Understanding Motivation: A Review of Relevant Literature

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The Challenge

> "Motivation has been widely accepted by both
> teachers and researchers as one of the key factors that
> influences the rate and success of second/foreign
> language (L2) learning."
> (Dörnyei, 1998: 117)

Trying to understand how motivation works is like herding cats; it's like carrying a futon mattress down a set of stairs; or picking chewing gum out of your hair. It's an unpredictable, awkward, and sticky proposition. And yet it is by "trying to understand" this complicated and at times contradictory combination of hopes, desires, dreams, past experiences, outside influences, societal pressures, and innate tendencies that we are better able to articulate our thinking about a topic as complex and as varied as human behaviour itself.

There are many theories of motivation...and categories and definitions and orientations and paradigms. And trying to understand all these theories is...well, it's messy. Some characteristics of motivation defy categorization. Others seem to fit into two or more categories. While others still, appear inseparable from seemingly unrelated and/or continually changing aspects of human behaviour.

So in the end, it seems that anyone trying to make sense of motivation research will, in very short order, end up with a tangle of interrelationships so complex that he/she might just as well be trying to untangle a snarled fishing line in the bottom of a boat on the darkest night of the year…wearing gloves. And this is just in discussing motivation as an overarching psychological phenomenon.

By restricting discussion of motivation exclusively to the process of language learning, the situation becomes both simpler and more complicated.

Simpler because, when speaking of motivation in a general way, discussion often tends to become vague; research often finds itself

extrapolated out of its original context in the service of more broadly-conceived generalizations; and the absence of concrete examples makes an already intangible notion even more abstract. So, by focusing our attention specifically on one specific area of motivation research - language learning - this we can reduce this tendency toward the esoteric.

And yet more complex because language, as Dörnyei (1998) reminds us, is not only an academic subject to be studied, but also a communicative medium to be used for social interaction, self-expression and the establishment of a person's identity. Therefore, unlike other topics such as "the motivation to do laundry" or "the motivation to buy an umbrella," the motivation to learn a language is closely tied to a person's sense of self identity and, as a result, carries with it a multitude of complicating factors such as: personality, attitudes, innate characteristics, emotions, social context, attributions to the past, and dreams of the future.

With this complexity in mind then, I'll try to keep the following explanations as brief as possible and will attempt to provide clear and direct examples that link theory with the realities of language learning.

 Rationale of the paper

There are many ways of looking at the question of motivation in language learning; researchers like the crew on a fishing trawler casting nets over an elusive prey. But sometimes the nets overlap, sometimes one net is so big that it completely enfolds one or more other nets, and sometimes a net is thrown in an area of the sea where nobody seems to be fishing. As a result, to try and present the field as an area of clearly-defined categories is somewhat artificial. However, it is equally artificial to suggest that everything in the field is so interconnected that it can't be separated.

Therefore, it's the goal of this paper to wade out a little and try, without getting too wet, to cast out a few of the nets relevant to the discussion of language learning motivation as it is presented in this volume. Or, in less metaphorical terms, this paper explores both how researchers have approached the question of motivation in language learning – the differing levels of impetus, drive and persistence people experience when they are trying to learn a second or additional language – and how an understanding of this research might prove useful to the language educator.

Structure of the paper

Other papers on this topic tend to present motivation theory and language learning motivation theory separately. This one will not. While it is true that, by discussing each discipline separately, authors can make evident the

uniqueness of each as an area of academic exploration, it is also true that doing so creates unnecessary conceptual distance; distance that is all the more irrelevant given the convergence of these fields in recent years. Therefore, except for brief historical overviews of each field in an early part of the paper, this paper will incorporate discussion of both.

However, that comes later. The first thing this paper needs to do is to establish the nature of *motivation* as a psychological construct: what it is, how people think it works and why we should care. Next, it has to provide brief overviews of research in both motivation research and motivation in language learning research in order to orient us with respect to the historical, dominant and evolving strands of thought in each. And then, only then, can it explore in detail those motivational theories relevant to the language learning process.

Overview

What is motivation? Anybody can provide a reasonable explanation of motivation off the top of their heads:

> *Having the inspiration to do anything. Something.*
> *Anything. Or desire. I guess.*
> (Janice Field, personal communication, 6 June, 2003)

> *It's the desire to do something, having the energy.*
> *It's to have the energy to do something. Achieve a*
> *goal. You might not achieve it, but you're still*
> *motivated.*
> (Arsalan Ahmed, personal communication, 6 June, 2003)

> *Motivation for me is what makes me want to do*
> *something.*
> (Jay Van de Wint, personal communication, 8 August, 2003)

> *[Motivation's] something that…it's a drive. It's*
> *connected with inspiration. It's something that*
> *pushes you forward in a direction you want to go.*
> (Jacqui Thomas, personal communication, 14 August, 2003)

> *Well, I think it's an ability to do…to change thought*
> *into action. To do something. To me it means*

movement but in what direction, who knows? It's
what's inside. It gets me out of bed in the morning.
(Jill Blair, personal communication, 19 August, 2003).

But, as simple and as unambiguous as these definitions may appear, when it comes to establishing a concise and meaningful definition that stands up to academic scrutiny, all the definitions above fail to meet the challenge. Why? They fail to meet the challenge because, in trying to understand motivation, there are too many questions to answer in just one short definition; too many lenses to peer through; too many nets to haul in.

So, just what is motivation? Is it a process or a state; an innate characteristic or something that can be taught; a goal to shoot for or the spark that gives rise to that goal; the promise of future benefits that lures a person on like a carrot on a stick or the persistence, determination and focus that enables a person to see a task through to the end? Maybe it's all these things. But, all in all, it's an unclear what is meant by the term motivation. In fact, so grey has the area surrounding the term motivation become, that the American Psychological Association "…considered replacing the word as a search term in the main psychological database [because] it had too much meaning and therefore was not very useful" (Dörnyei, 2001:7).

The dictionary is of little use: "(1) the act or process of motivating; the state of being motivated. (2) something that motivates; an inducement or incentive" (*The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, 4th Edition* at http://dictionary.reference.com/).

And in fact, even definitions from the literature have trouble capturing the fullness of meaning implied by the term:

> "This is the stuff of which the conventional wisdom –
> the common sense of motivation - is made. The
> concepts of common sense have to do with
> satisfactions and dissatisfactions, with wants that lead
> to actions, with decisions that are arrived at
> concerning the appropriateness of alternative actions,
> with conflict of interest, with feelings of frustration
> and feelings of gratification – all of which constantly
> fill our daily conscious experience."
> (Atkinson, 1964:6)

> "[The] tendency to expend effort to achieve goals."
> (Johnson in Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy , 1996:11)

> "The starting point in Heckhausen's theory…is that
> research on motivation should be divided into two

camps, the study of (a) how intentions are formed and (b) how they are implemented." (Dörnyei & Otto, para.16)

"Ability refers to what a person can do; motivation, to what a person will do."
(Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy in Oxford, 1996:11)

"Motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained."
(Pintrich & Schunk in Dörnyei, 1998:118)

"[A] process whereby a certain amount of instigation force arises, initiates action, and persists as long as no other force comes into play to weaken it and thereby terminate action, or until the planned outcome has been reached."
(Dörnyei in Dörnyei, 1998:118)

"The essence of motivated action is the ability to choose among alternative courses of action, or at least, to choose to expend varying degrees of effort for a particular purpose"
(Paris & Turner in Dörnyei, 1998:121).

"Motivation in the present context refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language."
(Gardner, 1985:10)

"In a general sense, motivation can be defined as the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritized, operationalized and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out"
(Dörnyei & Otto, 1998: para.26)

Great. Thanks. That really narrows things down.

However, whether motivation is an intention, the impetus that forms the intention, the drive to sustain the action, or the feeling that comes after an objective has been completed, it is my suggestion that, when it comes to thinking about motivation, we would perhaps be best served to think about it on the basis of the questions that motivation researchers currently find themselves exploring. These questions are collected nicely in Dörnyei (2001):

- is human behaviour a product of conscious thought or of unconscious impulse?
- how much is human behaviour driven by "an individual's thoughts, beliefs and interpretational processes" (Dörnyei, 2001:11) and how much by emotion?
- what are all the parts of the motivation puzzle and how do these parts interact with each other?
- what is the role of context – either immediate or societal – in influencing human behaviour?
- and how does motivation vary over time?

So, if that is motivation as a concept, how about the motivation to learn a second language?

Well, as we'll find out in later sections, the motivation to learn a second language has been, at one time or another, characterized as:

- a desire to be like people in a linguistic community different from one's own (Gardner & Lambert in Gardner, 1985),
- a desire to rise to the expectations of others (Deci & Ryan, 1985),
- a desire to do something one finds pleasurable (Czikszentmilhalyi & Rathunde, 1993),
- a way to recreate oneself anew in a new language (Lvovich, 1997),
- a process of "…acquiring a new set of habits, and of allowing 'elements of another culture into one's own lifespace'." (Gardner in Dörnyei, 2001:13),
- and the need to meet an academic language requirement (Gardner, 2001).

So, without further ado, let's roll up our pantlegs and wade in.

A brief overview of motivation research

Early research in the field of motivation research posited that motivation is an unconscious instinct-driven desire to either enjoy pleasure or to avoid pain. Freud for example, father of the psychoanalytic school of psychology, wrote that humans are motivated to act as a result of perceived internal

imbalances in the body (Weiner, 1980). In other words, when the body is out of balance – say, it needs food – then it will act to correct the imbalance – by finding food. And while Freud would say that the mind can influence the body's actions – i.e. even if I'm hungry, I won't just kill someone and take his sloppy Joe – he would also say that the impetus for action is rooted in the desires of the body making themselves known through the unconscious rather than through an individual's conscious thoughts.

Other research during this early period tries to use mathematical models to account for factors affecting a person's motivation. If they could accurately identify these factors, these researchers argued, then they could use these models to predict people's behaviours.

Lewin, for instance, developed something called "field theory" which suggests that all influences surrounding a certain goal either exert a positive valence that makes us want to pursue or approach the goal or a negative valence that makes us want to avoid pursuing it. Assign each a mathematical value and do the math and pretty soon you'll be able to predict whether the goal gets attempted or not (Weiner, 1980).

Another related strand of research ongoing at the time was "behaviourism;" if you've heard of the experiments with the slobbering dogs, this is it. Working with notions of "habit" and "volition" developed by James in the nineteenth century, researchers like Thorndike and Pavlov looked at how motivation could be controlled through an externally imposed system of stimulus and response (Atkinson, 1964). This research, in turn, gave rise to the "behaviourist" models of Skinner; the man who touted the superiority of drills and repetition in education.

Then came rebellion. As we reach the halfway point of the twentieth century, researchers in motivational psychology began to rebel against the dominating belief that, when it came to motivation, humans did not have the autonomy to control their own destinies. As a result there was emerging interest in the role of self-directedness as it motivated human behaviour.

Atkinson's "achievement theory," for example, suggests that humans direct themselves to act on the basis of a desire to either "achieve success" or to "avoid failure" (Weiner, 1980).

The "expectancy-value framework" suggests that people are motivated to act in so far as they believe that the outcome they will receive as a result of their action is both attainable and important to them (Dörnyei, 2001).

Goal theory which, like expectancy-value theory, is interested in the future worth of a behaviour, looks at the ways in which goals are set and their subsequent effect on achievement – "goal-setting theory" – and at whether people are motivated to pursue a goal for the sake of learning and

self-improvement or because they want to prove themselves to somebody – "goal orientation theory."

Other theorists of the period were also growing increasingly interested in social context and its role in influencing motivational choices.

> "Humans are social beings and human action is always embedded in a number of physical and psychological contexts, which considerably affect a person's cognition, behaviour and achievement."
> (Dörnyei, 2001:15)

For example, Berry (1980) explores how, in a shared social environment, a person's membership in one cultural group influences his/her motivation to interact with and immerse him/herself in the culture of another. While Tajfel's "social identity theory" suggests that people derive their identities from, and therefore are influenced by, their interactions with others and with the social environment around them (Tajfel in Dörnyei, 2001).

The "theory of reasoned action" also explores this idea of social context. It looks at how a person balances his/her own attitude toward a particular behaviour against the social pressures he/she perceives to act or not to act (Ajzen & Fishbein in Dörnyei, 2001). This theory is carried one step further in the "theory of planned behaviour" which asks how a person's perceived sense of control in a situation will influence his/her action (Ajzen in Dörnyei, 2001).

Also of considerable importance is Deci and Ryan's development of self-determination theory put forward in the mid-eighties. Within this framework, we are able to explore the role of intrinsic and extrinsic factors in shaping motivation (in Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000).

Today, research continues in most of these areas.

A brief overview of motivation research in SLA
Compared to motivational psychology, the field of motivation research in language learning is a relatively new phenomenon. According to Dörnyei, whose name appears regularly in the research, it really began with the work of Gardner in the early sixties (Dörnyei, 2001). Together with Lambert, Gardner suggests a framework for understanding language learning motivation in which learners are motivated to learn a target language in differing degrees depending on their attitude toward the target culture (Dörnyei, 2001). The influence of this framework persists today and has shaped much of the existing body of research.

One particularly influential aspect of Gardner's theory has been the dichotomy between "integrative" and "instrumental" orientations in motivation. And while this dichotomy will be explored more fully in a later section, in short form it means that people are motivated to learn a language either because they want to *integrate* into the target language community or because they want to *use* the target language as a tool - or an *instrument* - to achieve some other linguistic or non-linguistic goal (Gardner, 1985). Be forewarned, however, that the dichotomy is not at all as simple as it first appears and it's application - and misapplication - in research often goes beyond the bounds of application originally intended by Gardner.

While research by Gardner and an apparently inexhaustible string of associates continued through the seventies and eighties, other strands of research have also emerged.

For instance, the early eighties brought increasing attention to the issue of *affect* (Arnold & Brown, 1999). And for those of us who aren't too clear on the term "affect," it means:

> "affect: v. to act on the emotions of; touch or move; n. feeling or emotion, especially as manifested by facial expression or body language."
> (The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition at http://dictionary. reference.com)

In other words, it is used to describe aspects of personality like *anxiety*, *inhibition*, *introversion*/*extroversion* and *self-esteem*.

For example, Krashen's (1982) "affective filter hypothesis" looks at how a person's relative openness - or closedness – to a target language may create an affective barrier between the two. As a result, input cannot reach the learner and the person's learning is limited (in Gardner, 1985). Meanwhile, the "Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale", as the name implies, attempts to assess the influence a person's level of anxiousness may have on his/her language acquisition (Horowitz in Oxford, 1999).

By the late eighties and early nineties, however, researchers had begun to feel the limits of a field overwhelmingly dominated by a single paradigm: the dichotomy between *integrative* and *instrumental* motivations.

Au (1988), for instance, protested that "methodological weaknesses," empirical inconsistencies and tenuous causal relationships represented flaws in Gardner's model. While other researchers (Brown, 1990; Crookes & Schmidt (1991) and Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Dörnyei, 1996) voiced a desire to broaden the boundaries of the field beyond those defined by Gardner's paradigm (Dörnyei, 1998).

In an effort to do so, researchers began trolling the field of motivational psychology for "…material that is well known in fields of general, industrial, educational, and cognitive developmental psychology but that has not yet been directly applied to the L2 field" (Oxford & Shearin, 1994:13).

And as a result, over the course of the decade, a range of concepts such as *goal theory*, *expectancy-value theory*, *self-determination theory*, and a host of others all made their way from the field of motivational psychology into the language learning context.

Empirical testing of these constructs followed. Ehrman (1996) attempted to quantify intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and anxiety and self-efficacy features amongst government employees in the United States. Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy (1996) looked at the goal and expectancy features of Egyptian students learning English. And Green (1999) attempted to isolate intrinsic and extrinsic variables amongst Hong Kong university students learning English to name a few.

Today, research in language learning motivation is broad and vibrant with increasing interest being paid to such issues as: cultural differences (Hu 2002; Littlewood 2001; LoCastro, 2001; Wilkinson, 2003; Yashima, 2002); language learning as a dynamic process (Ushioda in Dörnyei, 2001); and autonomy (Chan et al., 2002; Ushioda in Dörnyei, 2001) to name a few.
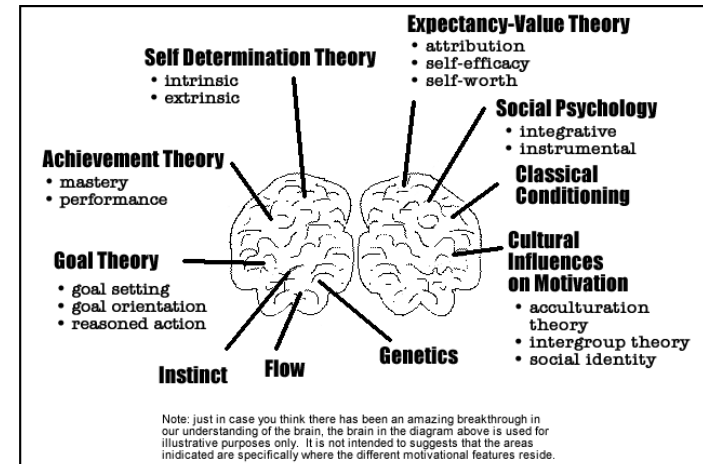
As well, an interesting new dimension of research has emerged in the form of Schumann's "mental foraging hypothesis." According to this hypothesis people are motivated take part in intellectual pursuits such as learning a second language because it creates neurologically pleasurable sensations in their brains (http://blc.berkeley.edu/schumannabstract.htm). In other words, we *forage* for mental stimulation – like learning a new language - in the same way as we used to forage for food. And while this concept may seem new, it may also hearken back to Freud's concept of instinct-driven behaviour.

Motivation in language learning
This section will discuss most of the various motivational constructs shown in Figure 1 below.

Discussion of each theory, model or framework in the following sections is broken into three individual parts: a "What is it?" section that describes the theory itself; a "Relevant research findings" section which does as the name implies; and a "So what?" section that looks at potential uses of this theory for teachers. And, in keeping with the fishing metaphor, the first section is the casting of the net in hopes of catching a school of motivations; the second is motivation as it has been packaged up for consumption; and the third is the reeling in of motivation once it has taken the bait.

Figure 1 – Theories and Factors Affecting Language Learning Motivation

Expectancy-Value Theory
• attribution
• self-efficacy
• self-worth

Self Determination Theory
• intrinsic
• extrinsic

Social Psychology
• integrative
• instrumental

Classical Conditioning

Achievement Theory
• mastery
• performance

Cultural Influences on Motivation
• acculturation theory
• intergroup theory
• social identity

Goal Theory
• goal setting
• goal orientation
• reasoned action

Instinct   Flow   Genetics

Note: just in case you think there has been an amazing breakthrough in our understanding of the brain, the brain in the diagram above is used for illustrative purposes only. It is not intended to suggests that the areas inidicated are specifically where the different motivational features reside.

The Theories

Social Psychology

> **Focus question(s):**
> How much of our motivation to learn a language is related to our attitudes toward those people who speak it and how much is related to the ways in which we can use it to do things for us?

   What is it?

"Social psychology in language learning is a
"powerful framework within which the dynamic
social and psychological facts involved in second
language acquisition can be understood"
(Schumann in Gardner, 1985:146)

Since it was proposed in the late sixties, the "social psychology" model of language learning has proven one of the singlemost influential models for understanding language learning motivation (Dörnyei, 2001). Unlike cognitive psychology which is concerned with the thought processes that go on inside our heads, the goal of *social psychology* is to explain how we, as humans, relate to one another and to the socio-cultural context in which we live.

The basic premise of this model, pioneered by Gardner and Lambert, is that we are either motivated to study a second language because we want to become like members of the target language community ourselves – *integrative* - or because we want to use the target language as a tool – *instrumental* - to pursue "financial or practical" objectives (Gardner, 1985). But if it were that easy, the theory wouldn't have resulted in over thirty years of controversial research.

One of the major difficulties has been deciding on the level of analysis.

As we saw in our earlier discussion of motivation, there is a clear difference between having the intention to act and actually following through on this intention: "Talk is cheap;" "Put your money where your mouth is;" "Money talks…". Well, you get the idea. So, one of the questions for researchers in this area has been: how can we measure and predict the likelihood that a person's intention to learn a language will actually be translated into learning behaviour?

Therefore, in an effort to clarify the difference between having the intention to act and actually acting, Gardner and Lambert introduce the terms "orientation" and "motivation."

Orientation, they say, simply reflects a person's *reasons* for learning a language (Gardner, 2001). "The goal is to learn the language. But one might ask why individuals have this goal. Worded another way, what is their orientation" (Gardner, 1985:11).

Motivation, on the other hand, refers to the directed, sustained action of learning; the "energy centre" that powers the language learning process (Gardner in Dörnyei, 1998:122).

So, the bottom line is "the role of orientation…is to help arouse motivation and direct [it] towards a set of goals (Dörnyei, 2001:49).

Therefore, within the social psychological framework it makes sense to talk about *integrative* and *instrumental orientations* as they predispose a person to undertake the learning of a language and *integrative* and *instrumental motivations* as they are actually seen to produce learning behaviours.

An example from a book by Natasha Lvovich, shows how an *integrative orientation* toward learning French gives rise to an *integrative motivation* to learn French:

> The story of my fluency in French is the story of building a language identity. It was generated by my love of French culture, traditional historical ties…I had to learn to do everything a French person does: speak with a Parisian accent, joke about domestic politics, sing children's songs, read and enjoy grotesque detective stories…as well as the most sophisticated literature, write in French in any style, curse, gesticulate, give speeches, count mentally, and dip the imagined croissant into coffee. I had to know how the French made their beds, talk on the phone, write business letters, and cook meals from different provinces…But I never left the Soviet Union…
> (Lvovich, 1997:1-2).

In other words, she wants to learn what it means to *be* French rather than just speak the language. This reflects an *integrative motivation*. Although, when we consider that her desire to learn French was fueled "…most of all by my personal way of dealing with the [Soviet] political regime…" then we can see that her learning also serves an *instrumental* function; as a tool to escape her daily reality.

However, we can see *instrumental orientations* more clearly in the following examples: a Spanish-speaking engineer at a US-owned factory in Mexico learns English so he can speak more comfortably with his supervisor; a Chinese student learns English so she can enter an undergraduate program at a Canadian university; a tourist learns enough Thai to order food, bargain in the market and ask for directions to the nearest American Express office in Bangkok.

However, all this does not mean that there are only two kinds of *orientation* to think about. In fact, Clément & Kruidenier (1983), suggest that "travel," "friendship" and "knowledge" might also represent influential *orientations*. However, according to Gardner *integrative* and *instrumental* are the two with the most significance to the language learning process.

Several other concepts connected with the social psychological framework are "integrativeness" and the "integrative motive."

Integrativeness, as seen in Figure 2 below, is a catch-all term that refers to a combination of *integrative orientation*, "interest in foreign languages" and "attitudes toward the L2 community" (Dörnyei, 2001:50). In other words, it is a measure of a person's openness to immerse themselves in a language and culture not their own.

While the *integrative motive*, also seen in Figure 2, *includes* the features of motivation listed above, *integrativeness* and an attitude toward the learning situation itself (Dörnyei, 2001:50). In other words, it is a combined measurement of a person's attitude toward being part of the target

culture, the learning environment and ultimately to allowing the language to be made part of them.

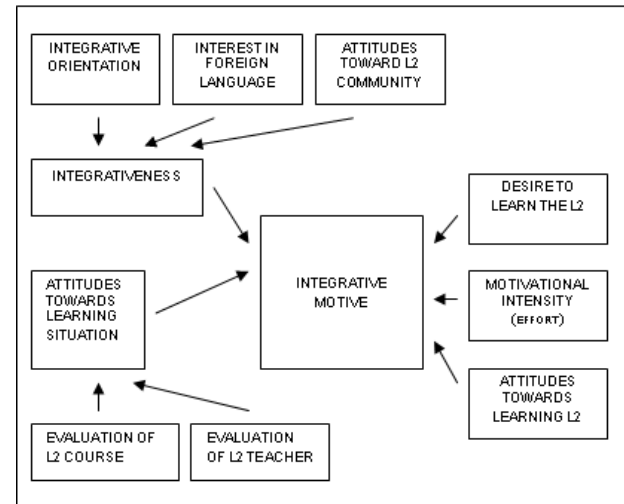**Figure 2 – Gardner's Integrative Motive**
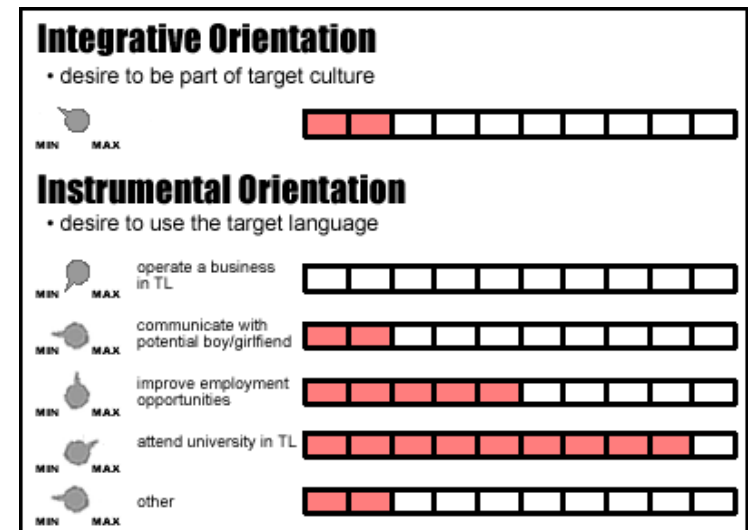(from Dörnyei, 2001: 50)

Figure 3 – Integrative & Instrumental Orientation: example measure of social psychological orientation for a university student

And that's really all there is to the influential social psychology model: our attitudes toward a target language community and the actions we take or don't take to become part of it, dictate the extent to which we are *integratively motivated* to learn a target language; while the extent to which we are motivated to act by non-linguistic factors like "getting a better job or a higher salary" dictates our level of *instrumental motivation* (Dörnyei, 2001:49). And keep in mind that these motivations do not mark ends of a spectrum on which we are *either* motivated by one or the other, but rather two or more separate continua. In other words it is possible to have a high integrative and high instrumental orientation; just as it is possible to be low in both. Figure 3 above shows the possible *orientational* composition of a university language student.

Relevant research findings

With the social psychological model of language learning motivation, as with all models discussed in this paper, there are numerous studies which either test, parallel, debunk, or refute its claims. Some of the results from the more interesting and relevant of these studies are included below:

Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) confirm that it is *motivation* and not necessarily *orientation* that likely influences language acquisition.

Dörnyei (1990) suggests that levels of *integrative motivation* may, even in the presence of instrumental motivation, limit students ability to excel beyond an intermediate level of proficiency (in Irie, 2003).

One of the basic assumptions of this model is that *integrative motivation* is somehow better than *instrumental* (Gardner, 1985). However, a study by Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) suggests that *instrumental motivation* – in the case of this study, financial – can be a highly effective motivator for learning.

Yashima (2002) says that attitudes of Japanese students toward English-speaking culture are "strongly related" to *motivation* as characterized by Gardner. She also notes that students who are high in both *integrative* and *instrumental motivation* make more use of productive learning strategies (in Irie, 2003).

LoCastro (2001) identifies learner resistance to the *integrative motivation* amongst Japanese EFL learners.

However, Oller, Hudson and Liu (1977) suggest that "the classification of reasons as integrative or instrumental is ambiguous" and "dependent on who's doing the classifying on any given day (in Gardner, 1985:52).

And Au (1988) claims that much of the research done and claims made by Gardner and his associates are inconclusive at best and suggests more attention needs to be paid to research methodology and interpretation of results.

 So what?

So, other than the fact that it has shaped thirty years of research, why should we really care about whether a person's wants to learn a language (a) so he/she can blend in with the target culture or (b) because he/she wants to use it to achieve some other objective?

Well, in the context of this volume we should care because several of the papers included in here use the dichotomy in their analysis. Specifically, they try to:

- identify students' *integrative* and *instrument motivations* on the basis of interview and/or questionnaire responses;
- link professed *orientations* to subsequent actions: are students doing what they say they should do in order to learn a language or are they just saying it;
- and to understand how a teacher might intervene productively in the process of enhancing and converting students' professed *orientations* to motivated action.

And beyond this volume, we should care about the model because an understanding of *instrumental* and *integrative orientations* - and *motivations* - may also have direct consequences in our classrooms:

- a lesson plan that assumes a certain level of interest in the target language culture may fall flat in a class in which *integrative motivation* is low;
- it may be easier to influence the development of *instrumental* as opposed to *integrative motivation* amongst our students since the former requires an appeal to logic while the latter requires an appeal to more deeply rooted aspects of identity;
- students who are *integratively motivated* may be more open to opportunities to interact with target language speakers. They also may be more likely to compromise behavioural characteristics of their L1 culture in order to "fit in with" the "norms" of the target culture. But, the question is: how can we identify these learners within the group (for more discussion of *norms* see "Cultural Aspects of Motivation Research" in a later section);
- by understanding the interconnections in our language field, we may be able to enhance *integrative motivation* among more

instrumentally motivated students by emphasizing the cultural significance of various linguistic choices. For instance, a student learning Japanese for business purposes may respond favourably to activities on the protocol required in both martial arts and the Japanese business world;

- *instrumentally motivated* students may learn information in narrow bands of what they perceive to be relevant to their uses whereas *integratively motivated* students may be more likely to pursue a broader understanding of the language.
- and lastly, while years spent teaching unwilling students may lead us to believe that most students are, at worst, neither *integratively* nor *instrumentally motivated* and, at best *instrumentally motivated*, we should take heart in experiences such as Lvovich's mentioned earlier.

Expectancy-value Theory

Focus question(s):
If we think a language learning task is too difficult and the outcome too unimportant, then how motivated will we be to engage in it?

What is it?

When it comes to expectancy-value theory, there are three basic questions we have to ask:

1. if I do this activity, what do I get out of it?
2. how much is this outcome really worth to me?
3. and, do I really think I can achieve it?

And in the language learning process, as in most processes in life, these questions are constantly being asked, answered, reevaluated, and asked and answered again over time.

As a framework, *expectancy-value theory* is actually a combination of several other earlier theories. Therefore, to really understand how it works, we have to go back in time to the sixties and to the "achievement theory" of Atkinson.

Achievement theory

In a nutshell, Atkinson developed his *achievement theory* in an effort to understand whether people are driven to act by a *desire to succeed* or by a *fear of failing*.

And if they are driven by a *desire to succeed*, just what does this mean? Does it mean that they want to experience the "warm glow" that comes with accomplishing a task (Isen, Horn & Rosenhan in Weiner, 1980:226); do they want to bask in the glory of socially-derived recognition like congratulations, handshakes and certificates in frames; or do they want to show themselves – or demonstrate to others - that they have mastered a certain skill or ability?

And if they are driven by a *fear of failure*, then are they so afraid of failing that the anxiety they feel actually works against their chances of success?

Also, how does a person's desire for achievement affect their choice of activities? Do people choose easier activities just so they can succeed or do they choose activities that are genuinely challenging? Do students with a high desire for achievement aspire to loftier goals? And, how are people's future perceptions of their own aspirations be affected by their past experiences? These are all questions posed by *achievement theory.*

Maslow is also interested in this concept of *achievement*, only he argues that *achievement* is actually an innate human need – part of our need for what he calls "esteem" – that underlies our human decision-making process (in Weiner, 1980). In other words, we are motivated to act by our *need* to "achieve;" or, more specifically, by our need *to experience achievement.*

These beliefs parallel those of Murray who wrote that:

"[humans need] to make intense, prolonged and
repeated efforts to accomplish something difficult.
To work with singleness of purpose towards a high
and distant goal. To have the determination to win.
To try to do everything well. To be stimulated to
excel by the presence of others, to enjoy competition.
To exert willpower; to overcome boredom and
fatigue"
(Murray in Weiner, 1980:180).

Why? Because it's just part of what it means to be human.

So, whether or not you buy this argument – that we are by nature motivated achievement-driven organisms rather than a phlegmatic species given to sitting on the couch and eating Cheetos™ - and whether or not you think that concepts of success and failure dictate motivation, the truth is that

these theories of achievement were influential in the development of the *expectancy-value framework*. However, before we get there, we need to look at another set of theories influencing *expectancy-value model*: goal theory.

Goal theories

Another set of theories that has also been subsumed by the *expectancy-value framework* umbrella is *goal theory*.

If you remember our discussion of motivation earlier, you'll remember that one of the key elements of a good definition of *motivation* is this requirement of goal. Energy and intensity are futile, say many motivational psychologists, unless they are directed toward a specified objective.

Several theories have emerged to explain this concept of goal. They are: "goal-setting theory" and "goal orientation theory."

Goal-setting theory
For the originators of *goal-setting theory* - Locke and Latham (in Dörnyei, 2001) - in order to be useful in motivating us to act, we have to believe that a goal as both (a) attainable and (b) relevant (Dörnyei, 2001). Why? Because, why would we even try if we think the goal is either too high or pointless?

Goal orientation theory
On the other hand, *goal orientation* theorists like Pintrich and Schunk asks us to think about whether we pursue goals because we really want to master a task or skill – "mastery orientation" - or because we want to show others that we have mastered it – "performance orientation" (Dörnyei, 2001). The difference between learning a language to know it and learning a language to give someone the impression we know it are not necessarily the same thing. As you'll see, *achievement* and *goal theories* play integral parts in the *expectancy-value* framework.

Expectancy-value theory
The *expectancy-value framework* is made up of two distinct parts: (1) the extent to which we believe we can complete a task – or our *expectancy* - and (2) the *value* which we place on it's completion. And by looking at how these two components work together, then we can understand more about how our motivation to learn a language works (Dörnyei, 2001).

(1) the extent to which you believe you can complete a task
Dörnyei (2001) breaks down this first category into three subgroups: "attribution theory," self efficacy" and "self worth theory."

a)   Attribution theory

Attribution theory looks at whom we choose to blame for our failures and who we choose to praise for our successes.

Dickinson suggests that people attribute success or failure to four different influences: "*ability"* which he says is "internal and stable;" *"task difficulty"* which he says is "external and stable;" "effort" which he says is "internal changeable and learner controlled;" and "luck" which he says is "external, changeable and not learner controlled" (1995).

To see how this might work, consider an example in which Brian, an ESL student, asks a woman on the bus for directions and the woman ignores him. Does this mean he is a terrible English speaker? Does it mean he should just give up? Or does it mean something else? It is up to Brian to *attribute* his apparent failure to communicate to the most likely cause. And, according to *attribution theory*, the pattern of *attribution* he chooses will affect his future language behaviour. For example, if Brian attributes his apparent failure to his inability to speak English – an *ability* attribution - then he assumes complete responsibility for the communication failure. And because *ability* is "internal and stable," there is nothing he can do to change it. As a result, because he feels he has no ability to change it, Brian may resign himself to his inability to speak English again in the future. However, if he assumes responsibility for the communication breakdown on the grounds that he didn't try hard enough – an *effort* attribution - then perhaps he will try harder next time or he will observe other L2 speakers in an effort to learn useful strategies. By attributing his language setbacks to internal and changeable causes, Brian takes more control of his learning process. This said, however, sometimes the world is just full of grumpy passengers and no amount of *attribution* can fix it. But by acknowledging this possibility too, a learner can still maintain a positive outlook. Because ultimately:

> "…the causal attributions one makes of past
> successes and failures (i.e. inferences about why
> certain outcomes have occurred) have consequences
> on future achievement strivings."
> (Dornyei, 2001:22)

b)   Self efficacy

Essentially *self-efficacy* amounts to what we think of our own ability to succeed in a given task. In much the same way as with *attribution theory*, if we have experienced success with challenging tasks in the past then we may be more likely to have a positive outlook toward our ability to succeed in the future. This is called having a high sense of *self efficacy* and it may mean that we are more likely to attempt more difficult tasks and more likely to

persist even when obstacles present themselves (Dweck in Irie, 2003; Mischel, Cantor & Feldman, 1996). In contrast, having a perceived low level of self efficacy may lead to diminished ambitions and less persistence in challenging activities (Weiner, 1980). However, *self-efficacy* is by no means a measure of ability and refers only to an individual's *perception* of efficacy (Dörnyei, 1998). In other words, *self efficacy* is the way a person perceives his/her abilities and it is "a complex process of self-persuasion that is based on cognitive processing of diverse sources (e.g. other people's opinions, feedback, evaluations, encouragement or reinforcement; past experiences and training; observing peers; information about task strategies)" (Dörnyei, 1998:120).

   c)   Self-worth theory
Self-worth theory states that "the highest human priority is the need for self acceptance" (Covington & Roberts in Dörnyei, 1998:120). And this means that whenever we act and whatever we do, we are always trying to remain true to our own accepted perception of ourselves. Sometimes this amounts to self-deception – i.e. telling ourselves that we failed the test because we're stupid or because the test was unfair rather than admitting that we failed because we didn't study (Dörnyei, 1998). And other times it amounts to presenting a false face to others – saying that we hardly studied for an exam on which we received a high mark when the truth is we spent a week preparing for the it (Dörnyei, 1998). In either case, we are attempting to fool ourselves – and others - into believing certain things about us that may or may not be true. This is because, according to Covington & Roberts, "in reality, the dynamics of school achievement largely reflects attempts to aggrandize and protect self-perceptions of ability" (in Dörnyei, 1998:120).

(2) the value which you place on its completion
The second part of expectancy theory is "the value which you place on [a task's] completion." Dörnyei breaks this part into four basic categories. They are: "attainment value," "cost," "intrinsic value," and "extrinsic utility value" (Dörnyei, 1998).

       In short form, these categories mean: how does the actual act of attaining a certain goal make you feel (*attainment value)*; how much "effort and time and emotional costs have gone into achieving this goal" (*cost*); how does the experience of working toward the goal make you feel (*intrinsic value*); and how will you use the outcome of the task to your advantage (*extrinsic utility value*) (Dörnyei, 1998: 120)?

Relevant research findings

Locke and Kristof (1996) "show that 'specific' and 'difficult' tasks lead to higher perfection than do vague goals or goals that are specific but easy" (Dörnyei, 1998:120).

In her study of immigrant families in Canada, Norton (in Dörnyei, 2001) found that students will "invest" in the language learning process so long as they perceive that it will yield future gains.

With respect to *goal orientation*, McGuire found that Japanese students are predominantly *performance-oriented* with respect to English language learning (Irie, 2003).

Pintrich and Schunk suggest that teachers should focus their attention on fostering mastery orientations amongst their students. To do this, they say, the teacher has to encourage students to believe that their abilities are not fixed, but can be changed and controlled by the individual (in Irie, 1996).

Dweck found that "…mastery-oriented learners focus on the value of learning itself, for personal growth, more than on whether or not they enjoy learning. Thus, they tend to choose challenging tasks and view errors as opportunities for learning" (Irie, 2003:89).

Dweck found that performance oriented individuals "tended to avoid problems that are too hard but prefer tasks that are just hard enough to convey an impression of competence" (in Irie, 2003).

Successful learners are those who attribute success or failure to factors over which they believe they have control. And these learners will be more likely to persevere than those who attribute outcomes to factors which they believe are beyond their control (Dickinson, 1995).

Ames and Ames say that "learners who attribute success or failure to their own efforts tend to be more motivated than are those who judge outcomes by their ability compared to others" (Lee, 2001).

Dörnyei (1998) suggests that, when faced with a problem, a person with a low sense of self efficacy is more likely to focus on his/her attention on his/her own limitations rather than on the process of seeking a solution.

So what?

"Goal setting can have exceptional importance in stimulating L2 learning motivation and it is therefore shocking that so little time

and energy is spent in the language classroom on goal setting" (Oxford & Shearin in Dörnyei, 1994:128).

Unrealistic goals, excessive focus on *performance orientation*, differences in perceptions of self-efficacy between teachers and students with respect to classroom participation, and cultural influences on goal-oriented behaviour: these are all reasons why this discussion of expectancy-value theory is relevant to the papers in this volume.

But in the larger context, thinking about expectancy-value encourages us to consider a range of implications in the language classroom:

- the value of attainment assigned to a certain task by a teacher – or a curriculum designer - may not equal the value of attainment perceived by students. Set the bar too low and students will be bored to death. Set it too high and they will view it as unattainable. Inconsistencies between student and teacher values may suggest underlying problems;
- the goals we set for our lessons may or may not be the same ones students set for themselves: we may want them to practice using the irregular past tense; they may just want to get the worksheet finished as fast as possible.
- from a *goal setting* point of view, students, in particular younger students, may arrive at university with very little idea of why they are studying a second language. As a result, their concepts of goal-setting may be unrealistic, poorly formed and vague;
- according to *goal-setting* principles, when the student understands why he/she is doing something, he/she will likely be more motivated to do it. Therefore, without a concrete idea about why they are studying language, students may focus their attention on performing rather than mastering the necessary skills;
- if specific and explicit goals promote the best learning, then we as teachers need to make the objectives of our lessons transparent enough that students can understand how completing them will contribute to his/her learning;
- as teachers we want our students to master material not just show us the right answer; and yet every day we demand that they show us their competence. What kinds of motivational dilemmas arise when a teacher believes he/she is teaching students so that they might master language and yet evaluates them by demanding performance of their skills? "Teaching to a test" is just one macro-example of this conundrum. Other smaller instances occur daily;
- from an *attribution theory* point of view, we need to think about students' past patterns of attribution: do they take responsibility for

their actions honestly; do they acknowledge lapses in teacher or curriculum fairly? On the other hand, we also have to be aware of our own attribution patterns and make sure that we aren't attributing our own failings to student actions

- throughout the learning process, students who place a high premium on their ability to express themselves in their own language may feel disempowered by their inability to control the L2 to their own satisfaction. As a result, they may experience feelings of depression and low self-worth;

- from a *self-efficacy* point of view, we need to structure our classes and activities in such a way that students experience both challenge and success. We also need to provide a supportive environment designed to nurture the development of positive perceptions of *self-efficacy* amongst students.

- from a *goal-setting* point of view, students from exam-driven educational systems may have trouble understanding the expectations of the teachers in a more communicative paradigm. As a result, they may have trouble meeting them. Student training may be a useful intervention.

Self-determination theory

Focus question(s):
When we say we are motivated to learn language, how much of this motivation comes from our own innate desire to learn and how much from other people's influence?

 What is it?

One of the most talked about concepts in all of motivation theory is the difference between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation*. Vallerand (in Dörnyei, 2001) says it has been mentioned in over 800 publications. Isn't that enough already? How much more can it have to tell us? Well, as it turns out, the dichotomy between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation* is not a fad like bell bottoms or the hula hoop and it's here to stay. Why? Because, according to those who claim to know - Deci & Ryan in Dörnyei, 2001 - the need to be able to set and pursue one's own goals is one of those inalienable human needs like *esteem* and *achievement* mentioned earlier. But, so long as

the social context in which we live continues to impinge on this inalienable need, then we will need to continue to think about how much we are in control of our own motivation and how much we have given away control of our actions to someone else. This is the issue *self-determination theory* attempts to explore.

As the name implies, the concept of *self-determination* is concerned with the extent to which we as individuals "determine" for our "selves" the behaviours we perform. And according to Deci and Ryan, it's a spectrum of motivation from, at the one end motivating ourselves – intrinsic - to the other where we are being motivated by someone else – extrinsic. A third category, *amotivation* is also part of the model. This latter category refers to the absence of motivation (see Figure 4.).

Figure 4 – Self-directedness Spectrum
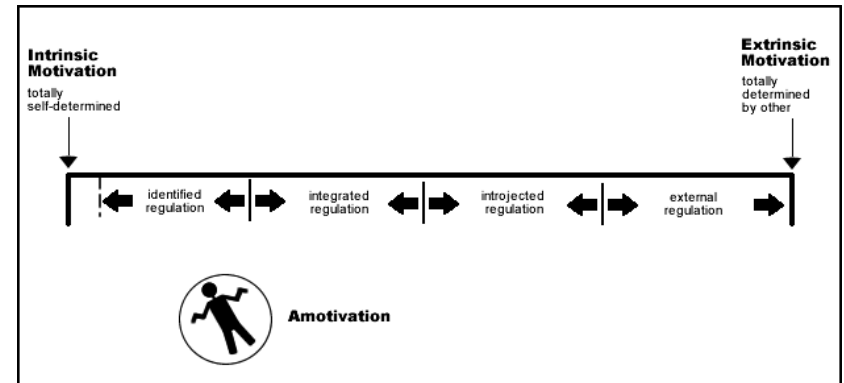
Intrinsic motivation
Perhaps the easiest of the three to conceive, if not the easiest to attain, *intrinsic motivation* is the motivation to do something because you and you alone want to. And regardless of whether it is the actual behaviour itself you enjoy or the outcome it produces or even the two of them together, the point is you and you alone are the source of the impetus to act and, in real terms, you are the one who evaluates the learning that occurs, the level of achievement attained and the relative pleasure of the experience (Vallerand in Dörnyei, 2001).

A related and yet not synonymous concept is the notion of "flow." Developed by Czikszentmilhalyi, *flow* is a term used to describe the simple joy or pleasure of the doing; the "merging of action and awareness" (Czikszentmilhalyi & Rathunde, 1993:60) that occurs when the task we are doing becomes so all-engrossing that we lose track of time and place and

self. In other words *flow*, unlike "…theories that look to the past for the key to motivation (those that stress the importance of drives, needs, learning, or other responses programmed in the individual)…[and] theories that look to the future (those that stress the importance of goals in directing action) …[*flow* theory is] interested in what propels people to initiate or to continue an activity *because they enjoy its performance in the present*" (Czikszentmilhalyi & Rathunde, 1993:57).

So, if these are the purest of motivations – the unsullied and beautiful intentions of a perfect self-directed human being who chooses his/her own action on the basis of that which provides self satisfaction – then what about the less than pure - but no less real - motivations that emerge in the contact zone where what we want for ourselves rubs up against what others want for us or what others want us to want for ourselves?

Extrinsic motivation

As for *extrinsic motivation*, Deci and Ryan (in Dörnyei, 2001) again propose a range of categories from the completely un-self-directed "external regulation" to the almost completely self-directed "integrated motivation" (see Figure 4.).

First, when we are *externally regulated*, for instance, we are motivated to act by the anticipation of some kind of reward or to avoid some kind of punishment. Sound familiar? Remember Freud: pleasure or pain? It's the same thing here only in this case it is another person rather than instinct that is initiating motivation.

Second, *introjected regulation* is somewhat more self-directed than *external regulation* and asks us to accept a set of "externally imposed rules…as norms" governing our behaviour (Dörnyei, 2001:28). Students who have been schooled in traditional teacher-centred classrooms may complete that activities required of them in a communicative language classroom but not really understand or believe in the usefulness of these activities. Instead, they may only do what their foreign-trained teacher asks because they accept the authority of his/her rules.

Third, if our actions are characterized by *identified regulation*, we are one step further self-determined. This means that we may see and understand the purpose of an imposed requirement and go along with it, but this doesn't mean that we have to like it, only that we see its purpose as useful. *Identified regulation* rules our actions when our teacher requires us to memorize all the irregular past tenses in French; an unpleasant and tedious business when one would prefer to be out playing tennis. But if we do it, we recognize that our French skills will improve.

And fourth, *integrated regulation* is the final category of *extrinsic motivation* described by Deci and Ryan and it is virtually synonymous with Gardner's conception of instrumental motivation. According to this variety

of motivation, people are motivated to learn a language because, by learning it they put themselves in a position of being able to use it for a specific purpose: selling refrigerators to the Inuit, talking to members of the opposite gender in Italy, attending an English speaking university to study film-making. However, learners governed by *integrated regulation*, are not intrinsically motivated to learn language because, as with all forms of *extrinsic motivation*, "if the reason for learning the language is taken away, there is no incentive to continue engaging in the learning process" (Noels, Clément, Pelletier, & Vallerand, 2000:62).
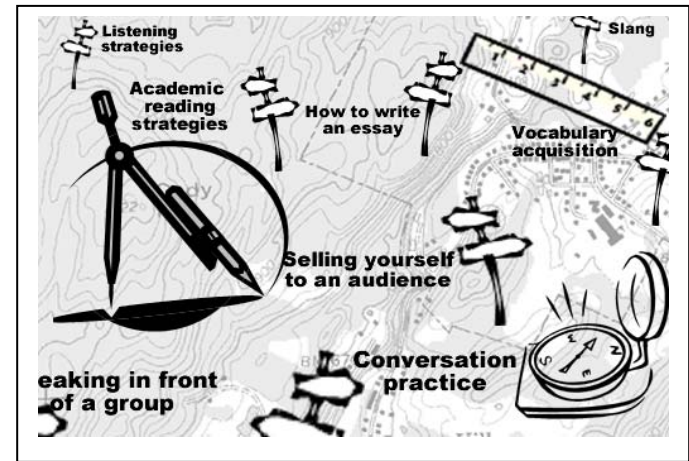
Amotivation

The last variable in the self-determination equation is *amotivation* or the *absence of motivation*. It "…refers to the situation in which people see no relation between their actions and the consequences of these actions; the consequences are seen as arising as a result of factors beyond their control." In other words, a person does not believe that anything they do will have an impact on the outcome (Dörnyei, 2001. So whether they try or not, doesn't seem to matter. Why bother, they might think, when the outcome is going to be the same?

Autonomy

> "Deci and Ryan's theory proposes that individuals who characteristically adopt an autonomous (as opposed to pressured or controlled) orientation toward their goals, will remain task focussed and task involved…in the face of setbacks or challenges" (Mischel, Cantor & Feldman, 1996:337).

Another strand of self-determination research garnering increasing attention in recent years is that of "autonomy." Unlike research in *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation* which focuses on the source of a person's motivation, *autonomy* research focuses on the actual learning process itself and asks: to what extent is it useful for a learner to have control of his/her own learning process?

Figure 5 – Autonomy: students take an active role in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of their own language learning

Why do researchers think this is useful? Well, according to Dickinson "learning success and enhanced motivation" will occur when a learner has more control of his/her own learning process (in Dörnyei, 2001:59). Not that the learner has to be intrinsically motivated, but rather that he/she has to have some level of responsibility for the planning, monitoring and subsequent evaluation of his/her own learning so that he/she can experience some level of ownership in it (Dickinson in Dörnyei, 2001). And while being intrinsically motivated would definitely be an asset, it is not a requirement.

Relevant research findings

 "Autonomous learners are by definition motivated learners"
(Ushioda in Dörnyei, 2001:59).

Deci and Ryan (1992) say that "under certain circumstances – if [a person] is sufficiently self-determined and internalized – extrinsic rewards can be combined with or even lead to intrinsic motivation (in Dörnyei, 1998:121).
    Noels, Pelletier, Clément, and Vallerand (2000) report that if students think they have high levels of "freedom of choice and perceived

competence" then they will pursue more "self-determined forms of motivation." Whereas, if they have "low perceptions of freedom of choice and perceived competence" then amotivation will result (p.76).

Dickinson says that, in order to foster more intrinsically oriented motivation in students, teachers should present feedback that is "informational" rather than "evaluative" (1995:166). This notion is supported by Deci who says that feedback should provide both information concerning the task and reinforcement of the learner's access to self-determined progress (in Weiner, 1980).

Students with high levels of self-determination anxiety in language learning settings. They have also appear to respond favourably to feedback (Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000).
Chan, Spratt & Humphreys (2002) report that when students felt "forced to learn English" they felt less motivated to take part in "autonomous learning activities (p.12). They also report that Asian students may favour teacher-centred instruction over student autonomy.

"Learned helplessness," a type of *amotivation* (Dörnyei, 2001), suggests that an individual can be taught to be "amotivated" by repeated exposure to situations in which their behaviour has no influence on subsequent outcomes. (in Noels, Clément, Pelletier, & Vallerand, 2000). This conclusion is supported by the animal experiments by Richter and Mowrer and Viek (in Weiner, 1980)

Green's (1999) study reports a distinct preference for *identified regulation* amongst Hong Kong learners of English. And while this might be a sign for optimism – such a relatively high level of self-directedness – this optimism should be tempered by caution since the second most preferred motivation was outright "rejection or avoidance of the learning opportunity" (Green, 1999:271).

So what?

Sorry to burst your balloon, but not all students are intrinsically motivated to learn a second language. And, having said this, nor are all teachers intrinsically motivated to teach one. It's an imperfect world but we do the best we can. And yet, just because a student is not intrinsically motivated to learn does not mean that we, as teachers, cannot coax him/her to higher and higher levels of self-directedness by connecting language with other more intrinsically linked needs like: meeting boys, or playing PC games, or shopping for clothes, or friendship or travel.

Also, research would suggest that the more willing we as teachers are to create autonomous learning environments – and to relinquish, at least

in part, some of the control of the learning process – the more ownership students will have access to in their learning process.

Of course, having said this, increased self-directedness is not something that all students will readily accept. Therefore there must be a period of training during which we make students aware of the goals and rationale for such a shift. This may especially be the case when students come from a background which places a premium on obedience and teacher-centredness.

Several other considerations to keep in mind are:

- in instances of amotivation where learners feel powerless to influence their own learning, we need to work to create a pathway out of hopelessness marked along the way by small yet attainable goals that are both visible and recognizable;
- marking systems and projects developed with input from students may foster an increased sense of ownership and self-directedness in learners;
- especially in immersion settings, language is a "subject" best learned in context. Students need to be encouraged to use strategies of self-direction in order to capitalize on the opportunities the target culture provides;
- when considering the introduction of more autonomous learning activities we, as teachers, need to think about how much our need to control the learning process is rooted in our own need to "control" others and how much is rooted in good pedagogy;
- and lastly, while years of teaching students with more extrinsic motivational patterns, we cannot allow ourselves to become blinded to the intrinsically motivated ones that emerge from time to time.

Cultural Aspects of Language Learning Motivation

Focus question(s):
How does a culture shape a personality? How do differences between cultures play out in the language learning process? And, to what extent do we give up our own cultural norms when we choose to live in another language?

What is it?

In one of the earlier sections of this paper – the one about integrative and instrumental motivation – we talked about how students' attitudes toward a target culture affect their motivation to learn the target language. But what we didn't talk about was where these attitudes come from, how they are formed and how specifically they affect a person's motivation to learn a second language. This section of the paper will explore the role of culture in not only forming these attitudes, but also in defining our identities themselves and subsequently in determining the extent to which we are open - or not - to those changes in them that may accompany the acquisition of a second language.

Culture and personal identity

> "...every culture consists of interrelated values and beliefs which are not universal but ideological, in the sense that they are not objective truths automatically embraced by every society but are a set of selected blueprints for living unique to a particular society." (Coleman in Hu, 2002).

None of us ask to be born Chinese or Mexican or Micronesian. We just are. And as we grow up, the culture that surrounds us – in turn shaped by its own historical and geographical surroundings – shapes the people we become. And in this space where individual psychology meets the wider social context, the development of value systems - and of *identities* based on these value systems - occurs. However, in order to understand how these *identities* influence people's motivation to learn a new language, we need to think about three things: (1) the nature of the values themselves, (2) how closely-tied an individual is to them when it comes to defining his/her identity and (3) how willing or unwilling a person may be to relinquish these values in response to pressure from influences within the target culture. And of course, these values extend themselves beyond a simple preference of one teaching style over another, to include some of the most intimate and closely-held aspects of a learner's personal belief system.

Collectivism versus individualism

> "Individualism is often described as oriented towards
> the 'I', collectivism towards the 'We'."
> (Littlewood, 1999:79)

Cultures are by no means perfectly homogeneous. However, research does suggest that there are enough similarities to say with reasonable certainty that cultural norms do exist which are distinct to some cultures and not to others. And this means that, if we want attempt to understand how culture affects language learning motivation, we need to think about which particular cultural norms have shaped a learner's value system.

In his ethnographic work on culture, Triandis (2001) attempts to identify those personality attributes which allow us to differentiate between what he calls "collectivist cultures" and "individualist cultures:"
For instance, in collectivist cultures, he says that people tend to:
- "define themselves as aspects of groups" rather than as individuals; "my family thinks I am kind" as opposed to "I am kind" (Triandis, 2001:907-8),
- place high values on characteristics like "sociability, interdependence [and] family integrity" (p.910),
- "emphasize conformity, obedience, security, and reliability" (p.912),
- and place the importance of the group above that of the individual group members (p.907).

While in individualist cultures, people tend to:
- focus on the individual,
- value "competition, emotional distance [and] hedonism" (p.910),
- emphasize personal over group goals (p.909),
- and foster "independence, exploration, creativity, and self-reliance in each of its members" (p.916).

So, if we believe him – that people from these different cultures have categorically different core values as part of their identities – then it seems reasonable to believe that, in language learning situations where these cultures meet, we will see values clash and personality conflicts arise. For instance: a teacher from an *individualist* culture asks *collectivist* students to select and research their own individual topic and wonders why her students all choose the topic she had presented as an example; or a teacher from a *collectivist* culture punishes a *individualist*-oriented student who writes a unconventional paper rather than the required expository essay.

A related but not synonymous topic is the distinction between "independent" and "interdependent selves." Unlike *individualism* and *collectivism*, which examine culture-level characteristics, this theory

explores at the level of the self: "the *independent self* which perceives itself as separate from others, and an *interdependent self* which sees itself as connected with others" (Markus & Kitayama in Littlewood, 1999:79).
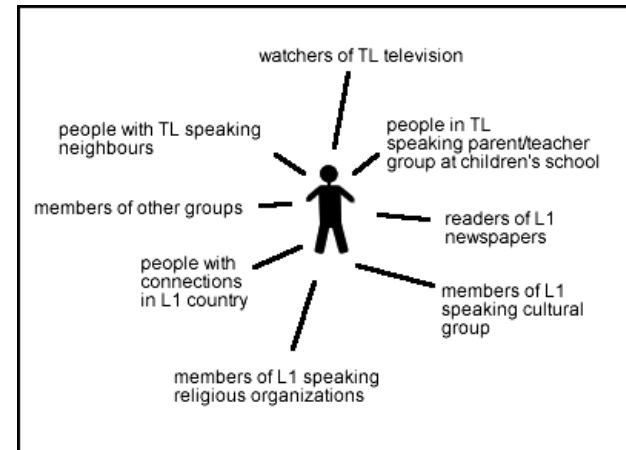
Social Identity

> "The social identity of an individual '[consists] of those aspects of his self-image, positively or negatively valued, which derive from his membership of various social groups to which he belongs' "
> (Tajfel in Dörnyei, 2001:69).

Unless you were sucked up by an Electrolux as a child or bailed out of Apollo 13 before reentry, you don't live in a vacuum. Nobody does. People are social beings who identify themselves, at least in part, on the basis of the groups to which they belong – ingroups – and by reference to the other groups – outgroups – to which they do not (Tajfel in Dörnyei, 2001). Age-related groups, interest-related groups and, of course, ethnic and language-related groups – to name a few – all constitute ways in which people organize themselves – or are organized – in a socio-cultural context. They also constitute, according to Tajfel, a portion of an individual's identity: their "social identity." And the more closely a person identifies with a particular ingroup, the more indispensable this membership is to his/her definition of self. As a result, in social spaces where many groups come into contact and group loyalties are tested by the presence of other potential ingroups, we may expect to see potential conflicts of identity arise.

For example, in Figure 6, this immigrant's social identity is defined by their membership in a variety of different social groupings. The strength of their affiliations with these particular groups will determine how motivated he/she will feel to search for a sense of social connection and identity in her L1 and how much she will search for it the target language (TL).

Figure 6 – Social Identity

watchers of TL television

people with TL speaking neighbours

people in TL speaking parent/teacher group at children's school

members of other groups

readers of L1 newspapers

people with connections in L1 country

members of L1 speaking cultural group

members of L1 speaking religious organizations

Intergroup model

The "Intergroup model" was developed by Giles and Bourlis (1982) to explore the ways in which intergroup dynamics and social identity affected the relationships between linguistic and ethnic groups living in a shared social context (Dörnyei, 2001). The two theorists believed that "learners' motivation to acquire native-like competence in the L2 [is directly related] to their sense of identification with the linguistic ingroup and their perception of the relationships between linguistic in- and outgroups" (Kelly in Dörnyei, 2001:70). Specifically they wanted to know:

- why some ethnolinguistic groups remain strong and intact while mastering a target language while others deteriorate and all but disappear;
- how group allegiance works for members of different ethnolinguistic groups and how does this allegiance influence subsequent language learning;
- how factors like economic power and political influence affect individual language learning behaviours;
- and how the "size and distribution" of an ethnolinguistic group contribute to or detract from second language acquisition (Dörnyei, 2001).

They also wanted to know, in more specific terms:

- what makes the children of some immigrant parents retain a level of proficiency in their parents' language while others learn the

language of the dominant culture at the expense of their heritage language?

- how new arrivals to a culture respond to linguistic rejection by people in the dominant culture?
- and which factors cause visiting students to a culture to reach out to the target culture for friendship and support and which send them scurrying to speakers of their L1 for solace and safety?

They looked at three components of group relations as they influenced language learning:

1. "ethnolinguistic vitality"
2. "group boundaries"
3. and "multiple group membership"
   (Dörnyei, 2001:70)

Ethnolinguistic vitality is a measure of status, demographic and institutional support factors for a language (Dörnyei, 2001). Or, in other words: is the group wealthy or poor, politically influential or politically powerless, historically validated or as yet unproven; is it a large group widely distributed throughout the community or a small group in a specific area; and does it have the representation in the "media, education government, and [religion]" (Dörnyei, 2001:70)?

Group boundaries refers to how easy it is to enter or leave a group (Dörnyei, 2001).

And *multiple group membership* refers to the likelihood that people identify with groups other than those defined by ethnolinguistic characteristics (Dörnyei, 2001).

Acculturation

> "Acculturation of a minority individual can be measured in two dimensions: the degree of involvement or interaction with the majority culture and the degree of retention of the minority culture" (Berry, 1980; LeVine & Padilla, 1980; Mendoza & Martinez, 1981 in Masogoret & Gardner, 1999).

Acculturation is, at least in part, "the selective adaptation of value systems [and] the processes of integration and differentiation that occurs when "at least two autonomous cultural groups" come into contact with one another (Berry, 1979:10). Or, in other words it refers to the amount of compromise that goes on within a cultural group when it falls under the influence of another as can happen: when one country invades another; when a number of groups of immigrants from different countries suddenly find themselves

living together in a country foreign to all of them; or when students from one country choose to live and study in another.

And of interest to us in our quest to understand language learning motivation, is the influence acculturative influences may have on a person's or group's openness or closedness to adopting the norms of a different linguistic group for the purpose of attaining mastery of its language.

Several frameworks have been developed to try to explain this process and in particular how it occurs in a culture where an incoming minority group is trying to learn the language of an established dominant language group. Each of these frameworks is trying to explain, in one way or other, the extent to which learners adopt or reject norms of the target culture as part of their learning process. In particular, models of this sort have been used to look at minority language speakers learning the language of the dominant society (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999).

Schumann (in Padilla, 1980) puts forward one of the more comprehensive models -"acculturation theory - based on the concepts of "social distance" and "psychological distance." According to this theory, the amount of actual social interaction between the learner group and the target culture – *social distance* – and similarity in cultural norms between one culture and another – *psychological distance* – will dictate the likelihood of success in language learning. The theory looks at a range of social factors including:
- power relations between the relevant cultures,
- strategies for intercultural interaction chosen by individuals,
- opportunities for actual physical interaction in shared facilities,
- relative tightness or looseness of the group "cohesion"
- relative size of the groups
- similarities between cultures
- and "attitudes towards the target language group"
- (adapted from Dörnyei, 2001:73)

It also looks at practical individual factors like:
- how long the learner will stay in the target culture
- how frightened a learner is of appearing inept in the target language
- how disorienting life in the target culture is for the learner
- why the learner is learning the target language
- how flexible the learner is to encountering setbacks
- (adapted from Dörnyei, 2001:74)

While Berry (1980) proposes a model of acculturation in which level of fluency attained depended "on the degree to which people maintain or relinquish their culture of origin in combination with the degree to which the adopt or reject the host culture" (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999:217).

Both Berry and Schumann point to a spectrum of learner strategies which range from total "assimilation" in which a learner "[gives] up own

lifestyle and values in favour of those of the target language group," (Schumann in Dörnyei, 2001:73) to total "rejection" in which a learner retains their ethnic identity, with no interest in attaining positive relations with the majority culture" (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999:216). In both theories there is an intermediate option – "adaptation" for Schumann (in Dörnyei, 2001) and "integration" for Berry (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999) – which explains a strategy of acculturative interaction which balances both compromises to the target culture with features retained from the culture of origin. Figure 7. shows Schumann's model.

Figure 7 – Integration strategies
(adapted from Schumann in Dörnyei, 2001)
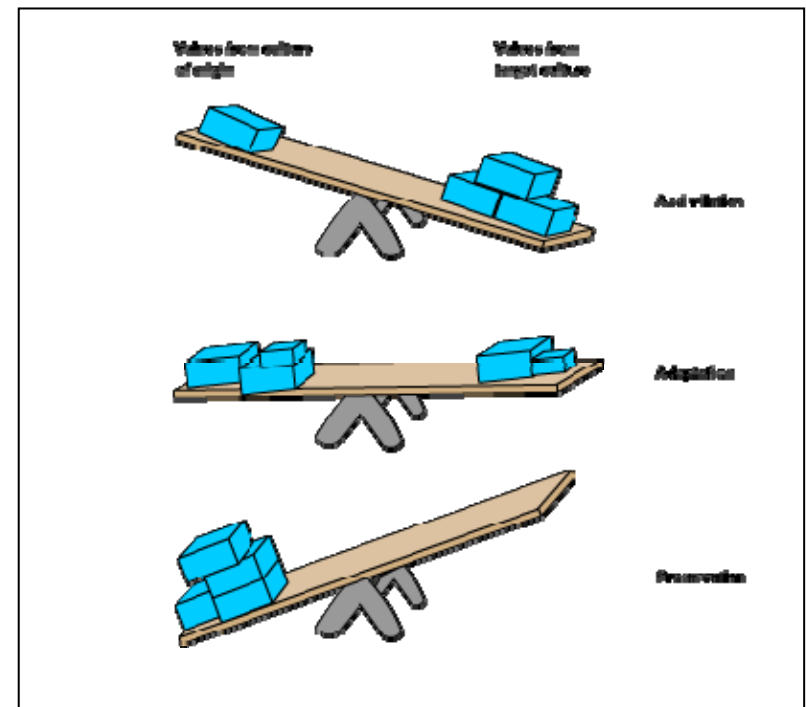
The model put forward by Clément and Noels (1992) - the "situated language identity theory" – takes a somewhat different approach and suggest that the extent to which a person compromises his/her language is relative and depends on situation. Or, in other words, as learners of a target language in a target culture, we are motivated to adapt our linguistic identity from one

group to another in response the specific situations in which we find ourselves.

Situated language identity theory has much in common with another model called "speech accommodation theory." While *speech accommodation theory* is not necessarily a motivational theory of language acquisition, it does describe linguistic behaviours which are themselves driven by motivation. Essentially *speech accommodation theory* says that the more closely a speaker can match the linguistic norms of the listener, the higher the listener's opinion of the speaker will be (Beebe & Giles in Wilkinson, 1998).

Relevant research findings

Masgoret and Gardner (1999), in exploring differences between Spanish learners of English who had extensive access to the target language and those who had contact in both English and Spanish, found that those in the former group tended to use *assimilation* strategies while those in the latter reflected strategies of *integration*.

In her study of Japanese learners, LoCastro (2001) finds that "very few [of the participants] seem to be motivated to acculturate to the target language culture or norms of communication (para.1) and instead "favour retaining their own identities as Japanese" (para 57)

Clement, Gauthier and Noels (1992) suggest that there is a difference between "one's actual and one's desired mode of acculturation" (in Masgoret & Gardner, 1999).

From a *collectivist* versus *individualist* perspective, Hu (2002) reports that while communicative approaches to language education are the norm in most western classrooms, in China they seem to fly in the face of traditional Chinese values and run counter to the values of "receptiveness and conformity" that characterize the Chinese education system (p.102).

Research exploring differences between first and second generation south Asian immigrants to Canada suggests that if first generation immigrants adopt an *assimilation* approach to the target language, they encounter conflict with their L1 ingroup. However, if they adopt a non-*assimilative* strategy they then face conflict from their children. Also interesting in this study is the finding that second generation immigrants attempting *assimilation* sometimes met conflict from groups in the target culture. Researchers suggest this may indicate latent discrimination in the target population (Abouguendia & Noels, 2001).

Studies reported in Littlewood (1999) suggest that people in East Asian cultures tend to be more collectivist than those in Western countries" (Littlewood, 1999). However, research by Littlewood (2001) suggests that many of the preconceptions we have about *collectivism* and *individualism* as cultural factors influencing the motivation of so-called Western and Asian learners may in fact not be as accurate as previously believed.

Padilla (1980) points out that something called "deculturation" can occur when a person enters a new culture, lets go of certain cultural norms characteristic of their culture of origin and yet is not permitted access to the target culture. Arnold and Brown (1996) refer to this phenomenon as *anomie*: "no strong supportive ties to either the native culture or the second language culture" (p.22).

And Hinkel shows that, just because a student may be aware of ethnolinguistic norms, does not necessarily mean he/she will choose to make them his/her own (in LoCastro, 2001).

Piontkowski et al. (2000) show that ethnic background dictates acculturation patterns of minority groups in a target culture in which they occupy a non-dominant position. For example, people from Turkey in Germany used a pattern that stressed separation from the dominant group while people from Yugoslavia overwhelmingly chose an integrative pattern. Of course, *chose* is perhaps the wrong word since the pattern selected may have been in response to rejection from the target culture.

And Hu (2002) suggests that in China, where historically there has been governmental ambivalence about the learning of foreign languages, the motivation to learn such a language depends to the extent to which the Chinese leadership feels that distinctly Chinese values and beliefs are threatened by it (Hu, 2002).

 So what?

In an increasingly "globalizing" world, the influence of culture on language learning motivation can only increase. And whether we are talking about business people tapping world markets, immigrants/refugees adapting to new countries – or members of new countries adapting to immigrants/refugees – aid projects working for positive change in countries in difficult circumstances, or travelers taking an interest in the language of their next destination, incongruities will continue to emerge wherever values and norms of one culture rub up against the values and norms of another. And as teachers, we need to recognize some of the possible consequences this state of affairs may have in our classrooms. For instance:

- in particular in situations where the language being taught is the "foreign" language – EFL in Japan for example – we need to remember that we are teaching not only language but culture as well. The teaching methods we use, the materials we employ and the expectation of outcome we hold students to, are all rooted in our own particular set of cultural beliefs and norms; in our identities. And if students do not share these norms, or if they have a set of values that are in direct opposition to these norms, then we should not be surprised to encounter resistance, a lack of participation, limited enthusiasm and lower levels of learning than we might otherwise expect.

- the same can be said of an immersion situation in which students are living in an L2 situation. However, at least in an immersion setting, there is a ready supply of authentic examples along with students' own observations to ease the process along.

- with respect to individualist/collectivist miscommunication, we need to think about the extent to which we need to train our students to understand both the reason for and the nature of our culturally-situated expectations. We also need to think about the extent to which we, as teachers, may need to adapt our teaching methods to better approximate the norms expected by the students.

- in situations where large numbers of learners of one particular L1 community are studying a target language in the same place, learners may choose to live as much as possible in an artificially-created L1 environment situated within the target language community. By understanding the reasons for this behaviour, we may put ourselves in a better position to create and implement useful interventions designed to increase target language contact.

- certainly linguistic benefits result from adapting to a target culture, but at what cost? As teachers, we need to be aware that when we pursue integrationist goals with our students, we may in fact be encouraging them to leave behind their old culture in preference of ours. How willing are they to do so and is it our role as a language teacher to encourage it. Maybe they don't want to *be* English; they only want to speak it.

- also, we need to be aware that integration is not a one way street. It is not only up to the student to attempt to participate in this new culture, but it is also up to the new culture to accept them. Sometimes the wall surrounding the target culture is not as permeable as we would like to imagine.

- and lastly, we need to recognize the extent to which language contributes to an individual's sense of identity. When we ask our student to change things about their learning style or about their

perception of the target culture, we may in fact be asking them to change some of their most tightly held and most valued components of their own personal identity; components that, once removed – or at least called into question – may leave the student vulnerable to both a decreased sense of self worth and a diminished sense of self-confidence. This is not something that should be entered into lightly.

Conclusions

Bottom trawling is a fishing method in which large, powerful vessels drag huge pouch-like nets across the bottom to catch deep- swimming fish and shellfish. A heavily weighted cable called a footrope holds the net to the bottom. The footrope can be armed with heavy chains called ticklers that flail at the seabed and drive bottom fish or shrimp up into the water column where they can be captured in the net. Target species include slow-growing rockfish, which can take decades to reach maturity, cod, Pacific ocean perch, pollock and flatfish.

In dragging, large chain bags that can weigh more than a tonne are pulled across the seabed to scoop scallops, mussels, oysters and sea urchins off the bottom and clams out of the mud. Typically, a boat will drag two such dredges at a time.

But in addition to the lucrative target species, the gear used in bottom trawling and dragging can be responsible for massive and indiscriminate by-catches of unwanted species,which are mostly discarded. Studies have found as much as 40 per cent of the trawl by- catch in B.C. is sometimes thrown back into the sea to die.

The by-catch in B.C.'s groundfish trawl averages about 9,000 tonnes a year, of which roughly half is discarded at sea. Non-quota species are recorded by federal fisheries monitors only when their volume exceeds half a tonne, but environmental groups say they include everything from salmon to Stellar sea lions. Last year, 51 unwanted species were officially recorded in the by-catch, of which the most numerous were turbot, ratfish and skate.

The Vancouver Sun, Vancouver, B.C. Mar 20, 1999, pg. H.

On some days you can fish all day and not get a single bite. And on others you'll be pulling them over the side one after the other. This fishing expedition was meant to be an experiment in selective netting; an experiment during which we dipped our nets into the waters of motivational research in an attempt to better understand each of the numerous ways in which researchers have tried to explore the question: just what does it mean to be motivated to learn a second or foreign language? However, rather than a *selective netting*, this paper has more in common with the trawling expeditions mentioned above: yielding a catch of interrelated theories and

findings all divisible in their own way and yet strangely intertwined; nets full of information – some of it worth keeping, the rest just waiting to be thrown back into the sea as "by-catch."

And yet summarizing the "keepers" is not an easy thing to do because understanding how our motivation to learn involves understanding not only our *reasons* for learning – as if a reason necessarily implies an action – but also our sense of identity, our past successes and failures in learning, our relationships with people in other groups and how strongly tied we are to these groups for our sense of identity, our intrinsic desires to learn and the extrinsic pressures being brought to bear on us by some external force, and our goals and whether or not we have set these goals ourselves or had them set for us. It also involves understanding the social and cultural context in which the learning is occurred – and the context from which we are coming – the power relations that exist between ethnolinguistic groups and the power relations that exist between these groups, and degree to which members of these groups are willing to adopt cultural norms of the dominant culture in order to achieve language learning goals. And that is just to understand what it means to be motivated to learn the language. It is quite another thing to know how to put this knowledge to work in thee classroom environment.

As teachers, we need to be able to think beyond simply understanding motivation to how to incorporate this understanding into our teaching. We need to think about how we can set up evaluations systems that promote self directed learning, mastery-oriented achievement behaviour and student ownership of the learning process. We need to be aware of – and value – not only the noble integrative motives that underpin language learning, but also the very real and very prevalent instrumental motives as well. We need to practice and preach useful attribution habits; habits that give students the power to control their own future learning rather than sinking into reactionary and ultimately self-destructive habits. And we need to think about the fact that, regardless of what "real" student motivation might be, it is our perception of this motivation – rooted in our own experience, successes and failures, cultural influences and so on – that will guide the way we teach. And we need to find out if this perception is accurate or not. And if we discover it is not, we need to ask how open we are to changing it. But most of all, we need to recognize that motivation is not necessarily something easily understood or easily changed, especially where second language learning is concerned. Identity and self concept are built on language and on our ability to control it. Value systems, innate human needs and the powerful influence of past experiences do not automatically bend to "rational" explanations of what motivation "ought to be." In short, we can't expect changes overnight or necessarily at all.

So, in the end motivation in second language acquisition is a wriggling mass of differentiated marine life that lives unseen beneath the tranquil – and sometimes not so tranquil - surface of the individual.

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