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THE CASE OF JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

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**THE USE OF QUESTIONNAIRES TO MEASURE MOTIVATION IN LANGUAGE
LEARNING: THE CASE OF JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH**

By

Noriko Akimoto

A THESIS

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE USE OF QUESTIONNAIRES TO MEASURE MOTIVATION IN LANGUAGE LEARNING: THE CASE OF JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH

By

Noriko Akimoto

The purpose of this study was to investigate further the relationships between motivation and achievement among Japanese learners of English. In particular, this study examined the original claims of Gardner and Lambert regarding the role of integrative motivation, challenged the validity of this body of theory to the learning of English as a foreign language, and reviewed the questionnaires used in previous studies.

The geographical and historical differences in motivation toward foreign or second language learning were illustrated first. Secondly, the study analyzed the Japanese setting for foreign language learning, and it showed the characteristics of Japanese learners' motivation. The study also illustrated the difficulty of replicating of questionnaires to measure motivation of culturally different subjects. Lastly, the study suggested some ways to better the questionnaires, and it also examined the applicability of alternatives such as classroom observation in a culturally different setting.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate further the relationships between motivation and achievement among Japanese students of English. In particular, this study examines the original claims of Gardner and Lambert regarding the role of integrative motivation, challenges the validity of this body of theory to the learning of English as a foreign language, and reviews the questionnaires used in previous studies.

The study also proposes a more comprehensive questionnaire to fit the Japanese setting. The questionnaire takes into consideration Japanese culture and its influence on attitudes and motivation.

B. The Problem

In Japan people study English through junior high and senior high schools for at least six years. Nowadays many working people and housewives, in addition to students, attend English class after work or during their free time. Although many people in developing countries who study English less can speak English moderately well, most Japanese speak English rather poorly when they graduate from senior high school.

Their English proficiency seems to remain very low. The Japanese average score on Test of English as Foreign Language (TOEFL) in 1990 was 490. Of the 187 countries surveyed, Japan was number 169. Of the 27 Asian countries surveyed, Japan was number 25¹.

The English classrooms at American universities are full of Japanese students. They came here to study English voluntarily with a lot of enthusiasm. Nobody forced them to come to the United States to study English. However, in most cases, they are relatively silent and do not speak much English in the classrooms.

C. Possible Explanations

Why do Japanese learners not speak more English? Why isn't their motivation apparent in the classroom? What is the real motivation that Japanese learners of English have? Several explanations have been proposed.

1. Differences between English and Japanese languages

English and Japanese are very different languages, and they appear to be mutually difficult to acquire². Difficulty of learning English is commonly shared among Japanese, and at the same time it is also hard for American learners of Japanese.

Dissociation of reading and listening, and poor performance on the decoding by the Japanese subjects were reported by Haynes (unpublished) in her comparison of the Japanese subjects with Arabic and Spanish subjects. She thinks the reason for the low performance of Japanese on the above tasks can be attributed to the linguistic differences between Japanese and English, such as the

three Japanese writing symbol systems, syllabic and morphemic units, and other reasons. Difficulties experienced by Japanese, then, may be the result of inherent linguistic differences and not the result of methods or motivation.

2. Schumann's Acculturation Model

Schumann's Acculturation Model explains the difficulty of English language acquisition among Japanese people to some extent

...the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target language group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language (Schumann, p.34).

Schumann states that the degree of social and psychological distance between the learner and the target language culture determines second language acquisition. It seems quite reasonable that Japanese and native speakers of English lack sufficient social interaction to promote second language acquisition.

3. Maximal Difference of Culture

Samovar and Porter (1976), examining physical appearances, philosophy, social attitude, language, heritage, and basic conceptualizations of self and the universe and other factors, concluded that differences between Asian and Western culture are maximal. It may explain the general difficulty of Japanese in learning English.

4. Teaching Methods and Environment

Although several efforts have been made to improve language pedagogy, language teaching in Japan appears to fall short of modern

criteria. For example, in public junior and senior high school settings, the class size is usually more than forty, a size considered too large for the teachers to manage the language classrooms effectively. In addition, teachers are not always well-trained and are often over-worked. Because of such limitations, native-like fluency and familiarity with updated English teaching methods cannot be expected of Japanese English teachers.

Even in colleges, classes are often fifty students³, and are not graded by level. One lecture is for ninety minutes. A class is usually taught once a week, that is, fewer than 25 times a year (Yasuda, 1989). These conditions could explain the lower levels of achievement.

5. Lack of Integrative Motivation

According to Gardner and Lambert (1972, 1985), integrative motivation provides the best incentive for second language acquisition. Japanese students appear to lack this type of motivation.

Akimoto (1988), using Gardner and Lambert's questionnaires, attempted to measure motivation and attitudes among Japanese senior high school students in Toyama Prefecture, Japan. Japanese appear to have moderately low levels of integrative orientation.

Chapter I A Definition of Motivation toward Foreign Language Learning

The term "motivation" by no means has a single or constant meaning. Even Gardner and Lambert, who first distinguished integrative and instrumental motivation, fail to specify the terms adequately and shift in their definitions. Let us review the development of this difficult concept.

A. St. Augustine

According to Kelly (1969), the history of integrative orientation traces back to St. Augustine, who introduced Christianity for the first time to Britain. He quotes St. Augustine's words, "It is clear enough that free curiosity has a more positive effect on learning than necessity and fear." St. Augustine implies interest in learning is more desirable than a desire to integrate oneself into the target language community.

B. Comenius -The 19th Century

Learners' motivation as a key concept in teaching theory began to be regarded as an important issue in the 20th century. No distinction had been made between motivation to learn a second language and motivation for other academic subjects in the 19th century.

Historically speaking, the utilitarian value of foreign language learning was taken as a matter of course. There were several scholars who stressed the importance of the teachers' maintaining learners' voluntary will to learn. This consideration was emphasized by reflecting on the learners who lost their motivation.

Quintillian (1861) wrote, "The teacher must take special pains to make sure that the pupil does not come to dislike subjects he will in time come to appreciate. For if once he hates them, this will remain with him into adulthood."

This point recurred in the thinking of John Amos Comenius. He was also the first to consider the idea of language-learning readiness, and insisted on the responsibility of the teachers' creating and maintaining the pupils' motivation.

C. Herbarian School -The Early 20th Century

With the introduction of the Direct Method, more attention was paid to the learners' motivation or "willing interest." The Herbarian School thought that these feelings rose out of the subject itself rather than from the teachers' techniques.

Theorists in the twentieth century, such as Bouton (1962) expanded the idea and thought that the method should generate its own interest.

D. Gardner and Lambert 1972

Historically speaking, the study on learner's motivation is a recent development. The influence factors within affective domain, such as motivation in learning, was often ignored during the time of behaviorism, so extensive study of motivation for foreign language learning was not conducted before Gardner and Lambert.

Gardner and Lambert considered motivation for foreign language learning different from motivation for other school subjects. Gardner explains that "... any other subject, such as mathematics ..., involves the development of knowledge or skills

which are a part of the heritage of the student's cultural community; a second language, on the other hand, is a salient characteristic of another culture" (1985, p. 146).

Gardner and Lambert gave questionnaires to Canadian students of French. They classified as having an integrative orientation those who thought meeting and conversing with varied people or understanding of French Canadian people and their way of life very important.

They continued to expand their research by administering their measuring instrument in many settings, and claimed (1972) someone has "integrative orientation" "if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of the other group." They claimed someone has "instrumental orientation," "if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement, such as getting ahead in one's occupation" (Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p.3). To characterize the subjects' integrative orientation, they gave the statements like the following for English-speaking American students and asked them to rank their values (Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p.148):

- a. It (studying French) will help me to understand better the French people and their way of life.
- b. It will enable me to gain good friends more easily among French-speaking people.
- c. It should enable me to begin to think and behave as the French do.
- d. It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.

All these concern integration toward the people of the target language. As is seen in the statement "c," integrative orientation in 1972 included the concept of Graham's "assimilative motivation" which will be discussed in the next section.

E. Graham 1984

As pointed out in the above section of Gardner and Lambert, the definition of 'integrative motivation' is not precise even by Gardner. In other words, the term can be interpreted very broadly.

Graham (1984), based on this reflection, made a refinement in the term by distinguishing between integrative and assimilative motivation. Assimilative motivation is the desire to become an indistinguishable member of a speech community. Although people can be integratively oriented without losing themselves in the target culture, people with assimilative motivation desire to identify almost exclusively with that target culture.

F. Gardner 1985

Gardner's later questionnaires on integrative orientation (1985) includes the following revisions. The subjects were asked to rate their feelings towards the statement on a seven point scale from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

1. Studying French can be important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with fellow Canadians who speak French.
2. Studying French can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.
3. Studying French can be important for me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature.

4. Studying French can be important for me because I will be able to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups.

Four main changes in wordings which allow the subjects to respond more positively to the items are found here. It seems that Gardner had a broader view towards integrative orientation than in 1972 version. First, the beginnings of all the statements are changed from "It (studying French) will.." or "It (studying French) should .." to "Studying French can be ...". So the subjects who were not sure whether studying French "will enable me to meet and converse with more and varied people (Gardner, 1972)" might respond positively towards the statement, "studying French can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people (Gardner, 1985)."

Secondly, although "French-speaking people" are assumed to be the people in the target community in the former statements, it is changed to "Canadians who speak French" and "other cultural groups." This change enables the subjects to assume more target communities, and at the same time enables the researchers to distinguish the subjects' orientation toward French-speaking people and French-Canadians respectively.

Thirdly, the revised statements cover more aspects of the target language overtly, while the original ones seemed to emphasize more just the speaking and listening aspects of language. For example, three out of four verb phrases used in the original ones are "gain good friends," "behave," and "meet and converse." It can be inferred that these parts of speech focus on speaking and listening.

Other verb phrases in the original statements such as "understand better the French people and their way of life" can be interpreted to refer to more than speaking and listening. However, it is also true that understanding of the French people and their way of life is also gained by speaking and listening to French. As for "think and behave as the French do," when the subjects of this phrase are considered, it is clear that productive aspects of the language rather than receptive ones are emphasized in this item, too.

Fourthly, in the revised list, one statement which shows the goal of integrative orientation is deleted while one which focuses on the receptive aspect of the language is added. The old and new sentences are:

It should enable me to begin to think and behave as the French do (original statement "c," Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p.148).

Studying French can be important for me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature (revised statement "3," Gardner, 1985, p.179).

These changes have the effect of softening the original 1972 positive view. The earlier statement seems to show a very intense desire to be accepted in the target community. Gardner and Lambert write on integrative orientation "...to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that group," (Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p.3). In other words, the stage mentioned in the above quotation is the goal of integrative orientation. In order to think and behave as the people in another cultural community, a high level of the proficiency of the target language is needed. Learners whose L2

proficiency is low find it difficult to even imagine themselves able to "think and behave as French people do," since the gap between their proficiency and the imagined performance is too big.

This shift is further suggested by results obtained by Akimoto using the original 1972 format. Although the result may have been influenced by its EFL setting, Japanese subjects in Akimoto's study (1988) tended to respond in almost identical ways to statements "a," "b" and "d" in the original integrative orientation index. On statement "c," "It (studying English) should enable me to begin to think and behave as the Americans do," however, responses tended to be highly varied. These subjects mentioned the difficulty of connecting English study with a change in behavior and thinking. Furthermore, thinking and behaving like native speakers sometimes requires a loss of identity as a member of their native community. Thinking like native speakers is of course not an easy task.

Gardner's deleting of the above statement and changing to the statement, "...it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature (Gardner, 1985, p.179)," seems therefore to be appropriate. The statement reflects a more receptive aspect of the language, since appreciation of art and literature can be obtained by reading or listening, not necessarily by speaking and writing.

Therefore, it is possible to state that the characteristics of integrative orientation in the original 1972 and the revised 1985 questionnaires are a little different from each other. On the one hand, integrative orientation which can be measured by the original questionnaire is more focused on the subjects' desire to integrate to

the target community. On the other hand, the revised one covers more general aspects of integrativeness including intrinsic incentive to learn the language. It can be said that the revised statements may get more positive reactions such as "strongly agree" or "moderately agree" from the subjects than the original one.

G. Bailey 1986

Bailey (1986) brought integrative and instrumental motivation into clear light by connecting them with intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in educational psychology. Since Gardner and Lambert's introduction of integrative and instrumental dichotomy, motivation toward foreign language learning was considered to be different from that for other school subjects.

Using the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in educational psychology, Bailey tried to elaborate motivation in second language acquisition. According to psychologist Deci (1975), "organisms have a general need for feelings of competence and self-determination" (1975, p. 62), and he defined intrinsically motivated behavior as "behavior which is motivated by one's need for feeling competent and self-determining (p. 62)."

Intrinsic motivation arises from totally internal needs and desires. Deci and Porac also defined intrinsic motivation as being contingent on the absence of extrinsic rewards as the reward is said to be in the activity itself (Deci & Porac, 1978). However, extrinsic motivation occurs when the motive for the activity is influenced by an outside reward, prize, high grades and other factors (Deci in Kamada, 1986). Bailey illustrated the relationship between

intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and integrative/instrumental motivation in the following way (in Richard-Amato, 1988, p. 369).

Table 1 Intrinsic/Extrinsic and Integrative/Instrumental Motivation

intrinsic	extrinsic
Integrative L2 learners wishes to integrate with the L2 culture (e.g., for immigration for marriage)	Someone else wishes L2 learner to know the L2 for integrative reasons (e.g., Japanese parents send kids to Japanese-language school)
Instrumental L2 learner wishes to achieve goals utilizing L2 (e.g., for a career)	External power wants L2 learner to learn L2 (e.g., corporation sends Japanese businessman to U.S. for language training)

Chapter II Motivation toward Learning a Second or a Foreign Language outside Japan

Since the introduction of integrative and instrumental motivation in second language learning in the Canadian setting by Gardner and Lambert (1959), learners' motivation and attitudes have been examined in many settings around the world.

Gardner and Lambert have qualified their hypothesis by saying "what has been most impressive is the setting-to-setting contrasts that have emerged and the basic distinctiveness of each sociocultural context" (1972, p.142). The following studies in many settings in the world show how motivation varies from setting to setting.

A. Africa--Nigeria

Banjo (1981) conducted a survey in 1964 on the motivation for second language learning. The survey comprised 75 Yoruba men and women. The age range was 15 to 40 years with a mean of 18 years. Banjo classified the answers to the question "Why do you want to be literate?" under five categories in descending order of importance based on the number choosing each answer. All the subjects were motivated to become literate in both the local vernacular and in English.

a. **Practical Necessity:** Ability to read and write letters was the most important reason. Ability to sign their names, to read receipts, to read street names and other reasons followed. "There

was very little reference to writing, except the writing of letters and signing of one's name" (Banjo, p.68).

b. **Economic Advantage:** The adults, who worked in a small business, showed a strong motivation to be able to read invoices, do simple arithmetic, fix price tags on their goods in shops. Most of them desired the ability to speak English to their non-Yoruba customers.

c. **Status Symbol:** They wanted the other villagers to know that they were not "ignorant folk."

d. **Religious Motives:** The Christian adults expressed the desire to read the Bible and participate in other religious practices.

e. **Civic Responsibility:** They wanted to be able to read their names in Voter's Lists and to read the names of candidates

B. Europe-- Poland, Great Britain (Wales)

1. Poland ⁴

Muchisky (1985) studied integrative and instrumental motivation of English learning among Polish secondary and university students. Integrative motivation suggests that Polish learners "resent the Soviet domination and affirm an allegiance to the West" (Muchisky, p.4). Instrumental motivation was represented by their desire to travel to foreign countries which are restricted strongly by the government, or to get a high paying job such as a pilot, or to get a prestigious job such as a university professor. Secondary school students' instrumental motivation was their desire to be admitted to Polish universities. Muchisky pointed out the

importance of investigating learning process in a variety of pedagogical and cultural settings.

2. Great Britain (Wales)

Welsh people's feeling toward Welsh is inseparable from the history of the Welsh language. Before the period of Henry VII, the Welsh language was a vital and integral part of Welsh life and culture.

However, it became subject to the social and cultural influences emanating from England. The existence of the Welsh language was endangered by English which had become a world language especially since the Industrial Revolution. Even so, in spite of attempts to stamp it out, the Welsh language survived. The Reformation and the Methodist Revival, which might have seemed to offer some threat to Welsh, actually helped it to survive.

Jones (1966) found that Welsh speaking parents showed more positive attitudes toward their children's learning of Welsh than those of non-Welsh speaking parents. The study also showed that attitudes toward learning a second language become less positive with age. Research by Owen (1960) indicates that both the length of residence in Wales and language background influenced the parents' attitudes toward learning Welsh the most.

As indicated above, it is plausible that children's attitudes and motivation toward a second language learning can be affected by a number of cultural characteristics.

C. Asia--India, Philippines

1. India

Lukmani (1972) investigated 60 Marathi speaking female high school students in Bombay. The subjects responded to semantic differential ratings of the Marathi and English speaking communities, gave reasons for learning English, and took an English cloze test. The results showed the subjects with more instrumental orientation had higher English proficiency. Kachru (1977) stated that English can be acquired very successfully with instrumental motivation only in Third World countries where English is an international language. It means that Lukmani's finding is probably not unique to Indian learners.

2. The Philippines

Gardner and Lambert (1972) studied 103 Philippine senior high school students' language aptitude, English achievement, oral proficiency as well as attitudes and motivation in 1962. The students lived in the suburb of Manila. English was used as the medium of instruction as well as being a subject matter. Since over sixty languages are spoken in the Philippines, English has been used as the language of instruction. English is also the language of business. Thus, in the Philippines, a high instrumental value is placed because success in English determines one's upward mobility and one's future.

However, the results showed that five scales of the integrative motive were highly related to two measures of English

achievement. Especially, the integrative motive factor showed a high correlation with the subjects' oral language proficiency.

They also found that "when parents see the instrumental value of a language, they can favorably influence their children's progress in the language" (1972, p. 128).

However, not all the findings of Gardner and Lambert are confirmed by other researchers. For example, Feenstra (1967) and Castillo (1969) found that the major motivation for learning English appears to be instrumental. Galang (1977) observed the types of orientation revealed by Filipino subjects, and stated "both types of orientation (integrative and instrumental) can be equally important in the process of acquiring a second language"(in Ramos, p.5). Castillo (1969) had found that instrumentally or integratively motivated parents seemed to share the same types of attitudes.

D. North America - The United States, Canada

1. The United States

Language learners in the United States can be categorized in the following ways.

- a. American minority groups whose native tongue is not English learning English**
- b. Foreign people learning English**
- c. American people whose native tongue is English learning a foreign language.**

a. American minority groups whose native tongue is not English learning English

In the first category, the studies by Gardner (1968) of American Indian learning English is available. In his study, teachers of American Indian students were asked to rate the importance of the following orientations for their students' learning English.

Assimilative orientation--the aim to become like non-Indian Americans

Integrative orientation--the desire to learn English to become part of both Indian and American culture

Instrumental orientation--the economic and practical advantage of learning English

The results indicated that "87 per cent of the teachers chose integrative reasons, 11 per cent chose assimilative ones, and only seven per cent selected instrumental ones..." (Gardner, 1985, p.52).

b. Foreign people learning English

The studies in the second category of Foreign people learning English are numerous. It is common to see the studies which mention the learners' motivation and attitudes in relation to the materials, teaching methods and curriculum and other variables. In this section, I would like to mention about the studies whose main focus is on motivation and attitudes.

c. American people whose native tongue is English learning a foreign language

The first and the most comprehensive studies in this category were conducted by Gardner and Lambert (1972) in Louisiana, Maine

and Connecticut. The three regions were selected after a good deal of thought Louisiana and Maine have a reputation for having an important French-American subculture. Connecticut was considered a more "typical" American region by Gardner and Lambert.

The subjects were American high school students who were from English speaking homes and who were studying French in school. The number of subjects was 96 in Louisiana, 145 in Maine, and 142 in Connecticut.

In all the studies, the researchers found that the essential roles played by attitudes and motivation in second language learning. These factors were independent of intelligence and aptitude. The researchers also found distinctive and unique patterns of variables from setting to setting. For example, in Louisiana, intellectual capacity correlated with the ability of grammar, vocabulary and reading , not that of speaking and accent. Motivation and desire to learn French were facilitated more when the students received their family encouragement, which associated with a high level of achievement in French course work. In the Maine, the students' sensitivity for the feeling of others correlated with high achievement in French course. This tendency was confirmed more among girls rather than boys. Connecticut was the only place where integrative orientation had relationships with achievement in French. These results provided further evidence for the complex nature of this issue.

2. Canada

The geographical differences cannot be too carefully considered in Canada. Gagnon (1974) demonstrated that attitudes toward learning English as a second language varied significantly from one region to another there.

Gardner and his associates have investigated motivation in second language acquisition in various Canadian settings for more than 30 years. They studied primarily English speaking Canadian students learning French as a second language. It is difficult to state all of the studies conducted, but Gardner (1985) concluded that "the weight of evidence supports the generalization that an integrative motive does facilitate second language acquisition" (p.62-3). In Canadian research, integrative motive refers to positive feelings toward the community that speaks that language within the country rather than France.

Gardner and his associates (1977) tested high school students in Montreal and found that the students' intention to continue studying English is related to an integrative motive. It seemed that the subjects' English competence more closely related to self-confidence derived from prior language experience. For example, students whose target language contact is limited to classroom setting tended to rate their skills, speaking skills in particular, less highly.

Chapter III Motivation toward Learning Foreign Language in Japan

A. Results of Past Studies in Japan

Ten studies concerning motivation and attitudes in Japanese learners of English have been made. Two studies dealt with junior high school students, and three studies dealt with senior high school students. Another three studies dealt with university students, while the final two dealt with adult EFL learners.

The studies concerning junior high school students were conducted in 1981 and 1987. Nakazawa (1981) asked students their aim or their reason for English study. The top three responses were to pass senior high entrance examinations (23 %), to cope a with job which requires English proficiency in the future (21 %), and to converse with native speakers freely (20 %). Eleven percent of them chose cultural purposes such as to understand foreign countries and to be regarded as adults. Nakazawa also found that his junior high subjects considered English as their favorite among the five academic subjects which are included in the entrance examinations. This enthusiasm toward English, however, was not maintained for a long time. After only one year of English study, about half of the eighth graders began to lose interest. This tendency towards lower motivation the longer they studied has also been reflected in other studies.

Kamada's study (1987) illustrates how students' motivation changed from intrinsic to extrinsic because of today's competitive entrance examination, and proposed the improvement of the entrance examination system.

She examined the motivation of Japanese learners toward English as applied to Condry and Chambers' Four-Phase Learning paradigm. She showed how intrinsic or extrinsic motivation manifests different learning processes in the four phases. In the first phase, Initial Engagement, many middle school students are reported to begin their English study with enthusiasm and curiosity. She stated the results of her pre-test questionnaire survey and interviews of junior and senior high school students from a private Tokyo school.

Students who self-assessed their English ability high in speaking and hearing skills correlated higher in their "liking of English" than those students who gave themselves high self-assessments in reading skill of English. Reading skills are those skills related to examination proficiency and thus extrinsic in nature. Whereas speaking and hearing skills are unrelated to examination requirements, the motivation behind the acquisition of those skills may be said to be intrinsic. ...intrinsically motivated learning achievement is linked to a more positive attitude towards that learning activity than is the more extrinsically motivated learning achievement (Kamada, p.15).

In the second phase, The Process Stage, Kamada illustrates how students are socialized to perform for the extrinsic goal by comparing them with American counterparts. To do this, she examines the difference between 'studying ' and 'learning' as the basis for comparison. The third state is 'The Disengagement Stage.' Japanese students shut off learning English temporarily or permanently when the examination requirements are over. The fourth phase, The Re-Engagement Phase, differs from person to person. Some people will never go back to studying English. Other

people have to study it, especially when they are working in international companies.

Thus, in the above studies concerning junior high school students, it seems clear that Japanese students begin to study English with intrinsic motivation. Their motivation, however, comes to change to be an extrinsic one because of senior high school entrance examination. As Nakazawa's study shows, more of his Japanese junior high school subjects saw instrumental value in English study rather than an integrative one if we try to categorize their responses into Gardner's dichotomy. However, as Japanese people do not have immediate target community of their English study in the country, it may be safer to categorize that their motivation appears to be more extrinsic rather than intrinsic more broadly.

In the following paragraphs, we will examine the results of the three high school studies. The first study was attempted to examine the relationships among attitude, motivation and English proficiency.

The first two studies attempted to examine the relationships among attitude, motivation and English proficiency. The first study was conducted by Asakawa and Oller (1977) and involved 133 Japanese high school students. The authors used the same instruments and procedures as those used in Chihara and Oller's study on Japanese adult learners which would be discussed later. Factor scores from one factor of self-ratings correlated significantly with English proficiency. Ratings by students who found Japanese people as a whole "enthusiastic," "competitive," and

"friendly" correlated significantly with their performance on a cloze test. Surprisingly, however, when these students rated Americans, their responses did not correlate with the cloze test scores. Two factors derived from the ratings of Americans did correlate significantly with each other. One factor included "democratic," "cheerful," and "enthusiastic." The other factor included "religious," "studious," and "tactful." These findings suggest that Japanese appeared to have consistent patterns of responses, but that this pattern of attitudes was unrelated to their proficiency in English.

The second study was conducted by Akimoto (1988). She studied attitudes and motivation of 238 Japanese senior high school students in Toyama by means of the scores of a written test. The questionnaires of Gardner and Lambert (1972), which she translated into Japanese, were used. Four types of correlations were discovered. The first one was in the rating of integrative orientation. Three out of four statements listed by Gardner and Lambert showed significant positive correlation with each other. The statement which showed weak correlation was 3: "It (Studying English) should enable me to begin to think and behave as Americans do." The second type of correlation was found in the Preference for Japan over America scale. Seven out of eight statements showed significant correlation with each other. The key common factors of these correlations are "Family life is more important to Japanese than it is to people in America" and "The American people would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of Japanese culture" (Akimoto, p.13). Two statements in the Anomie scale "The state of the world being what it is, it is difficult for the student to plan for

his career" and "The lot of the average man is getting worse, not better" also showed positive correlation. None of the above correlated with the English test score. The only item that showed a correlation with the test score was in the Desire to learn English scale. The subjects who preferred the English course tended to score higher on the test.

Hara (1968) surveyed motivation among senior high school students. The top three reasons for English study were "It (English study) will be helpful in the future" (46 %), "Because we have no choice" (41 %) and "To understand ways of life in foreign countries" (13 %). The second reason could be interpreted as they felt English study was mandatory for their graduation and job hunting.

As for studies concerning university students, Igarashi (1976), Onodera and Yoshijima (1980, 1981, 1982) and Koike (1987) surveyed their reasons for English study. In Igarashi's study, university students in Hiroshima participated. The results were as follows:

Table 2 Motivation towards English Study among University Students in Hiroshima

1. To expand my culture	24 %
2. To read literature with technical terms	21 %
3. Because English is a required subject	19 %
4. To prepare for trip and study abroad	12 %
5. To exchange opinions with foreigners	10 %
6. To get a job in which English is used	7 %
7. To prepare for examinations for graduate school or job hunting	6 %
8. To enhance my thinking power	4 %

The results showed that the above reasons could be categorized as either cultural, practical or preparation for examinations. Examining the results, the researcher concluded that motivation among the university students was confusing.

In the studies by Onodera (1980, 1981, 1982) and Yoshijima (1987), freshman and sophomore students of University of Tokyo were asked about their motivation to study English. 14,968 subjects responded to the questionnaires. The following table shows the results.

Table 3 Motivation towards English Study among Students of University of Tokyo

year		'80	'81	'82	...	'87	average (%)
Practical value	useful in society	36	34	36	...	41	37
	useful for academics	23	23	23	...	26	24
Cultural Value	Interest in English	19	21	19	...	15	19
	Interest in English Speaking Communities	21	23	21	...	18	21

The units represent the percent of the students who chose each item as their first choice. The results show that "practical value" of English is weighed more than "culture" among the subjects. This trend became more remarkable as time passed.

Koike (1987) surveyed the aims of English study among liberal arts students. The subjects were 10,315 students from 105 universities and junior colleges. Plural responses were accepted in this research. The results showed "communication through English" and "enhancement of culture" were the two main aims in their English education.

Table 4 Motivation towards English Study among Liberal Arts Students

Communication through English	60 %
Enhancement of Intelligence	40 %
Development of people with International Sense	29 %
Basic Training for Specialized Education	11 %
Others	4 %

The generalization of data ranging from junior college students to the elite students of University of Tokyo is difficult. Even so, reviewing the data chronologically, it may be possible to state that the practical value of English has a tendency to be emphasized.

As for adult learners of English, two studies were available. The first study was conducted by Chihara and Oller (1978). They

involved 123 Japanese adult ESL learners in Osaka. They studied the following attitudes in relation to their EFL proficiency. The following attitudes were studied in relation to the learners' EFL proficiency: the attitude of the subjects toward themselves; other Japanese; travel to an English speaking country; and learning English.

A Japanese translation of the attitude questionnaire used by Oller, Hudson, and Liu (1977), with direct questions adapted from Gardner and Lambert (1972) and indirect questions adapted from Spolsky (1969) was used. The subjects' proficiency was measured by the scores on a cloze test.

The results showed weak correlations between attained proficiency and factors distilled from the attitude measures. Some of the findings were unexplainable. For example, in the subjects' rating of Japanese people, the subjects who rated Japanese people more positively, "cheerful" and "optimistic" in this case, tended to have a lower score on the cloze test. In the rating of English speaking people, the scores of subjects who rated English speakers more positively, that is, "confident" and "broad-minded" negatively correlated with the cloze test scores. In other words, the more proficient subjects tended to rate English speakers lower. Although overall, integrative motives for learning English were judged to be stronger than instrumental motives, the correlation between integrative motivation and English proficiency was not significant.

This challenge to Gardner's hypothesis drew a response from Gardner (in Chihara and Oller). He commented on the reason for the weak correlation, saying that "attitudes of the sort investigated here are probably only indirectly related to language learning"

(Chihara and Oller, p.67). Chihara and Oller concluded that further studies into the nature of the relationship between attitudes and attained proficiency are needed. They also stated "another possible explanation is to question the validity of the attempted affective measures " (Chihara and Oller, p.68).

B. Characteristics of Learners' Motivation in Japan

In EFL settings, an English speaking community is not available to students of English. English is taught as an international language. In such environments, "many of the attitudes specifically associated with the group or the language are dormant ..." (Gardner, 1985, p.8). The total amount of information about the culture of English speakers may be very limited, and the lack of information can lead students to have stereotyped images toward the target community.

Many Japanese complain about their lack of English proficiency, especially in speaking and listening. Possible explanations were given above in the introduction. In this section, I would like to examine the characteristics of Japan as an environment for English study and analyze the relationship between the environment and motivation among Japanese learners of English. To attain this aim, I will first describe several matters such as entrance examinations and English teaching pedagogy which characterize Japanese English learning setting.

1 Characteristics of Japan as a Place to Learn English

a. The Entrance Examinations

The ill effects of Japan's competitive entrance examinations on education have been repeatedly pointed out. More than 90% of all students go to senior high school both in Japan and the U.S. These are the highest rates in the world. In America, students get into public senior high school without taking an examination. In contrast, the entrance examinations are highly significant to most

Japanese. "Examination hell," to use the popular term, is dreaded by many.

Tough examinations have existed since the beginning of the Meiji era. Examinations had been, of course, a part of the Confucian heritage, but until the Meiji era, when class society was abolished, "they (examinations) were less important than class, lineage, and particularistic ties" (Rohlen, 1983, p.61). Since then, several revisions have been attempted, but the "examination hell" continues.

As the Fundamental Code of Education of 1872 states, "it is required that students master all the subjects of their school year and that they have to take examinations every year." Students in those days moved up to the senior class by succeeding in the examinations each year. It is said that the real central role of education was preparation for exams, despite the more idealistic claims of courses of study.

(1) Content of Examinations

English examinations, in particular, often have been criticized. In this section, I would like to examine the methods of testing English ability in entrance examinations as well as the contents of the examinations.

(a) How English is Tested⁵

Below are some questions that appeared on the entrance examinations (1990) of Waseda University, which is one of the most competitive schools.

Fill in the blanks with the word appropriate to all three sentences under each number.

- (a) 1. Who is going to () Jane home after the party?
 2. Let's leave the matter to Bob. He will () to it.
 3. Do you () what I mean?
- (b) 1. It is () time that more responsible positions should be opened to women workers.
 2. I have a () opinion of the film director.
 3. Father won the first prize in the photo contest and was in () spirit.
- (c) 1. What () are you in?
 2. Please drop me a () when you have time.
 3. Many people were waiting in a () to get the tickets for the baseball game.

Generally speaking, the ability to express oneself in written English is not tested in entrance examinations in Japan. It is common to have a section of 'English composition' in said examinations, but actually it is only a translation from Japanese to English. It is also very common to have translation from English to Japanese in these examinations. The following are some examples:

(An example from Japanese to English)

学問の本などを見ると、これが日本語かと思う。いずれもりっぱなことが書いてあるに違いないが、いかにも難解である。

(Doshisha University, 1990)

(When I happen to read a learned book, I cannot help wondering if it is written in Japanese. What is written there must be worthy, but I found it really difficult to understand.)

(An example of translation from English to Japanese)

Recent dream research has shown that a person deprived of dreaming, even though not deprived of sleep, is nevertheless impaired in his ability to manage reality. He becomes emotionally disturbed because of being unable to work out in

dreams the unconscious problems that confuse him (University of Tokyo, 1990).

(最近の夢の研究によれば、夢を奪われた人は、たとえ睡眠は奪われなくても、現実の処理能力が損なわれるし、またこういう人は、自分を混乱させる無意識の問題を、夢を通して解決することができないために、その感情が混乱するという)

Some universities have tested listening comprehension using tape-recorded spoken English, but spoken English itself has not been tested. Other characteristics are the slightly archaic constructions formed on these tests which are sometimes not distinguishable even by native speakers of English. These examinations are designed by university professors, and Japanese secondary teachers are not given an opportunity to explain what they have been teaching students. In contrast, in the United States, secondary teachers are called in to be consulted by the makers of the Scholastic Aptitude Test.

Why is it that such examinations, which require only recognition of picky grammatical points, continue to be used in spite of many criticisms? We should not forget that the nature of such exams is compatible with the Confucian approach to education. Confucianism is a Chinese philosophy whose central focus is the development of the whole man by means of liberal education. In actual operation, however, only the classics are emphasized. Emphasis came to be placed almost exclusively on memorization and the writing of flowery composition, thus discouraging intellectual curiosity and creative and critical thinking. This Chinese philosophy influenced Japan before its modernization period. In the Edo era, the samurai studied reading and writing of the Confucian classics by

rote memorization. Rohlen wrote the following impression about the Japanese approach to learning Chinese in those days:

With its eternal enthusiasm for form and correctness, the complex rules of Chinese composition and the vast corpus of its literature to be memorized constituted a particular challenge to mental discipline that set a pattern still in practice (1983, p.50).

The tendency to value reading and writing more than speaking and listening was found in the social status of interpreters and translators. The social status of translators (who worked with written documents) was higher than that of interpreters (who used the spoken language) in the Edo era (Ogasawara, 1987). Today's overreliance on knowledge of picky grammatical points in the examinations may be a legacy from the Edo era. Another reason why drastic revision of the contents of the exams has not taken place is that universities want to avoid making sudden changes. Past examinations and their analyses are published yearly. High school lessons and students' preparations at juku (preparatory schools) are made by analyzing and examining past examinations.

b) What is Tested

As for the content of entrance examinations, it is expected that the examinations are developed by paying close attention to the course of study which is a guideline from the Japanese Ministry of Education. Junior high school education, in particular, is compulsory. One might expect, therefore, that the entrance examinations for

senior high school should reflect what students learn in junior high school.

However, the number of senior high schools whose English entrance examinations ask for English grammar which is not taught at junior high school is increasing. In 1986, 213 examples of senior high entrance exam questions which were considered beyond the content of the course of study in junior high school were found. In 1989, 364 examples were found which represents an almost seventy percent increase over that of 1986 (Atozeki, 1989).

A close look at the data shows that most examples above are found in competitive private or national senior high schools, not municipal ones. Students who hope to get into competitive senior high schools are obliged to do extra work to prepare for the entrance examinations.

b. English Textbooks

Many mistakes in English textbooks, junior high school textbooks in particular, have been pointed out. Ward and Smith (1989) examined authorized English textbooks which are currently used in Japan. Eighteen English textbooks, that is, three textbooks sets by six publishers are available. All of the textbooks were examined by Ward and Smith. They found more than 90 mistakes or inappropriate expressions among them. Several examples from Japanese authorized English textbooks include:

(1)Wrong grammar

* Nuclear war is the most serious for all of us (New Horizon English Course 3, p.83).

(2) Use of pseudo loan words

*** But they had a little lunch before bedtime (Total English 3, p.14).**

(3) Use of inappropriate words

*** My father runs a baker shop (Total English 1, p.93).**

(3) Inappropriate expression

*** The streets are busy now (New Crown 1, p.77).**

Ward and Smith also showed how the wrong expression could be corrected. They also feel that words such as "litter," "disturbance" and "blast" should be graded differently than they are now. While "disturbance" and "blast" are introduced at the senior high school level, "litter" is introduced in college, they find that "litter" could be introduced earlier.

English textbooks in Japan must contain all the required words in the governmental guidelines. The grammar items to introduce are also controlled by the guidelines. Some of the inappropriate expressions found in the textbooks, therefore, may be attributed to this fact.

c. English Reference Book and Dictionary⁶

All the junior high English textbooks contain Japanese translation of introduced English words. In contrast, at senior high school level, it is common that students study English using reference books and dictionaries. Wrong and inappropriate expressions in them have been attacked within the past several years, in particular.

d. English Teaching Pedagogy

Chinese, which was the first foreign language for Japanese, was taught in Confucian studies in the Edo era as mentioned above. Rohlen describes how it was taught saying "teachers were often stiff, and their subjects were far from practical, yet Chinese learning remained a basic ingredient of Japanese education for a millennium" (1983, p.50). Surprisingly enough, this distinctive character has remained in almost all the school subjects, including English.

In classroom teaching, a form which is considered characteristic to the Japanese teaching setting is called "issei shidou" teaching. In most cases, communication is conveyed unilaterally from a teacher to learners. Learners have passive roles in the teaching process.

Although small group activity is found in elementary school, in junior and senior high school, "issei shidou" is the rule. It is worth noting that children who showed positive participation in the elementary classroom, saying "hi hi" to get the teacher to call on them, become more and more passive as they progressed through junior and senior high school.

Rohlen observed five senior high schools in Hyogo Prefecture and described them in the following way:

Keeping up with the textbook leaves little time for classroom debate, or for considering the contemporary relevance of a topic. Discussions are inherently inefficient if information loading is the central goal. Other factors, such as large class size and profound reluctance by most students to express their opinions before a group also inhibit discussion (1983, p.244).

As is shown above, even in subjects other than English whose instruction is done in Japanese, students do not have opportunities for discussion. They are not examined on expressive or critical skills in English. It is easy to imagine how difficult it would be for Japanese students to express themselves in English.

With Japan's internationalization, the need for communicative English has been more strongly emphasized than ever. Several practices to improve English teaching pedagogy have been attempted since the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1922, Harold E. Palmer came to Japan as Linguistic Adviser to the Japanese Ministry of Education. He attempted to spread the Oral Method. According to Howatt (1984), Palmer's "enthusiasm for oral methods did not always suit the established patterns of relationships in Japanese classrooms" (p.234). Howatt also pointed out two other aspects of Japanese education which made it difficult to conduct lessons concerning expressive aspects of English. One was Japanese English teachers' lack of confidence in their spoken fluency. The other was a difference in educational values. Although the oral method focused on practical skills for everyday survival, its "educational value and 'worthwhileness' were irrelevant" (Howatt, 1984, p.234).

On the other hand, Audiolingualism did not face any resistance in spreading in Japan. Audiolingualism was designed in cooperation with contemporary linguists such as Boas, Sapir and Bloomfield to meet the needs of the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP). ASTP was the intensive foreign language training. In operation, oral

drills which were led by informants or foreign teachers with native-like fluency were the main parts of the class. The method also had the following characteristics. The class was limited to ten or fewer. Seventeen-hour-lessons were offered a week. About fifty hours a week were spent for foreign language study, including preparation for the class. This was in war time, and the students were highly motivated. These special conditions made a great contribution to the success of the ASTP.

The Audiolingualism was adapted in English education in Japan without taking the difference in conditions between war time U.S. and Japan in 1960's into consideration. Regular Japanese class size was more than four times as big as that of ASTP. Only several hours were spent for English class at Japanese school. The teachers were not native speakers in almost all cases. Even so, it did not face any resistance as the Oral Method did since it does not require teachers with native-like fluency. The method was also consonant with "issei shidou."

2. Japanese Learners' Motivation

What kind of motivation and attitudes have Japanese learners experienced through the learning environments mentioned above? As mentioned in "3. Attitudes and Motivation toward Second or Foreign Language Learning outside Japan," Kamada (1987) illustrated how Japanese students' "intrinsic" motivation changed to "extrinsic" motivation. All effects of competitive entrance exams exist, and her points seem relevant. In her paper, Kamada didn't use the term "integrative" or "instrumental" even a single time. She may have

assumed that "integrative" or "instrumental" motivation is applicable only in ESL settings, not in EFL settings like Japan. Do all Japanese students study English only as a subject for entrance exams? "Integrative" motivation does exist among some Japanese. In a survey of international understanding among students from fourth to eighth grade, it was shown that America was considered the most important and familiar country for the population. 2,134 students all over Japan participated in the survey (Nakamura, 1990).

Although precise data is not available, there are many Japanese students who are interested in American culture including popular music and films. The number of Japanese students who come to study in the U.S. is increasing. They appear to have positive attitudes toward the target community.

However, it is also true that developing and maintaining integrative motivation is not so easy in EFL settings where direct contacts with people from the target community are limited. In that situation, what kind of integrative motivation can Japanese students develop? To what do they integrate themselves? English is taught as an international language. Although the U.S. is the most influential country for Japan, English is spoken in many countries besides the U.S. Therefore, it is misleading to assume that almost all Japanese students think of integrating themselves with Americans. I hypothesize that there are some Japanese whose targets of integrative motivation are other Japanese or other international speakers of English who have excellent English proficiency. Takefuta (1989) pointed out that many Japanese with outstanding English proficiency fortunately had Japanese teachers of

English with high proficiency. This may imply that the students' contact with teachers and their English classroom experiences are important for developing motivation. As Dörnyei (1990) pointed out, task motivation plays a very important role in EFL settings. More research on task motivation in EFL classrooms will be needed.

It has been reported that Japanese students who had at least a few years' experience overseas have been victims of bullying by other Japanese students. Their English proficiency was much higher than that of other Japanese students without overseas experience. However, they were not regarded as a target of integration themselves. I imagine that foreignness among the returnees invited attack from their peers who were accustomed to the Japanese homogeneous society⁷ which sometimes does not allow individualistic attitudes. Students might want to be like outstanding Japanese speakers of English rather than wanting to think and behave as Americans do.

IV Questionnaires as a Means to Measure Motivation and Attitudes

A. Examination of the past questionnaire items

In the past few decades, many trials to measure learners' attitudes and motivation by administering questionnaires have been attempted. However, many unexpected results which were not consonant with the researchers' working hypothesis were obtained (Chihara and Oller, 1978; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Akimoto, 1988).

This section reviews the two past questionnaires used by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) respectively and discusses their validity and applicability to Japanese settings. Their applicability and validity are discussed assuming the use of literal translation of the questionnaire with rewording of the target language from French to English in mind.

1. Procedures used by Gardner and Lambert in 1972

The pioneer work in this field was done by Gardner and Lambert. They developed two kinds of questionnaires. One was for English-Speaking American students. The other was for French-American students. The former questionnaire is discussed here.

a. Procedures used with English-speaking American students

The questionnaire contains sections to determine students' orientation towards studying French, anomie, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, motivation, and other attitudes. The questionnaire consists of four types of items: multiple choice, open-ended question, Likert scale⁸ and semantic differential.

(1) Orientation index

This section contains the items listed below.

I am studying French because:

- _a. I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.
- _b. I think it will help me to better understand French people and their way of life.
- _c. It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.
- _d. A knowledge of two languages will make me a better educated person.
- _e. Any other personal reason.

The students were asked to rank these values. Gardner and Lambert tried to categorize the subjects' orientation as 'integrative' or 'instrumental' according to the priority which they reflected in their choice of statements.

Though statement "c" was seen as a measure of integrative motivation, it can be classified into both orientations. For example, Japanese businessmen with instrumental orientation may have chances to "meet and converse with more and varied people" in business. The similar circumstances may involve people with integrative orientation. Although Gardner and Lambert considered it only as an index of integrative orientation, it is not necessarily the case.

(2) Student's orientation

This section contains the items listed below.

- a. What advantages do you think there are for being able to speak French?

- b. What disadvantages are there for not being able to speak French?
- c. What type of personal satisfactions do you think you would experience if you could speak French well?

Students' responses were classified into two types, that is, instrumental or integrative by the researchers. It is noteworthy that only the expressive aspect of French proficiency was mentioned in the statements. Furthermore, it was not mentioned how they dealt with responses which didn't clearly belong to either integrative or instrumental orientation.

(3) Rating of integrative orientation

This section contains the following items.

- a. It (studying French) will help me to understand better the French people and their way of life.
- b. It will enable me to gain good friends more easily among French-speaking people.
- c. It should enable me to begin to think and behave as the French do.
- d. It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.

As is discussed in the chapter I, both the strong version of integrativeness which Graham calls 'assimilative motivation' and the weak version which is used in Gardner's later work are included here. Considering the Japanese EFL setting and the big cultural differences between the English speaking community and Japan, statement "c," which shows feelings more specific to ESL settings, may not be relevant to Japanese subjects.

(4) Rating of instrumental orientation

Four statements which indicate instrumental orientation are listed. Students used this rating scale.

Not my feeling ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: ____: Definitely
at all my feeling

Statements which indicate instrumental orientation are listed below.

- a. I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job.
- b. One needs a good knowledge of at least one foreign language to merit social recognition.
- c. I feel that no one is really educated unless he is fluent in the French language.
- d. I need it in order to finish high school.

Except for the item "d," the items in this section are similar to the one used in the section Orientation Index. Does item "d" really reflect the subjects' instrumental orientation? I think it is possible that nearly all subjects will mark it as "definitely my feeling" if French is a required subject. It is questionable whether this item reflects subjects' instrumental orientation or not. As for the subjects in this study, foreign languages were not required subjects.

(5) Anomie

This section contains the following twelve items. Item "2" and "8" are reversed items, and disagreement reflects anomie.

1. In the U.S. today, public officials aren't really very interested in the problems of the average man. (Modified Srole [1951] item.)

2. Our country is by far the best country in which to live.
(Disagreement reflects anomie.)
3. The state of the world what it is, it is very difficult for the student to plan for his career.
4. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better. (Original Srole item.)
5. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on. (Original Srole item.)
6. It is hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future. (Original Srole item.)
7. No matter how hard I try, I seem to get a "raw deal" in school.
8. The opportunities offered young people in the United States are far greater than in any other country.
(Disagreement reflects anomie.)
9. Having lived this long in this culture, I'd be happier moving to some other country now.
10. In this country, it's whom you know, not what you know, that makes for success.
11. The big trouble with our country is that it relies, for the most part, on the law of the jungle: "Get him before he gets you."
12. Sometimes I can't see much sense in putting so much time into education and learning.

The concept of anomie was proposed by Emile Durkheim (1897) in France. According to Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, the definition of 'anomie' is "social instability resulting from a breakdown of standards and values; also personal unrest, alienation, and uncertainty that comes from a lack of purpose or ideals."

Srole (1951) developed a scale of anomie to measure subjects' social incertitude. Gardner and Lambert wrote "the immigrant as well as the bilingual person must also struggle against tremendous odds to keep and maintain comfortable contacts with two cultural traditions and retain full membership in both" (1972, p.17) and they recognized the importance of this issue. However, Gardner and

Lambert regarded anomie as a positive predictor for second language learning. They wrote;

For the serious student who really masters the foreign language, we saw the possibility of a conflict of identity or alienation arising (we used the term "anomie") as he became skilled enough to become an accepted member of a new cultural group (1972, p.132).

This view conflicts with Srole's hypothesis in that the E (ethnocentrism) Scale, F (fascism) Scale and Anomie Scale were correlated since "anomia' is a factor related to the formation of negative rejective attitudes toward minority groups" (Srole, 1951, p.712).

It is suggested that second language learners experience anomie only when they begin to develop proficiency in the target language. If learners' experience of anomie is essential for their improvement of the target language, the same anomie score obtained by them can be interpreted differently depending on the individual's experience in the target community.

To explore a clear relationship between anomie and second language proficiency, more research is necessary. This is relevant only in ESL settings. In EFL settings such as Japan, therefore, it may not be relevant.

(6) Authoritarianism

Gardner and Lambert, based on the findings among adults enrolled in French class, hypothesized that learners with lower authoritarianism might learn a foreign language better than learners with higher authoritarianism.

This section contains the following thirteen items. No reversed items are contained, and all of them were expected to reflect antidemocratic ideology.

1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
2. What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
3. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself.
4. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
5. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
6. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
7. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
8. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
9. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
10. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.
11. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
12. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
13. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

According to Gardner and Lambert, the statements above "reflect antidemocratic ideology" (1972, p.150). The items above were originally developed by Adorno (1950) to obtain a less obvious measure of "antidemocratic potential" (p. 233). Adorno and his

associates tried to characterize a fascist tendency, hoping to forestall atrocities against the Jews. Although Gardner and Lambert hoped to measure "a generalized prejudice of foreign people and ideas," (1972, p.21) the relevance of these items at present is highly questionable.

(7) Ethnocentrism

This section contains the following seven items. No reversed items were used.

1. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last fifty years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
2. Now that a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.
3. Certain people who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action or else be imprisoned.
4. Foreigners are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they get too familiar with us.
5. America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
6. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
7. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to keep the secret of the nuclear bomb.

These items were also designed "to measure ethnocentrism and suspicion of foreign people and ideas" (Gardner and Lambert, 1972, p.21). It is clear that these sentences don't describe widespread Japanese attitudes, because in Japan the number of foreigners is limited. The items are therefore probably not relevant for the Japanese setting.

(8) Preference for America over France

This section contains the following nine items. No reversed items are used.

- 1. Compared to the people of France, Americans are more sincere and honest.**
- 2. Family life is more important to Americans than it is to people in France.**
- 3. Compared to Americans, the French are an unimaginative people.**
- 4. Americans appreciate and understand the arts better than do most people in France.**
- 5. The chief stimulants to basic institutions in France have come mainly from American ideas and doctrines.**
- 6. American children are better mannered than French children.**
- 7. The French people would benefit greatly if they adopted many aspects of the American culture.**
- 8. Few French universities can match the intellectual standing of our American universities.**
- 9. The French way of life seems crude when compared to ours.**

According to Gardner and Lambert, "disagreement indicates a comparative dissatisfaction with the American in comparison to the French way of life" (1972, p.21).

Akimoto (1988) changed the wording of "French" and "American" to "American" and "Japanese" respectively. Strong correlations among these items were found. It was clear that her Japanese subjects strongly preferred Japan over America. Can the result show their ethnocentrism? It is misleading or premature to conclude that they have ethnocentric attitudes or that such attitudes may be impeding their English learning.

The factive and emotive aspects of the statements should be examined. In other words, agreement with the statement doesn't necessarily mean their preference or ethnocentrism. Interestingly enough, twenty American university students that were interviewed gave responses that were almost identical to those of the Japanese. Since the number of the subjects is small, the result may not be generalized.

However, the overlap shows the importance of checking our assumptions about how groups of people feel before we make claims or interpret data.

(9) French-American attitude scale

The original questionnaire contains sixteen items. Four items are taken up as examples here.

(Examples)

1. French-Americans contribute to the richness of our society.
2. They have produced outstanding artists and writers.
3. The more I get to know the French-Americans, the more I want to be able to speak their language.
4. French-Americans are very democratic in their politics and philosophy.

These statements are not relevant for the Japanese homogeneous setting.

(10) Motivational intensity scale

This section contains the following items.

1. Compared to the others in my French class, I think I:
_a. do more studying than most of them.
_b. do less studying than most of them.
_c. study about as much as most of them.

2. I think about the words and ideas which I learn about in my French classes:
 - _a. once in awhile. (sic.)
 - _b. hardly ever.
 - _c. very frequently.
3. If French was not taught in this school, I would probably:
 - _a. not bother learning French at all.
 - _b. try to obtain lessons in French somewhere else.
 - _c. pick up French in everyday situations. (i.e. read French books and newspapers, try to speak it when possible, and go to French movies).
 - _d. none of these
(explain)_____
4. On the average, I spend about the following amount of time doing home study in French: (include all French homework)
 - _a. four hours per week
 - _b. one hour per week
 - _c. seven hours per week
 - _d. none of these. Give approximate number of hours per week: ____ hours
5. Considering how I go about studying French, I can honestly say that I:
 - _a. do just enough work to get along.
 - _b. will pass on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence because I do very little work.
 - _c. really try to learn French.
 - _d. none of these (explain)_____
6. After I finish high school, I will probably:____
 - _a. try to use my French as much as possible.
 - _b. make no attempt to remember my French.
 - _c. continue to improve my French (e.g. daily practice, night school, etc.)
 - _d. none of these (explain)_____

This item is relevant for the Japanese setting. However, it is possible that subjects' sensitivity to social desirability may affect the data. This item should be used with subjects' social desirability in consideration.

(11) Desire to learn French

This section contains the following items below.

1. French is my _____ French is my
least preferred _____ most preferred
course ____:____:____:____:____:____:____:____: course
2. When you have an assignment to do in French, do you:
 - _a. do it immediately when you start your homework.
 - _b. become completely bored.
 - _c. put it off until all your other homework is finished
 - _d. none of these
(explain)_____
3. During French classes, I:
 - _a. have a tendency to daydream about other things.
 - _b. become completely bored.
 - _c. have to force myself to keep listening to the teacher.
 - _d. become wholly absorbed in the subject matter.
4. If I had the opportunity and knew enough French, I would read French newspapers and magazines:
 - _a. as often as I could.
 - _b. fairly regularly.
 - _c. probably not very often.
 - _d. never.
5. After I have been studying French for a short time, I find that I:
 - _a. have a tendency to think about other things.
 - _b. am interested enough to get the assignment done,
 - _c. become very interested in what I am studying.
6. If I had the opportunity to change the way French is taught in our school, I would:
 - _a. increase the amount of training required for each student.
 - _b. keep the amount of training as it is.
 - _c. decrease the amount of training required for each student.
7. I believe French should be:
 - _a. taught to all high school students.
 - _b. taught only to those students who wish to study it.
 - _c. omitted from the school curriculum.
8. I find studying French:
 - _a. very interesting.
 - _b. no more interesting than most subjects.
 - _c. not interesting at all.

In "3" and "5," students were asked about their attitudes toward French study. It is not clear how the researchers interpreted "to daydream about other things" or "to think about other things." As for "5," since other statements contain "interested" or "very interested," it is possible that the statement "to think about other things" implies a negative attitude. However, it is reported that this daydreaming can be seen in a positive light. Some researchers pointed out that daydreaming can be divided into two kinds, fear of failure daydreaming and positive-constructive daydreaming. They found that positive-constructive daydreaming increases with age among gifted children.

(12) Social inquisitiveness scale

Response to each section were to be:

I THINK OF MYSELF AS BEING:

- _1. very much like A.
- _2. more like A than B.
- _3. more like B than A.
- _4. very much like B.

(Original questionnaire contains eight passages.)

(Examples)

1. A and B were both average in athletic ability at high school but not good enough to get on first teams. A was very content to watch the first teams when they played and was considered a regular fan. B didn't enjoy being a spectator very much and went out of his way to participate in games with neighborhood teams and to learn how to play many of the less popular sports.
2. A and B spent most of their summers at the same camp. They were both very happy at camp. A was always on the go, continually doing something new and had little time to write long letters home. B was very content to participate

in the regular camp activities and she found more time to write home about all that was going on at camp.

(13) Sensitivity for others scale

This section contains the questions below.

Not like me __:__:__:__:__:__:__: Very much me (sic)

1. I believe in treating all people with kindness and respect.
2. I'm often tempted to make fun of people who do things that I consider stupid. (Reversed.)
3. I often do things my own way without thinking about how it will affect others. (Reversed.)
4. It bothers me whenever I have been rude to someone,
5. I usually have a hard time anticipating how others will feel about what I am going to say. (Reversed.)
6. I sometimes enjoy laughing at the mistakes of others. (Reversed.)
7. Often I feel it is necessary to correct people without beating around the bush. (Reversed.)
8. I often listen to other people and do my best to understand their point of view.

Subjects' sensitivity to social desirability can prevent researchers from obtaining accurate data. Some measures to prevent it such as change of wording suggested by Harter (1981) should be taken into consideration.

In her research using a self-report scale of intrinsic versus extrinsic orientation in the classroom, Harter found the true-false format revealed susceptibility to socially desirable responses. With this insight in mind, she developed questionnaires which could reduce the influence of social desirability, as in the following sample item.

By legitimizing either choice, subjects must decide which of the opinion is most true for them. (while the statements in this

section seem to be especially prone to the pressures of social desirability, other sections of the questionnaire may be susceptible as well.)

Really
True
for Me
☐

Sort of
True
for Me
☐

Really
True
for Me
☐

Sort of
True
for Me
☐

Some kids know
when they have
made mistakes BUT
without checking
with the teacher

Other kids need
to check with
the teacher to
know if they've
made a mistake.

(Harter, 1981, p.303)

(14) Parental encouragement

This section contains the question below.

How much do your parents encourage you to study French?
Not at all ____:____:____:____:____:____ Very much

This statement was written on the assumption that more parental encouragement should enhance students language learning. However, considering Japanese parents of teenagers, it is probable that the parents' main concern is their child's passing the entrance examination. It is not always the case that their encouragement has a positive influence on their child's motivation.

Although Gardner (1985) distinguished two parental roles, the active one and the passive one, this distinction may be too simple. Active encouragement can be divided into two parts. One is the extrinsically driven encouragement and the other is the intrinsically

driven encouragement. It is evident that the former may have negative while the latter may have positive effects on subjects' language learning.

(15) Parents favor student learning French

This item contains the following statement.

How do your parents feel about your learning French?
Please explain their feelings.

Explanation of the subjects' parents' feeling will surely help researchers to interpret the data accurately. Even so, possible responses such as "they hope that I will study it hard to pass the exam" fail to identify whether it has a positive or negative effect.

(16) Parents' French speaking friends

This item contains the following question.

Have you ever had the opportunity to hear French used with friends of the family? __ Please give an example ____

This item is relevant to Japanese setting.

(17) Student's French acquaintances (18) Student's French friends

This item contains the following three questions.

Do you know any French-speaking people? __ About how many? __
Are any of these really good friends? _____
How friendly are you with them? _____

This item is relevant to Japanese setting.

(19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24) Attitudinal ratings

Semantic differential questions were used. The subjects were asked to evaluate the people below using the following scale such as

mature ...immature. (20. Me, 21.Americans; 22. Me, as I'd like to be; 23. French-Americans; 24. My French teacher) The instructions were the following.

It is important that you make a separate and independent judgment of each item. Do not look back to check what you marked on earlier scales; try to keep your attention on the scale at hand. Work as rapidly as you can and do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate 'feelings' about concepts, that are of interest.(pp. 156-7)

1. Interesting	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Boring
2. Prejudiced	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unprejudiced
3. Brave	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Cowardly
4. Handsome	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Ugly
5. Colorful	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Colorless
6. Friendly	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unfriendly
7. Honest	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Dishonest
8. Stupid	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Smart
9. Kind	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Cruel
10. Pleasant	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unpleasant
11. Polite	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Impolite
12. Sincere	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Insincere
13. Successful	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unsuccessful
14. Secure	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Insecure
15. Dependable	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Undependable
16. Permissive	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Strict
17. Leader	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Follower
18. Mature	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Immature
19. Stable	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unstable
20. Happy	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Sad
21. Popular	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Unpopular
22. Hardworking	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Lazy
23. Ambitious	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not Ambitious

The subjects attitudinal ratings or change may be understood more clearly based on their degree of actual exposure to the people in question. Nakai (1990) found striking attitudinal changes among

all her Japanese students who experienced a three-week trip to the United States. Being exposed to various types of Americans, the students found more difficulty in generalizing Americans to a stereotype they had had before the trip.

In replicating adjective-pairs using the semantic differential method, special attention should be paid so that the translation may keep the original meaning.

(25) Comparative evaluation of European French and American English voices

Subjects gave their impression of European French and American English voices. As a matter of fact, they heard the voice of one bilingual person. The subjects were not informed of this fact, however.

Height	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Good Looks	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Leadership	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Thoughtfulness	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Sense of humor	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
intelligence	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Honesty	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Self-confidence	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Friendliness	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Dependability	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Generosity	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Entertainingness	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Nervousness	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Kindness	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Reliability	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Ambition	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Sociability	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
Character	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much
General likability	Very little	__:_:_:_:_:_:_	Very much

This item is relevant to Japanese setting.

(26) Comparative evaluation of French-American and American English speakers

The subjects were asked to rate the personalities of the speakers heard on each of the above traits. This item is relevant for Japanese subjects.

(40) Other than school experiences with French

This item contains the question below.

Did you learn most of your French in school? (yes or no?)
If you learned French somewhere other than school, please explain where.

This item is relevant to the Japanese setting.

(41) Self-rating of French skills

Subjects assessed their perception of competence in a second language in the following way.

I speak French: not at all__ a little__ fairly well__ fluently__
I read French: not at all__ a little__ fairly well__ fluently__
I write French: not at all__ a little__ fairly well__ fluently__

This item allows researchers to obtain only a general assessment. Self-evaluation in this manner can lead very subjective results. To save the situation, using can-do scale may be better.

In can-do scales, the subjects are given specific skills and they rate whether they can do or not. One language skill is broken into several kinds according to the skill level, and it enables researchers to get more accurate data. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Proficiency Guidelines and

the ACTFL/ETS Scale are good examples. Second language learners are categorized into nine groups depending on their skill levels.

However, in EFL settings where exposure to native speakers is limited, it is again difficult for students to assess their proficiency of speaking in particular. For those learners, to identify what is "sufficient vocabulary for handling simple needs and expressing basic courtesies" is another consideration. Can-do scales which have been developed for EFL settings are needed⁹.

(42) Rating of Mother's French skills

(43) Rating of Father's French skills

The items concerning parents' skills in the target language seem to be relevant to the Japanese setting. Since parents' skills can be assessed differently depending on the children's proficiency, however, it may be dangerous to rely on these subjective data.

2. Procedures Used by Gardner (1985)

Instructions and items from Gardner's attitude/motivation test battery (AMTB) (1985) are presented here. The AMTB consists of three types of questionnaires: Likert, multiple choice, and semantic differential. The numbering system below is not a part of the original questionnaire, but is used here to outline the questionnaire contents.

The following instructions and examples were for all items except for Motivational intensity, Desire to learn French, and Orientation index.

Following are a number of statements with which some people agree and others disagree. There are no right or wrong answers since many people have different opinions. We would like you to indicate your opinion about statement by circling the alternative below it which best indicates the extent to which you disagree or agree with that statement. Following is a sample item. Circle the alternative below the statement which best indicates your feeling.

1. Canadian hockey players are better than Russian hockey players.

strongly disagree	moderately disagree	slightly disagree	neutral	slightly agree	moderately agree	strongly agree
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In answering this question, you should have circled one of the above alternatives. Some people would circle strongly disagree, others would circle strongly agree, and still others would circle one of the alternatives in between. Which one you circled would indicate your own feelings based on everything you know and have heard. Note, there is no right or wrong answer. All that is important is that you indicate your personal feeling.

Please give your immediate reactions to each of the following items. Don't waste time thinking about each statement. Give your immediate feeling after reading each

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statement. On the other hand, please do not be careless, as it is important that we obtain your true feelings.

The instructions like the one above are very important to get honest data from the subjects. The instructions are applicable to the Japanese setting. But in addition to the statements above, a statement such as "whatever you answer, it will never influence your course grade" and "your answers will be kept secret" should be added to get honest feedback.

Type 1 Likert type (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H)

A. Attitudes toward French Canadians

This section contains the following ten statements.

1. French Canadians are a very sociable, warm-hearted and creative people.
2. I would like to know more French Canadians.
3. French Canadians add a distinctive flavour to the Canadian culture.
4. English Canadians should make a greater effort to learn the French language.
5. The more I get to know the French Canadians, the more I want to be fluent in their language.
6. Some of our best citizens are of French Canadian descent.
7. The French Canadian heritage is an important part of our Canadian identity.
8. If Canada should lose the French culture of Quebec, it would indeed be a great loss.
9. French Canadians have preserved much of the beauty of the old Canadian folkways.
10. Most French Canadians are so friendly and easy to get along with that Canada is fortunate to have them.

Most of the statements are applicable only for Canada's heterogeneous setting, therefore, they are not relevant for the homogeneous Japanese setting. Only positively worded statements are used. Although it is considered a rule that the items should also

contain reversed items to obtain accurate data, reversed items were not used. Gardner explained that he decided to use only positively worded statements since the section dealt with very sensitive matters.

B. Interest in foreign languages

This section contains the following ten statements.

1. If I were visiting a foreign country I would like to be able to speak the language of the people.
2. Even though Canada is relatively far from countries speaking other languages, it is important for Canadians to learn foreign languages.
3. I wish I could speak another language perfectly.
4. I want to read the literature of a foreign language in the original language rather than a translation.
5. I often wish I could read newspapers and magazines in another language.
6. I would really like to learn a lot of foreign languages.
7. If I planned to stay in another country, I would make a great effort to learn the language even though I could get along in English.
8. I would study a foreign language in school even if it were not required.
9. I enjoy meeting and listening to people who speak other languages.
10. Studying a foreign language is an enjoyable experience.

The statements listed above are relevant for the Japanese context. Again, only positively worded statements were used. The section should therefore contain reversed items to obtain more accurate data. Only statements "5" and "6" contain the adverbs "often" and "very" which emphasize the meanings of the statements. Thus the degree of intensity of the statements "5" and "6" differ from the others, and the meaning of the responses to them may also differ.

Consequently, careful attention in interpreting the data is necessary.

C. Attitudes toward European French people:

This section contains the following statements.

1. The European French are considerate of the feelings of others.
2. I have a favourable attitude towards the European French.
3. The more I learn about the European French, the more I like them.
4. The European French are trustworthy and dependable.
5. I have always admired the European French people.
6. The European French are very friendly and hospitable.
7. The European French are cheerful, agreeable and good humoured.
8. I would like to get to know the European French people better.
9. The European French are a very kind and generous people.
10. For the most part, the European French are sincere and honest.

Once more, reversed items should be included. As French is used in countries such as France, Switzerland and Belgium, the peculiarities concerning only these nations listed above in this case may be relevant. However, the areas in the world where English is spoken are much more widespread. The United States is not the only country that Japanese learners of English think of as their target language community. At present, more and more Japanese are getting interested in other English speaking countries such as England, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Characteristics of English as an international language should be taken into consideration.

D. Attitudes toward learning French

This section contains ten statements. Five are positively worded and another five are negatively worded. For the purpose of the research, these statements were presented in a random order to the subjects. The order of the statements used in the research is not available.

Positively worded items

1. Learning French is really great.
2. I really enjoy learning French.
3. French is an important part of the school programme.
4. I plan to learn as much French as possible.
5. I love learning French.

Negatively worded items

6. I hate French.
7. I would rather spend my time on subjects other than French.
8. Learning French is a waste of time.
9. I think that learning French is dull.
10. When I leave school, I shall give up the study of French entirely because I am not interested in it.

The statements listed above seem relevant for the Japanese setting.

E. Integrative orientation:

This section contains the following statements.

1. Studying French can be important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with fellow Canadians who speak French.
2. Studying French can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.
3. Studying French can be important for me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature.

4. Studying French can be important for me because I will be able to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups.

The statements "2" and "4" are relevant for EFL settings such as Japan. As for statements "1" and "3," some modification is necessary, since they are applicable only in bicultural settings.

F. Instrumental orientation

This section contains the following statements.

1. Studying French can be important for me only because I 'll need it for my future career.
2. Studying French can be important for me because it will make me a more knowledgeable person.
3. Studying French can be important for me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.
4. Studying French can be important for me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of a foreign language.

In spite of many attempts made to clearly distinguish between integrative and instrumental motivation, the two are still not clearly distinguishable. More attention had been paid to the components of integrative motivation rather than instrumental motivation, Gardner (1985 and elsewhere) introduced the notion of "integrative motive" and modified his original definition. As for instrumental motivation, Spolsky (1989) stated that "An integrative reason is when I learn a language in order to become like or even join the people who speak the language; all other reasons are instrumental" (p.137). Considering the complex nature of instrumental motivation, it would appear that further refinement of the nature of instrumentality is needed. If the statements reflect

only the original definition of the above two motivations, the questionnaires may fail to obtain accurate data.

For most Japanese junior high school students and senior high school students who want to enter universities, some statement about the desire to pass the entrance examinations should be added. For Japanese university students, it is probable to add a third cluster, other than integrative and instrumental ones, which is "learning English because it is a requirement."

G. French class anxiety

This section contains the following statements. No reversed items are included.

1. It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in our French class.
2. I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in our French class.
3. I always feel that the other students speak French better than I do.
4. I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my French class.
5. I am afraid the other students will laugh at me when I speak French.

To obtain more accurate data, the importance of including reversed items in the questionnaires cannot be stressed too much. As for statement "3," the statement may show just a fact rather than the subjects' feeling toward their speaking, therefore, the statement does not necessarily reflect French class anxiety.

H. Parental encouragement

This section contains the following statements.

1. My parents try to help me with my French.
2. My parents feel that because we live in Canada, I should learn French.
3. My parents feel that I should continue studying French all through school.
4. My parents think I should devote more time to my French studies.
5. My parents really encourage me to study French.
6. My parents show considerable interest in anything to do with my French courses.
7. My parents encourage me to practise my French as much as possible.
8. My parents have stressed the importance French will have for me when I leave school.
9. My parents feel that I should really try to learn French.
10. My parents urge me to seek help from my teacher if I am having problems with French.

All the statements except "2. My parents feel that because we live in Canada, I should learn French" are applicable to the Japanese setting. Statement "2" deals with the situation specific to the setting where the target language is a second language, not a foreign language.

As for parental encouragement, it is premature to make claims about its role in foreign language learning. Little research has been conducted in this respect. Among the studies, it has been reported that parental encouragement worked negatively and positively.

Furthermore, more attention should be paid to the characteristics of the context in which the research is conducted. Parents' priority in education is different from setting to setting.

Type 2 Multiple choice (I, J, K)

Motivational intensity

The multiple choice format was used in all the items in Motivational Intensity.

1. I actively think about what I have learned in my French class:
 - a) very frequently.
 - b) hardly ever.
 - c) once in awhile.

This item is relevant for the Japanese setting. The statement, if translated literally with the adverb "actively," seems much stronger than the English equivalent. Therefore, negative answer to the statement may not necessarily imply that the subjects did not think about what they learned in their French class. The choices of "b) hardly ever" and "c) once in awhile" to the statement may rather reflect that they did not engage in the type of "active" thinking implied in the statement. To avoid this kind of ambiguity, avoiding emphasizeers such as "actively" might be helpful.

2. If French were not taught in school, I would:
 - a) pick up French in everyday situations (i.e. read French books and newspapers, try to speak it whenever possible, etc.).
 - b) not bother learning French at all.
 - c) try to obtain lessons in French somewhere else.

This item is relevant in the Japanese context. In the interpretation of the data, the answer c) "try to obtain lessons in French somewhere else" got the highest score, and the second highest score was given to the answer a) "pick up French in everyday situations (i.e. read French books and newspapers, try to speak it whenever possible, etc.)"

The researcher may have assumed that learners who obtained lessons somewhere else had more motivational intensity than those

who picked up French in everyday situations. However, French proficiency of the subjects should be taken into consideration in interpreting the data. On the one hand, learners cannot read French materials or speak it without a certain level of French proficiency. On the other hand, people without French proficiency can take lessons in French somewhere else. However, it is not clear that taking lessons requires more motivation than studying it in a natural context. Provided the learners' French proficiency and the environment where they live, it may be more convenient and rewarding for them to take lessons rather than to pick up French in everyday situations. Answer c) "TRY TO OBTAIN lessons in French somewhere else" (Capitals by the author) presupposes that there is a difficulty in taking lessons.

3. When I have a problem understanding something we are learning in French class, I:
 - a) immediately ask the teacher for help.
 - b) only seek help just before the exam.
 - c) just forget about it.

By rephrasing the answer "a)" into "ask somebody else for help, "this item could be relevant for the Japanese setting. It is common for Japanese junior high school and senior high school students to attend cram school or to have their own tutors. Since such students have opportunities to learn the target language in other than regular school classrooms, it is misleading to regard students who do not "immediately ask the teacher for help" as having a lower motivational intensity. By changing the word "teacher" to "somebody else," the answer "a)" becomes more suitable for the Japanese context.

4. When it comes to French homework, I:
- a) put some effort into it, but not as much as I could.
 - b) work very carefully, making sure I understand everything.
 - c) just skim over it.

This item seems relevant for the Japanese setting.

5. Considering how I study French, I can honestly say that I:
- a) do just enough work to get along.
 - b) will pass on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence because I do very little work.
 - c) really try to learn French.

This item is not so irrelevant for Japanese context. "A)" and "b)" presuppose that motivational level is high as the word "really" puts stress the meaning of the verb "try." Choices are limited, and as they are extreme, no neutral choices are available.

6. If my teacher wanted someone to do an extra French assignment, I would:
- a) definitely not volunteer.
 - b) definitely volunteer.
 - c) only do it if the teacher asked me directly.

Some subjects may feel difficulty in answering this item considering that it depends on the assignment. This item could be changed to a better one by using Harter's way of writing questionnaires.

7. After I get my French assignments back, I:
- a) always rewrite them, correcting my mistakes.
 - b) just throw them in my desk and forget them.
 - c) look them over, but don't bother correcting mistakes.

Japanese teachers often advise their students to rewrite their answers. Therefore, the item may not reflect the subjects' motivational intensity but, rather, more accurately reflect their

study habits. It is also clear that rewriting the assignments and correcting their mistakes are more socially accepted than throwing the assignments in their desks. Again, by using Harter's method, this item can be changed to a better one.

8. When I am in French class, I:
- a) volunteer answers as much as possible.
 - b) answer only the easier questions.
 - c) never say anything.

This item deals with qualitative and quantitative aspects of the subjects' risk taking in the classroom in relation with one item. By changing the item that focuses on one aspect, subjects will have less difficulty in choosing the answer. For example, if the item focuses on the qualitative aspect of risk taking, a) "volunteer answers as much as possible" should be changed to one such as "to try to answer difficult questions as well as easy ones."

9. If there were a local French T.V. station, I would:
- a) never watch it.
 - b) turn it on occasionally.
 - c) try to watch it often.

This item may be applicable to the Japanese setting. Note the wider and more representative range of possible answers are here, compared with item "8."

10. When I hear a French song on the radio, I would:
- a) listen to the music, paying attention only to the easy words.
 - b) listen carefully and try to understand all the words.
 - c) change the station.

In this item, b) "listen carefully and try to understand all the words" got the highest score, and a) "listen to the music, paying

attention only to the easy words" got the second highest score. It seems that the researcher mixes up the subjects' motivation of French study with their French proficiency. Learners with a low level of French proficiency are obliged to "pay attention only to the easy words" no matter how motivated they are to "listen carefully and try to understand all the words."

Therefore, this item should be revised to have three sentences with different degrees of motivation in order to understand the words in a French song on the radio better.

J Desire to learn French

1. During French class, I would like:
 - a) to have a combination of French and English spoken.
 - b) to have as much English as possible spoken.
 - c) to have only French spoken.

Subjects were asked to indicate the degree of native language use they desired in the foreign language classroom. The more subjects preferred the use of the target language in the classroom, the higher the score they got in the "Desire to learn French" scale.

However, their enjoyment of the target language use in the classroom may depend on their French proficiency rather than on their desire to learn French. For example, for the learners with low French proficiency, no matter how motivated they are, if help in the native language is not available, they may not be able to understand or enjoy its use. Therefore, subjects with a strong desire to learn may not necessarily prefer a class with an exclusive use of the target language.

2. If I had the opportunity to speak French outside of school, I would:
- a) never speak it.
 - b) speak French most of the time, using English only if really necessary.
 - c) speak it occasionally, using English whenever possible.

This item seems relevant for the Japanese setting.

3. Compared to my other courses, I like French:
- a) the most.
 - b) the same as all the others.
 - c) least of all.

This item seems applicable to the Japanese context. In Japanese junior high school and senior high school settings, it is common for students to take more than eight academic subjects. Therefore, it may be difficult for them to rate their English class preference if only given three choices. The use of the scale with more choices might enable this item to get more accurate data.

4. If there were a French Club in my school, I would:
- a) attend meetings once in awhile.
 - b) be most interested in joining.
 - c) definitely not join.

This item seems relevant for the Japanese setting. To make this item better, a choice of "attend meetings regularly or often" could be added.

5. If it were up to me whether or not to take French, I:
- a) would definitely take it.
 - b) would drop it.
 - c) don't know whether I would take it or not.

This item may be relevant for the Japanese university context. The answer b) "would drop it" implies that subjects joined the class

and then dropped out. No choice of "would not take it" is available, and, it should be added in order to improve this item.

In junior and senior high school settings, English is treated as if a required subject¹⁰, and no one can drop it. So this item is invalid.

6. I find studying French:
- a) not interesting at all.
 - b) no more interesting than most subjects.
 - c) very interesting.

This item seems applicable to the Japanese setting.

7. If the opportunity arose and I knew enough French, I would watch French TV programmes
- a) sometimes.
 - b) as often as possible.
 - c) never

This item seems relevant for the Japanese context.

8. If I had the opportunity to see a French play, I would:
- a) go only if I had nothing else to do.
 - b) definitely go.
 - c) not go.

This item seems relevant in the Japanese setting.

9. If there were French-speaking families in my neighbourhood, I would:
- a) never speak French with them.
 - b) speak French with them sometimes.
 - c) speak French with them as much as possible.

This item seems relevant for the Japanese context.

10. If I had the opportunity and knew enough French, I would read French magazines and newspapers:
- a) as often as I could.
 - b) never.
 - c) not very often.

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This item could be used in the Japanese setting. However, semantic differences in the statements from one item to another should be taken into consideration. For example, both items "10" and "7" try to measure the subjects' desire to learn by letting them choose their preferred frequency of French TV programmes and French magazines and newspapers respectively. A) "sometimes" in item "7" and c) "not very often" in item "10" get the same score. In the continuum from "never" to "as often as possible," it is clear that the meaning of the above two phrases are far apart. By using consistent wordings to show the frequency in the statements, the result of the subjects' responses to them would be more clearly understood.

K. Orientation index

1. I am studying French because:

- a) I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job.
- b) I think it will help me to better understand French people and way of life.
- c) It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.
- d) A knowledge of two languages will make me a better-educated person.

Choice b) "I think it will help me to better understand French people and way of life" and c) "It will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people" got higher scores than the other statements. It is clear that the two above statements reflect Gardner's concept of integrative motivation, though the concepts of integrativeness have been modified from his original views of 1972.

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On the other hand, a) "I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job" and d) "a knowledge of two languages will make me a better-educated person" got lower scores. It is questionable whether the two statements above reflect what Gardner calls instrumental motivation. As is shown in Chapter III, many Japanese people study English with a cultural purpose in mind. Since it appears that the definition of instrumental and integrative motivation is not a clear-cut one, whether the statement d) "a knowledge of two languages will make me a better-educated person" should be categorized into integrative or instrumental motivation is not clear. If we accept Spolsky's definition of instrumental motivation that all motivation other than integrative motivation is instrumental, it appears that "d)" shows instrumental motivation.

Type III Semantic differentials

Semantic Differential Assessments of My French Teacher and My French Course

My French teacher		
efficient	__:__:__:__:__:__	inefficient
insensitive	__:__:__:__:__:__	sensitive
competent	__:__:__:__:__:__	incompetent
insincere	__:__:__:__:__:__	sincere
unapproachable	__:__:__:__:__:__	approachable
pleasant	__:__:__:__:__:__	unpleasant
trusting	__:__:__:__:__:__	suspicious
incapable	__:__:__:__:__:__	capable
tedious	__:__:__:__:__:__	fascinating
friendly	__:__:__:__:__:__	unfriendly
exciting	__:__:__:__:__:__	dull
organized	__:__:__:__:__:__	disorganized
unreliable	__:__:__:__:__:__	reliable

unimaginative	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	imaginative
impatient	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	patient
polite	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	impolite
colourful	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	colourless
unintelligent	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	intelligent
good	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	bad
industrious	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unindustrious
boring	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	interesting
dependable	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	undependable
disinterested	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	interested
inconsiderate	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	considerate

The semantic differential method was used to evaluate subjects' French teacher in both the 1972 and 1985 questionnaires. In the 1972 version, the semantic differential was also used to measure subjects' evaluation of self, of Americans and of French Americans.

The 1972 version contained 23 adjective pairs, and the 1985 version contained 25 adjective pairs. The adjective pairs in common are "sincere," "pleasant," "friendly," "polite," "interesting," and "dependable" only. All the other adjectives were changed.

In all the pairs except "8," "stupid-smart," the adjective with positive meaning comes first in the 1972 version. However, in the 1985 version, eleven out of the 25 pairs were reversed such as "impatient-patient." This increase of reversed items is an improvement to avoid response set.

This item seems relevant for the Japanese setting.

My French course

meaningful	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	meaningless
enjoyable	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unenjoyable
monotonous	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	absorbing
effortless	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	hard

awful	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	nice
good	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	bad
simple	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	complicated
disagreeable	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	agreeable
fascinating	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	tedious
worthless	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	valuable
necessary	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unnecessary
appealing	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unappealing
useless	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	useful
elementary	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	complex
pleasurable	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	painful
educational	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	noneducational
unrewarding	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	rewarding
difficult	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	easy
satisfying	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unsatisfying
unimportant	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	important
pleasant	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	unpleasant
exciting	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	dull
clear	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	confusing
colourful	_:_:_:_:_:_:_:_	colourless

This item seems relevant for the Japanese setting.

3. Suggestions To Develop Better Questionnaires

This section is a summary of the item-by-item analysis of Gardner's questionnaires above. Some problems found in several parts of Gardner's questionnaires will be discussed below and suggestions on them will follow.

(a) Use of emphasizeers in statements

It was noted that emphasizeers were used sometimes in the statements. Since subjects are expected to respond to the statements, the use of emphasizeers complicate their response. They can respond to the emphasis of the statement or respond to the original meaning of the statement without the emphasizeer.

By giving them this kind of dual task, the researcher may get ambiguous data. The use of the statements, without emphasizeers might decrease ambiguity. The strength of the affirmative or negative responses to the statement could be reflected by using a grading scale in addition to the emphasizeer-free statements.

(b) Statements of socially desirable behaviours

Many researchers have often pointed out that social desirability may distort the data (Spolsky, 1989; Harter, 1981). Although any self-reported data might have the same distortion, still there is a way to improve the questionnaire to decrease the influence of social desirability.

One possible solution to this can be found in Harter (1981). By writing a statement using the third person singular and by asking the subjects to respond to the statement, the researcher will be able to elicit freer feelings. Subjects' affirmative or negative

reaction to the statement written in the third person singular does not always mean that their actual behaviour is or is not same as that in the statement. However, Harter found that researchers had more accurate data by using such statements.

(c) Lack of reversed statements

The use of reversed statements is important to obtain more accurate data. However, only four out of 63 statements used in Gardner's research (1985) were negatively worded. Reversed statements are necessary to better the questionnaires.

B. What Questionnaires Can and Cannot Do - Their Limitations

It has been assumed that inobservable human feelings such as motivation can be measured by measuring how people respond on questionnaires. However, the often inconsistent results of questionnaires have led researchers to question their validity as a means to measure attitudes and motivation.

Furthermore, results show only the subjects' answers at the time when they responded. In other words, subjects might change their answers on a later administration, so it is desirable to conduct questionnaires several times over a period of time. In this section, several factors which should be considered in reading the data on motivation are examined first, and alternative procedures are discussed later.

1. Subjects' Intelligence

Subjects' intelligence influences the results of self-reported tests. Jones stated that "more valid results are usually obtained with older than with younger children and with intelligent than with unintelligent pupils (Jones, 1966, p.178). Validity also appears to vary depending on the nature of the topic of the questionnaires. In Akimoto's study (1988), Gardner's and Lambert's questionnaires for high school students were used for their Japanese counterparts. Many students reported that the parts covering authoritarianism and fascism were difficult, although the sentences were written in Japanese. It seems that the the Japanese high school students were not familiar with these topics.

2. Subjects' Age and Years of Study

Several researchers have reported that the more students study foreign languages, the less likely they are to have positive attitudes towards them (Jones, 1966; Gardner and Smythe, 1975). In other words, the same scores obtained with different age groups might have different meanings.

It is possible that learners' perception towards foreign language learning changes as time goes by. Rivers (1964) mentioned about the three stages of foreign language study: "launching out, getting to grips with the language, and consolidating lasting language habits at an advanced level" (p. 82).

Regarding the Japanese setting, the previous homogeneous conditions all over the country are becoming more diverse. In Japan foreign language learning is a required school subject and most Japanese used to learn English at junior and senior high school for six years. At present, however, much more opportunities to receive English instruction are available outside school. For example, many parents send their children to "juku school" to learn English before they enter junior high school. Many adults attend English classes after work. The changes are not limited to their experiences of outside school instructions. Beginning in 1992, Yamanashi Prefecture will start a new curriculum in which fifth and sixth graders will receive English lessons by native speakers in elementary school.

It used to be that subjects of the same age had all the same type of English instruction in most cases in Japan. However, the homogeneity of the teaching is changing. In other words, the same

test score might be obtained with different age groups and years of study and therefore might have different meanings. These differences are worth examining in detail.

3. Subjects' Gender

Some researchers have pointed out that the gender difference influences the score obtained in the questionnaires. For example, in the studies of social desirability, Sakurai (1984) found that female subjects scored significantly higher than male subjects. This effect was similar in both their Japanese and American subjects.

Their findings are interpreted more accurately by taking other variables into consideration. In Sakurai's study, he administered his social desirability scale to Japanese third to sixth graders. He found significant differences in the results according to the subjects' grades. The older the subjects are, the higher scores of social desirability they have.

4. Approval Motive and Social Desirability

"People describe themselves in favorable, socially desirable terms in order to achieve the approval of others" (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964, ix). This feature of human nature, what Crowne and Marlowe call 'approval motive' reflects their answers in the questionnaires and can distort the data. When it is institutionalized into a screening or selection procedure, in particular, it is likely to be a substantial factor (Oller and Perkins, 1978, p.87).

A special case of the approval motive, 'self-flattery' can also distort the data in scales asking the subject to rate himself (Oller and Perkins, 1978, p.87).

5. Response Set

Cronbach (1950) pointed out subjects' tendency to assign uncommon meanings to such responses as "agree," "uncertain" or "like" (In Crowne and Marlow, 1964, p.7).

The tendency to be consistent in views expressed across the questionnaire is also another source which prevents researchers from obtaining accurate data. "Once he (subject) is committed to agreement or disagreement with a statement about those feelings, he can be expected to express similar views about related matters. This kind of consistency may arise somewhat independently of the subject's true feelings or actual behavior" (Oller and Perkins, 1978, p.88).

6. Cultural Interpretation

Subjects answer according to their own cultural values. Without prior knowledge about the culture in which the data were obtained, accurate interpretation of the data is impossible. Developing questionnaires for a specific population, and not simply replicating the questionnaires of others can solve this problem. This complex issue was discussed in chapter III referring to the Japanese culture.

This section discussed subject variables, and certain aspects of human nature which affect the questionnaire data. As all factors listed are interwoven, it is difficult to identify which factor

influenced which questionnaire item in which manner. What is needed are more chronological studies which enable us to follow these changes in the human developmental process.

C. Alternative Procedures

This section examines the applicability of alternative procedures in the Japanese setting.

1. Personal Interview

Naiman (1978) stated that a personal interview would be a better method to measure attitudes and motivation than questionnaires. Oller (1982) criticized any self-reported measure as an fortiori language measure, since people who don't understand the questions cannot give self-flattering responses. A personal interview may be effective in this regard, because the researchers can check whether their subjects really understand the questions or not. The subjectivity of a personal interview will be decreased by making it more structured and making its evaluation criteria objective.

2. Classroom Observation

It is hypothesized that strength of motivation is posited to be a positive predictor of proficiency and has a positive influence on classroom participation (Ely, 1986a). Ely (1986b) operationalized classroom participation as the number of times a student voluntarily asked or answered a question or provided information in the target language.

Collecting information directly from classrooms appears to provide more direct data. However, several considerations of the Japanese contexts are necessary in interpreting such methods.

First, it is known that extraversion doesn't predict learners' proficiency among Japanese (Busch, 1982). Furthermore, it is

estimated that 60 - 70 % of Japanese secondary school students attend extra-study schools known as "juku." Since the regular classroom is not the only place where they receive English instruction, less positive participation of some students in regular class does not always relate to their motivation. More Japanese students state their opinions after class than during class (Mosher, 1989). Although it is common in the United States that for classroom participation to be counted for course grades, much more emphasis is placed on test results in Japan. The degree of risk which is taken in the class varies according to the teaching method. For example, communicative language teaching requires students to take more risks rather than grammar translation or audiolingual methods which are used in some classes in Japan.

The above factors suggest that special consideration may be needed in using classroom observation in Japanese, especially in secondary school settings.

As discussed above, all the alternative measurement devices have strengths and weaknesses. The discussion also shows that the questionnaire, with all its drawbacks, is a still powerful measurement device. The important matter here is to use the measurement device knowing its strengths and weaknesses.

D. Development of the Questionnaires for the Japanese Setting

The need of repeated use of the same battery in many different situations and regions has been often stated (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985), since it allows researchers to compare and contrast. Gardner also encourages development of alternative procedures. Although these two views may look incompatible, both the views are actually important to know motivation and attitudes.

For example, Gagnon (1974) stated that attitudes toward learning English varied from one geographical area to another in Canada. It is extremely important to investigate the nature of the geographical area which must influence subjects' motivation and attitudes. In case the test battery for one area was applied for another area, and the researchers were not able to obtain expected results, two possible interpretations are available. One is that the subjects of the two areas had different attitudes and motivation. The other is that the questionnaires failed to measure the subjects' motivation and attitudes in the specific area.

It is not, therefore, a simple matter to translate the items if they are to be used with another language group, or simply to change the wording of some items to make them appropriate to another setting.... Such "translation" can be done, of course, but careful attention must be paid to the meaningfulness of the resultant "new" items (Gardner and Smythe, 1981, p.512-513).

Almost all questionnaires available (Jones, 1966; Lambert and Gardner, 1972; Cooke, 1978; Gardner, 1985) were developed aiming at the subjects in ESL settings. Although Gardner used the questionnaires also in 'monolingual area' in Canada, it is apparent

that degree of monolinguality of the certain parts of Canada and EFL setting such as Japan has a big difference. Several researches, using the questionnaires originally for ESL setting which were replicated and translated to fit EFL settings, failed to obtain expected data. For instance, in their study of adult Japanese speakers in Japan, Chihara and Oller (1978) adapted and translated their questionnaires which were originally developed for Chinese students studying in the U.S.. Akimoto (1988) used the replicated and translated questionnaires of Lambert and Gardner (1972) for her study of Japanese high school students. Both the studies showed unpredictable correlations. Examining the results, Chihara and Oller questioned the validity of the attitude measures and many previous studies which used those measures (Chihara and Oller, 1978). Au attacked Gardner saying that "contextual considerations with all their vagueness may serve only to render the theory immune to disconfirming evidence" (1988, p. 91).

Unfortunately, merely explaining the conditions that caused the different results doesn't solve this complex issue. However, as anthropologist Hall mentions about the characteristics of Western science, "in most Western science, striving for replicability and rigor in methods is conducted with a view to eliminating context" (1976, p.125). In other words, we cannot approach to the reality without taking the context into consideration. What is needed here is the development of test batteries for specific settings.

Chapter V The Role of Motivation in Socio-educational Model

Learners' motivation has been considered to play an important role in second or foreign language acquisition by many researchers. Most second language acquisition models such as Schumann's Acculturation Model, however, are designed for multilingual contexts such as the U.S. without having monolingual settings such as Japan in mind.

Concerning Gardner's Socio-educational Model, it was designed taking monolingual as well as multilingual areas into consideration. The model is "concerned primarily with students in the process of studying a second language and not necessarily with individuals on the road to becoming bilinguals" (1985, p.151). It seems safe to state that up to now no complete foreign language acquisition models have been developed. However, I would like to take up Gardner's Socio-educational Model as the most complete model, and examine its applicability to Japanese contexts. I will consider several criticisms of the model that could lead to a better fit of the model to the Japanese situation.

A. The Socio-educational Model

Gardner places second language acquisition model in the paradigm of social psychology. He emphasizes that "second language acquisition is an important social phenomenon" (p.175, 1985) rather than a pedagogical or linguistic process.

First of all, second language learners are influenced by their cultural beliefs which are formed in their home environments, that is, their Social Milieu. For example, if the learners are raised in the

cultural belief that second language acquisition is very difficult, their general level of achievement will tend to be low.

The cultural beliefs concerning importance and meaningfulness of learning the language differs from setting to setting. In regard to this, Gardner suggested four types of differences such as Intelligence, Language aptitude, Motivation, and Situational anxiety. He explained these terms in the following way.

Intelligence is assumed to play a role because it determines how well or how quickly individuals understand the nature of any learning task or any explanations provided. Language aptitude, though correlated with intelligence, is defined as a series of verbal and cognitive abilities (cf. Carroll 1958; Carroll and Sapon 1959) that would play a role in language learning in that individuals with high levels of ability would be able to generalize these abilities to the new language (cf. Ferguson 1954). Motivation refers to the effort, want (desire), and affect associated with learning a second language and is seen as important in determining how actively the individual works to acquire language material. Finally, situational anxiety associated with the language itself is viewed as important because it would have an inhibiting effect on the individual's performance, thus interfering with acquisition (Gardner, 1985, pp.147-8).

The degree of importance of the above four variables in second language acquisition depends on the learners' contexts. The contexts can be categorized roughly into two kinds. One is Formal language training (in which the primary objective is instruction as in the language classroom), and the other is Informal language experience. Gardner elaborates the latter in the following way. Informal acquisition contexts, on the other hand, refer to those situations further involving the second language where instruction is not the

primary aim. Examples would be listening to the radio, attending movies, talking with others and reading, where the intent is not instruction in the second language but rather exposure to it for some purpose (e.g., entertainment or communication) (1985, p.148).

Gardner hypothesized that "the relation of motivation and anxiety to achievement would be expected to be higher than those for intelligence and aptitude for skills developed exclusively in informal contexts" (1985, p.148). Gardner believes that the relationships of Intelligence and Language Aptitude toward Informal language experience are rather weak.

Two outcomes resulting from a second language learning are Linguistic and Non-linguistic aspects. Linguistic outcomes refer to second language proficiency, and Non-linguistic outcomes are outcomes such as attitudes and values which were developed from the learning experience. The schematic representation of the theoretical model¹¹ is presented in the following way.

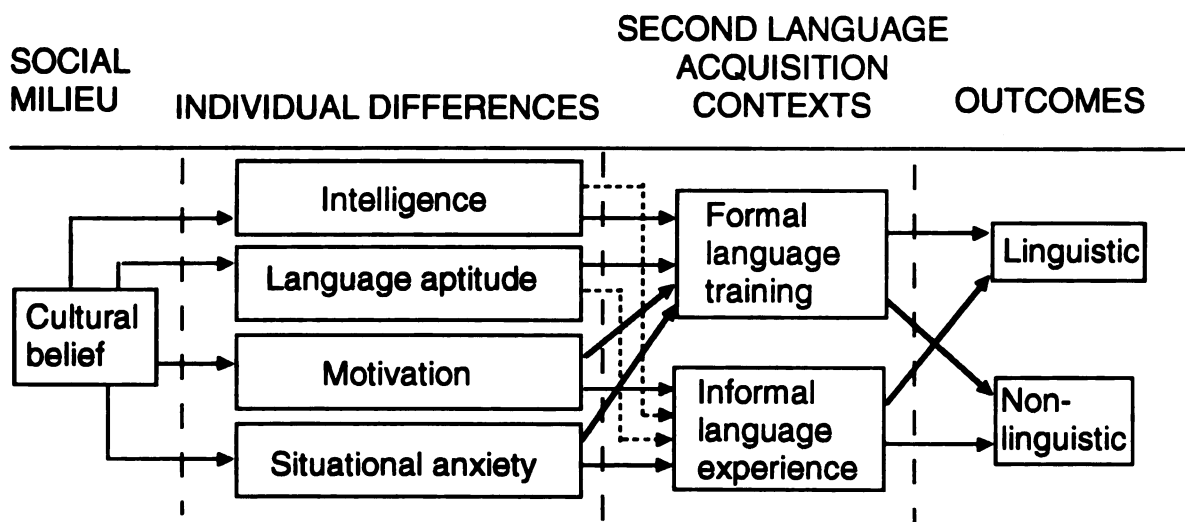


Figure 1 Schematic representation of the theoretical model
(Adapted from Gardner, 1985, p.147)

Gardner modified the model with emphasis on its major operational characteristics. The concept of the integrative motive is introduced in the operational formulation of the model. He explains the integrative motive in the following way.

...both integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation are seen as attitudinal aspects which serve as the foundation for, or cause of, the motivation to learn a second language (p.153,1985)

The concept of the integrative motive includes not only the orientation but also the motivation (i.e. attitudes toward learning the language plus desire plus motivational intensity) and a number of other attitude variables involving the other language community, out-groups in general and the language learning context (p.54,1985).

The operational formulation of the socio-educational model is presented in the Figure 2.

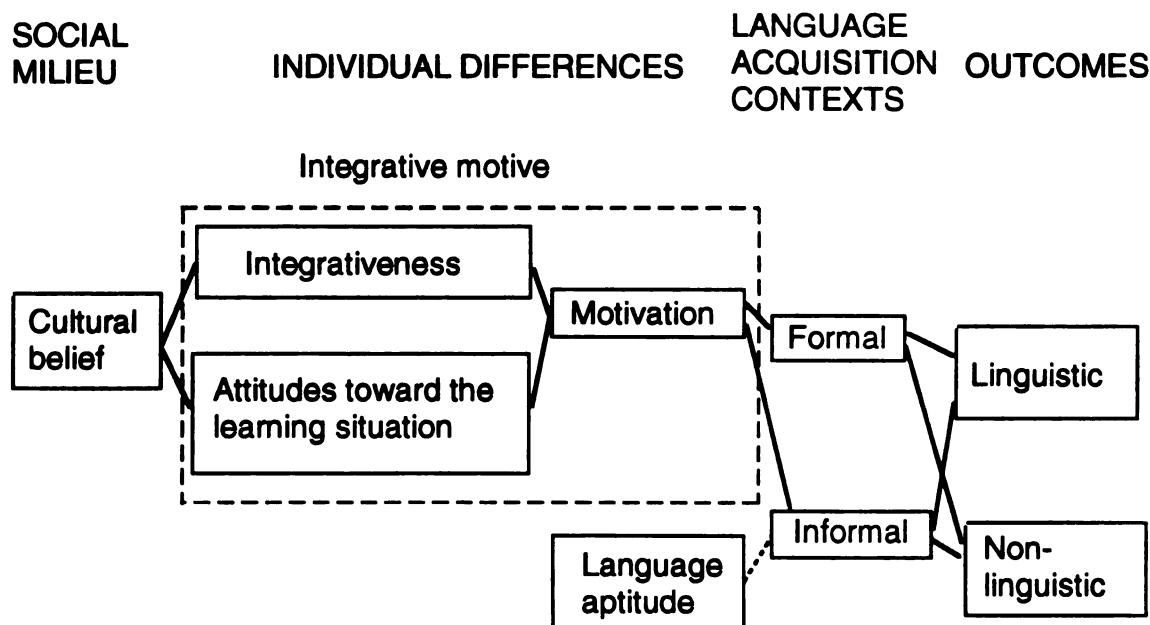


Figure 2 Operational formulation of the socio-educational model
(Adapted from Gardner, 1985, p.147)

B. Criticism on Socio-educational Model

Although the socio-educational model has been presented in many journals, "the model has not been given the credit it deserves by the second-language teaching community" (Crookall and Oxford, 1988, p.137). The model has undergone several modifications, and Gardner admits that it is still in the process of development. Thus, it may be safer to say that the true model which shows actual second language acquisition process has not come. Even so, examination of criticisms on Gardner's model would be beneficial for improvement of second language acquisition models.

The Socio-educational model has been criticized from three points of view including the validity of the questionnaires, the data analysis and the construction of the model itself. The criticism's translatability to the Japanese setting is also discussed.

1. Criticisms at the Questionnaire Level

a. Validity of questionnaires

The validity of the questionnaire as a measurement of human affective factors was questioned by Oller (1979). Oller pointed out that human traits such as approval motive, self-flattery, social-desirability, and response set could distort the responses to questionnaires. He argued that the reason why responses correlated with language proficiency was because the social desirability, self-flattery, and response set overlapped with verbal intelligence.

However, almost zero relationships between the AMI and the MLAT eliminate his explanation that intelligence determines the

scores (Wesche, Edwards and Wells, 1989). So we cannot argue that the verbal intelligence underlies foreign language proficiency.

2. Criticisms in Data Analysis Level

a. Construction of Attitude Motivation Index (AMI)

While both the validity and reliability figures for the AMI are statistically impressive (Gardner, 1989), Skehan (1989) questioned the method used to construct the AMI. The procedure used with AMI is to simply add up the scores obtained from ten measures such as Attitude Toward Learning French, Integrative Orientation, or Interest in foreign language. Skehan argued that, considering the complexity and subtlety of the theorizing, this unweighted addition is disappointingly simple.

Given the complex nature of second language acquisition, his argument is intuitively appealing. However, if the researchers weighted the scores from setting to setting, it might yield empirical research data which are needed in this field. Thus clearer understanding of the nature of the learning context is very important.

b. Integrative/Instrumental Dichotomy

Originally, the idea of integrative/instrumental motivation was investigated only in Canadian multilingual settings. The researchers were able to label an integrative motivation easily because there were learners who wanted to become like or even join the people of the target language community. The researchers could label all the other reasons as instrumental.

However, as discussed earlier, this distinction is quite controversial. To summarize, the above data appear to show that the idea of integrative/instrumental motivation from the Canadian setting is not consonant with Gardner's ambitious idea of creating a model which is applicable to various formal learning settings in the world.

Gardner (1985) stated the possibility of "other orientations such as manipulative or machiavellian [sic] one and argued for developing a procedure for assessing orientations which did not depend upon a categorical system" (p.12). Unfortunately, as long as the researchers continue using AMI, the data continue to fit into the integrative/instrumental dichotomy, and other types of motivation will not be uncovered.

3. Criticisms in the Model Construction

a. The Social Milieu and Other Variables

The influential role of the social milieu on second language acquisition is often stressed by Gardner, and its role is clear in the schematic representation of the model as is shown earlier. However, no items concerning the social milieu are available in the questionnaires. Although Gardner states that his model is subject to empirical testing, consistency between the measurement and the model is important.

b. Attitudes, Motivation and Orientation

According to Gardner's definitions, attitude is "an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent" (1985, p.9).

Orientation refers to "a class of reasons for learning a second language" (p.54). Motivation is "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language" (p.10).

Gardner made such distinctions in case of someone without at least one of the three dispositions. For example, there may be someone who has a positive attitude toward the target language, but does not bother to learn the language. Such a person can be said to have a positive attitude, but not motivation. However, all of his subjects were second language learners, and such a concern was not necessary. Gardner explained the relationships between motivation and effort in the following way:

Effort alone does not signify motivation. The motivated individual expends effort toward the goal, but the individual, expending effort is not necessarily motivated. Many attributes of the individual, such as compulsiveness, desire to please a teacher or a parent, a high need to achieve, might produce effort as would social pressure, such as a demanding teacher, impending examinations, or the promise of a new bicycle (1985, p. 10).

Gardner criticized Oller and his associates saying they made a wrong distinction among attitudes, motivation and orientation. However, 'impending examinations, or the promise of a new bicycle' are typical examples of rewards in extrinsic motivation (Deci, 1975) and this statement contradicts the tradition of educational psychology. Otherwise, it may reveal that what Gardner calls 'motivation' concerns only 'global motivation' suggested by Brown

(1981). It means that Gardner does not take motivation at the more micro level such as task motivation into consideration.

Eventually, Ellis has come to observe that "there has been no general agreement on definitions of 'motivation' and 'attitudes' or of their relation to one another" (1985, p.117). To save the situation, understanding of motivation in the framework of educational psychology as well as social psychology may be beneficial.

Summary and Conclusion

As a generalization, in countries such as Japan where a foreign language is taught as an international language, the specific community using the target language is not usually available. Information about the target communities is limited, and this lack is likely to cause misconceptions towards them. How settings are strikingly different from one another is mentioned in Chapter II.

What are the characteristics of Japan as a place to study English? The characteristics of Japanese educational setting, influence of the entrance examinations, English textbooks and ineffective pedagogy have been repeatedly stressed and are summarized above. Although several efforts to improve the situation have been attempted and some are still in progress, they appear to influence Japanese contexts only moderately at present. The major trends are as follows:

Typical Japanese junior high school students begin their English study with enthusiasm and curiosity, although it is not easy for them to maintain their motivation. English is likely to be taught in a fashion which does not necessarily enhance their communication ability or knowledge of the new culture. Contrary to the expectations by Gardner, English may be taught in the same way as other academic school subjects are taught. Competitive entrance examinations require rote memorization of grammar, and the pedagogy has many shortcomings. As a result, students lose their motivation. All the negative facts mentioned here are not independent, but interact with each other.

In order to find the learners' mental state regarding such variables as motivation and attitudes, and to determine how these matters are influenced by their contexts, self-reported measurements such as questionnaires have been used. Although a common criticism is that self-reported measurements would be influenced by the subjects' sense of social desirability and other matters, many attempts to improve the measurements have been made nevertheless. It seems safe to claim that questionnaires can be helpful as instruments.

Naturally the limitations of the measurement must be considered. Researchers could obtain more accurate data by knowing how the measurements work in different contexts. Reexamination of the contexts is essential.

As for the examination of the contexts, it should be noted that it is also very important to find whether the measurement is replicable to other settings or not. Careful examination of the characteristics of the context is the first matter to consider. Chapter IV illustrated how Gardner's questionnaires for American and Canadian settings were not replicable in the Japanese context. This, however, does not devalue Gardner's method. Open-ended questionnaires in which the subjects express their feelings freely will also help meet this need.

NOTES

1. See TOEFL: Test and Score Manual from 1990 to 1991 (Koike, 1991).
2. According to the data obtained at the Foreign Service Institute, Japanese is one of the most difficult languages to master for American learners. To attain superior proficiency, it is expected to take 720 hours to learn languages such as Spanish, French and Italian. However, from 2400 to 2760 hours of schooling are needed for them to attain the same level in Japanese. (Liskin-Gasparro, 1982) Similar results were found in the study by Diller (1978).
3. From 1992, the class size of senior high schools is 40 in some prefectures (Naigaikyoiku).
4. It was reported in Asahi Newspaper, August 18, 1989 issue that the communist system was disintegrated in Poland in 1989. A new constitution was amended and freer election was held. Tadeusz Mazowiecki was sworn in as the first noncommunist Prime Minister in Eastern Europe since Stalin had imposed communism there 40 years ago. Thus, Muchisky's study, which was conducted in the communist Poland in 1985 before the big political change, may not reflect accurately present situations.
5. All examples in this section were taken from Koko eigo kenkyu henshubu (1990a, 1990b).
6. Soejima (1990) checked Kenkyusha's New Collegiate English-Japanese Dictionary and Lighthouse English-Japanese Dictionaries which are the best selling English Japanese dictionary in Japan and found many mistakes. Kawakami (1991) checked several English reference books in Japan and found they were with many mistakes such as archaic grammar.
7. Japan's homogeneity is somewhat beginning to be lost recently. Reportedly, Japan has a population of about 124 million as of 1991. According to the Statistical Survey of Legal Migrants, the total population included 941,005 foreigners in 1988. The majority of them are Koreans with a population of 677,140. The School Basic Survey of 1988 shows that repatriate children, that is children enrolled as of May 1 whose parent(s)

had been engaged in overseas service and returned to Japan from April 1 of the previous year through March 31 of the year stated, numbered 11,124 (children under six are not included in the survey). Both foreigners living in Japan and repatriate children are increasing greatly, and Japan is beginning to be a more heterogeneous society than it used to be.

8. See Likert (1932) for further information.
9. Examples of cando-scale in ACTFL is available in Richard-Amato (1989, p.212-214).
10. Course of study by the Ministry of Education states that English is an elective not a required subject. However, in reality, it is almost impossible to take other foreign languages at junior and senior high school level.
11. Other versions of the Socio-educational model have omitted the anxiety variable assuming that it would have their effect through motivation (Gardner, 1985).

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