



Motivation and Motivating in the Foreign Language Classroom

Author(s): Zoltan Dornyei

Source: *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 273-284

Published by: Blackwell Publishing on behalf of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/330107>

Accessed: 12/09/2008 13:48

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=black>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations and Blackwell Publishing are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Modern Language Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Motivation and Motivating in the Foreign Language Classroom

ZOLTÁN DÖRNYEI

*Department of English, Eötvös University
1146 Budapest, Ajtósi Dürer sor 19, Hungary
Email: dornyei@ludens.elte.hu*

MOTIVATION IS ONE OF THE MAIN DETERMINANTS of second/foreign language (L2) learning achievement and, accordingly, the last three decades have seen a considerable amount of research that investigates the nature and role of motivation in the L2 learning process. Much of this research has been initiated and inspired by two Canadian psychologists, Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (see 34), who, together with their colleagues and students, grounded motivation research in a social psychological framework (for recent summaries, see 33; 35). Gardner and his associates also established scientific research procedures and introduced standardised assessment techniques and instruments, thus setting high research standards and bringing L2 motivation research to maturity.

Although Gardner's motivation construct did not go unchallenged over the years (see 2; 44), it was not until the early 1990s that a marked shift in thought appeared in papers on L2 motivation as researchers tried to reopen the research agenda in order to shed new light on the subject (e.g., 10; 19; 51; 52). The main problem with Gardner's social psychological approach appeared to be, ironically, that it was too influential. In Crookes and Schmidt's words, it was "so dominant that alternative concepts have not been seriously considered" (p. 501). This resulted in an unbalanced picture, involving a conception that was, as Skehan put it, "limited compared to the range of possible influences that exist" (52: p. 280). While acknowledging unanimously the fundamental importance of the Gardnerian social psychological model, researchers were also calling for a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motiva-

tion research, which would be consistent with the perceptions of practising teachers and which would also be in line with the current results of mainstream educational psychological research.

It must be noted that Gardner's (32) motivation theory does include an educational dimension and that the motivation test he and his associates developed, the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (31), contains several items focusing on the learner's evaluation of the classroom learning situation. However, the main emphasis in Gardner's model—and the way it has been typically understood—is on general motivational components grounded in the social milieu rather than in the foreign language classroom. For example, the AMTB contains a section in which students' attitudes toward the language teacher and the course are tested. This may be appropriate for measurement purposes, but the data from this section do not provide a detailed enough description of the classroom dimension to be helpful in generating practical guidelines. As Gardner and MacIntyre (35) recently stated concerning the learning situation-specific section of the AMTB, "attention is directed toward only two targets, largely because they are more generalisable across different studies" (p. 2). Finally, Gardner's motivation construct does not include details on cognitive aspects of motivation to learn, whereas this is the direction in which educational psychological research on motivation has been moving during the last fifteen years.

The purpose of this paper—following Crookes and Schmidt's and Skehan's initiative—is to help foster further understanding of L2 motivation from an educational perspective. A number of relevant motivational components (many of them largely unexploited in L2 research) will be described, and these will then be integrated into a multilevel L2 motivation construct. In

addition, a set of practical guidelines on how to apply the research results to actual teaching will be formulated; I believe that the question of how to *motivate* students is an area on which L2 motivation research has not placed sufficient emphasis in the past.

Interestingly, a very recent paper by Oxford and Shearin sets out to pursue similar goals to those of the current author, by discussing motivational theories from different branches of psychology—general, industrial, educational, and cognitive developmental psychology—and by integrating them into an expanded theoretical framework that has practical instructional implications. This very comprehensive and insightful study, together with the works cited above and the author's current discussion, may provide a firmer basis for new directions of research in L2 motivation.

At the outset, I would like to acknowledge once again the seminal work of Robert Gardner and his colleagues. Gardner's theory has profoundly influenced my thinking on this subject, and I share Oxford and Shearin's assertion that:

The current authors do not intend to overturn the ideas nor denigrate the major contributions of researchers such as Gardner, Lambert, Lalonde, and others, who powerfully brought motivational issues to the attention of the L2 field. We want to maintain the best of the existing L2 learning motivation theory and push its parameters outward (p. 13).

Indeed, there will be an attempt in this paper to integrate the social psychological constructs postulated by Gardner, Clément, and their associates into the proposed new framework of L2 motivation.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF L2 MOTIVATION

One recurring question in recent papers has been how "social" a L2 motivation construct should be and what the relationship between social attitudes and motivation is. To start with, it must be realised that "attitudes" and "motivation" tend not to be used together in the psychological literature as they are considered to be key terms of different branches of psychology. "Attitude" is used in social psychology and sociology, where action is seen as the function of the social context and the interpersonal/intergroup relational patterns. Motivational psychologists, on the other hand, have been looking for the *motors* of human behaviour in the *individual* rather than in the social being, focusing traditionally on concepts such as in-

stinct, drive, arousal, need, and on personality traits like anxiety and need for achievement, and more recently on cognitive appraisals of success and failure, ability, self-esteem, etc. (53; 54).

L2 learning presents a unique situation due to the multifaceted nature and role of language. It is at the same time: a) a *communication coding system* that can be taught as a school subject, b) an *integral part of the individual's identity* involved in almost all mental activities, and also c) the most important *channel of social organisation* embedded in the culture of the community where it is used. Thus, L2 learning is more complex than simply mastering new information and knowledge; in addition to the environmental and cognitive factors normally associated with learning in current educational psychology, it involves various personality traits and social components. For this reason, an adequate L2 motivation construct is bound to be eclectic, bringing together factors from different psychological fields.

Coming from Canada, where language learning is a featured social issue—at the crux of the relationship between the Anglophone and Francophone communities—Gardner and Lambert were particularly sensitive to the social dimension of L2 motivation. The importance of this dimension is not restricted to Canada. If we consider that the vast majority of nations in the world are multicultural, and most of these are multilingual, and that there are more bilinguals in the world than there are monolinguals (32), we cannot fail to appreciate the immense social relevance of language learning worldwide.

Integrativeness and Instrumentality. Gardner's motivation construct has often been understood as the interplay of two components, integrative and instrumental motivations. The former is associated with a positive disposition toward the L2 group and the desire to interact with and even become similar to valued members of that community. The latter is related to the potential pragmatic gains of L2 proficiency, such as getting a better job or a higher salary. It must be noted, however, that Gardner's theory and test battery are more complex and reach beyond the instrumental/integrative dichotomy. As Gardner and MacIntyre state, "The important point is that motivation itself is dynamic. The old characterization of motivation in terms of integrative vs. instrumental orientations is too static and restricted" (p. 4).

The popularity of the integrative-instrumental system is partly due to its simplicity and intuitively convincing character, but partly also

to the fact that broadly defined “cultural-affective” and “pragmatic-instrumental” dimensions do usually emerge in empirical studies of motivation. However, in the last decade, investigations have shown that these dimensions cannot be regarded as straightforward universals, but rather as broad tendencies—or subsystems—comprising context-specific clusters of loosely related components. As Gardner and MacIntyre concluded, it is simplistic not to recognise explicitly the fact that sociocultural context has an overriding effect on all aspects of the L2 learning process, including motivation.

Clément and Kruidenier found in their Canadian research that in addition to an *instrumental orientation*, three other distinct general orientations to learn a L2 emerged, namely *knowledge, friendship, and travel orientations*, which had traditionally been lumped together in integrativeness. Moreover, when L2 was a foreign rather than a second language (i.e., learners had no direct contact with the L2 community), a fourth, *socio-cultural*, orientation was also identified.

Investigating young adult learners in a foreign language learning situation in Hungary, Dörnyei (26) identified three loosely related dimensions of a broadly conceived integrative motivational subsystem: 1) *interest in foreign languages, cultures, and people* (which can be associated with Clément and Kruidenier’s “socio-cultural orientation”); 2) *desire to broaden one’s view and avoid provincialism* (cf., Clément and Kruidenier’s “knowledge orientation”); and 3) *desire for new stimuli and challenges* (sharing much in common with Clément and Kruidenier’s “friendship” and “travel orientations”). A fourth dimension, the *desire to integrate into a new community* (cf., “travel orientation”), overlapped with the instrumental motivational subsystem.

Investigating secondary school pupils in the same context, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels found that, in this population, *instrumental and knowledge orientations* clustered together, and they identified four other distinct orientations, *xenophilic* (similar to “friendship orientation”), *identification, sociocultural, and English media*. In another foreign language learning context, among American high school students learning Japanese, Oxford and Shearin also found that in addition to integrative and instrumental orientations, the learners had a number of other reasons for learning the language, ranging from “enjoying the elitism of taking a difficult language” to “having a private code that parents would not know” (p. 12).

These studies confirm Skehan’s (51) argu-

ment that the most pressing difficulty motivation researchers face is that of “clarifying the orientation-context links that exist. There would seem to be a wider range of orientations here than was previously supposed, and there is considerable scope to investigate different contextual circumstances (outside Canada!) by varying the L1-L2 learning relationship in different ways” (p. 284). To put it simply, the exact nature of the social and pragmatic dimensions of L2 motivation is always dependent on *who* learns *what* languages *where*.

FURTHER COMPONENTS OF L2 MOTIVATION

Although the majority of past research has tended to focus on the social and pragmatic dimensions of L2 motivation, some studies have attempted to extend the Gardnerian construct by adding new components, such as intrinsic/extrinsic motivation (9; 10), intellectual curiosity (41), attribution about past successes/failures (26; 52), need for achievement (26), self-confidence (13, 15, 40), and classroom goal structures (38), as well as various motives related to learning situation-specific variables such as classroom events and tasks, classroom climate and group cohesion, course content and teaching materials, teacher feedback, and grades and rewards (9-11; 14; 19; 25; 37; 38; 41; 46; 51; 52). In the following discussion, I will give an overview of these motivational areas and then outline a L2 motivation construct that attempts to integrate these components.

Intrinsic/Extrinsic Motivation and Related Theories. One of the most general and well-known distinctions in motivation theories is that between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic motivation*. Extrinsicly motivated behaviours are the ones that the individual performs to receive some extrinsic reward (e.g., good grades) or to avoid punishment. With intrinsically motivated behaviours the rewards are internal (e.g., the joy of doing a particular activity or satisfying one’s curiosity).

Deci and Ryan argue that intrinsic motivation is potentially a central motivator of the educational process:

Intrinsic motivation is in evidence whenever students’ natural curiosity and interest energise their learning. When the educational environment provides optimal challenges, rich sources of stimulation, and a context of autonomy, this motivational wellspring in learning is likely to flourish (p. 245).

Extrinsic motivation has traditionally been seen as something that can undermine intrinsic

motivation; several studies have confirmed that students will lose their natural intrinsic interest in an activity if they have to do it to meet some extrinsic requirement (as is often the case with compulsory readings at school). Brown (10) points out that traditional school settings with their teacher domination, grades and tests, as well as "a host of institutional constraints that glorify content, product, correctness, competitiveness" tend to cultivate extrinsic motivation and "fail to bring the learner into a collaborative process of competence building" (p. 388).

Recent research on intrinsic/extrinsic motivation has shown that under certain circumstances—if they are sufficiently *self-determined* and *internalised*—extrinsic rewards can be combined with, or even lead to, intrinsic motivation. The *self-determination theory* was introduced by Deci and Ryan as an elaboration of the intrinsic/extrinsic construct. Self-determination (i.e., autonomy) is seen as a prerequisite for any behaviour to be intrinsically rewarding.

In the light of this theory, extrinsic motivation is no longer regarded as an antagonistic counterpart of intrinsic motivation but has been divided into four types along a continuum between self-determined and controlled forms of motivation (24): *External regulation* refers to the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, involving actions for which the locus of initiation is external to the person, such as rewards or threats (e.g., teacher's praise or parental confrontation). *Introjected regulation* involves externally imposed rules that the student accepts as norms that pressure him or her to behave (e.g., "I must be at school on time," or "I should have prepared for class"). *Identified regulation* occurs when the person has come to identify with and accept the regulatory process seeing its usefulness. The most developmentally advanced form of extrinsic motivation is *integrated regulation*, which involves regulations that are fully assimilated with the individual's other values, needs, and identities. Motives traditionally mentioned under instrumental motivation in the L2 literature typically fall under one of the last two categories—identified regulation or integrated regulation—depending on how important the learner considers the goal of L2 learning to be in terms of a valued personal outcome.

Proximal goal-setting. The theories presented above may suggest that extrinsic goals such as tests and exams should be avoided as much as possible since they are detrimental to intrinsic motivation. Bandura and Schunk, however,

point out that tests and exams can be powerful proximal motivators in long lasting, continuous behaviours such as language learning; they function as proximal subgoals and markers of progress that provide immediate incentive, self-inducements, and feedback and that help mobilise and maintain effort. Proximal goal-setting also contributes to the enhancement of intrinsic interest through favourable, continued involvement in activities and through the satisfaction derived from subgoal attainment. Attainable subgoals can also serve as an important vehicle in the development of the students' self-confidence and efficacy—two concepts that will be analysed below.

Oxford and Shearin argue that in order to function as efficient motivators, goals should be specific, hard but achievable, accepted by the students, and accompanied by feedback about progress. As the authors conclude, "Goal setting can have exceptional importance in stimulating L2 learning motivation, and it is therefore shocking that so little time and energy are spent in the L2 classroom on goal setting" (p. 19).

Cognitive components of motivation. Since the mid-1970s, a cognitive approach has set the direction of motivation research in educational psychology. Cognitive theories of motivation view motivation to be a function of a person's thoughts rather than of some instinct, need, drive, or state; information encoded and transformed into a belief is the source of action.

In his analysis of current theories of motivation, Weiner (53) lists three major cognitive conceptual systems: *attribution theory*, *learned helplessness*, and *self-efficacy theory*. All three concern the individual's self-appraisal of what he or she *can* or *cannot* do, which will, in turn, affect how he or she strives for achievement in the future. The central theme in *attribution theory* is the study of how causal ascriptions of past failures and successes affect future goal expectancy. For example, failure that is ascribed to low ability or to the difficulty of a task decreases the expectation of future success more than failure that is ascribed to bad luck or to a lack of effort. In his exploratory study among Hungarian L2 learners, the current author (26) identified an independent "attributions about past failures" component to L2 motivation and argued that such attributions are particularly significant in foreign language learning contexts where "L2 learning failure" is a very common phenomenon.

Learned helplessness refers to a resigned, pessi-

mistic, helpless state that develops when the person wants to succeed but feels that success is impossible or beyond him or her for some reason, that is, the probability of a desired goal does not appear to be increased by any action or effort. It is a feeling of “I simply can’t do it,” which, once established, is very difficult to reverse.

Self-efficacy refers to an individual’s judgement of his or her ability to perform a specific action. Attributions of past accomplishments play an important role in developing self-efficacy, but people also appraise efficacy from observational experiences (e.g., by observing peers), as well as from persuasion, reinforcement, and evaluation by others, especially teachers or parents (e.g., “You can do it!” or “You are doing fine!”) (49). Once a strong sense of efficacy is developed, a failure may not have much impact. Oxford and Shearin emphasise that many students do not have an initial belief in their self-efficacy and “feel lost in the language class” (p. 21); teachers therefore can and should help them develop a sense of self-efficacy by providing meaningful, achievable, and success-engendering language tasks.

Self-confidence. Self-confidence—the belief that one has the ability to produce results, accomplish goals or perform tasks competently—is an important dimension of self-concept. It appears to be akin to self-efficacy, but used in a more general sense. Self-confidence was first introduced in L2 literature by Clément (13) to describe a secondary, mediating motivational process in multi-ethnic settings that affects a person’s motivation to learn and use a L2. According to his conceptualisation, self-confidence includes two components, language use anxiety (the affective aspect) and self-evaluation of L2 proficiency (the cognitive aspect), and is determined by the frequency and quality of interethnic contact (cf., 15; 40).

Although self-confidence was originally conceptualised with regard to multi-ethnic settings, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels showed that it is a major motivational subsystem in foreign language learning situations as well (i.e., where there is no direct contact with members of the L2 community). This is in line with the importance attached to self-efficacy in the educational psychological literature.

Need for achievement. A central element of classical achievement motivation theory, *need for achievement* is a relatively stable personality trait that is considered to affect a person’s behaviour in every facet of life, including language learn-

ing. Individuals with a high need for achievement are interested in excellence for its own sake, tend to initiate achievement activities, work with heightened intensity at these tasks, and persist in the face of failure. Oxford and Shearin provide a detailed analysis on how need theories in general might be relevant to L2 motivation research, and in an earlier paper (26) I have argued that in institutional/academic contexts, where academic achievement situations are very salient, need for achievement will play a particularly important role.

MOTIVATIONAL COMPONENTS THAT ARE SPECIFIC TO LEARNING SITUATIONS

Since the end of the 1980s more importance has been attached in the L2 motivation literature to motives related to the learning situation (e.g., 9-11; 14; 19; 25; 37; 38; 51; 52). In order to grasp the array of variables and processes involved at this level of L2 motivation, it appears useful to separate three sets of motivational components (motives and motivational conditions): 1) *course-specific motivational components* concerning the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method, and the learning tasks; 2) *teacher-specific motivational components* concerning the teacher’s personality, teaching style, feedback, and relationship with the students; and 3) *group-specific motivational components* concerning the dynamics of the learning group.

Course-specific motivational components. Based on Keller’s motivational system—which is particularly comprehensive and relevant to classroom learning—Crookes and Schmidt postulate four major motivational factors to describe L2 classroom motivation: *interest*, *relevance*, *expectancy*, and *satisfaction*. This framework appears to be particularly useful in describing course-specific motives.

The first category, *interest*, is related to intrinsic motivation and is centred around the individual’s inherent curiosity and desire to know more about him or herself and his or her environment. *Relevance* refers to the extent to which the student feels that the instruction is connected to important personal needs, values, or goals. At a macrolevel, this component coincides with instrumentality; at the level of the learning situation, it refers to the extent to which the classroom instruction and course content are seen to be conducive to achieving the goal, that is, to mastering the L2. *Expectancy* refers to the perceived likelihood of success and is related to the learner’s self-confidence and

self-efficacy at a general level; at the level of the learning situation, it concerns perceived task difficulty, the amount of effort required, the amount of available assistance and guidance, the teacher's presentation of the task, and familiarity with the task type. *Satisfaction* concerns the outcome of an activity, referring to the combination of extrinsic rewards such as praise or good marks and to intrinsic rewards such as enjoyment and pride. Attainable proximal sub-goals (as discussed above) are related primarily to this component.

Teacher-specific motivational components. Perhaps the most important teacher-related motive has been identified in educational psychology as *affiliative drive* (3), which refers to students' need to do well in school in order to please the teacher (or other superordinate figures like parents) whom they like and appreciate. Although this desire for teacher approval is an extrinsic motive, it is often a precursor to intrinsic interest (5), as is attested by good teachers whose students become devoted to their subject.

A second teacher-related motivational component is the teacher's *authority type*, that is, whether he or she is autonomy supporting or controlling. Sharing responsibility with students, offering them options and choices, letting them have a say in establishing priorities, and involving them in the decision making enhance student self-determination and intrinsic motivation (23, 24).

A third motivational aspect of the teacher is his or her role in direct and systematic *socialization of student motivation* (8), that is, whether he or she actively develops and stimulates learners' motivation. There are three main channels for the socialization process: 1) *Modelling*: teachers, in their position as group leaders, embody the "group conscience" and, as a consequence, student attitudes and orientations toward learning will be modelled after their teachers, both in terms of effort expenditure and orientations of interest in the subject. 2) *Task presentation*: efficient teachers call students' attention to the purpose of the activity they are going to do, its potential interest and practical value, and even the strategies that may be useful in achieving the task, thus raising students' interest and metacognitive awareness. 3) *Feedback*: this process carries a clear message about the teacher's priorities and is reflected in the students' motivation. There are two types of feedback: informational feedback, which comments on competence, and controlling feedback, which judges

performance against external standards. Of the two, the former should be dominant. For example, praise—a type of informational feedback—should attribute success to effort and ability, implying that similar successes can be expected in the future. Praise should avoid, however, the inclusion of controlling feedback (e.g., the comparison of the students' success to the successes or failures of others) (7). Ames points out that social comparison, which is considered very detrimental to intrinsic motivation, is often imposed in a variety of ways in the classroom, including announcement of grades (sometimes only the highest and lowest), displays of selected papers and achievements, and ability grouping.

Group-specific motivational components. Classroom learning takes place within groups as organisational units; these units are powerful social entities with a "life of their own," so that group dynamics influence student affects and cognitions (for a review, see 30; 50). In addition, group goals and the group's commitment to these goals do not necessarily coincide with those of the individual, but may reinforce or reduce them.

With respect to L2 motivation, four aspects of group dynamics are particularly relevant: 1) *goal-orientedness*, 2) *norm and reward system*, 3) *group cohesion*, and 4) *classroom goal structures*.

A *group goal* is best regarded as a composite of individual goals, that is, an "end state desired by a majority of the group members" (50: p. 351). Groups are typically formed for a purpose, but the "official goal" may not be the only group goal and in extreme cases may not be a group goal at all. For example, the goal of a group of students may be to have fun rather than to learn. The extent to which the group is attuned to pursuing its goal (in our case, L2 learning) is referred to as *goal-orientedness*.

The group's *norm and reward system* is one of the most salient classroom factors that can affect student motivation. It concerns extrinsic motives that specify appropriate behaviours required for efficient learning. As has been discussed earlier, extrinsic regulations should be internalised as much as possible to foster intrinsic motivation. Rewards and punishment (typically expressed in grades) should give way to group norms, which are standards that the majority of group members agree to and which become part of the group's value system. In classes where, for example, doing home assignments and preparing for tests conscientiously have not become accepted group norms, bad grades and other punitive measures will not be

efficient in getting students more engaged in their home studies. On the other hand, once a norm has been internalised and has become a self-evident pre-condition for the group to function, the group is likely to cope with deviations by putting pressure on members who violate the norm. This may happen through a range of group behaviours—from showing active support for teacher's efforts to have the norms observed, to expressing indirectly disagreement with and dislike for deviant members, and even to openly criticising them and putting them in "social quarantine."

Group cohesion is the "strength of the relationship linking the members to one another and to the group itself" (30: p. 10). In a meta-analysis, Evans and Dion found a consistent positive relationship between cohesion and group performance, and the findings of Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels confirmed that perceived group cohesion is an important motivational component in a L2 learning context. This may be due to the fact that in a cohesive group, members want to contribute to group success and the group's goal-oriented norms have a strong influence over the individual.

Classroom goal structures can be *competitive*, *cooperative*, or *individualistic*. In a competitive structure, students work against each other and only the best ones are rewarded. In a cooperative situation, students work in small groups in which each member shares responsibility for the outcome and is equally rewarded. In an individualistic structure, students work alone, and one's probability of achieving a goal or reward is neither diminished nor enhanced by a capable other. There is consistent evidence from pre-school to graduate school settings that, compared to competitive or individualistic learning experiences, the cooperative goal structure is more powerful in promoting intrinsic motivation (in that it leads to less anxiety, greater task involvement, and a more positive emotional tone), positive attitudes towards the subject area, and a caring, cohesive relationship with peers and with the teacher (36; 42). Julkunen (38) analysed the effects of these three goal structures on L2 motivation and his results supported the superiority of cooperative learning.

SUMMARY OF THE L2 MOTIVATION CONSTRUCT

The variety of relevant motivation types and components described above is in accordance with the earlier claim that L2 motivation is an

eclectic, multifaceted construct. In order to integrate the various components, it appears necessary to introduce different levels of motivation, similarly but not in exactly the same way as was done by Crookes and Schmidt.

Based on the research literature presented above and the results of Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels's classroom study—in which a tripartite L2 motivation construct emerged comprising integrative motivation, self-confidence, and the appraisal of the teaching environment—we may conceptualise a general framework of L2 motivation. This framework consists of three levels: the *Language Level*, the *Learner Level*, and the *Learning Situation Level* (see Figure 1). The three levels coincide with the three basic constituents of the L2 learning process (the L2, the L2 learner, and the L2 learning environment) and also reflect the three different aspects of language mentioned earlier (the social dimension, the personal dimension, and the educational subject matter dimension).

The most general level of the construct is the *Language Level* where the focus is on orientations and motives related to various aspects of the L2, such as the culture it conveys, the community in which it is spoken, and the potential usefulness of proficiency in it. These general motives determine basic learning goals and explain language choice. In accordance with the Gardnerian approach, this general motivational dimension can be described by two broad motivational subsystems, an *integrative* and an *instrumental motivational subsystem*, which, as has been argued before, consist of loosely related, context-dependent motives. The integrative motivational subsystem is centred around the individual's L2-related affective predispositions, including social, cultural, and ethnolinguistic components, as well as a general interest in foreignness and foreign languages. The instrumental motivational subsystem consists of well-internalised extrinsic motives (identified and integrated regulation) centred around the individual's future career endeavours (cf., 26).

The second level of the L2 motivation construct is the *Learner Level*, involving a complex of affects and cognitions that form fairly stable personality traits. We can identify two motivational components underlying the motivational processes at this level, *need for achievement* and *self-confidence*, the latter encompassing various aspects of language anxiety, perceived L2 competence, attributions about past experiences, and self-efficacy.

FIGURE 1
Components of Foreign Language Learning Motivation

LANGUAGE LEVEL	Integrative Motivational Subsystem Instrumental Motivational Subsystem
LEARNER LEVEL	Need for Achievement Self-Confidence * Language Use Anxiety * Perceived L2 Competence * Causal Attributions * Self-Efficacy
LEARNING SITUATION LEVEL	Interest Relevance Expectancy Satisfaction Affiliative Drive Authority Type Direct Socialization of Motivation * Modelling * Task Presentation * Feedback Goal-orientedness Norm & Reward System Group Cohesion Classroom Goal Structure

The third level of L2 motivation is the *Learning Situation Level*, made up of intrinsic and extrinsic motives and motivational conditions concerning three areas. 1) *Course-specific motivational components* are related to the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method, and the learning tasks. These are best described by the framework of four motivational conditions proposed by Crookes and Schmidt: *interest, relevance, expectancy, and satisfaction*. 2) *Teacher-specific motivational components* include the *affiliative drive* to please the teacher, *authority type*, and *direct socialization of student motivation* (modelling, task presentation, and feedback). 3) *Group-specific motivational components* are made up of four main components: *goal-orientedness, norm and reward system, group cohesion, and classroom goal structure*.

HOW TO MOTIVATE L2 LEARNERS

In this last section, a list of strategies to motivate language learners will be presented, drawing partly on the author's own experience and partly on findings in educational psychological

research (for two excellent overviews, see 6; 39). The reader is also referred to Oxford and Shearin's article mentioned above, which contains very useful practical instructional implications of the theories discussed, as well as to Brown's recent book (9), which includes detailed discussion on how to capitalise on the students' intrinsic motivation in the second language classroom.

It must be emphasised that the following strategies are not rock-solid golden rules, but rather suggestions that may work with one teacher or group better than another and that might work today but not tomorrow as they lose their novelty. Nevertheless, such a list provides, in Brophy's words, "a 'starter set' of strategies to select from in planning motivational elements to include in instruction" (p. 48). The strategies will be organised according to the categories introduced in the proposed L2 construct above. As can be expected, most of the strategies will concern the *Learning Situation Level*. Motives belonging to the *Language and Learner Levels* tend to be more generalised and established and, therefore, do not lend them-

selves as easily to manipulations or modifications.

Language Level.

1) *Include a sociocultural component in the L2 syllabus* by sharing positive L2-related experiences in class, showing films or TV recordings, playing relevant music, and inviting interesting native speaking guests.

2) *Develop learners' cross-cultural awareness systematically* by focusing on cross-cultural similarities and not just differences, using analogies to make the strange familiar, and using "culture teaching" ideas and activities (such as the ones included, for example, in 12; 20; 21; 27; 28; 47).

3) *Promote student contact with L2 speakers* by arranging meetings with L2 speakers in your country; or, if possible, organising school trips or exchange programs to the L2 community; or finding pen-friends for your students.

4) *Develop learners' instrumental motivation* by discussing the role L2 plays in the world and its potential usefulness both for themselves and their community.

Learner Level.

5) *Develop students' self-confidence* by trusting them and projecting the belief that they will achieve their goal; regularly providing praise, encouragement, and reinforcement; making sure that students regularly experience success and a sense of achievement; helping remove uncertainties about their competence and self-efficacy by giving relevant positive examples and analogies of accomplishment; counterbalancing experiences of frustration by involving students in more favourable, "easier" activities; and using confidence-building tasks (for example, see 22).

6) *Promote the students' self-efficacy with regard to achieving learning goals* by teaching students learning and communication strategies, as well as strategies for information processing and problem-solving, helping them to develop realistic expectations of what can be achieved in a given period, and telling them about your own difficulties in language learning.

7) *Promote favourable self-perceptions of competence in L2* by highlighting what students *can* do in the L2 rather than what they *cannot* do, encouraging the view that mistakes are a part of learning, pointing out that there is more to communication than not making mistakes or always finding the right word, and talking openly about your own shortcomings in L2 (if you are a non-native teacher) or in a L3.

8) *Decrease student anxiety* by creating a supportive and accepting learning environment in

the L2 classroom, avoiding hypercritical or punitive treatment, and applying special anxiety-reducing activities and techniques (for a summary, see 55).

9) *Promote motivation-enhancing attributions* by helping students recognise links between effort and outcome; and attribute past failures to controllable factors such as insufficient effort (if this has been the case), confusion about what to do, or the use of inappropriate strategies, rather than to lack of ability, as this may lead to learned helplessness.

10) *Encourage students to set attainable subgoals* for themselves that are proximal and specific (e.g., learning 200 new words every week). Ideally, these subgoals can be integrated into a personalised learning plan for each student.

Learning Situation Level: Course-specific motivational components.

11) *Make the syllabus of the course relevant* by basing it on needs analysis, and involving the students in the actual planning of the course programme.

12) *Increase the attractiveness of the course content* by using authentic materials that are within students' grasp; and unusual and exotic supplementary materials, recordings, and visual aids.

13) *Discuss with the students the choice of teaching materials* for the course (both textbooks and supplementary materials), pointing out their strong and weak points (in terms of utility, attractiveness, and interest).

14) *Arouse and sustain curiosity and attention* by introducing unexpected, novel, unfamiliar, and even paradoxical events; not allowing lessons to settle into too regular a routine; periodically breaking the static character of the classes by changing the interaction pattern and the seating formation and by making students get up and move from time to time.

15) *Increase students' interest and involvement in the tasks* by designing or selecting varied and challenging activities; adapting tasks to the students' interests; making sure that something about each activity is new or different; including game-like features, such as puzzles, problem-solving, avoiding traps, overcoming obstacles, elements of suspense, hidden information, etc.; including imaginative elements that will engage students' emotions; leaving activities open-ended and the actual conclusion uncertain; personalising tasks by encouraging students to engage in meaningful exchanges, such as sharing personal information; and making peer interaction (e.g., pair work and group work) an important teaching component.

16) *Match difficulty of tasks with students' abilities* so that students can expect to succeed if they put in reasonable effort.

17) *Increase student expectancy of task fulfillment* by familiarising students with the task type, sufficiently preparing them for coping with the task content, giving them detailed guidance about the procedures and strategies that the task requires, making the criteria for success (or grading) clear and "transparent," and offering students ongoing assistance.

18) *Facilitate student satisfaction* by allowing students to create finished products that they can perform or display, encouraging them to be proud of themselves after accomplishing a task, taking stock from time to time of their general progress, making a wall chart of what the group has learned, and celebrating success.

Teacher-specific motivational components.

19) *Try to be empathic, congruent, and accepting*; according to the principles of person-centred education, these are the three basic teacher characteristics that enhance learning (48). *Empathy* refers to being sensitive to students' needs, feelings, and perspectives. *Congruence* refers to the ability to behave according to your true self, that is, to be real and authentic without hiding behind facades or roles. *Acceptance* refers to a nonjudgmental, positive regard, acknowledging each student as a complex human being with both virtues and faults.

20) *Adopt the role of a facilitator* rather than an authority figure or a "drill sergeant," developing a warm rapport with the students.

21) *Promote learner autonomy* by allowing real choices about alternative ways to goal attainment; minimising external pressure and control (e.g., threats, punishments); sharing responsibility with the students for organising their time, effort and the learning process; inviting them to design and prepare activities themselves and promoting peer-teaching; including project work where students are in charge; and giving students positions of genuine authority.

22) *Model student interest in L2 learning* by showing students that you value L2 learning as a meaningful experience that produces satisfaction and enriches your life, sharing your personal interest in L2 and L2 learning with the students, and taking the students' learning process and achievement very seriously (since showing insufficient commitment yourself is the fastest way to undermine student motivation).

23) *Introduce tasks in such a way as to stimulate intrinsic motivation and help internalise extrinsic mo-*

tivation by presenting tasks as learning opportunities to be valued rather than imposed demands to be resisted, projecting intensity and enthusiasm, raising task interest by connecting the task with things that students already find interesting or hold in esteem, pointing out challenging or exotic aspects of the L2) calling attention to unexpected or paradoxical aspects of routine topics, and stating the purpose and utility of the task.

24) *Use motivating feedback* by making your feedback informational rather than controlling; giving positive competence feedback, pointing out the value of the accomplishment; and not overreacting to errors (for a summary of error correction without generating anxiety, see 55).

Group-specific motivational components.

25) *Increase the group's goal-orientedness* by initiating discussions with students about the group goal(s), and asking them from time to time to evaluate the extent to which they are approaching their goal.

26) *Promote the internalisation of classroom norms* by establishing the norms explicitly right from the start, explaining their importance and how they enhance learning, asking for the students' agreement, and even involving students in formulating norms.

27) *Help maintain internalised classroom norms* by observing them consistently yourself, and not letting any violations go unnoticed.

28) *Minimise the detrimental effect of evaluation on intrinsic motivation* by focusing on individual improvement and progress, avoiding any explicit or implicit comparison of students to each other, making evaluation private rather than public, not encouraging student competition, and making the final (end of term/year/course) grading the product of two-way negotiation with the students by asking them to express their opinion of their achievement in a personal interview.

29) *Promote the development of group cohesion and enhance intermember relations* by creating classroom situations in which students can get to know each other and share genuine personal information (feelings, fears, desires, etc.), organising outings and extracurricular activities, and including game-like intergroup competitions in the course.

30) *Use cooperative learning techniques* by frequently including groupwork in the classes in which the group's—rather than the individual's—achievement is evaluated (for L2 teaching-specific guidelines, see 17; 18; 42).

CONCLUSION

The intent of this paper was to make L2 motivation research more “education-friendly,” that is, “congruent with the concept of motivation that teachers are convinced is critical for SL [second language] success” (19: p. 502). Drawing on a long succession of research in second language acquisition, as well as on important findings in general and educational psychology, an attempt was made to outline a comprehensive motivational construct relevant to L2 classroom motivation. This construct comprises three broad levels, the *Language Level*, the *Learner Level*, and the *Learning Situation Level*; these levels correspond to the three basic constituents of the L2 learning process (L2 learner, and L2 learning environment), and reflect the three different aspects of language (the social dimension, the personal dimension, and the educational subject matter dimension). Based on the components of this model, a number of practical motivational strategies were listed that may help language teachers gain a better understanding of what motivates their students in the L2 classroom.

Although the proposed division of levels of motivation appears to be parsimonious, and the construct integrates many lines of research, it is at this stage no more than a theoretical possibility because many of its components have been verified by very little or no empirical research in the L2 field. In fact, only the components at the Language Level and the self-confidence construct at the Learner Level have been analysed systematically, notably by Gardner, Clément, and their associates. There is clearly a need for much further research on L2 motivation; this paper is intended to be part of a discussion that will hopefully result in a more clearly defined and elaborate model of motivation in foreign language learning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ames, Carole. “Classrooms: Goals, Structures and Student Motivation.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 84 (1992): 267–71.
2. Au, Shun Y. “A Critical Appraisal of Gardner’s Social-Psychological Theory of Second-Language (L2) Learning.” *Language Learning* 38 (1988): 75–100.
3. Ausubel, David P., Joseph D. Novak & Helen Hanesian. *Educational Psychology: A Cognitive View*. 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1978.
4. Bandura, Albert & Dale Schunk. “Cultivating Competence, Self-Efficacy, and Intrinsic Interest Through Proximal Self-Motivation.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41 (1981): 586–98.
5. Blumenfeld, Phyllis C. “Classroom Learning and Motivation: Clarifying and Expanding Goal Theory.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 84 (1992): 272–81.
6. Brophy, Jere. “Synthesis of Research on Strategies for Motivating Students to Learn.” *Educational Leadership* 45,2 (1987): 40–48.
7. ——— & Thomas L. Good. “Teacher Behavior and Student Achievement.” *Handbook of Research on Teaching*. Ed. Merlin C. Wittrock. New York: Macmillan, 1986: 328–75.
8. ——— & Neelam Kher. “Teacher Socialization as a Mechanism for Developing Student Motivation to Learn.” *The Social Psychology of Education—Current Research and Theory*. Ed. Robert S. Feldman. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986: 257–88.
9. Brown, H. Douglas. *Teaching by Principles*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994.
10. ———. “M & Ms for Language Classrooms? Another Look at Motivation.” *Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics 1990*. Ed. James E. Alatis. Washington, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1990: 383–93.
11. ———. “Affective Factors in Second Language Learning.” *The Second Language Classroom: Directions for the Eighties*. Ed. J. E. Alatis, H. B. Altman & P. M. Alatis. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981: 111–29.
12. Celce-Murcia, Marianne, Zoltán Dörnyei & Sarah Thurrell. “Communicative Competence: A Pedagogically Motivated Framework with Content Specifications” (submitted for publication).
13. Clément, Richard. “Ethnicity, Contact and Communicative Competence in a Second Language.” *Language: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Ed. H. Giles, W. P. Robinson & P. M. Smith. Oxford: Pergamon, 1980: 147–54.
14. ———, Zoltán Dörnyei & Kimberly A. Noels. “Motivation, Self-confidence and Group Cohesion in the Foreign Language Classroom.” *Language Learning* (in press).
15. ——— & Bastian G. Kruidenier. “Aptitude, Attitude and Motivation in Second Language Proficiency: A Test of Clément’s Model.” *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 4 (1985): 21–37.
16. ——— & Bastian G. Kruidenier. “Orientations on Second Language Acquisition: I. The Effects of Ethnicity, Milieu, and their Target Language on their emergence.” *Language Learning* 33 (1983): 273–91.
17. *Cooperative Language Learning; A Teacher’s Resource Book*. Ed. Carolyn Kessler. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents, 1992.
18. *Cooperative Learning*. Ed. Daniel D. Holt. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics & ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, 1993.

19. Crookes, Graham & Richard W. Schmidt. "Motivation: Reopening the Research Agenda." *Language Learning* 41 (1991): 469-512.
20. *Culture Bound*. Ed. Joyce M. Valdes. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986.
21. Damen, Louise. *Culture Learning: The Fifth Dimension in the Language Classroom*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1987.
22. Davies, Paul & Mario Rinvoluceri. *The Confidence Book*. London: Longman, 1990.
23. Deci, Edward L. & Richard M. Ryan. *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human Behavior*. New York: Plenum, 1985.
24. ———, Robert J. Vallerand, Luc G. Pelletier & Richard M. Ryan. "Motivation and Education: The Self-Determination Perspective." *Educational Psychologist* 26 (1991): 325-46.
25. Dörnyei, Zoltán. "Analysis of Motivation Components in Foreign Language Learning." Paper, 9th World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Thessaloniki-Halkidiki, Greece, April 1990 [ERIC DOC ED 323 810].
26. ———. "Conceptualizing Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning." *Language Learning* 40 (1990): 45-78.
27. ——— & Sarah Thurrell. "Teaching Conversational Skills Intensively: Course Content and Rationale." *ELT Journal* 48 (1994): 40-49.
28. ——— & Sarah Thurrell. *Conversation and Dialogues in Action*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1992.
29. Evans, Charles R. & Kenneth L. Dion. "Group Cohesion and Performance; A Meta-Analysis." *Small Group Research* 22 (1991): 175-86.
30. Forsyth, Donelson R. *Group Dynamics*. 2nd ed. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1990.
31. Gardner, Robert C. *The Attitude/Motivation Test Battery: Technical Report*. London, ON: Univ. of Western Ontario, 1985.
32. ———. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold, 1985.
33. ——— & Richard Clément. "Social Psychological Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition." *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Ed. H. Giles & W. P. Robinson. London: John Wiley, 1990: 495-517.
34. ——— & Wallace E. Lambert. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972.
35. ——— & Peter D. MacIntyre. "A Student's Contributions to Second-Language Learning. Part II: Affective Variables." *Language Teaching* 26 (1993): 1-11.
36. Johnson, David W. & Roger T. Johnson. "Cooperative Learning and Classroom and School Climate." *Educational Environments*. Ed. Barry J. Fraser & Herbert J. Walberg. Oxford: Pergamon, 1991: 55-74.
37. Julkunen, Kiösti. "Situation- and Task-Specific Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning and Teaching." Diss., Univ. of Joensuu. *Dissertation Abstracts* 52 (1991): 716C.
38. ———. *Situation- and Task-Specific Motivation in Foreign-Language Learning and Teaching*. Joensuu: Univ. of Joensuu, 1989.
39. Keller, John M. "Motivational Design of Instruction." *Instructional Design Theories and Models: An Overview of their Current Status*. Ed. C. M. Reigeluth. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1983: 383-434.
40. Labrie, Normand & Richard Clément. "Ethnolinguistic Vitality, Self-Confidence and Second Language Proficiency: An Investigation." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 7 (1986): 269-82.
41. Laine, Eero J. "Foreign Language Learning Motivation: Old and New Variables." *Proceedings of the 5th Congress of l'Association internationale de linguistique appliquée*. Ed. Jean-Guy Savard & Lorne Laforge. Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981: 302-12.
42. McGroarty, Mary. "Cooperative Learning and Second Language Acquisition." *Cooperative Learning*. Ed. Daniel D. Holt. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics & ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, 1993: 19-46.
43. Milleret, Margo. "Cooperative Learning in the Portuguese-for-Spanish-Speakers Classroom." *Foreign Language Annals* 25 (1992): 435-40.
44. Oller, John W. Jr. "Can Affect Be Measured?" *IRAL* 19 (1981): 227-35.
45. Oxford, Rebecca & Jill Shearin. "Language Learning Motivation: Expanding the Theoretical Framework." *Modern Language Journal* 78 (1994): 12-28.
46. Ramage, Katherine. "Motivational Factors and Persistence in Foreign Language Study." *Language Learning* 40 (1990): 189-219.
47. Robinson, Gail L. *Crosscultural Understanding*. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall, 1988.
48. Rogers, Carl. *Freedom to Learn for the 80's*. Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1983.
49. Schunk, Dale H. "Self-Efficacy and Academic Motivation." *Educational Psychologist* 26 (1991): 207-31.
50. Shaw, Marvin E. *Group Dynamics*. 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981.
51. Skehan, Peter. "Individual Differences in Second-Language Learning." *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 13 (1991): 275-98.
52. ———. *Individual Differences in Second-Language Learning*. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.
53. Weiner, Bernard. "Motivation." *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. 6th ed., vol. 3. New York: Macmillan, 1992: 860-65.
54. ———. "History of Motivational Research in Education." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 82 (1990): 616-22.
55. Young, Dolly J. "Creating a Low-Anxiety Classroom Environment: What Does Language Anxiety Research Suggest?" *Modern Language Journal* 75 (1991): 426-39.