesting content of the texts(Kembo, 1993; Shin & Ahn, 2006). What these studies have failed to realize, however, is the fact that ER has to take place voluntarily and that "reading is its own reward"(Day & Bamford, 2002, p.137), a concept which appears to be difficult to grasp for most Korean EFL learners who are accustomed to seeking a tangible reward in exchange for their L2 learning efforts (such as high test scores or an A on their report cards). In other words, what truly matters is not just how ER helped them to improve their language skills; the actual challenge is to motivate them to read voluntarily even when the reading materials will have no immediate impact upon their test scores and report cards.

The above challenge has been the central issue at hand when the researcher of the current study was asked to set up an after-school extensive reading program for Korean high school students. Although the students volunteered to participate in the program (which at first seemed to be a fair indication of their willingness to read in L2), getting the students to read extensively and faithfully was bound to be the most challenging aspect of the project since most Korean high school students are extremely busy with their studies. Furthermore, most ER studies seem to assume that the participants read the reading materials faithfully and as a result, their motivation and attitude

toward ER not only increased but their language skills seemed to improve as well. However, this study points out that we cannot always assume the participants have read the books willingly and faithfully. In this sense, the primary question should not be whether the students improved their language skills through ER (which seems to be the most common approach taken), but there should be a higher concern for questioning the factors that influence the learners to read extensively. Thus this study seeks to address the following research question: To what extent does the participants' sociocultural environment influence them to engage in ER faithfully and willingly?

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1. Defining Extensive Reading

According to Day and Bamford(2002, pp.137-138), extensive reading can be defined according to the following ten principles: 1) students read as much as possible; 2) a variety of materials on a wide range of topics are available; 3) students select what they want to read; 4) the purpose of reading is usually related to pleasure, information, and general understanding; 5) reading is its own reward; 6) reading materials are well within the linguistic competence of the students; 7) reading is individual and silent; 8) reading speed is usually faster than slower; 9) teachers orient themselves to the goals of the program; and 10) the teacher is a role model of a reader for students.

As shown above, the theoretical basis for ER represents a stark contrast from that of intensive reading(IR), which is the more common approach adapted in most Korean EFL classrooms. While IR methods focus on helping students to develop reading strategies to read quickly and efficiently in order gain a general understanding of the text, the primary purpose of extensive reading is to "read for pleasure" and to develop an "aesthetic appreciation" for reading itself.

### 2. Studies in Extensive Reading for L2 Learners

As mentioned earlier, numerous studies have revealed the positive effects of ER for L2 learners. Among the existing studies on ER and L2 learners, researchers have primarily focused on the linguistic benefits of ER, such as vocabulary improvement(Horst, 2005; Pigada & Schmitt, 2006; Pitt, White & Krashen, 1989), increase in reading speed(Robb & Susser, 1989; Walker, 1997),

improvement on writing skills(Hafiz & Tudor, 1990; Janopoulos, 1986; Tsang, 1990; Tudor & Hafiz, 1989), as well as a general improvement on speaking and listening skills(Elley & Mangubahi, 1983).

Despite the positive findings reported by most L2 extensive reading researchers, some have pointed out the grim reality of ER programs implemented in EFL contexts. Green(2005) discusses the "Hong Kong Extensive Reading Scheme"(HKERS) in which the government implemented ER programs in primary and secondary schools under the hopeful impression that "to develop in students the habit of reading in English, an increased exposure to the language will improve their general proficiency"(p.307). The results of these attempts have proven to be disappointing for numerous reasons. First, schools interpreted government-issued guidelines in strikingly different ways. Some schools excluded extensive reading from their formal curriculum and tried to run it as an extracurricular activity while others attempted to follow official guidelines to hold extensive reading activities two to three times a week as part of the formal curriculum. However, it was found that most of these ER classrooms had very little support from the teachers who did not seem to have a clear understanding of their role in the given context. As a result, most of the ER lessons seemed to have the "appearance of a particularly monastic detention session with teachers sitting at the head of the class enforcing a rule of silence. The outcome of these austere sessions is usually a book report"(Green, 2005, p.308).

Particularly, Green attributes part of the failure of the HKERS to teacher resistance and resentment toward the government-issued guidelines for implementing the ER program. One of the most important factors that the HKERS seemed to have ignored was the relationship between the learners' motivation to read and their sociocultural environment. Although Day and Bamford(2002) point out that L2 learners' sociocultural environment contributes toward their motivation to read in English, they do not elaborate on this important concept. This study, therefore attempts to fill the missing gap by discussing how sociocultural environments affect L2 learners' motivation to engage in ER.

Given that the overarching principle of ER is "to read for pleasure" and to internalize the idea that "reading is its own reward," motivation is without a doubt, a key construct within the ER framework. The primary challenge to ER, then, is not just how much the target students improve their language skills; rather, the central issue is to ask how L2 students can be motivated to read, enjoy what they read and discover the aesthetic pleasure of reading itself so that they will continue to read on their own upon completion of the ER program.

### 3. Motivation as an Investment in Cultural Capital

Motivation is a broad concept but one that is quintessential within the context of L2 learning. For years, researchers have identified motivation as one of the most significant predictors to successfully learning a second language (Dörnyei, 2005; Tae-Young Kim, 2009; Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000; Ushioda, 2001). Logically speaking, the higher the level of motivation that an L2 learner has, the higher their effort in mastering the target language will be, thus producing positive results in their acquisition of the L2.

Within the context of L2 learning, the construct of motivation can be defined in three different ways: 1) instrumental motivation; 2) integrative motivation; and 3) investment. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), the motivation to learn a second language can be either instrumental or integrative. When L2 learners make an attempt to acquire the target language for specific purposes such as passing a standardized language test in order to gain employment or university admission, their motivation is considered to be instrumental; on the other hand, when an L2 learner's need and desire to integrate into a target community by learning to communicate with competence, their motivation can be seen as being integrative. Furthermore, EFL learners' motivation has been linked to being instrumental whereas ESL learners' motivation has been identified as being integrative.

While Gardner and Lambert's delineation of motivation may appear to be logical at first glance, researchers (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000) have been critical toward the theory due to the dichotomous nature of the concept. In other words, it is difficult to claim that an EFL learner's motivation for learning English is purely "instrumental" and not at all "integrative" just because he or she is living in a non-English speaking country like Korea. Many international corporations and communities exist in EFL countries and individuals will inevitably experience the need to "integrate" themselves into such communities in order to associate with other English-language speakers (consisting of both native and nonnative speakers of English); in this case, an EFL learner's motivation for L2 learning is not just instrumental, but integrative as well (Block & Cameron, 2002; Lamb, 2007).

Furthermore, Norton Peirce (1995) provides a reconceptualization of L2 motivation by explaining that an L2 learner's motivation is not necessarily instrumental nor integrative, but rather, it is a form of an investment. Drawing from an empirical study conducted on a group of immigrant women residing in Canada, Norton Peirce (1995) discovered that their motivation for wanting to learn the target language represented their desire to receive something in return (i.e. a better job)

for the amount of time and effort put into their English language learning endeavors. Drawing from feminist poststructuralist ideology, Norton Peirce refers to Weedon(1987) on subjectivity and the concept of social identity as “multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change”(p.9). In addition, Norton Peirce integrates Bourdieu’s(1977) notion of “cultural capital”(p.17) to describe motivation as a form of an investment in the target language to gain linguistic capital. Combining these concepts, Norton Peirce implies that it is deeply-ingrained societal power relations that form and influence learners’ evolving social identity, and it is such power relations that are the root cause of L2 learners’ alienation and inability to improve their target language skills.

Recent studies on motivation and Korean learners have also discussed L2 learners’ motivation from a sociocultural perspective; however, rather than focusing on society and power relations, there seems to be a stronger emphasis on the individual self and the need to acknowledge the importance of L2 learning by attempting to “connect his or her life conditions to L2 learning and use”(Tae-Young Kim, 2009, p.134). In other words, the most important factor for an L2 learner’s motivation is whether he or she is able to internalize the external reasons for their L2 learning endeavors which may result in linking specific learning goals and participation in actual or imagined L2 communities(Anderson, 1991). This theory may also be helpful in understanding why Korean learners may or may not be motivated to read extensively. If a student is focused on seeking a tangible exchange for the amount of time and effort invested in ER, the degree of his or her motivation to read extensively may not be very high since they will not receive any grades or scores for reading extensively. However, if a learner is able to transcend the need for receiving an immediate, tangible exchange for ER by identifying specific, personal goals which may be achieved through a long-term investment in ER (i.e. critical thinking abilities required for future academic, career prospects, etc.), their motivation may be increased to a higher level.

While Day and Bamford(2002) define ER as the process of “reading for pleasure” and emphasize the importance of internalizing the fact that “reading is its own reward”(p.137), they do not describe how individuals may go about developing an ability to “read for pleasure.” In fact, anyone who has ever had the experience of learning to “read for pleasure” will testify that this is not something that can happen overnight, especially when reading in a foreign language. Individuals who have learned to read for pleasure also understand that “reading is its own reward.” However, what Day and Bamford have failed to explain is that the process of learning to read for pleasure and internalizing the rewarding experience of reading itself is something that takes cultivation and fostering, preferably from a young age.

Learning to read for pleasure and developing an aesthetic appreciation for reading takes a

certain type of distinction or taste, which stems from what Bourdieu(1977) refers to as cultural capital and habitus. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as social assets such as education, family culture and certain ways of perceiving the world (such as having the ability to appreciate literature) which in turn affect an individual's habitus. Bourdieu claims that "the habitus comprises perceptual structures and embodied dispositions which organize the way individuals see the world and act in it"(Harrington, 2005, p.222). According to Bourdieu, children are initially endowed with cultural capital from their parents and their sociocultural environments. As a result, children who grow up in an environment conducive to ER will develop a certain habitus which will help them to develop an appreciation for the process of reading itself.

### III. METHOD

#### 1. Research Context and Participants

The context of the study took place within an after-school extensive reading program for Korean high school students. The program was a joint collaboration between an MA TESOL program and a co-ed private high school, both affiliated with a private university in Seoul. The MA students were enrolled in a teaching practica which offers an opportunity for the students to practice teaching in an authentic learning context. The high school students were to participate in an after-school ER program and thus the teaching practica course served as a venue for the ER program in which the MA students would have an opportunity to teach the high school students who volunteered to participate in the after-school ER program. The researcher of the current study was the instructor of the teaching practica course as well as the coordinator for the ER program.

The ER program first opened its doors in the spring semester of 2012. Eleven high school students who volunteered for the ER program participated for eight weeks in the spring semester and then returned for another eight weeks in the fall semester of 2012. Although the same group of high school students participated in both semesters in 2012, the MA students who worked with them during the spring semester were different from the ones in the fall semester since the program was also running as a three credit practica course which only lasts one semester for MA students. In other words, although the same group of high school students participated in both spring and fall semesters, the MA students were different for each semester. Thus the high school students completed two different sessions with two different groups of MA students who took on

the role of their teachers as well as their mentors throughout the sessions.

Currently, there is a new group of twenty-one high school students who began participating in the ER program in the spring semester of 2013. They are now about to complete their second round of the ER program and a brand new group of high school students are expected to join in the spring semester of 2014. This study examined online journal entries from two MA students who were enrolled in the course in fall 2013 and an interview transcript from one of the high school students and his mother.

<Table 1> Profile of the Participants<sup>2)</sup>

Name	Participating Role	Age
Jin Hee	MA TESOL student and ER teacher	28
Min Kyung	MA TESOL student and ER teacher	30
Joon Ho	High School student	17
Mrs. Lee	Joon Ho's mother	45

## 2. Procedure

As the instructor of the practica course as well as the ER program coordinator, the researcher was faced with a very challenging situation for numerous reasons. For one, previous ER studies conducted on Korean high school students seemed to be virtually non-existent and thus there were no research findings to rely on; and second, since the MA TESOL students needed as many opportunities to practice and develop their teaching skills, the researcher had to make sure that each time an ER session took place, these sessions were not only engaging and meaningful for the high school students, but the practica students had to take advantage of every opportunity to plan and deliver their lessons as well. As a result, the very first thing that the researcher realized was that in order to ensure that the practica students were given an opportunity to practice their teaching skills in an authentic classroom setting, the weekly ER meetings had to resemble a formal classroom in which there were specific learning goals and objectives. Furthermore, each lesson had to have a single, unifying theme since the teachers had to use these topics to prepare for their lessons ahead of time - needless to say, this also led to the fact that everyone (the MA students and the participating high school students) had to read the same books every week since the MA students had to use the reading materials as the teaching materials to create various types of ER

2) All of the names of the participants have been changed to pseudonyms.

activities for the high school students.

Having to work within the above limitations also meant that two important practices within the ER tradition would have to be eliminated: 1) allowing the students to choose their own reading materials; and 2) exercising SSR(Sustained Silent Reading) which provides students with an opportunity to read individually on a regular basis during class time. Instead, all of the reading materials had to be chosen ahead of time since the MA students needed to have their teaching materials in order to prepare for their lessons. In addition, all of the high school students had to read the same books every week outside the classroom prior to coming to class. Including an SSR component was also not an option since the MA students needed to use every moment of classroom time to practice their teaching skills.

As mentioned above, most ER programs allow students to select their own reading materials which seems to be closely linked to increasing their motivation to read. However, since the program had to serve dual purposes - as a teaching practica for MA TESOL students as well as an ER program for high school students - the reading materials were pre-selected by the researcher and the MA students prior to beginning the program each semester. In order to determine an appropriate level for the high school students, the high school English teacher was asked to visit our library and review the collection of the books in order to make sure that the reading level matched the students' current ability. The selected books were graded readers for L2 learners and the level was low-intermediate to intermediate which had approximately 1,400 - 1,600 basic words. Most of the books were modified versions of classics or well-known stories (see Appendix for a full list of the books).

The MA students and the high school students formed 3-4 different teams. There were four groups in 2012 and three groups in 2013 - the number of the groups decreased from four in 2012 to three in 2013 in order to give the MA students an opportunity to teach more frequently as they were to rotate in groups to plan and deliver their lessons each week. Each week, a group of MA students took turns leading the high school students in extensive reading activities. All of the lessons were conducted in English and the activities were developed from the weekly reading assignments. Each lesson typically had a warm-up stage in which the teachers tried to activate the students' schema by showing video clips or getting the students to talk about the characters and the main plot of the story; then the students usually engaged in task-based activities such as sequencing and information-gap activities or role-play, debate and presentations; and finally, the lesson wrapped up with activities that allowed the students to reflect on the author's conveyed message (i.e. short writing activities such as paragraph writing, e-mail, etc.).

Furthermore, the MA students were asked to take on the role of a mentor for a few high school students who were designated to them on a random basis. The mentoring relationship was established in order to provide the high school students with encouragement and support throughout the week. In 2012, the MA students were simply asked to keep in touch with their students during the week to encourage them to read or to answer any questions that they may have regarding the reading assignments. In spring 2013, the researcher created an online book cafe and asked the MA students and their students to use the site to engage in discussions about the books; then beginning in fall 2013, the MA students and the high school students were encouraged to use their smartphones and kakao talk to exchange conversations about the reading assignments. The decision to switch from using the online book cafe to smartphones was made because there was very little interaction on the book cafe and the high school students expressed a preference for using smartphones instead.

### 3. Data Collection and Analysis

This study includes interview excerpts from one of the participants and his mother along with excerpts from two of the MA students' online journals. The researcher conducted one semi-structured interview with one of the highschool students and his mother. They were interviewed together and the interview lasted approximately one hour and thirty minutes. The student was selected for the interview because he was one of the most successful participants of the ER program during the two-year period. He was voted as "The Best Reader" twice by the MA students, read each book faithfully and participated in the activities with enthusiasm. The researcher also decided to interview his mother in order to gain insights on the role that she may have played in helping him to be such as enthusiastic participant of ER. The interview was conducted in Korean and audio recorded upon gaining permission from the interviewees. The other set of data derived from the MA students' online journals. These journals were submitted online on a bi-weekly basis during a fifteen week semester period by the MA students who were enrolled in the practica course in the spring semester of 2013.

In order to analyze the interview transcript and the online journals, the researcher conducted a thematic analysis(Creswell, 2007; Saldana, 2009) which is considered to be one of the most common approaches to data analysis in qualitative studies. A thematic analysis seeks reoccurring themes or patterns within a set of data as the researcher moves through a six-stage process: 1) reading and

re-reading the data in order to become familiar with the content while at the same time searching for patterns; 2) create initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occur; 3) combine codes to construct macro-themes that match the data; 4) check to see if themes support the data and overarching theoretical perspective; 5) define what each theme is, what is unique or interesting about them; and 6) determine which themes make meaningful contributions toward the overall study. The researcher made an attempt to follow these steps in order to analyze the data.

## IV. FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

### 1. Korean High School Students' Busy Schedules as Negative Factors

The first year with the first group of high school students in 2012 appeared to be relatively successful. From the beginning of the program, the primary concern was to make sure that the students read their books every week. However, since most Korean high school students are under a lot of pressure to do well on their exams and to focus on their grades in school, the weekly reading assignments for the ER program were not always on their priority list.

Furthermore, the fact that the ER program did not affect their school grades in any way decreased the students' motivation to read the books every week. In fact, we were not allowed to hold ER sessions for two weeks before the high school students' midterm and final exams because they needed to focus on their studies. As a result, there were frequent interruptions to the program because the high school students could not read the books or participate in the ER sessions during examination periods. One of the high school students made it clear from the very beginning that he would not be doing any of the writing assignments for ER since they would not affect his school grades in any way. Surprisingly, it was later discovered that he was ranked at the top of his class and anticipated attending one of the top three universities in Korea. For this particular student, anything that did not affect his test score or his school grades was not worth his effort and his only motivation for participating in the ER program was to receive the certificate of completion which would be counted as evidence of extracurricular activity for college admission. In other words, taking ER seriously was not worth investing his time and energy since there would be no tangible exchange for his efforts. In this sense, the most important principle of the ER approach - to read for pleasure and to internalize that "reading is its own reward" - seemed to be a very challenging concept to grasp for most Korean high school students.

## 2. Teachers' Lack of Experience with ER as Negative Factors

As the current ER program is now about to complete its second year of operation, the teacher's role has been identified as one of the most crucial factors to running a successful ER program (Green, 2005). One of the biggest problems from the very beginning of the current study was that most of the MA students were not familiar with the ER approach nor had experienced reading extensively in L2 themselves. Although the researcher devoted the first few weeks of the practica course to introduce ER theories and methods to the MA students, this was apparently not enough to help them to understand the true essence of ER, which is to develop an appreciation for reading. This, of course, also meant that another ER principle - that "teachers should be a role model of reading" - would have very little relevance since most of the teachers had not had the opportunity to internalize the process of ER themselves.

When the second group of high school students joined the program in the spring semester of 2013, the researcher realized that the students and their mentors needed specific guidelines to interact with each other throughout the week. In order to foster interaction among them, an online book cafe was created and all of the participants were encouraged to use the cafe to engage in discussions about the books and to post any questions and answers that they might have. However, the researcher discovered that there were hardly any discussions or interactions taking place. In fact, only a few of the teachers made an attempt to start up a group discussion and to their dismay, there was very little response to the discussion questions. One of the reasons for this may be due to the language barrier. Since most of the high school students' English language proficiency level was not high enough to engage in discussions, participating in online discussions about the reading materials may have been too challenging for them. Students also revealed that they simply did not have the time to engage in such activities due to their busy schedules.

When the fall semester of 2013 began in September, the same group of high school students returned and a new group of MA TESOL students joined the program. This time, all of the participants (high school students and their mentors) were asked to interact with each other using their smartphones during the week. They were not required to speak only in English and the purpose of the text messaging through kakao talk was to encourage the students to read and to exchange discussions on the reading assignments. However, this approach also seemed to be problematic because the high school students were either not interested in engaging in discussions about the reading materials or the teachers themselves were not reading the assignments carefully every week. As a result, they wanted to avoid having to engage in lengthy discussions about the

books with their students. Jin Hee expressed her frustrations as follows:

One of the greatest challenges is that I cannot force really busy or unmotivated students to read the book. Reading happens through individual's voluntary will. Even though I have sent some text messages to my mentees every weekend to remind them of reading, if they do not read books because of any excuses or busy daily schedules, there is no other way to make them do it. If they do not read, the lesson will never be fun and motivating. Sometimes, I worry that my text messages, as a reminder, may annoy them or give them a pressure. Unless students are motivated to read by themselves, making an extensive program work well will be very difficult. The other challenge is that I, as a mentor, cannot always, confidently give my mentees some satisfying answers when they doubt of something or are curious about some parts regarding plots or characters because I cannot read books as carefully as my students do. Since they are always too busy to read the whole story or raise some questions about the book, this does not happen to me, often but maybe, those two problems might be the biggest challenges for me.

The above excerpt shows Jin Hee's conflicting issues as she contradicts her position as teacher and mentor: on the one hand, she is complaining about students who do not wish to be bothered with reminders about the books through text messages but on the other, she admits that some of her students are faithfully and "carefully" reading the books and are presenting many different types of questions regarding the "plot and characters". However, she is also implying that she has been unable to read the books carefully herself and thus responding to her students' questions appears to have been a burden for her. This student's conflict seemed to represent the overall atmosphere among the MA students and the high school students. On the one hand, the MA students felt frustrated with students who did not wish to engage in discussions about the reading materials during the week; and on the other, some of the high school students were faithfully reading the books each week and had questions and topics to discuss but the MA students were not always prepared to respond to such requests.

At the same time, the mentoring relationship was relatively successful in that the MA students and their students enjoyed chatting and bonding through exchanging conversations about everyday topics. However, when it came to engaging in discussions about the books, the high school students were either uninterested in the topic or the MA students were not ready to facilitate the discussions.

### 3. Cultural Capital and Habitus as Contributing Factors for ER

Norton Peirce(1995) linked L2 learners' motivation to investment for cultural capital by emphasizing societal power relations through her empirical study on Canadian immigrants. The context of this particular study took place in Canada where L2 learners live among its native speakers; as a result, the participants of the study seemed to invest in L2 learning in order to gain linguistic capital which in turn would help them to gain more power as competent speakers of the target language. Likewise, the notion of motivation, investment and cultural capital appear to play an important role for ER and EFL learners as well; however, cultural capital may either be seen as something that one may achieve through investing in ER (i.e. overall improvement of English language skills, critical thinking abilities, development of aesthetic appreciation for reading, etc.) or as a product of cultivation from the individual's sociocultural environment (particularly from his or her family setting).

As mentioned earlier, cultural capital(Bourdieu, 1977) refers to social assets such as education or cultivation of aesthetic appreciation for literature and the arts. As a result, Bourdieu claims that children who grow up in middle-class family environments are endowed with cultural capital whereas children who are raised in working-class families are less likely to have access to cultural capital. Bourdieu also implies that having cultural capital is important for developing a certain set of habitus which in turn affects an individual's ability to progress and succeed in society.

Although there have been many criticisms against Bourdieu's theory for being too deterministic (Dimaggio, 1982; Sullivan, 2002), the notion of cultural capital remains as one of the key sociological concepts for understanding individuals and their social contexts today. In a way, developing an aesthetic appreciation for reading can be explained from Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. Learning to read for pleasure is a process of developing an aesthetic appreciation for literature, which normally stems from a long period of cultivation within a sociocultural environment conducive to reading extensively. In this sense, Korean high school students who have not had the opportunity for such cultivation may not be prepared to deal with the task of ER in addition to the heavy amount of pressure from their school.

The above implication may be explained from an example of one of the most successful participants of the current ER program. The student is a seventeen year old male student named Joon Ho and he is the only second year high school student in the program this year. The rest of the students are first year students because most of the second year students seemed to have avoided signing up for the ER program since they were too busy with their studies and did not

wish to be pressured to read books in English. Third year students do not participate in any extracurricular activities at school because they have to devote themselves to preparing for the college entrance examination.

From the beginning, it was clear that Joon Ho was different from most of the other students. He not only read the books every single week, but he had mastered all of the vocabulary words found in the books and actively participated in all the activities in the program. Upon conducting a semi-structured interview with Joon Ho and his mother, the researcher discovered that Joon Ho's mother was also different from most Korean mothers. She seemed to value the importance of helping her children to develop a deep appreciation for reading which in turn had prepared Joon Ho to read extensively in L2 when he joined the ER program.

Joon Ho and his siblings (one older sister who is currently attending one of the most prestigious universities in Korea and one younger sister who is a first year high school student) have never attended a hagwon, which was surprising because most Korean mothers seem to value private English education (Yoon-Young Lee & Hosung Choe, 2009). Joon Ho's mother explained that they do not own a television and that their living room is filled with books instead. Instead of sending her children to hagwons, she exposed them to books from a young age and travelled with them as much as possible. She tried to encourage them instead of pressuring them to study. Furthermore, as a full-time mother, she tried to provide her children with as much emotional support as possible. At the same time, she expressed a strong concern for Joon Ho's grades and worried that the ER program would take time away from his studies for school. She explained:

To be honest, I was very worried because Joon Ho would come home very late every Thursday from the ER session and I advised him to quit after the first semester. But Joon Ho insisted he wanted to continue and now I think he certainly benefitted from the program and I'm thankful for the opportunity. But I still worry about his grades and the time lost from participating in the program.

Here, it is interesting to see how Joon Ho's mother (who seemed to value ER) placed a higher value on his grades instead

While Joon Ho's mother expressed an appreciation as well as a concern for his participation in the ER program, Joon Ho expressed a strong appreciation for the ER program. He claimed that the program not only helped him to improve his overall English language skills, but he has been able to identify his future career goal to become an international lawyer.

Unlike most of the other students, Joon Ho was ready to read extensively when he joined the ER program. Despite his busy schedule with his school work, he claimed he read the books faithfully because he truly enjoyed reading them. Due to his upbringing, he had already learned to “read for pleasure” in Korean and he was prepared to read and appreciate the actual process of reading in English. In other words, he had already developed a certain distinction, or a taste for appreciating literature from the cultural capital that he had been endowed with from a very young age. He expressed a gratitude for having the opportunity to read mostly classics in the ER program and claimed that reading and understanding the classics was very important to him.

I feel fortunate to have this experience of reading all these classics in English. I doubt I would have been able to do this on my own but since the ER program assigns us to read these books I had to read them and now I feel so proud. I think it's so important to read these kinds of books and have a basic knowledge about them and I know I wouldn't have had a chance to read them without this program.

Conversely, the researcher discovered an irony from reading an online journal excerpt written by Minkyung who expressed negative feelings toward the reading materials chosen for the ER program. She wrote:

To motivate students in reading and to stimulate their curiosity, I think it would be better to choose the text with comics or books, which deal with scientists' life or scientific invention, and philosophy issues such as trolley problems. Today's kids are different from our generation. If the purpose of extensive reading program is motivating students to read in English, we need to think about other ways that they could do it in everyday. For example, we do not carry books that much nowadays, instead we read and listen through smart devices. If so, isn't it better to find the podcast, which reads them classic literature, or audio books for busy students? I think with these ways, I could be a better role model for students.

On the one hand, she is speaking on behalf of the students who may need more practical reading materials, but on the other, she probably has not had the opportunity to develop an appreciation for reading the classics herself. In this sense, there is a clear discrepancy in the attitude toward the reading materials as well; while a student like Joon Ho, whose mother had cultivated in him an ability to appreciate the classics from a young age, felt grateful for having the opportunity to read stories like *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Merchant of Venice* in English, others

resented the reading materials for lacking practicality in its content.

During the past two years of running the ER program, the greatest challenge has been to motivate the students to read their books faithfully and at their own will, for which there would be no tangible reward for the time invested in reading them. Therefore, due to the enormous amount of pressure that most Korean high school students face with their studies in school, getting them to “read for pleasure” has been a very difficult task.

## V. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

One of the limitations of the current study lies in the few number of data excerpts discussed in the findings. Part of the reason for this is due to the limited space allowed for this research paper. More importantly, however, the researcher determined that the primary purpose of this study would be to describe the process of implementing and running an ER program for Korean high school students by linking sociological theory to the researcher’s observations and interactions with the ER participants. Future studies should focus on a specific group of ER participants (either teachers or students) and present a series of excerpts from a coherent set of data. Particularly, since the teacher’s role has been identified as playing a significant role in ER (Green, 2005), it might be worthwhile to conduct an ER program for teachers and examine their perspectives and experiences.

The second limitation was that the research context not only served as an after-school ER program but as a teaching practica for MA TESOL students as well. As a result, certain ER practices such as allowing the students to select their own reading materials and exercising SSR had to be sacrificed; thus the research context may not resemble a typical ER setting. Future ER studies may benefit from a research context in which the researcher is able to exercise various ER practices with flexibility.

Furthermore, ER researchers should also acknowledge the importance of cultivation and development of aesthetic appreciation for reading from the learning context. In other words, researchers and teachers should focus on creating a community of readers in the classroom. In addition, it may be worthwhile to consider working with the parents to provide support for the ER program by providing them with information about ER and making suggestions on how they could participate in their children’s ER program (i.e. taking time to engage in discussions about the reading materials, participating in ER themselves, etc.). As mentioned earlier, developing an

aesthetic appreciation for literature takes cultivation and support from the learners' sociocultural environments; thus getting the parents involved may play an important role in helping the students to increase their motivation to read extensively.

Furthermore, teachers and students should understand that learning to read for pleasure can bring about cultural capital rather than immediate, tangible results such as language skills improvement. Since university admission and future career prospects affect most Korean high school students' motivation, helping them to understand that the amount of time and effort invested in ER will eventually have long-lasting effects which will in turn help them to think creatively and critically. Helping them to see that these two traits are now becoming more and more sought out and recognized as indispensable factors contributing toward an individual's ability to succeed may be helpful in motivating them to read extensively. In other words, in order to motivate Korean high school students, it might be necessary to help them to see that the time and effort invested in ER will eventually produce cultural capital which in turn will affect their lives in a profound way in the long run.

In order to foster an appreciation for reading, there needs to be an internalization of the reading materials and students need an opportunity to appreciate the depth of the text, understanding and appreciating the message that the author is trying to convey. Without a doubt, an ER program would be most beneficial if it were integrated as part of the formal curriculum beginning as early as elementary or middle school years. If students are naturally introduced to reading for pleasure and are taught to engage with the content of the reading materials through discussions and reflective reports from a young age, there should be a higher chance of developing an appreciation for literature. Ideally, the primary goal should not be placed on improving language skills (which may also be achieved through other means such as intensive reading and communicative language activities), but students should be guided to discover the joy of reading by allowing them to discuss the content and to express their ideas. In order to achieve this goal, using L1 should be permitted for group discussions and reflective reports if the students' language proficiency level is not high enough.

There has been a recent trend in promoting the integration of the humanities in the general education curriculum for Korean universities as an attempt to foster critical thinking skills and creativity. However, an integration of the humanities and ER in the formal curriculum should start as early as possible because learning to read for pleasure is an "acquired" skill that requires cultivation from an early age. As pointed out by Bourdieu(1977), the ability to appreciate certain things such as literature and the arts stems from cultural capital - which is something that

individuals are able to internalize through ongoing support and cultivation from their sociocultural environments.

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국문요약

## 영어학습자 대상 다독프로그램 연구

- 문화자본 투자로서의 동기부여 -

박 은 애 (이화여자대학교 외국어교육특수대학원 TESOL학과 조교수)

본 연구는 한국고등학생들 대상 방과후 다독프로그램을 수행하는 과정을 기술한다. 연구자는 자발적으로 참여한 한국고등학생들의 한 집단에 대해 과외활동으로서의 다독프로그램을 설립해 2년간 운영했다. 이 프로그램은 TESOL 석사과정 학생들의 학위를 위한 일부 과정인 교생실습으로 운영되었다. TESOL 학생들은 실제적인 배움의 환경에서 티칭기술을 실습하기 위해 이 다독프로그램의 선생들로서의 역할을 담당했다. TESOL 학생들은 고등학생들과 매 학기 약 8주간 매주 한번 씩 만나 주별 독서과제들을 중심으로 다독프로그램을 지도했다. 데이터는 연구자의 관찰과 현장노트들, TESOL 학생들의 온라인 일지 기록들, 프로그램 참여자들 중 한명에 대한 인터뷰를 통해 수집되었다. 결론적으로 본 연구는 한국고등학생들이 다독을 하는 동기를 언어기술의 향상보다는 문화자본을 위한 투자의 관점에서 보아야 할 것을 제안한다. 또한 이 연구는 한국고등학생 대상 다독프로그램을 수행할 때 고려해야할 함의들을 제안한다.

주제어 : 다독, 동기부여, 문화자본

## APPENDIX

## List of Books for ER Program: Spring 2012 - Fall 2013

## Spring 2012

No	Title of Book
1	The Wizard of Oz
2	The Pearl
3	Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde
4	Gulliver's Travels
5	Frankenstein
6	Secret Garden
7	Treasure Island

## Fall 2012

No	Title of Book
1	The Treasure of Monte Cristo
2	Black Beauty
3	The Accidental Tourist
4	The Great Gatsby
5	Jane Eyre
6	The Merchant of Venice
7	Pride and Prejudice

## Spring 2013

No	Title of Book
1	The Wizard of Oz
2	Black Beauty
3	Gulliver's Travels
4	Enchanted April
5	The Pearl
6	Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde
7	Princess Diaries

## Fall 2013

No	Title of Book
1	Money for a Motor Bike
2	Frankenstein
3	Secret Garden
4	Iron Mask
5	Treasure Island
6	The Treasure of Monte Cristo