

**THE MOTIVATION OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS TO  
LEARN ENGLISH IN PROVINCIAL INDONESIA**

**by**

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## Abstract

The purpose of this work is to explore the motivation of young Indonesians to learn English over the first two years of formal study in a provincial junior high school. The national education system has always struggled to produce competent users of the language, yet the country's need for such graduates is never greater than at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as it responds to the social, economic and political challenges of globalization. Meanwhile motivation has always been recognised as an important factor in language learning success, but recent work has stressed its complexity and changeability over time and in particular contexts, encouraging the possibility of new discoveries in this academically unexplored territory.

Defining motivation as a dynamic constellation of contextually sensitive cognitions and affects stimulating individuals to learn, the study adopted a mixed method strategy, using questionnaires at beginning and end of the 20-month research period to track motivational trends across the whole school year group (n = 195) and developing in-depth portraits of 12 individuals through interview and classroom observation at three points. The eight school English teachers were also interviewed at the beginning.

Results showed a very high level of motivation to learn English, reflected in much autonomous learning of the language outside of school. Although there was evidence of dissatisfaction with aspects of school English lessons, this motivation was largely sustained throughout the period under study and appeared to contribute to significant gains in competence in the language among some learners. It is argued that this motivation derives its strength from identification processes, nurtured and developed through social interaction at home and in the community, which encouraged many young Indonesians in this context to view English as integral to their future lives. The study strongly suggests that understanding differences in the way learners identify with the language is an important direction for future research into L2 motivation in general. Understanding how schools and teachers promote or challenge pupils' L2 identities could lead to improvements in language pedagogy.

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## Glossary of acronyms

<i>English</i>	
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
L2	Second or Foreign Language
TESOL	Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages
FCE	First Certificate in English
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
MA	Master of Arts
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate of Education
GETIS	Global Education and Training Information Service
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AMTB	Attitude and Motivation Test Battery
SDT	Self-Determination Theory
WTC	Willingness to Communicate
FTP	Future Time Perspective
ZPD	Zone of Proximal Development
FL	Focal Learner
EF	English First (language school)
MEC	Modern English Course (language school)
FSC	Foundation Skills Course (class level at LIA)
<i>Indonesian</i>	
SD	Sekolah Dasar (Elementary School)
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Perintah (Junior High School)
SLTP	Sekolah Lanjut Tingkat Pertama (alternative name to SMP)
SMU	Sekolah Menengah Utama (Senior High School)
EBTANAS	Evaluasi Belajar Tahap Akhir Nasional (National Final-year school exams)
UAN	Ujian Akhir Nasional (National School-leaving Examination)
S1	Sarjana Satu (Bachelor's degree)
S2	Sarjana Dua (Master's Degree)
S3	Sarjana Tiga (Doctoral Degree)
KA	Kelas Akselerasi (Acceleration Class)
KU	Kelas Unggul (Prestige Class)
LKS	Lembaran Kerja Siswa (Supplementary Exercise Book)
LIA	Lembaga Indonesia-Amerika (Indonesia-America Institute)

**“A sense of participation in determining the content of life”**

Definition of happiness in Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2002). *Flow*. London: Rider.

“One day he will be married. He will acquire not just a fob watch but a junior partner, and perhaps an articled clerk, and after that a wife, young children, and a house to whose purchase he has brought all his conveyancing skills. He already imagines himself discussing, over luncheon, the Sale of Goods Act 1893 with the senior partners of other Birmingham practices. They listen respectfully to his summary of how the Act is being interpreted, and cry ‘Good old George!’ when he reaches for the bill. He is not sure exactly how you get to there from here: whether you acquire a wife and then a house, or a house and then a wife. But he imagines it all happening, by some as yet unrevealed process.”

Julian Barnes (2005) *Arthur & George* London: Vintage Books.

‘I always wonder whether some of us teachers are creating cultural upheavals by encouraging learners to ask questions, and express their opinion. In the east, somehow the younger generation is considered ‘rude’ if they question anything being taught (and a lot of teachers feel very threatened if they are asked questions!). But I also see the younger generation takes to learner autonomy as fish to water!’

Zakia Sarwar, SPELT, Pakistan, AUTO-L discussion list, 31.10.06



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In this brief introduction I first describe the personal, professional and academic motivation for choosing the topic of this doctoral study, then present an outline of its structure.

#### **1.1 Personal motivation**

Psychology was not considered a proper subject for study at the school I attended so although I went through a phase during adolescence of wanting to be a psychologist, that was one community of practice which I had no hope of joining. My first serious encounter with the topic was during my PGCE (History) course when an essay on motivation gave me a rare sense of 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997) and restored some of my self-worth (Covington, 1992) that had been lost while struggling in the classroom. The major psychological theories which featured in the essay, such as Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs and Festinger's (1957) Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, stayed with me over the years and occasionally helped me make sense of my own and others' motivations.

#### **1.2 Professional motivation**

When I next had the opportunity to study motivation, on an MA in Linguistics for ELT ten years later, I did not regard it as an urgent topic. My students in Indonesia were on British Council 'pre-departure' courses for studying at UK universities, and all had a very high level of instrumental motivation to master English for Academic Purposes and get the required IELTS score. My professional concerns were more with providing the right classroom conditions for language acquisition. In Bulgaria during the early

1990s motivation was again not a major professional issue, since the sudden opening up of the country to the west unleashed a phenomenal nationwide urge to learn English, and for teachers and teacher trainers the serious issues seemed to lie in how to satisfy (rather than stimulate) this desire through efficient classroom techniques and materials.

Only when I went back to Indonesia in the late 1990s did motivation return to my professional consciousness. Working in the state university of the province of Jambi, I found myself teaching students who professed a very high level of motivation to learn English, yet showed little evidence of achievement after 6 or more years of formal study. Our own university language centre figures indicated that about 75% of university entrants were of 'elementary' level or below – and these were presumably among the stronger graduates of high school. Many of these same students were so motivated that they would come to my house asking for private lessons; others would intercept me on campus to ask what the best method was for learning English. High desire and low fulfilment meant there was a great deal of frustration about, and from a professional point-of-view a considerable waste of human resources.

At the same time, it was evident that a small number of students, apparently from similar backgrounds and with the same educational opportunities, *had* succeeded in gaining some mastery in English. Approximately 5% of the university intake were able to score over 500 on the paper-based TOEFL test, indicating a proficiency level of 'upper intermediate'. If it was possible to discover what enabled these few individuals to transcend the contextual constraints, it might be possible to help the vast majority who failed to do so, and who presumably carried the burden of their failure with them throughout their working lives.

### **1.3 Academic motivation**

In 2000, I had the chance to return to Jambi to investigate this issue from an academic viewpoint. I undertook a small-scale study into the English-learning experiences of some first year undergraduates, with the aim of discovering what learning opportunities existed in this provincial developing country English as a foreign language (EFL)



context, and why some were more able or willing to take advantage of them. I generated the data through retrospective interviews with a selected sample of 16 students, including some high-achieving students and others more representative of the majority undergraduate population. The findings, reported in Lamb (2002), confirmed that the circumstances of foreign language learning in provincial Indonesia were indeed challenging, and suggested that the rare instances of success came in spite of, rather than due to, the services of state educational institutions. It argued for the importance of individual attributes such as aptitude, high motivation, a willingness and ability to study English autonomously, and good use of learning strategies for exploiting what learning opportunities exist, without being able to say which might be more important than others, or why or how these attributes may have arisen in some individuals rather than the others. It did note that several of the low achievers described negative learning experiences early in their school careers. The firmest conclusion was that larger-scale, probably longitudinal research was necessary to pursue this topic. I had found a project for my doctorate.

The decision to focus on motivation, among all the possible learner attributes which were implicated in second/foreign language (L2) success, was probably due to a lingering personal curiosity about why in this case motivation did not lead to achievement. After all, I never felt motivated to study French at school and yet had still managed to gain an 'O' level; here were millions of Indonesian teenagers with a deep motivation to study English, and yet without any meaningful competence. What exactly was going on at junior high school that could apparently nullify the benefits of this powerful motivation for most, if not all, pupils? This is the 'real world' problem at the heart of this study, and I return to it in the conclusion to consider how far the question has been answered.

## **1.4 Organization of the study**

The study begins (Chapter 2) with a brief description of the Indonesian education system as it responds to the needs of national development in an era of globalization. One of its biggest challenges is the ever-expanding role of English in global society and economy, and the chapter finishes with a closer look at the condition of English

language education in Indonesia at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Chapter 3 reviews the current state of our knowledge about motivation to learn. Given the volume of academic literature on the topic, this review will not be a comprehensive survey but will focus on developments in L2 motivation theory, only branching out into general educational motivation when it can offer something particularly relevant to the context of the study.

Drawing on my understanding of the Indonesian setting and motivation theory, Chapter 4 sets out the specific purposes of the study. The three research questions are presented and explained with reference to a working definition of the concept of motivation. Chapter 5 then discusses the approach taken to answering these questions, and describes the research methodology in some detail, including the nature of the school chosen as the research site, the sample of pupils selected for study, a timeline of the field work and a full description of each instrument for data generation.

The next three chapters present an analysis of the data set against the research questions, beginning with the initial findings at the start of the 20-month research period (Chapter 6), continuing with an analysis of how the pupils' motivation to learn English had apparently changed by the end of the period (Chapter 7), and then looking at the internal and external factors associated with these changes (Chapter 8). Chapter 9 then returns to the literature on L2 motivation to see how some important contemporary theories can help interpret the findings and offer more nuanced answers to the research questions. Chapter 10 summarizes these answers and, notwithstanding flaws in design and implementation, argues for the study's contribution to knowledge and contemporary L2 motivation theory. It also proposes further research into what remains a highly significant topic for many millions of potential English-users in Indonesia and elsewhere.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE INDONESIAN CONTEXT

This is an investigation into the motivation of a specific group of young people, learning a particular language in a unique institutional, social and geographical setting at one historical moment (2002-4). A broad description of this setting is therefore as essential as the description of the intellectual context for the study which follows in Chapter 3. In this chapter I briefly describe the Indonesian system of education and some observable trends within it. I then discuss the position of English in Indonesian society and in the education system, with a particular focus on junior high schools, drawing on my own experience of life and work in the country, on press and official reports, and where available, on academic sources.

#### 2.1 National system of education

School education in Indonesia follows a 6-3-3 pattern, of which the first six years of primary school (SD) and three years of junior high school (SMP) are compulsory, while the final three years of senior high school (SMU) are optional. The majority of children attend state schools under the control of the Ministry of National Education, though private schools are common and in some areas (especially in Java) outnumber state institutions; the cost and quality of the two types of school are often similar and they both follow the national curriculum. About 10% of children attend Islamic schools with a distinct curriculum, either *Madrassah* (day schools) or *Pesantren* (boarding schools) which come under the aegis of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In the final year of each school students take a national examination (EBTANAS or UAN), and their performance can be instrumental in determining their next institution (there is often a residence criterion too for local schools). An outline of the system is presented in Figure 1.

<b>Age</b>	<b>Under Ministry of National Education</b>	<b>Under Min. of Religious Affairs</b>	<b>Exams</b>
4 5	<b>Taman Kanak-Kanak (TK)</b> (kindergarten)		
6 7 8 9 10 11	<b>Sekolah Dasar (SD)</b> (primary school)	<b>Madrassah/ Pesantren</b>	<b>EBTANAS</b>
12 13 14	<b>Sekolah Menengah Perintah (SMP)</b> (junior high school)	<b>Madrassah/ Pesantren</b>	<b>EBTANAS</b>
15 16 17/18	<b>Sekolah Menengah Utama (SMU)</b> (senior high school) General                      Vocational	<b>Madrassah/ Pesantren</b>	<b>UAN</b>
18/19 20 21 22	<b>S1</b> (Undergraduate)	<b>D1/2/3</b> (Diploma)	<b>Islamic Universities</b>
23-	<b>S2</b> (Master's)  <b>S3</b> (Doctorate)		<b>S2</b> (Master's)  <b>S3</b> (Doctorate)

Figure 1 Overview of the Indonesian Education System.

Schools are a highly visible part of Indonesian society, partly because of the high birth rate and the huge numbers of children who can be seen travelling to and from school each day in their vividly coloured uniforms – mauve for primary school, navy for

junior high and light blue for senior high. As reflected in the children's apparel, the education system is uniformly stratified and tightly controlled by the government. The national curriculum is ultimately based on the state ideology of *Pancasila* and its five overarching principles of Belief in one God, Humanity, Unity, Democracy and Social Justice; it is formulated in Jakarta and applied to all non-religious schools across the archipelago. School architecture is of a uniform design, usually one- or two-storey buildings based around a quadrangle containing a flagpole, which is the focal point of school assembly each day. This area explodes with noise and activity at break times, and more often than not presents a fair impression of a happy vibrant community.

With a very poor and limited infrastructure left behind by the Dutch colonial rulers in the 1940s, education has always been viewed as an important element in Indonesia's national development, and the World Bank described its early growth as "one of the most successful cases of large-scale school system expansion on record" (cited in The British Council, 2003: ¶1). However, in recent decades investment in education has lagged far behind those of its south-east Asian neighbours. At the turn of the century, UNESCO figures (UNESCO, 2005) show that only 9% of total government expenditure was spent on education, the second lowest figure for all Asian nations and considerably less than Malaysia (25%) and Thailand (31%). According to *The Jakarta Post* newspaper (Suparno, 2005), this had fallen to 6.5% in 2004, despite consistent government pledges to raise it to over 20%. The economic crises of recent years have put further pressure on government education budgets.

Given this low level of investment, many of the problems identified in Beeby's (1979) report on the state of Indonesian education in the 1970s – high drop-out rates in rural areas, lack of textbooks and other resources, uninspired school management and poor quality of teaching – persist to the present day. A survey of education (Coleman et al., 2004) in the Sumatran province of Riau conducted in 2003-4 found all these problems to be common, amidst some hopeful signs of change. Even a Minister for Education admitted in 1999 that "an overloaded curriculum, uninteresting teaching methods, and passive learning process have contributed to shape an education system in need of total reform" (Juwono, cited in The British Council, 2000: ¶1). The next section describes key aspects of the system in more detail.



### **2.1.1 Facilities**

Despite the pleasant and cheerful countenance of most schools, many structures are in a poor state of repair. Classrooms are usually clean but spartan, with rows of fixed wooden desks receding in pairs from the blackboard to the back of the room. The only form of cooling system in most classrooms is the open windows, though this makes the pupils vulnerable to noise and other distractions from the school quadrangle or the world outside. Walls are usually bare but for photos of the president and vice-president, a set of classroom 'rules' or absence list, and perhaps a map or poster of a national hero. The Riau survey (Coleman et al., 2004) found that few schools in that province had a functioning library and even fewer had a science laboratory or provided any computers for pupil use, while outside the major cities there is a severe shortage of textbooks.

### **2.1.2 Curriculum**

The curriculum is set by the national government and disseminated to schools mainly through the issue of new textbooks. It has been regularly revised to reflect the changing priorities of national development, most recently in 1994, when more emphasis was given to science and technology, and in 2004 when a 'competency-based curriculum' was introduced in all subjects. The rationale for the new curriculum was "to support the creation of an educated populace whose life was peaceful, open and democratic and who could also compete openly in the global era and so improve the condition of all Indonesian citizens" (Siskandar, 2003: ¶1). However, the Riau survey (2004) found that, on the eve of its introduction, very few schools had seen a copy of the new curriculum, nor had any training been offered for implementation.

In the final year of each school, the national examination system plays a large role in determining the content of lessons. As mentioned above, the EBTANAS and UAN are high stakes tests which certify pupils' successful completion of a level and in areas where there is a choice (e.g. towns and cities) enable them to gain entry to a preferred school at the next level. As the tests are almost all multiple choice in format, lessons become dominated by knowledge accumulation and intensive practice in test-taking using mass-produced test practice booklets.



### 2.1.3 Staff

Teachers' welfare is poor and as the Riau survey (Coleman et al., 2004) argues, "many of the problems facing the education system in Riau – and in other parts of Indonesia – stem from this fact" (p. 73). Low salaries inevitably deter ambitious and talented graduates from entering the profession. Beeby (1979) noted that the quality of teachers was declining throughout the 1970s, with fewer "strong personalities and youths who exhibit analytic and independent thinking" (p. 84). Despite the authoritarian nature of the system, individual teachers have had considerable freedom in their classrooms with few formal checks on their performance, and the majority who already have civil service status have few incentives to improve. As Bjork points out, during the Suharto years:

...neither the MOEC [ministry] nor the schools communicated to educators the idea that their pedagogical skills required attention. Teachers were rarely observed in classrooms and their instructional abilities were not evaluated.

(Bjork, 2002: 256)

Some professional development opportunities, such as diploma upgrading, have been made available but they tend to be optional and restricted to urban areas (Coleman et al., 2004). In any case most teachers have to work elsewhere to earn a good living, which inevitably restricts their ability to take on professional development and also compromises their commitment to any one school. While there is variability in staff quality and qualifications in all education systems, the contrast between the intrinsically motivated and dedicated teachers and those who are coasting towards their state-pensioned retirement is perhaps starker in Indonesia than elsewhere.

### 2.1.4 Classroom methodology

According to Law no. 20 of 2003 on the national education system (cited in Coleman et al., 2004: 29), education is an opportunity for all learners to develop a range of personal, social and intellectual skills while playing an active role themselves. The Act states that education is to be carried out "through example, by arousing desire [to

learn], and by developing the creativity of participants in the learning process”<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the Riau survey team described the typical lesson thus:

The teacher reads aloud from a book, or dictates the content of a book, or writes on the blackboard (often copying onto the board what is in the book) or extemporises at length on a particular topic. The roles of pupils in lessons of this type are equally uniform. Their core task is simply to listen to the teacher. Very often they will also be expected to write down what the teacher is saying.... In addition to the core tasks of listening and writing, there will often be choral chanting by pupils and – a closely related phenomenon – pupils in chorus will complete the ends of sentences uttered by the teacher. Occasionally an individual child will be summoned to the blackboard to carry out a simple task.... No interaction between pupils is encouraged.

(Coleman et al., 2004: 93-4)

Of course the report also gives examples of talented teachers using different methods in their classrooms which have more chance of meeting the national aims of ‘arousing desire’ and ‘developing creativity’ in learners. It is also true that there is more variety in teaching methods in the early grades of primary school. But the pervasiveness of this scenario can perhaps be judged by its similarity to that described in Beeby in the 1970s. Then too lessons were characterized by teacher talk, occasional questions and answers, and much listening and note-taking on the part of pupils. “A bare two of the 105 teachers were recorded as clearly putting forward their own opinions on some aspect of a lesson,” Beeby (1979) writes; “in only three classes were students called on to make any sustained intellectual efforts of their own” (p. 78). As Beeby himself points out (*ibid.*: 79), teaching methods which encourage students to question, weigh opposing views and seek out new issues to explore would create problems for teachers whose own knowledge may not extend far beyond the content of their textbook and who lack experience of any other way of learning.

### **2.1.5 Control & competition**

For much of the post-colonial era, Indonesian education has been strictly controlled by the government. Not only has the curriculum been handed down from Jakarta but also the design of school uniforms, the decoration of classrooms, the publication of textbooks and many other aspects of day-to-day life in both state and private schools.

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<sup>1</sup> Translation of Chapter III, Article 4, Clauses 4-5 (*ibid.*: 30)

Schools were viewed by the government as a major weapon in the struggle to forge national unity (Schwarz, 2000).

In recent years, however, in line with democratization on the political scene, there have been moves to devolve power to local authority level and to roll out a programme of school-based management. A first step in the loosening of control over the curriculum was the 1994 reform which introduced an element (up to 20%) of local content. However, as Bjork (2004) reports, in most provinces the changes were very superficial, because “the role of the autonomous educator in a decentralized system required investments of time and effort that many teachers were either unprepared for or uninterested in making” (p. 253). Similarly, many district authorities have shown timidity in regulating schools in their area after so many years of implementing orders from Jakarta. According to Yusuf (2002), the school-based management programme is also running into problems, partly because so many headteachers lack the skills, as well as the budget, to take advantage of their new powers.

Nevertheless, since the demise of the Suharto regime in 1998 central government control has been loosening and the system is beginning to diversify. A free press has unleashed a wave of articles and comments over recent years criticizing the state of national education (e.g. Idrus, 2000; Radianto, Setiawan, & Abidiou, 2000; Widiastono, 2006), and there is evidence throughout the country of parents and other stakeholders becoming more involved in the running of their local schools (Werf, Creemers & Guldemon, 2001). Headteachers with initiative can and do innovate, for example by seeking new forms of income, by marketing the school and imposing entrance qualifications, by introducing ability streaming and new extra-curricular activities. As the Riau survey reports (2004: 134), greater freedom is leading to greater competition within and between schools. National and international academic competitions (e.g. the ‘Physics Olympiad’) have become extremely popular, with schools desperate for accolades to boost their image in the community. As winners and losers emerge, the Riau report warns of increasing social divisiveness.

Despite the many problems facing the Indonesian education system, it is worth repeating that most objective visitors would describe Indonesian schools as happy places. One does not see queues of parents outside the headteacher’s office demanding



higher standards of care for their child; one does see, almost universally, joyful children. Whatever their shortcomings by global comparison, or even in terms of meeting explicit national educational goals, they appear to be satisfying certain social needs. Coleman (1996) uses Street's (1984) distinction between an autonomous and an ideological view of literacy to argue that all systems of education should be judged on their own terms and not by reference to the aims and functions of other national systems. In an Indonesian case-study, Coleman (1996) shows that the events occurring within a local university lecture hall are barely comprehensible when interpreted according to the norms of a western university class, yet they provide satisfying experiences for the participants in their own cultural context, and an effective training for their future role as government civil servants by "inculcating a highly developed sense of status and an awareness of the proprieties required for the maintenance of a stable society" (p. 78). It is likely that the uniform pedagogic practices of schools, described above, also evolved to serve various social goals (which may or may not be relevant to contemporary Indonesian society).

It is also important to remember that state schools are not the only possible site for education. Ambitious parents with means may choose to send their children to elite private schools, or provide private tutoring, or supply them with books and computers so that they can learn at home. Even for many families of average income the line between state and private systems is becoming blurred, as state schools increasingly charge parents for many of their costs (e.g. textbooks, extra-curricular activities, supplementary payments to teachers) and private schools in many areas (notably Java) are barely more expensive than – or educationally superior to – local state schools.

## **2.2 English in Indonesia**

### **2.2.1 English in Indonesian society**

Multilingualism is common in Indonesia and the majority of the population are bilingual from the early years in a regional mother tongue and the national language *Bahasa Indonesia*. Of the over 700 regional languages, Javanese is by far the most common with approximately 75 million native-speakers, concentrated on the island of

Java itself (Gordon, 2005); most of the other languages are also spoken in a certain geographical area and by members of a particular ethnic group, such as *Bahasa Jambi* in Jambi. Though almost all the languages of western Indonesia belong to the Malay language family, most are not mutually intelligible, and therefore the need arose for a unifying national language after Independence. *Bahasa Indonesia* has been propagated with great success, such that it is now spoken either as a mother tongue or as a second language by around 70% of the population (ibid.). Many urban Indonesians also have some oral competence in other languages spoken in their region – for example in Jambi, the main languages of north Sumatra (Batak) and western Sumatra (Minangkabau) are also widely spoken – while Arabic is used for religious purposes.

It is into this linguistic melting pot that English was thrown shortly after national independence in 1945 when it was granted ‘first foreign language status’, an act which was also an explicit rejection of the two former colonial languages, Dutch and Japanese. Indeed, the fact that it did not carry any imperial overtones for Indonesians helped give the language a simple prestige and popularity, unlike in neighbouring Malaysia for example where official and popular relations with English have been more complicated and linked to post-colonial politics (Spolsky, 2003). On the other hand, compared to Malaysia or the Philippines there was no solid basis of achievement in English in the Independence era, and although it was established as a compulsory subject in the secondary school curriculum for many decades, usage and exposure to the language was very much an urban preserve and proficiency was limited to a small highly-educated elite. Lamb (2002), for example, describes the frustrations of provincial university students in 2000 who felt that they had had little hope of successfully acquiring the language when they were in junior high school during the early 1990s.

Recently the forces of globalization have given new momentum to the spread of English – it has become essential “cultural capital for an information-driven global world” (Gee, Allen & Clinton, 2001: 176). Economic liberalization and the expansion of trade throughout the Asia-Pacific region have urgently increased the need for English in several sectors of the Indonesian economy, notably financial services and travel. Lamb and Coleman (forthcoming) report:

The evolving labour market puts a high value on proficiency in English, as seen in the English language job advertisements in the national broadsheets as well as the language qualifications demanded by much less prestigious posts advertised in local newspapers. As in most other Southeast Asian countries (Nunan, 2003), English has assumed a gate-keeping role in diverse work environments. Meanwhile, even in remote areas of the country, television broadcasts the language into the home and music on the radio fills the airwaves with its tones. New products are increasingly labelled and promoted in English, and computers for work or play are expanding the range of valued English literacy skills. As its economic and cultural stock rises, the language flows into new areas of the education system – into the entrance requirements of prestigious universities, for example, and into primary schools in towns across the country.

(Lamb and Coleman, forthcoming)

As an example of the prestige of English, and how it is increasingly used to help sell products, Lamb and Coleman (ibid.) note how novels aimed at the teenage market are often given titles in English even though they are written in *Bahasa Indonesia*, such as *Jakarta Undercover*, *Me vs High Heels* and *Eiffel, I'm in Love*.

To service the rapidly growing demand for the language there has emerged a private sector English language 'industry' – as the British Council GETIS report of 2000 (The British Council, 2000: ¶9) stated, "the current demand for English language teaching in the country appears staggering as indicated by continued increases in ELT courses enrolment and the number of new private language schools". The quality and cost of such schools is highly variable and at the lower end is beyond any official regulation; at the upper end, a number of corporate providers are competing to gain market share.

### **2.2.2 English in the educational system**

One of the main reasons why the private sector is flourishing is because state education is struggling to cope with this surging demand for English language instruction.

Officially, English is introduced into the national curriculum as a compulsory subject from the first year of junior high school, when pupils are 11-12 years old. In most state schools it is taught twice a week in two 'double lessons' of 45 minutes each, making a total of 3 hours' instruction per week. This increases to 4.5 hours per week in senior high school. Unofficially, English is also taught increasingly for one or two hours a week at primary school level, though it is not part of the national curriculum and lesson



content will depend on the teacher and his or her textbook. Whether a primary school teaches English often depends on the willingness or ability of parents to pay, and on whether English teachers are available. It may not therefore be taught for consecutive years, and the teacher will almost certainly have had no training in young learner language teaching methodology.

As mentioned in section 2.1.2 above, a competency-based curriculum was introduced in 2004 and is currently being disseminated to schools. The previous curriculum, in place during the period of this research, had been introduced in 1994 and was centred on the development of language skills, with an emphasis on reading. Themes or topics were also specified, and these almost always formed the basis of organization of the textbooks used by teachers in school (e.g. Soegeng, Mulyono, & Widodo, 2002). The level of proficiency targeted for school leavers in the new curriculum is roughly equivalent to the Council of Europe 'Vantage' level (or Cambridge FCE exam, cf. University of Cambridge, 2007; Departmen Pendidikan Nasional, 2004) though it is generally acknowledged that this is achieved by only a tiny minority of students nationally (e.g. see Widiastono, 2006).

In Indonesia, as in other Asia-Pacific countries (see Nunan, 2003), there is often a large gap between government declarations and classroom realities. To begin with, all national exams, including the final school-leaving exam at the end of senior high school, are paper-based tests using a multiple choice format. As discussed above (section 2.1.2), much teaching in the year preceding these exams is devoted to exam preparation, and, while learners develop some proficiency in test-taking strategies, their productive language skills stagnate (Widiastono, 2006). Teachers' own English is often limited; as Nunan (2003) concludes of the countries in his survey (which did not include Indonesia), "the English language proficiency of many teachers is not sufficient to provide learners with the rich input needed for successful foreign language acquisition" (p. 607). Indonesian teachers have even less exposure to the language and fewer opportunities to use their English in real-life communication than teachers in many neighbouring countries.

Academic analyses of English language educational practices in Indonesian schools are hard to come by, though Sadtono, Handayani and O'Reilly (1996) offer a useful

picture of English teaching in Junior High Schools in the mid-1990s. Their description of teaching methods is not dissimilar from the routine methodology described in section 2.1.4 above, with much teacher explanation, brief question and answer phases, occasional choral chanting, and pupils predominantly listening, copying or doing exercises; “to sum up,” Sadtono et al. write (*ibid.*: part 07.A), “it was clear that a lot of *teaching* was going on, but it was generally unclear how much *learning* was resulting”. Lesson content was almost exclusively determined by the textbook, with occasional use of student workbooks (*LKS - Lembaran Kerja Siswa*) which provided supplementary exercises. Sadtono et al. (1996) also describe the classroom environment as often “drab” and “noisy” (part 07.i), with regular class sizes of 45 or more, often with widely differing ability, causing serious classroom management problems for many teachers. Finally, their analysis of students’ skill levels found large discrepancies between the curriculum specification and actual competencies, especially in speaking and writing, though schools in cities tended to have far higher standards than town or rural schools.

The survey of Sadtono et al. also illustrates another feature of language education which Nunan (2003) found to be common throughout the Asia-Pacific region: the growing role of the private sector in meeting the language demands of the urban middle-class. In Nunan’s study “informants reported that the only children who stood a chance of learning English were those whose parents could afford to send them to private, after-school language classes” (p. 606). Likewise, Sadtono et al. (1996) report that around 30% of the students polled were attending, or had attended, private English classes, and that “success in English was widely attributed (even by the SMP teachers) to having attended such classes” (part D.5). A related development is the emergence of ‘National Plus’ schools, which charge additional fees for providing English-medium teaching in certain subjects and which, according to the Rector of one of the country’s leading teacher training institutions, are “a sign of the inability of the local scholastic system to keep up with an ever changing world” (Lubis, 2005); by late 2005, there were reported to be over 100 schools claiming this status, including the Junior High School which is the site for this research (Gunawan, 2005).



## 2.3 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of features of Indonesian education and society which have relevance for this study. It has presented an education system which had neither the colonial legacy nor the levels of long-term funding required to meet national aspirations for social and economic development, though it did appear to serve the cause of political unification and stability during the Suharto years from the late 1960s to the 1990s. A more honest appraisal of its deficiencies has been forthcoming in the post-Suharto era, with concomitant reforms in the way it is funded and controlled. Current trends towards decentralization and privatization are leading to a much more diverse system of education likely to lead to greater differentiation of processes and outcomes. English language education, recognised officially and popularly as a key element in modernizing the country yet still characterized by very traditional practices in most schools, is in some ways in the vanguard of change with a vibrant private sector emerging in response to popular demands for improved provision, and the language itself permeates new areas of society each year. This is the broad context in which the young adolescents of my study began their own study of English in their junior high school.

The chapter has also indicated the paucity of academic work on English education in Indonesia which has reached the international domain. One of the goals of this study must be to correct this situation. Fortunately it is able to benefit from the vast store of literature on motivation to learn produced in other parts of the world, described in the next chapter.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Reviewing the literature for a research study can be compared to climbing a mountain in order to get a clearer view of the terrain. Realistically, it is not a one-off climb but a repeated exercise of scaling different peaks, first to set the destination and then to check on progress and perhaps realign the direction of travel. For the motivation researcher, an Everest of scholarship offers magnificent vistas but also daunting challenges. After a brief glimpse from the summit of motivational science, this chapter stays mainly in the foothills, focussing on the sub-region of L2 motivation and only venturing higher into the area of motivation to learn (or ‘academic motivation’ as it is sometimes termed) when a trail has already been laid, or where a new path is visible.

My aim is first to present a brief chronology of the developing field of foreign language learning motivation, and then to describe in more detail areas of contemporary knowledge which appear particularly relevant to the topic and purpose of this investigation. In so doing I hope to present a broad theoretical framework for the study which will inform the research questions (Chapter 4) and research methodology (Chapter 5), while at the same time identifying those specific areas of knowledge to which it might make a contribution.

#### **3.2 Historical approaches to motivation to learn**

For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, motivation was not a distinct field of study in its own right but an ill-defined aspect of the emerging scientific discipline of psychology. In their authoritative survey of motivation in education, Pintrich and Schunk (2002) point out that many early explanations of human behaviour were ‘mechanistic’ in that

people were perceived as machine-like, acting on the principles of laws of nature. Behaviourist explanations, for example, saw humans as acting in predictable ways in response to stimuli (Skinner, 1953) and they became popular with educationalists because Skinner's concepts of conditioning and reinforcement seemed to offer parents and teachers practical means of motivating pupils to behave in ways likely to promote learning. Other early 'mechanistic' theories were those centred on the concept of 'drive' – an internal force that pushes humans to act to satisfy primary needs while secondary needs (e.g. money or education) may be sought after because they satisfy primary needs better (Hull, 1943). Indeed, another characteristic of these early theories was that motivations were often unconscious, or at least beyond conscious control. Freud (1966), for example, conceived of motivation as psychical energy which forced people into certain behaviours to reduce their needs, though it could also be repressed and result in less rational and erratic behaviours.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the 'cognitive revolution' in psychology transformed our views of motivation; instead of being manipulated by inner forces beyond their control, humans were seen as essentially rational creatures guided by their own thoughts and beliefs about the world and their place in it. However, while cognitive theorists agree that mental processes are key to understanding motivation, "they disagree about which processes are important" (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 20), and debate about the relative significance of values, perceptions of competence, interests, goals, affects, choices, or attributions provides the substance of contemporary motivation studies.

Another central tension in motivation theory is between what Pintrich and Schunk (ibid.) call 'organismic' and 'contextual' theories. Many theories share 'organismic' and 'contextual' elements, but have a tendency towards one model rather than the other. Organismic theories, following Piaget, explain motivation by reference mainly to individual development factors; early examples were the humanistic theories of Abraham Maslow (1954) and Carl Rogers (1969) which emphasised the need for people to develop their full potential, though many popular contemporary cognitive concepts such as attributions (Weiner, 1992) and goal orientations (Dweck, 1999), relating to inner dispositions which influence the way the individual interacts with their environment, are also part of essentially 'organismic' theories. Towards the end of the



century, ‘contextual’ theories became more influential. These, following Vygotsky, “accept underlying organismic patterns of change but [contend] that environmental conditions play a greater role in such change” (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 48). Social cognitive theories (e.g. Bandura, 1986) which emphasise the way individuals acquire their knowledge, strategies, beliefs and so on through observing and interacting with others, fall into this category and have generated an ongoing interest in how the social and cultural context ‘affords’ or constrains motivation (Pintrich, 2003). Radical socio-constructivist perspectives represent even ‘stronger’ versions of the situated view of motivation and “reject the notion that motivation can be distinguished from cognition, or that any aspect of human behaviour can be considered a property of the individual, as distinct from the larger sociocultural context” (Hickey, 1997: 178).

### 3.3 Social-psychological views of L2 motivation

In Dörnyei’s (2001a) view the field of L2 motivation was essentially founded by the work of Gardner and Lambert in Canada in the late 1950s. The way that language was implicated in the complex relations between Anglophone and Francophone communities at the time convinced them that language learning was fundamentally different from learning any other subject on the school curriculum:

In the acquisition of a second language, the student is faced with the task of not simply learning new information (vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation etc.) which is part of his *own* culture but rather of acquiring symbolic elements of a different ethnolinguistic community.  
(Gardner, 1979: 193).

This view is now shared by succeeding generations of second language acquisition (SLA) researchers, as reflected in Claire Kramsch’s words in a conference plenary address:

It is clear that learning another language is not like learning math or word processing; especially in adolescence, it is likely to involve not only the linguistic and cognitive capacities of the learner as an individual, but her social, historical, emotional, cultural, moral sense of self as a subject.

(Kramsch, 2001: 12)



Because the sense of self is challenged in this way, Gardner argues that the learner's attitudes towards the L2 and its speakers is likely to affect their chances of success in acquiring the L2.

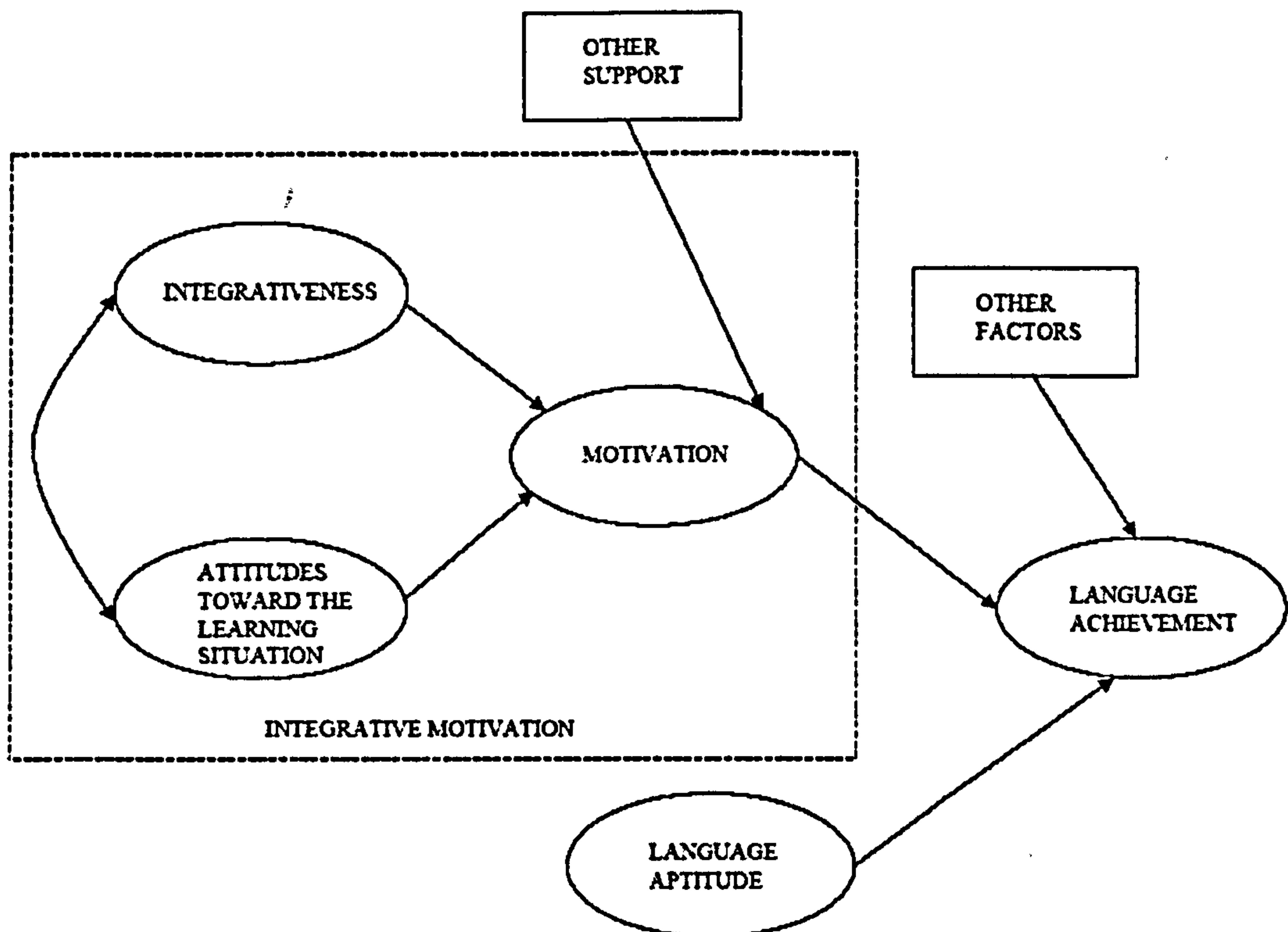


Figure 2 *Basic model of the role of aptitude and motivation in second language learning (Gardner, 2001c: 5).*

Gardner's motivation theory was set out most fully in his Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition (1985), though he continues to update it. The core of the model is presented in Figure 2. Learners who have an integrative orientation towards learning the language (i.e. their stated reason for doing it involves taking on some of the characteristics of the L2 culture or people), as well as favourable attitudes towards the language community, and a general openness towards other groups in general (sometimes interpreted as an 'interest in foreign languages' e.g. in Masgoret, Bernaus, & Gardner, 2001) are said to have 'Integrativeness'. That is, they desire to learn a language in order to "come closer to the other language community" (Gardner, 2001b: 5). If they also have favourable attitudes to the learning situation, and exhibit motivated behaviour such as effort, an expressed desire and enjoyment in the process of learning, then they can be said to be integratively motivated to learn the L2. The

model also posits 'other support' for learners' motivation, for example an instrumental orientation towards learning the language i.e. to gain some external benefit such as a good job or a high grade. It is the dichotomy between integrative and instrumental motives which has perhaps had most impact on the profession of language teaching (e.g. Harmer, 2001), though Gardner himself is at pains to stress that the two are not in opposition; most successful learners will in fact have both orientations. The full Socio-Educational Model also specifies a number of other individual differences which are predicted to influence ultimate achievement to varying degrees depending on whether the language is learned in formal or informal settings; these factors include aptitude, learning strategies, and confidence/anxiety.

A considerable amount of research effort has been, and is still being, expended on the question of whether integrative motivation exists in different language learner groups, and how it can be linked to achievement behaviour and ultimate success with the L2 (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). In the social-psychological tradition, almost all of this research has been based on large-scale surveys, often using the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) or variants, and has generally endorsed the significance of the concept. In recent papers Gardner proposes only minor changes to his original model (Gardner 2001c; 2005; Masgoret & Gardner, *ibid.*).

Nevertheless, there have been dissenting voices. Even in Canada itself there are those who contest the precise definition of integrative motivation in particular learning contexts (e.g. Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Clément et al., 1994, Belmechri and Hummel, 1998). Others have suggested that integrative motivation is more important in ESL settings like Canada than in many EFL contexts around the world, where learners have limited contact with native-speakers of the L2 or their culture, rarely reach beyond an intermediate level and where an instrumental orientation may be more helpful in promoting successful learning (e.g. Dörnyei, 1990; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Warden & Lin, 2000; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006). In Chinese cultural settings, Chen, Warden and Chang (2005) argue, an integrative orientation may have less value than a 'required orientation' to achieve academic success in English for the sake of family, clan and possibly national prestige. Questions have also been raised about the relevance of integrative and instrumental orientations with younger language learners (Nikolov, 1999). As discussed below (sections 3.5 & 3.6) the notion of fixed traits such



as ‘integrativeness’ inevitably impacting upon learner behaviour and determining long-term success has been undermined by our growing awareness of micro-contextual and dynamic aspects of motivation. Others have questioned whether the quantitative research methods which have underpinned the construct can justly claim to capture the complexity of motivation either as a precursor to action (for example as an ‘orientation’ or reason) or as a sustainer of action (Spolsky, 2000).

The world itself has changed too since Gardner and Lambert first introduced the notion of integrative motivation. Their ideas are predicated upon there being clearly identifiable social groups associated with particular languages, with some contact between them. One may argue about whether the relative status of the languages matters (e.g. Clément & Kruidenier, 1983), or how much contact there is between the groups (e.g. see for example Gardner, 2001c); but in the case of English, these arguments may possibly be redundant. As Warschauer points out, globalization has brought about “a new society, in which English is shared among many groups of non-native speakers rather than dominated by the British or Americans” (2000: 512). In the minds of learners, English may not be associated with particular geographical or cultural communities but with a spreading international culture incorporating (inter alia) business, technological innovation, consumer values, democracy, world travel, and the multifarious icons of fashion, sport and music. In a study of university students of English in Jordan, for example, Kaylani (1996) was puzzled to find integrative motivation among her male students, because she did not expect the average Jordanian male to identify closely with American or British culture. However, she was able to explain her results by arguing that “he probably does see himself as a member of an international English speaking community, disassociated from any particular culture” (ibid.: 87). Yashima (2002: 57) similarly found that for Japanese university students “English symbolizes the world around Japan” and proposed that some learners may have an ‘international posture’ that motivates them to learn and communicate in the language more than others. A long-term study of teenage language learning in Hungary during the 1990s (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) also found learners’ attitudes towards English becoming qualitatively different from attitudes towards other European languages, reflecting the fact that it was “rapidly losing its national cultural base while becoming associated with a global culture” (p. 453). Although ‘integrativeness’ remained the single most important component of the Hungarian learners’ motivation,



Dörnyei & Csizér (ibid.: 456) propose that it no longer represents an “actual or metaphorical, integration into an L2 community [but rather] some more basic identification process within the individual’s self-concept.”

Gardner and Lambert were not the only researchers to formulate social-psychological theories of language learning which had implications for motivation. Both Giles and Byrne’s Intergroup Model (1982) and Schumann’s Acculturation Theory (1978) focussed on the learning of languages by minority groups within a majority language setting, and building on the work of Tajfel (1974), proposed that individuals’ social identity – “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (ibid.: 69) – and particularly their attitudes vis-à-vis the majority community language, will affect their readiness to learn that language. For Giles and Byrne (1982), the key factor was the ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ of the minority group to which a learner belongs, as well as the ease with which they could move in and out of the group; that is, if a learner identifies very strongly with their own ‘in-group’ and they see it as very different and separate from the majority group, they are less likely to gain proficiency in the majority language. For Schumann, “second language acquisition is just one aspect of acculturation” (1978: 34) and therefore how far a learner is prepared to ‘acculturate’ – that is, how closely they can identify with L2 speakers – will partly determine the success of their acquisition. In turn, the level of acculturation will depend on their social and psychological ‘distance’ from the L2 community, for instance how much daily contact they have with them and how cohesive their own group is.

Because of their concern with second rather than foreign language learning, and acquisition in informal settings rather than formal study, neither of these theories has direct relevance to this study, and in any case both have been subject to strong criticism (e.g. Spolsky, 1989; Johnson, 1992). However, along with Gardner and Lambert’s work, they have succeeded in establishing “a general consensus that ethnic identity can exert a profound influence on L2 learning” (Ellis, 1994: 207) and were pioneers in attempting to link sociocultural factors to individual cognitions to explain motivation to learn (Dörnyei, 2005). Their work was extended during the 1990s by Clément, Noels and other Canadian academics examining how L2 learning motivation

could be affected by situational variables such as the relationship between majority and minority groups and how the development of L2 skills could in turn have an effect on the learner's original ethnic identity (e.g. Clément & Noels, 1992; Noels & Clément, 1996; Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996). Even in formal educational settings it is now accepted that "the dynamics of intergroup relations involving the social groups of which students and teachers are members play a powerful role in influencing much of what goes on in the language classroom" (McNamara, 1997: 561).

Clearly, the attitudes of Indonesian learners towards English and English-speaking cultures are a potentially important element in their motivation to learn the language. However, given the doubts surrounding validity of the construct of 'integrativeness' in foreign language contexts, in the globalization era, and with younger learners, and the emergence of other explanatory constructs, using a standard version of the AMTB to elicit the attitudes and motivation of young Indonesians would not be appropriate; my investigation needs to allow for the emergence of other locally relevant orientations. Meanwhile, the notion of 'identity' continues to be developed in contemporary explanations of L2 motivation and is explored further in sections 3.5.2 and 3.7 below.

### **3.4 Expansion of the L2 motivation field in the 1990s**

At around the time the Berlin Wall fell, new horizons also opened up in the field of L2 motivation. Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) article on 'reopening the motivation research agenda' urged language educators to look beyond the dominant social-psychological model of motivation and in particular to question whether 'attitudes' or 'goal orientations' are good predictors of actual learning behaviour:

When teachers say that a student is motivated, they are not usually concerning themselves with the student's reason for studying, but are observing that the student does study, or at least engage in teacher-desired behaviour in the classroom and possibly outside"

(Crookes & Schmidt, 1991: 480)

Motivation researchers, they argue, should similarly concern themselves with constructs such as interest, relevance, expectancy, and outcomes which more directly influence whether learners choose to learn a foreign language, make an effort and



persist over time. Dörnyei (2005) argues that this and other works ushered in a new ‘cognitive-situated’ period in L2 motivation research, characterized by two trends: the import of concepts from cognitive theories in mainstream motivation research, and a “more fine-tuned and situated analysis of motivation as it operates in actual learning situations (such as language classrooms)” (ibid.: 74) rather than the macro-perspective offered by the social-psychologists. This latter ‘situated’ aspect has been taken up by researchers working in a Vygotskian sociocultural tradition, leading to radically different approaches to researching L2 motivation. A further important development has been the recognition of how motivation changes, inaugurating what Dörnyei has termed the ‘process-oriented period’ (2005: 83), though the use of the term ‘period’ is perhaps slightly misleading as both these developments are ongoing. In the following sections I review some of the main lines of enquiry that emerged from this ‘renaissance’, concentrating on those which have relevance for this study.

#### **3.4.1 Intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation and self-determination theory**

A distinction which has long currency in the field of language teaching (cf. Harmer, 2001; Brown, 2000) is that between *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* motivation. Intrinsically motivated learners are said to study a language because they are genuinely interested in the subject or enjoy the process of learning; extrinsically motivated learners do it in order to gain some other kind of benefit distinct from the process of learning. In the field of pedagogy it is widely understood that intrinsic motivation is the more desirable and research has repeatedly shown up the benefits of this kind of motivation for academic success (e.g. Cordova & Lepper, 1996; Lepper, Corpus & Iyengar, 2005). Indeed for many language instructors, intrinsic motivation *is* motivation - as Crookes and Schmidt (1991) put it in their ground-breaking article quoted above, “in general, it is probably fair to say that teachers would describe a student as motivated if s/he becomes productively engaged on learning tasks, and sustains that engagement, without the need for continual encouragement or direction” (p. 480).

Given the recognition of its importance in the classroom, it is not surprising that intrinsic motivation is represented in well-known theoretical models of language learning motivation, though usually expressed as a composite variable as in ‘attitudes to the learning situation’ in Gardner’s Socio-Educational Model (1985) or as a cluster



of possible factors related to course, teacher or group in the 'learning situation level' of Dörnyei's (1994) L2 motivation framework. It also turns up as a significant factor with a possible relationship to ultimate achievement in several empirical studies (e.g. Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy 1996; Nikolov, 1999; Ushioda, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), while its apparent absence among institutional L2 learners has also been noted as a cause for concern in recent studies of language learning in Asia (Lin & Detaramani, 1998; Warden & Lin, 2000) and the UK (Chambers, 1998; Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002).

Only recently has intrinsic motivation come to be a main focus in L2 motivation research. Dörnyei and Kormos (2000) examined the affective characteristics of oral tasks and found that learner motivation – as measured in attitudes to the course in general and to the specific task – did indeed have an impact on their performance. Egbert (2003) initiated research into the application of Flow Theory (Csikszentmihalyi & Nakamura, 1989) to language classrooms, and concluded that intrinsically motivated learners engaged on a language task may exhibit characteristics of flow, like intense focus, a sense of enjoyment and a lack of self-consciousness, when certain conditions are met; and she argues strongly for more research into these conditions and possible links with language outcomes.

Other research into intrinsic motivation has been carried out within the framework of Self-Determination Theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985). According to SDT, intrinsic motivation describes human beings' natural propensity to show interest in, explore and master their environment, though this innate capacity is also liable to disruption in certain circumstances – the theory aims to examine the conditions which sustain or diminish it. A considerable body of research in domains ranging from education to sport suggest that three basic human needs must be satisfied for intrinsic motivation to flourish: people need a sense of autonomy (i.e. that they are doing the activity for themselves), of competence (i.e. that they are capable of doing it well), and of relatedness (i.e. that they feel socially secure and are not acting against others' interests). Noels and her Canadian colleagues have pioneered the application of SDT to language learning (Noels, 2000; Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000). Their studies have suggested that autonomy-supportive teaching (e.g. where teachers offer students choice and give regular feedback to students, increasing their sense of

competence) can make learners feel more intrinsically motivated to study. They have also found a correlation between intrinsic motivation and integrative motivation, though argue that they relate to quite distinct motivational ‘substrates’, namely the immediate learning situation on one hand and intergroup relationships in society at large on the other (much as in Gardner’s original model (1985) of ‘integrative motivation’).

In other applications of SDT to explore intrinsic L2 motivation, Hiromori (2003) suggested that relatedness (i.e. the need for mutually satisfying social relationships with others) may be particularly important for encouraging intrinsic motivation among Japanese high school learners of English, while Wu (2003) used a quasi-experimental approach to explore the make-up of Chinese young learners’ intrinsic motivation; results indicated that both perceived competence and perceived autonomy were important sources of intrinsic motivation as the theory predicts, and that these could be increased by various teaching strategies such as providing tasks at the right level of challenge and offering sensitive support.

Ryan and Deci (2000) make the point that “although intrinsic motivation is clearly an important type of motivation, most of the activities people do are not, strictly speaking, intrinsically motivated” (p. 60). By the time of adolescence, social demands mean that much of our time is spent on tasks that are not, at least initially, intrinsically interesting - we do them nonetheless for some other ‘extrinsic’ reason. The key feature of SDT is that it proposes that these extrinsic reasons can be more or less internalized:

Thought of as a continuum, the concept of internalization describes how one’s motivation for behaviour can range from amotivation or unwillingness, to passive compliance, to active personal commitment. With increasing internalization (and its associated sense of personal commitment) come greater persistence, more positive self-perceptions, and better quality of engagement.

(Ryan & Deci: 60-61)

While Gardner (1985) and many pedagogic EFL texts (e.g. Brown 2000; Harmer 2001) tended to view instrumental motivation as a unitary construct equating with extrinsic motivation (be the reward a job, a higher salary, good test results or simply avoidance of punishment), in SDT a learner’s motivation may fall into one of four categories of regulation along a continuum (see Figure 3) from ‘integrated’ and ‘identified’ (where



the external goal has effectively become one's own and actions are more or less 'self-determined') through 'introjected' (where one acts to enhance one's self-esteem and gain approval from others) to 'external regulation' (where one clearly feels pressured to act, either to carry out orders or to gain some external reward). In much empirical research based on SDT, the two former categories are conflated (e.g. Noels, 2000) while in some studies these two and the last two are conflated to form two overarching categories of 'autonomous' or 'controlled' motivation (e.g. Vansteenkiste et al., 2005). Crucially, SDT assumes that the more internalized the motives for a behaviour, the more adaptive that behaviour is likely to be and the greater the sense of well-being experienced by the actor.

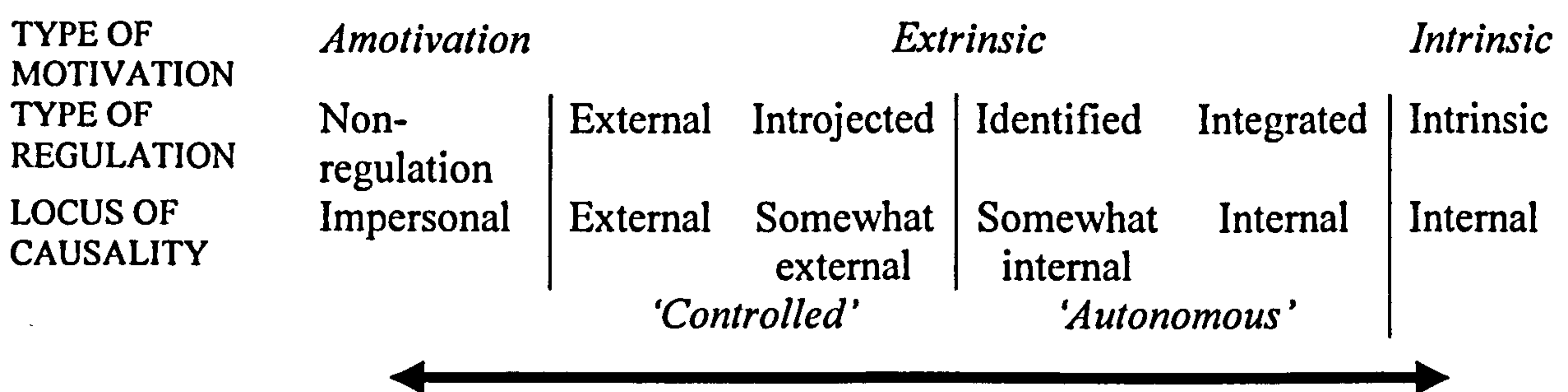


Figure 3 *Self-determination continuum of types of motivation (adapted from Deci & Ryan, 2000: 237)*

Ryan and Deci (2000) claim that the existence of these types of extrinsic motivation is now supported by a large body of empirical studies. Many of these studies used the Academic Motivation Scale (Vallerand et al., 1992), and Noels and colleagues confirmed the validity and reliability of this scale in a tertiary foreign language learning context, finding that "the more internalized the reason for L2 learning, the more comfortable and persevering students claimed to be" (2000: 76). As mentioned above, Noels' studies also indicated that the teacher's behaviour, especially their style of communication, could influence the learners' perceived autonomy and competence and thus how self-determined their learning behaviour was, which in turn predicted effort. Another recent study by the team (McIntosh & Noels, 2004) has found that learner personality variables may have an effect on self-determination too: Canadian undergraduates with a higher 'need for cognition' (that is, a liking for tasks involving hard thought) tended to be more self-determined language learners who used certain learning strategies more often.



Dörnyei (2001a: 61) endorses the usefulness of SDT in helping to systematize the often multiple goals that learners may pursue in their L2 studies, as well as in drawing attention to how the environment (including the teacher) may or may not support the autonomy and self-regulation of language learners. SDT is not without its critics, however. Van Lier (1996) criticizes the hard distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, arguing that in many deeply motivated learners the two become so intertwined that they cannot effectively be distinguished. Schwartz (2000) has questioned whether human beings need the absolute freedom and autonomy which underlies the theory, suggesting instead that constraints on choice are a natural and desirable part of the human condition.

Others have questioned whether the theory prioritizes American or western values, as autonomy and self-direction are less important concerns in eastern, collectivist cultures where individuals hold an 'interdependent' (not an independent) self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). In a much-cited piece of research (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999), Anglo-American children were found to be intrinsically motivated to engage with tasks when they were given a free choice of task, whereas Asian-American children were more motivated when a respected elder (e.g. a parent) or a peer made the choice for them. The authors conclude that "the availability of individual choice is ... less relevant for people from more socially interdependent cultures" (p. 364). Working with language learners in Taiwan, d'Ailly (2003) argues that self-determined learning behaviour was less directly associated with achievement than was perceived control over the consequences (i.e. a sense that one's own efforts can bring reward). Indeed he suggested that autonomy might even have the opposite effect: "students with a higher sense of autonomy...are more likely to decide not to study when they cannot find fun and interest in their learning" (ibid.: 94). Similarly he found little effect for the teacher's motivating style, as Asian children saw strictness as reflecting an older person's love and care for them.

However, Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens and Soenens (2005) argue that these critics are mistaken because they conceive of autonomy as being the opposite of dependence on other people. In fact, in SDT, "one can willingly accept guidance or support from without" yet still feel in control of one's life and actions (ibid.: 471). People with a more 'interdependent sense of self' are more likely to take respected others' views into

account, but real autonomy depends on whether they come to accept those views as their own. Their own research with Chinese students of English in the USA bore out their prediction that “autonomous or volitional study motivation is universally important and should predict better learning and well-being” in all cultures (ibid.: 468). Chirkov, Kim, Ryan and Kaplan (2003) found further empirical support for the view that autonomy is distinct from individualism in a study of undergraduate students from four different cultures; overall they found that “any type of cultural practice can be engaged in more or less autonomously....with implications for well-being” (ibid.: 105).

This debate is likely to continue – the use of undergraduates in such studies inevitably limits their generalizability, because they are by definition already successful students who may self-select for independence of mind and scholarly motivation – and while intrinsically interesting itself, is not of central concern to this study. For my purposes the key insight of SDT is that motives for learning English cannot easily be categorized as intrinsic or extrinsic, but instead may for each individual lie somewhere on a continuum of ‘internalization’.

### **3.4.2 Expectancy-value theories**

A major strand within mainstream motivational science in the last few decades has been ‘expectancy-value theories’, in which motivation is conceived “in terms of the interaction between an individual’s expectancy of success on any given task and the value that is attached to such success” (Williams et al., 2002: 506). The value which the individual attaches to the goal will be affected by its intrinsic or extrinsic worth, elements that have been discussed above. The expectancy of success, meanwhile, will be influenced by factors such as goal orientation, self-confidence and attributions. Goal orientation is a much-researched concept in general education motivation, with students who are mastery-oriented being found to do better in their school work than those who are performance-oriented (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). However, this work is yet to be replicated in the language learning field. The following section looks at the other two factors, which have to varying degrees been theoretically and empirically applied to the learning of languages.



### 3.4.2.1 *Self-confidence*

In general education, different constructs related to an individual's perception of their capability have been hypothesized as important elements of motivation, notably self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993) and self-worth (Covington, 1992). In language learning, it is 'linguistic self-confidence' along with its obverse construct of 'anxiety' that have been most often examined. Working within the social-psychological tradition, Clément and colleagues in Canada (1985, cited in Dörnyei, 2001a) developed a model of second language acquisition in which linguistic self-confidence, built up through frequent and pleasant contacts with L2 users, was the most important determinant of effective learning behaviour. Clément, Dörnyei and Noels (1994: 441) found that self-confidence, defined as having low anxiety and high perceptions of one's competence, "influences L2 proficiency both directly and indirectly through the students' attitude toward and effort expended on learning English" even in contexts such as Hungary where direct communication with native English speakers was rare.

A related concept is Willingness to Communicate (WTC), developed by MacIntyre and colleagues (also in Canada) to account for the oft-observed phenomenon where apparently competent learners are reluctant to speak in the L2 while other learners seem always ready to communicate using whatever linguistic resources they possess. MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1998) propose a hierarchy of linguistic and psychological variables which might contribute to WTC, including self-confidence, intergroup attitudes, desire to affiliate with others and features of the social situation.

Recently, Wen and Clément (2003) speculated that the concept of WTC may need adapting in non-western contexts. They suggested that, in addition to the problem of large classes and lack of opportunities to practise, the reason many Chinese find learning to speak English much harder than learning to write it or pass written tests is that they have a culturally-based *unwillingness* to communicate. Interesting as their paper is, the Confucian values which they claim pervade Chinese classrooms are not necessarily present in other Asian contexts such as Indonesia. For example, the traditional honouring of the Classics is said to generate great respect for English grammar, such that Chinese students are "so concerned with correctness that they tend to hesitate, avoid speaking or withdraw" (*ibid.*: 23). By contrast, many foreigners



comment on the willingness of Indonesians to open conversations despite a very rudimentary knowledge of English grammar.

#### *3.4.2.2 Attribution theory*

Expectancy of success in the future may also be affected by the way people explain their past successes or failures. According to Weiner's attribution theory (Weiner, 1992), people tend to 'attribute' success or failure to certain causes, such as their own ability, luck, effort, task difficulty, teacher competence and so on. These causes can be categorized by whether they are internal or external, and by their relative stability. The theory predicts that these attributions mediate people's motivation to act in the future – for example, if they think that a failure to learn in the past was due to the incompetence of the teacher, they may be more likely to learn in the future than if they attributed their failure to their own lack of ability.

Because attributions are important elements in individuals' thoughts and feelings about their learning they are likely to emerge in more qualitatively-oriented educational research. For example, Ushioda (2001) found that the successful university learners of French in her study tended to attribute good learning outcomes to internal factors such as the effort they put in, while attributing negative experiences to temporary factors such as lack of opportunities to practise, just as Weiner's theory would predict.

Williams and Burden (1999) and Williams, Burden and Al-Baharna (2001) showed how patterns of attributions may vary over time – school pupils of modern languages in the UK demonstrated a “growing sense of externality” in their attributions, with the teacher particularly influential – and may be conditioned by culture – the Arabic students in their study never mentioned ‘luck’ as a possible explanation for their learning outcomes and ability was mentioned rarely. Most recently, Graham (2004) used attribution theory to explore the attitudes and motivation of British school students of modern languages, uncovered a very low awareness of the possible role of learning strategies on their achievement, and concluded that teaching approaches emphasising the importance of strategies could help reverse the decline in numbers taking advanced language courses.

Of these two factors, self-confidence is the more relevant to this study since it can play a role at any stage in the learning process, and may arguably be even more important in

early stages. By contrast, attributions are more likely to come into play later, when individuals face significant personal challenges in the L2 such as high-stakes exams. Nevertheless the work of Ushioda (e.g. 2001; 2003) and Williams and Burden (e.g. 1997; 1999) is important for demonstrating the value of a ‘social constructivist’ approach to L2 motivation, in which the uniqueness and complexity of each individual’s motivational profile are acknowledged, and the range of contextual influences explored. This approach is described further in the next section.

### **3.5 Contextual aspects of motivation**

As Dörnyei (2001a) points out, “Because of the prominent social dimension of second language acquisition, the study of the broad sociocultural context (the ‘macrocontext’) of L2 learning has been an important research direction for over two decades” (p. 78). During the 1990s, however, the social, educational and cultural context of L2 motivation has received more intense attention. Partly this was a response to the urging of Crookes and Schmidt (1991) to create stronger links between motivation and learning, and to an interest in contextual influences on learner motivation in general education (e.g. Volet & Järvelä, 2001), but it also reflects a ‘social turn’ (Block, 2003) in the study of second language acquisition more generally. In the more traditional cognitive (or ‘mentalist’) perspective, language acquisition is centred in the mind of individual learners, and the processes of input, interaction and output are the proper focus of study (Gass, 1997). By contrast, researchers and theorists working from sociocultural perspectives

...focus not on language as input, but as a resource for participation in the kinds of activities our everyday lives comprise. Participation in these activities is both the product and the process of learning.

(Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

In such a perspective, learners need to be regarded as sociohistorically-situated human beings, and a wide range of social and affective factors are seen as potentially contributing to language acquisition by mediating participation in relevant activities.

I divide my review of this important area into two sections, though it should be pointed out that there are many links between these two broad areas of work, as well as subtle



differences in approach. Firstly I examine the work carried out within socio-constructivist and sociocultural approaches, then look at what has been termed ‘poststructuralist’ approaches, incorporating situated learning theory and critical pedagogy.

### **3.5.1 Sociocultural perspectives on L2 motivation**

As Pintrich (2003) points out, there are ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ versions of a contextual view of learner motivation. In the weak version (called the social ‘influence’ position by Rogoff (1998)) the context contributes a range of factors which can influence the construction of motivation, such as classroom tasks, schools, family, peer groups, community, country, culture, ethnicity and historical context. This is the approach taken for example in the two volumes edited by McNerney et al. (McNerney & van Etten, 2001; McNerney, van Etten & Maehr, 2002), where the individual is still the main unit of analysis, as (s)he has been in traditional motivational research. This notion is challenged by the ‘strong’ version (called the ‘situative, socio-cultural perspective’ in Järvelä, 2001), which argues that

...cognitive activity is so context bound that one can never distinguish between the individual’s cognitive ability, the individual’s affective state, the context in which activity takes place, and the activity itself.... Motivation, as an individually represented construct that is distinguishable from other cognitive activity, becomes meaningless.

(Hickey, 1997: 178)

In this view therefore ‘context’ is not a distinct variable but “in part productive of, and in part produced by, collective and individual human activity” (Thorne, 2000: 236, cited in Ushioda, 2006); and there is no point in trying to describe motivation without reference to it. However, Hickey concedes that a more ‘moderate’ or compromise position is possible “that recognises the existence and utility of individually represented cognitive constructs, alongside (and interacting with) distributed cognitions” (ibid.: 178).

In Vygotskyan sociocultural theory, the goal of all learning is independent problem solving, but this independence is achieved through interaction with others and is mediated by cultural artefacts (of which language is arguably the most important)

(Lantolf, 2000). As Zuengler and Miller (2006) point out, the theory is still very much concerned with cognitive processes but is distinct from traditional cognitive approaches because “the social dimension of consciousness [i.e. all mental processes] is primary in time and fact. The individual dimension of consciousness is derivative and secondary” (Vygotsky, 1979: 30). SLA researchers have focused on various aspects of the theory, such as how language develops in the ‘zone of proximal development’ (ZPD) (e.g. Donato & McCormick, 1994; Swain & Lapkin, 1998) and on the implications of ‘activity theory’ for language learning tasks (e.g. Lantolf, 2001; Thorne, 2000). In the area of L2 learning motivation, Ushioda (2006) argues that sociocultural theory is a potentially useful framework because, while individuals have an innate motivation for self-regulation and independent action, the motivation to control specific situations or aim for certain goals is acquired from other people and is culturally sanctioned i.e. to a great extent the child learns what to want: “Social-interactive processes play a crucial role in encouraging the growth of motivation from within and its ongoing regulation by the learner” (Ushioda, 2003: 90).

Ushioda (2006) concedes that little work has yet been done directly applying sociocultural theory to language learner motivation. However there have been many empirical studies which examine contextual factors with an influence on learner motivation, both in general education and the L2 field, without always being based on sociocultural theory. Various attempts have been made to categorize these factors and to hypothesize relationships between them. Gurtner, Monnard and Genoud (2001), for example, identify four levels of context from the ‘micro-level’ (e.g. school subject, the lesson tasks), through ‘meso-level’ (e.g. teachers’ attitudes, student perception of classroom conventions), ‘exo-level’ (e.g. school culture), to the ‘macro-level’ of the wider cultural context, and familial, community, political, and economic variables. In the following section I focus on aspects of context for which there is some evidence of an effect on language learning motivation, and which might be predicted to have relevance to my own study, combining the findings of studies carried out in both ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ versions of the sociocultural approach (I have already dealt briefly with the most ‘micro-level’ of all – task motivation – in section 3.4.1).



### *3.5.1.1 Parents*

Within sociocultural theory, parents play a pivotal mediating role in children's learning, and it could be expected that they remain significant influences through the school years. Indeed, as Choo and Tan (2001: 184) state, "an overwhelming body of research has established the family and home environment as important factors that influence the educational outcomes of youth", and motivation appears to be an important mediating factor between family background and achievement. In general terms, higher socioeconomic status tends to correlate with higher academic motivation (Meece, 1997), though Stipek and Ryan (1997) found that very young children from advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds entered preschool with similar high levels of enthusiasm, suggesting that later motivational deficits may result from negative learning experiences in school and a lack of parental support. Looking inside the home, a number of distinct factors have been linked with motivation. Eccles, Wigfield and Schiefele (1998) list a number of parental beliefs which have been found to correlate with high academic motivation, including how controlling they are, their academic expectations for their children and the value they put on school work. Other studies have highlighted particular influences from mother and father. For example, mothers with a strong sense of efficacy in their own child-rearing competence have been found to influence positively their children's self-regulation, while fathers' involvement in their children's education has been shown to contribute to school success (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). Interestingly, Choo and Tan (*ibid.*) suggest that this effect may be greater in Asia, where traditionally the father is an authority figure and so the attention and approval he gives his children's school work is likely to have more impact on their academic motivation.

In the area of L2 motivation, Gardner (2001a) recognises family background as one important 'external factor' influencing young people's 'integrativeness'. This relationship was empirically confirmed with Canadian undergraduates by Gardner, Masgoret and Tremblay (1999), though no direct link to current levels of L2 motivation were found, leading the authors to suggest that "an individual can expend a considerable amount of effort to please a teacher or a parent without any great desire to learn the second language" (p. 432) i.e. early parental encouragement may not have long-term effects. In the UK, Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002) identified supportive parents as one of the common features of successful foreign language



pupils, and a recent report has emphasised the potential *negative* effects of parental attitudes on young people's attitudes towards learning modern languages (CILT, 2005). Parents who themselves spoke a foreign language were more likely to encourage their children to study a foreign language at school, and vice versa, resulting in "striking differences between maintained schools in middle-class areas, maintained grammar schools and independent schools, on the one hand, and state schools in more disadvantaged, rural or small-town settings on the other" (p. 2). Little, Ridley and Ushioda (2002) also found parental encouragement (for example, through regular contacts with L2-speaking friends or relations) to be a factor in motivating some of the Irish school pupils in their 'Learner Autonomy Project'.

### *3.5.1.2 Peers*

The view that parents' behaviour and attitudes affects their children's academic performance has not gone unchallenged. Harris (1998) argues that the long-lasting effects of parental nurturing has been exaggerated by socialization research, and one of the formative elements in her thinking was the way in which the children of immigrants in the USA quickly learned to speak like their peers while their parents retained a strong foreign accent. Environment and genes play a proportionally greater role than parents in determining children's future, according to Harris. While her diminishment of parental influence is controversial, there is certainly plenty of evidence to support her view that among environmental influences, peers are paramount.

Social cognitive theory emphasises the way we learn through modelling ourselves on others (Bandura, 1986) and comparing ourselves to others (Festinger, 1957). Since they are the people most similar to ourselves, much of the modelling and comparing we do is in relation to peers and takes place at school. Research confirms that peers have an influence on the goals that school pupils set themselves (Dweck, 1996). They also affect pupils' perceptions of their own competence, and some studies have suggested that this is particularly intense at the transition between junior school and middle school, as they suddenly come into contact with a much expanded social circle; "for many this change is a real jolt that serves to diminish their self-efficacy and motivation" (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 384). Another way in which peers influence an individual's motivation is through friendship. According to Wigfield, Eccles and Rodriguez (1998) "both the



quantity of children's friendships with peers and the quality of the friendships are important" (p. 99). Quality may be particularly important in early adolescence, they suggest, and Wentzel, Barry and Caldwell (2004) found that having just one good reciprocated friendship could bring benefits to a learner's social adjustment and academic performance in Grade 6. The long-term effects on academic performance are mediated by what the friend is like, however: "Individuals will adopt the behaviour of others with whom they identify and with whom they have a strong emotional bond" (ibid.: 200), and thus those with friends who show interest in school subjects are more likely to be interested themselves.

Work on peer influence in L2 motivation has tended to focus on the effects of formal peer groups. Dörnyei (1994) included a number of group-specific motivational components in his framework of L2 motivation, partly on the basis of earlier empirical findings (e.g. Julkunen, 1989; Clément et al., 1994): these were goal-orientedness, the norm and reward system, group cohesiveness and classroom goal structures (i.e. whether it is cooperative, competitive or individualistic). Ushioda (2003) has argued that language classes are particularly susceptible to negative peer group influences during adolescence. Evidence from the Learner Autonomy Project leads her to conclude that "even well-motivated learners may be reluctant to talk in the target language in class when the majority classroom culture dictates otherwise, for fear of being singled out as a 'nerd' (2003: 94). Williams et al. (2002) also provide evidence of school boys fearing ridicule in speaking French in class, which is perceived as being a 'feminine' language.

There may be cultural differences in the ways that peer groups affect individual learner motivation, however. Elliot, Hufton and Illushin (2002) contrast the positive effects found for peer groups on academic motivation in Russian secondary schools with the "anti-academic peer culture in many American and English secondary schools in which trying hard was often perceived as an unattractive strategy" (p. 276). In Russia, successful students were seen as an 'adornment' to the class, though they were also expected to help their peers. In the US and UK, by contrast, anyone who performed particularly well was in danger of being labelled a 'nerd' or a 'swot' (it was more problematic to be a nerd as they were seen as rejecting normal adolescent social activity, while swots just spent excessive time studying). As a result, "in both cultures,

it was normative for pupils to adopt the role of unwilling learners and to try to undermine the efforts of teachers to set and maintain the direction and pace of learning” (ibid.: 277). Likewise, Wen and Clément (2003) argue that group cohesiveness has a different character in China from the West. In the latter, group cohesiveness is “based on interpersonal attraction among group members, and emotional satisfaction provided by participation in the group is emphasised” (ibid.: 26), whereas in China it comes through satisfaction at achieving goals which could not be attained outside the group context, and induces a stronger sense of ‘oneness’ which may help foster a willingness to communicate in the L2. Wen and Clément also point out that class size is an intervening variable, as very large classes (common in Asian schools) might undermine the sense of belonging.

### *3.5.1.3 Teachers*

Motivating their learners is generally accepted to be one of the main duties of a teacher, so it is appropriate that they have often been targeted as a potentially significant variable in empirical studies of learner motivation. As Pintrich and Schunk (2002) say, “virtually everything the teacher does has potential motivational impact on students” (p. 311).

Research into the motivating powers of language teachers and their methods has perhaps been restricted by the influence of the Socio-Educational Model (Gardner, 1985), in which motivation was seen as largely a characteristic of the individual (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). More recent studies of the experiences of school language learners, however, have borne out the potentially critical influence of the teacher on their motivation. Clark and Trafford (1995) identified the teacher-pupil relationship as the most important variable affecting pupil motivation, while Chambers (1998) concluded his study of English and German language learners with the comment: “Of all the factors which may contribute to a pupil’s positive or negative evaluation of a subject, the teacher comes out on top for all cohorts” (p. 252). In Hungary Nikolov (1999) found that “the most important motivating factors for children between 6 and 14 years of age included positive attitudes towards the learning context and the teacher [and] intrinsically motivating activities, tasks and materials” (p. 53). Autobiographical accounts of language learning also tend to highlight the contribution of the teacher to the development of significant learner attitudes. Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi



(2002) for example, emphasise the way that certain teachers helped them “appropriate English and engage in practices that expanded [their] horizons and identities” (p. 301). This empowering role was perceived as far more influential for these successful Asian learners (in the 1970s and 1980s) than any particular methodology the teacher had used. Teachers were also mentioned as significant factors in their long-term learning by 15 out of the 25 students studied by Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005). Even Gardner (2005) himself is urging more research into this area: “It seems very reasonable to hypothesize that some things can motivate the student to attend to a lesson, to learn the material well, and/or to do well in a language class, and it would be extremely beneficial to conduct research onto these factors” (p. 14) and his own recent research with Spanish elementary and secondary pupils found significant variation between different English classes at the end of the semester, “indicating that clearly here the teacher and the surroundings can have an influence on the students” (ibid.: 15).

Dörnyei (2001a) identifies four separate types of teacher effect. Firstly, their own personal characteristics may generate or dissipate learners’ ‘affiliative motive’, that is, how far the learner aspires to do well in order to please the teacher. Not the least of these characteristics is their own level of motivation: “A teacher who loves the subject and enjoys the process of thinking is the most convincing argument for the usefulness of knowledge”, Csikszentmihalyi (1997: 78) reflects, on the basis of his large-scale research into young people’s learning in the USA. Another generic quality is teacher efficacy, for, as Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk Hoy and Hoy (1998) point out, a teacher who has confidence in his/her own abilities to help students learn is more likely to convey positive attitudes towards the subject, help students persist when they face difficulties, and address individual needs. In her longitudinal study of language learners in Hungary, Nikolov (2001) found “consistency and strictness, knowledge of the field, patience and being nice” to be teacher characteristics particularly valued by the pupils.

A second category of effect is teacher ‘immediacy’, namely the “perceived physical and/or psychological closeness between people” (Dörnyei, 2001a: 36). Research has found that the more the teacher uses behaviours which bring him/her closer to the students – for example, using their names, telling jokes, getting to know students’

home background – the more likely (s)he is to motivate them to learn (Christophel, 1990, cited in Dörnyei, 2001a).

Thirdly, the teacher can more directly motivate students through his socializing behaviour in class, for example in the way they present tasks (i.e. whether they raise students' interest in the activity and their expectation of success), the kind of feedback they give to students (i.e. whether encouraging or not) and their control and use of rewards (i.e. whether these reinforce adaptive behaviours and attitudes or not).

However, research theory has so far produced few easy prescriptions for teachers. The complexity of the issues is well illustrated by the ongoing debate over the value of giving children rewards, variously seen as essential reinforcement of positive behaviour (Skinner, 1953), as providing useful information about behavioural consequences (Bandura, 1986), as potentially suppressing learners' intrinsic motivation to study (Ryan & Deci, 1996), and as a valuable motivator if done strategically (Cameron & Pierce, 2002).

Finally, “it requires little justification that smoothly-running and efficient classroom procedures enhance the learners' general well-being and sense of achievement and thus promote student motivation” (Dörnyei, 2001a: 36). However, it is not just the efficiency but the *style* of classroom management which arguably impacts on learner motivation. In the field of language teaching, Noels (2000) found that the more the students perceived the teacher to be controlling them, the less they felt they were autonomous agents in the learning process and the less intrinsically motivated they were, though the finding of a ‘required motivation’ among Chinese students of English casts doubt on the universality of the effects of different ‘authority types’ (Chen et al., 2005) (see section 3.4.1 above).

#### 3.5.1.4 Schools

Schools themselves – their organization and culture – have also been the focus of research exploring contextual effects on learner motivation, much of it driven by the need to explain the apparent decline in motivation to learn among many adolescents (see section 3.6 below). Mainly American motivation researchers have identified a number of features of typical state middle schools (grades 7-9) which potentially work against the psychological needs of adolescents and serve to demotivate; these include:



- Stricter discipline and a lack of choice in what or how to study (particularly compared to primary school) which clashes with adolescents' growing need for autonomy and independence (Eccles et al., 1991). Similarly, the emphasis on compliance throughout the culture of many schools devalues the role of self-motivation. As MacLean argues (2003), "if students are not good at spelling, schools help them to overcome their difficulties. If students are not good at motivating themselves, schools are not sure what to do" (p. 6).
- Over-use of standardized tests, open publication of results and the encouragement of competition may foster an ability goal orientation in which learners see success as doing better than others rather than taking pleasure in mastering new skills and knowledge (Maehr & Midgley, 1991).
- More distant student-teacher relationships (with students having as many as 10 different teachers where in primary school they had just one or two) mean many learners do not receive as much positive encouragement or individual care and support (Midgley, Feldlaufer & Eccles, 1989).
- The general climate of a school – its sense of security, community and purpose – may also contribute to students' motivation (Lee, Bryk & Smith, 1993), and this implicates school management; "Just as teachers 'download' their mindsets to students via their classroom practice, so school managers, at the top of the 'motivation chain', 'download' their mindsets to staff" (MacLean, 2003: 115).
- Further, Anderman and Maehr (1994: 296) argue the school environment has "an increasingly powerful effect on student motivation as students get into the higher grades", accounting for 21% of the variance in motivation by the time they are in 10<sup>th</sup> grade.

The character of schools is of course partly determined by aspects of their own context. Pintrich and Schunk (2002) report research showing that schools need to have "at least a core group of academically motivated and engaged students" in order to develop a culture "focused on academic learning and mastery" (p. 370). Schools in socioeconomically advantaged areas are more likely to have such a core group, and fewer maladjusted and disruptive pupils, than schools in poorer areas (Meece, 1997). Similarly, schools which are either racially homogenous, or have good relations between the different ethnic groups, have also been shown to have positive climates favourable to the development of pupil motivation (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002).

### 3.5.1.5 Culture and society

This brings the discussion round to the wider context of culture and society. We have already noted how motivational constructs can be influenced in subtle ways by culture (e.g. sections 3.4.1 & 3.5.1.2). As Pintrich (2003) states:

...the issue is not whether student motivation is situated or not, it clearly is, but the key issue is understanding the role that different contextual and cultural practices play and how they continually interact with and are connected to intrapsychological construals, processes and beliefs.

(Pintrich, 2003: 681)

Questions concerning ethnic or cultural differences in, for instance, attribution patterns and need for autonomy and choice will be “central for future motivational science research”, Pintrich continues, though “research designs and measures must be sensitive to the potentially different meanings and complexity of the constructs...within different groups or cultures” (p. 681-2).

In fact, as we saw in section 3.3 above, attention to the macro-context of learning has been a regular feature of work on motivation to learn foreign languages, though this has tended to be carried out in, and be of most relevance to, societies (like Canada) in which two or more language communities coexist and in which children learn the language of the other at school. The establishment of English as the global language *par excellence* means that for many EFL learners it is no longer associated with any clearly identifiable L2 community, and instead is coming to represent the globalized world of social, economic and technological sophistication which it is itself helping to create (e.g. Warschauer, 2000; Block & Cameron, 2002; Nunan, 2003). Meanwhile, forces of globalization are loosening the ties between people and their place of origin; as several commentators have suggested (e.g. Giddens, 2000; Mathews, 2000; Arnett, 2002) a person’s identity need no longer be rooted in their local culture but could also be related to some aspect of global culture, could be multiple rather than unitary, and dynamic rather than fixed. The implications of these changing conditions for EFL learning motivation have already been touched on in section 3.3 above. For those working within a poststructuralist perspective, the implications are even more profound, as the following section relates.



### 3.5.2 Poststructuralist perspectives

Poststructuralists view traditional social structures like class, family or job as no longer providing strong frames of identity; instead, individuals are required to “construct an ‘authentic’ version of themselves, making use of the numerous identity-props which consumer-society makes available” (Rustin, 2000: 33, cited in Benson & Nunan, 2005). Language, as “the potential medium for the expression of [peoples’] innermost aspirations, awarenesses and conflicts” (Kramsch, 2006: 99), is intimately involved in this identity construction, and for Pavlenko (2002) a poststructuralist approach is “an attempt to investigate and to theorise the role of language in the construction and reproduction of social relations, and the role of social dynamics in the processes of additional language learning and use” (p. 282). It thus shares with sociocultural theory a deep concern for the role of social interaction in human learning, but places emphasis on dynamic social structures (especially power relations) and their role in personal identity construction (especially how it constitutes and is constituted by the experience of learning).

From this perspective, then, language learning involves not just the gaining of communicative competence through the acquisition of various types of knowledge and skill but also the adoption, to a certain extent, of a new identity as learners are socialized into a new community. Personal identity is viewed as dynamic, multiple and context-dependent. As Norton puts it,

...[e]very time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation.

(Norton, 1997: 410)

Success is judged not by the ability to produce target-like forms in various areas of communicative competence but whether the learner can communicate with other members of a community and act according to their norms. Although Norton asserts that her approach represents a clean break from the social-psychological tradition, McNamara (1997) has pointed out that the defining characteristics of ‘subjectivity’ as described by Norton, namely the multiple nature of the subject, identity as a site of

struggle and the way it changes over time, were all present in earlier social identity theory such as the work of Tajfel (1974) (see section 3.3 above).

In considering the motivation to learn, the preferred poststructuralist term is ‘investment’, signalling “the socially and historically constructed relationship of the learners to the target language” (Norton, 1997); “When learners invest in an L2, they do so anticipating that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn enhance their conception of themselves and their desires for the future” (p. 411). Motivation, by contrast, “connotes some monolithic inner quality that a learner may summon in varying amounts....and distracts attention from the multiplicity of social factors that the learner must address” (McKay & Wong, 1996: 579), especially issues of power relations.

Thus, Norton’s own major work (2000) explores the ways immigrant women in Canada invested in learning English as an additional language. Although in conventional terms all the women were highly motivated, she shows how they did not always take up opportunities to use and learn the language; their actual investment in L2 learning and use was mediated by ongoing identity issues. For example, one woman resisted learning opportunities because she felt that her ‘symbolic resources’ – that is, her relatively high level of education and professional skills – were not being recognised by her Canadian contacts, while another learner’s preoccupation with day-to-day survival on the economic fringes of society often prevented her from feeling comfortable speaking the language. Norton draws on Bourdieu’s social theory (e.g. Bourdieu, 1977; 1991) to explain how individual agency in language learning and use is constrained by social structures and conditions.

Following Norton’s example, a number of ethnographic researchers have explored learner investments in other language learning contexts, and have helped complexify relations between learning and identity further. McKay and Wong’s (1996) in-depth study of four Chinese immigrant pupils in America showed that even very young learners have “historically specific needs, desires and negotiations [of identity]” which determine their investment in learning English, though their concerns were more with fitting into and balancing the immediate environments of school and home than with acquiring *more* symbolic and material resources, in Norton’s terms. For example, the



learners tend to be selective in their investments, both in terms of the languages themselves (some are keen to retain their Chinese identity) and the different language skills (a learner may invest heavily in learning to speak English while resist learning to write it). Syed (2001) demonstrates how forging an identity, both within mainstream and ethnic minority communities and as a becoming-adult, was a major contributing factor in the motivation of heritage language learners in the USA. Skilton-Sylvester (2002) investigates the way that the family lives of Cambodian women affected their participation in an adult ESL class, with even matrimonial relations having the potential to promote or inhibit progress in the target language by affecting the way the woman related to the class (for example, if a husband found full-time work his wife may be forced to stay at home to look after the children). Hawkins (2005), like McKay and Wong, demonstrates the importance of children's personal history, resources and understandings in determining their chances of developing an identity as a good school learner, pointing out that "high-status social positioning within networks of power" (p. 78) does not necessarily ensure successful adaptation to school life – cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) should be defined differently in the headmaster's study and the school playground.

Hawkins (2005) and other recent researchers (e.g. Day, 2002; Toohey, 2000; Morita, 2004) also draw on 'situated learning theory' to explain the learning trajectories of individual second language learners. Classrooms and schools can be seen as 'communities of practice', and learning (termed 'legitimate peripheral participation') as the striving to become a full participant within the system of relations of people, activities and understandings that constitute the community (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In this view learning does not simply mean acquiring the knowledge and skills of community members in order to participate in their practices but also constructing an *identity* of participation, an ongoing process of becoming a certain person or, equally, avoiding becoming another type of person. Wider social contexts involve complex, overlapping communities which are not always well-defined identifiable groups with established social boundaries – for instance, networks of speakers of particular languages. Norton and Toohey point out that

...this view shifts attention away from questions about, for example, the personality traits or learning styles of participants to questions about how community organization provides positions for participants' engagement in community practices.... Learners are seen

to appropriate the utterances of others in particular historical and cultural practices, situated in particular communities.

(Norton & Toohey, 2001: 312)

In Toohey's (2000) own study she throws the spotlight on immigrant children's struggle for 'legitimate peripheral participation' in the learning community of mainstream school classrooms, showing how individual traits such as motivation or intelligence are less explanatory of their relative success than the affordances (van Lier, 1997) thrown up by their environment for access to conversations with more competent peers, the teacher and other adults, whose words they are gradually able to appropriate to find their own voice, serving their own needs. The complexity of this environment means that sometimes pedagogical interventions have paradoxical outcomes; the provision of extra English as a second language (ESL) support for two of the children, for example, actually hampers their language development since it defined them as abnormal and reduced their possibilities for equal participation in discourse with peers.

The way that learners *perceive* their actual or aspirant communities of practice is likely to have a significant effect on their motivation to join them. Murphey, Jin and Chi-Li (2005) express it like this: "As learners want to belong to a community and construct their identities as members of the group, they invest energy and time into learning how to be like those members" (p. 85). A vivid and attractive 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991) of L2 users can fuel investment in the effort to learn the L2. Conversely, in school contexts "if the teacher does not validate these imagined communities of the learner, students may resist participation in learning" (Norton & Kamal, 2003). In their study of Japanese learners' personal histories of language learning, Murphey et al. (2005) suggest that many learners start out lacking an 'imagined community' and therefore saw little use for the English their schools forced them to learn. They then give evidence of learners forming imagined communities – both communities of the present (often compared to what they had imagined in the past) and the future – and being either motivated or demotivated to learn by such visions. They also highlight the way critical incidents, such as meetings with native-speakers outside the classroom, can stimulate the imagination and become what Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005) call 'motivational transformation episodes' in their learning trajectories. Norton and Kamal (2003) explore the imagined communities of Pakistani



schoolchildren, and found a common vision in which knowledge of English co-exists with high levels of literacy in the vernacular language and with technological sophistication, reflecting “the desire of a country in a postcolonial world to engage with the international community from a position of strength rather than weakness” (p. 314). The power of this vision is sufficient to promote their investment in learning the ex-colonial language. Both these studies implicitly make the point that L2 learners’ imagined communities are not necessarily composed of native-speakers; in fact it is more likely that they are made up of L2-proficient members of their own L1-speaking ethnic group. Breitborde (1998, cited in Pavlenko, 2002) provides another concrete example of this phenomenon from Liberia, where the urban Kru population invest heavily in English not because they identify with any ‘native-speaker’ group but because the local variety is coming to symbolize their own imagined community of sophisticated modern Africans.

Kramsch (2006) has recently elaborated on the power of imagination in potentially motivating language learners, especially in adolescence when identity formation is a central concern (Erikson, 1968):

Like rap and hip hop, a foreign language can reveal unexpected meanings, alternative truths that broaden the scope of the sayable and the imaginable... Seduced by the foreign sounds, rhythms and meanings, and by the ‘coolness’ of native speakers, many adolescent learners strive to enter new, exotic worlds where they can be, or at least pretend to be, someone else, where they too can become ‘cool’ and inhabit their bodies in more powerful ways.

(Kramsch, 2006:102)

For such learners, the desire to learn the foreign language represents “an urge to escape from a state of tedious conformity with one’s present environment to a state of plenitude and enhanced power” (ibid.: 101). However, for other learners the language may represent something alien or threatening to their identity, even when they recognise its possible importance to their future lives; and their investment in the language may consequently be circumscribed and lead to the retention of a strong L2 accent, for example. Resistance to an L2 is a phenomenon explored extensively by Canagarajah (1999) in the context of a Sri Lankan university, where students hold ambivalent attitudes towards English: “even though they vaguely sense the impositions on their value system, identity and community solidarity, [the] students do not ignore

the fact that they need the English language and literacy to vie for social status and economic prospects” (p. 74). This tension is reflected in their learning behaviour, for example in the way they relate the content of their English textbook to the local context and in the constant code-switching between English and the vernacular language. Although they need the language, Canagarajah argues, successful learning implies appropriating it and making it expressive of their own multiple, fragmented identities.

The insights generated by theorists and researchers concerning the relationship between learning motivation and context are of great relevance to this study. Since my primary purpose is to explore the motivation of a particular group of learners (rather than to test a particular theory), I need a research methodology which is sensitive to the multifarious contextual factors which could help inspire, shape, strengthen or diminish L2 motivation. While my focus will be on individuals, it will be important to view their learning of English not simply as an individual endeavour but as an inherently social act, involving both the support of significant others (for new junior high school pupils, these are likely to be parents, peers and teachers) and changing participation in immediate (e.g. the classroom and school) and more distal (i.e. the wider world of English-users) communities of practice. The desire to learn is therefore likely to be bound up with changes in their identity, as in how others see them and how they see themselves. What is more, the majority of research studies sharing this perspective have been conducted in ESL settings; my own study will be an opportunity to assess the value of a poststructuralist approach to learning in an EFL context

### **3.6 Temporal aspects of motivation**

Studies of motivation in the micro-context of classrooms or school inevitably draw attention to its dynamic character. Ushioda (1996), for instance, uncovered a range of subtle transformations in the motivation of Irish undergraduates learning French, such as the fact that “goal-orientation may be more appropriately conceived as a potential evolving aspect of language learning motivation, rather than a basic defining attribute as conceptualized in the social-psychological research tradition” (p. 243). Life-history research also highlights this inherent variability in motivation, as witnessed in the way Norton’s (2000) subjects’ desire to learn English waxes and wanes in response to the



demands and opportunities of their new environment. Variability and flux in individuals' attitudes towards language learning is a feature of diverse EFL contexts too, as the learners' stories in Benson and Nunan (2005) show.

For some time educationalists in North America have been charting changes in motivation in the school years, and as Pintrich (2003) makes clear, the overall direction is downwards: "Over the course of the school years, student motivation on the average declines or becomes less adaptive, with a large drop as students enter the junior high school or middle school years" (p. 680). Wigfield, Eccles and Rodriguez (1998) summarize some of the motivational changes common to school pupils as they move from elementary school through middle school to high school. In general, they become less intrinsically motivated to study, either because they are alienated by dull instructional practices or because they develop new outside interests. Their beliefs about their own competence become more closely linked to external indicators of performance, such as their own and peers' grades. Their expectancy of success declines, and becomes more accurate. They tend to view intelligence and ability as something fixed and immutable, rather than within their power to change, with associated falls in their motivation to improve. There is also increasing consensus that these changes result from the interaction between developmental processes and institutional contexts (see section 3.5.1.4 above). At the same time, in-depth qualitative research studies are emphasising the complexity of the issue. McCallum (2001: 85), for instance, shows how "students with different goal patterns focussed on different aspects of the transition" from elementary to middle-school; learners with an 'ego orientation' looked for competition and opportunities for social comparison in their new school, while those with a 'work avoidance orientation' looked to their new teachers for stimulation. In a similar vein, Gurtner, Monnard and Genoud (2001) suggest that students' perceptions of school features, rather than the features themselves, may be more relevant to changes in their motivation.

SLA theory has been slower to recognise the temporal dimension of motivation. Although Gardner (1985) stressed that his Socio-Educational Model was a dynamic one, with a reciprocal relationship between motivation and achievement, the dominant social-psychological paradigm emphasised the role of *attitudes* as determinants of motivation, contributing to a belief that it was a stable variable, relatively impervious



to instructional practices. Consequently Dörnyei (2001a) wrote, “hardly any research has been done on analysing the dynamics of L2 motivational change and identifying typical sequential patterns and developmental aspects” (p. 28).

Empirical studies of L2 motivation at school have produced results which tend to mirror the trends observed in the general education field. In a study involving over 1,000 thirteen to fifteen-year-olds in the UK and Germany, Chambers (1999) reported significant decreases in enthusiasm to learn languages particularly among the English learners of German, while Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002), investigating the learning of French among over 200 eleven to thirteen-year-olds, uncovered “a clear negative trend with age in terms of the students’ integrative orientation, their feelings about the competence of their teachers, as well as the perceived importance of learning a foreign language” (p. 522). In both the UK and the US, as soon as foreign languages become optional in school there is a sudden drop in the number of learners studying them and even among this ‘elite’ group who continue post-16, attitudes to learning French are negative and confidence levels low (Lambert, 2001; Graham, 2004). In English-speaking countries, this picture of decreasing motivation over the school years may be partly explained by the lack of instrumental motives to learn a foreign language, but even where instrumental reasons to study an L2 are high, there is evidence of falling motivation. In Japan, for example, Koizumi and Matsuo (1993) followed a group of nearly 300 first-year junior high school students through their first year of studying English and found that they suffered a decline in motivation during the middle of the year, as they began to realize the difficulty of the subject and the effort that was required to succeed. In another large Asian study covering both China and Japan, Tachibana, Matsukawa and Zhong (1996) found falls in student motivation to learn English as they progressed from junior to high school.

Two recent theoretical models of L2 motivation have proposed that different motivational constructs may be relevant at different stages of the long language learning process. Williams & Burden (1997) incorporated a temporal dimension in their oft-cited definition of motivation, distinguishing the decision to embark on a course of action from the reasons for persisting with it with a certain degree of effort over time, a distinction that mirrors Heckhausen’s (1991) dual notions of ‘choice’ and ‘executive’ motivation. Dörnyei & Ottó (1998) offered a much more sophisticated



model designed to “[follow] through the motivational process from the initial wishes/desires to the completion of action and the subsequent retrospective evaluation” (Dörnyei, 2000: 524). Arguing that the long-term nature of foreign language learning makes a dynamic conception of motivation even more essential, Dörnyei and Ottó draw on the Action Control theory of Heckhausen and Kuhl (1985) to elaborate a three-stage model of L2 motivation which proposes different motivational influences prior to action, during action and in a post-actional evaluative stage. Thus, selecting from the concepts already outlined in this chapter, attitudes towards the L2 and expectancy of success may be predicted to be important in forming the intention to study a particular language but less influential in sustaining long-term study. Conversely, the dynamics of the learner group or a sense of ‘flow’ could be critical once the ‘rubicon of action’ has been crossed and the learner is already studying, but would be less important in instigating the action in the first place. In the post-actional phase, attributions are likely to play a role along with the learner’s evolving self-concepts (e.g. their level of confidence), and these will influence whether (s)he decides to learn again at a later stage in life.

Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) acknowledge that their process-oriented model has weaknesses. Above all, it tends to imply that actions occur

...in relative isolation, without any interference from other ongoing activities the learner is engaged in. Regrettably, this is rarely true.  
(Dörnyei, 2000: 530)

For example, a teenager studying a language at school over several years may be drawing on ‘executive’ motives while engaged in learning tasks (at the same time as doing many other non-language related tasks) and simultaneously making all kinds of ‘choices’ (e.g. about what project to do, whether to take a private course, about whether to continue language study the following year). They also raise the important issue of how far ‘action’ is under the conscious ‘control’ of learners. Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998) suggested how the social relationships in a classroom may be influenced by unconscious ‘scripts’, in turn affecting the way learners perform tasks and their attitudes to the subject, while Schwarz and Bohner (1996, cited in Dörnyei, 2000) have shown how an individual’s mood states can affect the way they relate to their goals and evaluate their own performance. Another burgeoning line of enquiry

which may have particular relevance for language learning is research into the implicit attitudes that people hold towards different social or ethnic groups (e.g. Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek & Mellott, 2002).

Perhaps the main value of the Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) model is that it can facilitate more fine-tuned studies of motivational change, enabling researchers to choose from the vast array of motivational constructs on offer those that may have particular relevance for their site of investigation. Chen, Warden and Chang (2005) utilized the model in designing a study of EFL motivation among Taiwan university students, confirming a hypothesized mediating role for expectancy between pre-actional motivation orientations and post-actional self-evaluations. Also inspired by the model (though not explicitly based upon it), Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005) analyzed the language learning histories of 25 university students and identified six different types of ‘motivational transformation episodes’, some of which were common to almost all the participants: general maturation and increasing interest, moving into a new life phase, internalizing external goals and spending time in the L2 environment.

Even researchers working in more traditional, positivist approaches to L2 motivation have begun to examine the potential for change in the variables emphasised in the Socio-Educational Model of SLA (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant & Mihic, 2004). In a study of a one-year intermediate-level university French course, Gardner et al. found that “the possibility of change is not great, but it is far larger for variables directly associated with the classroom environment than for more general variables” (ibid.: 28). Thus, evaluations of teachers and anxiety levels fluctuated somewhat according to classroom learning experiences, but integrativeness and instrumental orientation remained relatively constant. In line with the results of empirical studies described above, they also found “a general tendency for the scores on the measures of language attitudes, motivation, and anxiety to decrease” (ibid.: 29), though this was more noticeable in students who did poorly in the end-of-course test.

We have already seen that there is still a paucity of research linking language learner motivation with classroom tasks (section 3.4.1) and to other aspects of the micro-context (section 3.5) of learning. Now that theoretical frameworks have been proposed, Dörnyei (2005) has called for an intensification of research into L2 motivational



processes, arguing that this would bring motivation research more in line with general SLA research, which has always been more concerned with the mechanics of acquisition (and assumed that there is a minimal required level of motivation for acquisition to proceed). In particular Dörnyei sees value in research which investigates “how various motivational features affect learners’ specific learning behaviours during the course, such as their increased willingness to communicate in the L2, their engagement in learning tasks, or their use of certain learning/communication techniques and strategies” (ibid.: 110), to which one might add learners’ use of the L2 *outside* the formal classroom. The focus on activities would be more in congruence with sociocultural approaches to SLA too (see section 3.5.1).

### **3.6.1 Motivational self-regulation**

One further benefit of the Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) model is the way it draws attention to the importance of motivational self-regulation. Given the inevitably long time-scale of language learning, successful students are likely to be those who can maintain their L2 learning effort in the face of many competing demands on their attention, which in turn means sustaining their motivation to learn in the face of other pressing goals and occasional discouraging experiences. Motivational self-regulation can be seen as a sub-branch of academic self-regulation (e.g. Schunk & Zimmerman, 2001), concerned with how learners manage their diverse goals and cope with the obstacles that inevitably lie strewn over the learning path. Corno (2001) favours the term ‘volition’ to distinguish this ability to sustain learning commitment from the motivational aspects which establish the commitment in the first place, and she identifies three main types of volitional control: control of cognition (e.g. keeping one’s attention on the task at hand), emotion control (e.g. using positive inner speech to maintain morale during difficult moments), and motivation control (e.g. giving priority to important goals), along with a more general category of environmental control whereby learners try to make aspects of the setting more conducive to their study. Wolters (2003) offers some empirical validation of motivational self-regulation, specifying eight different means by which learners appear to do it, many of which overlap with Corno’s categories and leading Dörnyei to conclude that “the key issue in this domain is not necessarily the exact list or taxonomy of the relevant mechanisms but rather the underlying capacity that leads learners to apply such mechanisms” (2005: 116). Recently Tseng, Dörnyei

and Schmitt (2006) have produced a psychometrically sound instrument aimed at measuring this underlying self-regulatory capacity for learning L2 vocabulary, and offering the promise that this concept will be applied more extensively to the field of SLA.

Ushioda (2001) explored this issue from a slightly different angle in her research with Irish undergraduates learning French. Through extensive talk she was able to identify patterns of effective motivational thinking which enabled some learners to “sustain involvement in language learning through all the vicissitudes that learning experience over time inevitably brings” (ibid.: 120). These patterns of thinking involved firstly emphasising positive over negative experiences, and secondly making attributions for past experiences which protected their positive self-concept and maintained their sense of ‘motivational autonomy’ in the learning process.

Corno (2001) points out that self-regulatory processes are particularly susceptible to development during adolescence as one grows more aware of one’s own functioning, and that they are “heavily influenced by socialization practices at home and elsewhere” (p. 200). This view is affirmed by Ushioda (2003), who argues that “learners must be brought to view their motivation as emanating from within themselves” and that “the development of learners’ capacity to regulate their own motivation needs to be mediated through processes of social-interactive support and co-regulation” (p. 99).

I share these researchers’ conception of motivation as a dynamic process rather than a fixed trait, and hope that a sufficiently sensitive research design will enable me to contribute to our understanding of L2 motivational change, and more specifically what aspects of motivation are susceptible to change and through which experiences. For practical purposes, it will be especially valuable to know which aspects of pedagogy and other school processes affect learner motivation. Anticipating that the learning experience will not be trouble-free – in school it never is, and developing country educational contexts can provide particularly ‘difficult circumstances’ (cf. Lamb, 2002) – motivational self-regulation can be predicted to be an important factor in the progress of some individuals.



### 3.7 Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-System

While sociocultural and poststructuralist approaches both locate motivation as much in the social and cultural environment as in the mind of the individual, they have had the slightly paradoxical effect of focussing attention more intensely on the importance of the self in explaining motivation to learn language in both short and long-term. As Syed (2001) expresses it, “at the heart of any motivation study is the individual under study, and central to any individual is their perception of the self” (p. 128).

Coming from a more traditional social-psychological background, Dörnyei (2005) has also become persuaded of the explanatory power for L2 motivation of theories of self and identity. As he points out (*ibid.*), it has long been recognised that study of a second/foreign language is likely to challenge a person's notions of self in a way that study of other school subjects does not, and this insight lay behind the development of the important concept of ‘integrativeness’ (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). As we have seen (section 3.3) empirical studies of L2 motivation have consistently found a construct similar to integrativeness to play an important role in learners' L2 motivation, yet there have also been frequent calls for the concept to be re-interpreted in different (e.g. foreign as opposed to second language) and contemporary (i.e. globalized) contexts. Meanwhile, Dörnyei and colleagues' own large-scale research in Hungary during the 1990s (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei et al., 2006) has recently produced new configurations among the key variables involved in L2 motivation, including integrativeness. All this has led Dörnyei to propose a new theory of L2 motivation – the L2 Motivational Self-System – which because of its potential relevance to my own study I shall now describe in some detail.

Dörnyei (2005) proposes that L2 motivation is made up of three dimensions: the Ideal L2 Self, the Ought-to L2 Self, and L2 Learning Experience. The first two concepts are based on Markus and Nurius' notion of ‘possible selves’:

Possible selves represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming, and thus provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation.... Possible selves are important, first, because they function as incentives for future behaviour (i.e. they are selves to be

approached or avoided) and second, because they provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the current view of self.  
(Markus & Nurius, 1986: 954).

Dörnyei links the notion of a learner's image of themselves as a future L2-speaker to Wenger's concept of imagination as a "process of expanding our self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (1998: 176, cited in Dörnyei, 2005: 100), as well as to Norton and Kamal's (2003) concept of 'imagined community' in which the learner visualizes membership of a future L2-speaking community. The stronger the image, the more likely it would be to lead to L2-learning behaviour. However, a distinction should be made between images that derive from the individual's personal ideals (their 'ideal self'), and those that derive from a sense of obligation (their 'ought-to self'). Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory suggests that both the 'ideal' and the 'ought-to' self can act as motivators to learn, as people are naturally inclined to reduce the discrepancy between their present condition and that to which they aspire. But ideal selves may be more powerful motivators in the long-term because they are concerned with approaching a desired state and accomplishing personal goals (a 'promotion' self-regulatory focus), rather than, in the case of ought-to selves, avoiding negative outcomes and satisfying imposed requirements (a 'prevention' self-regulatory focus) (Higgins, 1998).

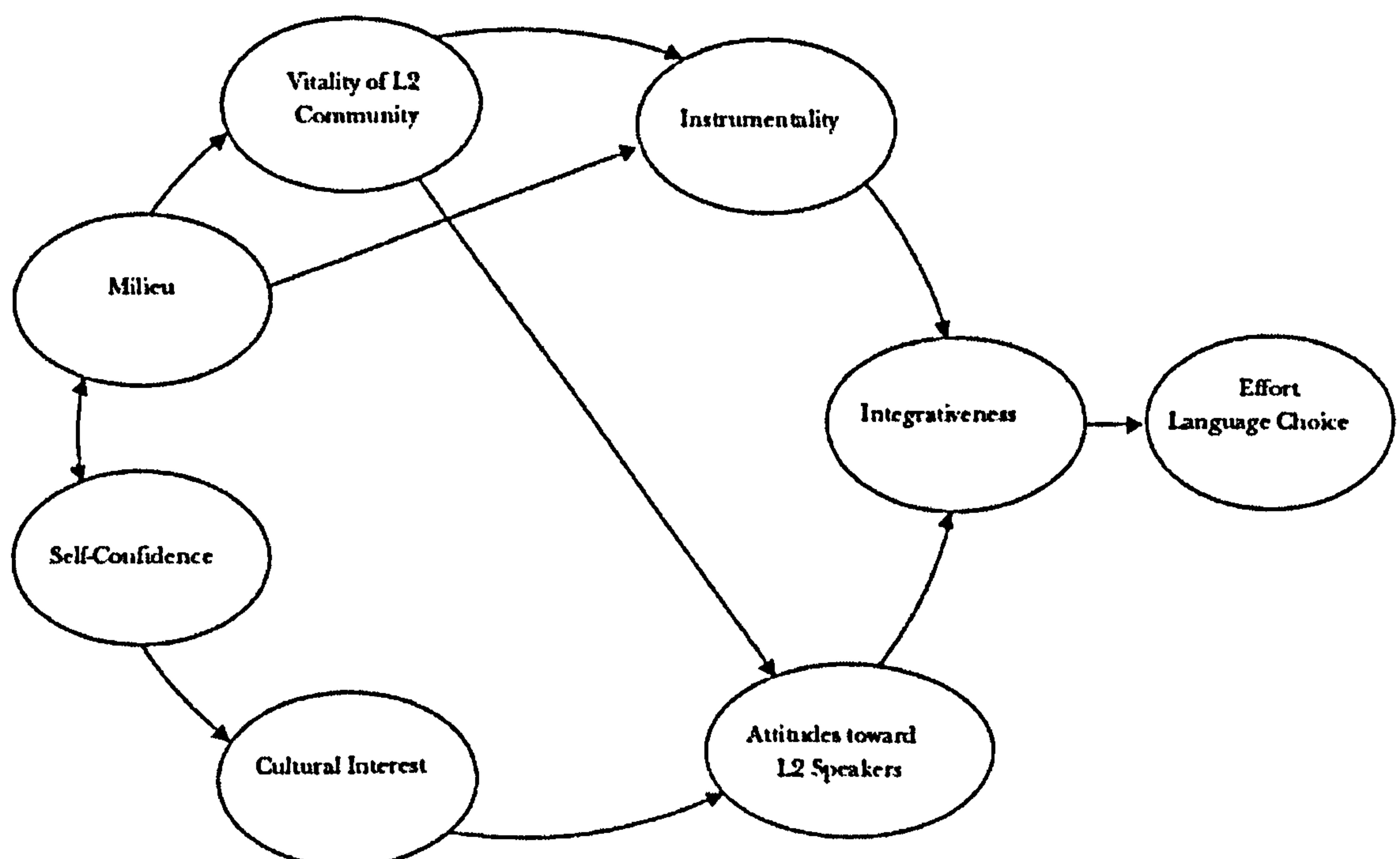


Figure 4 *Interrelationship of motivational variables (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005).*



These concepts, Dörnyei et al. (2006) argue, help to interpret some curious results in the previously-mentioned study of L2 motivation among Hungarian school children. The key latent variable revealed by multivariate statistical analysis of the questionnaire results, consistent over the three administrations in 1994, 1999 and 2004 (see Figure 4), was ‘integrativeness’, helping to determine the effort that students put into L2 learning and which languages they chose to study; yet its immediate antecedents were instrumentality and attitudes to L2 speakers, two apparently very different constructs. If integrativeness is interpreted not in the traditional Gardnerian sense of getting closer to a specific L2 community but instead of striving towards an idealized L2 self, then this image might understandably incorporate not just the positive personal attributes of L2 speakers but also their professional, academic or other competencies (along with all the rewards that such competence might be expected to bring). The motivational power of the (traditionally-termed) instrumental orientation may be determined, according to Dörnyei’s Self-System theory (2005), by whether they are part of the learner’s ‘Ideal’ or ‘Ought-to’ Self. If the learner has internalized these goals, then

...instrumentality will be closely associated with the ideal L2 identity and will therefore contribute significantly to the learner’s effort expenditure. On the other hand, non-internalized instrumentality motives associated with an ‘ought self’, that is motives generated by a mere sense of duty or a fear of punishment, are more likely to have a short-term effect, without providing the sustained commitment that the successful mastery of an L2 requires.

(ibid.: 103)

In Dörnyei’s tripartite model, these two types of self are joined by the ‘L2 Learning Experience’, which is a nexus of motives relating to the specific conditions of learning. These three dimensions, he claims, map onto other recent models of L2 motivation (e.g. Noels, 2000; Ushioda, 2001) and even to Gardner’s updated model (see Figure 2) where ‘other support’ is interpreted as mainly instrumental motives, joining the two other determinants of motivated behaviour, namely integrativeness and attitudes towards the learning situation.

Dörnyei does not describe the relationship between the three components. For example, would a negative L2 Learning Experience affect the chances of developing

an Ideal L2 Self? Do the Ideal and Ought-to L2 Selves lie on a cline, similar to Deci and Ryan's (1985) forms of extrinsic motivation? Dörnyei also admits that elements of the psychological structures making up the different selves have not been fully specified yet in the psychological literature, nor when or how the ideal self comes into being, nor how widespread they are. Moreover, Gardner (2005) points out that integrativeness was originally introduced as an affective characteristic, and fears that adding a strongly cognitive element in this way will lead to more confusion.

Applying the model in the interpretation of my data presents an opportunity to probe these possible weaknesses, to test its validity and usefulness in developing country EFL settings and to pursue its connections with the work on self and identity conducted by sociocultural and poststructuralist researchers. Another emerging field with potential relevance to the model is described in the next section.

### **3.7.1 Future Time Perspective**

The notion that learners' motivation is partly shaped by the nature of their goals (and their orientation to them) is a well-established element in achievement motivation theory (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002), but researchers in 'Future Time Perspective' (FTP) theory are now exploring in detail the differences which may exist in the way young people perceive the future, differences which may affect language learners' conceptions of their 'Ideal' and 'Ought-to' L2 Self (Dörnyei, 2005).

Simons et al. (2004), for example, claim there is already much empirical evidence that students who have a strong sense of the future value of school work are more motivated to study hard, learn more deeply, perform better in school and show greater persistence in difficult tasks; but the effects can be mediated by various factors, such as whether the students have internalized those values had higher motivation than those who were doing it to satisfy or impress other people, just as self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) would predict, and which Dörnyei's distinction between 'ideal' and 'ought-to' L2 selves proposes.

In their model of motivation and self-regulation, Miller and Brickman (2004) propose that students' future goals and subgoals are important determinants of academic study motivation. The more clearly learners' subgoals are defined and elaborated, the higher



value learners put on classroom tasks. “Without this future time perspective”, Miller and Brickman’s argument goes, “activities that might otherwise seem intrinsically or extrinsically motivational in the short term are relatively ‘hollow’ in garnering a real commitment to learning” (McInerney, 2004: 147).

Age, culture and gender have all been identified as factors influencing the motivational power of FTP. Piagetian theory would predict that by the time they enter Middle School (Grade 7), most children would have some conception of the future, though there would be differences in clarity of vision and how far it extends into the future. McInerney (ibid.:148) found that “clarity of focus on the future increased for many students as they progressed through the grades” and it contributed to their academic motivation. Although school is inevitably ‘future-oriented’, McInerney (2004: 148) found that in US schools “Anglo American students more clearly articulated their future goals than students from Native American backgrounds,” while Greene and DeBacker (2004) found that gender role expectations shape the goals that school boys and girls profess, with boys being more career-oriented and girls expressing more socially-oriented hopes and fears.

Although, as McInerney (2004) affirms, much more research is needed before we can understand the motivational force of FTP, it appears that it does play a role in determining learners’ motivation to study and given the strong instrumental values attached to English as an international language in many parts of the world, we might reasonably predict that it will have a greater role in L2 motivation than many other school subjects.

### **3.8 Gender**

Differences in perceptions of the future, noted above, is but one of several motivational factors which have been linked to gender. Indeed, there is accumulating empirical evidence of the differences in the way boys and girls relate to the learning of foreign languages, much of the work being driven by a concern with boys’ underachievement (Jones & Jones, 2001). This is not a new phenomenon. According to Jones and Jones, in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century Locke contrasted boys’ poor achievement in Latin with girls’

quick mastery of French, while the Taunton commissioners in the 1860s noted that “girls attached more importance to the subject (French) than boys, were more anxious to learn and less disposed to ridicule the accent or other peculiarities of a foreigner” (ibid.: 50). Dörnyei et al. (2006) doubt “that there are many quantitative studies in the L2 literature that examined boys’ and girls’ attributes or achievement and did not find any salient differences” (p. 55). Although this has been ascribed to various factors, including learning strategies (Oxford & Nyikos, 1989) and communication styles in class (Sunderland, 1998), motivation has been frequently identified as one source of difference.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) found that female students in Canada exhibited greater integrative motivation, a result that was replicated three decades later among British school pupils by Williams et al. (2002) in the UK and by Mori and Gobel (2006) in Japan. The first study also found girls reporting a higher level of effort in learning a language; both boys and girls ascribe this to girls’ willingness to do tedious school work for future gain, and boys’ reluctance to be seen by their peers to be trying hard. One further interesting result was that different languages may have more appeal for one sex over the other. In the study of Williams et al., French was favoured by girls and German by boys, a finding that clearly reflects the way language learning implicates personal identity. In their large-scale study in Hungary, Dörnyei et al. (2006) also found girls to be scoring higher in almost every measure of motivation throughout the period 1993-2004.

Gender differences are likely to be as much the product of socialization processes as genes, and therefore we should be careful in assuming that they are universal across cultures. Nevertheless, as already indicated, the evidence is geographically widespread, and Williams et al. (2002) describe research showing girls to have generally more positive attitudes towards learning languages in such diverse cultures as Australia (Zammit, 1993), Israel (Spolsky, 1989), and Turkey (Kiziltepe, 1999). Of course gender differences may influence not just the strength or type of motivation but also how it changes; that this is so is suggested by Gao, Cheng, Zhao and Zhou (2005) who found Chinese female students of English to be not only more positive about their English course but also more susceptible to change in their self-identity during the course. In view of this consensus, gender is not a primary concern in my own study,



but it will still be worth checking for significant differences among boys and girls in this under-researched context.

### 3.9 Autonomy in language learning

There is one further field of the SLA literature, distinct from motivation but occasionally overlapping with it, which is relevant to this study; namely learner autonomy. Autonomy in language learning is commonly defined as an ability and a willingness “to take control over one’s own learning” (Benson, 2001: 2), and has become a vogue term in ELT over the past 20 years, in tune with the learner-centred philosophy of communicative language teaching and of pragmatic value in contexts such as adult evening education where the formal provision of teaching may not match the ambition of learners. According to Benson (*ibid.*) autonomous language learners are able to manage their learning through the conscious deployment of learning strategies (Oxford, 1990; Cohen, 1998), have control over their cognitive processes (for example, they show ‘language awareness’ and so are capable of learning through each occasion of language use), and, in the more political sense, have some power over the processes and content of their learning.

As in the field of L2 motivation, developments in sociocultural learning theory are beginning to influence thinking about language learning autonomy. Palfreyman (2003) points out that sociocultural approaches problematize “the notion of any learner being ‘independent’ in the sense of *doing without others*” [author’s italics]. In the related field of self-regulation, McCaslin and Good (1996) introduced the notion of ‘co-regulation’, claiming that although individual self-regulation may be the ultimate goal in learning, there was a growing recognition that it could only be achieved through co-regulated support. The shift from co-regulation to self-regulation of motivation occurs, Ushioda (2003) points out, following “the Vygotskian principle that higher-order cognitive functions are internalized from social interaction with more competent others” (p. 99). Only once motivation has become ‘internalized’ (and remains so) can the learner cope with the “tedium, frustration, stagnation, pressure, and so on that are an inevitable part of the long and often arduous process of learning a foreign language” (Ushioda, 2001: 121). Such a perspective may help us to understand how

learners are encouraged or discouraged from developing autonomy by routinized community practices. In their study of British science lessons, for example, Edwards and Mercer (1987) found that teachers were inadvertently controlling the classroom agenda in such a way that “even [the] more successful pupils will remain ‘scaffolded’ like some supported structure, unable to function independently or outside the precise context and content of what was ‘done’ in the classrooms” (p. 167). Donato and McCormick (1994) showed how language learning strategies might develop “as a by-product of classroom culture”, warning that “language learners who believe teachers to be the authoritative source of knowledge are likely to avoid the self-directed strategies necessary to achieve language proficiency” (p. 461-2).

Biographical or autobiographical accounts of language learning are confirming the influence of social and cultural context on the development of learner autonomy, and in particular the individual’s self-concept vis-à-vis their desired L2 community; that is, their identity. Benson, Chik and Lim’s (Benson et al., 2003) study of two successful Asian language learners shows how the development of individual autonomy went hand-in-hand with the evolution over many years of a bilingual identity, while Lin et al. (2002) foreground the importance of identity and ownership of the language in explaining their long-term success. However, as we saw in Norton’s (2000) study of immigrant women learning ESL and Toohey’s (2000) study of immigrant children in Canada (section 3.5.2) individual agency is never enough by itself for learning experiences are shaped by the “dialectic between ... the human agency of these learners and the social practices of their communities” (Toohey & Norton, 2003: 58). For both adult and child, developing autonomy essentially meant the long-term struggle to negotiate an identity which provided access to ‘shared conversation’ within the desired L2 community.

Sociocultural perspectives inevitably raise the question of whether autonomy is a universal concept or differs in type and degree according to the socialization processes that people undergo in different cultures. Indeed, as in the debate over the cultural specificity of self-determination theory and of other motivational concepts (see sections 3.4 & 3.7.1) it has sometimes been claimed that the values associated with autonomy, such as personal self-fulfilment and freedom from constraint, are culturally-bound and that it may have little relevance or appeal outside the ‘individualistic’



western contexts in which it first rose to prominence” (Littlewood 1999: 72). Ho and Crookall (1995) claim, for example, that Chinese students would feel uncomfortable with any educational approach which required them to challenge the authority of the teacher, and Chinese teachers might likewise be reluctant to surrender control to their students. In Cambodia, Jones (1995) argued that students there had no familiarity with independent study or personal goal-setting and that this necessitated a more culturally-sensitive design for the self-access centre he was responsible for setting up. Littlewood (1999) argues for making a distinction between the ‘proactive’ autonomy found in western societies and a ‘reactive’ autonomy found in Asian societies “which does not create its own direction but, once a direction has been initiated, enables learners to organize their resources autonomously in order to reach their goal” (p. 75).

Against such ‘essentialist’ views, Pierson (1996, quoted in Benson 2001) has argued that the passivity and dependence often associated with Asian learners is “as much a product of

...the structure of the present colonial education system with its excessive workloads, centralized curricula, didactic and expository teaching styles, concentration on knowledge acquisition, examinations emphasising reproductive knowledge over genuine thinking, overcrowded classrooms, and inadequately trained teachers  
(Pierson, 1996: 55)

as they are a product of Chinese culture” (p.57). Holliday (2003) has pointed out that the form of autonomy which tends to be promoted in the TESOL literature is that embedded in the professional discourses, implying a dynamic, independent ‘good language learner’ in contrast to the ‘passive’, socially-constrained learner commonly found in ‘other cultures’, notably in Asia. He argues that in-depth studies of learners in diverse cultures (e.g. Shamim, 1996; Canagarajah, 1999; Holliday, 2002; Tong, 2002) provide evidence of a common ‘social autonomy’ which may take forms that are missed when viewed through the lens of TESOL professional discourse, or might even appear antithetical to pedagogic values. So, for example, Japanese students in the UK may “appear ‘passive’ and lacking in autonomy, but it is more the impact of the strangeness for them of British lessons that brings about reticent behaviour than the ‘culture’ which the students bring with them” (Holliday, 2003: 119). In a similar vein, a recent quantitative study found that Chinese university language learners, contrary to stereotypical notions of passive Asian students, had positive attitudes towards self-directed learning and engaged in a range of learning strategies on their own initiative

(Gan, 2004), partly as a response, the author argued, to the lecture-based teaching style, lack of opportunities for naturalistic learning and the heavy exam burden. The author concluded that “learning can be conceptualized as inherently autonomous” (ibid.: 404), though it may not always be efficient.

Benson (2001) also provides examples of empirical studies of Asian learners studying on their own initiative outside the classroom, such as the ESL learners in Australia researched by Nunan (1990) and the secondary school pupils in Hong Kong researched by Yap (1998), to which could be added more recent examples such as Hart (2002) and Gamini-Fonseka (2003). Moreover, Spratt, Humphreys and Chan (2002) uncovered instances of autonomous learning by Hong Kong university language students but only by those who indicated a strong motivation to learn the L2, leading them to question the conventional view (cf. Deci & Ryan, 1985) that autonomy led to motivation rather than vice versa; though it should be said that their article, relying on responses to a single questionnaire item to determine the level of learners’ motivation, does not investigate whether the active learners have a sense of autonomy deriving from the internalization of their reasons for learning (Deci and Ryan, 1985), and that this is what fuels their motivation and instigates their autonomous learning behaviour.

It is also worth pointing out in the context of this debate that empirical studies of language learning in the ‘west’ do not necessarily uncover any more examples of language learner autonomy than those in the ‘east’. For example, Williams et al. (2002: 519) claim that British school children in grades 7-9 “conveyed a lack of sense of control over their learning”, and that “lower achieving pupils tended to exhibit apathy towards any suggestion of independent learning” (p. 520); in fact, they suggest that “student use of metacognitive strategies appears to decrease over time” (p. 523). Other recent studies suggest that the most common way that British and American school pupils exercise their autonomy is by dropping the subject as soon as they can (Lambert, 2001; Graham, 2004).

Learner autonomy is important to my own study for similar reasons to the related field of motivational self-regulation. My earlier study in this context (Lamb, 2002) pointed to weaknesses in the Indonesian state school provision of English. Students who were successful in learning the language reported using varied strategies to increase their



knowledge and practise the language outside of school. The present study has the potential to corroborate this finding on a larger scale and over a longer time period, and thus to contribute to the debate on the universality of learner autonomy and how it may be shaped by local culture. Moreover, most of the existing research on learner autonomy has been with secondary school students or adults. Is it possible to find examples of autonomy amongst junior high school learners? Taking a poststructuralist viewpoint, I should also consider how individual agency may be facilitated or constrained by the distribution of social and material resources in the local context.

### **3.10 Summary**

This review has focussed mainly on the developments in L2 motivation research over the past decade and a half. While the concepts of integrative and instrumental motivation introduced by Gardner and colleagues are still influential in both theory and pedagogy, they have been joined by new conceptualizations of L2 motivation borrowed from general educational psychology, and most recently by new formulations of L2 motivation itself which take more fully into account its evolution over time and its complex interactive relationship with the individual learner's immediate and wider context. Contemporary attempts to define L2 motivation (e.g. Williams & Burden, 1997; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) stress the multifaceted nature of the concept and tend to de-emphasise the attitudinal aspects of motivation, emphasising instead the need for it to be sustained over long periods of time. Meanwhile, approaches to researching L2 motivation have also begun to change, with large-scale surveys now being complemented by ethnographic and qualitative approaches involving interviews, participant observation, (auto)biography and other methods.

It is fair to say, though, that theory has somewhat leapt ahead of research in many aspects of L2 motivation. As indicated in Chapter 2, there is very little research on L2 motivation in Indonesia in the public domain. This chapter has also identified a number of gaps in our understanding of L2 motivation to which this study might contribute, in particular:

- whether integrativeness, one of the first and most robust concepts in language learning motivation, is relevant to understanding the motivation of school pupils in

21<sup>st</sup> century Southeast Asia, or whether more novel constructs, such as ‘Ideal’ and ‘Ought-to’ Selves, can better describe the processes of identification which contemporary learners of English undergo (if they do).

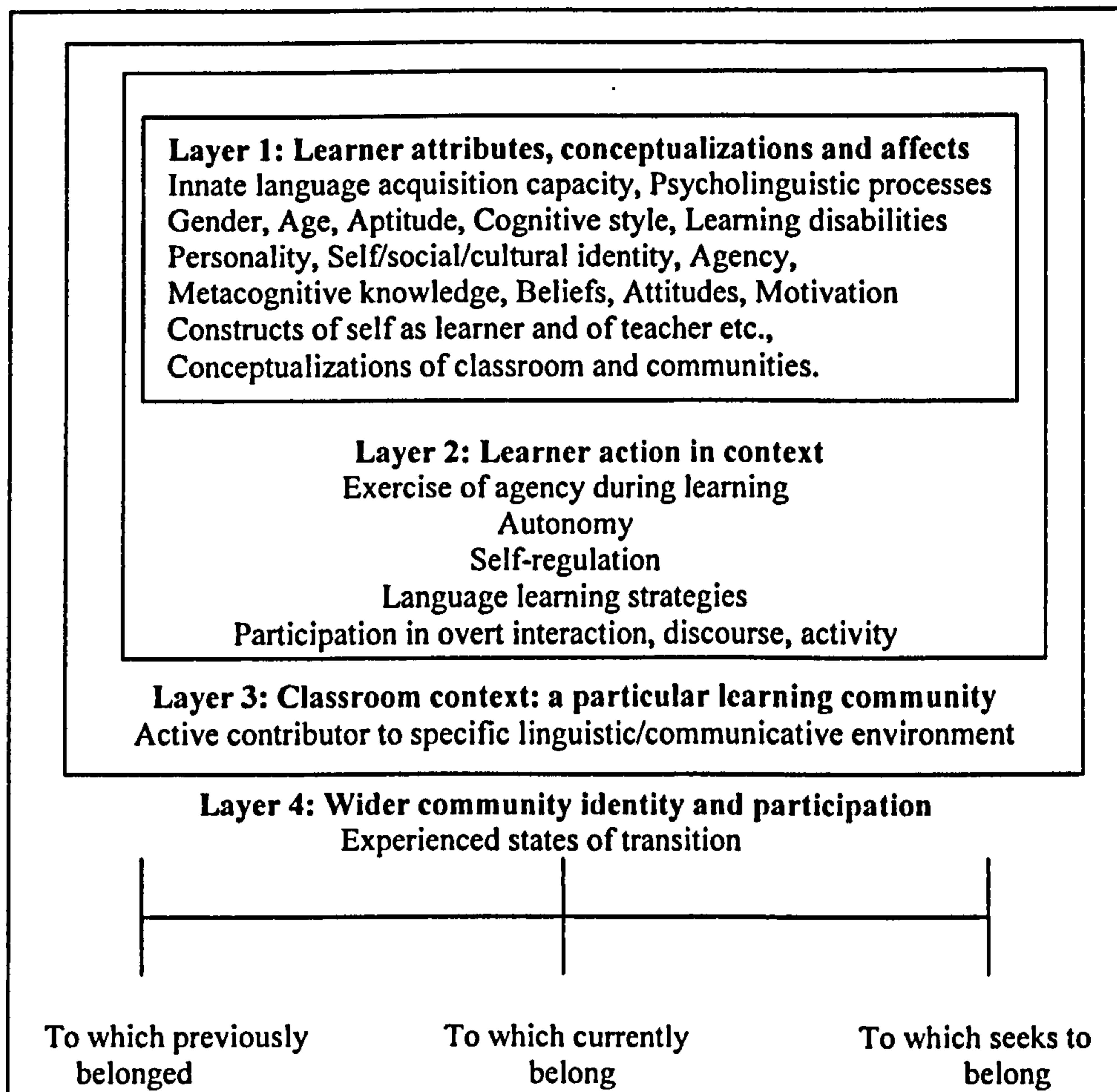
- how young peoples’ motivation to learn English in a provincial developing country context (arguably *the* most common context for the study of English, in terms of numbers) is dynamically shaped by features of that context, including family, school and other institutions, local community and national culture, politics and economy; and in investigating this whether the insights of situated learning theory, which have so far mainly been applied in ESL settings, can also serve to explicate variations in motivation amongst learners in an EFL setting.
- how susceptible L2 motivation is to change over time, and what role educational processes like teaching and methodology might have in that change; and in relation to that, how aware young learners are of their motivation, and what, if any, strategies they use to self-regulate it. In-depth analyses of changes in motivation to learn foreign languages *at school* are virtually non-existent.
- whether autonomous learning attitudes and behaviour can flourish in a South-East Asian culture, and among younger teenagers; and if so, what form they take and how they are supported or suppressed by features of context.

This may seem an ambitious agenda. There was a time, indeed, when the study of motivation could confidently focus on the individual without attention to the context of their learning or even to their actions in context. Using Breen’s (2001) ‘profile of learner contributions to language learning’ (Figure 5), motivation was one of a list of mainly fixed internal attributes of the individual (layer 1). However, as Block (2003) points out, we are now aware that

...with the exception of the fixed attributes of innate language acquisition capacity, psycholinguistic processes and disabilities, all of these learner contributions come to life via contact with the remaining three layers, all of which relate at varying points on a micro-macro continuum to context. .

(Block 2003: 125-7)





**Figure 5** *The profile of learner contributions to language learning (based on Breen, 2001: 180).*

A researcher who wishes to understand the differences in motivation among a group of learners in a particular place and time has no choice now but to engage with the other levels – with how the learners exercise their agency and regulate their learning and motivation, for example (layer 2), with how they participate, or are allowed to participate, in the classroom and other relevant learning communities (layer 3), and who they – or others – think they are becoming in the process (layer 4). To quote Block once again:

It is in this totality of experience that the learner has developed the layer 1 attributes and conceptualizations, and it is only by taking this experience into account that we can make sense of who the individual is and how he or she thinks and acts when learning a language at a given point in time.

(Block, 2003: 127)

Block echoes Breen's own call for research which "attempts to understand different aspects of the puzzle by establishing links across the levels" (ibid.).

The specific questions which this research sets out to answer have been formulated with this ambition in mind. These are presented in the next chapter, along with definitions of the key terms.



## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

I begin this chapter with a brief resumé of the rationale for this study. My brief description of the Indonesian context (Chapter 2) showed how the English language is recognised both politically and popularly as having a key role to play in the country's development and helping it to respond to the immense challenges of globalization. It also portrayed a persistent concern among policy-makers and parents that young Indonesians were not learning English well enough, and that the traditional state education system was implicated in this failure. I have also indicated the lack of nationally or internationally-recognised research on language learning processes in Indonesian school classrooms, but that which exists (e.g. Sadtono et al., 1996; Lamb, 2002) suggests that early experiences in junior high school may be important in forming attitudes and shaping individuals' motivation for formal study of school subjects with long-term consequences for achievement – a finding in line with those of western studies of the elementary school/middle school transition period (see sections 3.5.1.4 and 3.6). There are therefore good *practical* reasons for investigating how Indonesian children experience the beginning of formal study of English in the first years of junior high school.

It has long been recognised by educationalists “that motivation affects all aspects of schooling and contributes to students' school success” (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 4). My review of the literature has revealed that, despite this central role and the very considerable research efforts already expended, significant gaps in our understanding of school motivation remain. In particular, while it is now widely acknowledged that motivation changes, we still lack fine-grained analyses of motivational change in school contexts. We now know that diverse aspects of context can influence motivation in profound and complex ways, but empirical accounts of such influences are still not

common. There have been welcome theoretical advances to the study of language learning motivation recently, extending the range of constructs considered potentially relevant; but research into their relevance has largely been restricted to North American or European contexts, and more often with adult learners than with children. Where research has been carried out in non-western contexts it has often suggested a need for the reinterpretation of motivational constructs in light of local cultural values and beliefs. Furthermore, there has been virtually no such published research beyond the more economically developed Asian contexts (e.g. Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan). There is therefore a strong *theoretical* justification too for an in-depth study of Indonesian teenagers' motivation to study English.

Designed to address both the research agenda and local practical concerns, the study's research questions are presented below. The remainder of the chapter defines the key terms in each research question, including the central concept of motivation itself.

## **4.2 Research questions**

RQ1. How motivated are the students to learn English when they enter Junior High School X Jambi?

RQ2. How does this motivation change during the first two years of junior high school?

RQ3. What factors are associated with changes in motivation over this period?

## **4.3 Definitions**

The 'students' referred to in RQ1 are those young Indonesians studying at the state 'Junior High School' (SMP) No.X in the city of Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia, chosen as the site for this research (see Chapter 5 for why the particular school was selected); that is, the cohort of approximately 250 individuals aged 11-12 who entered the school in late July 2002. A small number of these students were chosen for closer investigation,



in order to gain deeper insights into their motivation. I will also be examining differences in sub-groups of students, for example by gender and class teacher.

The phrase ‘how motivated’ immediately opens a Pandora’s Box for, as Dörnyei (2001a) writes, although the term ‘motivation’ is used widely in everyday speech, “researchers disagree strongly on virtually everything concerning the concept” (p. 7). First of all, ‘how’ implies both ‘how’ and ‘how much’ i.e. the nature of the motivation and its degree of intensity. What is meant by ‘motivated’ requires a lengthier discussion, though I shall limit it to authoritative definitions of motivation in the field of language learning.

Gardner defined motivation in his Socio-Educational Model (1985) as the combination of three factors:

- The desire to learn a language.
- The effort and persistence put into learning it.
- Favourable attitudes towards the experience of learning it.

Acknowledging the complexity of the concept, he has stated more recently (2005) that “any one [of these factors], in and of itself, does not properly encompass the many features of the motivated individual, but it is felt that these three do an adequate job in this regard” (p. 10). The modest scope of this definition can be explained partly by Gardner’s need to operationalize the construct in the Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), and he was also concerned to distinguish between the desire / effort / enjoyment that motivated individuals express and the reasons they give for their motivation. As we have seen (section 3.3), in his model the source of learner’s motivation may be found in their positive attitudes towards the learning situation and towards the culture and people who use the L2 (integrativeness). The model therefore serves well to illustrate the dual meaning of motivation – as an *effect* of various cognitive and affective factors, and as a *cause* of learning behaviour. The cognitive and affective factors were later elaborated to include concepts such as goal salience, self-efficacy and attributions which were prominent in mainstream educational psychology; these were described as ‘antecedents’ of motivated behaviour and mediated the effects of learner attitudes (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995).

Nevertheless, Gardner's definition remains a product of its time. Contrasting it with two definitions of motivation from the late 1990s shows how far the field has developed in the intervening period, for example in downplaying the role of attitudes and in foregrounding the role of cognitive processes. These two definitions are themselves worth comparing, because although created independently and serving their own rhetorical purpose (in elaborating a model), they have much in common and so could be said to represent a contemporary consensus on some essential features of motivation. The two definitions are:

Motivation may be construed as

- a state of cognitive and emotional arousal
- which leads to a conscious decision to act
- which gives rise to a period of sustained intellectual and/or physical effort
- in order to attain a previously set goal (or goals)

Williams & Burden (1997: 120)

The dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalized and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out.

Dörnyei & Ottó (1998: 65)

The four key elements in these definitions are presented in Table 1 below, and I will discuss each in turn. I argue that there is a rough equivalence between the statements, though also subtle differences.

The statements both describe motivation as 'arousal', a word that harks back to early 20<sup>th</sup> century drive theories (e.g. Freud, 1966) but which is intended to signal the presence of an energy. For Williams and Burden (*ibid.*) this arousal does not always involve desire, while Dörnyei & Ottó imply by the later phrase 'wishes and desires' that it does (like Gardner). Both definitions emphasise that motivation has a temporal element, Williams and Burden by specifying that it is a state (rather than a trait), and Dörnyei and Ottó by fronting their definition with the term 'dynamically changing', while 'cumulative' indicates that each instance of motivation leaves cognitive or emotional traces which may influence subsequent thought or behaviour. Indeed, the latter definition suggests that the arousal is not so much a state as a *process* (involving initiation, direction, coordination etc.); and although the former definition uses the



term ‘state’, it ‘leads to’ action and ‘gives rise to’ a period of effort – so the terminology differs but the meaning is not dissimilar. It is a fundamental assumption in this study that motivation is a process constantly subject to change rather than a stable condition or fixed trait, an assumption that has clear methodological implications (see section 5.2).

<i>Williams &amp; Burden definition</i>	<i>Dörnyei &amp; Ottó definition</i>
A state of cognitive and emotional arousal	The dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person
Which leads to a conscious decision to act	that initiates,
Which gives rise to a period of sustained intellectual and/or physical effort	directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes
In order to attain a previously set goal (or goals).	whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalized and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out.

**Table 1** *A comparison of two contemporary definitions of motivation*

Dörnyei and Ottó add to their initial statement the phrase ‘in a person’, a sense which is implied in Williams and Burden’s definition. Although it may indeed seem like ‘common’ sense that motivation lies within an individual, this view is contested. As we have seen (section 3.5.1) a strong socioculturalist position argues that cognitive activity is so contextually embedded that it cannot be viewed any more as a distinct individual construct (e.g. Hickey, 1997; Hickey & Granade, 2004). The notion is also critiqued from a ‘social discursive’ position, where “instead of regarding [motivation] as an entity located in an L2 learner’s head, motivation would be viewed as a construction in the L2 learner’s talk or writing” (Kalaja and Leppänen, 1998: 177). While mainstream L2 motivation researchers use learners’ words as evidence of existing inner motivational states, for the ‘discursive scholar’ they *are* motivation: “motivation is performed rather than preformed”, in particular interactional settings and for particular social purposes (ibid.: 174). While both these perspectives rightly emphasise the social and contextual influences on motivation and call into question how it can be measured, in this study I persist with psychological convention in defining motivation as ultimately an individual phenomenon, though coupled to context, and this is reflected in the formulation of RQs 2 & 3 (see below).

In fact, neither definition mentions the possible causes of ‘arousal’ in an individual, for the good reason that this would make the statement impossibly complex. These factors are, however, central elements in the models of motivation presented by both pairs of authors and cover much the same ground, though they are categorized as ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors by Williams and Burden, and into ‘preactional’, ‘actional’ and ‘postactional’ by Dörnyei and Ottó. I discuss these factors again in relation to RQs 2 & 3.

The second part of the definitions can be dealt with briefly. Both indicate that motivation needs to lead to action of some kind (cognitive, motor *and* social) for it to be considered genuine, in line with Gardner’s (2005) view that “one can want to learn a language for [many] reasons.....but unless this is accompanied by other features of motivation it is not motivation” (p. 4). By extension, relevant activity is potentially evidence of motivation, a point that I take up in Chapter 6. Williams and Burden note that the decision to act is conscious, and Dörnyei elsewhere expresses the view that “most of the significant thoughts and feelings that affect learning achievement in prolonged educational situations are conscious and known by the learner” (2001a: 9). With Scott (2000), I believe this view holds good for the young adolescents in this study, though researchers should always remain alert to the possibility of unconscious motives underlying behaviour.

The third part of the statements stress the long-term nature of motivation (in academic and most other worthwhile fields of human endeavour), and the fact that it involves both intellectual (cognitive) and physical (motor) processes. Dörnyei and Ottó helpfully specify some of the metacognitive strategies which are involved in sustaining motivation: for example, most of us are motivated simultaneously in several different directions and thus our actions need to be ‘coordinated’; we need to ‘evaluate’ our experiences and if necessary ‘amplify’ our efforts in a particular direction and ‘terminate’ our efforts in another. In a research study tracking learner motivation over time, such self-regulatory features of motivation are likely to feature prominently. In recognition of the insights of sociocultural theory, one should add that motivation involves *social* processes too, for such mental strategies develop through interaction



with more ‘expert’ thinkers, and their practical realization inevitably involves further interaction with others (Rogoff, 1998; Ushioda, 2003).

The final part of both statements makes the point that motivation does not exist in isolation but must relate to a goal or goals (or ‘initial wishes or desires’). Williams and Burden (ibid.) point out that “these goals may reside within the activity itself, or the activity may be undertaken because it is a means to other ends” – depending on whether the motivation is ‘intrinsic’ or ‘extrinsic’ (see section 3.4.1). I acknowledge the goal-directed nature of motivation by specifying that I am interested in motivation ‘to learn English’ in RQ1.

For the purposes of this study, I am going to adopt the following definition of motivation. It is adapted from the words of Reeve (1996, cited in Waugh, 2002: 66) and incorporates the key features identified in the two definitions analysed above:

*Motivation is a dynamic constellation of mainly conscious, contextually sensitive cognitions and affects which energize, direct and regulate behaviour in pursuit of short or long-term goals; it originates from and is constantly influenced by a range of internal and external factors.*

What then is the precise meaning of ‘how motivated’ in the light of this definition? I need to explore the range, intensity and consistency of the cognitions and affects, remaining alert to the possibility that individuals may not be fully conscious of their motives, and that some are inextricably linked to particular contexts. I also need to examine their relationship to expressed goals, and gain some measure of their effect on learning behaviour in pursuit of the goals. Given the complexity of this ‘constellation’, I need to recognise that I will not gain a full understanding, but aim to design instruments which allow the most significant ‘cognitions and affects’ to emerge to view. Finally, since the origins of a phenomenon are often a useful guide to its nature, I must consider the internal and external sources of the students’ motivation and their possible continued influence.

One more term requires definition at this point, even though it is not explicitly stated in the research questions: ‘identity’. The concept is important for understanding how

learners perceive English and their motivation to learn the language. I shall follow Ivanič (2006: 7) in using the term as “the everyday word for people’s sense of who they are, but [also] to stand for the often multiple, sometimes contradictory identities which can coexist” in any one individual. One’s sense of self is not static, and sociocultural perspectives on learning (e.g. Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lantolf, 2000) have shown how it is implicated in acts of learning, because learning means changing patterns of participation in the knowledge practices of communities and ultimately becoming a different person in relation to that community.

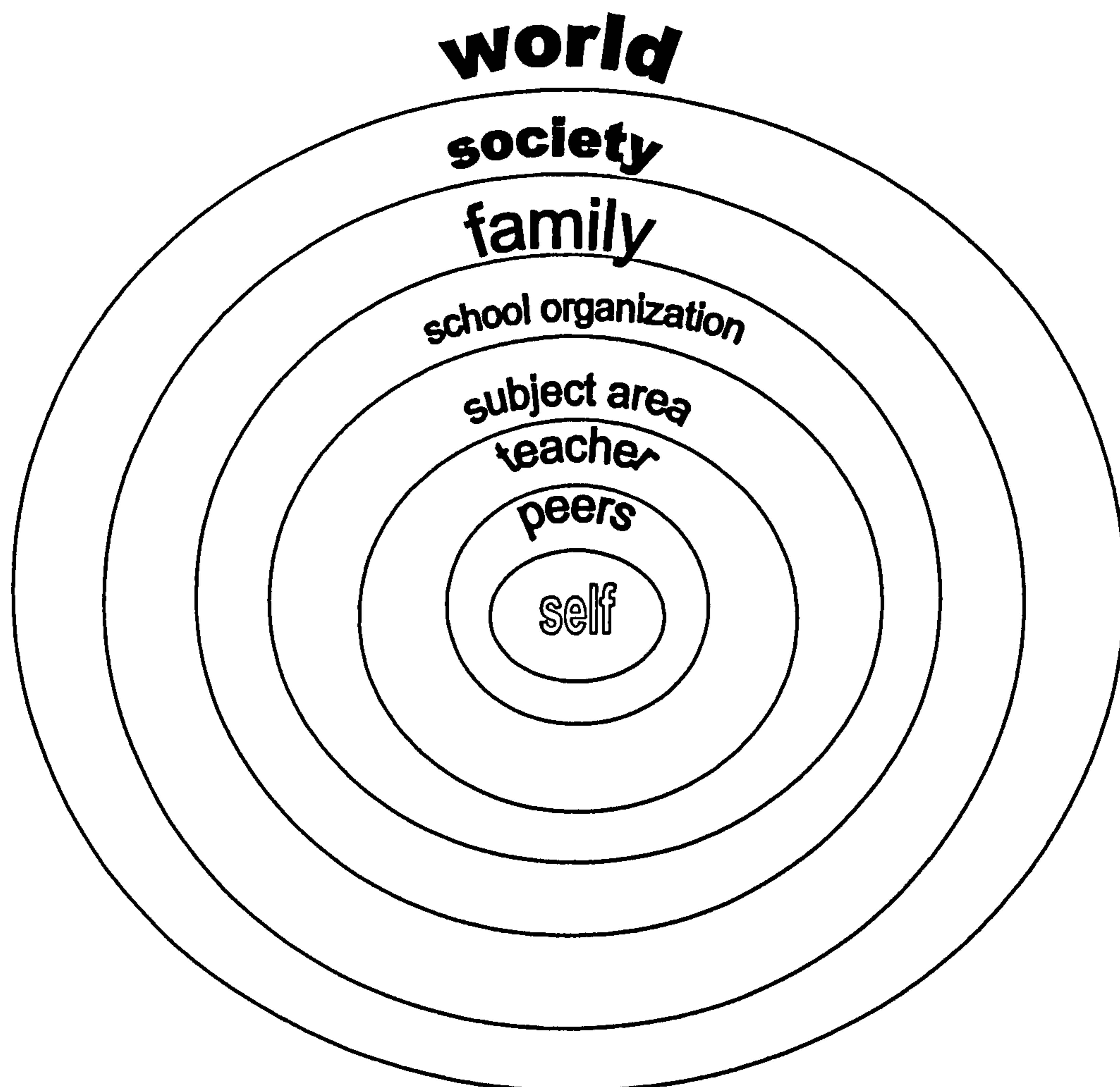
RQ2 focusses on motivational change. This can also be both quantitative and qualitative; that is, it may change in degree or nature or both. I shall investigate both types of change through comparing the evidence of motivation at different points in time. However, ‘change’ can also mean fluctuation rather than increase or decrease (or change in type); it is conceivable, for example, that a student’s motivation may maintain a steady trajectory when viewed over the long-term yet fluctuate wildly from day to day, and this is also of interest to this study. Finally, as in RQ1 motivational change in both the whole cohort and in individual students will be explored.

RQ3 addresses the possible internal and external influences on motivational change. ‘Factors’ refers to variables which are seen to have some effect on students’ motivation, on the whole group, sub-groups and on individuals. Taking a constructivist line (Williams & Burden, 1997) it may be expected that these factors have different effects on different individuals, though there may be some general effects visible in sub-groups or across the whole cohort.

The external factors may be categorized according to the ‘layer’ of context as described by McCallum (2001), presented in Figure 6. They include peers, especially classmates and friends, teachers, the way particular subjects are taught, the learning environment of the school (and possibly the community if learning is not confined to school), and family (both significant members of the family and its socio-economic position). One might add some extra ‘layers’, such as society (its cultural beliefs and expectations, and educational policies of its government), and the world at large, where trends and events may possibly affect individuals far away. Although represented here as concentric circles these levels of context could be expected to interact with each



other, as well as with various internal factors in the 'self'. For example, changes in national education policy could have an effect on how subjects are taught, which may in turn impact on students' attitudes.



**Figure 6** *Sociocultural contexts of change (adapted from McCallum, 2001: 69)*

Although I can strive towards what Watson-Gegeo (2004: 340) calls 'thick explanation', "tak[ing] into account all relevant and theoretically salient micro-and macro-contextual influences that stand in a systematic relationship to the behaviour or events", I must acknowledge that some influences may not be captured in a study of limited scope (see section 5.2.5.2 on the ethnographic element in the methodology). It is also unlikely that I am able to establish 'systematic relationships' of causality among the influences, hence the use of the term 'associated with'.

## 4.4 Summary

This chapter has presented the questions that the research will attempt to answer. It has described how the key term 'motivation' has been understood in recent formulations in the field of language learning, and a new definition was adopted which seems to fit the purpose of this research. Each research question was then elaborated upon in the light of this definition. The next chapter discusses the methods employed to investigate these questions.



## CHAPTER 5

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 5.1 Purpose of the study – a reminder

This study investigates the motivation of students to learn English as a foreign language over the first 20 months of study at a junior high school in provincial Indonesia. As the Research Questions described above indicate, it aims to provide both a broad canvas picture of the whole school year cohort and a more colourful and detailed portrait of some individual learners, as they enter the school. It then aims to identify changes in the motivation of both the whole cohort and some individuals as they study English at school, and to identify possible contextual factors which influence the process of change. This chapter considers the evidence I will need to answer the Research Questions and how I should go about obtaining it.

My definition of motivation (section 4.3) specifies an internal process within an individual. As Dörnyei (2001a) points out, this raises an immediate problem for researchers because internal processes are “*not* subject to direct observation but must be inferred from some indirect indicator, such as the individual’s *self report accounts, overt behaviours or physiological responses*” (p. 185, original italics). These indicators are not always available though. It is only in very controlled experimental situations, for example, that physiological responses can be measured and that is obviously ruled out by situating my research in a natural setting. This chapter will therefore consider what self-reports or overt behaviour it may be practicable to obtain to answer my research questions, plus what other possible sources of data may be available.

As Dörnyei further remarks (*ibid.*), however, learners’ words and even their actions are not objective measures of their motivation; they require interpretation. The validity and reliability of these indicators are inevitably the topic of intense debate among researchers. For perhaps the majority of motivation researchers, working in the

positivist tradition, students' words are actually deemed too untrustworthy to be accorded much value for insight into motivation, and therefore only their responses to carefully-primed prompts (in the form of questionnaires) are measured, with objectivity being further enhanced by the application of rigorous statistical techniques to the resulting data. As we saw in Chapter 3, alternative approaches to motivation have emerged recently which put more trust in learners' own explanations of their motivation, and indeed depend upon them (e.g. Syed, 2001; Ushioda, 2001; Williams et al., 2001; Shoaib & Dörnyei, 2005). Hence it is important that I specify here how I plan to elicit learner self-reports, how I will analyse and interpret them and what aspects of their behaviour I can or should observe in order to answer my research questions.

My definition of motivation also indicates the complexity and multidimensionality of the construct, a characteristic well-acknowledged in the literature (e.g. Dörnyei, 2001a; Pintrich, 2003; McInerney and Van Etten, 2004) and which motivation researchers have responded to in different ways. One approach (historically the most common) is to examine the construct from the perspective of a single theory (e.g. achievement theory, goal theory, self-determination theory). A second approach is to focus on aspects of motivation which appear particularly relevant to the learners under study (e.g. 'Willingness to Communicate' in Japanese EFL learners in Yashima, 2002; 'instrumentality' in school pupils in Simons et al., 2004) or to analyse specific factors impinging on motivation such as culture (e.g. Iyengar & Lepper, 1999), gender (e.g. Kaylani, 1996) or teaching style (e.g. Noels, 2000). In many cases both types of limitation are applied i.e. the researcher examines a certain aspect of motivation through the lens of a specific theory (e.g. Gardner et al., 2004, looking at *changes in integrative* motivation as defined in the *Socio-Educational Model*). A third approach, not yet widespread, is to explore the motivation of a very small number of learners in depth (e.g. Ushioda's study of 20 undergraduate language students (1994; 2001)). As will be made clear in this chapter, my own way of managing the scale of the topic is to combine the second and third approaches: that is, I will look for particular aspects of motivation which can be predicted to be relevant to the population under study, and especially those which are implicated in change in motivation; but I will also examine a few individuals in more depth to uncover other elements in, or influences on, their motivation.



## **5.2 Research design**

Within the terms of educational research debate, I would characterize this project as an empirical, interpretive, developmental study combining ‘survey’ and ‘multiple cases’ strategies in an ‘equal status mixed method’ design. I will now attempt to explain this definition and justify the approach.

### **5.2.1 Empirical**

The study is empirical in that it aims to seek evidence about human phenomena – the motivation of Indonesian school learners of English - for the purpose of better understanding them. It is informed by relevant theory and hopes to contribute to its refinement, but its starting point is a real world phenomenon.

### **5.2.2. Interpretive**

This research takes a predominantly naturalistic approach, and so falls mainly within the interpretive paradigm of educational research. That is, it believes “the social world can only be understood from the standpoint of the individuals who are part of the ongoing action being investigated” (Cohen et al., 2000:19). In other words, in order to understand the Indonesian learners’ motivation, I have to elicit their own views, directly as well as indirectly. Moreover I am interested in the way these individuals think and act in the natural setting of their school, home and community, not in the controlled environment of a research laboratory. However, in trying to share their frame of reference, the researcher inevitably involves him/herself, to some extent, in that local reality. Indeed, the responses of individuals to the researcher’s presence and position will inform the enquiry even though, as in a traditional positivist approach, the role of the researcher needs to be carefully prescribed and described.

There are those who argue that research paradigm should define method throughout the research process (e.g. Lincoln & Guba, 1985). An alternative view, termed the ‘pragmatic’ by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) is that a consistent philosophical rationale is unnecessary: “For most researchers committed to the thorough study of a research problem, method is secondary to the research question itself, and the

underlying worldview hardly enters the picture” (p. 21). For example, RQ3 targets ‘factors ...associated with changes in motivation’; though I accepted that it would not be possible to pin down clear causes and effects, I also acknowledged that causal relationships can be shown to exist, which is a view that does not sit easily within a strict interpretive line. In designing this research study, I took the pragmatic view that “decisions regarding the use of qualitative or quantitative methods (or both) depend upon the research question as it is currently posed and the phase of the research cycle that is ongoing” (ibid.: 22).

### **5.2.3 Developmental**

Research which tries to “describe what the present relationships are among variables in a given situation and to account for changes occurring in those relationships as a function of time” may be called ‘developmental’ (Cohen et al., 2000: 169). I was interested in learners’ motivational development from two angles. Firstly I wanted to get a cross-sectional view of the whole school year, to enable me to compare the learners to each other. I took this cross-sectional ‘snapshot’ at two separate points, the beginning and end of the study. At the same time, I wanted to see how the learners’ motivation changes over the first twenty months of junior high school, both in the general population (or ‘cohort’) and more subtly at the individual level. I therefore needed to conduct a ‘semi-longitudinal’ study (Gurtner et al., 2001) which allowed for direct comparison of data on individuals at different points in time. At minimum, this would require two data collection points. A third mid-point collection was added to collect more data and maintain the momentum of the research (see section 5.4 below), as well as to help identify fluctuations in motivation (RQ2).

### **5.2.4 Survey strategy**

In order to capture the self-reported accounts of the whole school year, at two separate times, I needed to use the traditional ‘survey’ research strategy (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002). This would enable the efficient generation of large amounts of data, elicited in standardized forms and analysed according to standard statistical procedures. The confidentiality of the survey would encourage honest and full responses, particularly in the open items. This bank of data could also provide a way of selecting the individuals



who I wished to focus on more closely, and of comparing them to the general population at the different stages of the project.

Further, using questionnaires meant I could test for specific motivational constructs in conventional ways (e.g. using Likert Scales, as in the Gardner & Lambert tradition – see section 3.3 above). Collecting information on respondents' backgrounds meant I could also test for relationships between these motivational constructs and background variables, as well as quantify their development over time. Furthermore, using these quantitative techniques on a relatively large sample (i.e. a school year of over 200 pupils) could potentially increase the generalizability of my findings, though the use of my own questionnaire, tailored to the specific population rather than replicating an established measure (see section 5.5.1) means that direct comparability with previous studies is not straightforward.

### **5.2.5 Multiple cases strategy**

Given my interpretive stance, I was aware from the beginning that a survey strategy would not be sufficient to capture the complexity of individual learners' motivational thinking (Ushioda, 2001), nor (for RQ3) the unique contributions of their physical, cultural and human environment (Hickey, 1997; McGroarty, 2001; Atkinson, 2002). To register this detail, I would need more qualitative data, such as in-depth interviews with, and observations of, individual learners. This need suggested incorporating a number of individual cases (who I call 'focal learners') within the overall research design. Furthermore, as I was working in a context which had rarely been visited by educational researchers before, and which differed in profound ways from western educational settings, I was concerned to allow for the emergence of themes and issues which were not anticipated in the literature, and ultimately to construct a thesis "that takes the reader into a deeper and richer appreciation of the people who have been studied" (Walford, 2000: 11). This argued for an ethnographic element. I will deal with each of these aspects of my study in turn.

#### *5.2.5.1 The case study aspect*

In his review article on new approaches to language learning motivation research, Dörnyei comments:

Interpretive techniques such as in-depth interviews or case studies are in many ways better suited to explore the internal dynamics of the intricate and multilevel construct of student motivation than quantitative methods, and the richness of qualitative data may also provide ‘new slants on old questions’.

(Dörnyei, 2001b: 49)

The phrase ‘new slants on old questions’ is a quotation from Pintrich & Schunk (2002: 11) who, despite their own ‘quantitative’ background, acknowledge the value of qualitative research, especially when “the meanings and perspectives of individuals are important” (ibid.: 10).

For my purposes, tracking in detail the motivational development of individual learners would enable me to follow up salient issues from the survey and explore their significance in the local context. Suitably open-ended interviewing techniques would also elicit concepts or issues which were not anticipated in the survey, or suggest new relationships among them. What is more, by deliberately choosing a small group of learners with differing motivational profiles, I could look for contrasts in the way each one responded to the experience of studying English over the first two years of junior high school. Meanwhile, meeting learners regularly (including once outside of school) and observing them in class would not only allow me to develop a more trusting relationship with the learners but also ultimately “to develop portraits of students whose learning experiences are rich and complex, whose understandings do not lie at either end of a given continuum, but rather over the entire scope of their own educational landscapes” (Bempechat & Boulay, 2001: 34). Beyond these strategic advantages, collecting different types of data concurrently meant they could be integrated at different stages in the research process (Creswell, 2003). Learners, for example, could be asked to explain puzzling events in my classroom observation data; data from the first and second phase interviews could be used to inform the design of the final survey instrument.

However, Robson (1993: 51) warns “there is some danger in using a well-worn term like case study”, because of the expectations it produces. My study apparently matches Yin’s (1989) well-known definition of a case study in that it “investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between



the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (p. 23). But it is difficult to say for certain what my ‘case’ is, particularly if, as some argue (e.g. Verschuren, 2003), case studies should be holistic and not be broken down into a research unit (in my case, the school year group perhaps) and ‘observation units’ (e.g. my focal learners). Case studies have also been strongly associated with (and criticized for) qualitative research methods, which are but one element in my research design. Therefore I follow Verschuren’s (ibid.) suggestion of resisting the descriptor ‘case study’ for my research as a whole, and instead claim only that I use a (multiple) case(s) strategy to help answer my research questions.

#### *5.2.5.2 The ethnographic aspect*

This study is not an ethnography. Firstly, time constraints meant that I had only nine weeks in the field, which would barely satisfy the criteria even of a “compressed ethnography” (Walford, 2001). Secondly, I set out with a specific research design including a survey which contained pre-conceived notions of potentially important issues – far more than what Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) would allow, for example, as “foreshadowed problems”.

But in order to meet its purpose, it had to have ethnographic elements. Although I had worked in Indonesia for many years, I was not familiar with school cultures, and apart from my own previous research (Lamb, 2002) there was little published work which could inform me. Given the potential importance of the school and community in shaping learners’ motivation, I therefore had to immerse myself in the local context and seek local informants. Interviews with teachers in the school were one obvious way of gaining valuable insights. Another, less formal way of understanding school culture was simply ‘hanging around’ in the staff room, where off-duty teachers were always happy to chat. Finally, I could not easily ‘blend in’ to this environment; in fact, as the first English native-speaker that most school pupils had met or tried to communicate with, I was unavoidably intervening in the ‘natural’ course of events. Like the traditional ethnographer, therefore, I needed a high degree of reflexivity, recognising both the value and risk of using myself as a research tool.

### 5.2.6 Equal status mixed method

In documenting the rise of mixed method studies in the social sciences in the last few decades, Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) point out that quite different combinations are possible, depending on whether quantitative or qualitative methods are dominant or precede the other. A common model in a large-scale study, for instance, is where qualitative methods such as individual interviews and focus groups are used to elucidate issues which are then operationalized in quantitative surveys of large populations. In this study, the quantitative and qualitative elements have roughly equal status, both contributing directly to results and also given the semi-longitudinal nature of the research, contributing to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase design of the other (i.e. questionnaire results help shape initial interviews, while interviews and observations help shape final questionnaire design).

While mixed method research has been common in the social sciences for many years now (Robson, 1993; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998; Cohen et al., 2000), it has been rarely applied in motivation studies. Several leading figures have recently called for more, however (e.g. Järvelä & Volet, 2001; Turner, 2001). In the field of language learner motivation, Dörnyei writes:

During the past decade there has been a growing recognition at conferences and other professional meetings of the fact that a combination of qualitative and quantitative designs might bring out the best of both approaches while neutralizing the shortcomings and biases inherent in each paradigm.

(Dörnyei, 2001a: 242)

McGroarty (2001: 87) argues that our growing awareness of the importance of context in shaping individuals' motivation "demands the addition of qualitative and ethnographic approaches to available quantitative techniques" of research. In the related field of language learner autonomy, there have also been calls to combine research methods. For example, Oxford (2003: 91) suggests that "investigations can combine both qualitative and quantitative techniques to present a clearer view of learner autonomy", one which harnesses the depth and contextual detail of qualitative methods with the generalizing power of quantitative methods.



For the purposes of this study, one specific advantage lay in seeking a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. As we have seen, motivation is an extremely complex construct, subject to subtle situational and temporal influences. Learning from previous research, I could predict certain components that might have particular relevance for the learners in this context: the integrative/instrumental dichotomy, intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation from parents, extrinsic motivation related to school achievement, sense of progress, attitudes to the learning situation, self-confidence. These could be targeted by a questionnaire. However, I knew there may well be important motivational components which I could not predict. Qualitative data-gathering techniques such as interviews and open survey items which encouraged learners to introspect might elicit these unknown factors, as well as allowing me to see how the targeted concepts were interpreted by the learners and how they evolved over time. Moreover, Turner (2001: 91) points out that a mixed method approach potentially allows for four distinct types of triangulation – of data sources (e.g. learners and teachers), of theories (e.g. goal theory, self-determination theory, Gardner’s socio-educational model), of research methods (e.g. interviews and observations), and of investigators. My study utilizes the first three of these and therefore, I would argue, has greater capacity to capture the complex nature of learner motivation in a particular context, and possibly for uncovering “paradoxes and contradictions” (ibid.).

### 5.3 Research site

*Sekolah Menengah Pemerintah X* – State Junior High School no. X (for confidentiality reasons I do not use the exact number) – was chosen as the research site primarily for ease of access. It was the school closest to where I had lived in Jambi from 1997-9, I was acquainted with the senior English teacher there, and I knew several parents of pupils. In March 2002 I made a preliminary visit to ask permission to carry out research in the school. I was introduced to the headmaster, explained my intentions, and he responded sympathetically, allowing me to return the next day to trial a questionnaire with a specially convened group of 20 pupils (see section 5.5.1). I also visited the Education Department (*Kakandep Pendidikan*) of the provincial government and they indicated that they had no objections to the research and agreed that it could benefit the school. On my return to the school in August 2002 to begin my

field work, the headmaster appointed a member of staff (teacher TB), to assist me; and he was indeed extremely helpful at all stages of the enquiry.

SMP X is situated in a relatively wealthy suburb where many government officials, university lecturers and other professionals reside, though it was not wealthy by global standards (a minority of homes had a car or computer) and there are also quite poor neighbourhoods in the school catchment area. While the physical structure of the school is very basic (e.g. classrooms have little decoration and no air conditioning) the school has a good reputation, being considered one of the top three junior high schools in Jambi. In 2003, the school came 6th in the province in the national Year 3 exam results (EBTANAS) out of a total of over 150 state junior high schools. Although the national education system is ostensibly 'comprehensive', with parents encouraged to send their children to their local school, a system of selection has been developing in recent years and schools are able to set minimum standards based on primary school exam results. According to the headmaster, SMP X attracts some of the best 11/12-year-olds in town, but also takes in a large number of children of local people regardless of academic potential. Because of its high local status, it was one of only two schools in the city to introduce a *Kelas Akselerasi* ('Accelerated Class', usually abbreviated to *Aksel*), an innovation encouraged by the central government whereby a small class of carefully selected 'elite' pupils study the three-year curriculum in two years.

Another way of characterizing the school would be by reference to the classification system of the Diagnostic Survey of the Teaching and Learning of English in Junior Secondary Schools carried out by the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education (DIKMENUM) (Sadtono et al., 1996). Being situated in Jambi, with high test results, and with a reasonably well-stocked library and rudimentary science laboratory, SMP X would fall into the category of "well-resourced, high-achieving state school in the provincial capital city". One numerical measure confirms this classification: Sadtono et al. (1996: Appendix 6) report that in such schools, over 90% of pupils own an English-Indonesian dictionary. My own data show that 97% of Year 1 pupils in SMP X possessed such a dictionary.



I also arranged a visit to one other SMP outside of Jambi, which I had been told was more typical of 'rural' schools in the area. This was in the spirit of what Miles & Huberman (1984: 42, cited in Robson, 1993: 157) call "work...at the peripheries", visiting places and talking to people not central to the main object of focus but who, by being different, could shed light on its nature.

Pupils attend junior high school for three years, before moving on to senior high school, further education or entering the job market. SMP X has approximately 270 pupils in each of its three years, divided into 7-8 classes per year. These are mixed ability, except (from 2002) for two 'elite' classes - the *Kelas Akselerasi* (see above), selected on the basis of IQ and other tests (e.g. elementary school results), and *Kelas Unggul* ('Prestige class') which are selected on the basis of pupil performance during the first semester and who have some extra classes in the afternoon. Lessons take place from 7.00 – 14.00 Monday – Thursday, with a shorter day on Fridays and Saturdays. However, the school also offers optional 90-minute *Bimbingan Belajar* classes in the afternoons, in which regular school teachers offer extra tuition in all curriculum subjects for a small fee. About half the school pupils attend these courses.

English lessons take place twice a week, for 90 minutes, except for *Kelas Akselerasi* who study it three times. There are eight English teachers in the school, of whom six have full degree status, two have diploma status. The only in-service training that they have received, apart from very occasional seminars organized by the local Education Department, are academic programmes run by Jambi University to upgrade teachers from Diploma to Degree status. The two youngest teachers have not yet been granted 'Civil Service' status, which is an important incentive for becoming a teacher and by providing lifetime job security compensates, to some extent, for the very low salaries teachers receive. All the English teachers work outside the school whenever possible, in order to supplement their salary.

#### **5.4 Outline of the research**

The field work took place in three phases over a period of 20 months. It was designed to begin soon after the start of the school year, so that classes and timetable were

already arranged but pupils had very little experience of formal school English classes yet. A second visit was arranged for eight months on, in order to carry out more class observations and interviews with the focal learners. The rationale for this middle visit was to accumulate richer data on these individuals, though it also helped to maintain contact with the school and avoid the risk of future change of leadership (which did in fact occur) denying me further access. The third visit was planned for the very end of their second year in school, but for practical reasons related to my work in Leeds I had to move it forward by about six weeks.

Table 2 provides an outline of the different phases of the research, and the kinds of data generated on each visit.

<i>Time</i>	<i>Research technique</i>	<i>Data generated</i>
<i>August/ Sept 2002 (4 weeks)</i>	<b>Questionnaire</b>	219 questionnaires returned, representing all but one class in the 1 <sup>st</sup> year of formal English study in SMP <sup>2</sup> .
	<b>Interviews</b>	Audio recordings of 15-20 min. conversations with 12 focal learners (mainly in Bahasa Indonesia).
	<b>Interviews</b>	Audio recordings of 30-40 min. conversations with 8 teachers of English.
	<b>Classroom observation</b>	Observation sheets with notes about behaviour of focal learners (and other interesting events) in 8 different classes of 45 – 90 mins.
	<b>Random observation and conversation</b>	Field notes on other events and conversations in the school and community.
<i>March/ April 2003 (3 weeks)</i>	<b>Interviews</b>	Audio recordings of 15-30 min. conversations with 12 focal learners (some Bahasa Indonesia, some English); 8 were interviewed as individuals, 4 in pairs.
	<b>Informal interviews</b>	Notes on conversations with three teachers about focal learners' performance in class.
	<b>Classroom observation</b>	Observation sheets with notes about behaviour of focal learners (and other interesting events) in 10 different SMP classes of 45 – 90 mins, and 4 different classes at private language schools of 60-90 mins.
	<b>Home visits</b>	Notes on visits to the home of 4 focal learners.
	<b>Visit to rural school</b>	Audio recording of interview with teacher at SMP 19. Field notes on observation of class and

<sup>2</sup> Due to irregularities during the administration of the questionnaire, I discarded the data from the first class visited. Hence, the number of respondents in 2002 is slightly lower than the total number in 2004.



		conversations with pupils and teachers.
	<b>Learner journal</b>	Collected 6 learner journals, though only one completed over whole period.
	<b>Random observation and conversation</b>	Field notes on other events and conversations in the school and community.
<i>March 2004 (2 weeks)</i>	<b>Questionnaire</b>	293 questionnaires returned, representing all classes in the second year of formal English study in SMP (195 are learners who returned first questionnaire).
	<b>Interviews</b>	Audio recordings of 15-30 min. conversations with 12 focal learners (some Bahasa Indonesia, some English); 10 as individuals, 2 as a pair.
	<b>Learner journal</b>	One further completed journal from a focal learner.
	<b>Document search</b>	Semester scores in English obtained for all second year pupils
	<b>Random observation and conversation</b>	Field notes on other events and conversations in the school and community.

*Table 2 Phases of field work and data generated.*

Before each phase I wrote to the Headmaster of SMP X to ask permission to visit. This was following University of Leeds (2004) ethical research guidelines, and was also necessary to check that the proposed dates were suitable and to elicit a letter of invitation to obtain a visa.

## **5.5 Research instruments**

This section discusses in detail the research instruments used in the study.

### **5.5.1 Questionnaires**

#### *5.5.1.1 Purpose*

The questionnaires had two essential purposes:-

- a) to elicit self-reports from students about their motivation to learn English at the beginning of their formal study in SMP X (Questionnaire I), and 20 months later (Questionnaire II).

b) to help select focal learners with contrasting motivational profiles.

### *5.5.1.2 Piloting*

An initial questionnaire was drafted in English and then translated into Bahasa Indonesia with the help of Indonesian research students in Leeds. This was piloted with 20 volunteers from the current first-year cohort during my first exploratory visit to the school in March 2002. The piloting reassured me that pupils would take the questionnaire seriously and try to complete it as best they could. However, it also suggested that the questionnaire should take no longer than 20-25 minutes to complete or students might get restless; that I should not always expect full responses to open items (few of the students filled the boxes provided during the piloting); and that the semantic-differential technique, as used in some versions of the AMTB (Gardner, 1985), would be unlikely to work in this context where students were extremely reluctant to choose any negative terms.

### *5.5.1.3 Design and content*

English-language versions of both the initial (I) and 2<sup>nd</sup> questionnaire (II) are found in Appendix A. Both questionnaires were written in teenager-friendly Bahasa Indonesia, drafted by myself and then checked with teachers in the school, and used a large font with cartoon figures on the front page to brighten their appearance.

The questionnaires used a Likert scale to measure respondents' attitudes. Oppenheim summarizes the value of Likert scales thus:

If we remember that equal score intervals do not permit us to make assertions about the equality of underlying attitude differences, and that identical scores may have very different meanings, the Likert scales tend to perform very well when it comes to a reliable, rough ordering of people with regard to a particular attitude.

(Oppenheim, 1992: 200)

Likert scales usually have between four and six possible responses, forcing respondents to show a 'positive' or 'negative' tendency. When used successfully with children, though, "the number of the response options is often reduced to three" (Dörnyei, 2003: 38) – this makes it simpler and allows respondents a middle 'neutral' option. There was a further advantage for me in having only three possible options.



For the sake of clarity I wanted to ensure that all questions had a written choice rather than just a number, i.e. that respondents would choose ‘I like it’ rather than just ‘2’. Even native-speakers of Bahasa Indonesia admitted that it was difficult to find the appropriate gradations in the language to use in four responses, whereas three responses were usually unproblematic.

The need to keep the questionnaire short and simple meant that constructs would be represented by a single item. The obvious danger was that these single items would not capture the richness of the target construct or that they might be misinterpreted, but there are precedents for using such instruments in the motivation literature, such as Masgoret, Bernaus and Gardner (2001) who used a single-item version of the mini-AMTB in their research with Spanish children on summer camp. The short attention span of young respondents and their unfamiliarity with the conventions of questionnaire design (potentially leading them to misconstrue the purpose of similar statements) means the threat to reliability might be greater with multiple items.

An alternative way of exploring the meaning of constructs for respondents is by including open items where they can explain their Likert scale choice. I decided to include a number of these, for “though we cannot expect any soul-searching self-disclosure in the responses” (Dörnyei, 2003: 47), they could provide further information, reveal if items were being interpreted in unexpected ways, and allow for new issues to emerge (see section 5.2.6 above). Meanwhile the final ‘any further comments/questions’ item gave the learners the opportunity to communicate their own personal thoughts or concerns to the researcher

### Questionnaire I

The first part of Questionnaire I elicited background information on the learners which I believed might have some association with motivation to learn English:

1. Name (this was necessary in order to cross-reference the data - a numbering system might have guaranteed anonymity but could easily have become chaotic in the crowded classrooms).
2. Gender
3. Ethnicity
4. Religion
5. Father’s job, including rank, if a Civil Servant (in this context, father’s job would be a better index of socio-economic status than mother’s).

6. English proficiency of other family members
7. Level of computer literacy
8. Ownership of an English-Indonesian dictionary
9. Prior experience of learning English in Primary School, a private course, or at home.

Although conventionally (e.g. Oppenheim, 1992) background data are placed at the end of attitude surveys, in this case I felt it appropriate to put it at the beginning, as it would serve as a kind of 'warm up' to the main part of the questionnaire; as in an exam, easy questions early on can increase the feeling of competence and so enhance overall performance.

Items 10 to 17 focussed explicitly on the students' current learning and/or use of English.

Item 10 - Students were also asked to report the frequency with which they learned or used English outside of school, on a scale of 0 (never) to 3 (almost every evening). This item was designed to find out how students' motivation was reflected in self-reported *out-of-school activity*, if they had already started learning or using English.

Item 11 – Students were asked whether they were satisfied with their progress in English till now, if they had already started learning. A 3-point scale was offered from 'not satisfied', through 'somewhat satisfied' to 'satisfied'. This item targeted students' *sense of progress*.

Item 12 – Students were asked how sure they were that they would eventually be able to use English well on a 3-point scale. This item targeted students' feeling of *confidence in ultimate success*.

Item 13 – Students were asked for their impressions of the process of learning English, if they had already started. The choices were 'not happy', 'it's OK', and 'happy'. They were also offered the chance to elaborate on their response by writing the reasons in a box. This item targeted students' *attitudes towards the learning experience*.

Item 14 – This was an open item asking what kind of activity students preferred in their English lessons. As for item 13, it was intended to further elicit students' *attitudes*



towards the learning experience, as well as to provide insights related to appropriate pedagogy.

Item 15 – Students were asked how important English was to them on a three-point scale from ‘not important’ through ‘important’ to ‘very important’. In addition, students were offered five reasons for learning English and they were again asked to say whether each of these reasons were important for them on the same three-point scale. The five reasons, with the type of motivational orientation which they deliberately targeted, were:-

- Because I need English for my career in the future (*instrumental*)
- Because I enjoy learning English (*intrinsic*)
- Because I want to meet foreigners and know about foreign countries (*integrative*)
- Because my parents encourage me to learn English (*extrinsic - parental*)
- Because English is an assessed school subject (*extrinsic - academic*)

Having a solitary statement for each orientation is risky if one or more is misunderstood, because the results would be irredeemably skewed; but I felt confident after piloting that these short simple comments would be clear and that the item could give sufficiently robust data on the relative importance of these motivational orientations at two distinct points in time.

Item 16 – Students were asked how important English was in comparison to other school subjects. This item was intended to find out whether English had a special status.

Item 17 – This final open item asked students for any comments or questions they had for me, the researcher, about the English language.

## Questionnaire II

All these items were repeated in Questionnaire II, to allow for direct comparison at the two points in time (RQ2). However, there were also some significant differences. Firstly, there was no need to repeat a background information section in the second questionnaire as I already had that information for the large majority of respondents. Only the question about computer skills was repeated, as I anticipated some change in

this area. Secondly, the following new items were included in order to probe learners' attitudes towards their school study experiences:

Item 3 – Students were asked to self-assess their *progress* in six areas of proficiency: speaking, listening, reading, writing, vocabulary, grammar.

Item 4 – In addition to the question about overall satisfaction with *progress* (Item 11 in Questionnaire I), an open box invited students to give the reason for their feeling.

Item 7 – In addition to the question about how important English was and why (Item 15 in Questionnaire I), an open box invited students to suggest any other *reasons for its importance*.

Item 9 – This new item asked students to say what kind of English they wanted to learn, from a choice of:

- Any
- Singaporean/Malaysian
- Indonesian
- Australian
- American
- British
- Another

They were also invited to give a reason for their choice. This item attempted to probe further the students' *orientation towards the language*.

Item 10 – Students were asked to report on whether they had taken a private course in English, and if so, to give the name(s) of the course and number of months studied there. They were also asked what differences they noticed between studying in a *private course* and at SMP X. This item was included after earlier fieldwork had revealed the prominent role of private courses in the learning of English.

Item 14 – Students were asked whether they had any *ambitions for the future*. Again, earlier fieldwork suggested this variable might have an association with desire to learn English.



#### *5.5.1.4 Administration*

Aware that the way a questionnaire is administered may affect the nature of responses, I ensured that I myself introduced the questionnaire in the same way in all classes. This does not mean, of course, that there was no ‘researcher effect’ on responses – Ellis (1994: 508) reports a 1991 study by Gieve where “significant differences were found in learners’ responses depending on whether the questionnaire was administered by a Japanese or native-speaker” – only that the effect would have been reasonably consistent across all classes.

Teachers and students alike were very welcoming when I visited their classes, and took the questionnaire seriously. During administration I emphasised (in Bahasa Indonesia) points made in the introduction to the questionnaire; that this was *not* a test, that the questions need to be answered individually, and that they could be quite honest and open because no teacher would ever know what they had written. While the class teacher was usually in the room with me, they understood my intentions and did not attempt to look at pupils’ responses. After administering and collecting in the questionnaire, I usually stayed in the class for the rest of the lesson to answer questions and talk with the students.

### **5.5.2 Interviews with learners and teachers**

#### *5.5.2.1 Purpose*

The interviews had equal importance with the questionnaires in answering my research questions. Their role was:

- a) to help me understand better the nature of the learners’ motivational thinking, and how it evolved over the period of the research.
- b) to elicit concepts or factors which were associated with their motivation to learn English but had not been targeted in the survey.

#### *5.5.2.2 Design and content*

As presented in section 5.4, I proposed to interview focal learners three times during the 20-month research period. At the beginning, after the focal learners had been selected on the basis of their questionnaire responses, at roughly a mid-point, and at the

end. When the goal is eliciting individuals' own perceptions and thoughts, interviews have "the potential of providing rich and highly illuminating material" (Robson, 1993: 229). Taking what Silverman (2001) calls the 'realist' approach to learners' words, interviews are valuable for utilizing learners' own perceptions and memories to reveal relevant detail about their lives, thoughts and feelings. Where interviews are only one form of data generated, their veracity can be checked against other evidence. However, it is also important to take a 'narrative' approach (ibid.), viewing learners' words not as describing an external reality but as a story or scene constructed by the individual, in close cooperation with the interviewer, and utilizing the discursive resources available to them (i.e. predominantly the discourses to which they have been most exposed during their lives). This should be revealing of important aspects of the sociocultural context, but also argues for caution in interpreting respondents' words at face value. In the case of my learners their interview was an almost unique experience, an opportunity to participate in genuine communication with a native-speaker of English. The nature of the occasion would inevitably influence their words and behaviour, and while they talked about their language learning motivation, it was also an instance of their language learning motivation being 'performed' (Kalaja & Leppänen, 1998).

A further caveat is provided by Ushioda (2001). If we are truly to understand the way learners think, she argues that they "should not be initially primed with motivational concepts and ideas (e.g. goals, aims, attitudes, successful learning experiences etc.) that might influence what they said or the order in which they said things" (p. 98). She implies that giving the learners a prior questionnaire, or even using a very structured interview schedule, may prompt them to talk about issues of concern to the researcher rather than to them. Open-ended or non-directive interviews, by contrast, give "prime concern...for the interviewee's perceptions within a particular situation or context" (Robson, 1993: 31). However, my research design meant that the focal learners would unavoidably be exposed to a questionnaire before their first interview. Moreover, I did not believe that open and unstructured interviews would be appropriate with these young learners. They would naturally expect some sort of direction from an adult, especially from a 'high status' visitor from abroad who had extracted them from a regular class specially in order to talk to them. I therefore decided to use the 'interview guide approach', where "topics and issues to be covered are specified in advance, in outline form: [and where] the interviewer decides sequence and working of questions



in the course of the interview” (Cohen et al., 2000: 271). I would need to be sensitive to the dangers raised by Ushioda (2001) at the data interpretation stage.

For each of the three interview phases, I drew up an interview schedule listing the topics I wanted to raise, along with possible questions to elicit it. I believed that these topics were broad enough in scope to allow for most motivational issues related to English language learning to emerge, while also giving a supportive structure to the conversation and to allow for inter-learner comparisons. For intra-learner comparisons over time, the topics remained the same at all three interviews stages, though the emphasis changed (e.g. more time was spent discussing school English lessons in interviews 2 & 3) and some of the prompts changed as I learned what comments worked best to elicit learners’ views (e.g. I asked what advice they would give to a new SMP X pupil about learning English in interviews 2 & 3). In order to triangulate efficiently, the 1<sup>st</sup> phase interview also picked up on issues from the learner’s own questionnaire responses. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase interviews picked up on issues mentioned in the previous interview. Not only did this interlinkage help build up a portrait of the learners as individuals (see Chapter 9), it also helped develop a closer relationship between researcher and pupil as they valued the fact that I seemed to remember details about their lives. An example of an interview schedule (for the 1<sup>st</sup> phase interviews with focal learners) is attached in Appendix B.

Self-reports on motivation can be supplemented by others’ reports. In this context teachers were a potentially valuable source of information about the whole cohort since they could speak with the benefit of many years’ experience teaching English to previous cohorts of students. I therefore conducted formal interviews with teachers, also semi-structured, based around a schedule of topics and questions about SMP students and their English learning motivation in general. The main topics raised were:-

- Background information about teaching experience, in SMP X and previously.
- The progress of SMP X learners in English.
- The characteristics of successful/less successful learners.
- The challenges they faced as a teacher in SMP X.
- Explanation about my research.

The teachers could also inform me about the focal learners' motivation, and on each visit I had informal conversations eliciting their knowledge and impressions about these individuals. These data were written up in my research journal (see section 5.5.5 below).

### *5.5.2.3 Procedure*

It is always vital for researchers to gain the confidence of interviewees and encourage them to talk honestly and freely. In this context, where interviewees (both learners and teachers) were largely unfamiliar with the concept of educational research, had little previous contact with native-speakers of English, and inevitably attributed some evaluative purpose to my visit, it was even more important that I explained my motives clearly and did all I could to put them at ease. Scott (2000: 107) emphasises that while children can be "very insightful respondents", it is essential to avoid ambiguous questions (even more than adults, children will give any answer rather than none), and leading questions (again, children may have a greater tendency to provide the answer they think the adult wants).

Language was obviously a major issue, being both the topic of discussion and potentially the medium of discussion too. My priority was to ensure that interviewees were able to express their ideas fully, so I gave them the choice whether to proceed in English or their own language. In the event there was often much code-switching, as interviewer and interviewee negotiated meanings together. My own proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia was adequate to conduct interviews, though I sometimes needed to ask for clarification and may occasionally have failed to pick up on potentially important leads.

Teachers generally chose to use English wherever they could, only switching to Indonesian when communication broke down. Initially the focal learners all chose to use Bahasa Indonesia, but in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews more elected to talk at least partly in English. The interviews thereby became a useful measure of the developing proficiency of the learners, though taking a social discursive or sociocultural perspective what one sees is a "transformation of participation" rather than the "acquisition of a competence solely within the individual" (Rogoff, 1998: 691). I discuss this further in Chapters 7 & 9.



There were other ways of making the learners feel relaxed and ready to talk. I arranged for the interviews to take place in the Counselling Room of the school, which was a relatively quiet, comfortable place and afforded some privacy. I began each interview with an explanation of my purpose, and an assurance that their words would not be relayed to anyone else. I also checked that they had no objection to the conversation being recorded (School of Education, 2004). As the interviews progressed, and especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase interviews when they knew that my earlier promises of confidentiality had been kept, the focal learners did relax and even began to enjoy the interviews (for example, once they realized I was in the school again, one or two of them actually sought me out to offer themselves for interview). I also allowed some of the girls to do paired interviews (four in the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase, two in the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase) as they expressed the desire to be together. As Dockrell et al. (2000) predict, this helped them feel relaxed and they stimulated each other with ideas, though there were times when I was not sure whether one was putting words into the mouth of the other, making interpretation more problematic.

There is no doubt that, despite these measures, some of the early interviews were negatively affected by the anxiety of the learners and did not produce as much data as hoped for. Table 3 shows the range of durations and average durations for students' and teachers' interviews, and shows that the later interviews were slightly longer and more productive (in fact, because the paired interviews were counted as half for each learner, but allowed more time to be spent on substantive issues, the table underestimates slightly the productiveness of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase interviews).

<i>Interviews</i>	<i>Range of duration (min – max) in minutes</i>	<i>Mean duration</i>
Learners - 1 <sup>st</sup> phase	12 – 20	16.9
Learners - 2 <sup>nd</sup> phase	15 – 36*	17.9
Learners - 3 <sup>rd</sup> phase	14 – 33*	18.3
Teachers	19 – 39	30.3

\* these higher times were for paired interviews.

**Table 3** *Range and mean duration of interviews*

All the interviews were part-transcribed. That is, in order to facilitate analysis of the data, but to save time on transcription, the conversations were not typed out in full but described in narrative form. Full verbatim quotations were added only in sections that I thought would be useful for analysis and interpretation. An example of a part-transcript is attached in Appendix C.

All eight teachers at SMP X were interviewed during the first phase of fieldwork, and again a semi-structured design was used. The interview schedule is attached in Appendix D. These conversations lasted significantly longer than the learner interviews, as teachers seemed to welcome the chance to talk about some of the frustrations of their job, as well as its pleasures. Judging from some of the controversial statements they made (e.g. comments about other members of staff), they trusted me to retain their confidentiality. These 1<sup>st</sup> phase interviews provided valuable general information about the school and the learning of English inside and outside. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phases of fieldwork, I also held informal interviews with teachers who had focal learners in their class. This provided more specific information on the behaviour of these individuals. Finally, I recorded an interview with one of the three English teachers at SMP Y, a junior high school outside of Jambi, which SMP X teachers claimed would give me insight into the differences between urban and rural schools.

In addition to school interviews with the focal learners, I visited four of them in their homes. As an experienced researcher with children, Scott reminds us:

Context is especially important in interviewing children because the expression of the child's personality, in terms of behaviour and attitudinal preferences, is often so context dependent.....[*W*here the interviews are carried out is quite likely to influence the *way* children respond.

(Scott, 2000: 103, original italics)

I had originally intended to visit all of them at home, or at their private language school, in order to get this alternative perspective, but this did not prove practical. However, the visits that I did make certainly helped me see these individuals in a new light, and gave me a greater understanding of the home situation of SMP X students generally.



### 5.5.3 Class observations

#### 5.5.3.1 Purpose

As Verschuren (2003) suggests, observation is the opposite of interview and questionnaire in that it reveals behaviour but not motives. Because of that opposition, it is an ideal complement to those two methods. Nikolov's (1999) longitudinal study of Hungarian children learning English emphasised the central importance of the classroom in understanding younger learners' motivation. I felt that I had to look directly at how the focal learners behaved in class. As a secondary aim, the useful information I would gain about teaching methodology, materials and group dynamics in SMP X English classes would help me interpret the comments of learners in interviews and questionnaires.

#### 5.5.3.2 Method

I observed all the focal learners formally (i.e. with observation sheets, for a full lesson) once each during the first two phases of fieldwork, as well as visiting many other classes for shorter periods. As my intention was to observe the learners' 'typical' behaviour, I explained my purpose to teachers and stressed that I expected to see only normal lessons rather than a show put on especially for me. In fact, all but one of the SMP teachers<sup>3</sup> were remarkably welcoming and relaxed about my class visit, perhaps because they were used to teaching with an open classroom door, and the pupils gradually forgot that I was there as they became absorbed in the lesson (or their own activities).

I chose a seat which was as inconspicuous as possible (usually at the back of the class), and used an observation sheet to record events – an example (typed-up) is attached in Appendix E. The sheet was designed with my dual purpose in mind:-

- a) the 'Lesson activities' column provided space for a narrative account of the lesson itself, especially the teacher's techniques and comments.
- b) the 'Learner' columns provided space for comments directly on the behaviour of the focal learners (and/or of the whole class if there was only one focal learner).

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<sup>3</sup> The one exception insisted during my 2<sup>nd</sup> field trip that if I wanted to view her class, I had to teach it myself.

Later, these notes were transferred to a separate sheet for observations on each individual learner.

While writing, I tried to keep in mind Cohen et al.'s advice that "the notes ought to be full enough adequately to summon up for one again, months later, a reasonably vivid picture of any described event" (2000: 188).

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> fieldwork phase I also visited four of the focal learners in their private language school. My analysis of data generated during the first phase convinced me that private courses played a prominent role in language learning in this context. I therefore wanted to see for myself the conditions in these schools, to see how the teaching methodology and materials compared to SMP X, and how the behaviour of the learners differed.

#### **5.5.4 Learner journals**

##### *5.5.4.1 Purpose*

Learner journals (or diaries) were a potentially valuable source of information on the focal learners' out-of-school learning activity, in that immediate personal records of events could be more reliable than retrospective reports in interviews months later. For example, Benson (2001) describes a study by Lor (1998) in which journals were successfully used in this way to track university students' extracurricular learning activities. Learners' written reflections may also be revealing of their cognitions and affective states, which has obvious relevance for their evolving motivation.

##### *5.5.4.2 Method*

With these potential purposes in mind, I designed and produced a personal journal during my first field visit with an 'Activity' column for recording learning events and a 'Comments' column for expressing their thoughts or feelings on the event. All 12 of the focal learners agreed to use the journals and return them to me on my 2<sup>nd</sup> visit.

In fact, only the six girls returned the book to me, and only one of these completed the journal in any detail. A second girl handed me a partly completed journal on my 3<sup>rd</sup> field visit. This was obviously disappointing, though the partly completed documents



did provide insights (e.g. see sections 6.3.4 and 7.4.1.4). According to Teacher TB, who had used diaries successfully with a Year 2 group, the likely reason for the failure was not because journals were an alien concept but because I was not on hand to respond to them on a regular basis (i.e. at least weekly). Furthermore, using email or the internet to provide this regular contact, as Lor (1998) had done, was not feasible as none of the learners had easy access to online computers.

### 5.5.5 Researcher journal

In addition to the above research techniques, I also kept my own field notes in a personal journal. As mentioned above (section 5.2.5.2), there was an ethnographic element to my research, as it was conducted during intensive periods of immersion in an 'alien' culture, far from my own home/work environment. Walford (2000) is one of many ethnographers who have seen great value in using a field journal as a record of events or conversations, as a planner of future activity, and as a receptacle of ideas and thoughts, sometimes of feelings. On a more modest scale I used my journal for all of these functions and referred to it regularly during analysis of questionnaires and interviews. As Silverman suggests (2000), it can also be helpful in writing one's 'Research Methodology' chapter, as it reminds one of the reasons for decisions taken some time ago in the 'heat of combat'.

To conclude this section, I present a table (4) summarizing the various sources of data generated on each of the 12 focal learners, and a figure (7) showing a schematic representation of all the different sources of data in the study.

<i>Focal learners</i>	<i>Interview 1</i>	<i>Interview 2</i>	<i>Interview 3</i>	<i>SMP observs</i>	<i>Priv course observs</i>	<i>Home visit</i>	<i>Learner journal (complete)</i>
<b>A</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓	
<b>B</b>	✓	✓		✓✓		✓	
<b>C</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓		
<b>D</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓		
<b>E</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓			✓
<b>F</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓		✓
<b>G</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓			
<b>H</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓	
<b>J</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓			
<b>K</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓	✓		
<b>L</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓		✓	
<b>M</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓✓			

**Table 4** *Data generated for each of the focal learners.*

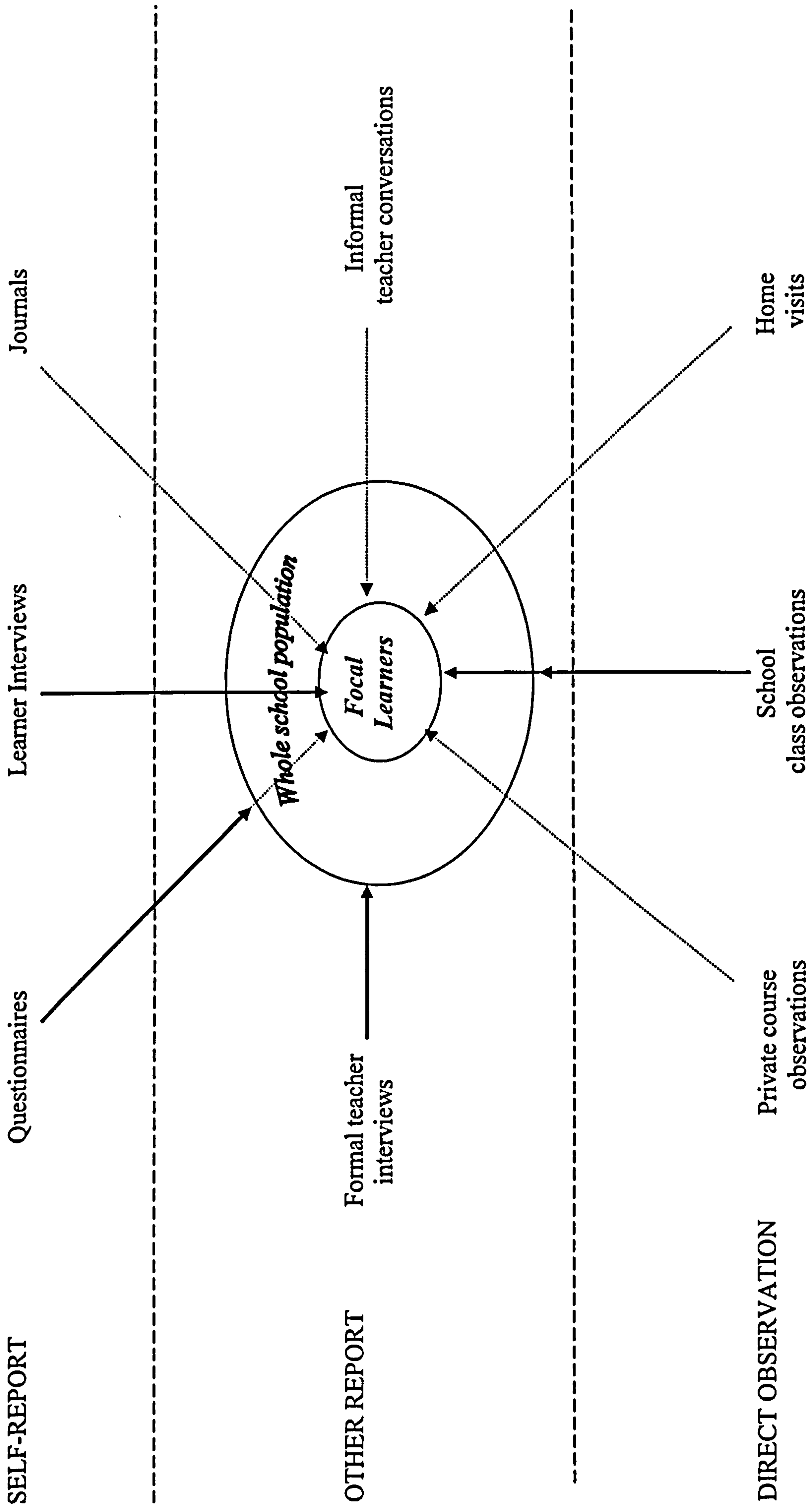


Figure 7 Schematic representation of the sources of data and their target of illumination (heavy arrow = major source of data).



## 5.6 Choice of focal learners

I began my field work with the intention of selecting a balanced range of learners to become my ‘cases’, who would be representative of the whole school year population in extent and type of motivation, as revealed in the survey data. I should perhaps have been more cognisant of Robson’s (1993: 155) warning to case researchers that “generally you can rely on it that whatever sampling plan is decided upon, it will be impossible to complete it in full!”, because I quickly found myself confronted with a dilemma. On 6<sup>th</sup> September 2002 my research journal reports:

“Trying to select students for interview in Class 1D, I realize my dilemma. I want a ‘spread’ of student types and motivations, to answer my main research questions. Yet I also need a certain type of student to cooperate successfully with me. This ‘ability to cooperate’ is an essential criterion and includes several attributes, if I’m honest: email, high motivation to learn English, high level of learning activity, self-confidence, shows an interest, stands out from the crowd in some way.”

At this stage I was far from confident that I could persuade these young Indonesians to cooperate with me. I therefore decided that, as motivated and active learners of English were more likely to cooperate over the long-term, I should select more of these ‘types’ and so abandon the target of a ‘balanced’ group.

Similarly, I had originally thought that 6-8 cases would be sufficient, in order to allow the necessary depth of analysis to draw detailed portraits of the individuals. McCracken (1988: 17) cited in Dörnyei (2001a: 242) argues that “it is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than more superficially with many of them”. But after two of my ‘first choice’ learners decided not to cooperate (they subsequently changed their minds, once they fully understood that I was not going to ‘test’ them) I decided to increase the number chosen for initial interviewing in case more dropped out later. Eight ‘highly motivated’ learners were chosen on the basis of having these three characteristics:

- A strongly expressed desire to learn English as evidenced by their responses to items 12 (confidence in success), 13 (attitudes to the experience of learning) & 15 (level of importance) on questionnaire 1.

- A relatively high level of activity involving English, as evidenced by their responses to items 9 (private course) and 10 (out-of-school activities) on questionnaire 1.
- Positive comments from their teacher regarding their participation in class or motivational demeanour.

Four lesser motivated learners were also chosen, on the basis of lacking most of these characteristics yet showing a willingness to cooperate.

Further to his warning on the difficulties of sampling, Robson (ibid.) adds “fortunately the case study approach is sufficiently flexible for this not to be a mortal blow” (p. 155). Having abandoned hope of finding a truly ‘representative’ group of learners, what was important was to identify how my cases matched the general population, and to temper any claims for the school population based on findings from my cases accordingly. Furthermore, I saw an advantage in having a majority of so-called highly motivated learners for even on first impressions it was evident that their motivation, though similarly high, was far from being similar in nature. For example, learner D had never studied at a private course yet apparently spoke English at home with her parents, while B was highly active in class but rarely used English outside on her own initiative. Likewise, the lesser motivated learners also appeared to be less interested in different ways: learner H was extremely keen to be involved in the research and to speak English to me, yet rarely paid attention in class according to his teacher, while G was well behaved but showed very little interest in English. Over the course of the research I would be able to gain a much more nuanced picture of their differing motivational profiles and compare the way each responded to the school experience. Appendix F shows a breakdown of key data from the survey for each of the 12 ‘focal learners’ (FLs).

Following the School of Education, University of Leeds (2004) guidelines on ethical research, I wrote a letter to each child’s parents asking permission for their son/daughter to take part in the research. Only once the letter had been signed and returned did I begin interviewing the learners. At the end of each phase of fieldwork, I also gave the twelve FLs a small gift (e.g. a University of Leeds badge). Once the learners had agreed to take part, I never felt any resistance on their part towards participating further in the research.



## 5.7 External validity

Having described the overall research design, this section briefly considers the potential external validity, or transferability, of my findings. There are three levels within this study at which generalizations might be made:

1. From the multiple cases to the school year population.
2. From the school year population to other Indonesian school contexts.
3. From Indonesian schools to language learners in general.

McDonough & McDonough (1997) point out that “the intrinsic naturalistic case-study.... has been accused of failing to meet the conventional research criteria of generalizability and external validity” (p. 216). To Edge and Richards, however, this is understandable, because:

...general application....[is] an illogical requirement in the field of human inquiry. We expect transfer across educational contexts to be most effectively created by the reader, from richly contextualized, problematized and theorized reports and interpretations, as they are resonant with the reader’s own contextualized experience.

(Edge and Richards, 1997: 350)

Like Stake (2000) and others (e.g. Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), they believe that if a qualitative study is both trustworthy and rich in detail, the reader, through their vicarious experience of the context portrayed, may draw their own conclusions about how far the results are relevant for their own personal context of work.

Yet I am aware that answering my research questions *depends*, to some extent, on making generalizations. That is, the research was designed explicitly to enable me to generalize from the focal learners to the school year population as a whole. This is a common and legitimate feature of case study research, say Gomm et al. (2000: 105), as long as we are able to show “how the case(s) we are studying might be typical or atypical in relevant respects” of the wider population. Researchers can help themselves, in this regard, by “systematic selection of cases for study” (ibid.: 107). I would therefore argue that, as long as my results are reliable and internally valid, and subject to the sampling issue discussed in section 5.6 above, then I may draw conclusions

about the school year cohort based on the multiple cases, especially as it can be balanced against the survey and other data.

At the second level of generalization identified above, the production of quantitative data through the survey allows me, with appropriate statistical techniques, to make “empirical generalizations...drawing inferences about features of a larger but finite population of cases from the study of a sample drawn from the population” (Gomm et al., 2000: 103) – the sample here being the school. Moreover, just as the conscious, systematic selection of focal learners helps me make statements about likely features of the school year population, my awareness of how SMP X stands in relation to other Indonesian schools gives me the power to discuss what might or might not be true in other Indonesian contexts. I cannot claim that it is typical, but as Schofield (2000: 81) argues, that is not necessarily a drawback since I am “studying what may be” – as a relatively high-achieving and well-resourced school in an emerging middle-class suburban neighbourhood, SMP X is how many schools in Indonesia will be, rather than how they are now.

It remains true, however, that most readers of this study will be interested in what the study tells us about language learning motivation generally i.e. in generalizations at the third level identified above. Gomm et al. (2000: 99) point out that “most of the cases investigated by social researchers do not have intrinsic interest for more than a very small potential audience”, and this study is set in a distant context with which most of its readers have or will ever have little contact. For such readers I need first of all to be trustworthy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) in my account of the methodology and findings; then, by linking the study with others reported in the field and with relevant theory, help them see possible implications for our understanding of language learning motivation.

## **5.8 Summary**

This chapter began with a short resumé of the purpose of the research, and then outlined the research design, which it characterized as empirical, interpretive, and developmental, combining ‘survey’ and ‘multiple cases’ strategies in an ‘equal status



mixed method' approach. The main site of the research, SMP X in Jambi, Sumatra, was then described, followed by a timetable for the generation of data and an explanation of the purpose and method of each research instrument. The sampling plan was also described and justified. Finally, some limitations imposed by the chosen methodology were acknowledged.

The remainder of the thesis describes the implementation of this plan, beginning with an analysis of the data generated at beginning (Chapter 6), middle and end (Chapters 7 and 8) of the research period, followed by further interpretation of the data in Chapter 9 and conclusions and implications in Chapter 10.

## CHAPTER 6

### **FINDINGS I: How motivated are students to learn English on entry to the school?**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

I will report my findings in three separate chapters, corresponding to the three research questions as presented in Table 5. At the end of each chapter I will summarize the results in such a way as to offer a provisional answer to the research question, and will discuss certain key findings in relation to the relevant literature.

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Data sources</b>
<b>6</b>	1 - How motivated are students to learn English on entry to the school?	<i>Analysis of Questionnaire I (Aug 02) (ALL)</i> <i>Learner interviews I (Aug/Sept 02)</i>
<b>7</b>	2 - How did the students' motivation change over the first 20 months?	<i>Analysis of Questionnaire II (March 04)</i> <i>Learner interviews II (April 03) &amp; III (March 04)</i> <i>Classroom observation data (Aug/Sept 02, April 03)</i>
<b>8</b>	3 - What factors are associated with the change in motivation?	<i>Further statistical analysis of Questionnaires I &amp; II.</i> <i>Learner interviews</i> <i>Teacher interviews (Aug/Sept 02)</i>

**Table 5** *Plan for report of findings.*

This chapter describes and makes initial comments on the data from the first questionnaire given to students in August 2002, on entry to SMP X. Results are for all students who completed the survey, regardless of whether they also completed the second questionnaire in 2004. The chapter then reports on an analysis of the first round of interviews with these learners, relating them to the questionnaire responses where appropriate.



## 6.2 Background data

Approximately 270 students aged 11-12 entered '*Kelas 1*' (class 1) of SMP X Jambi, in late July 2002. The students were divided into six classes (A – F) of about 45 students each. Questionnaire I was administered by myself to classes A-E, obtaining a total of 219 completed forms. As reported in section 5.3, an 'elite' class – *Akselerasi*, commonly abbreviated to *Aksel* – was established on the basis of various tests (e.g. IQ test, 'emotional intelligence' test, elementary school results) while I was carrying out the first phase of fieldwork.

Table 6 presents background data on the 219 respondents. The most surprising result was the very high percentage who had studied English in elementary school. Despite it not being a part of the national curriculum, it appears that English had been introduced into virtually all elementary schools and that therefore SMP X was not the start of students' formal study of English – that in fact they been studying it for an average of 2.8 years. Further enquiries with students and teachers revealed that elementary school English lessons were rarely more than one 'unofficial' 45-minute lesson per week, usually arranged by an untrained teacher without any published materials. However, almost half the students entering SMP X had also taken a private course in English, with an average length of 14 months (usually 2 or 3 hours per week, though with long breaks between terms).

<i>Field</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Sex</i>	Boys	46
	Girls	54
<i>Ethnicity (self-description)</i>	Indonesian	43
	Jambinese	30
	Javanese	10
	Minangkabau (W Sumatra)	7
	Batak (N Sumatra)	4
	Other	6
<i>Religion</i>	Islam	95
	Christian (Protestant)	5
<i>Father's job</i>	Senior civil servant	35
	Civil servant	41
	Private sector	24
<i>Family English</i>	At least one member	81
	None	19
	Parents can	47

	Parents can't	53
<i>Primary School English</i>	At least one year	94.5
	Never	5.5
	Av. number of years	2.8
<i>Private course in English</i>	Taken course	49
	Hasn't taken course	51
	Av. number of months	14
<i>Own Eng/Ind dictionary</i>	Yes	97
	No	3
<i>Computer skill</i>	Able to use computer	5
	Can use computer a little	40
	Can't use computer	55

**Table 6** *Background information on first-year cohort.*

Both 'Father's job' and 'Family English' must be regarded as very approximate measures, the former because 'private sector' could include both high-flying businessmen and sidewalk peanut sellers, the latter because respondents were not asked to indicate the level of proficiency. However, taken together (and combined with the high dictionary ownership and attendance at private English courses) the figures confirm the impression that the school intake includes a relatively privileged 'emergent middle-class' section of local society.

### **6.3 Questionnaire responses**

This section describes the results from items 10 to 17 in Questionnaire I.

#### **6.3.1 General attitudes**

Table 7 reveals the very positive attitudes towards English held by students on entering SMP X. Students were generally satisfied with the progress they had made so far in English (though as they had only just started learning semi-intensively, they would not expect to have made significant progress). They showed slightly more ambivalence about whether they would ultimately succeed in learning English but almost all still held out hope. A very large majority said that they had enjoyed their English lessons at SMP X so far, while all except one student regarded the language as important or very important.



<i>Item</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>1</i> <i>%</i>	<i>2</i> <i>%</i>	<i>3</i> <i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
			<i>Not</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>		
11	Satisfied with progress so far	217	4.6	33.6	61.8	2.57	0.58
			<i>Not</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Very</i>		
12	Confident in ultimate success	217	2.3	56.2	41.5	2.39	0.53
			<i>Dislike</i>	<i>OK</i>	<i>Like</i>		
13	Attitude to the learning experience	219	0	17.4	82.6	2.83	0.38
			<i>Not</i>	<i>Important</i>	<i>Very</i>		
15	Importance of English	215	0.9	34.9	64.2	2.63	0.50

**Table 7** *Student attitudes towards English.*

### 6.3.2 Importance of English

Exploring the notion of importance further, Table 8 shows that students emphasised most of all the instrumental value of English. This result would initially appear to support the view that in many Asian settings, instrumental motives for learning English are predominant (e.g. Lai, 1999; Warden and Lin, 2000). All five reasons seem to be considered important, however, including an integrative motive to meet L2 speakers and visit L2-speaking countries. Respect for parental views has also been found to be a common feature of Asian students' attitudes (e.g. Eaton and Dembo, 1997), while the fact that only 24% believe that English is *more* important than other subjects suggests a high general academic motivation at this point.

Item	<i>I study English because...</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>1</i> %	<i>2</i> %	<i>3</i> %	<i>Mea</i> <i>n</i>	<i>SD</i>
			<i>Not</i> <i>Imp.</i>	<i>Imp.</i>	<i>Very</i> <i>Imp.</i>		
15	I need English for my career in the future	215	2.8	26.0	71.2	2.68	0.52
	I enjoy learning English	214	3.3	67.8	29.0	2.26	0.50
	I want to meet foreigners & learn about foreign countries	217	6.5	37.3	56.2	2.50	0.62
	My parents encourage me to learn English	214	5.6	45.3	49.1	2.43	0.60
	English is an assessed school subject	216	13.4	45.8	40.7	2.27	0.68
			<i>Less</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>More</i>		
16	Importance compared to other subjects	217	0	75.1	24.9	2.25	0.43

Table 8 Reasons for importance of English.

### 6.3.3 Liking for English

A large majority said that they were enjoying the experience of learning English so far. In Item 13, students were invited to give a reason for their attitude. The statements of the 181 students (82.6%) who said they did like learning English were analysed and categorized into three primary reasons, presented in Table 9 (N.B. many respondents made more than one comment).

	REASON	Freq %
1	English is valuable or important <i>'Because you can learn the language of other countries and the international language.'</i>	54
2	Satisfaction with process of learning <i>'Because learning English is a real pleasure; the language is different from Bahasa Indonesia'</i>	23
3	Feeling of gaining mastery in English <i>'Because by studying English I can understand everything spoken or written by my older brother in English'</i>	13
4	I like the teacher <i>'Because the teacher's nice to the pupils'</i>	3
5	Other	7
	Total = 226 comments	100

Table 9 Reasons given for liking to learn English in Questionnaire II.



It is noticeable that less than a quarter of the comments actually related to the process of studying English. Only 58 of the learners expressed an intrinsic pleasure in learning (and only two of the twelve focal learners said in their interviews that English was their favourite subject). The majority of comments related instead to the perceived importance of English. Of these, some seemed to correspond to an integrative orientation, for example:

“Because by learning English we can use it abroad, for example in England, Manchester United. The main thing is to be happy, if you meet foreigners you can use English.”<sup>4</sup>

It is important to note, however, that specific references such as this to English-speaking nations were rare (just three others), and all related to Britain, reflecting my own nationality. Most comments instead referred to foreigners or foreign countries in general, either abroad or within Indonesia:

“If we can speak English well then in the future we can travel, study or work outside of Indonesia because English is the international language and we’ve really got to study it.”

“Because if we already know English we will easily be able to understand if people ask us things in English.”

By contrast some of the comments in this category clearly related to an instrumental orientation, for example:

“If we want to apply for work, in general we need English. And if we use a computer we can understand.”

Many comments seem to blend integrative and instrumental motives together, expressing some more general need for English which incorporates both these elements, as in:

“Because English is important for our future and learning it can expand our awareness about other countries.”

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<sup>4</sup> All open item comments in this and subsequent chapters are translated except where stated as ‘original’. I have chosen to translate them into ‘standard English’ though occasionally using a youth colloquialism where this seems to match the Indonesian well. Except in the case of a focal learner, the source of questionnaire comments is not identified.

“Because English is the international language and if I hear people speaking it, I also want to learn it”.

Another frequent comment refers to the way English can enhance one’s personal qualities, as in this example:

“Because with English we can broaden our outlook and gain knowledge.”

The repeated use of the Indonesian term *menambah wawasan*, translated here as ‘broaden our outlook’, is interesting as it a phrase associated with educational or political discourse, to which these learners have evidently been exposed.

Finally, many of the comments relating to gaining mastery in English – representing about 13% of the total – also contain an assumption about how English improves a person and about how important it is; in fact, when a learner writes that he likes studying English “because I can improve my ability in English”, one could argue that it signals the value of the goal even more powerfully because it is unstated.

In short, these open comments in the questionnaire make it difficult to uphold the traditional distinction between instrumental and integrative motives for learning a language. A few comments even seem to invert the traditional definition of integrative orientation. For instance, one girl wrote that she likes learning English

“Because we can then speak with people who are clever at English and so we’re not ignored by people.”

which firstly implies that it is not native-speakers necessarily who she wants to communicate with but other non-native-speakers who are clever enough to gain competence in the language; and secondly expresses not so much a wish to ‘come closer’ as to avoid being pushed away. Similarly, a boy wrote:

“The basic reason is because if we know English, we can go abroad and we can use English.”

This seemingly tautological statement can be explained if we understand his desire as being not to go abroad *per se*, but to be a competent enough linguist to go abroad and



be seen communicating in English. Again he appears to be identifying not with native English-speakers but with some future English-speaking self. This idea is taken up again in section 6.3.5 below, and then again when examining focal learners' comments in interview.

#### 6.3.4 Out-of-school activity using English

Students' positive attitudes towards English are reflected in their reported use or study of English outside the classroom, presented in Table 10.

<i>Activity involving English</i>	<i>Never (%)</i>	<i>Once a month (%)</i>	<i>Once a week (%)</i>	<i>Almost every day (%)</i>	<i>Mean (on scale 0-3)</i>
Watching TV or video	11	52	22	15	1.39
Listening to the radio	48	44	6	2	0.58
Listening to songs	6	47	23	24	1.68
Reading books or magazines	27	51	16	6	0.97
Conversation	37	50	11	2	0.75
Studying the language	6	42	41	11	1.57
Using a computer	52	29	12	7	0.77

**Table 10** *Reported frequency of activities involving English outside school (n = 219).*

Even allowing for some exaggeration in responses to impress the researcher, the overall impression gained is that English was already a regular part of the lives of these young respondents. Their proficiency may still be very low, but the language is all around them, most notably in the music they like to listen to on cassette (western boy bands are especially popular in this age group) and in Hollywood movies and other programmes (e.g. English soccer matches) shown on TV. Listening to English radio programmes and reading English-language magazines or books were less popular, though they can be found by dedicated learners; perhaps there is little that is accessible to very elementary level learners. The low figures for computer use can probably be explained by the fact that few families could afford a computer, and the internet was not widely available (one girl also told me in interview that parents often forbade their children from accessing the web because they might be exposed to inappropriate content). Finally, most of the responses for 'studying' can probably be attributed to assigned homework.

Although she is by definition unusual, the one focal learner who completed her journal during the first year may provide some independent corroboration of the balance of activities. Instances of use of English outside of school (and not counting school homework) for learner F were categorized and presented in Table 11. As she admitted herself, these are probably underestimates as there were times she forgot to record events in her journal, and there may have been many hundreds of incidental exposures to English, for instance in billboard advertisements, that are not recorded. They show that the private course was by far the most common occasion for use of English, followed by watching TV/video and listening to songs. Reading, conversation and computer use were extremely rare at this stage.

Activity	Frequency
Attending private course	23
Watching TV or video	9
Listening to songs	8
Studying ( <i>not including homework</i> )	3
Reading books/magazines	2
Conversation	2
Computer use	1
Other	2

**Table 11** *Frequency of English-related activities noted in learner F's journal over 6 months.*

Of course, reported activity is not direct evidence of motivation to learn English, or even of learning. It is only the respondent who knows whether 'listening to songs' in English actually constitutes a learning experience or simply some relaxation. The figures presented are a very broad measure of the presence of English in these youngsters' environment. The interviews with focal learners can provide more insight into the way learners thought about the activities (see section 6.5.3.3).

### **6.3.5 Favourite activities in class**

The children were asked which activities they liked best in their English lessons. Out of 184 responses, 44 related to a particular series of lessons they had done recently about personal introductions. Of the rest, 63% said they liked doing 'conversation' or 'dialogues'. Singing came a distant second with 11% of the vote. The priority that they give to developing their speaking skills is interesting because in some ways it contradicts their most immediate needs. Class tests and school examinations (as well as



private school progress tests) are all of the paper and pen type, and demand knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary. The English they come across outside of school is mainly in magazines (and therefore needs to be read) or in films and songs (and therefore needs to be understood). As their questionnaire responses showed, English conversation is one of the least likely activities for them to be engaged in outside the class. Perhaps being able to *speak* English is so important because it is the most visible of the skills; when they imagine their future selves, it is as fluent *speakers* of the language, able, should the need arise, to deal with tourists' queries or attend an English-language job interview.

When visiting classes, or indeed just walking around the school, it was evident how speaking English to a foreigner (myself) excited strong emotions. I was often approached by pupils eager for a short oral exchange, and the bravest would ask me for my email address and telephone number to the great amusement of peers. In class, many were very keen to speak to me yet also fearful of making mistakes and thus being mocked by peers. Teachers too seemed anxious to take any opportunity to chat to me in English – and this applied not just to the English teachers, who were hungry for exposure to native-speaker language, but also teachers of other subjects. This persistent attention is often noted by foreign visitors to provincial Indonesia. It is noteworthy here because it may have some relevance to discussions of 'integrativeness'. Many Indonesians are excited by contact with westerners, but the conversations rarely go very far beyond a simple exchange of personal information, and email and telephone details are rarely taken up. It is often sufficient to be *seen* to be in contact with westerners; a meaningful relationship is not expected to follow. In other words, communication in English is more related to self-image than to actual integration with English-speaking peoples.

### **6.3.6 Other comments**

The final part of the questionnaire allowed the students to make further comments about English, or to ask me, the researcher a question. For many this would represent the first instance of communication with a foreigner. Their comments/ questions are categorized and presented in Table 12.

	<i>Comments</i>	<i>Freq. %</i>
1.	Statements emphasising importance of English & their desire to learn it	34
2.	Questions about English and the UK	19
3.	Questions about how to learn English effectively	16
4.	Personal questions for the researcher	10
5.	Suggestions for teachers/adults	9
6.	Questions about the use of <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> abroad	6
8.	Critical comments about the dominance of English	3
9.	Other	3

Table 12 Responses in the final 'Any other comments' section of Questionnaire I.

About 60% of respondents chose to make a further comment, and a good proportion of these were reiterations of how important they regarded English to be (no.1). Some emphasized that English is beneficial not only to the individual but to society at large, such as:

“If I can speak English, I can go abroad and become a person who’s really useful for Indonesia.”

Another learner wrote:

“English is so important for every person’s future.”

and went on to ask me, the researcher, to travel to the poorer regions of the country to teach it. Questions about methods of learning (no.2) were probably asked in the hope that, as a native-speaker from England – the imagined source of the language – I might possess some insider knowledge which would make learning English effortless.

Questions about English (no.3) sometimes revealed an almost awe-struck vision of its place in the world:

“Will English be used often in the coming century? And will people who haven’t mastered it be considered illiterate?”

“Does everyone have to master their English lessons in order to achieve their dreams?”

The frequency and emotionality of such comments lead me to conclude that they are not simply an attempt to accommodate my own expected views. In fact, they suggest that these children have been repeatedly exposed to a pro-English discourse, not just in



teachers' pronouncements but in the official media, in advertising by private language schools, and in parental advice at home. Only faint traces of resistance can be found - one boy, for example, asked:

“Why do we usually have to use a foreign language when receiving guests in our country, while they don't use our language?”

### 6.3.7 Further data analysis

In this section I briefly explore relationships among some of the variables included in Questionnaire I by analysing the correlation coefficients of items in the questionnaire (Spearman was chosen as appropriate to ordinal data (Salkind, 2000)). Table 13 indicates moderate correlations among the key variables in the questionnaire; unsurprisingly, those who are satisfied with their progress in English are more likely to be confident about gaining proficiency one day, are more likely to enjoy the experience of learning, and are slightly more likely to view English as important. No significant relationship is observed, however, between confidence in success and regarding English as important. When considering the different reasons why English may be important (Item 15), it is interesting that the *only* significant correlations are obtained with the intrinsic motive ('English is important to me because I enjoy learning it'), adding weight to the view that those who enjoy learning are more likely to feel they're making progress and will succeed.

	<i>Satisfied</i>	<i>Confident</i>	<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Importance</i>
Satisfied with progress	1.000	.307**	.319**	.186**
Confident in ultimate success	.	1.000	.261**	.102
Attitude towards the learning situation			1.000	.147*
Importance of English				1.000
'English is important to me because I enjoy learning it'	.214**	.205*	.223**	.286**

\*\* Significant at the 0.01 level, \* Significant at the 0.05 level

Table 13 *Correlation coefficients of items 11, 12, 13, 15.*

## 6.4 English in the school environment

The external walls of the classrooms, lining the shaded walkways that ran around the school quadrangle, held several '*mading*', an Indonesian acronym meaning 'wall magazine' which presented notices for students and examples of their work. It was notable how often English words and phrases crept into texts created in other subject areas. Indonesian itself is an extremely porous language in which technical terms in many fields are quickly appropriated and 'Indonesianized', but the English words/phrases on the *mading* were not only of this type but also from general teenage talk. On one board (4.9.02), I noted down the following phrases – Created by Yuli (at the bottom of an Indonesian essay); don't worry; who knows?, *selamat* seventeen (happy 17!); emergency only!, Please *deh jangan* flirty lagi! (please don't be flirty again!); Hi guys! – and the following words inserted into Indonesian statements: tips; cute; plus; hairspray; detail; teddy bear.

Slipping English words into one's speech or writing was evidently a 'cool' thing to do among these teenagers. The usage could be highly creative – in one class I overheard a student saying accusingly to another 'you Ronan Keating<sup>5</sup>!' which on enquiry turned out to be rhyming slang for 'you're cheating!' – and functionally appropriate, as with the response to one of the open items on my questionnaire: 'Whatever lah!' It is significant that official school notices on the *mading* did not use English in the same way (i.e. only using English words that had been 'Indonesianized'). This blending of street English and Indonesian is an example of 'language crossing' (Rampton, 1999), a kind of multilingual play which Belz (2002: 15) argues "may function as a textual indication of changes in learner self-conceptualizations", in this case symbolizing an emergent competence in English and a freedom from the constraints of the official school and national language.

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<sup>5</sup> Lead singer of the then fashionable group Boyzone.



## **6.5 First interview data**

### **6.5.1 Data analysis**

As described in section 5.5.2, the interviews were part-transcribed. The first phase of analysis consisted of detailed listening to each interview and the construction of a matrix showing what each learner had said on each topic. This allowed for comparisons to be made both across learners and across the three research phases (an example, for girls' first interviews, is provided in Appendix G). During this process I made notes in the margins of the transcriptions to indicate further possible themes emerging in the data or points which linked to the individual's questionnaire data, and also issues which might be followed up at subsequent interviews. After the 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews had been conducted and part-transcribed, a further phase of analysis was conducted to identify changes over the three research phases. This involved repeated listening to all interviews, identifying possible areas of change and then checking through the transcripts or recording to confirm or dismiss the idea. In the following section I concentrate on findings from the preliminary analysis of the first interview data. Findings on the changes over the three interviews are presented in the next chapter (section 7.4).

### **6.5.2 RQ1: How motivated? (Degree of motivation)**

In section 5.5.2.2 I suggest that the interview was a moment in which learners' language learning motivation could be 'performed', since it provided a very rare opportunity for practice with a native-speaker. It was surprisingly easy to recruit volunteers for the research, and I believe this reflected the generally high level of motivation to learn English and to communicate with, and be seen communicating with, native-speakers (see section 6.3.5 above). For example, when I asked learner A how she felt about her new school, she replied:

“Happy...I really feel glad because when we're learning English along comes Mr Martin and we can talk to him directly...Because that's what we want, the thing is, when we go home from school we might see a

tourist on the street but we're afraid to say anything, so now we have the chance to talk straight to Mr Martin."<sup>6</sup>

However, the enthusiasm with which the focal learners (FLs) participated did not always correspond with other measures of their motivation such as their questionnaire responses and teacher comments. For example, learner D initially refused to participate, but changed her mind the next day; learner L was keen to join (and had scored 3 on his questionnaire for the integrative motive) yet spoke with great reluctance during the interview itself, hardly able to disguise his wish to return to his class. Both learners obviously felt the situation was stressful and had personal reasons for reacting as they did. In stark contrast, learner H approached me several times in the school requesting to be interviewed, and carried a booklet entitled 'Practical English Conversation Made Eazy!' in his back pocket; yet he rarely concentrated in class or did assigned homework. As MacIntyre et al. (2003) argue, there is no straightforward relationship between motivation to learn an L2 and the willingness to communicate in it (this issue is discussed further in section 8.3.3).

Like learner A, all the other focal learners expressed pleasure at being in their new junior high school. As this was usually my first question, when they were perhaps still unsure of my intentions, this was the 'safe' response but their manner gave me no reason to doubt the sentiments expressed. Different reasons were offered, but a common theme – emerging in seven of the FLs' responses – was that the school was more 'disciplined' (the Indonesian word '*tertib*' has a positive connotation and includes the sense of 'calmness') than their elementary school had been. Learner B put it this way:

"Yes, the lessons, the rooms, the methods of keeping discipline, the teachers are different, the teachers here are a bit stricter for sure, it makes sense because we're more mature, aren't we? So the teachers treat us as more adult."

Other individual FLs say that lessons at SMP are more 'intense', more 'focussed', less 'superficial', while three FLs comment that more responsibility is put on the pupil to catch what the teacher is saying. It is widely known that SMP X is one of the better

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<sup>6</sup> Quotations are translations from Indonesian except where cited as 'original'. Pauses are marked by a sequence of dots; [...] indicates a short extract removed, from either respondent or interviewer.



schools in Jambi and an element of pride is present in some comments, strongest of all in learner M who has just moved to the city from a small rural town and who is pleased to find the school is 'safe', 'without any nasty pupils', that lessons are disciplined and that the teachers always come to class. Another four FLs mention the fact they have found some good new friends in the school.

At this early point in their school career, then, the FLs all evince a high level of motivation towards the institution and study in general. Regarding English language in particular, there is again universal recognition among the FLs of its importance and the need to study it, even from the learners chosen as being less motivated, as seen in this exchange with one of them:

I: Do you have any ambitions?

J: For what?

I: For your career.

J: Career, yes I have.

I: What?

J: To be good at English, because in the future, according to my parents, globalization is going to happen.

I: Yes.

J: Western people are going to come to Indonesia, and will get involved in every country.

I: Mm.

J: It'll be free, we can go wherever, they can go wherever.

In the next section I explore what the initial interviews reveal about the nature of this motivation.

### **6.5.3 RQ1: How motivated? (Nature of motivation)**

#### *6.5.3.1 Intrinsic motives*

The process of learning English, whether at school or private course, does not emerge as an important consideration for the FLs at this stage. Only four of the FLs (all girls) said that English was one of their favourite school subjects. There were occasional flattering comments towards the teaching of English – one girl called it 'creative', another said it's 'enjoyable' and that the teachers made an effort to help learners understand – and there were some reservations expressed: for example, three girls commented that the level is lower at school than at their private English course, one

boy (K) made an oblique criticism by saying that his favourite activity is ‘getting out of the class’, another girl (B) complained that the teacher sometimes gives incomprehensible instructions. When I asked the learners about whether they ever disliked their English lessons, they tended to invoke the importance of the subject rather than stressing the pleasures of learning, as in these two examples:

I: Do you ever get bored in your English lessons?

M: Never....I’m happy, because I need to learn, need to understand what the teacher says.

I: Are you ever bored?

F: Yes, at elementary school I was sometimes....but now I’m not, because, English is very important in the world, globalization.....so we have to study for a long time.

As in the open questionnaire item responses (section 6.3.3), the pleasure of learning English seems to derive from the fact that they are now pursuing a long-term goal more intensively and seriously – in a sense, SMP X is a new beginning in their study of English. When I specifically asked about whether their classmates were motivated to learn English, nine out of 12 said that many were not; a frequent estimate was that only about half the class liked English or wanted to learn it. It is reasonable to assume they made these judgements on the basis of observing their behaviour in class, and without being privy to their peers’ thoughts on the matter. This finding connects to my own observation of students’ erratic attention spans in class (see section 7.4.2) as well as to the teachers’ consensus view that pupils were not well motivated to learn (see section 8.2.5). It could be that such vague long-term goals are not sufficiently strong motivators to regulate behaviour when classes start to get tedious – a point which will be taken up in the next chapter.

It is noticeable that a similar point is sometimes made with more vehemence, suggesting a greater internalization of extrinsic motives:

I: Do you ever get bored with English?

A: Never, because I want to know!...There are some people who if they don’t understand they just get fed up and stop studying, but I want to know about it, so it becomes easy.

I: Do you often feel like that?

A: Yes, for example if the lesson’s about, something I’m weak in, like the use of ‘to be’, oh very difficult.



and there is one expression of an apparently intrinsic motive for studying English:

I: What's your favourite subject?

C: I like them all, they all have their advantages.

I: What's good about English?

C: .....The pleasure comes from knowing it, like this....I'm happy when I'm speaking English.

### 6.5.3.2 *Integrativeness and instrumentality*

When asked directly for their views of western countries, almost all the FLs responded positively, citing for instance the absence of riots, the higher standard of living, and the advanced technology as reasons for admiring those countries, and in half the cases, expressing a wish to travel or even live there for a while. There were vivid expressions of 'integrativeness' in some of the children's remarks. One boy (H) said:

"My comment is that English is good and stands on top of the world....and so too are English people like Queen Elizabeth, Princess Diana, David Beckham ..."

But this, and one girl's ambition to study at Oxford and Leeds Universities, were the only references to Britain or other English-speaking countries. As in the questionnaire data, the vast majority of comments were about the 'west' or 'foreigners' in general, or even explicitly about other non-English speaking countries as in these two comments:

I: Why did you choose LIA (Indonesia-America Association)?

A: Because it's good, and many people who have graduated from there can go abroad [...] to Germany for example.

H: I think Europeans and people from Asia, they're generally good at English, if they're interviewed [on TV] they reply in English...I was surprised at the way English has become the international language, that's why I like it.

The 'west' is perceived as the *source* of globalization, but these children are acutely aware that its social, economic and cultural effects will be felt *inside* Indonesia, as the quotation from learner J above exemplifies. Asked if her parents had forced her to attend a private course in English, one girl (B) replied:

“ No, because I’m interested in learning English, because people said that maybe a few years in the future, English is going to be used in Indonesia, so I was afraid I wouldn’t be able to, so I was really interested.”

The sense is not so much of language learners reaching out to integrate with any specific foreign culture or community, but of knowing they must embrace the changes already sweeping their own culture.

Moreover, English is only one of many skills they need to acquire, and has to compete with other interests and goals for the children’s attention. Apart from academic subjects, the children are also involved in many other organized activities inside and outside of school, such as the Scouts, the local children’s marching band, art or music competitions, or sports teams. When learner C says (quoted above) “the pleasure comes from knowing it” she is viewing English as an accomplishment which will be a part of her future identity, whether she ends up as a “doctor, painter, designer or astronomer”. In her interview she mentions a drawing competition, a ‘studying competition’, and a ‘little doctor contest’ as trophies she has recently fought for, while learner B says: “I want to be a champion, for example if I enter a competition I always want to win... the important thing is to be good at whatever skills you learn,” and while I was at the school (in April 2003) a team of pupils was taking part in a provincial TV-style general knowledge quiz. Learners C & B in particular were apparently beneficiaries of a network of competitive events – which ultimately reach up to national and international Olympiads (Coleman et al., 2004) – designed to foster achievement among a small elite, in the same vein as the newly introduced *Kelas Akselerasi* and *Kelas Unggul*.

### 6.5.3.3 Learning activity

Confirming results obtained in the background data part of the questionnaire (see section 6.2), all but three FLs had studied English at a private course in the afternoon or evening, and indeed most closely associated the learning of the language with the private institution rather than with school. This was brought home to me vividly by this early exchange with my first interviewee:

I: What do you think of your English classes in the school so far?

E: I already got to Level 8.

I: Who is your teacher?

E: My English teacher? His name was Iskandar.



It was only at that point that I realized she was referring to her private language school rather than SMP X. Even after 20 months of study, learner M reacted in the same way when I asked him about progress in English: “From yesterday I’ve started taking English lessons at Ganesha Operation, my parents told me to.” Like the school cohort as a whole, the FLs had studied at various institutions, and were predominantly positive about the experience though one boy (J) complained that the teacher ignored them and allowed the pupils to do whatever they wanted, while another girl (E) reported an upsetting experience at her first course. The relationship between private courses and learner motivation is discussed further in section 8.2.4.

Several of the FLs came into contact with English at a very early age. Learner F claims her parents started teaching her simple vocabulary at mealtimes when she was three years old. Learner H said he was six when he moved to Jakarta and heard his auntie “speaking English and I was interested and I asked her what language it is, and from then on I wanted to learn” – a classic example of what Shedivy (2004: 109) calls a ‘spark’: the “first wish of wanting to learn another language”. Learner D started asking her parents about English when she was seven, and claims that she still learns from them now (both her mother and father studied in the USA, and D was born there.). Three other girls said that they started studying English at elementary school in year 1 or 2 (i.e. when they were six or seven), though they did not continue to study it through all six years. The interviews with the FLs also confirm the findings from the questionnaire that English is implicated in some of their leisure activities. Only learner J made no claim to use of English at home (apart from doing assigned homework); others mentioned listening to or singing songs (the boyband ‘Westlife’ was popular with three of the 12 focal learners), watching films or TV programmes in English (mentioned by three), speaking with parents or older siblings in English (mentioned by four), and reading magazine or books (mentioned by three).

For many of these learners the early start in learning English and the regular contacts with English at home during childhood seems to have helped form a view that independent learning is ‘normal’, and that school is not necessarily the most important site for acquiring English. Nevertheless, the interviews provided little evidence of sophisticated strategic learning activity at this stage. This may be because my

interviewing technique also lacked the sophistication necessary to elicit the relevant thought processes underlying decisions to engage in activities involving the English language. But it could also be because these are mostly enthusiastic but still quite naïve language learners. Indeed, despite their early acquaintance with English and their years of study at private course and elementary school, none of the FLs had actually gained much competence in English. Only learner C was able to sustain conversation in English for more than a few simple turns, and she preferred to speak in Indonesian as soon as the interview got beyond exchanging personal information.

## **6.6 Summary and discussion**

The results presented in this chapter were from the administration of questionnaire I and from the first round of interviews. They show that, on entry to the school in August 2002, pupils' motivation to learn English was high, in that they had very positive attitudes towards their English lessons, had strong expectations of success, and believed it was very important for the future for a number of different reasons. Admittedly there was little evidence of actual enjoyment in studying English in school, but pupils took pleasure in the fact that they were in this particular junior high school, where they felt they had the opportunity to study the language more intensively and seriously than they had done before. There appear to be two discourses to which they are exposed compelling them to take the learning of English seriously: there is the semi-official discourse – supported by formal educational apparatus such as curricula and exams – stressing the importance of English for their country and their own future lives; and this is reinforced by the informal discourse of global teenage interests, which promotes another brand of English through media like MTV, the film industry, and local teenage magazines.

A major finding was that for some learners at least, SMP X would not necessarily be the prime site for this learning. A majority have already studied at private English courses in the local community, and some of the more motivated learners relate English to this institution rather than to school. Among these learners there is also some evidence of independent study of the language outside of school, and many report very early contact with English in the family or at primary school. The focal learners



selected for being less motivated appear to share the view of the language's potential importance, but (with the exception of learner H) have less contact with the language outside of school. However, neither study at private language school study nor independent learning strategies have yet shown evidence of being effective for developing proficiency, for only one focal learner was able to sustain conversation in English beyond isolated utterances.

Learners' comments about English in both questionnaire open items and interviews were difficult to categorize in traditional Gardnerian terms as 'integrative' or 'instrumental'. Firstly, a central element in 'integrativeness' is favourable attitudes towards the L2-speaking community, but here English appeared to be associated with foreigners or westerners in general rather than with any specific group of English speakers; in fact, on my second visit (see section 8.2.1) some learners expressed quite antagonistic attitudes towards Anglophone countries. As in Indonesia, so in early 21<sup>st</sup> century Hungary apparently: "For a growing number of learners English now represents the language of the 'world at large' rather than the language of any specific English-speaking country" (Dörnyei et al., 2006: 145). As Dörnyei et al. argue, "this lack of a well-specified target language community in effect undermines the attitudinal basis of Gardner's (1985) traditional concept of integrative motivation" (ibid.). A more relevant concept may be Yashima's (2002: 57) concept of 'international posture', a trait said to include "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to study or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners and...a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures", which may be implicated in Japanese learners' willingness to communicate in a foreign language. This is of course related to one element in 'integrativeness', namely an 'openness' to other ethnic/cultural groups. Because I did not include this construct in my study, I am not able to comment on its relevance or how it relates to learning behaviour or achievement.

However, even this broader construct seems limiting, especially if conceived of as a stable trait. When these young Indonesians talked about English it was not so much in relation to specific purposes in short or long-term but about how English could change their lives, enabling them to *become* somebody different. Meeting with westerners, using computers, understanding pop songs, studying or travelling abroad, pursuing a desirable career – all these aspirations are associated with each other and with English

as an integral part of the globalization processes that are transforming their society and will profoundly affect their own lives.

Arnett (2002: 777) has argued that one of the most striking psychological effects of globalization is that “most people now develop a *bicultural identity*, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture” (original italics). Through the media, especially television but increasingly the internet, young people in diverse countries “develop a global identity that gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles and information that are part of the global culture” (ibid.). At the same time, however, they would retain a local identity which serves them well in their families and local communities and which enables them to observe local traditions and behavioural mores when necessary without any sense of contradiction with their other ‘global’ selves. Such a duality is reflected in the common practice among Chinese young people to adopt a western name to complement their Chinese name (Li, 1997), and has been noted in minority students in western countries who face the challenge of reconciling the self to “membership in at least two worlds” (Syed, 2001: 130). McKay and Wong, for example, found cases among adolescent immigrants in the USA of “strong Chinese cultural identification and a strong desire to become American existing side by side” (1996: 604). It has also been found in Asian EFL settings. LoCastro (2001) observed a reluctance among her Japanese students to adopt certain English pragmatic norms, despite professing a strong motivation to learn the language, and explained it in terms of their struggle to construct “an identity that includes being a competent speaker of English while retaining one’s L1 and the L1 culture” (p. 83)

Many of the young adolescents in this study appear to be striving towards such a bicultural identity, as both a Sumatran (or other ethnic group) Indonesian and an Indonesian world citizen. Focal learner D articulated such a vision when she said in her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview:

“Maybe I want to have two *tempat tinggal* [homes], in foreign and in Indonesia.”  
(original)



Their role-models in this quest might not be English-speakers, therefore, nor even westerners in general, but rather other urban middle-class Indonesians who have already acquired this global identity. Gardner is right to assert that language learning involves “taking on the behavioural characteristics of another cultural group of people” (Gardner, 2001b: 6), but paradoxically it may be the characteristics of their own cosmopolitan compatriots, as a dominant cultural group within their society, which they covet. More evidence for this view is provided in the 2<sup>nd</sup> questionnaire (see section 7.2.6), where learners showed little interest in learning native-speaker varieties of English and 36% actually chose Indonesian English as their preferred variety. In their 2<sup>nd</sup> interviews focal learners were asked who they most admired; three of them chose Habibie, the former President who had previously been a successful businessman in the German aeronautics industry and who in many ways epitomizes biculturality and its rewards, as learner B explains:

“He’s clever, he was able to build aeroplanes, he was able to go abroad, he had many friends, I’d like to know how he managed to do it, to expand his knowledge about English, to get good friends, I’d like to know...”

Finally, I may quote a high-achieving learner from my previous study with university students in Jambi:

“Last month I went to Bandung for a holiday and I...like with the people in Bandung because they can speak English...most of the students especially they are very clever”

(Lamb, 2002: 44).

Just as this young woman aspires towards the sophisticated citizenry of Bandung, many young people in the rural areas of Sumatra would aspire towards her own position as a university student in the provincial capital.

The English language is so important to this ‘world citizen’ identity because it is both the means and the end; that is, it is both a prototypical attribute of the Indonesian cosmopolitan, and also an important means of becoming one, by providing access to financial, social and cultural resources which can transform the self. There is a small but growing market in home-published English-language literature for teenagers in Indonesia. One magazine on the news stands of Jambi, published by the popular language school LIA, is *Cool ‘n Smart* – designed both to develop readers’ language

skills (e.g. it provides glossaries of difficult words in each article), and also to keep them in tune with teenage global culture (e.g. topics in the August 2002 edition include Indonesian and British rock bands, tips on computer software, advice on sexually transmitted diseases, and stories about Muslims in the USA after 9/11). The magazine's editorial, meanwhile, neatly captures the aspiring bicultural identity of its adolescent readers:

"I'm not gonna say that you should be a good citizen and do good things to develop our country. I think you already know that it's one of your duties. What I wanna say is that you have a freedom to do whatever you like."

(*Cool 'n Smart* vol. 2/10 page 7)

The 'duties' and the 'freedom' also represent the twin discourses to which I referred above, and are mirrored again in the way editorial authority is expressed in a hip youth register. The combined effect of the discourses is to encourage young people to develop a vision of an English-speaking, globally-involved but nationally- and communally-responsible future self, and which contributes to a high initial level of motivation to learn the language (and especially to learn to *speak* it).

But adolescence is a time of life when identity is particularly in flux (Head, 1997). Even for adults, in the globalizing world, identity "has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before" (Giddens, 2000: 65). We should not *assume* that these Indonesian school learners' motivation is fixed or stable or that it will necessarily be sustained in the face of practical problems or oppositional discourses. There may be times of confusion when the global identity seems to conflict with the local, and which may lead to a temporary loss of interest in learning English. Other learners may choose to resist the global culture altogether, identifying instead with what Arnett (2002) calls 'self-selected cultures', for example those based on Islamic fundamentalism. As they get older, some learners' motivation may become more focussed as their personal aspirations change. Warschauer (2000) points out how people's need for English will not be uniform among 21<sup>st</sup> century populations, but will vary from very high in jobs involving information processing (including business and technology) to a much more restricted and specific need in other occupations.



The next chapter examines precisely this issue: whether the SMP pupils' motivation to learn English has changed over their first 20 months of school study. Specifically, it reports on findings from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of the research project.

## CHAPTER 7

### **FINDINGS II: How did students' motivation to learn English change after 20 months of formal study at junior high school?**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter primarily examines how the students' motivation to learn English changed over the first 20 months of study in junior high school, comparing their responses in questionnaire and interview at the three research points. In addition, the two further 'snapshots' taken will add detail to the broad picture of motivation built up on my first visit to the site and presented in the previous chapter.

Focussing on change, I will compare the responses in the second questionnaire to the first, in order to identify changes within the whole year cohort. I will also analyse data from the second and third interviews with the focal learners to find out whether the learners themselves perceive their motivation as changing, and to explore changes in the way they participate in the interviews.

Further insights are obtained from the results for items on Questionnaire II which were not included in Questionnaire I, and from computing correlations to check for relationships among these data, and between these data and the semester score given to each student for the semester just preceding my visit (July – December 2003). This semester score was made up of the results of monthly test results, a final test, teacher's impressions of classroom performance and a mark for 'good behaviour'. In addition I shall present a brief analysis of classroom observation data. As this was carried out on the first and second visits, they can offer some insights into motivational change in the whole cohort and in individuals, but their main value is in providing a backdrop of classroom experience against which the learners' words and responses can be better understood and interpreted.



## 7.2 Questionnaire responses II

The second questionnaire was administered to all six regular classes (A-F) and the two 'elite' classes (*Aksel* and *Unggul*) in March 2004, that is, about two months before the end of their second year in SMP X. A total of 286 completed questionnaires were returned. Of these, 91 students had not completed the first questionnaire either because they had been in class F (whose responses were discarded in August 2002) or had been absent when their class completed Questionnaire I or had joined the school more recently. Except where stated, I am restricting the analysis of Questionnaire II data to the 195 students who completed both questionnaires.

### 7.2.1 General attitudes

Table 14 contrasts the responses on the common items in Questionnaires I and II. 'Paired sample' T-tests were carried out to check for significance, and following American Psychology Association (APA) guidelines (Wilkinson et al., 1999), Cohen's *d* calculated to measure effect size. There were a number of significant differences in the attitudes of the year cohort between the start of their studies and after 20 months. Most remain satisfied with their current level of achievement in English, but there is a significant fall in the overall satisfaction rate (mean difference = -0.27). Nevertheless, their expectations of ultimate success in English remained constant over these 20 months, with almost all pupils somewhat confident or confident that their goals will be achieved.

Variable	n	Aug 02 Mean SD	Mar 04 Mean SD	t-value	Difference in Means	Sig.	Cohen's 'd' for effect size
Satisfaction with progress in English so far (1 'not satisfied', 2 'somewhat', 3 'satisfied')	192	2.58 0.56	2.31 0.62	-4.734	-0.27	.000	-0.46
Confidence in ultimate success in English (1 'not confident', 2 'somewhat', 3 'confident')	190	2.39 0.52	2.37 0.56	-0.346	-0.02	.730	-0.04
Attitude to the learning experience (1 'dislike', 2 'OK', 3 'like')	195	2.83 0.38	2.47 0.59	-7.766	-0.36	.000	-0.74
Perceived importance of English (1 'not important', 2 'important', 3 'very important')	188	2.61 0.52	2.71 0.47	2.248	+0.10	.026	0.20
Reasons for importance: (1 'not important', 2 'important', 3 'very important')							
Because I need English for my career in the future (instrumental)	189	2.69 0.52	2.84 0.39	3.610	+0.15	.000	0.33
Because I enjoy learning English (intrinsic)	186	2.27 0.50	2.12 0.50	-3.307	-0.16	.001	-0.32
Because I want to meet foreigners & learn about other countries (integrative)	190	2.49 0.62	2.35 0.69	-2.270	-0.14	.024	-0.21
Because my parents encourage me to learn English (extrinsic - parental)	186	2.46 0.60	2.54 0.58	1.735	+0.09	.084	0.15
Because English is an assessed school subject (extrinsic - academic)	186	2.25 0.69	2.53 0.62	4.745	+0.28	.000	0.43
Perceived importance of English compared to other school subjects. (1 'less important', 2 'same', 3 'more important')	188	2.26 0.44	2.29 0.47	0.842	+0.04	.401	0.09

Table 14 Changes in reported levels of motivation from August 2002 to March 2004.



After 20 months of study few students said they disliked learning English but many thought it was just 'OK', representing a significant deterioration in their opinion (-0.36). At the same time, there was a slight rise (+0.10) in the general importance attached to the language. All of the five possible reasons for its importance offered in the questionnaire were ranked highly again, but some significant changes in their orientation are evident: English is perceived as having even more instrumental value (+0.15), and its status as an important assessed school subject is more widely recognised (+0.28); while its intrinsic interest and value for getting to know foreigners and other countries are less prioritized now (-0.16 and -0.14 respectively). Regarding effect size, in Cohen's original formulation (1988) the effects shown are between small (0.2) and medium (0.5), while that for the deterioration in 'attitude to the learning experience' would be considered large (almost 0.8).

Also of interest is the actual number of respondents who changed their scores for these variables, as this is a possible indication of their volatility. This is presented in Table 15 below. Reflecting the overall fall in the means, there was a large proportion of respondents showing mild (-1) dissatisfaction with their progress and with school English lessons. The variables which elicited more extreme reactions (-/+ 2), however, were the integrative motive, where nine individuals changed their score from 'very important' to 'not important', and in the importance of English for assessment, where 10 individuals increased their score by two points. In the former case, it could be that world events had influenced their reaction (see section 7.4.1.4), while the latter case is presumably a product of their gradual socialization into school culture.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>% respondents who changed score</i>					
	<i>n</i>	<i>-2</i>	<i>-1</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>+1</i>	<i>+2</i>
Satisfaction with progress in English	192	2.6	37.0	46.9	11.5	0
Confidence in ultimate success in English	190	0.5	18.9	62.1	18.4	0
Attitude to the learning experience	195	2.6	38.5	51.8	7.2	0
Perceived importance of English	188	0	13.8	62.8	22.9	0
Because I need English for my career in the future	189	0	7.9	70.9	19.6	0
Because I enjoy learning English	186	1.6	24.7	61.3	12.4	0
Because I want to meet foreigners & learn about other countries	190	5.1	23.7	53.2	15.3	2.6

Because my parents encourage me to learn English	186	0	18.8	53.8	27.4	0
Because English is an assessed school subject	186	1.1	12.9	48.9	31.2	5.9
Perceived importance of English compared to other subjects	188	0	16.5	63.3	20.2	0

Table 15 Proportion of students who changed their response in questionnaire II.

## 7.2.2 Perceptions of progress

Table 16 presents students' self-assessment of their progress in the different aspects of English language proficiency over the period Aug 2002 – March 2004. In general they believe they have made 'some' progress, this being the modal response in all areas, though it is in reading and writing that they feel they have advanced most, probably reflecting the weight given to these two skills in school English lessons and textbooks (see section 7.3.1 below).

All areas correlate significantly with the semester score, with the highest correlations in speaking, vocabulary and grammar. This makes sense because the semester score represented the results of mainly vocabulary and grammar tests (both the monthly tests and the final test) and the learners' oral performance in class as assessed by the teacher. The correlations therefore offer some independent validation of their self-assessment, though it is also possible that the students took their semester score into account when making their judgement. It is notable that overall satisfaction with progress does not correlate with this score – suggesting that more competent students are not necessarily the happiest with their rate of progress.

	<i>n</i>	<i>No progress</i>	<i>Some progress</i>	<i>Much progress</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Correl with sem. score</i>
Speaking	195	14	72	14	2.00	.386**
Listening	192	7	75	18	2.11	.232**
Reading	104	2	56	42	2.41	.315**
Writing	194	3	58	39	2.35	.314**
Vocabulary	193	18	65	17	1.99	.389**
Grammar	194	26	66	8	1.81	.369**
		<i>Not</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>		
Overall satisfaction (Item 4)	192	9	52	39	2.31	.051

\*\* significant at the  $p < 0.01$  level

Table 16 Self-assessment of progress.



The responses to open items in Questionnaire II were categorized and counted as a proportion of all the pupils' comments in the same way as in Questionnaire I. The first open item asked students to give a reason for their level of satisfaction with their progress in English; 194 out of the 195 respondents chose to make a comment. In both 'not satisfied' and 'somewhat satisfied' categories, the majority of comments fell into two categories: those which emphasized their determination to learn more, as in:

“Because I haven't yet mastered English and I'm going to make a big effort to study it”

and those which emphasize what they didn't know or how difficult they perceived the language to be:

“Because there's so much that I don't understand in English vocabulary and grammar.”

Approximately a quarter of the students who answered 'somewhat satisfied' gave a positive interpretation of this response, as in:

“Because since I've been sitting next to a new friend I've made a bit of progress and I often study more by reading my dictionary.”

There were other interesting interpretations of the question. 19% of all comments (and 36% of the 'satisfied' respondents) chose to comment on the value of English in considering their level of satisfaction:

“Because I can understand the international language. And I don't need to panic again if I meet someone who comes from another country.”

“Because English is now used everywhere, like if an Indian person comes to Indonesia they're sure to use English, same if we go there.”

while another 10% referred to the process of learning, usually taking the opportunity for a critical comment about their teacher:

“Because after I came up to class 2 there are many topics I don't know, but I don't like the teacher, (s)he gets angry, even before the lesson starts.”

It is also worth remarking how *few* references there were to external markers of progress – for example, there were just two mentions of semester scores and two other respondents commented on their rank in class.

### 7.2.3 Liking for school English lessons

One of the most striking changes between beginning and end of the research period (see Table 14 above) was the fall in numbers of respondents expressing pleasure in the process of studying English. In 2002 the question had referred to their 'experience of learning English' generally while in 2004 the question referred to their 'experience of learning English in SMP X'. The former responses would therefore have reflected previous experiences of learning, in primary school or private school, as well as their feelings about the few weeks of lessons already experienced at SMP X; the latter responses were explicitly related to their experience of lessons at SMP X. Although very nearly half still expressed pleasure in those lessons and only 3% actually expressed displeasure, nearly 40% reduced their score for the item (see Table 15), strongly suggesting that there was something amiss in the process of learning English in school. It is of course possible that English is not the only subject on the school curriculum for which enthusiasm has fallen over these twenty months. Indeed, the evidence presented in open items, reported below, and in the section on observation (7.3) indicates that there may be generic problems in teaching and learning processes in the school.

As in Questionnaire 1, students were asked to give a reason for their response, and these comments on both questionnaires are categorized and compared in Table 17. Some students' comments included two or more separate reasons.

	<i>August 02</i> ( <i>n = 211</i> <sup>7</sup> )	<i>March 04</i> ( <i>n = 190</i> )
<i>Pupils who like learning English</i>	54% English is valuable or important 23% Satisfaction with process of learning 13% Feeling of gaining mastery 3% Like the teacher 7% Other (226 comments: 82.6%)	30% Lessons are enjoyable 21% Lessons are easy to understand 19% Like the teacher 15% Feeling of gaining mastery 9% English is valuable or important 6% Other (138 comments: 49.7%)

<sup>7</sup> Includes comments from all 219 respondents, while March '04 comments are restricted to those who completed both questionnaires.



<i>Pupils who think it's 'OK' or dislike it</i>	25% English is no different from other subjects 25% English is difficult 19% English is just OK 12% English is not important in Indonesia 10% English is not enjoyable 9% Other (32 comments: 17.4%)	29% Lessons are boring or lack variety 18% Lessons are difficult to understand 16% English is no different from other subjects 16% Making little progress 12% I don't like the teacher 9% Other (95 comments: 50.3%)
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Table 17 Reasons given for liking to learn English in Questionnaire II.

After 20 months of school study, the overwhelming majority of comments by all pupils are concerned with the experience of classroom learning, either in praise or condemnation. Whereas in August 2002 most comments related to the value or importance of English, in March 2004 these represent only 5% of the overall total and 9% of pupils who like learning English, compared to 54% in Questionnaire I. While a small part of this change may be attributable to the fact that some students had already commented on the importance of English in the previous open item (on 'satisfaction with progress') in Questionnaire II, the figures still point to a notable shift of emphasis in their concerns.

Analysing further the comments on the process of learning, four themes clearly emerged in the comments both of those who liked learning English and those who didn't. Firstly, some learners do seek *enjoyment* in their lessons, as seen in these comments by satisfied learners:

"The lessons are enjoyable and not too tense."

"The teachers here don't just stick to the material but also give practice, like speaking, listening and the rest."

and in these by dissatisfied learners:

"The lessons just follow the curriculum and don't fulfil the desires or interests of the pupils."

"Because it is not fun. Nothing that can make me interested about English lesson in [this] junior high school. I learn English only for my career." (original)

Secondly, almost as important is that lessons are *easily understood*:

“Here the teacher explains carefully, not just using English but with Indonesian too”

“I don’t enjoy English lessons because according to me they’re hard to understand.”

Thirdly, the *teacher’s personality* appears to be a determinant of whether they like English or not, with patience and a willingness to share a joke being key qualities. For example:

“Because in SMP X the English teachers are very entertaining, for at the same time we’re learning they can make jokes.”

“Because the teacher is very bad. She always angry to student in my class.” (original)

Finally, students are also concerned about their *progress* in English. Some of those who are happy with their lessons comment thus:

“Because in SMP X we get plenty of English lessons and they’re easy. So I can read and write English well.”

“Because I’m not yet fluent and can’t understand about English. Maybe in a month’s time my father will arrange for me to take an English course, because my school reports on English are red.”

#### 7.2.4 Favourite activity in class

As in Questionnaire I, students were asked in an open item to describe their favourite activity in English class. Again, speaking and conversation were the most popular, mentioned by 24% of the respondents:

“Doing dialogues. Because I really enjoy doing them.”

“Doing dialogues – if we do a dialogue we’re not just expanding our outlook but training ourselves so that we’re not confused if a foreigner asks us something.”

However there were also differences with the responses in August 2002. Comments were fuller this time, reflecting the fact that students had been studying for much longer and had more to say. Other aspects of the lesson were mentioned more frequently too,



such as reading activities (a favourite of 11% of pupils) and vocabulary (9%). There were also many more negative comments – 12% of pupils chose not to mention a favourite activity and instead made a critical comment, sometimes mild:

“I know English is important for my future but I don’t really like it, I prefer learning about religion, history.”

sometimes more forthright:

“Nothing. Because the teacher don’t know how to make a fun activity. And, my teacher can not speak English well. So I don’t like anything.”  
(original)

Discussion of classroom processes continues in section 7.3.

### 7.2.5 Importance of English

As discussed in section 7.2.1 above, most students still regard English as ‘very important’, for all the reasons suggested, though instrumental reasons are now even more salient for them while intrinsic and integrative reasons for studying English have diminished slightly. When English is contrasted to other school subjects, the response is very similar to that of August 2002 with no one suggesting that it is less important, and a slightly greater proportion (29% compared to 25%) suggesting that it is more important.

An open item gave students the opportunity to suggest other reasons why English might be important to them. 45% of respondents (n = 88) chose to make a comment. Of these nearly a quarter mentioned oral communication with foreigners, which is surprising considering how little immediate need there is for such a skill in contemporary Jambi and how few have any actual experience of it. As I suggested in analyzing comments made on my first visit (section 6.3.5 above), this desire for oral communication may relate more to self-image than an integrative motive.

A closer analysis of all these comments reveals a general distinction between those which associated English with a personal *aspiration*, either immediate (such as enabling them to play computer games) or distant (such as future study abroad), and

those which linked it more to a *requirement*. 42 comments could be identified as falling into the former category, some very general:

“English is important, my dreams are connected to English.”

“Because English is the international language. My father used to teach English, and I want to become like my father.”

and others with a slightly more specific goal:

“Because I dream of being able to set foot in Europe...and I would like to play football there.”

“I’m learning English so I can go to neighbouring countries and because I want to make my family and school proud.”

“Because English is a international language. And, I can speak with my idol wherever am I (Japan, Taiwan etc.)!” (original)

To illustrate the distinction I am making here, this latter statement can be contrasted to this one:

“Maybe because English is the international language and has to be known and understood.”

Twenty-five comments can be placed in this ‘requirement’ category, including eight like the one above which use the auxiliary verb *harus* (‘should’ or ‘have to’), others which explicitly mention a need:

“Because it’s needed urgently for our future work”

and those which suggest an element of wariness or fear:

“So I’m not shy if I’m called to speaking with someone, and if my teacher directs a question or problem at me.”

“Because in my country there’s going to be a free market and we won’t be made fools of by foreigners.”

“With English we can face up to the era of globalization which confronts the young generation. And it becomes my responsibility to learn the universal language of this time – English.”

“To protect ourselves!”



Of course many comments cannot be classified in this way. For instance, in the statement:

“It’s going to be my capital [*bekal*] for the future”

the learner’s stance is unclear – does he regard the store of English that he is building up as a defence mechanism against future threats, or is it a means for exploiting opportunities for self-advancement? Nevertheless, this broad classification appears to mirror the distinction made by Higgins (1998) between a ‘promotion’ and a ‘prevention’ regulatory focus, and which is utilized in Dörnyei’s L2 motivational self-system (2005), and also between the external (e.g. ‘introjects’) and internalized forms of regulation in self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Discussion of this distinction is taken up again in section 8.3.3 when analyzing the words of the focal learners.

#### 7.2.6 Variety of English aspired to

In Questionnaire II students were asked to choose from a list the variety of English they most desired to master. Results are presented in Table 18. The first option ‘any variety’ was the most popular, chosen by just over half the respondents, with ‘Indonesian English’ coming a close second.

<i>Type of English</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Any variety of English	97	50.5
Indonesian English	70	36.5
American English	13	6.5
British English	2	1.0
Other	1	0.5
Australian English	0	0.0
Singaporean/Malaysian English	0	0.0
Combinations of above	9	5.0
TOTAL	192	100

Table 18 *Students’ choice of English variety.*

The unambiguous message seems to be that these students do not identify closely with any particular ‘native-speaker’ variety of English, neither the central ‘BANA’ (Holliday, 1994) countries of Britain, Australia or North America – or local (Singaporean or Malaysian). This is borne out by the ‘reasons’ given in the

accompanying open item (no.9). The vast majority of comments from those who chose ‘any variety’ stress the functional value of English, for example:

“I want any kind of English that will carry me to a brighter future.”

“Because if I want a career that’s a bit international, and go around the world, I’ll be able to communicate well.”

Several students interpreted ‘any kind’ as meaning ‘every kind’, as in:

“The more varieties of English I know, the better.”

The comments of those who chose Indonesian English overwhelmingly refer to the fact that this type of English is easy or natural to learn in their circumstances:

“It’s easier to speak and understand.”

“Because that’s what I get at school and that’s what’s taught in my [private] course.”

though about a quarter hint at a sense of pride or pleasure in creating a new national variety of English:

“Because I’m an Indonesian so I need to learn English for the purposes of an Indonesian.”

“Because by learning Indonesian English we get two benefits: our own language, and English.”

These results contrast starkly with those of two recent studies of Japanese high school students, which both suggested a strong identification with American English and low esteem for Japanese varieties (Matsuda, 2003; Fraser, 2006). Although this may signal a genuine difference in attitude – pronunciation of English is not considered difficult for Indonesians, whereas it is a major hurdle for Japanese learners – it should also be noted that both these studies were with older school pupils, and also uncovered much uncertainty about the nature of language varieties which my own study (with its single written item) may have disguised.

### **7.2.7 Activity using English**

A finding from the first phase of data collection in August 2002 (see section 6.3.4) was that students’ learning and use of English was not confined to formal school. Results



presented in Table 19 show that at the end of the research period all forms of this activity had increased over this period, with the largest rises appearing in computer usage involving English (+0.41 on a scale of 0-3), watching English-language TV programmes or videos (+0.38) and studying (+0.34); though listening to English-language songs remained the single most popular activity, engaged in daily by over a third of all pupils. Speaking English is still quite a rare event, with few doing it more than once a month, and according to interview comments their conversants were almost always other Indonesians (e.g. older siblings or parents) rather than native-speakers or other foreigners, of whom there are very few in the city.

Obviously these figures disguise a certain amount of individual variation based on personal preferences. The second partially completed learner journal, handed to me by learner E in March 2004, confirms this: the main activity for her was studying English and she apparently never listened to English songs. Like the majority though, she rarely speaks or reads English, or uses a computer.

<i>Activity</i> (0 = never, 1 = once/month, 2 = once/week, 3 = almost daily)	<i>n</i>	<i>Aug 02</i> <i>Mean</i> <i>SD</i>	<i>Mar 04</i> <i>Mean</i> <i>SD</i>	<i>t-</i> <i>value</i>	<i>Mean</i> <i>Diff-</i> <i>erence</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Cohen's</i> <i>'d' for</i> <i>effect</i> <i>size</i>
Watching TV or video	193	1.39 0.85	1.77 0.81	5.250	+0.38	.000	0.46
Listening to the radio	193	0.58 0.65	0.67 0.63	1.365	+0.08	.174	0.12
Listening to songs	194	1.68 0.91	1.94 0.91	3.246	+0.26	.001	0.28
Reading books or magazines	193	0.97 0.79	1.13 0.61	2.414	+0.16	.017	0.23
Conversation	193	0.75 0.70	1.01 0.75	4.276	+0.26	.000	0.36
Studying the language	191	1.57 0.76	1.91 0.78	4.820	+0.34	.000	0.44
Using a computer	191	0.77 0.94	1.18 1.03	4.865	+0.41	.000	0.42

**Table 19** *Change in reported out-of-school activities involving English from August 2002 to March 2004.*

In addition to these informal activities, 57% of pupils had taken a private English course over the last 20 months, with an average length of 11.42 months (usually two lessons of 90 minutes per week, though with holidays between semesters). Of these, 30

pupils had started a course for the first time, while 80 had already taken a course when asked in August 2002. Three quarters of these had been at a local language school while the remaining quarter had taken lessons at home with a tutor. The courses were taken at 25 different institutions, but by far the most popular, accounting for nearly half of the total, was LIA (*Lembaga Indonesia-Amerika*, translated as ‘Indonesia-America Association’, though it is now officially known as LBPP-LIA and the organization’s website specifically states that ‘LIA’ should no longer be considered an acronym, as if it is trying to distance itself from its original national sponsor).

An open item invited pupils to say how their private lessons differed from the lessons they received at school. 145 different comments were made by 114 students, and they were grouped into five main themes as presented in Table 20, with examples.

	<i>COMMENT</i>	<i>Freq. % (n=145)</i>
1	Teaching/learning conditions are superior at course <i>“At the course the room is good and the learning method is popular. At SMP X ... my friends in the class often disturb me.”</i>	33
2	Can understand lessons better at course <i>“Studying in school most of the teachers just use English and don’t explain what they say. But at the course the teachers stress the meaning.”</i>	24
3	Content is different/more advanced at course <i>“Often what we do in school is what we’ve already studied at the course.”</i>	23
4	Same or very similar <i>“At the course we have to stick to the schedule of the course whereas at school we stick to the curriculum. But basically it’s the same.”</i>	13
5	School is better <i>“At school I have a lot of friends so naturally if I don’t understand I can ask them; at the course I don’t have friends, so I’m afraid.”</i>	6
6	Other	1

**Table 20** *Student comments on the difference between English at private course and at SMP X.*

The impression gained from these comments is that the teaching methodology at the private courses is not that different from at SMP X, a finding which my own observation of four classes (three at LIA, one at a smaller private school) confirm.

What makes the private courses preferable is that they feel they can learn more there. Partly this is due to being placed in a class appropriate to their level (usually having taken a placement test), and therefore will often tackle language content which they have not yet covered in the school curriculum. But mainly, the students’ comments



make clear, it is due to the optimal learning conditions, which allow them to follow and enjoy the lesson. A frequently mentioned problem is class size:

**“Studying at the course I understand more compared to SMP X, because there are fewer pupils.”**

Again this corresponds to my observations: I wrote during a lesson on 17.4.03, “the students get more individual attention and practice because the class is small.” Smaller classes allow better access to the teacher, and usually for better relationships among learners and between learners and teacher. No less than 12 respondents commented on the fact that private course classes were ‘calmer’:

**“At the course it’s easier to understand than at school because at school the atmosphere is noisy whereas at the course it’s calm and it’s easy to ask questions.”**

**“At school it’s crowded and noisy, which means we can’t understand what’s being explained by our teacher (we can’t concentrate). At the course there are only 20 pupils so if the teacher explains something of course we can understand it. The conclusion: private courses are more enjoyable.”**

24 students explicitly said they enjoyed the private lessons more (categorized under point 1 in the table), some because they felt more relaxed – as I witnessed myself, there was a more relaxed atmosphere in general (pupils did not have to wear uniforms) and the teachers were younger than the teachers at SMP X so perhaps more in tune with teenage interests – some because they could participate in language learning activities such as games, songs and conversation which were rarely done at school. Two of the teachers I observed did try out a kind of communicative activity rarely seen at SMP X (e.g. the game ‘alibi’, groupwork putting a dialogue in order) – again, they were able to do this partly because their own English was better than the average SMP teacher, and because the small group meant it was manageable.

Not all courses provide such optimal conditions though, and when students comment that they prefer school to the course, it is often for the same underlying reasons:

**“Studying at SMP X is easier to understand, because the teacher is very disciplined and teaches us very clearly compared to at the course.”**

“English lessons at the course only teach me grammar and vocabulary. At school I learn everything.”

### **7.2.8 Computer skills**

In both questionnaires students were asked whether they could use a computer for email or for accessing the internet. The mean score obtained in March 2004 (0.65 on a scale of 0-2) was significantly higher than that obtained in August 2002 (0.50), suggesting that many students had improved their computer skills over the period. Nevertheless, only 15 students said they could use email or the internet, while 95 students said they could ‘a little’, reflecting the fact that computers were still a very expensive consumer item and the school itself had only one, placed off-limits to students next to the headmaster’s office.

### **7.2.9 Ambitions and other comments**

Because of the way English had been associated by respondents with their future lives during my first two field visits, I included one item in Questionnaire II asking them to state their ‘aspirations or ambitions for the future’. Their responses show a naivety to be expected of 12/13 year olds, with no less than 25% of those responding saying they wanted to become a doctor, and other jobs often mentioned were (in decreasing order of frequency) businessman/woman, footballer, air hostess, architect, and pilot. Two other characteristics are worth noting. Firstly, mastery of the English language was the second most common ambition (16%), either for its own sake or linked to a profession:

“My dream is that when I’m an adult I will know all the words in English.”

“I want to become a doctor who’s fluent in English so I can be appointed to a foreign country.”

Although the context of a questionnaire about English language learning has obviously influenced their response, it nevertheless reinforces the message that for many of these young people English is very closely associated with their future lives. The second notable characteristic of their ambitions is their idealism. This is evident in the popularity of the medical profession, which has an unblemished reputation by contrast with the fields of business, politics, law or the military; and it is also evident in some of their comments, for example:



“I want to advance or develop English in Jambi, so that Indonesian people do not lose out to other nations.”

“I want to join the army to make the whole world safe.”

Finally, as in Questionnaire I respondents were invited to make ‘any other comments or questions’ at the end of the form. The comments could be categorized in the same way, and the proportions are contrasted in Table 21 along with some examples of each category.

	<i>COMMENTS</i>	<i>Freq % March 04 n=146</i>	<i>Freq % Aug 02 n=134</i>
1.	Questions about how to learn English effectively <i>“I want to know, is there a way of learning English which is easy to become fluent, apart from memorizing and looking in the dictionary?”</i>	30	16
2.	Statements emphasizing importance of English & their desire to learn it <i>“English is the language of communication of the world and many people in various countries are able to use it, and that’s why English is so important for world progress.”</i>	27	34
3.	Questions about English and the UK <i>“Why are there different varieties of English?”</i>	16	19
4.	Suggestions for teachers/adults <i>“English conversation should be promoted in the school environment and at home too”</i>	14	9
5.	Personal questions for the researcher <i>“How old are you mister?” (original)</i>	6	10
6.	Critical comments about the dominance of English <i>“Why your country sits [occupies] some countries in the world?”</i>	3.5	3
7.	Questions about the use of <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> abroad	0	6
8.	Statements about their own learning of English <i>“Learning English is very enjoyable, only I don’t quite understand about conjunctions”</i>	3	0
9.	Other	0.5	3

**Table 21 Responses in the final ‘Any other comments’ section of Questionnaires I & II**

The table reveals a similar trend to that reported in section 7.2.3 above. After 20 months of study the students still regard English as highly important, but they are also



now preoccupied with the means of acquiring it. Nearly a third of the students took the opportunity of my visit to ask for help, and some indicate a level of frustration, as here:

“I want to ask something, why when I speak English is my tongue all stiff?”

“Why is English difficult?”

Once again I had to disappoint those students who hoped I had some elixir for foreign language acquisition.

### 7.2.10 Further data analysis

In this section I explore relationships among the variables included in Questionnaire II (whole cohort), using the same technique as for Questionnaire I (see section 6.3.7). As Table 22 shows, correlations among these variables are generally lower than they were at the beginning of the research period. Those who are confident of ultimate success are also more satisfied with their progress so far (as one would expect), and they also tend to regard English as more important. Furthermore, they are likely to have a better semester score. It is notable that there is no correlation between the pleasure that students say they take in learning English and these other variables, and in fact a slightly negative correlation with semester score suggests that those who gain pleasure may be less concerned with external markers of success such as test scores.

	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>Confidence</i>	<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Importance</i>	<i>Semester score</i>
<i>Satisfied with progress so far</i>	1.000	.305**	.178	-.003	.109
<i>Confident in ultimate success</i>	.	1.000	.077	.217**	.250**
<i>Attitude to the learning experience</i>			1.000	.073	-.034
<i>Importance of English</i>				1.000	.188**

\*\* Significant at the 0.01 level

**Table 22** *Correlation coefficients of items 4, 5, 7, & 12.*



One further set of relationships were explored, presented in Table 23 below: between semester score, level of confidence in ultimate success, and out-of-school activity involving English measured by months spent studying in a private course and the total number of activities mentioned in item 11 (see section 7.2.7 above). While it is not surprising to see a relatively high correlation between semester score and participation in private course and out-of-school activity involving English, it is interesting that confidence in ultimate success is apparently more closely related to out-of-school activity than it is to success in school (as measured by semester score).

	<i>Semester score</i>	<i>Confidence in ultimate success</i>	<i>Months spent studying at private course</i>	<i>Total number of out-of-school activities</i>
<i>Semester score</i>	1.000	.250**	.274**	.325**
<i>Confidence in ultimate success</i>		1.000	.238**	.414**
<i>Months spent studying at private course</i>			1.000	.439**
<i>Total number of out-of-school activities</i>				1.000

\*\* Significant at the 0.01 level

**Table 23** *Correlation coefficients of semester score with Questionnaire II items.*

### 7.3 Classroom observation data

I observed a total of 18 lessons at SMP X and a further 4 lessons at private language schools (approximately 32 hours in total), seeing all of the FLs at least twice<sup>8</sup>. As described in section 5.5.3.2, at each observation I took notes both on the lesson activities in general and on the behaviour of focal learners. The former enable me here to present a portrait of the ‘typical English lesson’, from both teacher and pupil points-of-view, as well as to identify key differences among teachers and classes. The notes on

<sup>8</sup> I visited many other classes informally during the three field trips to speak to students, but did not usually watch teaching or take notes on these occasions.



the FLs' behaviour were written up and transferred to a separate file for each learner. These are discussed in relation to learners' interview comments in section 7.4.

### 7.3.1 Teaching methodology

Based on my notes, I made a list of the common features of English lessons in the first year at SMP X:

- The lesson was almost always based on the textbook, which was organized by topic and language syllabus, in turn based on the national curriculum. All classes moved through the book at roughly the same pace.
- Each lesson began and ended with rituals e.g. at the beginning all pupils are 'brought to order' by the class secretary and stand and shout "Good morning teacher!"
- Teachers dominate almost all aspects of the lesson. Pupils *never* deliberately showed disrespect to the teacher (though see section 7.3.2 below on what counts as disrespect). Indeed many lessons end with pupils filing out while kissing the hand of the teacher (and me).
- Many activities were based around a reading passage in the textbook. Usually the teacher read the passage once themselves, then pupils were asked to read it aloud one by one. This was followed by reading comprehension exercises which students copied into their notebooks.
- Whatever the task, the students were almost always asked to produce their answers for other students and/or the teacher to check. Either they had to write up their answers on the blackboard or give their answers orally. Some students volunteered to give their answers more than others, and these tended to be the ones who commented most often on others' answers.
- Almost every lesson included a list of new vocabulary, written up on the blackboard and which pupils wrote in their notebooks.
- When the teacher interacted with pupils, the Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) discourse pattern (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) predominated. Again, teachers tended to invite answers rather than signal particular individuals, with the result that the same students competed to give their answers. Some students (usually those sitting in the middle or front of the classroom) therefore got much more practice than others.



- Occasionally the class gave choral responses to teacher's questions or choral completions of teachers' statements. This appeared to happen spontaneously rather than at the teacher's command. For example in one lesson (23.4.03) I wrote "checking a vocabulary exercise, students suddenly break out into a chant. It sounds and feels good – everyone together." Chants could energize a class and provide a sense of harmony when spirits were sagging.
- Most lessons included some grammar explanation from the teacher, usually with the help of writing on the blackboard.
- Almost all lessons included time when the students got on with language exercises in their textbook. In many lessons the last part (20 – 30 minutes) was given over to students working through the language exercises in their supplementary textbook (the LKS – see section 2.2.2). Teachers usually circulated around the class at this time, though sometimes they got on with their own work at their desk.
- Some teachers made frequent references to pupils' own lives, to the school and the community. New language was often introduced in this context, and sometimes short conversations developed between teacher and students on topics of interest.
- Most teachers tried to talk in English as much as possible (this was not just for my benefit – I know from my work at Jambi University that it is an important principle in local teacher training) even though many of their pupils did not understand or could not hear clearly. There was much code-switching too, however, mainly to explain something or to make a joke. When this happened there was a noticeable sharpening of attention by pupils.
- Although there were no 'communicative tasks' as such, most lessons contained at least a few instances of genuine communicative interaction between teacher and pupils, though pupils would often respond to the teachers' English in Indonesian. This tended to happen most often in the classes of teachers with better English themselves. In the case of two teachers, it hardly ever happened because they were unable to sustain a conversation in English beyond very basic exchanges.

There are clear similarities between the lessons I observed and those described in the report on teaching in the neighbouring province of Riau (Coleman et al., 2004) quoted in section 2.1.4, and also in Coleman's (1996) descriptions of English classes at university in the 1980s: namely, the central role of the teacher, the weight given to the teacher's textual input and oral explanations, the often passive role of the students, the

choral chanting, the summoning of students to the blackboard. These routines appear to be ‘procedural display’, the term given by Bloome, Puro and Theodorou (1989) to types of classroom behaviour and interaction which are recognised as ‘lesson accomplishment’ by both teachers and students but which do not relate to the acquisition of the intended academic skills so much as to “the set of cultural meanings and values held by the local education community for classroom education” (p. 272). They could also be interpreted as ‘safe’, in that they generally protect the face of teachers who lack confidence in departing from a set script, both linguistically and behaviourally (cf. Chick, 1996). Some of the routines I observed in SMP X will have developed over time in response to contextual factors, including the oppressive heat and humidity and limited resources which restrict the kind of activity that can be regularly carried out. For example, the use of the blackboard for checking students’ work may appear to waste time which could be dedicated to skills development, but is arguably appropriate for classrooms where not all students have access to the coursebook. Coleman (1996) has also shown how such educational practices have much in common with other local rituals in Indonesian society (such as public addresses and shadow puppet theatre) and may have originally developed to fulfill similar functions, like inculcating loyalty (see section 2.1.5).

However there are also noticeable differences between the lessons I observed and what might be termed the ‘traditional’ lesson described in Coleman et al. (2004) and Coleman (1996): there was more teacher-pupil interaction in SMP X, more elicitation of knowledge from learners and fewer lengthy ‘extemporizations’ on the part of the teacher. These differences probably reflect changes in initial teacher training, in the design of textbooks and in the national curriculum, which in turn reflect a changing function for education within Indonesian society (see Chapter 2).

So far though we have looked only at how teachers organize their lessons; there is another side to the story which is possibly more important for the purposes of this study.



### 7.3.2 Learner behaviour

One of the curious features of language lessons observed in Indonesia by Coleman (ibid.) was the fact that students did not seem to feel obliged to pay attention in class, though “there were nevertheless some students who *did* listen to the teacher...[and] there were some teachers who *did* hold students’ attention” (p. 68). What is more, “teachers did not seem to be perturbed that the students were paying so little overt attention to them” (ibid.: 69).

In my observations of the regular classes at SMP X – though not the elite classes (see next section) – I too was often struck by how few learners were following the lesson, though there were other times when everyone’s attention was rapt. In broad terms, at any one point in the lesson students could be described as being in one of three modes:

a) Actively participating e.g. volunteering to write on the blackboard, answering questions, doing the set task and/or discussing it with friend(s). Students in this mode would often compete with each other for the teacher’s attention by putting up their hands and calling out. They tended to sit in the front or middle of the classroom, and were also those who were most often called upon by the teacher to answer questions or write on the blackboard. At times it seemed like the class consisted just of this handful of students and the teacher, while the rest of the class either looked on or were distracted. I could observe the same phenomenon when visiting other classes to give a short talk – the questions and comments all tended to come from the same small group of students. Of the focal learners, A, B, C, E and F were most often observed in mode ‘a’.

It is important to note that students’ activity did not always correspond to what the teacher had asked them to do, but was nevertheless language learning. For example, during the frequent ‘reading aloud’ activities, many other students ignored the injunction to ‘listen’ and instead could be seen and heard reading aloud themselves under their breath. In every class I observed it happened that when the teacher told students to complete an exercise in their textbook, many students would in fact work in pairs, with their neighbour, or even in small groups with the pair sitting immediately behind or in front of them. On 5.9.02 I wrote:

“One girl, whose friend is sick, turns round to work with the two students behind her; they use dictionaries to try and interpret the text. They’re working hard but almost independent of the teacher, hardly paying attention at all. Teacher is just a distant voice: they’re teaching each other.”

Sometimes pairs would continue with some other activity when they had finished the one assigned by the teacher, such as practicing a short dialogue together or looking up and discussing words in their dictionary. This collaborative behaviour has much in common with that described by Tong (2002, cited in Holliday, 2005) in Hong Kong secondary schools, which he claims is a way of protecting their self-confidence.

- b) Paying attention but not actively participating e.g. listening to the teacher or other students, copying down text from board or textbook. At any one time in a lesson a majority of students would be quietly following events without appearing very involved – their demeanour indicated a low level of cognitive activity or emotional engagement, though clearly I cannot claim any proper scientific distinction here and appearances may have been deceptive on occasion. Of the focal learners D, K, and L were observed most often in mode ‘b’ – all three preferred to sit towards the back of the classroom and only contributed to the lesson sporadically, though their motives may have differed. K expressed a certain disdain for classroom procedures (see section 6.5.3.1); D was very active on occasion but evidently found many activities tedious. L was naturally shy and retiring (though he was noticeably more active in one of the three lessons I observed him in)
- c) Not paying attention or doing something else entirely e.g. staring out of the window, reading a comic, chatting to friends off-topic. In any 90-minute lesson every student would have moments in this mode, but a few spent large portions of the lesson apparently day-dreaming, distracted and/or distracting others. This included three of the four learners originally identified as less motivated by teachers – G, H and M (and on my second visit I added J to this category), though H spent far *more* of the lesson off-task than the others. As they had only been studying for a few weeks at that stage, it suggests that teachers very quickly identified learners as either willing or unwilling participants, and from my observations had already developed a distinctive pattern of behaviour towards them. Unless they were making an



exceptional amount of noise or movement they would not normally be admonished, and they were able to get away with a surprising degree of non-compliance, mainly because the teacher chose to direct his/her attention towards the more active students. At times the majority of pupils in the class appeared to be doing something or talking about something unrelated to the lesson, creating an anarchic atmosphere in which the teacher was virtually inaudible. In one lesson (11.9.02), while the teacher was conducting a vocabulary learning activity, I wrote, “such a crowd, rabble – it’s really up to the students whether they participate or not but [to do so] they need to be assertive, determined and loud.” In another noisy class (24.4.03) I noted a girl sitting near me at the back of the room with a large dictionary open and “trying to concentrate; she often calls out answers but the teacher doesn’t notice her”. Afterwards I found out she was a new student who had been allocated that seat at the back, clearly against her wishes.

It is important to note that the teacher of this lesson (24.4.03) told me afterwards that she and other teachers did not enjoy teaching that class, as they were notoriously rowdy. On my final visit I unofficially observed this same young teacher in a first-year elite class which was equally noisy but in which there was a strong sense of harmony – almost all students in mode ‘a’ for most of the time, even if in conventional terms the teacher was dominating the class. Though Indonesian teachers may, on this evidence, have a greater tolerance for students not paying attention to them than teachers in other contexts, both they *and* students prefer a learning experience when all are working together.

### **7.3.3 Changes observed at second visit**

There were two notable differences in my lesson observations on first and second visits. First of all, it was evident that behaviour in some of the regular classes had deteriorated, in that more pupils spent more of the time in mode ‘c’. In my notes I wrote that focal learner E, for example, seemed ‘wilder’ and that learner B was more ‘assertive’ and ‘beyond the control of the teacher’; both seemed to swing from mode ‘a’ to mode ‘c’ within the space of a few minutes, for example calling out answers appropriately for a short while and then leaving the room on a spurious pretext. Both learner M and H now had very strained relationships with their exasperated teacher

(TC), and learner J appeared to spend far more time in mode 'c' (a point confirmed by his teacher).

The second major difference was that a second 'elite' class had now been created, including learners A and D, and I spent some time observing both this (*Kelas Unggul*) and the original *Kelas Akselarasi*. The atmosphere in these classes was quite distinct from that in the regular classes. Being smaller (approximately 25 students compared to 45 in the regular classes) and selective, they tended to be quieter and more studious, and though they could become noisy when engaged on a collective oral activity (e.g. a class debate), it was harmonious rather than chaotic. Learners spent more time in modes 'a' or 'b', rather than 'c'. Many of the teaching procedures were the same but there was more variety, partly because their classrooms had audio and video facilities and partly because the teachers were usually more motivated or emboldened to try out new ways of working with this group of able and motivated learners.

#### **7.3.4 Explaining learner behaviour**

If teachers' pedagogy can be partly explained in terms of local educational and cultural conditions, learner behaviour is more puzzling: why do so many of them spend much of their lessons in modes 'b' and 'c' if gaining mastery in English is important to them? Linking my observations to the open questionnaire item responses (sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4) may help answer this question.

Most of the classroom routines (the 'procedural display') found in SMP X classrooms give the teacher a very dominant role, with learners' participation limited to following the teacher's directions and thereby maintaining harmonious relations within the class. This well describes mode 'b'. Pupils need only stay alert to the possibility they will be nominated to say or do something, and since in each class a small group of exceptionally motivated or assertive individuals tend to garner the majority of nominations, most of the class remain largely unengaged. But lessons are long and, as the questionnaire responses indicated, many of these routine activities (e.g. reading aloud, completing textbook exercises) can seem tedious when stretched over a full 90 minutes. It is not surprising therefore that some learners tend to fall into mode 'c'.



This tendency may be encouraged by teachers' determination to speak in English. The second major problem identified in the questionnaire responses was that lessons were incomprehensible. If pupils fail to understand teacher's explanations or their instructions, the activities will become all the more tedious, as this comment by learner F about her less motivated classmates shows:

“She [the teacher] just gives exercises, and my friends don't understand the lesson, for example a lesson about adjectives, my friends don't understand, but they're given a task, for example from page 150 to page 154, and while that's a big task, my friends still don't understand a thing about it, about adjectives”.

As one pupil falls into mode 'c', they may start to disrupt other students. If the teacher then displays anger (the third most common complaint in questionnaire responses), this quickly causes greater alienation, which may spread even to those highly motivated learners who participate most in the lesson (see section 7.4.1.2 below). Afterwards these activities are checked publicly, which although done usually in a friendly way can still be intimidating to those who have not been able to complete the task.

Moreover, enjoyment is derived mainly from speaking practice and friendly competitions, but the textbook has few oral activities and many teachers have not been trained to set up communicative tasks (teacher TC admitted as much in her interview, saying “they like speaking, but [...] how to teach to them, it's difficult for the teacher to design”). More motivated learners seek out speaking practice by competing with others to respond to teacher questions and prompts, also in 'unofficial talk' among themselves or snatched conversations with the teacher as she passes around the room. But this is hardly enough for them to make good progress, hence the many negative questionnaire responses and interview comments (see below) from apparently well-motivated learners, and hence also the popularity of private courses. Individual learners' classroom behaviour is discussed further in Chapter 9.

## **7.4 Second and third interview data**

As described in section 6.5.1, each set of interviews was analysed after the final research phase to identify changes in FLs' talk over the 20-month research period, and

possible mediating factors<sup>9</sup>. In this section I present the results of this analysis as they pertain to change in the degree or nature of student motivation. Before that I shall deal with two methodological issues.

First of all, it is a truism that no one ever stays the same; change is inevitable, and more rapid than ever during childhood and adolescence. Moreover, since no two interactions can ever be the same, it is not always easy to gauge what about an individual has changed more or less, since differing responses could be an artefact of the interview. Where several respondents are interviewed in a similar way however, the researcher may be able to identify *patterns* of change across individuals, and this is what I describe below. At the same time, I identify some areas where greater stability is apparent.

Secondly, when dealing with interview data (as opposed to survey data where constructs are delineated in advance) it is often difficult to distinguish between motivational ‘cognitions and affects’ influencing learning behaviour, and the internal and external influences upon them (a ‘strident’ sociocultural approach would of course argue that it is *impossible* to isolate these mental phenomena from each other or separate them from context e.g. Hickey & Granade, 2004). Here I limit the discussion to what the learners explicitly say about their motivation, and to the performative aspect of motivation (i.e. using English in the interviews themselves), and while I may make reference to various influences or other relevant mental processes, these will be dealt with systematically in Chapter 8.

## 7.4.1 Change

### 7.4.1.1 Increasing use of English

At each of the three stages, more of the interviews were in English. In the first research phase all used mainly Indonesian, though learners A, C, D, E, F and K showed a willingness to try using some English words and phrases. The same pattern repeated itself at the second interviews, though learner C was now able to speak mainly in English, and learner L also now opted to use English where he could. By the final

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<sup>9</sup> One learner (B) moved with her family to Jakarta shortly after the 2<sup>nd</sup> interview and so was not interviewed for a third time.



interviews, all seven of the learners who I had originally selected as examples of ‘motivated’ and ‘active’ pupils were using English for portions of the interviews, reverting back to Indonesian when communicatively challenged or when the conversation got very animated. Those in the two elite classes were all able to sustain their use of English till the end of the interview, however, whereas the two learners in regular classes (E & F) almost gave up the use of English after a few minutes. One of the pair of girls (A & D) actually chose to speak to each other in English during the interview, though D was noticeably more proficient in these exchanges. In terms of *quality* of English produced, C and D used slightly more complex structures and had a wider vocabulary than the others.

By contrast, learners G, J and M did not use any English in *any* of their interviews, apart from struggling to make a statement about themselves at the beginning, as I asked them to do. Perhaps more significant than their lack of performance was their reaction to the suggestion that they speak with me in English – each of them smiled in amusement as if it were inconceivable, and clearly much preferred to hold the conversation in Indonesian. To illustrate the point, this is how the final interview with learner G began:

I: “OK G.... can you say something about yourself? Can you speak about G....? For example, ‘I am G... I live....’?  
G: .....[smiles, shakes head].”

I have made a rough categorization of the FLs’ progress in English in four levels (poor – poor/moderate – moderate – good) in the table in Appendix F. While I should stress that this is my subjective judgement based purely on their performance in the interview with me, there nevertheless appeared to be a striking divergence in the oral performances of these learners over the 20 months, as some began to feel comfortable using the language and others remained estranged from the language. This progress corresponded broadly with my initial estimate of their motivation, as well as their school class.

#### *7.4.1.2 Increasing complaints about English in junior high school*

In both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews, FLs make far more reference to the process of learning English at school. This is of course not surprising, since they had only been studying for a few weeks in August 2002, and it accords with the change in responses to open

items in the questionnaires (see section 7.2.3). After eight months, the views expressed are generally positive, especially of the five now in elite classes. The two learners (A & D) who in the intervening period had been selected for the *Kelas Unggul* were particularly happy with the new arrangements; their first advice to a new pupil would be “if you can, enter the KU” (learner A). Among the remainder, criticisms are mild and, as in the case of learner B, indirect (i.e. made on behalf of ‘friends’):

“Maybe according to me we have to study hard, but we must relax, in order for my friends to catch the lesson, so they know how they can enjoy learning English...maybe they’re not happy because the English lessons are too serious. Maybe it’s difficult for them to make progress.”

or are directed not at teachers but at other students, as when both learner E and F (still studying in a regular class) complain about the noisy, disruptive behaviour of their peers, and the fact they cheat:

E: “If we don’t let them copy they get angry, just like when we make a dialogue in English, they don’t have any desire to do it themselves, they let me do it and then copy it.”

At the final interviews, four of the more motivated learners had quite virulent complaints to make, including personal attacks on their current teacher. The motivational significance of these for the learners is reinforced by the fact that they were mentioned very early in the interview in response to a general question, as below:

I: “How do you feel about studying English in this junior high school, now you’re in your fourth semester?”

D: I feel *senang apa?* [happy or what?] but now I don’t like er *cara mengajar guru saya* [the teacher’s way of teaching] because maybe I can’t understand what does he say.....

I: .....Have you talked to the teacher about this?

D: Never, because I am afraid.” (original)

Here Learner D tried hard to avoid direct criticism (the teacher – *guru* – is conventionally accorded great respect) but could not help complaining about the teacher’s English and her intimidating attitude. Both learner A and D also complain that the teacher’s English pronunciation is poor, which confuses learners and also, one suspects, earns their contempt in itself. Learner E complained that her teacher is “an irritable person”, and added, “if you don’t like your teacher you can’t understand English”. Learner F (who shared the same teacher) told me in the first minute of her



interview that she didn't like her teacher because she got angry quickly, though evidently she also had a low opinion of her English proficiency:

“Her way of reading English, for example, it's sometimes wrong, and I tell her, ‘finjer’, for example, I say ‘Miss, it's not finjer, it's ‘finger’ – she was very angry.”

These learners also complain about what the teachers do in class. For example, in her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview Learner A had enthused about the kind of practical tasks (e.g. writing a prayer in English) they were given, but now she is highly critical:

“Mr TB always gave us lots of practice in English, with songs, games and with... speeches, but with Ms TC only study with book and practice is very little....and we are in the class very....bored.”  
(original)

It is important to note, however, that none of learners A, D, E or F admitted to any weakening of their general desire to learn English as a result of these problems.

Three of the four lesser motivated learners also made complaints about their English lessons at school, but these were different in two ways: they were not directed at individual teachers, and in at least two cases they seemed to have genuinely decreased their desire to learn the language. In both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews learner G complained that he could not understand his English lessons. In his third interview he admitted that this had affected his desire to learn (quoted at length as I return to this in Chapter 9):

I: “How are your English studies going?”

G: Not so...

I: Not so...what?

G: I don't understand well

I: So how do you feel?

G: Mmm...nervous

I: That's a shame.....what makes you feel nervous?

G: I'm afraid of making a mistake

I: If you make a mistake, are you told off?

G: Yes

I: By who?

G: The teacher...but she doesn't get angry

I: So why do you feel nervous?

G: I'm afraid

I: But if she doesn't get angry, why be afraid?

G: I'm ashamed

I: Ashamed oh...Studying English for you, is it important or not important?

G: Mmm, I feel it's important

I: And your desire to learn?

G: It's less now."

Another of the less motivated learners also admits that his enthusiasm for English has waned as a result of what happened to him in school. Learner H, whose behavioural problems in class were apparent in August 2002, was kept down in Year One, and said that he finds it boring repeating the same material. However he does not blame the teacher but rather the poor behaviour in his previous class, which he compares unfavourably with his present one (in Year One):

"...Now if the lesson isn't fun, they still listen, and then if they don't understand they concentrate on the lesson; in my last class if they didn't like what they heard they'd just chat with their friends. So, maybe that's why I was kept behind, the environment, in the class."

Learner M maintains the importance of English but also complains about peer behaviour, comparing his school lessons unfavourably with his private course:

"oh it's very different, because there it's comfortable and the lessons are disciplined...here my friends often disturb each other."

This happens, he says, when the lessons are not interesting, and in spite of the fact that he and his classmates all want to learn English.

It is notable that the main complaints in interviews focus on the same teaching problems that surfaced in the open items of the questionnaire (see section 7.2.3 and 7.2.4): teacher personality, understanding or following the lesson, and deriving enjoyment through oral practice. As I observed several times (see section 7.3), when boredom or frustration sets in, discipline breaks down and the social group loses a sense of harmony, which alienates pupils further.

#### *7.4.1.3 Diversification of learning strategies*

Again in line with the survey of the whole cohort, some FLs show evidence of being slightly more active outside of school in their learning of English. The most popular activity is still attending a private course – nine out of the 12 had attended a course, four of them effectively for the whole period – and this is discussed more fully in Chapter 8. As reported in section 6.5.3.3, most of the FLs already used English in



various leisure activities at home, such as listening to songs and watching English-language TV and videos, and these are regularly mentioned in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews too. New forms of English-use emerge in these later interviews however. For example, learner A often uses her Playstation computer games to learn English (confirmed on my visit to her house – see section 8.2.3.1). Learner E uses cassettes and other learning materials bought by her mother. Learners A and F both read the magazine *Cool N'Smart*, and the latter is using the local library to find other materials:

“There’s a good book in the library, a book for the EBTANAS English exam, it’s really complete, I borrow it very often [...] It has all the tenses, present simple tense, present continuous, I borrow it and do the exercises, I borrow it for a month, till I get a fine.”

At the time of her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview Learner C is even reading a novel in English – she spent some time trying to explain the plot – admitting that “in some case I don’t understand but I look it [up]” (original). For her and others, dictionaries remain the most important learning aid, since they are used in many different contexts (including lessons) to decipher unknown words. FLs show signs of becoming more aware of their potential. Several had bought electronic dictionaries (‘Alfalink’) during this period, and during their 2<sup>nd</sup> interview learners A and D discuss the merits of different dictionaries, asking for my own opinion.

The less motivated FLs show little sign of increasing or diversifying their learning activity outside of school. It is interesting for example how learner J, who comes from a home with a computer, mentioned (at my prompting) that he uses Playstation – but unlike learner A, he did not see this as an opportunity to learn English. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> interview I asked all FLs what advice they would give to a new pupil at SMP X on learning English. While the more motivated FLs made suggestions such as taking a course, entering ‘English competitions’ or reading English books, learners G, J and M offer no such advice. Learner G said he would not know what to say; learner J said he should look difficult words up in a dictionary, and learner M declined to give advice at all, for fear of appearing arrogant. Yet again learner H offers a contrast, offering good practical advice like the more motivated FLs:

“I suggest that he learns by using the internet – and by taking a private class outside...especially where a private teacher comes to your house. That’s really good.”

Unlike other FLs, though, he seemed incapable of consistently following his own advice.

#### 7.4.1.4 Evidence of fluctuation

Given that I only interviewed the learners three times, learners' talk cannot provide detailed evidence of how their L2 motivation may have fluctuated on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. However, there are some suggestions of how it might have risen or fallen at various times, particularly in relation to teachers; for instance, in their 2<sup>nd</sup> interview learners A and D both express frustration with their first teacher in the 1<sup>st</sup> year regular class, but once they had been moved to *Kelas Unggul* they are very satisfied with the experience. But this brief period of pleasure and progress served to heighten their frustrations with their teacher during the 2<sup>nd</sup> year, as expressed forcefully in their final interview (see section 7.4.1.2 above).

FLs' integrative orientation also seemed to undergo some fluctuation. As discussed in section 6.5.3.2, the FLs expressed almost universally positive attitudes towards the 'west' in their first interviews. My 2<sup>nd</sup> visit took place shortly after the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and when visiting classes (and chatting in the staffroom) I was often confronted with hostile questions about Anglo-American intentions. The topic also emerged in five of the interviews. Four of the FLs were strongly against the war, with only the maverick learner H claiming to support Bush (though he later claimed Osama bin Laden to be one of his heroes). A year later, none of the FLs mentioned the war at all, and there were far fewer instances of anti-western sentiment in the classes I visited. Thus, it seems that international events did have an effect on students' attitudes towards speakers of the L2, but this was largely temporary (see section 8.2.1). What is more, it also appears not to have deflected the FLs from their determination to learn English. Learner M, for example, after accusing America and Britain of killing many innocent Iraqi civilians, said he was still happy to learn their language:

“The language of America, Britain, they're almost the same, aren't they? I mean, with English you just have to get fluent, everywhere you go, you need English.”

Learner B was even more strident in her critique of Anglo-American foreign policy, yet saw no contradiction between that and her strongly expressed desire to learn English:



“Er it doesn’t matter, because although it’s the language of America, I don’t want to take on American peoples’ attitudes, the egotistical, but I want to take on the languages which can broaden my outlook, like when we want to go abroad we can use English if we don’t know the languages of that place.”

Like the Pakistani school children studied by Norton and Kamal (2003), these young Indonesians did not see English as threatening their own home-grown identity as Indonesian Moslems.

The most concrete evidence of temporary fluctuations in L2 motivation actually comes not from interviews but from the six journals which were handed in. Many comments reveal an affective response to the English-learning activities recorded. Here is a selection:

- ❖ “I met problems with the words ‘do’, ‘does’, ‘will’” (Learner E, 7.3.03)
- ❖ “I feel I’m having many difficulties in class II with this teacher. The problem is her voice is not good, she can’t pronounce the words.” (E, 20.10.03)
- ❖ “I watched the film ‘The Iron Giant’, it was really exciting, it told the story of a robot who seemed nasty but turned out nice...honestly this film was so exciting” (E,21.12.03)
- ❖ “About debate [...] Very interesting for me because I don’t scared to say my opinion with English language.” (original – D, 15.4.03)
- ❖ “English course at LIA – Enjoyable. Study was fun and the atmosphere was friendly.” (C , 30.9.02)
- ❖ “I felt confused and it was a bit difficult to understand this book [short story borrowed from the library], but I managed in the end.” (A, 1.10.02)
- ❖ “I am speak with tourist [near] my house, he come from in America – I am very affraid and happy.” (original – A, undated)
- ❖ “Today at LIA I learned about numbers and we did a conversation with the friends sitting next to us, I’m happy!” (B, 8.10.02)
- ❖ “Lesson at LIA – today I felt lethargic.” (B, 24.10.02)

These responses give a sense of the vicissitudes of L2 motivation, as learners met practical challenges in pursuit of their long-term goal. In their own study of motivational change Gardner et al. (2004: 29) found that “day-to-day fluctuations in state motivation are relatively slight”, but what is true for Canadian undergraduates enrolled on an academic French course may not be true for Indonesian teenagers coping with the exigencies of formal and informal English learning.

### 7.4.2 Stability

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, no cognitions or affects will ever remain the same, though some may show greater stability. Throughout all the interviews, for instance, the FLs continued to recognise the importance of English for their future lives. They may express this in different ways, and this may be suggestive of individual differences (see section 8.3.3), but they almost all retain a goal involving mastery of the language. This accords with the survey results where the whole school cohort maintained a very strong perception of the importance of English. All the FLs remain positive about the school in general too, even those who express a dislike for particular teachers. Only learner H, who has been kept down in Year 1, admits to feeling “not so good” about the school, and complains bitterly (and bravely) about the new Head Teacher.

The three students studying in the Aksel class show the greatest stability in their attitudes towards the study of English. They are distinct from the others in mentioning no significant problems with the learning process at school: they are in the highest elite class, have a teacher who is popular and competent, and study English three times a week rather than the regular two. Learners C and K continue to rise through the levels at their private course (LIA), as I observed, and learner L reads English books at home (a claim at least partly confirmed on my visit to his home in April 2003). In other words, their motivation to study English has not been challenged by school in the same way that the other FLs have, and though like the others they make more reference to the process of learning, they maintain a consistent attitude towards school English.

For example, we saw in section 6.5.3.1 that learner C was unique in expressing an intrinsic motive for learning English. This surfaced again in her 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews. In this extract (2<sup>nd</sup>) she apparently recalls a moment of ‘flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997):

I: Do you enjoy your lessons?

C: Yes I very enjoy

I: What do you like?

C: I like if we have task to explain about, explain how to make fried rice in front of class.

I: Because...?

C: I like it because I can try my knowledge.

(original)



While she begins the main part of her third interview thus:

I: How do you feel about studying here now?

C: First I'm very thankful to God because I can study in Acceleration class, and I feel happy and...I'm very proud.

I: Aha, and how about your English, have you made progress?

C: Yes I think my skill in English increase. (original)

The use of the word 'skill' in the third interview is significant as it has no ready equivalent in Indonesian and might indicate the way she now sees the language as a developing competency rather than as a body of knowledge. She admitted to minor problems – for instance she felt the need for “someone who can speak with me” in English outside of school to maintain her fluency – but her tone is one of satisfaction. Like learner C, learner K displays a curiosity and a sense of growing mastery:

K: I think my English now I get more lesson how to use some English...grammar and...some vocabulary.

I: Right, so... how about your speaking?

K: My speaking still bad

I: Oh, why?

K: Because I don't know what word to say in speaking but if writing and reading I can...do it well'

I: How do you feel about studying in this school now?

K: Sometimes I feel so happy because I can answer many questions and that makes me very....happy. And if I can't answer the questions, I will find the answer by asking my friends or asking the teacher. (original)

However, as we saw in section 6.5.3.3, K apparently lacks one aspect of intrinsic motivation: the activity of learning itself does not provide pleasurable stimulation, and in both 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews he makes wry reference to his lack of diligence, for example:

I: How is your English now, compared to when we last met?

K: not very good.....because I lazy to study English

I: Why?

K: Sometimes I go to sleep and when there is homework from the English lesson, I seldom to work it. (original)

The third KA learner (L) also exhibits great consistency in his interviews. He does show a greater willingness and ability to speak in English with me, and this was

particularly evident when I visited him at home, where he appeared to be more relaxed. In both his 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews he gave similar answers, modestly admitting to a small improvement in his English, expressing a liking for his classes (“happy, I still happy, I like it”), and a strong desire to learn the language (“I think it’s still high [...] I want to increase so much my ability...It’s important for me”). He is also consistent in the way he talks about learning English outside of school; having had a bad experience at a private school (placed in too high a class) two years previously, he admits to doing little except occasionally reading English language general knowledge books and some of his older sister’s English language textbooks.

All the focal learners, of course, show some consistency in my interactions with them. Learner E, for instance, repeatedly mentioned the resources that her mother had bought her to help learn English; learner A repeatedly mentioned her father, learner D her Texan birthplace in Texas, learner F her private reading material. Other examples of themes characterizing individuals’ motivational make-up are cited elsewhere in Chapters 6-8. A more qualitative research methodology would have allowed me to become more familiar with the learners and this would presumably have revealed even more consistency.

## **7.5 Summary and discussion**

Over this 20-month period of junior high school, aspects of the learners’ motivation to learn English seem to have been relatively constant, while others changed. Throughout the interviews with the focal learners and the comments in the questionnaires, there was a consistent strong recognition of the long-term value of English for their own and indeed for their country’s future. There was a small rise, in fact, in their instrumental orientation, while their integrative orientation fell slightly. However, as the learners spent more time in classrooms, the process of learning assumed greater weight in their motivational thinking. There was a significant fall in the number of students who were satisfied with their current level of English, indicating a growing frustration with their rate of progress, and there was a significant drop in the numbers of learners who were ‘happy’ with their school English lessons. These results were confirmed by interview data, in which the more motivated learners could be surprisingly forthright in their



criticism of English lessons while continuing to assert their belief in the importance of the language and their personal desire to learn it.

These results lend some support to the proposal of Gardner et al. (2004) that general variables such as instrumental and integrative orientations are less susceptible to change than classroom-related variables. Further, if the notion proposed in Chapter 6 is correct – that many learners are aspiring to develop a bicultural identity – it suggests that this ‘identification’ aspect of their motivation is separate from motives related to the learning experience in its various contexts (school, private course, home etc.), as in Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self-System (2005). These ideas are taken up again in Chapters 8 and 9, when I explore the possibility that learners with different identity profiles may react to negative learning experiences differently.

The results are also in broad agreement with the literature on school transition motivation (e.g. Wigfield et al., 1998; Pintrich & Schunk, 2002; Otis, Grouzet & Pelletier, 2005), which has generally shown a decline in intrinsic motivation through middle school, though the continuing perception of the L2’s importance contrasts starkly with the views of British 7-9<sup>th</sup> graders according to recent studies, who saw diminishing value in learning an L2 (Chambers, 1999; Williams et al., 2002).

Furthermore it is clear that some learners, particularly those in elite classes, were very satisfied with their English lessons in school, and do provide some evidence of intrinsic motivation. Indeed the general expectation of ultimate success in English remained constant, reflecting the fact that for many students the SMP was only one of many possible venues for learning the language. The survey showed the whole cohort to have a higher frequency of English-learning or -using activity at the end of the research period compared to the beginning, and even more students had studied at private English courses in this period. What is more, all the focal learners who I originally identified as having a positive motivational profile showed signs of making genuine progress in English and an increasing willingness to use it in conversation with myself. While there is evidence of fluctuations in their feelings and attitudes, they appeared to maintain a level of independent learning activity, including attendance at private language courses, to complement their school lessons and contributing to the gains in proficiency.

While the contribution of out-of-school activity to motivation and achievement will be discussed further in the next chapter, it is worth reflecting on the issue of language learner autonomy and its validity in Asian cultures. Though teacher TF may have been exaggerating when she claimed that “there is no contribution from the school but I think it depends on the students themselves,” her comment reflects a common view that autonomy is a pre-requisite of success in learning English. The SMP X learners studied here cannot be described as fully autonomous in the sense of having full control over their own learning (Benson, 2001), but they do exhibit aspects of autonomy recognizable in descriptions of the concept in the TESOL literature. For example, the earnestness with which they talk of their learning experiences in and out of school implies an “attitude towards learning in which the learner is prepared to take, or does take, responsibility for his own learning”, which to Dickinson is an important corollary of autonomy (1995: 167). There is evidence of planning courses of action (e.g. taking a private course again), monitoring learning activity (e.g. working out how to benefit from formal English lessons, or how to utilize the dialogue of English-language films), and evaluating progress (e.g. considering how different aspects of their English are developing), the three capacities which Little (1991) regards as central to autonomy. Finally, we can also see these learners adopting their own goals for learning (mostly related to the communicative value of the language), a characteristic which Benson et al. (2003) found important in sustaining the learning activity of the two successful Asians in their study.

Further, some of the learners do not share all the characteristics of ‘reactive’ autonomy which Littlewood (1999) predicts would be found among East Asian learners. They *are* prepared on occasion to question the teacher’s superior knowledge. They are certainly *not* dependent on receiving knowledge from the teacher rather than seeking it out themselves – this is true even in class where, as we saw above (section 7.3) learners would sometimes go beyond what the teacher has asked them to do in order to seek some learning value from the lesson. And they do *not* appear to be reliant on the teacher or other official school criteria for evaluating their progress, at least at this early stage of their secondary school career.

Far from stifling individual learner autonomy, in fact, this context appears to encourage it. The limitations of state provision of English language education in Indonesia, where investment has lagged behind its ASEAN neighbours for two decades or more (see



Chapter 2), may be a significant driver of the autonomous learning behaviour. As junior high school cannot satisfy the demands of ambitious parents and their offspring, the private sector has stepped in with its provision of extracurricular courses free from the constraints of the national curriculum and led by relatively well-paid young teachers, while an expanding and diversifying media offers sources of exposure to English which far surpass the school textbook in appeal to young teenagers. Their experience as ‘consumers’ of English language education in the private sector meanwhile encourages these learners to turn a critical eye towards their school lessons.

Not all the focal learners exhibit signs of autonomous learning behaviour which would be recognised as such in the TESOL literature though. On their own admission, learners G, J and M show little initiative in pursuing independent study of the language. It is important not to ascribe their behaviour though to a personal deficit in autonomy. Firstly, as Holliday (2003, 2005) advises, it is highly likely that they exhibit ‘social autonomy’ in other areas of their lives, and even in their English lessons the day-dreaming of learners G and J, and the playfulness of M, could be regarded as a form of autonomous resistance to class practices. Secondly, sociocultural perspectives emphasise how “human agency [the preferred term] is about more than performance, or doing; It is intimately linked to significance. That is, things and events matter to people” (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000: 146). If learners G, J and M show little agency in mastering English, it is because it matters less to them than to others; the deficit lies in their motivation rather than in their capacity for agency or autonomy. And as we shall see in the next two chapters, the motivation to learn English should not be viewed as a wholly internal attribute either, but as socially constituted, created and cultivated in various social settings for specific social purposes. Chapter 8 examines the internal and external factors which have helped shape these learners’ motivation as it evolved over this period, while Chapter 9 explores the role of context more directly.

## CHAPTER 8

### **FINDINGS III: What factors are associated with changes in student motivation?**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the factors which appear to have affected the students' motivation to learn English over the 20-months research period. I divide these factors into *internal* and *external* – that is, aspects of the individual and aspects of the context which, according to the data, may have influenced change in the cognitions and affects which energize, direct and regulate L2 learning behaviour in the students studied. Several of these factors have already been mentioned in the discussion of the learners' evolving motivation (Chapters 6 & 7) but in this chapter I present each factor in turn in an attempt to assess their relative contribution and identify possible relationships between them.

I will be drawing mainly on the following sources of data:

- a) Teacher interviews - in these interviews the eight SMP X English teachers (and one from a semi-rural school - see section 5.5.2.2) discussed the factors which lay behind the relative progress of pupils.
- b) Questionnaire II – as in section 6.3.7, a number of background variables were tested for possible effects on the responses to questionnaire II items. For this purpose I will use all valid responses received in March 2004 (n = approximately 270), rather than limiting it to those who responded to both questionnaires as in Chapter 7.
- c) Focal learner interviews - the focal learners' comments were further analysed and triangulated with the above two data sources.



## 8.2 External factors

I deal first with external factors, since these are mediated to a certain extent by internal factors (as explained in section 8.3). It can be seen that they broadly correspond to those in McCallum's diagram of sociocultural contexts of change (2001) presented in section 4.3.3, except that school organization was not found to be a major factor, while private language courses (a response to the limits of school provision) were.

### 8.2.1 World events

One should not forget that it is the macro-context of a changing world which ultimately motivates all English-learning activity in this corner of provincial Sumatra. The repeated references to forces of globalization by pupils and teachers reflect long-standing official discourses urging citizens to '*antisipasi era globalisasi*', as the public slogans put it (cleverly using the English loan words 'anticipate', 'era' and 'globalization' to reinforce the point), and the mention of regional events such as a recent ASEAN trade agreement show awareness of globalization's more local effects too. Learning English is one major way the dutiful Indonesian citizen knows they *should* prepare for globalization; but they also know it is a vital resource for *personal* advancement too.

As we saw (section 7.4.1.4), the invasion of Iraq by 'coalition forces' in 2003 had an impact on learners' attitudes and may have been a factor in the slight overall decrease in the integrative motive found in the survey in 2004. However, because English is not associated exclusively with Britain or America, their perceived hostile foreign policy does not seem to have affected the focal learners' desire to learn the language.

It should also be noted here that English is not the only international language in the consciousness of these young Indonesians. For youngsters from a religious background, Arabic remains an important language, especially so for learner A as she hoped to enter an Arabic-medium secondary school in Jakarta. Japanese and Mandarin are now a part of the school curriculum in the 'elite classes', and also appear prominently in the fashionable Asian teenager's world, through pop music, TV/film and fashion magazines. Interestingly the two learners (A & D) who were dissatisfied with their KU

English classes spoke highly of these other languages, while the three KA learners, who were generally satisfied with their English lessons, all downplayed their importance or complained that they were difficult.

### 8.2.2 Socio-economic background

All the teachers interviewed had taught in other schools earlier in their careers and compared them unfavourably to SMP X. Seven stated specifically that the general socio-economic background of the pupils was a significant factor in their study of English. Teacher TH, for example, ascribed her previous school pupils' failure to learn English to its rural setting:

“Oh yes, their background is near the village, I teach English difficult maybe, because their background is, ya....[their] parents are farmers, maybe, so difficult to motivation to study English, different in my school maybe.”<sup>10</sup>

Teacher TA implies that certain socio-economic backgrounds inhibit the students from speaking the L2:

“In SMPY it seems to me my ability did not develop well. Teaching was difficult because the background of the students there did not support them to speak English in class. Every time I ask them questions no response from the students.”

These comments suggest that background affects attitudes towards the foreign language, and this is discussed further in sections 8.2.4 and 8.2.6 below.

Two other problems were mentioned in association with schools in poorer areas. Two teachers (TB & TC) pointed out that many schools lack textbooks, with the result that students have to share in class and are not allowed to take them home. Secondly, teacher TC claimed that pupils in those areas may have to work in the afternoons to help provide for the family. Both these conditions effectively preclude the possibility of doing homework (let alone any private course), potentially slowing down progress in the language. As teacher TJ says, “maybe most of the schools [are] like them,” implying that SMP X had a relatively privileged setting.

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<sup>10</sup> Extracts from teachers' interviews are in the original English unless otherwise stated.



Questionnaire I elicited data on pupils' father's job. After categorizing them into three broad types of employment – 'senior civil servant', 'civil servant', 'private' – an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out to test for the effects of this variable on other variables, but no significant differences were found. I believe this is probably because the categories were too imprecise (it is also possible that pupils did not know exactly what their father's job was).

### **8.2.3 Family**

Nevertheless, while very few students would have had to work to support their family and all were granted the necessary basic conditions for study at school, there was diversity among SMP X pupils' backgrounds, contrasts that were apparent in the FLs too. Four teachers specifically mention families as being important supports for SMP X students' English study, and references to family members appear regularly throughout the FLs' interviews – 11 out of the 12 FLs mention family members at some point, though some far more than others, and in different ways. There appear to be two interconnected ways in which family mediates learners' motivation to study: by providing the means for additional learning, and by influencing attitudes.

#### *8.2.3.1 Providing the means*

Some of the FLs clearly benefit from their parents' relative wealth. This is most obvious in enabling them to attend a quality private English course (see next section) but also manifests itself in other ways in FL interviews. For example learner E talked in each of her three interviews about how her mother provided her with learning aids: "If I go to bookstore she always buys some cassettes English, book of English" (original - 3<sup>rd</sup> interview). While visiting the homes of learners A and L I saw books in English owned by their parents (it is not usual for Indonesian homes to have books on display at all); at A's house I also saw the computer on which she played PlayStation games, and at L's house I saw the English language general knowledge books he claimed to read. While most homes would have had a TV, those with higher than average incomes would also have DVD/VCD players for watching films, audio-cassette and DVD players for listening to music, and (increasingly) computers for browsing the internet – each of these activities would bring English into the home, as well as potentially providing materials specifically for English language learning.

Wealthier families were also more likely to have older siblings or other relatives who could bring opportunities for practice in English or otherwise inspire study of the language. We have already seen (section 6.5.3.3) how several of the more motivated FLs came into early contact with the language, and learners B, C, H, K and L all mentioned practising English with older siblings. What is more, three learners (A, B and E) said their mothers were actively studying English themselves in pursuit of career goals, so bringing more study materials into the house. As learner E said of her mother, a doctor:

“All of my mother’s books are in English, I realize I have to be able to understand English because all those books are in English...so I study with her, and at the course.”

### 8.2.3.2 *Changing attitudes*

The above quotation is an illustration of the way cultural tools (the medical books in English) can influence psychological processes (Wertsch, 2002). Providing the resources for learning English is therefore very likely to influence children’s attitudes towards the activity, as it seems to have done in the case of learner E. However, there is considerable evidence in the FL interviews of parents having a more intentional impact on their motivation. Many of these parents belonged to a generation of urban professionals who would have only gradually come to realize the value of English for furthering their own careers, perhaps during the 1990s as globalization started to have its effects. Some – like learner D’s mother and father who lived in Texas for three years – were able to gain proficiency quickly enough to take advantage; others, like the mothers of A and B, were now struggling to make up time for their career development. In either case, they were likely to make their offspring fully cognisant of the potential importance of English to their futures more than their counterparts in non-urban Indonesian contexts, who had never needed English in the same way. As teacher TB put it:

“If their parents don’t think about English, or they don’t care about English, they never give suggestions to the students to study English, they never guide the students how to study English or when they have to study at home, ah, it’s impossible for the students.”



Focal learners too are often explicit about the pressure exerted by parents. For instance learner A began her third interview by saying:

“I am reading English [at home] because my father and my mother give me support for study English because er because my father think my father think the English is very important for me.” (original)

and her father features prominently in all her interviews. Learner F’s mother does not speak English herself but her daughter says:

“She really supports me in learning English. If I get lazy in attending a course, she forces me to go, so I get the knowledge.”

There is at least one instance of parents apparently mediating the negative effects of school English lessons. Learner D at her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview had just received a disappointing semester score, but she said it had not affected her will to learn English because:

“My parents just... my father hopes I don’t think about the score, they don’t expect that I get a ‘five’ or whatever, what’s important is speaking not the grade.”

In other words, her parents focus her attention on the intrinsic interest and value of the subject rather than extrinsic criteria of proficiency.

Some families seem much less involved in their child’s learning of English. Learner M comes from a rural area and although he said his parents had urged him to take a private course, when he eventually did (by the time of our 3<sup>rd</sup> interview) it turned out to be a general tutoring college rather than specifically one for English. Learner G is living with an uncle and aunt rather than his parents (see his profile in Chapter 9) but he never mentions any of them in connection with his education. Moreover, there is at least one case in which family issues appear to have *negatively* affected the learner’s general academic motivation (not just English). Learner H’s parents separated before the 3<sup>rd</sup> interview, and according to teachers this was a contributory factor in his disruptive class behaviour.

Finally, there is some statistical evidence for the effect of families on learner motivation. Questionnaire I elicited information about other family members who spoke English. When independent sample t-tests were carried out on variables in questionnaire II, pupils from families where some English was spoken were

significantly more likely to rate English as very important ( $p < 0.005$ ), to be confident of ultimate success ( $p < 0.005$ ) and to do more activities using English outside school ( $p < 0.05$ ).

#### 8.2.4 Private course

Private courses were already an important factor in successful mastery of English in early 1990s Jambi, according to undergraduates some years later (Lamb, 2002). In the current study, all nine teachers interviewed pointed to the private course as a key factor. Some were stark in their analysis:

TC: “They can’t success in English if they don’t take a course in English [...]. If they don’t take a course, very very difficult to learn English to them...teach them.”

TF: “I don’t know exactly if they make much progress at school, because of, most of the students they take an extra... they take an English course outside.”

Some statistical evidence supports this view: independent sample t-tests conducted on all respondents in the 2004 survey show students who had taken a private course over the 20-month period were significantly more likely to feel that they had made progress in the language, particularly in speaking, reading, grammar and vocabulary ( $p < 0.005$ ); they think English is more important, and for all reasons ( $p < 0.001$ ) except to please parents or as an assessed subject; they tend to do more activities with English outside of school ( $p < 0.001$ ); and they feel more confident of ultimate success ( $p < 0.001$ ).

As we have seen (section 6.5.3.3), some learners thought of their course as the primary site of language learning, rather than SMP X. Initially their parents may have pushed them into it – learner E, for example, complains that as a six-year-old she had intensely disliked her course, but her mother had forced her to continue and eventually she came to enjoy it. But by the age of 12, it appears the decision is mainly theirs, though of course their parents have to be able to pay the fees. In their first interviews learners A and D both said they had never taken a course, learner A adding “I actually prefer to learn from my parents.” The following April I asked her about this:

I: “Do you still study with your parents?”



D: Rarely nowadays, you see now, Mister, I go out in the morning, come home in the evening; I'm already taking a course [...] I get most of my practice at LIA now."

Learner A, interviewed at the same time, elaborated:

"You know, we had interviews [in class], we saw other pupils speaking well, so we wanted to...I know my speaking is limited, so I've started to want to take private lessons".

Other pupils told me of why they had chosen a particular private course, while in the 3<sup>rd</sup> interview learner C talked about a major new player (the global brand *English First*) in the local language school scene:

"At the opening, Grand Opening, some of my friends and me come to there and we use we look at the facilities in there and we get the invitation from *EF* and we use the multimedia computer and we play in there."  
(original)

Almost all pupils at SMP X get some kind of extra tuition in important curriculum subjects, the cheapest and simplest option being simply to return to SMP X in the afternoon to attend *Bimbingan Belajar* classes (see section 5.3 – literally 'study coaching') run by their regular school teachers. Slightly more expensive are general tutorial colleges in the community, which also teach general subjects. Specialist schools such as English language schools (computing is the other major subject offered) tend to be more expensive still, though prices vary with quality. Seeking knowledge and skill beyond what is offered by the state is therefore a fairly normal activity, at least in suburban areas of cities like Jambi, and a thriving market exists to satisfy demand.

Nevertheless, taking a private English course represents a serious commitment to the language, both for the family paying and the child studying – either they risk not getting extra tuition in other school subjects, or they have to sacrifice yet more of their leisure time, away from one's school friends. The decision to attend can be regarded then as evidence of motivation to learn English. But how does it *affect* that motivation? Responses in the survey (discussed in section 7.2.7) indicate that the main benefit was that, by doubling at least the amount of exposure and practice in the language, it contributes to a sense of making progress, though a minority also mentioned enjoying the learning process because of the relaxed atmosphere, small class size and better relationship with the teacher. FL interviews confirm the view that private courses can

significantly boost learners' self-confidence. Even learner C, who was almost unique in deriving intrinsic pleasure from English lessons at school (see section 7.4.2), was rather dismissive of this motive in discussing her course:

I: "Do you enjoy your course?"

C: Yes, although the most students in there are from college or high school, and in junior high school just three students [...] it doesn't matter....and in the period test I get the first rank!"

Learner K is explicit in his 2<sup>nd</sup> interview about the way in which his private course increases his self-confidence but is not particularly enjoyable in itself:

I: "You said that you feel confident now, more confident in English.

K: Yes.

I: Where does the feeling of confidence come from? You know, you said you don't do your homework from school...?

K: I get it from my course, from TV channels and radio.

I: Right, can you tell me about the course then at LIA?

K: My class is on Basic I, I graduated from FSC 6. In LIA the lesson is very different from the school. In LIA the teacher always talking English but in school the teacher sometimes tell in Indonesian.

I: Which is better for you?

K: School...because in school I have many friends which I know. In LIA my friend...I don't have friends from SMP [...] they are university students and workers.

I: Right, yes...I see, how do you feel in the class then? You are the youngest?

K: Yes

I: You don't enjoy it?

K: I don't enjoy it very much.

I: But it helps your English?

K: Yes.

I: Who tells you to go to LIA?

K: My mother, and my brother.

I: If it was your choice would you go to LIA or not? If it was up to you?

K: I follow it.

I: Even though you don't particularly like it?

K: I want to get many English lesson. I think in school it's just a few, very few I can get but in LIA I can get some...some plus lessons so I can get the high score in English." (mostly original)

K indicates in all three of his interviews, as well as in his behaviour in class, that he does not particularly enjoy the process of learning English, either at school or at private course. But as he rises through the LIA levels, it is the private course that gives him confidence in his abilities.



The FLs also suggest that the growing sense of mastery in English has a social element to it. For example, in her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview learner F talked of how her course taught her things in advance, making school lessons into revision sessions and showing her in a good light in front of her peers:

“As you know I kind of stand out in English in the class, and they ask, ‘How come you’re cleverer than we are?’ They want to learn, they ask me, where did you take a course? How did you learn? And I tell them, I took a course at MEC, and then they want to go there too, so they can deepen their knowledge.”

Thus she not only gains confidence in her English but also feels her social status is enhanced. Learner B hints at something similar in her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview:

I: “Are you studying at a private course?”

B: Yes, at LIA.

I: Now? How long for?

B: About 3 months, I’ve just taken the test to go up a level.

I: What level are you?

B: Now I’ve got up to level 2, FSC 2.

I: Are the lessons different there from at school?

B: Yes different, the lessons are at a higher level there.....because the competition is different, there we’re all in one class, so we think of them as friends, whereas here in school ... Maybe they’re cleverer than we are, but we just make a big effort.”

She implies that part of the appeal of a private course is the feeling of being among an elite group of language learners, working through the system together (all the FLs who study at LIA are very aware of their in-house level e.g. FSC 1-6, Basic 1-4), and raising themselves above the majority of their mixed ability classmates at school. Even those learners who are definitely not part of the elite see the potential for advancement in a private course: Learner G, who studied at a general tutoring course rather than an English specialist school, said that he was happy there because he “can get to know some new friends and can expand his outlook further.”

As we have already seen (section 7.2.7) not all experiences at private course are positive; several FLs also mention stopping courses at some point, like learner B:

B: “It was too difficult, hard, it was too difficult for me to catch the lessons, too high a level [...] I left, don’t do a course anymore.

I: So you didn’t like it?

B: No. Also it was in the afternoon, so I was too tired, it was difficult to do my homework.”

But B gives no indication that this has negatively affected her determination to learn English, just as learner K was prepared to carry on with his course in adverse circumstances. On the other hand, one of the lesser motivated learners (J) reported successive bad experiences at three different courses (see his profile in Chapter 9). Whether J's desire to learn English was harmed by these experiences or whether his initial lack of motivation made the experiences negative is impossible to say – most likely, these two processes were mutually reinforcing.

### 8.2.5 Teachers and classroom methodology

There is some statistical evidence that what happens in the school classroom can affect pupils' attitudes and their learning behaviour. During their second year of study, pupils were placed in eight different classes, with three different teachers. An analysis of variance (Tukey post hoc test) was carried out to find out if there were significant differences in the responses of classes taught by different teachers. The only item where a clear difference was found (significant at  $p < 0.05$ ) was on attitudes towards the experience of learning English, where one teacher was found to generate much higher ratings than the other two. However, this teacher was in the *Kelas Akselerasi*, and thus teaching a very unrepresentative set of pupils. When the two elite classes (*KA* and *KU*) are compared with the regular classes, several differences are found: students in these two classes are significantly more likely to feel they have made progress in all areas ( $p < 0.001$ , except for listening skill where  $p < 0.05$ ), to be satisfied with their general progress ( $p < 0.05$ ), to do more with English outside school ( $p < 0.001$ ), and to be confident of ultimate success ( $p < 0.001$ ). These results are not surprising – the students are literally a selective group, and their selection itself might have favourably affected their attitudes towards English and other school subjects.

There are two variables, though, on which there is a significant difference *between* these two classes, most notably on 'attitudes to the learning experience' where *KA* had a mean response of 2.83 compared to *KU*'s 2.29 (significant at  $p < 0.001$ ); in other words, students in *KA* were far more happy with their English lessons than students in *KU*, a result which implicates the teacher and her methodology, especially when linked with the complaints of *KU* learners A and D in their final interviews. (The other variable is less easy to explain – *KU* ranked English as significantly more important



than KA, and more class members scored it higher in questionnaire II compared to questionnaire I; possibly this is a response to being *selected* for the KU class).

However, this teacher (TC) also taught several regular classes, and when the responses of her classes are compared to those taught by the other regular class teacher (TD), no significant differences are found. This suggests that it is the interaction of class KU and their teacher, rather than that teacher herself, which may have influenced attitudes and motivation in this case.

Clearly it is hard to disentangle the effects of teacher, methodology and their interaction in particular classes, but in looking at the qualitative data I will first focus on evidence pointing to individual teachers as motivators in SMP X, before discussing the possible effects of teachers' common classroom practices.

#### 8.2.5.1 Teachers

Several teachers stated that they felt it was part of their role to convince pupils of the importance of their subject. Teacher TD took the direct line:

“I always say to them ‘you must practise your English, you must study English hard...Because I mean, it’s now the year 2000 and everything uses English, if you don’t know English you are nothing! I say that to them.”  
(translated)

while others were slightly more subtle, recognising that they could support the views of parents by stressing the usefulness of English, like teacher TG here:

“There is also their parents they suggest to their child, their son or their daughter, how important English now, all of sector need English now...you want to be engineering? you want technology?...You know the book are from abroad, there is no book which sell in Indonesia, how can we get knowledge in a book if we cannot speak English? So I say now, English is not for English teacher only, English for the whole.”

Two teachers were singled out for praise from FLs, however, for changing attitudes through their behaviour in and out of class. Learner K liked the relaxed style of teacher TA and the fact that he is always ready to share jokes in English, while learner C said “I like Mr TA way to teaching, he teach clearly and he make the students can use it.” In other words, his teaching gave students the opportunity to communicate in the language in class. In his own interview, TA said:

“That’s my attitude here, you know, I find out that some students are good at English or have good encouragement, good willingness in English, I always come closer every time I meet them to encourage them to speak English”

Teacher TA also hinted that other teachers in the school lacked this key quality: 3<sup>rd</sup> year students often complained to him, he said, because of teachers’ “different methods, different willing, or different encouragement in teaching English.”

It is teacher TB though who seemed to be the most effective motivator, for he influenced even those who he did not teach himself. As learner C suggests here, he was able to foster certain attitudes towards the language:

C: “Only a few don’t like to speak Eng – they’re shy....I think they’re afraid if he have a mistake when they say in English’

I: And you?

C: Mr TB always say, we don’t ashamed, we must try.

I: Right, yeah, how do you feel if you make a mistake?

C: I only a little shy, and I want to try better than from now.”

(original)

TB appears to be able to develop learners’ *willingness* to communicate, as well as providing practice opportunities in class. Another FL pinpoints how this may directly influence pupils’ attitudes. When I asked learner B (who was not a pupil of TB) whether she felt English was important to her, she replied:

“Important. Because there are teachers in the school, like Mr TB, who often use English with the pupils, so according to me it’s important to be able to speak with him. So if the teacher calls the pupils to the class, if he’s an English teacher, we ought to use English. So I think it’s important, English.”

By using English outside of class, teacher TB helps raise the profile of the language and reinforce the message that it is a living code of communication rather than just a school subject.

While in their interviews both TB and TA pointed to environmental factors in supporting learner motivation, they also both appear to believe that many students have an autonomous desire to learn English which the teacher needs only to encourage, as in these comments by teacher TB:



“Most of the students they like to study – not only English I think, everything - in a relaxed situation, and then they do not want to study or to get many kinds of materials only from the teacher....They do not want to be a cup of tea, you know cup of tea? The teacher puts water in the cup and then just...But they will grow up their knowledge by their own, by themselves....the teacher just guide.”

This view can be contrasted to that of another teacher (TC), who complained that a majority of students in class lacked motivation (due to poor family circumstances) and that this led to non-participation in class. As a result she gave her attention mainly to the few who did actively participate, while the rest:

“We don’t care about them!...how can we? Not that we don’t care, they can write as much as they can....how can we increase their knowledge? They don’t have motivation, they don’t know anything!”

Another difference between teachers TB and TA and several others in the school was that they both had excellent English themselves. I had difficulty maintaining a conversation with some teachers in English, and the sad truth is that some SMP X pupils, taking advantage of opportunities denied to the teachers’ generation, quickly surpass them in proficiency, or at least get to a level where they can criticize aspects of the teacher’s English, as we saw in section 7.4.1.2. A teacher conscious of lacking fluency in English may be reluctant to instigate oral activities in class, especially those that take her ‘off-script’ and away from the textbook. This in turn leads to further frustration on the part of more ambitious students, as learner A suggests in her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview:

“My English has improved because if we’re with Mr TB, we get more practice, debates, introducing ourselves, telling about hobbies and the rest. I don’t want to compare teachers with each other, but with Ms TE it wasn’t like that, and our progress is caused by many different factors, including how the teacher explains, and Ms TE had a very quiet voice, and frankly my English declined while I was in her class. But with Mr TB, it’s got better again. It’s the teacher factor.”

In fact learner A is being kind to teacher TE – her English was extremely weak. But what upset her most was the fact that in school her oral English had not improved as it had done in teacher TB’s class. The following year, she made a similar complaint about another teacher, for her poor English and the fact that her classes were boring because she “only study with book”; and once again, she compared her unfavourably with Mr TB.

It is worth noting here that during the long spells of waiting in the school staffroom I became aware of a rift between the English teaching staff, reflected in where they sat and broadly corresponding to a division between the linguistically proficient and the linguistically challenged. The young teacher TF aligned herself with the former (despite resenting the fact that she had not been given civil service accreditation yet) and claimed that the latter group did not want to speak English with other English teachers, and were reluctant to discuss problems together. Judging from my interviews with two of the weakest teachers (TD & TE), their reluctance to communicate probably stemmed from a painful awareness of their own linguistic limitations.

#### *8.2.5.2 Classroom methodology*

There have already been several pieces of evidence reported in this study which indicate a role for classroom methodology in affecting pupils' attitudes and learning behaviour.

In sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4 I reported data from open items in Questionnaire II which indicated some disenchantment with English classes. Apart from complaints about teachers' personalities, these centred mainly on the lessons' lack of enjoyment, their incomprehensibility, and the fact that they did not help pupils make progress in English. The activities which do give them pleasure are those in which they are given a chance to speak the language, while games, songs and competitions are also popular. This was confirmed by my interviews with teachers, five of whom explicitly commented that pupils enjoyed speaking activities and tended on the whole to dislike written grammar or vocabulary exercises.

In section 7.3 I reported classroom observation data which suggested that many pupils' participation in class activities was either fairly passive (what I called 'mode b') or non-existent ('mode c'). Only a small proportion of pupils in classes I observed seemed to be actively participating for most of the lesson. I interpreted these behaviour patterns as a response by different kinds of learner to the common teaching methods employed.

In section 7.4 I reported on how the focal learners commented on their school English classes in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews. Some learners drew pleasure and satisfaction from



their lessons, as when learner A talked about preparing a prayer in English or C described preparing recipes. Learner K seemed to gain satisfaction from his growing mastery of the language. Several learners gave negative reactions at various points: for example, learners E, F, H and M all complained about disruptive behaviour of peers; learners A, B and D complained about a lack of activities for oral practice, learners E and F complained about temperamental teachers; learner G complained consistently about not being able to follow the lessons. But of these complainants, only learners G and H admitted that their negative experiences had affected their desire to learn the language. As for learners L and J, neither seemed to be particularly affected by their classes, though one was a high flyer in KA and the other a 'mode c' learner in a regular class.

To summarize, what happens inside classrooms does appear to influence what most learners say and what they do to learn; it is therefore unequivocally a factor associated with change in motivation. However, the picture emerging is a complex one, with classroom events affecting learners differently, and some more than others. What is more, although it may be tempting to make predictions about the likely long-term effects of these school classroom practices, conditions are likely to change as this teacher (TF) reminds us:

“In the third [year] they have known, they understand that they will get the final test so they have to be serious....they have to concentrate, to listen the teacher.”

This hints that these learners will shortly adopt new goals related to exams and grades, to go along with their longer-term objectives aims – a dualism which Yashima et al. (2004) describe as typical of Japanese youth.

### **8.2.6 Peers**

We have already noted how a pupil's classmates may indirectly affect learner motivation to learn English, as when they constitute objects of comparison: learners C and K discussing their classmates at the private school LIA, for instance; learner F presenting herself as the 'expert' in her regular class (both in section 8.2.4 above); or learner L expressing his satisfaction at being chosen for the KA class. Learner E's journal entry for 20.12.03 provides another illustration of social comparison:

“Mister, I’m rather jealous of (learners) X, Y & Z. They have been accepted for the English speech contest. Actually how can we study English in such a way that we make good progress and improvement?”

In her final interview learner E told me explicitly that the English speech contest had spurred her to use some of the cassettes her mother had bought her and later on in the same interview revealed with pride that she had come second in her year in another competition involving English, stressing that she had beaten several students in the elite classes.

Three of the teachers make more explicit attributions of importance to learners’ peers. For example, teacher TB stressed the way that friends can provide opportunities to practise the L2:

“Don’t forget, their friends, yeah, their friends who has the same motivation in English, it will be important, it will be more, I think, er.....will be better for them to improve or increase their knowledge [...] For example, one of them has high motivation but the other friends, they has low motivation in English, oh, the boy who has high motivation will be, will be loss their motivation, because they never practise.”

Peers could help each other by sharing resources. In another of her journal entries (1.11.03) learner E said she visited a friend’s house and was surprised to find that she had many books about English there. “Probably she can become a new partner”, she comments hopefully.

Perhaps the main value of peers though is in reinforcing positive attitudes. Another teacher (TG), remembering his own youth and his long struggle to gain mastery of English, commented on how his friends influenced his goals:

“When I was a student my friends always give motivation to study hard, ‘what will you be next time...what will you be in the future?’”

As Syed points out (2001), studies in identity-formation during adolescence “have highlighted the importance of others in how we see ourselves” (p. 129). Given the evidence collected so far that English has a role in the emerging identities of some of these SMP X students, it should be no surprise to find that they are sensitive to ‘peer



review'. We saw (section 8.2.4) learner F, for example, basking in the admiration of her classmates for her excellent English, while learner D spoke enthusiastically of how she might learn Japanese and Mandarin too because "maybe my friends will say 'oh D you are so great because you know Japanese, Chinese'".

For these learners, the cosmopolitan identity is widely aspired to and envied where possessed; but in different contexts, it could be mocked. This is made clear in comments from TJ, who worked in the semi-rural school on the outskirts of Jambi:

"If their friends [speak] in English, some of their friends laughing, laughing, smile with their friends [...] makes the students shamed....I always angry with the students laughing or smile [...] but the student who speak in English, though they make mistakes, I say good, very good. Their friends mock them, say they're pretending to be like westerners, trying to look good."

In such a context it would clearly be more difficult for a pupil to imagine a future English-speaking self. Even at SMP X some pupils evidently struggled to view themselves as potential English-speakers. Learner M, who had recently moved to Jambi from a smaller town, was jeered by his circle of friends in class when he left to attend an interview with me. And alone among the FLs he declined to give advice to a new pupil at the school about how to learn English because, he said, he was afraid of being thought arrogant. The presence of such pupils in a class could of course negatively affect other learners who were potentially more motivated to learn English – as evidenced in the way learners E and F complained about the disruptive pupils in their first year regular class (section 7.4.1.2).

### **8.3 Internal factors**

We now move into the innermost circle of McCallum's (2001) contexts of motivational change (see Figure 6) – the self – where external factors interact with internal. In her own study she deliberately set out to examine one set of internal factors – learners' goal-orientations – to see how they influenced the way the learners reacted to various aspects of context over time. My study was more open-ended as I was not seeking to explore constructs from a particular theory of motivation but was prepared to see what patterns might emerge in the interviews with focal learners. What is reported below is

therefore patterns of change in the interviews which indicate the operation of potentially important cognitions, mediating the effects of context. However, there may well be other important cognitions (and affects) which did not emerge in the data but which still influenced SMP X pupils' motivation to learn English in this period; goal-orientation is one such factor, general academic intelligence, mentioned by two teachers, is another (though both these examples themselves represent multiple cognitions).

### **8.3.1 Motivational self-regulation**

In the last two interview phases there was evidence of learners becoming more aware of their own motivation and trying to regulate it i.e. sustain it in the face of challenges. We have seen that several learners displayed negative emotions about the learning process in school. Learner D, for example, who had consistently portrayed herself in the first two interviews as a highly motivated learner who believed she was making progress in her English, made the critical comments above about the teacher and when asked whether English is more or less important to her, replied "sure, more important, but now I feel... so-so" (original English). She seemed able to make a distinction between the objective importance of English to her future and her feelings, which she knew were temporary and related to her class teacher. She had just suffered another blow too, having missed the deadline for payment of an English course at LIA, "so now I study English by magazine, by my parents", something she elaborated on later in her interview.

Learner A, who shared learner D's dislike of her school teacher, had also found ways to compensate outside of class. When she had time she helped her mother learn English, and:

"I read story books .... and computer I see the ....word and I don't understand so I see the dictionary, and I study I'm study from the computer."  
(original)

The way she used PlayStation to learn English was something I witnessed when visiting her house. Learners E and F too found ways to manage the potential demotivating effects of a poor school teacher. In their second (joint) interview they talked about strategies for overcoming the problems of a hostile teacher in class:



- F: “If [a pupil] doesn’t like the teacher, so automatically she won’t like these English lessons, and the English lesson won’t ‘go in’.  
 I: But pupils don’t choose their teacher, so if you don’t like them what can you do?  
 E: All the lesson depends on the teacher but if we have the desire, even if we don’t like them, we can still do it.  
 F: We have to make an effort to get close to the teacher.  
 E: We may not like the teacher, but what’s more important is that the teacher likes us.”

In their final (separate) interviews, both seemed to have found further solutions outside of school. When learner F expressed dislike for her teacher, I asked whether her peers thought the same; she replied, “maybe just me, because they don’t like English....they think English is very difficult”. In other words, she was aware that it was *because* she cared about English so much that she felt so negatively about the teacher. To overcome these feelings, she put her energies into her private English course, because “I don’t want to leave English, if I leave it for a while, then I’ll start to forget it, after all I don’t get any practice at home”. Learner E dealt with her frustrations with her class teacher in a similar way, apparently:

- E: “She teaches our lesson very, it’s very difficult... because she is... nothing...I don’t understand when she teaches our class.  
 I: You don’t understand?  
 E: But I go to LIA and so now it’s OK while I’ve been going there.”

Learner E also emphasizes the resources she uses at home to learn English (see section 7.4.1.3). In her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview she mentioned these even before referring to school English classes or private course, and in her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview she claimed to be even more serious about learning at home with her mother.

Other instances of motivational self-regulation occur in relation to external performance criteria. For many of the FLs, entering or not entering the elite classes was a major issue for them in this period. The successful students all expressed sincere delight at being included, while the three ‘motivated’ learners not included all seemed to have found a way of rationalizing their non-inclusion. Learner F claimed she was chosen but declined because she did not want to come home late or miss her private course – she also seemed to enjoy being a star pupil in her class (both in school and at private course); in her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview she again insisted she was grateful not be in *Kelas Unggul* because it involved such long hours of study, and made the far-sighted

observation that “when you go to get a job, they don’t ask ‘were you in *Kelas Unggul?*’” Learner E said she had begun the school year later than other pupils, implying that was the reason she had not been selected, and in her third interview said she enjoyed being in a ‘mixed ability’ class because one got to know all kinds of people. Finally learner B, admitting she regretted not being selected, immediately explained why she was happy to stay in her present class:

“Because there are many friends who say they don’t want to be in *Kelas Unggul* because it’s too tiring, that’s what they say. They go home in the late afternoon, and in their opinion all they get extra is Japanese and Chinese, the lessons are the same. And if you want to learn Japanese you can take a course.”

In general, there are surprisingly few references to the school’s own assessment procedures – a total of four unprompted references in all 23 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews (for those studying there the LIA levels seem to have more significance) – but when they were discussed it was evident sometimes that the learners had processed the results in such a way as to protect their ongoing motivation. For example learner C admitted in her final interview that she had dropped down to 12<sup>th</sup> in the class from 1<sup>st</sup>, but was not concerned, explaining that others’ skills have probably increased even quicker, and anyway “it was harder to stay at the top than to get there.” Learners A and D agreed in their second interviews that, although their scores had been “average” they did not need to worry:

“We’re not trying to defend ourselves but in this transition period from the regular class, from the previous teacher, scores are not that important. We don’t think of getting a ten or anything...but not below five.”

Meanwhile both learner E and F took time in their interviews to explain why scores they had been given were unfair and did not reflect their true ability.

These positive reactions to adversity may be compared with those of the lesser motivated students. Learner G’s defeatist attitude is well-portrayed by the quotation in section 7.4.1.2. Meanwhile both he and J showed an almost total lack of response to the fact their school grades were low, as illustrated here:

I: “How about your scores?  
J: They’ve gone down  
I: Why?”



J: Just have

I: ...Are you a hard-working student?

J: Not really”

In discussing the deficiencies of school English lessons, learner M used a different form of self-motivational strategy, reminding himself of ultimate goals:

I: “What do you like in your English classes?

M: I like dialogues

I: Do you sometimes get bored in English lessons?

M: Yes sometimes I get a bit bored, but only occasionally, not all the time.

You know in BK [a rural area of the province], over there we didn't have any English lessons but in Jambi we need English, if you don't have English, it's difficult. Wherever we go here we need English.

I: For example, where do you need it?

M: What I mean is, if we've already progressed, got success, started working, we need to be tested in English, everywhere our English is tested.”

Yet in class he himself was usually in modes 'b' or 'c', rarely contributing and sometimes disruptive as he admits in both interviews (also see Appendix E), and outside of school he does little to learn English – in his third interview he talks with pride of the course he has started attending, but it was on his parents' orders and was a tutoring college not specifically for English. In other words, it appears that for learner M at least reminding oneself of long-term goals is a weak self-motivator (for further discussion of this, see section 8.3.3 below).

Learner H's behaviour in class is even worse than M's. In his third interview he describes his behaviour thus:

“Sometimes when I see the way the teacher teaches, I get lazy, but when I see a teacher like our Biology teacher, I immediately move to the front – you know I usually sit at the back – and then at the front I really concentrate on the lesson. Whereas with a teacher whose method I don't like, I play around [...] don't pay attention to the teacher.”

H actually appears to be dependent on the teacher and his/her approach, and when his needs are not met, his behaviour deteriorates, leading to angry reactions from teachers (which he complains about in his 2<sup>nd</sup> interview) which dents his enthusiasm even further. By the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> interview he admitted to doing less with English outside of school than previously – a family friend no longer came to his house to talk with him, his brother had left home, and he had lost the conversation book some time ago.

### 8.3.2 Evolving goals

Mirroring the survey results, almost all the focal learners at some point in their interviews linked English to their future lives. Further analysis of the way learners talk about their futures reveals some interesting intra- and inter-subject differences however, discussed in this and the next section.

Firstly, while there is consistency in the way the learners talk about their futures in each of their three interviews, it is also clear that goals change. For example, in her 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> interviews learner C talks about the boarding school in Java where she will study when she finishes SMP X:

“I study English diligently because for that school there are many scholarships but if we want to get a scholarship we must to speak English very well.”  
(original)

But at her 3<sup>rd</sup> interview she says she wants to go to a local Jambi high school where there is an English-medium class. Although English is clearly implicated in both these goals, the specifics have changed. It should also be pointed out here that A, C and K are the only ones who discuss near-future goals (in each case the school they will go to after SMP X). What is more, although one of the teachers (TF) said that learners are sometimes motivated in order to understand songs in English, none of the FLs gave that or any other leisure pursuit as a specific reason to study the language, though several made reference to them as resources for learning. The need for English is usually discussed with reference to their more distant future, though as mentioned in section 8.2.5.2, it is quite possible that short-term exam-related goals will become more important as they advance through the grades.

Secondly, while C’s long-term aims are uncertain, those of some other FLs, particularly the more motivated students, become a little more focused over this period. Learner K, for example, at his 2<sup>nd</sup> interview talks vaguely of becoming a doctor or musician but by his 3<sup>rd</sup> interview he has an immediate objective of getting into a Javanese boarding school, and a long-term aim of studying abroad. Learner F said in her first interview that she wanted to become a doctor, but her comments about English referred to its general value: “English is very important in the world, globalization.....so we have to



study for a long time.” In her second interview, she responded to the same question about her ambitions thus:

“I want to become a doctor. What’s more, my father says if I want to become a doctor English is really important because all the learning materials and books are in English. So I have to study English really hard and mustn’t stop going to the private courses”.

She now links English directly to a specific goal. By the time of her third interview, when asked where she will be in 10 years’ time, she apparently had quite a clear vision of her future:

F: “I hope by then I’ll already be a graduate, hopefully in Medicine

I: Where will you be living?

F: I’ll be living in Yogya, that’s where I’ll study, they say that’s where there’s the best high education.”

Learner A presents another example of an evolving response to a question about her future. In the first interview she referred to her immediate academic environment, saying how she wanted to be top of the class. In her second interview, just like learner F above, she relates the question to English:

I: “Do you have any ambitions?

A: About English, what’s certain is that I really want to be able to speak English fluently, really fluently, and to memorize all the words. Because then I could do anything I wanted in English.”

In her third interview, asked to think of herself in 10 years’ time, she refers immediately to the job that she will be doing:

“I want to be a doctor because doctor very very, I think doctor very kind... but...not a *dokter komersial yg mementingkan uang* [commercial doctor who gives priority to making money] but a doctor who helps the poor people [...] If I can be good doctor, maybe.... I can go...out Indonesia.” (original)

Now it is possible that this, and the refinement of the goals, were by-products of the way I conducted the interviews – for example the slightly more specific prompt in the final interview (asking them to envisage themselves in 10 years’ time) – or of the fact that we had already discussed the importance of English for their future in previous interviews. But despite having similar interview histories, the less motivated learners show a different pattern in their responses. Their goals do *not* appear to become more focused, as will be discussed in the next section.

### 8.3.3 Promotion vs prevention regulatory focus

In section 7.2.5 I distinguished two types of response to the open questionnaire item on the importance of English – those which had an aspirational or promotion focus, and those which were related to prevention or a requirement of some kind. An analysis of the way the focal learners talk about their desire to learn English in their later interviews reveals a similar division; furthermore, it seems to correspond broadly to the initial categorization of learners into ‘more’ and ‘less’ motivated.

To begin with the less motivated learners, G, J and M appear to have a prevention regulatory focus, that is, when they discuss the importance of English to their future lives they stress their sense of obligation (Higgins, 1998). Learner G, for example, is unique among the FLs for never at any point relating English to his future life. In his second interview he says his ambition is to open a computer rental shop; in the third interview he is not sure what he’ll be doing in 10 years’ time, possibly studying Agriculture. We saw in section 6.5.2 that Learner J expresses a need to learn English, but it is couched in ‘preventive’ terms – he talks about westerners coming to Indonesia and ‘getting involved’ (the Indonesian term used – *tercampur* – may have a negative connotation) and the fact he needs to be prepared for them. In his 2<sup>nd</sup> interview he mentions going abroad himself:

I: “Do you have any ambitions? Dreams?”

J: Yeah, to go abroad

I: You want to go abroad?

J: For work. I want to work there.

I: As what?

J: Don’t know.

I: Why do you want to work abroad?

J: Because in Indonesia, there’s already a lot of unemployment...I just want to go there.

I: Which country do you want to go to?

J: London.”

but again the reason is preventive – to avoid unemployment. His imagined future self is extremely vague too, and still is a year later when he says (laughing) that he doesn’t know what he will be doing in 10 years’ time, and has no ambitions. Learner M also has rather obscure visions of himself: “studying well, getting ahead” (1<sup>st</sup> interview); “still studying, the important thing is to study first, before thinking about that” (2<sup>nd</sup> interview); “businessman” or “soccer-player” (3<sup>rd</sup> interview). We saw in section 8.3.1



above that learner M refers to his future need for English to bolster his motivation at school, but he displays a preventive focus by referring to the way people's English is 'tested'. He makes exactly the same point in his 3<sup>rd</sup> interview: "Everywhere, including school, English is examined, it's important."

In contrast, the way that some of the more motivated FLs talk about their English and their own ambitions has a 'promotion' regulatory focus; they have a vision of an ideal future self which is worth striving for, rather than a sense that they need to avoid some unpleasant future scenario (such as unemployment or failure in tests). Sometimes the language seems to be a central part of the vision, as when these two learners talk of their ambitions:

D (1<sup>st</sup> interview): "If I can get to study abroad, I can become really fluent in English."

B (2<sup>nd</sup> interview): "I want to study abroad. I want to expand my English, and want to expand my friends. And get experience."

For them, English is almost an end in itself, having innumerable integrative and instrumental purposes. As learner A says in the extract quoted above, she strives towards mastery of English because "then I could do anything I wanted in English".

As related in section 8.3.2, several of these learners are able by their 3<sup>rd</sup> interview to articulate an image of their future selves: C and K continuing to study, A and F as doctors. Learner D expresses a wish to return to her birthplace in the USA, while becoming a journalist or a businesswoman, and learner E is keen to study abroad, though it will probably be in Malaysia rather than the west as her parents do not want her to be far away. None of them specifically mention English in articulating these goals – but equally they all know well that they could not be realized without it. English is by now an *assumed* part of their future selves.

There is not enough evidence in these interviews to say how far this promotion focus is a *development*, or whether it is more of a predisposition. There are perhaps more references to prevention in the first interviews, as in these examples from learner B's first interview:

“People said that maybe a few years in the future, English is going to be used in Indonesia, so I was afraid I wouldn’t be able to, so I was really interested.”

and later:

“Many people say, in the future if you don’t know English or you can’t use computer, you’ll be called illiterate.

The quotations from learner F in the previous section are further evidence of an apparent change in focus, but others, like learners D, seem to have a strong promotion focus from the beginning of the research period.

As so often, Learner H resists easy categorization. Although academically very weak, right from the start he showed in both talk and action a genuine interest in communicating with me and foreigners in general – he claimed he sought out westerners in a town park in order to practise his English, he came to my residence to be interviewed (whereas all the other FLs were interviewed at school) and when asked about his new school, he replied: “I like it because there’s English lessons, and if we meet foreigners we can easily speak in English, that’s the international language.” Despite the problems he had in school, he maintained his interest in learning to speak English and at all interviews expressed an ambition to become a businessman, linking this in his 2<sup>nd</sup> interview explicitly to English:

“Important. Important, the thing is, if you want to become a businessman, you have to know English, if not, you’re going to be deceived by people who do know English. Some time you’re given a proposal, that proposal is in English, you don’t know the contents of the proposal and, then you’re going to lose money, you sign it and you’re deceived. If you want to become a model, you also need English because without English you won’t advance your career as a model. You really need English.”

This speech suggests a clearly envisioned future self as an English-using businessman – yet there is a prevention focus within it.

In Chapter 6 I argued that by the time they entered SMP X many pupils were investing in learning English in pursuit of a bicultural identity, capable of functioning well in the cosmopolitan world at large and also dutifully in their home community. In the data presented in the last two sections of their growth over 20 months, we see evidence of



these identities taking shape, as some learners refine their goals and adopt a promotion focus towards them, while others' goals remain vague and defined more in terms of avoiding future problems rather than realizing ambitions. Further, the FLs originally identified as 'more motivated' and who have apparently continued to maintain a strong desire to learn the language fit into the former category, while at least three of the four less motivated learners, whose learning behaviour has continued to be fitful, fall into the latter category. This makes it tempting to relate the distinction to that made by Dörnyei (2005) in his L2 Motivational Self-System between the 'Ideal L2 Self' and the 'Ought-to L2 Self'. Those who are able to visualize an 'ideal English-speaking self' are driven to reduce the discrepancy (Higgins, 1987) between their current situation and the ideal, and therefore put more effort into learning the language on their own initiative; while those who only feel that they 'ought to' learn English may still express good intentions but since they are focussed more on avoiding trouble, they show less initiative in seeking out opportunities to learn beyond what is officially required.

There is possibly evidence here to suggest a link between these two categories and the third category in Dörnyei's system: the L2 Learning Experience. We saw in section 8.3.1 that some FLs are developing the ability to self-regulate their motivation. Could it be that an Ideal L2 Self helps protect themselves against negative experiences through the kind of rationalizations we saw above? By contrast, those who rely on an Ought-to L2 Self may be more easily discouraged, in the way learner G certainly is. Future time perspective theory offers suggestions for how this may operate; Miller and Brickman (2004) argue that learners with personally valued future goals are better able to self-regulate their learning, for example by setting up proximal subgoals. Perhaps the way some focal learners (e.g. C & K) refer to the class levels at their private language school and other focal learners (e.g. A & E) refer to public competitions is evidence of such subgoal setting, and I might have uncovered more examples of such subgoals if I had probed this topic during the interviews.

A further link with learning behaviour is suggested by Yashima et al. (2004): "Is it possible to hypothesize that learners who clearly visualize 'possible' or 'ideal' English-using selves are likely to make an effort to become more proficient and develop 'willingness to communicate' and engage in interaction with others using English?" (p. 142-3). There is some evidence here that it does. During my many unofficial talks to

classes I found that the few pupils who were willing to communicate publicly with me were not necessarily those who would speak out in Indonesian. As I recorded in my journal:

“Reflected with [teacher TB] that kids who are shy among friends are not necessarily the ones who are shy at speaking English. While those who are socially confident may be totally speechless in English.”

(11.9.02):

Among the FLs, learners C, D, F and L were all naturally quite shy, but showed confidence in speaking English with me; it is at least possible that they are inspired to do so by their ideal L2 self. All the motivated FLs show appreciation for lesson tasks which give them a chance to try out their English. As learner A says in advising new pupils, “what’s important is courage, not to be shy” (2<sup>nd</sup> interview). In one of her few journal entries learner D commented favourably on a debate that teacher TB had organized in class, writing “very interesting for me because I don’t scared to say my opinion with English language.” Some methodologists might view ‘debates’ as too ambitious a task for 12-year-olds with low intermediate proficiency – but they work well with such learners, encouraging the production of highly communicative though often ungrammatical language, because they offer the opportunity to role-play an idealized future self.

Learners G, J and M, by contrast, appear to have a preventive regulatory focus and each one shows a reluctance to use English with me (see section 7.4.1.1) or with their teacher (see section 7.3.2), and little enthusiasm for learning the language outside of school (section 7.4.1.3). It could be that they are more typical of the majority school population. No less than six of the nine teachers interviewed mentioned that many pupils had a fear of making mistakes and were unwilling to communicate in English. For example, when I asked the very experienced teacher TA how many pupils made progress in English while at SMP X, he replied:

“About 10 students in this class, or 5 or 7. The other students understand English but they don’t know how to express the ideas. [...] they want to speak Eng but they’re afraid of the grammar... afraid of mistakes.”



He contrasts the “lively, friendly, open” attitude of the successful students with those who “speak nothing, just silent”. Of course one would expect to find that confidence and fluency go together (as Yashima et al. did), and teacher TF seemed to confirm this association when she said that some students “are really interested in English so that’s why they have a good motivation to speak English.” But she went on to say:

“Especially for the students who who doesn’t have any motivation it is very hard to say, because if they don’t take an English course outside, so they think that English is very...very ...afraid to learn. Some of them say that ‘I don’t like English because English is very difficult.’”

implying that unless the unmotivated students get extra help to learn English they must live with an inhibiting fear. Teacher TC appears to go even further in suggesting that fear is a *cause* of low motivation to learn:

“If they can enjoy they try by themselves, but if they afraid maybe they lazy, ah how can the teacher explain, they don’t want to know!”

and, like teacher TA (see section 8.2.2), the teacher (TJ) from the semi-rural school links the fear to socio-economic background:

“Most of my students can English but maybe they are afraid, this is the problem...not just for me but for another teacher in Jambi... especially for the school not...in the big city.”

It could be that young people who have not developed an ideal English-speaking self find speaking the language somehow inauthentic. Rather than enabling them to “become ‘cool’ and inhabit their bodies in more powerful ways” (Kramsch, 2006: 102), English feels alien, and personal expression an imposture which is likely to invite ridicule from like-minded peers.

Set against Yashima et al.’s (2004) position is Norton’s (2000: 166) argument that learners who have the greatest personal investment in English will paradoxically feel “uncomfortable talking to people *in whom they had a particular symbolic or material investment*” (original italics). She claims that the adult immigrants in her Canadian study felt discomfort in the company of people who were “experienced participants in their imagined communities”, such as high-status native-speakers and fellow nationals who were perceived as more proficient in English. Language anxiety should

therefore not be seen as an individual trait but as generated by certain kinds of social relationships. It is true that the most motivated FLs in my study admitted to nervousness when speaking with me, and it is also true (as travellers in rural Indonesia know well) that many of the people with the least investment in English – with no ideal or ought-to L2 selves – are least inhibited about playfully showing off what they do know and attempting rudimentary communication. But Norton should also acknowledge, perhaps, that ‘discomfort’ does not necessarily dissuade people from participating – for the motivated FLs in this context, the opportunity to communicate with a native-speaker and participate in such international knowledge practices was too rare and enticing to turn down even if the interaction proved stressful. For the FLs who lacked an ‘ideal L2 self’ but who did have an ‘ought-to L2 self’ (e.g. learners G, J, M), the occasion appeared to be equally stressful but they did not make any serious attempt to participate in English communication.

#### **8.3.4 Gender**

There is some evidence in this study for systematic variation in the motivation of boys and girls. Firstly, independent samples t-tests on both Questionnaire I and II show effects for gender, though these are not consistent. At the beginning of the study, girls were found to be more satisfied with their progress in English, more confident of ultimate success (both significant at  $p < 0.05$ ), and had a more positive attitude towards the experience of learning ( $p < 0.001$ ). At the end of the period there were no longer any significant differences in these areas – girls’ appreciation of their school English lessons fell dramatically, for example – but new differences had emerged: girls had higher semester scores and ranked their progress higher than boys in all areas (though they were not more satisfied with their progress); they ranked English as more important overall, for instrumental reasons, integrative reasons and to satisfy parents; and they did significantly more activity outside of school with English (including attending private courses, but except for watching TV/video) (all significant at  $p < 0.05$ ).

In the interviews, there were two ways, perhaps connected, in which the responses of the six male and six female FLs appeared to differ consistently. Firstly, the girls appeared to enjoy their involvement in the research more. This is difficult to



substantiate, as it is partly an impression gained during the interviews in their manner of participation, but some pieces of evidence to support the assertion follow:

- Only the girls returned the journals to me on my second visit
- In the first interviews, when all FLs spoke to me individually, the total length of interviews with girls was approximately 108 minutes, compared to 93 minutes for boys.
- Girls tended to produce longer turns in their interviews, while I needed to do more prompting with the boys.

Secondly, some of the girls (B, D, E) admitted to not studying English outside of school as much as they would have liked, but the implication is because they had other things to do rather than because they were lazy. By contrast, all six boys admitted to being poor students. Learners H, J, and K used the Indonesian word *malas* meaning lazy, while learner L said he got tired. Learners H and M both admitted to being disruptive in class, and (as we have seen) learner G's academic self-esteem was very low.

At a final meeting with the FLs on my third visit, I asked them to discuss in gendered groups the question of whether boys and girls had different attitudes to learning English. Their conclusions may help to explain the data described above. The boys' group wrote (in Indonesian), "No, boys and girls have the same motivation in studying English, because they have the same goals and priorities"; the girls' group, who took the task more seriously, wrote (in English): "Yup! Because we think that woman always do everything seriously. Not like boy, that they just do something just what they want. And women not want to lose [against] boys." The evidence presented here suggests that while the boys are right to suggest goals are common, the girls are right to suggest that they demonstrate more motivated behaviour in pursuit of those goals. This is in accordance with the findings of large-scale studies in the UK and Hungary (Williams et al., 2002; Dörnyei et al., 2006) which found that girls are more prepared to put effort into tedious school work, either because they have a stronger desire to succeed or because boys don't want to be *seen* to be working hard at languages in front of their peers. In SMP X it appears that this effort is paying off in higher scores and general perception of progress. How can I account for the fact that girls assess English as more important than boys, though, in Questionnaire II, as this appears to contradict

Dörnyei et al.'s (2006: 56) finding that “the observed general female superiority does not really stem from a differential perception of the importance of the target languages”? Possibly it reflects the slightly greater maturity of girls in early puberty, who are marginally more aware of the adult world and its demands. Finally, it is worth noting that none of the nine teachers interviewed mentioned the issue of gender at all, suggesting that it is not one which concerns them greatly in their day-to-day work.

#### **8.4 Summary and discussion**

A number of internal and external factors were found to be associated with the way SMP X students' motivation to learn English evolves over the 20-month period. Globalization provides the backdrop to this study, as all respondents appear to recognize that competence in English is a *sine qua non* for any individual, or country, that hopes to benefit from it (while the spread of the language also helps accelerate the process itself). Moreover, due to globalization, news of events such as the invasion of Iraq quickly reaches places like Jambi – but because English is associated with wider international concerns, the hostile emotions stirred up against English-speaking peoples or cultures do not appear to have a major effect on motivation to learn the language. At the same time, it should be recognised that English is not the only language with international reach; Arabic, Japanese and Mandarin are present in these young Indonesians' lives, and the profile of the latter particularly will probably increase (Graddol, 2006).

Of course Indonesia itself provides a range of different cultures and communities. Middle-class areas of cities such as the one in which SMP X is situated are far more exposed to the forces of globalization than semi-urban or rural areas, and teachers who have experience of working in these contrasting environments comment on how it affects young peoples' motivation to learn English. The effect of socio-economic background may be direct – for example rural schools might lack quality learning materials or teachers, and the individual may have to spend time out of school supplementing the family income – or may be indirect, mediated by interaction with close social contacts. Parents, siblings, peers and teachers all feature in SMP X learners' talk and in teachers' own explanations of learner motivation, supporting



Ushioda's (2003) assertion that "social-interactive processes play a crucial role in encouraging the growth of motivation from within and its ongoing regulation by the learner" (p. 90).

As we saw (section 3.5.1), parents have been found to play a part in children's academic motivation, both positively and negatively, in diverse contexts, so it is no surprise to find them influential here. For some (e.g. learner A) the father seems to be the dominant influence while others (e.g. learners E & F) mention their mother more often. Other family members are also implicated, for example uncles or aunts who have travelled abroad and bring English into the home for the first time, cousins who have achieved some proficiency in English and thus make the *possibility* of success more real, and older brothers and sisters who provide resources and the opportunity for practice. Peers could have a positive effect, as companions in the long language learning project or as competition among the high achievers, but they could also have a negative effect – inducing a fear not so much of 'nerdishness', as in western school environments (Elliot et al., 2002; Ushioda, 2003) but of ridicule, for pretending to adopt an alien identity.

Moving to the school environment, teachers can be important mediators of L2 motivation, not only through the classroom methodology they employ but by conveying an attitude towards the language and its acquisition. Both TA and TB are cited by several learners as encouraging them to learn, because they create a relaxed atmosphere in class (similar to what Dörnyei (1994) has called 'teacher immediacy') and because they convince learners that English is a vital means of communication rather than merely an academic subject. Both also appear to believe that learners are willing and able to learn autonomously, while some other teachers, whose own English is limited, tend to stress the difficulty of persuading students to study the language effectively. It is possible that these teachers fit the model proposed by Noels (2000), based on self-determination theory, where "perceptions of autonomy support and informative feedback from teachers sustain generalized feelings of autonomy and competence, which in turn support feelings of intrinsic motivation" (p. 97).

While both survey open item responses and interview data show classroom methodology to have a negative impact on some SMP X pupils' motivation, this study



in some ways downplays the influence of school on the evolution of L2 motivation. For negative experiences do not appear to change learners' view of the importance of English, nor their efforts to learn it outside of school (except possibly in the case of learner H). This contrasts with the results of other studies in western contexts where classroom experiences were found to have a big effect on pupils' motivation to learn the L2 (e.g. Chambers, 1998; Nikolov, 1999), and might be explained by the way that, in this context, English is not just a school subject but a potentially life-changing attribute, and that – according to both pupils and teachers – the state school is not the primary site for language learning anyway. There is not much explicit mention of the school learning group as a positive motivational force either, surprising given the emphasis it receives in L2 motivation literature relating to Asian contexts (e.g. Littlewood, 1999; Wen & Clément, 2003); in fact, class members are more often mentioned as a negative factor by focal learners who felt disturbed by their peers in regular classes. On the other hand, there is evidence that the elite class members' motivation was boosted by being selected for those classes, and that some learners also gained confidence from belonging to private school classes. Thus it appears to be *membership* of a learning group which has positive motivational effects, rather than intrinsic pleasure derived from group dynamics *per se* (though it is also possible that the study simply failed to generate evidence on this). I return to the topic of group membership in Chapter 9.

We saw in Chapters 6 & 7 how private English courses figured prominently in the motivational thinking of SMP X learners and their importance for gaining proficiency was confirmed by all nine teachers interviewed. Although families have to be able to afford the courses, the decision to attend appears at this age to lie mainly with the pupil, and while extra tuition is a common part of young people's educational life in this context, attendance at English courses signals a willingness to expend effort in learning the language. Apart from the direct language gains, we saw that private courses could increase pupils' linguistic and social self-confidence, and this was true even when the course itself was not providing much intrinsic pleasure.

Several internal factors were found which may mediate the effects of these external factors on learner motivation. Some learners developed an ability to self-regulate their motivation, to maintain it in the face of negative experiences at school or elsewhere.



English-related goals became slightly more focused, as future time perspective theory would predict for early adolescence (McInerney, 2004). Both these changes were limited to those focal learners whom I had identified as having higher than average motivation in the first place, and these learners appeared over the 20 months to exhibit a promotional regulatory focus, by contrast to others with a prevention regulatory focus. This corresponded to a similar distinction observed in responses to the second questionnaire (Chapter 7), and when linked to my earlier interpretation of their motives in terms of identification processes rather than integrativeness or instrumentality (Chapter 6), lends some credence to Dörnyei's (2005) Self-System model for L2 motivation with separate dimensions for 'Ideal L2 Self' and 'Ought-to L2 Self'. Learners with a strong Ideal L2 Self may be better able to deal with negative L2 learning experiences. Following the lead of Yashima et al. (2004) I presented further evidence to suggest that the Ideal L2 Self may also increase willingness to communicate in the L2, this being the aspect of L2 use which most closely implicates personal identity.

Finally, some small but noticeable gender differences were found, though the differences changed over the 20-month period. At the beginning girls tended to be more confident of success and got more enjoyment from learning. After 20 months of study these differences had disappeared and instead girls rated English as more important and seemed to put more effort into learning it outside of class – they were also more enthusiastic participants in this research.

In the next chapter I attempt to synthesize the study's findings and create a coherent framework for explaining the changing motivation to learn English of SMP X pupils in this period, along with some illustrative individual learner profiles.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **FURTHER DISCUSSION: Context, Identity and Participation**

#### **9.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 1, I stated that one of the main motives for carrying out this study was to explore the impact of studying English at school on learners' attitudes and motivation to learn the language. The results presented in Chapters 6-8 have demonstrated that, while some aspects of learners' motivation did change over the 20-month period, school was but one of several important contextual factors which affected this process. I further suggested that the effects of these influences could have been mediated by changes in learners' motivational thinking; which may in turn be related to learners' developing identities, again implicating sociocultural context. In researching dynamic aspects of motivation, then, I have been forced to confront its deeply contextual nature, just as Block (2003) would have predicted (see section 3.10). In this chapter I discuss in more detail the relationship between context and English-learning motivation as it developed over this time period, following the example of Norton and others (e.g. Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002; Morita, 2004; Stroud & Wee, forthcoming) in borrowing the conceptual tools of Lave and Wenger's situated learning theory (1991; Wenger, 1998), along with the social theory of Bourdieu (1991), and using them to elaborate elements of Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-System theory (2005). In so doing I elaborate a conceptual framework for explaining the evolving motivation of some of the SMP X learners in the study, and discuss how it may be different for others. The chapter ends with some illustrative profiles of individual learners from the study, and a brief discussion of the possible long-term social consequences of the language learning processes identified.



## 9.2 The role of context

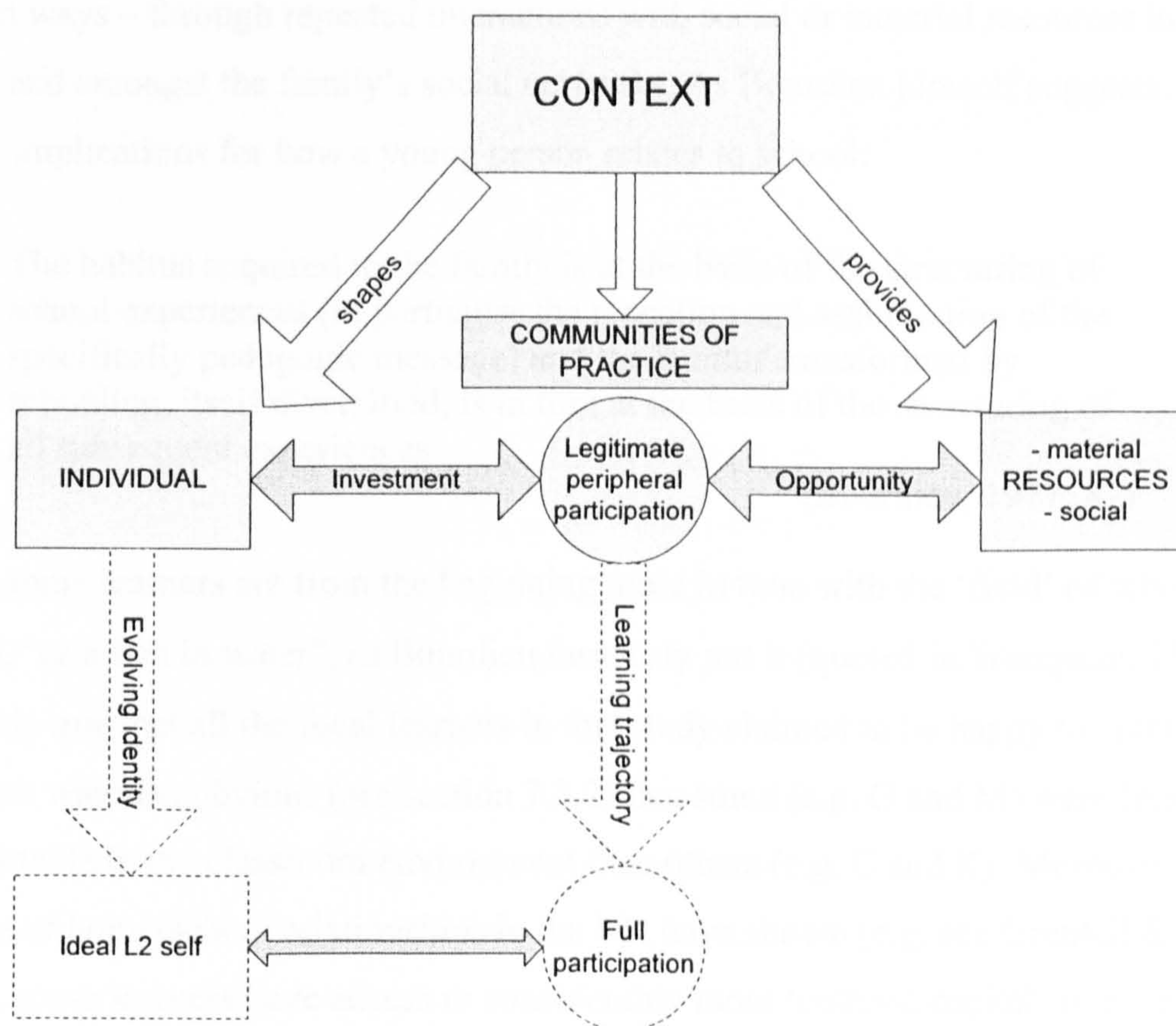
Much literature on second language learning and educational motivation in general (cf. most contributions to Volet & Järvelä (2001) and McNerney & van Etten (2001)) presents the context as a ‘container’, or as Palfreyman (2006) puts it, “a mere backdrop for a pre-existing individual learner,...referred to only in so far as it is necessary to explain variation in individual performance” (p. 353). His own recent study of female undergraduates in the Gulf, however, shows “how their learning of English is shaped, supported and given meaning through their different social roles as members of their community” (ibid.: 354). While their university language course is important, their various social roles give them access to other key material and social resources (such as English language TV and online chatting) which not only develops their proficiency but also potentially shapes their careers as language learners; for example, “increased English proficiency can contribute to students’ prestige and role-fulfilment as daughters helping their parents” (ibid.: 365), which then helps structure their attitude towards the language and its continued study.

Palfreyman thus sites learning in the interaction between the learner and available resources, an ongoing process that has long-term effects on both the learner and the configuration of resources. For young people learning English in Jambi, this study has shown that they also made use of a range of material and social resources. The most significant material resources were dictionaries (paper and electronic), TV, film, audio-cassettes of songs (as well as language exercises), magazines, textbooks, computer games and novels. Social resources were primarily teachers and peers in school and at private course, and family members who speak English, though there may also be occasional meetings with native-speakers or other English-speaking foreigners. There is evidence too of the way use of resources affects the learner – for example, how participation in private language courses affect the way individuals say they participate in the school class, or how regular interaction with certain teachers changes attitudes towards the language.

In building a schematic representation of how learning of English takes place among some young people in Jambi, ‘Learner’ and ‘Resources’ form the two cornerstones of a pyramid (see Figure 8 below – the remainder of the framework is explained in section



9.3). The third corner is represented by ‘Context’, which is deeply implicated in both these elements. Most obviously, it furnishes the available resources. In Jambi, these resources are more impoverished than those available to female undergraduate students in Dubai, for instance, or those which could be accessed by British secondary school students of French. However, they are far greater than those which would be available in the smaller towns and villages of Jambi province. As the survey results indicated, the rapid growth of computer use will in all likelihood rapidly expand both material (e.g. online language tasks) and social resources (e.g. online chatting) in the near future.



**Figure 8** Schematic representation of English-learning by some SMP X pupils.

Context also shapes the learner and his/her inclination to make use of these resources. We have seen how all the English teachers at SMP X readily referred to socio-economic background to help explain pupils' 'teachability' and their willingness and ability to learn English independently. Bourdieu's (1991) social theory would interpret these comments in terms of learners' 'habitus', 'capital' and the 'field' of foreign language learning. As Reay explains:



Choices are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints the person finds him/herself in, her external circumstances. However, within Bourdieu's theoretical framework he/she is also circumscribed by an internalized framework that makes some possibilities inconceivable, others improbable and a limited range acceptable.

(Reay, 2004: 435)

In other words, a Jambi learner is limited to the educational resources in the city while those in a provincial village are even more constrained; but less obviously, a learner develops a habitus – a way of understanding the world, and a disposition to act in certain ways – through repeated interactions with social or material resources in the home and amongst the family's social networks. As Bourdieu himself suggests, this has major implications for how a young person relates to school:

The habitus acquired in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences (in particular the reception and assimilation of the specifically pedagogic message) and the habitus transformed by schooling, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of the structuring of all subsequent experiences.

(Bourdieu, 1977: 87)

Thus, some learners are from the beginning more in tune with the 'field' of school than others, "as a fish in water", as Bourdieu famously put it (quoted in Wacquant, 1989: 43). It is true that all the focal learners in this study claimed to be happy to enter SMP X, but it was also obvious (see section 7.3.2) that some (e.g. G and M) were less comfortable in the classroom environment than others (e.g. C and K). Moreover, as studies of home-school relationships in the UK have shown (e.g. see Grenfell & James, 1998), some learners have access to considerably more 'cultural capital' in the home than others, which in turn makes it easier to acquire symbolic capital in the form of knowledge, from school and elsewhere. Some forms of capital were specifically mentioned by teachers as being significant for their SMP X pupils – the time to develop leisure interests, for example, parents' level of education, and their awareness and ability to pay for private educational resources – and lacking in other more rural school contexts they had worked in.

The setting of this research in a relatively prosperous middle-class area of the state capital is therefore integral to understanding its results. The generally high levels of academic motivation and of learning activity inside and outside school can be attributed partly to the fact that pupils mostly came from homes with social, economic and

cultural capital, and had parents who recognised the value of education for providing their children with the important symbolic capital of knowledge. Most SMP X pupils know they ‘ought to’ study English well, along with other major curricular subjects, because good results will give them access to greater resources in the future. However, to help explain differences among the pupils and the apparent changes in learner motivation, as well as to relate the discussion more closely to the learning of *English*, I will elaborate the framework using the conceptual tools of situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

### **9.3 Identity and participation in Communities of Practice**

As we saw in Chapter 3, in this view all learning is a fundamentally social phenomenon the goal of which is to become “active participants in the practices of social communities” so that one feels one belongs (Wenger, 1998: 4). Thus, individuals’ use of resources to learn actually occurs in, or at least in relation to, ‘communities of practice’, which can be “as broad as a society or culture, or as narrow as a particular language classroom” (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001: 148). With the support of more expert practitioners and their tools, a person moves from a position of ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ towards ‘full’ participation as an ‘expert’ practitioner him/herself (‘full’ meaning being a ‘core member’, as felt by oneself and recognised by others); and in the process, learning “transforms who we are and what we can do... It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming – to become a certain person or, conversely, to avoid becoming a certain person” (Wenger, 1998: 215). In other words, learning inevitably involves the construction of identity.

I suggested in Chapter 6 that many SMP X learners are aspiring towards a bicultural identity, one which enables them to participate fully as responsible citizens in their local community and as cosmopolitan English-using citizens of the global community. The generally strong and stable desire to learn English, high levels of confidence in ultimate success, and varied and increasing learning activity reported in the survey suggest that these aspirations have been largely sustained over the twenty months studied. I would suggest that many SMP X pupils are able to feel they belong to this



wider community of English-users – or could one day belong – in ways that pupils in less privileged neighbourhoods probably cannot.

Firstly, they are able to use their imagination. Wenger considers imagination to be a crucial ‘mode of belonging’ to communities – what he calls “looking at an apple seed and seeing a tree” (1998: 176) – which promotes or inhibits the engagement of learners in new communities and alignment with their practices; that is, their learning. While this is true for all communities, even ones in which a person has daily contact with (such as a class or institution), imagination is more important still when the community aspired to is as diffuse, and as temporally and geographically distant, as the global community of English-users for young people in Jambi. To some extent, it is an ‘imagined community’ (Norton, 2000). While all urban Indonesians are exposed to media and official discourses promoting the English language and promising future gain, the children of emergent middle class families are more likely to view such promises as authentic and achievable because – as we have seen in this study (section 8.2) – their hopes and aspirations may be supported and encouraged by significant others: family, peers, some teachers. When SMP X pupils write that English is connected to their dreams (e.g. section 7.2.9), or explain how proficiency in English will enable them to study abroad or get a good job (e.g. section 8.3.2) or just discuss what sort of doctor they want to be (section 8.3.3), they are expressing an identity as a member of this imagined community. As Norton & Kamal (2003) have argued for contemporary Pakistani schoolchildren, and Murphey et al. (2005) for Japanese undergraduates, the ‘imagined communities’ of many SMP X pupils stimulate them to invest in language learning.

Dörnyei has himself noted the relevance of these concepts to his L2 Motivational Self-System, for the “idealized L2-speaking self can be seen as a member of an imagined L2 community” (2005: 102), and it is the sense of a discrepancy between the present self and the ideal future self which fuels the desire to learn the L2. It is important to note the way that this Ideal L2 Self is a social construction, however, not equally available to all pupils but seeded and nurtured through social interaction in the individual’s immediate and wider social context. As Markus and Nurius (1986) pointed out, “the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual’s particular

sociocultural and historical context and from the models, images and symbols provided by the media and by the individual's immediate social experiences" (p. 961).

The second key potential advantage for SMP X pupils is that they are likely to have greater access to resources which provide opportunities to engage in the knowledge practices of the wider English-using community of practice. At its most real and direct, this could involve meetings with foreigners such as myself; more commonly it means the communicative use of English with other Indonesians, in school, at private course or in the home, or engagement with the artefacts of the community such as films, songs, magazines or computer programmes. Both surveys and interviews (e.g. sections 7.2.7, 8.2) have revealed that many SMP X pupils' lives are rich in such encounters in ways which their rural compatriots would probably not be (though they themselves may feel impoverished compared to the youth of Singapore, Malaysia or Europe, for example).

I would confidently position seven of the FLs in this study in the 'individual' box in Figure 8. With ideal English-speaking selves and access to the right resources, they have over this 20-month period acted as legitimate peripheral participants in the wider English-using community of practice. With increasing participation has come not just increasing competence in the language but also a more sharply defined identity as a future member of that community, reflected in their gradually evolving goals (see section 8.3.2). They are on a learning trajectory towards full membership of this community, as represented in the dotted lines in Figure 8.

The straight lines should not deceive us into thinking that progress is unproblematic or inevitable, though. Not only do individuals have constantly to negotiate their entry to the wider English-using community but they also have to reconcile this aspirant identity with their membership of other communities of practice. As Norton and Kamal point out, there may be no direct overlap between a learner's imagined community and the school classroom:

When learners begin a program of instruction, they may be invested in communities that extend beyond the four walls of the classroom. If the language teacher does not validate these imagined communities, students may resist participation in learning.

(Norton & Kamal, 2003: 303)



Underlying the frustration of learners A and D and their classmates in *Kelas Unggul* in year 2, for example, or learners E and F in their regular class, may be the sense that their teacher is not validating their imagined community. By not speaking the language clearly herself, and by not providing them with opportunities for oral practice, she is denying them the legitimate peripheral participation they crave for the eventual realization of their ideal L2 selves. In the regular classes (see section 7.3) I observed how a few learners would be active participants (mode ‘a’), sitting in strategic areas of the class, competing for chances to exchange remarks in English with the teacher or each other, and seeking out learning opportunities beyond what the teacher prescribed. But what was available was often feeble sustenance for these learners’ imaginations.

The self-regulatory strategies described in Chapter 8 were a response by learners to this kind of denial. So, for example, learner F, supported by her parents, finds satisfaction through participating in the alternative community of practice of her private course (MEC), though when she has become a master herself in that community she plans to enter another which she perceives as closer to the wider community of sophisticated Indonesian English-users (LIA). Learner E seeks consolation in purchasing cassettes and other learning resources which give her the sense of moving along the trajectory towards her imagined future community. The magazine *Cool n’Smart*, read by two of the FLs, similarly gives its readers a feeling of belonging to this wider community. Indeed, although some of the learning activity described by focal learners is actually done alone, or incidentally while doing something else (e.g. while watching an English film on TV), Wenger (1998) stresses that with the right imagination it is not “just a local act of learning. Rather, [it] is an event on a trajectory through which they give meaning to their engagement in practice in terms of the identity they are developing” (p. 155).

Meetings with native-speakers are highly-charged events for such learners because they represent a rare opportunity to participate fully in the wider English-speaking community – and not because they identify with them or their culture necessarily. It is the imagined made momentarily real. When the encounters go well, they ratify their evolving identity. This would explain, perhaps, why all the focal learners were willing to continue being interviewed by me and why the most motivated ones were, according to a teacher, excited about my visits. Of course, learners may find their identities



challenged in such encounters too. In a telling incident, learner F described a meeting she had had with an Australian teacher visiting her private school. It had not gone well:

“Maybe I don’t like him...because he thinks that Indonesia...is not like Australia, many motorbikes, whereas in Australia everyone drives a car.”

We can only understand the offence caused by this seemingly innocuous comment if we interpret it as rejecting F’s right to aspire to membership of the global community because she came from a ‘backward’ country.

Teachers TA and TB are universally popular with these motivated learners precisely because they endorse their developing identity in the wider English-using community of practice. They communicate with them in English outside of class and arrange for genuine participation in communicative events inside the class, as when teacher TB had pupils write out favourite recipes in English – “I like it because I can try my knowledge”, learner C said – when organizing debates (see section 8.3.3) or when he initiated a diary-writing project in a Year 2 elite class which motivated many pupils to write him pages of broken yet highly communicative English about personal problems and other matters of interest. As a result, they were able to create sufficient overlap between their classrooms and the learners’ imagined communities that the learners could interpret all activities therein as genuine legitimate peripheral participation, even those which at first sight appear to bear little relevance to English use in the wider L2 community. Wenger (1998: 176) uses the metaphor of stonecutters to show how imagination changes the relationship of the self to experience – what to one cutter is a perfectly square shape to another may be the building block of a cathedral. Similarly, what to one learner may be a rather tedious vocabulary exercise to another, with a strong ideal L2 self and whose imagination is encouraged, may be a developing attribute of a new person.

The very fact that elite classes (and private school classes) were selective would also have contributed to this effect – in conferring membership to a limited number, they helped to validate these young peoples’ emerging identity as English-users, providing them with models to emulate (see section 8.2.4) and protecting them from the scorn of disengaged peers (see section 8.2.6). Some Indonesian English teachers make a point of establishing ‘alternative’ communities to the classroom with similar qualities. For



example the young part-time teacher TF, who claimed that the school made “no contribution” to most pupils’ developing English, had (before she married) set up an English Conversation Club for more motivated pupils:

“I try to invite them to come to this place and I try to give them so many interesting activities, something like game, singing an English song, sometime we go outside to visit one places and in that places we try to speak English.”

Such clubs are popular throughout Indonesia (a network of clubs has a website at <http://www.kangguru.org/kgreconnectionclubnetwork.htm>) and represent a ‘community within a community’, with its own rules of participation mimicking those of the wider English-speaking community and sheltered from the institutional constraints and unengaged peers of their regular classrooms.

Lave and Wenger’s depiction of school as

...a circumscribed form of participation, preempting participation in ongoing practice as the legitimate source of learning opportunities, [and where] the goal of complying with the requirements specified by teaching engenders a practice different from that intended.

(Lave and Wenger, 1991: 96-7)

does accord with the pattern of English lessons I observed and described in section 7.3, with its high quota of ‘procedural display’ especially in the regular classes. One might then ask why the fall in enthusiasm for English among the general school population was moderate. Possibly learners whose ‘Ought-to L2 Self’ is dominant relate more easily to the classroom as a community of practice, since it is so often one founded on relations of authority between teacher and pupils. As they are focussed more on avoiding failure than realizing their own aspirations, learners are content to follow the teacher’s lead and are more easily satisfied by routine classroom tasks which do not involve meaningful communication in the language. Tasks such as completing textbook exercises, choral chanting and sequential reading aloud are ‘safe’ practices (see Chick, 1996) in that they do not threaten the face of either teacher or pupil and so can preserve a harmonious relationship – even the frequent checking of pupil work on the blackboard is usually done in a friendly spirit and in such a way that the majority of pupils can produce the correct responses easily. But because these activities are so dissimilar to the knowledge practices of expert English users – and the language itself a dry code rather than the value-laden expression of human meanings and intentions –



pupils' classroom activity is actually a form of 'legitimate nonparticipation' in this wider L2 community of practice. As Hickey and Granade (2004) point out, "participants in collaborative learning activities can be completely disengaged from the larger community to which they are ostensibly being acculturated" (p. 236). In the long-term such learners may, warn Lave and Wenger (*ibid.*), prioritize the 'exchange value' of learning over the 'use value', and thus focus mainly on passing tests and getting good qualifications, as learner M already seems to do ("You know SLTP7 'top', so if we enter this school, we get a good grade"; 2<sup>nd</sup> interview).

Because I deliberately chose more motivated learners as FLs, the 'middle group' of learners with a developed (to varying degrees) 'Ought-to L2 Self' but lacking an 'Ideal L2 Self' is underrepresented in the study. For this reason – as well as the fact that Dörnyei himself has not fully developed the concept in his L2 Motivational Self System (2005) – I have not attempted to represent the 'Ought-to L2 Self' in the framework in Figure 8 above. Among the FLs, though, were two learners who struggled to attain legitimate peripheral participation even in the restricted community of the classroom. On his own admission Learner G had trouble following events in the class, and often looked lost and disengaged and with a problematic relationship to his teacher (he is profiled in more depth below). Learner H became such a disruptive influence that he was regularly disciplined and eventually forced to repeat the whole year. It will be recalled (section 6.5.2) that this was the learner who carried an English conversation manual in his back-pocket, who was so keen to get involved in the research that he came to my residence to be interviewed and who talked consistently of becoming an international businessman (section 8.3.3). In Dörnyei's (*ibid.*) terms, he had a strong 'Ideal L2 self', but was having a very negative 'L2 Learning Experience' in school. This pattern could be explained as a clash between the culture and practice of his regular school class and those of his 'imagined community' of competent English users. Unlike other motivated FLs, and possibly because of his family problems, he was unable to find alternative outlets for his aspirations. As he became stigmatized in class as a poor pupil (classmates learners E & F told me in their second interview that the teacher had at one point hung a placard round his neck with the English words 'lazy student') he quickly developed an identity of 'marginal nonparticipation', in Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, whereby he no longer cared whether he conformed to the practices of his first year class (it is interesting that at this time he alone among the FLs



supported the stance of America towards Iraq, indicating a rejection of predominant communal attitudes). Although his school behaviour had improved by the time of his third interview, he also told me (outside the formal interview) that he was involved with musicians and other slightly subversive elements in the city, and he may well be attracted towards the non-academic practices of local youth culture.

#### **9.4 Learner profiles**

So far in this chapter I have been creating links between elements of Bourdieu's (1977) social theory, Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory, and Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self-System in order to explain my data. In doing so I have inevitably tended towards generalizations based on the patterns observed in surveys, observations and interviews, albeit with individual examples drawn from the qualitative data. I would now like to focus on individual cases, to show that the integration of these perspectives can also help explain language learning biographies.

Although this study cannot offer the depth of analysis provided by recent ethnographies (e.g. Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000; Day, 2002; Hawkins, 2005 – as I argue in the next chapter, such a study remains to be undertaken) there is sufficient detail to draw portraits of all the focal learners. I have chosen three to profile here for the following reasons. The first sketch shows a learner (D) who has much in common with the other FLs in that she comes from a relatively privileged emergent middle-class background and arrives at school having already acquired significant capital, quickly establishing her as a legitimate peripheral participant in the school community of practice, but whose aspirations for a wider English-speaking community sometimes conflict with school practices. The second (G) is an example of a learner from a different background who appears to get quickly set upon a trajectory of marginality vis-à-vis the school community of practice. The third (J) is a learner who I include deliberately because his trajectory is harder to discern.

Dewi<sup>11</sup> (Focal learner D)

Dewi's parents were both lecturers at Jambi University, her father in a senior faculty position. It was while her father was studying for a Master's degree on a scholarship in America that Dewi herself was born, a fact she told me about very early in her first interview, suggesting it was already quite important in her self-concept. She was one of the few pupils who chose American English as her target variety, and in her third interview she actually introduced herself with the words 'I come from Fayetteville, Texas.' She spent only one year in America before her family returned to Indonesia, first to live in Jakarta, then relocating to Jambi where they lived in the pleasant suburb of Telanaipura, near the school. As Minangkabau (originally from west Sumatra) they would have felt comfortable there as this ethnic group had a high profile among the professional classes in the city. Dewi was the oldest of 5 children.

Before coming to SMP X she had studied English for four years at one of the best primary schools in Jambi. Though these lessons would have been intermittent (at most once a week), she also said she got practice at home – her parents being keen to keep up their own English by practising with her now and again. These experiences had apparently laid a sound foundation for her study of English at SMP X, for her initial questionnaire responses were all very positive – satisfied with her progress, confident of ultimate success, and happy with the learning experience so far. She also regarded English as very important for all the given reasons.

Dewi was unusual in not agreeing immediately to become a participant in the research. Or rather, having agreed, she then backtracked when I came to observe her class – then agreed again 24 hours later. While I cannot be sure of her motives, it is possible that rather like some of Norton and Kamal's (2003) subjects (see section 8.3.3) she may have felt initial discomfort having to interact publicly with somebody who had 'full membership' of her imagined community. Once she had agreed, she was one of the most enthusiastic and capable interactants – for example, in both questionnaire open items and in the interviews, she was ready to reverse the tables and ask *me* questions. Although in the first interview she used little English, her use of occasional interjections such as 'cool!' hinted at a deeper facility in oral language and an

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<sup>11</sup> I give each learner a pseudonym.



eagerness to participate in authentic communication. In 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> interviews this spoken competence showed itself more clearly. She would occasionally respond to my Indonesian comments in English, and used English with her fellow interviewee learner A. There was further deft use of short interjections, such as ‘sure’, ‘really?’, ‘of course’. She felt confident enough to joke with me too, accusing me of being a ‘workaholic’, and asking me to bring them both back to England. A liking for spoken idiom revealed itself in other ways too. In her initial questionnaire responses she said her favourite activities were expressing words in English “so they sounded really good”; in her second interview she said how much she enjoyed discovering teenage slang in the magazine *Cool n’Smart*, and she began to listen to English pop music and pick up phrases that way. Dewi was a teenager “seduced by the foreign sounds, rhythms and meanings” (Kramsch, 2006: 102) of a second language and who clearly felt at ease with the new identity it generated, one which she could almost view as her ‘birthright’.

Dewi’s formal learning of English at school over these 20 months was not unproblematic though. She failed to be selected for the *Kelas Akselerasi* at the beginning of Year 1, and she was not enjoying her regular English class, complaining in her second interview that the teacher (whose name she had already forgotten) “just asked to translate English words, just that, no practice at all”. When I observed her in school classes I noted her behaviour to be highly variable; she sat at the back and spent most of the time clearly in mode ‘c’ (see section 7.3.2), doodling or staring into space, but when the teacher asked a genuine question about pupils’ school activity, she came alive, quickly volunteering an answer in English. When nominated to read aloud by a shrill ‘you’ from the teacher, she clearly made an effort to do her best, reading fluently and with excellent pronunciation, but then quickly relapsed into distraction when the next student began. I would suggest she felt uncomfortable in this class because the restricted set of knowledge practices of the classroom community of practice did not meet the needs of her aspiring identity as a member of the wider English-using community of practice. As a result she adopted a form of non-participation in which she gave selective attention to the class to meet her own needs. The teacher’s poor English and domineering manner, and some of her peers’ flippant behaviour, may have been further disincentives to engage fully. Interestingly another FL (learner B) commented that Dewi often lost concentration in class because she was a “creative

person”; this was meant to imply that she got bored quickly by mundane tasks, as she herself admitted.

Around this time she signed up for a private course in English at LIA, which I visited on 17/4/03, noting down that she “seems to enjoy class - when finishes pairwork, looks ahead in textbook”. She was also an active oral participant, exchanging jokey remarks with the teacher in English (e.g. T: ‘Dewi, would you like to come to the cinema with me?’ D: ‘Yes, but what will your wife say?’). Then half way through the year she was selected for the second ‘elite’ class, *Kelas Unggul*, and began to be taught by teacher TB, who made lessons “interesting”. For a while, then, both private course and state school classrooms offered communities of practice which overlapped in significant ways with her imagined community of cosmopolitan English-users. When I observed her in teacher TB’s class, she still tended to veer between mode ‘a’ and ‘c’, though her participation was much greater because of the regularity with which he invited spoken comments and she appeared more relaxed.

Apart from the change of teacher, being selected for KU was an important moment for Dewi (as for the other FLs in elite classes) because it provided her with like-minded classmates and shielded her from those with other priorities. Just such a classmate was learner A, who she chose to be interviewed with on my second and third visits. While they were not ‘best friends’, their relaxed manner with each other and with me and the quick, unforced way they agreed with each other’s viewpoints was a vivid demonstration of their shared enterprise, of gaining access to the wider English-speaking community of practice. This is not to deny of course that there were subtle distinctions in their visions – for example, learner A was also a peripheral participant in an Arabic-speaking Moslem youth community of practice, while Dewi seemed to direct her attention more towards a secular, fashionable Asian youth culture (in fact she went out of her way during her second interview to tell me that she did not believe in ghosts, thereby positioning herself in opposition to traditional Indonesian village culture as well as to learner A, who admitted to being scared of them).

In her 2<sup>nd</sup> year class, with the same teacher who had frustrated her at the beginning of her first year, her dissatisfaction grew. This was expressed mainly in her interview, when she criticized her teacher’s poor English and dull methodology. In her final



questionnaire she rated her progress as ‘not satisfactory’, though she was still confident of ultimate success, and rated English as very important for all reasons. Strangely she also said that she was ‘happy’ with the English lessons in SMP, but the reason she gave was that “SMP X has various kinds of media for learning, such as TV and we can watch films in English” suggesting that she interpreted the question as relating to the community of practice of the school as a whole, comparing it to other less well-resourced schools in the locality. As we saw in section 8.3.1, she appeared able to self-regulate her motivation by recognising her Year 2 English class as a temporary challenge, and she was putting energy into other ways of learning English at this time, such as reading magazines, watching English-language films and listening to English pop music. Also perhaps reflecting her disenchantment with school English lessons, she is more enthusiastic about studying Chinese and Japanese than any other FL, apparently visualizing herself as a speaker one day, and her parents also help her motivational self-regulation, by providing an alternative perspective on school grades and endorsing her primary goal of learning to *speak* the language (see sections 8.2.6 and 8.2.3.2).

With greater participation in her imagined community, Dewi’s ‘ideal L2 self’ became slightly more focussed. In her first interview she had talked vaguely of going abroad, perhaps studying there “in order to become fluent in English”. At her second interview she said she wanted to become a businesswoman, though not purely for self-enrichment but “to help build Indonesia”. In her final interview she said she had toyed with the idea of becoming a foreign correspondent, but would probably stick to becoming a successful businesswoman, who had one home in the west and another in Indonesia. As a footnote to this brief profile, I have received several email messages from Dewi since I last saw her in Jambi 30 months ago – evidence that she continues to progress along her learning trajectory with new forms of participation.

### Gus (Focal learner G)

Gus did not share the relatively prosperous family background of most other FLs. According to one of the teachers, he lived in a simple house near the school with his uncle, auntie and an older brother. His father, a fairly low-ranking soldier, lived away from the city with his wife. He had attended a regular primary school where he apparently studied English for two years, though in such a school the quality and



quantity of provision was likely to be minimal. In his first interview he expressed some pride and pleasure at being in SMP X, which many young people aspired to enter, and said that he had found some good new friends. However, his English teacher had already identified him as an ‘unmotivated student’ and thus recommended him as a possible subject for my research.

Some of his responses in the initial questionnaire clearly set him apart from other FLs. He had not attended any private English courses, though he had been to a general tutoring college. He was only ‘somewhat confident’ of ultimate achievement in English, he felt learning the language was ‘OK’ and he did not regard it as important, for any reason whatsoever. When I observed him in class, he always sat towards the back, rarely spoke publicly and appeared to spend much time in mode ‘c’, often not following the lesson or carrying out the teacher’s instructions. At one point he stood up and shouted ‘Ma’am’ to ask something, but several other pupils were also talking loudly and the teacher did not notice him. Later when the teacher did try to elicit an answer from him, he got it wrong, whereupon his classmates clapped ironically. Thus, even at this very early stage – after about six weeks of classes – it appears that Gus was being marginalized in class, and teacher and peers were unwittingly contributing to this process. In a lesson observed eight months later his exclusion appeared to have become more complete; he was not nominated to answer any questions, nor did he volunteer. At one point the teacher gave a dictation and he and his partner (who happened to be learner H) simply did not do it, a fact of which the teacher apparently remained unaware. When I asked him about homework, he replied: “as regards that, it’s rare, because I forget, or forget to bring my book, or I don’t know about it.”

Without carrying out a fuller ethnography, it is difficult for me as a cultural outsider to know why Gus could not achieve legitimate peripheral participant status in the school classroom community. It is true that even in his first questionnaire he admitted he ‘did not understand’ English lessons, so his level of competence was perhaps a little behind his peers. But more likely there were other more subtle signals which marked Gus as a marginal player. At this stage he did not see any importance in learning English, so he had little reason to exercise agency in the class. He had not shown any initiative in learning English outside of class; he did listen to English pop music (Westlife, and later Linkin’ Park) and had used a computer, but did not associate these activities with



English learning. He does not get any support for using or learning English outside of school. The only other person in his family who spoke some English (according to his initial questionnaire) was his older brother, and the only further mention of this figure is in connection with the journal which I had given him to fill in – he had stolen it. He could not think of any advice to give to a new pupil arriving at SMP X and wanting to learn English. Gus' imaginative horizons appeared narrow too, compared to other FLs. At this second interview he suggested he may open a computer rental business one day, though his family's computer at home had recently broken down beyond repair. At the third interview, his ambitions had narrowed to perhaps studying agriculture. Asked who they admire, most FLs had mentioned a famous Indonesian, or an international historical figure; Gus said he admired his brother, cousins and "people who we know."

In short, Gus' habitus was not attuned to life in an SMP X English class. As a result, lacking both personal agency and key social and cultural capital, his demeanour and behaviour gave the teacher the impression that he lacked motivation. Largely excluded from the knowledge practices of the class, he fell gradually further behind. Since he prioritized other subjects (he claimed he liked Biology and Maths) he initially did not seem to mind this situation though he did concede that his relationship to the teacher was "not close". But ironically, the longer he stayed in school, the more exposed he was to the discourses stressing the importance of English. By the time of my final visit, one year later, his interview and questionnaire responses show that his views had changed (his score for the importance of English rose from 'not important' to 'very important', with instrumental reasons the strongest), which made his marginal nonparticipant status all the harder to bear. As the long extract quoted in section 7.4.1.2 shows, he still could not understand what was happening in his lessons, but having developed an 'ought-to L2 self', he was even more afraid of making mistakes or of asking for help from the teacher – though he was careful to point out that this was not because of a bad relationship, as with his previous teacher. I already mentioned (section 7.4.1.1) how Gus laughed wilyly at the idea that we should speak English together in our final interview. The difference between this moment of interaction and his first interview 20 months earlier was that he now felt ashamed of his non-participation – evidence of the affective element in the 'ought-to' self.

Juwono (Focal learner J)

Juwono's background is very similar to that of Dewi, in that he comes from a relatively prosperous family living in Telanaipura, and his father is a professor at Jambi University. Like Dewi, his family are not local Jambinese but part of the educated professional classes who came to the province, in this case from Java, in the 1970s and 1980s as part of the Suharto regime's drive to develop relatively backward areas of the country. Unlike Dewi, though, his parents could not speak English, though his father had been to Canada and they had had a Canadian exchange student living with the family for some time. An older brother also was able to speak some English, though he was away during the week studying at a prestigious private boarding school outside the city. Before entering SMP X he had studied English at a local primary school for two years, and also attended a private course in English for 12 months (though neither of these two institutions were particularly prestigious).

Despite this apparently promising background, Juwono was equivocal in his attitudes towards English. As reported in section 6.5.2, he recognised the importance of the language (he scored '2' for all reasons in his first questionnaire) but had a preventive regulatory focus (Higgins, 1998). Throughout his interview he was one of the least responsive subjects, showing little interest in me or our topic, and the final open item comment in his questionnaire took a slightly critical line, asking why English was the language which the whole world wanted to learn, and not Indonesian. Possibly Juwono, while aware of globalization processes and the wider English-speaking community in a way that Gus was not, was even at this early stage positioning himself as an outsider. On his own admission he did nothing to study the language outside of school, not even doing his homework unless he felt he had to: "at home, well just that, wait for homework or lessons which were difficult, which I didn't understand, then I'll study. If I feel I know it, no." I also noted while observing him that, very unusually for this school, he did not have his own dictionary.

In each of his first two interviews he had complaints to make about his school English lessons (e.g. "I get bored, in class one's told to go to the front, say the words which we had to memorize") though these were expressed in a mild manner compared to some of the other more motivated FLs (e.g. learners A, D, E and F). When I observed him in



class in September 2002 he was sitting in the 2<sup>nd</sup> row back, and I recorded him as being quiet but usually paying attention and occasionally volunteering an answer (mode 'b'). Eight months later, he was sitting at the far back of the class, and was more usually in mode 'c', just occasionally doing tasks assigned by the teacher (on 24/4/03 I recorded that even when the teacher directly nominated him, he murmured an inaudible reply and the teacher swiftly moved on without comment). At this point, he appears to be on a similar trajectory to Gus, towards marginal nonparticipation in the school English class community of practice. What is more, throughout this period Juwono was apparently failing to prosper in a succession of private language schools. He did not enjoy his first school, MEI, because "the teacher, if we spoke he ignored us, no one was told off, or reprimanded." He then began and ended a course at the high-status (and expensive) school LIA but gave it up because the time apparently clashed with a school activity, though he also said that the level was below that of the school class (this suggests that either he or his parents had made a poor decision about his appropriate point of entry). He then started a course at the general tutoring college 'Ganesha', but by the time of the 3<sup>rd</sup> interview he had also resigned from there, complaining that it had made him 'confused'.

At the time of my final visit, in March 2004, there were some small changes noticeable in Juwono's outlook. He was still performing poorly – his semester score was low, and he gave himself a '1' for progress on his 2<sup>nd</sup> questionnaire – and like Gus, he laughingly dismissed the notion that he might talk in English with me. He attributed his failures to lack of effort, and still admitted that he belonged to the group of 'lazy ones' in class. Outside of school, he was honest enough to confess that, in addition to giving up successive private language courses, he still did virtually nothing which involved English. But there were now some signs of determination to conform to school requirements. He said his desire to learn English had increased in order to improve his grades, and he was now positioned right in front of the teacher's desk in class (though he admitted this made him feel 'dizzy'). Bucking the general trend, he now appraised his school lessons more positively, complimenting the teacher for paying close attention to students and "guiding them properly". He also now claimed that English was 'very important' to him, with instrumental reasons highest ('3') and integrative lowest ('1'). He asserted further that he would like to learn Japanese and Chinese, because they could also help him get a job.



It is difficult to predict Juwono's English learning trajectory thereafter. Despite the social and cultural capital that he brought to the school, he does not appear to have developed an 'ideal L2 self'. He does have an 'ought-to L2 self', presumably inculcated partly by his parents as he hinted himself in the quotation in section 6.5.2, but initially this did not lead him to invest in English classes at school or show any initiative to study successfully outside of school; if anything he identified more strongly with a counter-culture of 'lazy boys'. However, towards the end of the period his 'ought-to L2 self' may have strengthened and he appeared to be more accepting of his membership in the school English class community of practice, again perhaps partly as a result of parental pressure – he admitted for example that his father had been angry at his poor school grades (which were in other subjects as well as English), and it is interesting to speculate whether his high-status father had insisted on his change of seating in class. I was not able to visit Juwono's home, but I did know his father from my time as a lecturer at Jambi University: in the English Language Centre, my Indonesian colleagues and I felt he was not sympathetic towards our mission because of his own lack of proficiency in the language. Juwono's case suggests the value of more in-depth studies exploring how parents mediate their children's evolving attitudes toward school subjects and their learning behaviour, as proposed by Ushioda (2003) – why, for instance, did Juwono never develop 'an ideal L2 self' while other FLs did? – and it certainly warns against any easy deterministic explanations of the relationship between socio-economic or family background and success in English. Despite his father being a Professor of Education, Juwono was the only one of the focal learners to indicate that he was 'not at all confident' of achieving proficiency in English.

## **9.5 Summary and discussion**

In their qualitative longitudinal study of children moving through the grades of a UK primary school, Pollard and Filer show how “processes repeat themselves so that experience accumulates recursively” (1996: 284). While emphasising that change and fluctuation are inevitable, they uncovered patterns of behaviour and outcomes which evolved in parallel with individuals' sense of self, in particular their identity vis-à-vis the school classroom, playground and other contexts. They thus characterized pupils'



careers as “a spiral of learning and identity as children encountered new experiences through the years” (p. 25). Such a view is, of course, in accordance with situated learning theory, in which “learning in practice is negotiating an identity” (Wenger, 1998:157).

Even in the relatively shallow depth and brief time-scale of this study, it is possible to see ‘spirals’ of learning English in the careers of focal learners. Dewi and Gus can be seen to be on very different learning trajectories, formed through patterns of responses to events within their various communities of practice which in turn shape the way they view themselves in relation to these communities. I have argued that Dewi’s motivation to learn English is at least partly explained by conflicts between two predominant communities of practice – the school English class and the wider community of sophisticated, cosmopolitan Indonesian users of English (which is partly an imagined construct rather than daily reality). In this her experience is similar to other FLs such as A, E and F, who also encountered severe challenges at school over this period reflected in their talk about motivation. Some experiences in school validate her evolving identity as a member of the wider English-using community, while other experiences challenge it. For other FLs (C, K, L), grouped together in the *Aksel* class at the beginning of year 1 with teachers TB and TA, their membership in these two communities of practice was more harmonious, as their knowledge practices and shared assumptions largely overlapped. All these FLs though had brought with them to SMP X a habitus and various forms of capital which not only helped them conceive of themselves as future users of English but which continued to give them access to key resources outside of school. Interaction with these resources was vital because it enabled them to feel they were participating, in gradually more ‘expert’ ways, in the wider English-using community of practice, to get a ‘sense of trajectory’ – and as Wenger puts it (1998), “a sense of trajectory gives us ways of sorting out what matters and what does not, what contributes to our identity and what remains marginal” (p. 155). Thus, the sense of trajectory brings with it an ability to self-regulate motivation and behaviour, just as ultimate goals are becoming clearer.

In contrast to this happy scenario, Gus appeared to be heading towards marginality in the academic community of school. Again a spiral of cumulative learning experience and evolving identity is visible, what Morita (2004) called the “dynamic co-



construction of identity and participation” (p. 596). Like another FL from a rural area, learner M, Gus entered SMP X without the habitus and forms of capital of Dewi and her peers – the cosmopolitan bicultural Indonesian was not a ‘possible self’. Without even any strong sense of obligation to learn English, Gus’ pupil career meandered on the margins of the school classroom as he settled into an identity as a reluctant learner and amiable peer. When later he realized the possible benefits of learning English, he was frustrated because he felt it was too late to do anything about it. Within 20 months of formal study of the language, Gus had learned to become a non-English user.

Taking a sociological perspective, there is an apparent ‘Matthew Effect’ at work here, whereby (to paraphrase the well-known passage from Matthew’s Gospel XXV, 29) ‘the rich get richer and the poor get poorer’. First applied to literacy learning by Stanovich (1986), Williams et al. (2002) drew attention to the Matthew Effect in their study of pupils’ motivation to learn French and German in UK schools. They found that by Year 9 there were already significant differences in the motivation and attitudes of high proficiency and low proficiency students and “such differences had clearly emerged early on in these students’ secondary school careers” (p. 523). They speculated that pupils who were perceived as good language learners by their teachers and by themselves tended to enjoy lessons more, were thereby motivated to learn more, did better, and so on, while other pupils were caught in a vicious circle of poor performance and motivation. Jones and Jones (2001) make the point that foreign language study is particularly vulnerable to a downward spiral of motivation because it is ‘cumulative’, with each lesson tending to build on the previous one. With many other school subjects, a new week brings a new topic and a fresh opportunity to perform well, whereas in language classes, especially those using a grammatical and/or lexical syllabus, failure to learn material in one week is likely to cause poor task performance the following week.

There are two reasons why the Matthew Effect may be even more virulent in the context of English learning in Jambi. One is the way language teachers felt compelled to use only the L2 in the classroom, so that the language became both the medium and the message; as the survey responses showed, this contributed to a feeling of exclusion among many learners like Gus (without necessarily pleasing more capable learners, because some teachers’ English was demonstratively faulty). Secondly, where state



school provision is weak, learners are forced to look for resources elsewhere to exercise personal agency, and it is not surprising that those from better-off families have access to more.

The long-term consequence could be the perpetuation and extension of socio-economic inequality. Dewi is far more likely to gain a high level of proficiency in English than Gus. As she hopes, this should bring significant academic opportunities, perhaps even the chance to study abroad one day in the USA. This in turn will greatly enhance her chances of becoming the jetsetting (though socially responsible) Indonesian businesswoman she aspires to be. Once she becomes a mother herself, she will give her children plenty of support in their own endeavours to master English (and perhaps other important foreign languages like Mandarin) which will give them a key advantage over the children of Gus, and enable them to gain even greater educational, professional and social benefits than their mother did. Thus, as Bourdieu (1991) explains, do social classes reproduce themselves, leading to an ever-widening gap between rich and poor in terms of wealth and power. The policy implications of this finding is one of the topics of the final chapter.

This chapter has considered the research data from the perspective of Bourdieu's (1991) social theory, Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory and Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self-System. It has demonstrated that elements of these models can help explain some of the identified features of SMP X pupils' motivation to learn English over the period studied. In the process I hope to have shown how the first two more established theories may contribute to the development of the third. The notions of 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' could be useful for understanding the origins of the 'Ideal L2 Self', while the notion of participation in 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) can promote understanding of how the 'Ideal L2 Self' relates to the 'L2 Learning Experience', as Dörnyei (ibid.) himself anticipated. In particular, it has highlighted the way that the 'Ideal L2 Self' may be challenged in different contexts of learning. The next chapter reviews the study's research questions and offers short answers. It then acknowledges the limitations of the study before summarizing its implications for theory and pedagogy.

## **CHAPTER 10**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

#### **10.1 Introduction**

This concluding chapter first revisits the study's three research questions, summarizing the findings reported in Chapters 6-8. By evaluating how far it has been able to answer the research questions, and reflecting on opportunities and constraints which arose during the research process, the chapter will then address the study's limitations. Bearing in mind these limitations, it will then make claims about the contribution of the study for L2 motivation theory and make suggestions for further research. Finally the chapter will consider the implications of the study's findings for local educational policy and pedagogy.

#### **10.2 Summary of findings: Short answers to the research questions**

##### **RQ1. How motivated are the students to learn English when they enter Junior High School X Jambi?**

This question was addressed using data from the initial survey of almost all the first year population in SMP X and from interviews with the 12 focal learners. Virtually all the school's pupils recognised the importance of English, for a variety of reasons. Against expectations, most had already studied English at primary school, though the great majority were also pleased to be studying the language more intensively now, in a good school like SMP X. Another surprise was how much learning of English took place outside of junior high school, notably at private English courses in the city, though there was also evidence of individuals taking opportunities to learn and use English through various leisure activities. While current levels of competence appeared to be very low, students were generally confident of ultimate success in mastering English. One notable finding was that students did not associate English with



Anglophone countries exclusively but with the globalizing world at large. English was viewed as an essential attribute of citizens in this wider world, in turn granting them access to study, work or leisure opportunities beyond those available in their immediate environment. English was, for the more motivated students, a part of their current and future identities.

**RQ2. How does this motivation change during the first two years of junior high school?**

This question was addressed using data from both questionnaires and all three rounds of interviews with focal learners, along with some observation and journal data. Perhaps the most striking feature of SMP X pupils' motivation to learn English over this period was the dichotomy between on the one hand, a continuing very high regard for the value of the language, and on the other hand a declining appreciation of the process of learning it in school. Instrumental and academic reasons for studying the language were even more highly valued than at the beginning of the period, while intrinsic and integrative reasons were diminished slightly. Although they did not enjoy school lessons as much and were less satisfied with their progress, most pupils still believed they would be ultimately successful in learning English. As suggested by correlation statistics, this is probably related to the fact that the level of English-learning or -use outside of school actually rose, both in private course attendance and in various leisure activities, and there was evidence of some learners using more sophisticated learning strategies. Indeed, all the focal learners who had been initially identified as motivated showed signs of increased competence in the language over this period, as evidenced in their willingness and ability to interact with me in English.

Both interview and journal data indicated that there was some fluctuation in pupils' motivation for learning English inside and outside school in that particularly negative or positive experiences sparked temporary affective reactions. However those focal learners who had been placed in an elite class at the beginning of the research period exhibited generally stable patterns of motivation, suggesting that this classroom environment shielded them from factors which were negatively influencing other pupils' motivation.

**RQ3. What factors are associated with changes in motivation over this period?**

The same data sources were used to answer this question as RQ2 but with the addition of teacher interview data. A number of distinct contextual features were implicated in SMP X pupils' evolving motivation. At the broadest level, globalization processes permeate virtually every aspect of this study, while specific events such as the Iraq War had short-term effects on learner attitudes towards the west and may lie behind the slight diminishment in integrative reasons for learning English. The relative prosperity of the local community, as well as its openness to forces of globalization, are positive influences on young people's motivation to learn English, while the more immediate environment of the home and family could be positive or negative. The school as an institution was not identified as a major factor, nor were the school classes themselves, except insofar as they provided the teacher and a sense of membership – or not – of a learning community. Individual English teachers could be important nurturers or inhibitors of individual learner motivation, through their teaching methods and the way they interacted with pupils. The influence of school may have been offset somewhat by that of the private English course, where many pupils spent as much time as in the school English class and which could boost self-confidence without necessarily providing a pleasurable experience. Peers at school and in the home environment have a potentially important role too in affirming or denigrating an individual's emerging identity as an English speaker.

Certain internal factors, varying between focal learners previously identified as more or less motivated, were identified in interview data as being related to L2 motivational change, possibly through mediating the effects of the external factors described above. Over this period some focal learners showed evidence of self-regulating their motivation, for example by controlling their emotions in the face of negative experience or channelling their energy into new learning enterprises. At the same time their goals tended to become more sharply-defined. Another distinction between more and less motivated focal learners was the regulatory focus (Higgins, 1998): the former tended to have a promotion focus, implying that they viewed English as an opportunity to improve their lives, while others had a prevention focus, meaning that they viewed mastery of English as a way of avoiding unwanted consequences. Finally, a small effect for gender was found, with girls generally showing more positive attitudes towards



learning English and, by the end of the research period, putting more effort into learning it in and out of school.

### 10.3 Limitations

While the mixed method strategy allowed for patterns in the survey data to be confirmed by, and explored further through, individual learner portraits emerging through interview and observation data, it also restricted the size of both the quantitative and qualitative data sets, since I had a limited amount of time to spend in the field. The relatively young age of the respondents and their lack of familiarity with foreigners was another reason why both survey instrument and interview length had to be constricted. As a result I can have less confidence in the survey results than I would have done if I had been able to develop a longer instrument with multiple items targeting each construct (for example, instrumentality, integrativeness, intrinsic motives etc.). On reflection, it would also have been helpful to target the construct of motivation more directly, as for example in the ‘motivational intensity’ construct in the AMTB (Gardner, 1985) or in terms of ‘effort’ in the LLMS (Williams et al., 2002), instead of having to infer this from the level of learning activity outside of school and attitude to the learning experience. Given the stress that the focal learners felt particularly in their first encounters with me, the interviews might have been given more depth by including an elicitation task, such as the card game used by Rizou (2007) which enabled her to both confirm and elaborate on survey responses, and sometimes to send the interaction in interesting new directions. One such task might have been to write brief descriptions of classroom events (drawn from my observation data) and ask learners to comment on them – this might have elicited longer turns on their part, and generated more data on the motivational effects of class dynamics for example.

Certain limitations of the chosen methods for researching motivational *change* became apparent during the analysis phase. Although two intervention points are sufficient for observing trends over a period of time, three intervention points are probably *not* sufficient for generating information about the way motivation fluctuates on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. As discussed in section 7.4.1.4, it was the learner journals which yielded most information about this, though the respondents were apparently

reluctant to complete them. Another potential problem with interviews for investigating change is that the researcher can only speak with certainty about what was mentioned; if something was mentioned in later interviews but not in earlier ones, it does not necessarily mean that this represents a change, since it could be an artefact of the interaction. Both these problems argue for much more regular generation of data, either through a more ethnographic mode of investigation with lengthier spells in the field (practically impossible in my own case) or by exploiting emerging technologies like email or online chatting (though this brings the danger of a greater ‘Hawthorne Effect’ – see below). Rizou (2007) generated useful data by directly asking her respondents about motivational change, a technique which I also could have employed.

I must acknowledge that there are probably many aspects of SMP X pupils’ motivational development which this study did not capture, though this is true of virtually any attempt to investigate such a complex human quality. For example, many of the motivational influences listed in the ‘actional’ and ‘post-actional’ stages of Dörnyei & Ottó’s (1998) process-oriented model of motivation, for example, are present in this study, but several others get little or no mention e.g. learner group dynamics, task conflict, performance appraisal and reward structure, attributional factors. Since I was not working from any particular theoretical viewpoint and was taking a deliberately open stance towards possible motivational influences, I would argue that the low salience of these factors in this study is an *indication* of relatively low importance in SMP X pupils’ motivation to learn English; but it is still possible that a study which set out purposefully to investigate them could overturn this assumption.

The restricted nature of the sample also needs to be emphasised at this point. Firstly, the school researched was serving a relatively advantaged urban population exposed to forces of globalization. While it may have much in common with urban sites in developing countries, it is quite different from the majority rural areas of Indonesia, where one would expect to find weaker identification processes with English and negative L2 learning experiences in school possibly having a more profound impact on L2 learning motivation – but this needs to be investigated empirically. Secondly, the sample of focal learners was deliberately skewed (see section 5.6) towards more and less motivated learners; this may have been helpful in highlighting the characteristics of



both groups, but it does mean that I have had to rely on survey and observation data to characterize the ‘averagely’ motivated SMP X pupil (who, with a developed ‘ought-to L2 self’, might not be average at all in more rural contexts).

#### **10.4 Contribution to theory and suggestions for further research**

As I have already discussed some implications of my findings for certain areas of L2 motivation theory at the end of each ‘Findings’ chapter, and then again in Chapter 9, I shall confine this discussion to summarizing the key contributions and how they could be confirmed or extended by further research.

Notwithstanding Gardner and others’ recently expressed confidence in the construct of ‘integrativeness’ (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Gardner, 2005), I believe this study adds to the body of evidence (e.g. McClelland, 2000; Yashima, 2002; Dörnyei, 2005; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei et al., 2006) suggesting the concept needs refining, at least when applied to the learning in non-Anglophone countries of English as the world language. If learners are not relating the language to particular Anglophone groups or cultures but to the global community, positive attitudes towards Anglophone communities may be irrelevant (as vividly expressed by learner B at the time of the Iraq War – see section 7.4.1.4). Gardner (2005: 10) claims that “individuals who are high in integrativeness do not focus on their own ethno-linguistic community as part of their own identity”, but the young people in this study appear to aspire towards a bicultural identity, retaining hopes and goals for their roles within their own community (locally or nationally) and identifying with globally-active members of this community rather than with Anglophone outsiders. I suggest this has potentially important methodological implications (see section 10.5 below). Similarly, when the benefits of participation in the global community are both so diverse and so nebulous – incorporating for SMP X pupils a range of academic, professional and leisure potentialities, often vaguely conceived – it is difficult to uphold the traditional distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation. This is not to deny that elements of ‘integrativeness’ as conceived in the Socio-Educational Model (Gardner, 1985), such as a general openness to foreign cultures or an interest in foreign languages, are still potentially important individual attributes for foreign language

learning; what is being claimed is that the current make-up of the construct may lose some of its predictive or explanatory power in certain contexts. Gardner (2005) has argued that replacing an essentially affective dimension of self with a cognitive dimension such as the 'Ideal L2 Self' (Dörnyei, 2005) will lead to confusion, but there is a greater danger of that in continuing to utilize an outmoded construct. Besides, the regulatory focus implied by 'ideal' and 'ought-to' selves does have an affective dimension, as Higgins (1997) makes clear: "...people experience dejection-related emotions...when they fail to attain their hopes or ideals whereas they experience agitation-related emotion....when they fail to meet their obligations or responsibilities" (p. 1288).

In identifying some change in motivation in the 20-month period, the study reaffirms its dynamic nature (Dörnyei, 2001a). However, the patterns of change observed, whereby goal-related aspects of motivation appeared to remain stable or even strengthen while learning-experience aspects weakened, differs from the more comprehensive downward trend observed in many American studies of general educational motivation at the elementary/middle school transition (Wigfield et al., 1998; Pintrich, 2003) and in specifically L2 motivation studies in early secondary school years in the UK (Chambers, 1998; Williams et al., 2002), in the Middle East (Inbar, Donitsa-Schmidt & Shohamy, 2001) and in Asia (Koizumo & Matsuo, 1993; Tachibana et al., 1996). Admittedly the lack of a direct measure of learning effort in the survey (as well as the single-item design) urges caution in interpreting this result, but the qualitative data lends support to the view that in this context, negative school learning experiences do not necessarily have lasting effects on overall desire to learn English. Further, the way situated learning theory has helped explain individual motivational change (Chapter 9) confirms the truth of McCallum's (2001) statement that understanding motivational change requires detailed attention to the learners' micro-sociocultural context.

This study has found Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivation Self-System a useful conceptual tool in understanding SMP X pupils' motivation to learn English. The notion of an 'Ideal L2 Self' seemed to fit well with the way the more motivated learners related to English when I met them in 2002 (Chapter 6), and in analysing how pupils wrote (in the survey open items) and spoke (in interviews) about their motivation in subsequent



meeting (Chapter 8), it was possible to distinguish between those with a promotion or prevention regulatory focus (Higgins, 1998). Because of the nature of my sample of focal learners, the study provides more insight into the possible motivational benefits of developing an 'Ideal L2 Self' and says less about how a strong 'Ought-to L2 Self' may play out in practice. As Dörnyei (2005) proposed, linking these concepts to Lave & Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory has helped explain aspects of some learners' motivational profile over the period studied, for example how they thrive or not in school classrooms, respond to particular teachers, relate to peers, and self-regulate their motivation and learning behaviour outside of school. This analysis has however emphasised the multiple and contested nature of identity (see further discussion below), and the fact that learners may aspire to membership of several potentially conflicting communities of practice, and that participation inevitably involves challenges to personal identity, needs to be incorporated somehow into the construct of 'Ideal L2 Self' if it is to predict or explain learner L2 achievement in the long-term. Further exploratory research is needed which probes individual learners' notions of self in various contexts (Syed, 2001), aiming to build on existing relevant work (including Gardner's (1985) Socio-Educational Model and its elaborations e.g. Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) to define the various dimensions of the 'Ideal' and 'Ought-to' L2 selves. Such research could take the form of ethnographic case-studies as proposed below, though it should also build on the experimental work carried out by Higgins (1998) and colleagues into the sensitivities and preferred strategies of individuals with a promotion vs. prevention regulatory focus. This could later lead into larger-scale quantitative studies investigating the link with L2 outcomes of various kinds, for instance testing Yashima et al.'s (2004) hypothesis, for which there is some tentative support here, that a strong 'Ideal L2 Self' promotes willingness to communicate orally in the language.

As with its temporal dimension, this research project deliberately set out to explore the contextual nature of motivation, and a number of important sociocultural influences on SMP X pupils' motivation were identified. In chapter 9, the study went beyond this 'weak' formulation (Pintrich, 2003) of contextual impact, and found value in a poststructuralist approach (Pavlenko, 2002) viewing language learning not so much as a process of internalizing knowledge or skill (influenced by various factors) but as changing patterns of participation in communities of practice, entailing the continual



negotiation of identity in relation to various communities. Though (in recognition of my mainly cognitive starting point) I have retained the term ‘motivation’ rather than using her own term ‘investment’, I hope to have demonstrated the validity in this EFL context of Norton’s (2000) belief that the construction of identities is central to language learning, and that conflicts between competing identities (current and future) can help explain learners’ fluctuating engagement with the L2 in particular situations. The skewed sample of focal learners also had the unexpected benefit of highlighting the importance of individuals’ social histories – their habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) – in constructing those identities, since it brought together learners with very different backgrounds.

I have argued (in Chapter 7) that some of the focal learners exhibit forms of autonomous language behaviour which match definitions in the traditional literature on L2 autonomy, and that the study helps bury the notion that this quality is somehow inimical to, or less valued by, Asian learners. Perhaps on reflection this result should not be surprising. First of all, any attempt to see learners in the totality of their lives, rather than simply as institutional learners of a subject, is likely to uncover plenty of instances of autonomous behaviour. As Holliday (2003: 124) has argued, “social autonomy may be actually *hidden* by classroom activities – or by what teachers believe these activities ought to be” (original emphasis) because the learners may not share the teacher’s agenda and exhibit this in silence or meek compliance (cf. Cheng, 2000). Secondly, a sociocultural or poststructuralist perspective breaks down the barriers between autonomy and motivation. Autonomy is essentially the exercise of personal agency, which in turn “links motivation...to action and defines a myriad of paths taken by learners” (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2000: 146). In other words, when learners are deeply motivated to learn – when, in Deci & Ryan’s (1985) terms, their motivation is internally regulated, or in Dörnyei’s (2005) terms, they have a strongly developed ‘Ideal L2 Self’ – they will act autonomously, by participating in the knowledge practices of their chosen communities of practice where these are available to them. That sometimes they are not – as, for example, when learners in a rural area are starved of resources for learning outside of school, or when SMP X learners are denied access to the knowledge practices of their imagined community by teachers’ behaviour or methodology – reminds us that individual agency is always constrained by social



structures (Pavlenko, 2002) and needs to be supported through active social mediation (Ushioda, 2003).

In demonstrating connections between individual learners' motivation, autonomy, self-regulation, classroom participation and wider community identity I believe I have answered Block's call for research that links the different layers of Breen's learner contributions to the language learning process, albeit with a focus firmly on motivation (see Figure 5). However, there is scope for more purposefully poststructuralist inquiry into young peoples' experience of learning English in developing country contexts, to complement those undertaken in ESL settings (e.g. McKay and Wong, 1996; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002; Morita, 2004). This inquiry could take the form of case-studies, using ethnographic methods to gain a more in-depth and holistic view of learners than this study was able to do, drawing a fuller picture of their participation in various communities of practice (including school, private school, other out-of-school associations, peer groups and families). Analysis of learners' spoken and written discourse, observed directly as they do activities involving English or in later reflection (e.g. in conversation or in journals) could help characterize different individuals' distinctive processes of identification (cf. Kalaja & Leppänen, 1998). As Ivanič (2006: 21) has written, "when participating in an activity, it will make a massive difference whether a person does or does not identify with the sort of people who are its 'subjects', and whether they take to themselves its 'objects'" – that is, who they see themselves 'as' when performing the activity, and how they relate the actions to their lives, past, present and future. A more fine-grained analysis of interactions in the home could also contribute to our understanding of how English-learning motivation is mediated there by parents and older siblings (Ushioda, 2003). For useful practical methods of investigation, as well as new theoretical frameworks, researchers should look to the growing body of work researching identity in literacy learning (e.g. McLeod, 2000a; Fairclough, 2003; Barton & Tusting, 2005; Ivanič, 2006). Young people's potential English-speaking global identity must also be explored in the context of other more local identities, which as Faucher (2006) illustrates in another Sumatran province, may currently be in a state of flux as post-Suharto Indonesia decentralizes.

Language learning is often a lifelong endeavour, and the 20 months studied here is but a short section of the learning trajectories of these SMP X pupils. Some of the claims



made in this study about individual learners could be validated by following it up with a new study of the same focal learners four years on, at the end of their high school career. Ideally this would not just be a one-off meeting but would involve a further period of engagement, perhaps this time including regular email contact over their transition from school to their next life-stage. Such a study might offer an original contribution to the growing body of research which charts the long-term (i.e. more than a year or two) experiences of language learners (e.g. the collections in Belcher and Connor, 2001; Benson & Nunan, 2002, 2005). As Benson (2005: 18) argues, the interest in biography reflects the “underlying shift in focus within the field from ‘the learner’ as an abstract, or universalized, construct to actual learners and their historically and contextually situated experiences of learning,” and is mirrored in biographical research in education more generally (e.g. Pollard & Filer, 1999; McLeod, 2000b). The majority of this recent L2 work has been retrospective, written either as autobiographical ‘memoirs’ (e.g. Hoffman, 1989; Belcher and Connor, 2001) or as biography based upon recollection (e.g. Spolsky, 2000; Block, 2002; Shoaib & Dörnyei, 2005; Murphey et al., 2005) – with the obvious drawback that memory can be partial and selective. If I were to follow up the current study, I would be able to use the evidence collected here as a relatively objective description of a stage on their trajectory (and hence a check on the veracity of the learners’ later comments) and also as a valuable prompt for recall in attempting to ‘fill in’ the experience of the intervening four years. Another common feature of this L2 life-history research is a focus on more successful learners – not surprisingly, since the authors are often contemporary applied linguists writing about themselves (e.g. Lim, 2002; Lin et al., 2002; Benson et al. 2003), or because it is directed at exploring changing identities in adults who have achieved near native-speaker status (e.g. Pavlenko, 1998; Block, 2002). My proposed continuation study would be able to compare learners set on a promising trajectory towards L2 competence with those who appear on a less certain trajectory, both types operating in a broadly similar context.

## **10.5 Implications for language pedagogy**

The comparative element in this study has proved useful for drawing out implications for local pedagogy, as I was able to uncover examples of apparently successful learning



and teaching, as well as examples of individuals failing to make progress. Although there are lessons to be learned, it is necessary to confront a broader socio-political issue first.

Phillipson has challenged English language educators in Asia with this statement:

In our contemporary world, 10-20% of the population are getting obscenely richer, the English-speaking haves that consume 80% of the available resources, whereas the remainder are being systematically impoverished, the non-English-speaking have-nots.

(Phillipson, 2002: 12)

English language education policy in Indonesia (and most other South-east Asian countries) seems to be based on the assumption that Phillipson is wrong: the English-speaking 'haves' will, through their service to the national economy, help the non-English-speakers lift themselves out of poverty. Encouraging a free market in educational services (such as textbook production and tutoring colleges, as well as private boarding schools), decentralizing school management and financing, facilitating the creation of *Aksel* and *Unggul* classes in state schools and organizing national competitions for elite performers all seem to be measures designed to clear the path for high achieving institutions and individuals to flourish, for the ultimate benefit of everyone. However, the central issue for the government is how to ensure that the '10-20%' do not become a self-reproducing elite. This is hardly a new problem; in his comprehensive survey of Indonesian education in the 1970s, Beeby (1979) identifies precisely this tension between ensuring that education contributes to national development and maintaining equal opportunity. The evidence from this small-scale study though is that state English language education is failing to redress social inequalities. It has suggested, in fact, that even the very *desire* to learn English is unequally distributed, and that those who succeed do so at least partly through their access to learning communities and social networks *outside* of school. In other words, at present it is the children of the already better-off who are likely to gain competence in English and reap further reward.

If this is to change, state schools have somehow to contribute more to young people's English language education. The Indonesian government's own recent major initiative to raise standards throughout the country has been the introduction of a competency-based curriculum, an attempt to shift the emphasis in school work from knowledge

accumulation to skills development. In the words of the official curriculum document (Pusat Kurikulum, 2004: 55), “It means teaching not from the starting point of ‘what am I going to teach today?’ but rather ‘what competence needs to be gained today?’” While there is value in a reorientation of knowledge practices towards real-world competencies, there is also a danger in focussing too closely on outcomes since it involves the imposition of more national standards of attainment, encouraging yet more assessment-led teaching - an emerging issue only hinted at in this study (see section 8.2.5.2) but which has been identified as a problem later in the school years (Coleman et al., 2004). It is also likely to intensify the commodification of educational outputs, allowing the better-off to buy success through out-of-school supplementary training.

I will not pretend that this study offers any clear answers to these complex social and educational problems. However, I would claim that the progress made by some pupils at SMP X had its foundation in a strong underlying motivation to learn, and it is this motivation which should be at the core of curricular innovation if success is to be made more widespread. Interestingly this is precisely the conclusion that Williams et al. came to in the very different circumstances of UK modern foreign language education:

Devoting time and effort to enhancing motivation in terms of agency and attitude will probably be a more valuable investment in the long term than time spent conveying the content of the curriculum whether grammar, language, skill or function.

(Williams et al., 2002: 524)

This does not mean the kind of controlling extrinsic motivation which relies on short-term rewards or fear of the consequences of failure, but instead encouraging the development of a personal identification with the language, of a genuine belief in the possibility of one day being an English user. Gaining competence in English could then become what Kern (2000) calls an “apprenticeship in particular ways of being” (p. 35). Rather than asking before each lesson ‘what competence needs to be gained today?’, a better starting point for teachers would be: ‘how can today’s lesson help learners to become the persons they want to be?’

Where this happened in SMP X, for learners with strong ‘ideal L2 selves’ in certain teachers’ classes, there was a clear overlap between the school classroom community of practice and the wider English-speaking community of practice to which they aspired. Contributing to this overlap was the way some teachers communicated with



learners in English *outside* the classroom – an act which helped legitimate their peripheral participation in the wider community of English-users and positioned the classroom as a “resource” rather than the “totality” of the learning event (Wenger, 1998: 250). It was aided by the tolerant attitude they struck towards learners’ performance errors (see section 8.2.5.1), for immediate corrective feedback is part of the knowledge practices of some classrooms but not the wider community; and also by their belief in pupils’ existing social autonomy (Holliday, 2005) – a recognition that (in general) they had the capacity for investing considerable effort into learning language. But it was also the tasks they organized inside the class which engaged learners’ interest and helped convince them they could become genuine users of the language. Tasks which involved speaking English were popular among learners because it provided a vivid experience of ‘being an English-user’, though it is important to note that successful tasks did not have to be communicative in the standard western TESOL industry sense (e.g. involving an information gap or spontaneous speech); one of the most successful activities I witnessed was the creation of short dialogues, which led several students to practise it together many times on their own initiative (see section 7.3.2). As I have argued (section 8.3.3), debates and speeches in English are popular not so much because they lead to an interesting exchange of ideas or linguistically-valuable negotiation of meaning but because they give learners the sense of *being* English-users, expressing their personal thoughts in the language. Writing tasks were also mentioned as enjoyable by some focal learners, such as ‘writing a prayer’ (learner A in section 8.2.5.2). This is unlikely to feature in contemporary communicative textbooks, but teacher TB has understood that for these particular learners it has high ‘social authenticity’, to use Holliday’s (2005) phrase; that is, it takes an activity which is meaningful to learners in their own lives and turns it excitingly into one involving the use of English.

It is important to note here that the role they are asked to play in these activities is not to *become* native-speakers – they remain very much themselves, but an English-speaking version. As with the debates and speeches, I would suggest that much of the enjoyment is generated by the fact that using English brings into play a range of international topics and ‘foreign’ values which they can explore at a safe distance. An extract from the English language diary of a 2<sup>nd</sup> year student – another highly



successful initiative of teacher TB (see section 9.2) – provides a further illustration of this point. On 14<sup>th</sup> February 2003 this 13-year-old wrote:

“Friday, maybe today every pair asserted their love to her/his darling with flowers, chocolate, or a present. That was mean, it was a special day for some of the people in the world but wasn’t for me because according to my religion we might not celebrate it. I thought that didn’t have a purpose or advantages. Forget about it!?!”

On the next page was a beautifully-produced design for a Valentine’s card. The value of this diary-writing activity is not only in ‘negotiation of meaning’ – the traditional SLA concern – but in the way it provides for the negotiation of identities. Diary writing is something that many of these learners do, but normally in Indonesian. Required to do it in English, they have to reconcile their local selves with the imagined values and concerns of a global self; the activity provides a bridge between these two learner identities. Since the diaries were almost always written during the pupils’ own leisure time, it also shows how teacher B’s approach in class encouraged learners to participate further outside of class. (It should be said that this activity was much more successful with girls than with boys, presumably because diary writing is *not* something they would normally do, or at least admit to publicly).

There were still plenty of other more mundane activities in the classes of teachers TA and TB – the procedural display which understandably used up time in the long 90-minute lessons. But because they had successfully created a community of practice which overlapped with the wider English-speaking community, pupils’ imaginations were engaged and these potentially dull exercises could be viewed (at least sometimes) as developing attributes of a future identity. For teachers who had not created such an environment in their class – where the learners did not feel their personal identities were engaged and where instead they were positioned only as pupils – these time-filling activities are far more likely to be viewed as monotonous and burdensome.

It is legitimate to question whether teachers TA and TB’s approach would work with learners who have not yet developed an ‘ideal L2 self’, perhaps the majority in SMP X whose ‘ought-to L2 self’ is dominant, or the majority in rural areas who might have no sense of an English-speaking self at all. Teacher TB claimed that enjoyable classroom activities encouraged the growth of learner autonomy at his previous school on the



outskirts of Jambi where teacher TJ complained her students were all afraid to use English:

“When I was in SMP Y, the students will be able to speak, to study or anything to do, if they like, if they are enjoy and if they are challenging to do that, not only wait for the teacher, ‘what will the teacher give us now?’ only five words, so they just memorize the five words, oh it’s no good”

The point is that activities like the ones described above are likely to help learners *develop* an ‘ideal L2 self’, with concomitant motivational benefits. As teacher TB implies here, if learners’ personal identity is not engaged in a classroom and the only role they are allotted is that of pupil, they are unlikely to go on learning when they leave the classroom. It is theoretically possible (Higgins, 1997) that those learners who retain only an ‘Ought-to L2 self’ would benefit from a different classroom approach which would take into account their ‘prevention’ regulatory focus (e.g. they might be more motivated by exam-preparation work which they perceived as helping them prepare against failure), but this needs investigating empirically.

This study has convinced me that the most effective approach to curriculum change in this context will be through teacher development. It was those teachers who lacked confidence in their own English and struggled to view themselves as authentic users of the language who were also failing to convince learners that they were potentially effective users of English. Unsure of their role as master practitioners in the wider English-using community of practice, they instead took on the role of authority figures in a different, more narrowly-conceived community of practice, and required the pupils to participate only in those knowledge practices – such as textbook exercises – which they were confident of mastering, but which were very different from the world outside the classroom. The very frequent checking of pupils’ work, orally (e.g. in an ‘IRF’ discourse pattern) or in writing (e.g. on the blackboard - see section 7.3.1) is an expression of this authority role, and over the long-term increasing participation in such a community comes to mean not “learning to know [but] learning to display knowledge for evaluation” (Wenger, 1998: 111). Focussing reform efforts on improving teachers’ own English, reinvigorating their own desire for learning and developing their English-speaking identities would help them break away from these and other ‘safe’ practices, and start to engage with their learners’ emerging identities. As Wenger (1998) has written, “being an active practitioner with an authentic form of

participation might be one of the most deeply essential requirements for teaching....It is as learners that we become educators” (p. 277).

Three more specific methodological changes are suggested by this study:

### *1. Use of the mother tongue*

The first, somewhat ironically, is greater use of the L1 inside the class. Lin concluded from her study of discourse practices in four English-language classrooms with contrasting socio-economic backgrounds that:

...what matters is not whether a teacher uses the L1 or L2 but rather how a teacher uses either language to connect with students and help them transform their attitudes, dispositions, skills, and self-image – their habitus or social world.

(Lin, 1999: 410)

The over-use of the L2 may be another symptom of teachers trying to assert their authority, but not understanding the lesson was one of the most commonly reported negative experiences in this study. Admittedly, almost all teachers I observed did use the L1 as well in class (see section 7.3.1) but possibly they could use it more strategically to scaffold learners’ comprehension of procedure and content – for example, by making sure that all classrooms instructions are given in both languages at the beginning of a course, by giving an introduction and/or a summary to the content of each lesson in the L1, and by making more deliberate use of comparisons with the mother tongue in grammatical or lexical explanations (Deller and Rinvoluceri, 2002). This will help promote what Lave & Wenger (1991) term “transparency” – “a way of organizing activities that makes their meaning visible” (p. 105). While plenty of exposure to the L2 is important, there is no educational benefit in leaving some class members bereft in a sea of incomprehension – as focal learner G evidently was – because it precludes legitimate peripheral participation even in classroom knowledge practices. Canagarajah (1999) has also pointed out another long-term benefit of regular code-switching by teachers and learners: “the accommodation of the vernacular contributes to the development and legitimatization of new Englishes” (p. 144).

### *2. Use of resources*



The second proposed change is a greater use of resources from outside the classroom. As described in section 2.1.1, Independence-era schools in Indonesia were conventionally built as self-contained inward-looking quadrangles centred on a flagpole, so the very architecture mitigates against aligning the classroom community with communities outside the school walls. But we have seen in this study that young people's motivation to learn English, and many opportunities for developing competency in the language, originate outside the school gates. What is needed is a lowering of barriers between classroom and society so that the increasing presence of English in the environment becomes a valuable resource for learning in school. Learners could be encouraged to bring examples of the language to each class, for example – song lyrics, product labels, job advertisements in local newspapers, recordings of English-language radio broadcasts, phrases taken from public hoardings or from webpages – for teacher and peers to analyse and discuss together. In this enterprise teachers could position themselves as co-explorers of the ever-changing linguistic eco-system, and in scaffolding pupils' understanding of these texts they would help them develop strategies for interpreting texts independently. As Field (2007) has recently argued, "it is more productive for a teacher to sensitize learners to the language that exists around them than to fill the whole curriculum with language presentation and practice" (p. 37).

### *3. Textbooks*

The third proposed change relates to textbooks. Most school lessons I observed were based on them and many teachers stuck very closely to the sequence of activities, so they were potentially a very important contextual artefact mediating pupils' motivation to learn the language. Yet they barely received a mention in the SMP X pupils' survey and interview responses. How can their invisibility be explained? It is possible that they were so closely identified in pupils' minds with the 'English lesson' that they did not think to distinguish textbook from the texts and practices it decreed. Even if this is true, it would appear to represent a lost opportunity for building learner motivation. The new competency-based curriculum will bring new series of textbooks and a focus on skills may increase their appeal, but this study would argue for other design features suited to the nature of these learners' latent motivation:

- Since their motivation derives partly from an identification with more fluent cosmopolitan *Indonesian* users of English, then the main characters featured in the textbooks should be Indonesians, rather than native-speakers; and they should be seen and heard communicating in English not just with native-speakers but other foreign users of English, thus giving learners exposure to a variety of non-native models.
- Since their motivation is aspirational (i.e. based more on hopes for the future rather than immediate needs) the characters in the books should be a little older than the pupils, with interests and concerns natural to that age rather than their current age (as in Soegeng et al. 2002, the standard textbook used in SMP X classes).
- Since exposure to the field of “paradigmatic trajectories” – that is, real or fictional people offering a range of possible learning paths and future identities in the community of practice – is “likely to be the most influential factor shaping the learning of newcomers” (Wenger, 1998: 156), the textbooks should have storylines, texts and tasks which focus on the challenges faced by these young Indonesians as they engage with other international users of English and participate in various situated activities (including those associated with popular Asian youth culture, as suggested by Cheung (2001)).

## 10.6 Summary

This chapter began by offering short answers to each of the three research questions. It then admitted to certain limitations in the study, deriving primarily from the mixed method design, the difficulties inherent in the study of change and the fact that the sample was not representative of the majority population in Indonesia. Though mindful of these limitations, the chapter argued that the study offered insights into a number of areas of language learning theory: it suggested a need to reconceptualize ‘integrativeness’ in L2 motivation studies, arguing that the identification components of Dörnyei’s (2005) ‘L2 Motivational Self-System’ could have greater explanatory power, especially if its social dimension could be expanded; it identified a pattern of motivational change which contrasted with other recent studies of school language learning in other contexts; it confirmed the existence of a high degree of social autonomy among some learners; and it found that a poststructuralist approach to L2



learning, and in particular the notions of 'identity' and participation in 'communities of practice', were potentially valuable in explaining patterns of motivational change in EFL as well as in ESL settings. While each of these contributions could benefit from confirmation through further empirical research, the chapter emphasises the possible value of more ethnographic types of investigation into English-learning motivation, including a follow-up study of the focal learners described here. Finally, a number of recommendations for local L2 pedagogy were made, based partly on the example of some teachers in the study who, being enthusiastic participants themselves in the wider English-using community, encouraged their pupils to develop identities of participation in that community.

Returning finally to the real world question posed in my introduction: if Indonesian school pupils were highly motivated to learn English, why were their achievements so limited? Such is the pace of change in the real world that the local conditions for learning English were probably very different in 2002 from the late 1980s when my university undergraduates had entered junior high school – so it was probably impossible for me to answer the question. Moreover, I know now that making any direct link between motivation and achievement is risky, given all the many internal and external mediating factors; and comparing their underachievement with my French 'O' level was unfair – I now see that I had, in fact, a strong 'ought-to French self' which was sufficient under optimal learning conditions to get me through exams, though not to order *café au lait* in Parisian cafés with any panache. More importantly, with understanding of context comes recognition of these young Indonesians' achievement. In the 20 months of study there were few milestones passed or accolades earned, but I was privileged to witness some individuals gradually becoming English-users, with all that that entails in their own community and beyond.

## APPENDIX A - INITIAL QUESTIONNAIRE (English version)



# Questionnaire



Hello, my name's Martin Lamb. I'm a lecturer at Leeds University in England. Before I taught at Jambi University for three years. I have come back to Jambi to do some research about how English is learned in Indonesian schools.

Please answer the questions below as fully as you can. Remember, this is not a test! You can answer how you like, what's important is that you're honest. I guarantee that your answers will be confidential and only used for the purposes of my research back in England.

1. What is your name?

2. Are you male or female?      M      F      (*circle one*)

3. What is your ethnicity?

4. What is your religion?

5. What is your father's job?

If a civil servant, what rank?

6. Does anyone in your family speak English?

Yes      No      (*circle one*)

If 'yes', who?

7. Can you use a computer for email or the internet?

Yes      A little      No      (*circle one*)

8. Do you own an English-Indonesian dictionary?



Yes      No      (*circle one*)

9. Before entering Junior High School X Jambi, did you study English in:

a) Primary school?      Yes      No      (*circle one*)

If 'yes', how many years?

b) Private course?      Yes      No      (*circle one*)

If 'yes', what was the name of the course?

How many years did you study at the course?

10. Do you use or learn English at home or anywhere else outside of school (e.g. friend's house)?

(*Write a number in the space*)

	<i>Activity with English</i>	<i>Frequency: 0 (never) 1 (sometimes) 2 (every week) 3 (almost every evening)</i>
A	Watching TV in English	
B	Listening to radio programmes in English	
C	Listening to songs in English on tape/CD	
D	Reading books/magazines in English	
E	Speaking English with friends/siblings/parents?	
F	Studying with a textbook or dictionary	
G	Using a computer (e.g. games, email, chatting, internet)	
	Any other activities involving English:	

11. If you have studied English before, how satisfied are you with your progress till now? *(circle one)*

*Not satisfied*

*Somewhat  
satisfied*

*Satisfied*

1

2

3

12. How confident are you that you will learn English well?  
*(circle one)*

*Not confident*

*Somewhat  
confident*

*Confident*

1

2

3

13. If you have already studied English, how what are your impressions of the experience? *(circle one)*

*Disliked it*

*It was OK*

*Liked it*

1

2

3

Please explain your reason:

14. What kind of learning activities in class do you most enjoy?  
*(Explain)*

15. How important is mastering English for you? *(circle one)*



*Not important**Important**Very important*

1

2

3

*(Write the number in the space)*

	Reasons for learning English	Importance 1 <i>Not important</i> 2 <i>Important</i> 3 <i>Very important</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>...Because I need it for my career in the future</i>	
<i>B</i>	<i>...Because I enjoy learning English</i>	
<i>C</i>	<i>...Because I want to meet foreigners and know about foreign countries</i>	
<i>D</i>	<i>...Because my parents encourage me to learn English</i>	
<i>E</i>	<i>...Because English is an assessed school subject</i>	

16. Compared to other school subjects, how important is English for you? *(circle one)*

*Not important**Same importance**Very important*

1

2

3

17. Are there any other comments or questions about English which you'd like to put to me?

2<sup>nd</sup> Questionnaire

# Questionnaire

Hello again, maybe you still remember me... My name's Martin Lamb, from Leeds University in England. I'm here again to conduct my research into the learning of English in Indonesian schools.

Like last time, please answer the questions below as fully as possible. Remember, it's not a test! You can answer whatever you like, the important thing is to be honest. Confidentiality is assured, and the results will only be used for the purposes of my research in England.

1. What is your name?

2. Which class are you in? \_\_\_\_

3. Over these two years, how has your English progressed?  
(circle a number)

	<i>Not much progress</i>	<i>A little progress</i>	<i>Much progress</i>
Speaking English	1	2	3
Listening	1	2	3
Reading	1	2	3
Writing	1	2	3
Vocabulary	1	2	3
Grammar	1	2	3

4. How satisfied are you with your progress in English?  
(circle a number)

<i>Not satisfied</i>	<i>A little satisfied</i>	<i>Satisfied</i>
1	2	3



Please explain your reason:

5. What are your impressions of the experience of learning English in SMP X? *(circle a number)*

*Dislike it*

*It's OK*

*Like it*

1

2

3

Please explain your reason:

6. What kind of learning activities in class do you most enjoy? *(Explain)*

7. How important is mastering English for you? *(circle a number)*

*Not so important**Important**Very important**1**2**3**(Tulis nomor di tempat)*

	Reasons for learning English	Importance 1 <i>Not important</i> 2 <i>Important</i> 3 <i>Very important</i>
<i>A</i>	<i>...Because I need it for my career in the future</i>	
<i>B</i>	<i>...Because I enjoy learning English</i>	
<i>C</i>	<i>...Because I want to meet foreigners and know about foreign countries</i>	
<i>D</i>	<i>...Because my parents encourage me to learn English</i>	
<i>E</i>	<i>...Because English is an assessed school subject</i>	

If you have another reason for learning English, please describe it here:

8. Compared to other school subjects, how important is English for you? (*circle one*)

*Not important**Same importance**Very important**1**2**3*

9. What type of English do you hope to master? (*Choose one*)



<i>Type of English</i>	✓
Any type	
Singaporean/Malaysian English	
Indonesian English	
Australian English	
American English	
British English	
Other: _____	

Reason:

--

10. Since you've been in SMP X, have you taken a private course in English?

If 'yes', what was the name of the course and how long did you study there?

	<i>Name</i>	<i>How long?</i>
a.		
b.		

What is the difference between studying English in the private course and studying it at SMP X?

--

11. Do you use or learn English at home or anywhere else outside of school (e.g. friend's house)?

*(Write a number in the space)*

	<i>Activity with English</i>	<i>Frequency: 0 (never) 1 (sometimes) 2 (every week) 3 (almost every evening)</i>
A	Watching TV in English	
B	Listening to radio programmes in English	
C	Listening to songs in English on tape/CD	
D	Reading books/magazines in English	
E	Speaking English with friends/siblings/parents?	
F	Studying with a textbook or dictionary	
G	Using a computer (e.g. games, email, chatting, internet)	
	Any other activities involving English:	

12. How confident are you that you will learn English well?  
*(circle one)*

*Not confident*

*Somewhat confident*

*Confident*

1

2

3

13. Can you use a computer for email or the internet?

Yes

A little

No

*(circle one)*



14. Do you already have plans or ambitions for the future?

15. Are there any other comments or questions about English which you'd like to put to me?

***Thanks very much!***

## APPENDIX B - LEARNER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (1<sup>st</sup>)

**Introductions:** purpose of interview etc.

>> Interested in finding out about the experience of young people learning English in Indonesia, in school and out of school..... May I ask you some questions about your experience so far?

>> Recording to help me remember what you say. Everything you say is confidential – no one else will listen to tape

>> Not a test/interview, can say anything, even say nothing if you want.

### Transition

- how do you feel about studying in SLTP7? new school, new classmates, new teachers
- what are the main differences?

### English in school

- What do you think of your Eng classes so far?
- What's your favourite subject in SLTP 7 so far?
- Have you any suggestions for how it could be better for you?
- If possible, comment on behaviour in class. E.g. why did you.....?

### English outside school

- Do you do anything to learn English out of school? Are you taking a course now? Do you plan to again?
- Other activities – refer to questionnaire response. Favourite activity? What do you find most effective for your learning? Any other you have thought of?
- Ask about English at home (if not already mentioned)
- Do you ever get bored with English? Do you sometimes dislike it?

### Sources of motivation

- When did you first get interested in English? Why?
- What do you think about western countries? Would you like to live there one day? Have you ever met westerners? Would you like to have an English-speaking penfriend?
- What are your friends' views of English?
- What are your ambitions? Study? Career?

### Self-awareness

- What are your strengths and weaknesses in English?
- What could you do about your weaknesses?

### Response to comments in questionnaire

### Next step

- o ask if they'd like to continue working with me in my research – will involve keeping a record of all your English learning activities, and sending me an email regularly...? Just tell me about what you do – if do nothing, that's OK!
- o Give badge. We'll meet again next week, when I'll explain more what I'd like you to do.
- o Give letter and ask them to ask parents to sign.



## APPENDIX C - PART-TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH LEARNER F, 11/3/04

**Key**

... = short pause

..... = longer pause or some words omitted from direct quotations (e.g. short interjection from interviewer)

<i>Min</i>	<i>CONTENT</i>
1	<p>Greetings.</p> <p>I explain purpose of 3<sup>rd</sup> interview. Reassure her that what she says is confidential.</p> <p>Ask her to say something about herself in English.</p> <p>'I come from Palembang and my father come from Palembang and my mother come from Bandung...I don't have brother or sister and...'</p> <p>Ask which language she'd prefer to talk in.</p> <p>'English'</p> <p>'How do you feel about school now?'</p> <p>'I'm very happy in this, and maybe...I don't like the teacher, my English teacher, in, now in kelas 2, I don't like it, because she is very.... mmm..... what's it, <i>pemarah</i>.'</p> <p>We clarify meaning ['she gets angry quickly']</p> <p>'But I don't have a mistake but she always angry with me. But my teachers English teacher in class 1 is very, very... nice.'</p> <p>Explains that even though she doesn't make a mistake she still gets angry.</p> <p>Says by contrast that her previous teacher (TF) was very nice.</p>
3	<p>Ask whether other students feel the same</p> <p>'Maybe just me because they....because they don't like English....they think English is very er difficult.'</p> <p>'They don't like English because they don't like the teacher, because [TD] never explain about the lesson.'</p> <p>Explains in <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>: 'she just gives exercises, and my friends don't understand the lesson, for example a lesson about adjectives, my friends don't understand, but they're given a task, for example from page 150 to page 154, and while that's a big task, my friends still don't understand a thing about it, about adjectives'.</p> <p>[Henceforth most of the interview is in <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>, though F occasionally reverts back to English]</p>
5	<p>Ask about her desire to learn English.</p> <p>'Still high'.</p> <p>Explains: 'I soon want to finish at MEC and want to continue at another course, a good one like EF or LIA.' Expls that the new semester starts in April – 'I don't want to leave English, if I leave it for a while, then I'll start to forget it, after all I don't get any practice at home.'</p> <p>Says EF is expensive but good.</p>
6	<p>Ask her about her classmates, whether they're motivated.</p> <p>Explains: 'Yes they're getting motivated now to take a course, and they ask me to explain about English; as you know I kind of stand out in English in the class, and they "<i>kok penasaran?</i>" How come I'm cleverer than they are? They want to learn, they ask me, where did you take a course? How did you learn? And I tell them, I took a course at MEC, and then they want</p>

	to go there too, so they can deepen their knowledge.'
7	<p>Ask about the 'atmosphere' in the class. Can she learn English in that class?</p> <p>'Yes, I can....I adapt myself. You see, I've already studied all the lessons we get in the school'</p> <p>I ask what she learns then if she's already studied school English curriculum at private course.</p> <p>Explains that for her it's useful revision. Sometimes she hasn't learnt something deeply in her course, she can go over it again at school.</p>
9	<p>Ask why the T gets angry with her, when she's the cleverest student in the class.</p> <p>'Because I often protest, for example, sometimes she makes a mistake and of course automatically I give the right version, for instance.....</p> <p>'Yesterday ....we were learning about adjectives, and I thought she explained something wrong so I protested, and she didn't like it, she was angry.... Her way of reading English, for example, it's sometimes wrong, and I tell her, 'finjer', for example, I say 'Miss, it's not finjer, it's "finger" – she was very angry.'</p>
10	<p>Ask her about semester score.</p> <p>8 [out of 10]</p> <p>'But I don't accept it' Explains that she got 9 for her class work, she's always had 9, in SD for example, so why did she get 8 now?</p> <p>Sympathize and ask whether other students in her class got a 9. She says no.</p> <p>Ask whether she still feels the same about not getting into <i>Kelas Unggul</i></p> <p>Says she feels the same, would still refuse it, if she was offered it, because 'in my opinion, that class, it overfills the mind'</p> <p>Explains that whereas regular classes study for 6 hours, <i>Kelas Unggul</i> study from 7am till 4.30pm... 'they go home at 4.30, and that's for 3 years, and I don't think there's any advantage. What's more, when you go to get a job, they don't ask "were you in <i>Kelas Unggul</i>"! 'What's important then is your exam results.'</p> <p>I tell her that yesterday I entered class 2b and it was very noisy. Ask her if the class don't disturb her</p> <p>'Sometimes...but if I ask them to be quiet they will be'.</p>
13	<p>Explains about the rotation system of seating in class, organized by the class representative.</p> <p>Ask where she prefers to sit.</p> <p>Says she'd sit at the front. 'At the back it's noisy, you can't hear the teacher's explanations, at the front you can ask questions, you're close to the teacher.'</p> <p>I ask her how she feels when she's sat at the back.</p> <p>'Noisy!....Like last week, I was sat at the back all last week and I didn't understand the lessons. My notes got behind. Because it's so noisy.'</p> <p>Says everyone has got used to the system.</p>
15	<p>Ask her whether she's learning Mandarin or Japanese.</p> <p>Says her class will start studying one of them next year.</p> <p>Ask about learning English outside of school, besides her private course.</p> <p>Are there any chances to use English?</p> <p>'I sometimes use English with my friends in class, those who also take a private course. I also speak English at home a bit you know...with my</p>



	mother, with my sister, the one who lives at home.'
16	<p>Ask her whether she still reads <i>Mickey</i>, and <i>Bobo</i>. [children's comics in English, mentioned in her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview]</p> <p>Laughs dismissively, says she doesn't read them anymore.</p> <p>Now she has a subscription since September to <i>Cool N'Smart</i> [teenage English magazine, published by LIA].</p> <p>Ask her about computer.</p> <p>Says she can use it a bit.</p> <p>Ask her about email.</p> <p>Says she &amp; Learner E sent me an email but don't know whether I got it.</p> <p>Tell her I didn't get it, would have definitely replied if I had received it.</p> <p>Ask her if she's still friends with Learner E [with whom she'd shared her 2<sup>nd</sup> interview]</p> <p>'Yes'.</p>
18	<p>Ask her to imagine herself in 10 yrs time.</p> <p>'I hope by then I'll already be a graduate, hopefully in Medicine; I should be working by then'</p> <p>'Where will you be living?'</p> <p>'I'll be living in Yogya, cos I'll study there, they say that's where there's the best high education'</p> <p>Ask why she wants to be a doctor.</p> <p>Because she wants to help people, especially poor people.</p>
20	<p>Ask about where she'll be in 20 years time.</p> <p>'Er...married'</p> <p>Ask if she has question for me.</p> <p>[In English] 'Where do you live now?'</p> <p>Explain that I live with my wife and baby in UK.</p> <p>Ask her if she has met any native-speakers recently.</p> <p>Says she met Kevin Dalton, talked to him....'but maybe I don't like him, a little.....because he thinks that Indonesia...he says, Indonesia is not like Australia, many motorbikes, whereas in Australia everyone drives a car.'</p> <p>I suggest there was a misunderstanding, that he didn't want to insult Indonesia.</p>
22	<p>Thank her for her cooperation. Say I may meet her again the following week.</p>

## APPENDIX D - TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### Introduction:

Purpose is to find out about the experience of young people learning English in Indonesia, in school and out of school.

Talking to you as someone who has helped many young people to learn English and observed the process – have valuable information for me i.e. NOT about teaching but *learning of students*.

Check: Is it OK to record, to help me remember? Can guarantee *confidentiality* – only I will listen to tape.

### Biodata

- Name
- How long have you been teaching? in SMP X? Before?

### Progress of learners

- In your experience, how much progress do learners make in English during SMP?
- Are some aspects of English learned better than others?

### Successful learners

- What proportion are able to use English for practical purposes by end of SMP?
- What kind of students have some competence when they come to SMP?
- What makes them different from the other less successful students? Possible prompts: Background? Intelligence (are they also good at other subjects)? Language aptitude? Motivation? Where does it come from?
- What do they do to succeed? How important are activities outside school? How much benefit do they get from formal SMP classes?
- Do successful learners behave differently in class?
- How do you deal with them? Different from majority? How cope with mixed ability?

### Other learners

- Why do they make such little progress? Possible prompts: Background? Poverty? Motivation?
- Other subjects - are there some who do badly in English but well in other subjects?

### Your job as teacher

- What are your biggest problems in teaching English? Possible prompts:- learners' behaviour? Mixed ability classes? Textbooks? Other materials? Curriculum? Tests? Time allocation? Class size?
- What are the most satisfying aspects of your job?
- Have you changed your teaching in any way in recent years?
- What kinds of activities motivate the students?
- Involvement in teacher development?

### Question or advice for me & my research?

- Anything else you'd like to mention concerning learners' English, or your job?
- How can I help?! (I will be back next year!) .....Thanks.



## APPENDIX E - CLASSROOM OBSERVATION SHEET

(page 1 of 2)

Class: 1E Teacher: Student teacher Date: 30<sup>th</sup> April 2003 Time: 7.00 – 8.30

Stage	LESSON ACTIVITIES	Students' behaviour	Focal learner M
1.	Asks ss 'what is your hobby?' Voice hardly carries to back. Introduces topic of sport.	Class in high spirits, maybe cos it's early morning, or is it cos it's a student teacher? One student shouts out 'I love you!' to the teacher.	Sitting front far right, nearest to door. Has a dictionary on his desk. For some reason moves position to 2 <sup>nd</sup> column. Wonder if it's to avoid my gaze or avoid 'Erwin', the mischievous boy next to him.
2.	Asks ss to turn to page 103 and find 'difficult words' in the text. Hands out own worksheet – series of grammar exercises.	Class settles down. Most ss seem to be reading.	Reads text as requested.
3.	Goes through first ex. S reads question then gives answer orally. [Not sure why this extra handout is nec. – there are exs based on this text in the textbook]. Ss get on with it	Some ss leave the room (no explanation)  All kinds of things going on the room now, among them some work on the handout, though T hasn't given any explicit instructions about what to do. Many ss seem to like doing these vocab exs. Why? Cos it feels accumulative and beneficial?	When some ss leave room, he moves back to previous seat, but next to new partner.  Gets on with work, uses dictionary occasionally. Talks with partner (mainly off-task I think). Spends quite a lot of time gazing out of the classroom.
4.	Asks students to swap ex. books but only a few do. S supplies missing words and then translates into Indonesian. Continues going through exercises. [Little by little they're going through all these exs in the textbook and accumulating some knowledge. But their ability to use the language remains almost nil]	Most ss have done some exs and some are checking with each other, though it's a strain to hear the teacher from the back e.g. when student and teacher discuss the answer.	Does check answers with partner. Now head on desk 'resting' Now fighting with partner – continues messing about for 5 mins, T doesn't seem to notice. Occasionally he & partner glance over at me though.

## APPENDIX F - FOCAL GROUP LEARNERS

Code	M/ F	Father job	Class	Elem. school	Private course (months)	Family English	Initial motivation level	Initial activity level	Initial teacher comments	Progress in English over 20 ms
A	F	Senior Civil S	Regular/ Elite II	yes	0	Father, older sibling	high	high	positive	moderate
B	F	Senior Civil S	Regular	yes	14	Father, older sibling	high	high	positive	-
C	F	Senior Civil S	Elite I	yes	36	Cousin	high	high	positive	good
D	F	Univ Lecturer	Regular/ Elite II	yes	0	Parents	high	high	positive	good
E	F	Private business	Regular	yes	24	Whole family	high	high	positive	Poor/ moderate
F	F	Civil S	Regular	yes	36	Aunt	high	high	positive	Poor/ moderate
K	M	Private business	Elite I	yes	12	Whole family	high	high	positive	moderate
L	M	Civil S	Elite I	yes	24	Older sibling	high	high	positive	moderate
H	M	Civil S	Regular	yes	0	Aunt & Uncle, older siblings	high	high	negative	poor
G	M	Army	Regular	yes	12	Older sibling	low	low	negative	poor
J	M	Univ Lecturer	Regular	yes	12	Older sibling	low	low	negative	poor
M	M	Private business	Regular	no	0	Father	high	low	negative	poor



APPENDIX G - PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF L'R INTERVIEW DATA, GIRLS' 1<sup>ST</sup> INTERVIEW AUG 2002

TOPIC (Mins)	A 20	D 15	C 20	B 18	E 17	F 18
English	Good when uses it	OK but very keen to speak it	Excellent in production, tho has problems u'g at first	Good when uses it	Brief but good; slips it into conversat. often	Good, quiet but with good pronunciation
Move to new school	Happy & v satisfied, esp with appearance of myself and chance to talk	Very good, good discipline, and quite enjoyable	Happy, esp now in KA, cos gives her extra responsibility and cos there's competition.; other good students. Teachers are nice.	Likes new school cos discipline & facilities are good; very happy; good teaching and many nice friends.	Very fun; cos seems like only yesterday she was entering SD;	Happy cos there are many extra-curric activities like scouts, marching band.
Difference SMP/SD	In SD, [the lessons] are explained and focussed on p. Here, T explains and we have to catch it ourselves - up to ss themselves. Eng is no different. Has nice friends here	V diff - rooms, discipline, Ts tougher here. Ss treated as more mature. In SD lessons had little discussion, just writing & exs, whereas in SMP the discussions are enjoyable		Teaching also creative in SD (tho were some less happy times of course)	Strange cos everyone's older than me	Treated more like adults (e.g. can be friends with boy)
Teaching methodology	Explains how she needs dictionary, textbook, and must understand T explanations to succeed (shows relatively high level of metacog awareness?)	Quite enjoyable, the Ts try to teach in such a way that ss are not bored. Doesn't like it when T misunderstands & accuses ss unjustly. Easier here cos T writes up info on board and can be quickly understood (in SD all oral). Likes dialogues and doing exs. Dislikes being given incomprehensible instructions	Says lessons are OK but level much lower than PC. In regular SMP classes T talks in Bah Ind. In KA classes are good cos T talks in Eng, so can learn while listening. Describes method as 'T explains then we do exs'	Teaching is very creative; says she learns a reasonable amount in Eng lessons	Actually refers to PC before school when asked re English! Level is too low. Needs to take PC again cos otherwise will forget everything	Have to concentrate here (compared to SD where spoonfed), as T expects you to note down info but doesn't nec write it on b/b. Level is lower than at PC but never mind cos can revise
Favourite subject	Eng, Bah I, History, Geog, (doesn't like science)	English, Bah Ind, Tourism	Likes all subjects - each have advs	Maths, Bahl, Relig, English		Biology....and English
Outside learning activity	Starting at LIA and excited about Eng club starting up. Talks at length re her competitions & prizes	Already started studying at LIA. Likes it cos standard is higher - with best ss from all classes. Admits they may be better than her but she makes an effort to catch up. Like others, treats tests there seriously. Studies at home too (e.g. reading), & also does h/w.	Starting at LIA in Sept. Occas listens to songs, chats online, but get impression she doesn't do that much specifically to learn Eng	Never taken course, cos learns with parents (speak together); listens to news on radio; used to use internet at home	PC in JKT 3 yrs; all family speak Eng; watches films in Eng with bah Ind subtitles	From class 3 SD been studying at PC. Mentions much reading material at home. Also listens to songs in Eng.
Attitude to learning English	Talks enthusiastically re Eng club Never bored, cos she wants to know... (unlike others who quickly get bored). Does get bored esp with complicated	Likes it most of the time but gets frustrated if class is noisy, can't hear or understand T. Would like ns T. Qaire question re 'illiteracy' - repeats view that must know Eng & computers	Says she likes it 'so she can know it'. Not pleasure but satisfaction. Actually wants more lesson per week, so cd get away from curriculum (more like	She herself asked parents to teach her, admits she gets bored sometimes; Eng difficult to pronounce sometimes; Q - q asks <i>how lg Eng can be fun</i>	Likes it, cos increases your knowledge and to expand your outlook you need to read books which are mostly in English;	Bored occas at SD but not now cos she knows how imp Eng is in globalz era. Likes dialogues best

	grammar	in modern world.	private lessons - tho doesn't explain further)	She asked parents; age 7	Level One (PC). Wanted to do it herself but had a bad time early on - nearly gave up but mum forced her to continue. Feels proud now	3 yrs old, taught by parents (simple vocab); spoke Eng at mealtimes. (even tho parents don't speak themselves!)
<b>First time</b>	Started being taught in SD class 2	From SD class 1. Said she was always int in Eng from beginning cos it will one day be used in Indonesia. Scared she wouldn't be able to use it.	Started in SD class 1 plus 'afternoon T.			
<b>Attitude to West</b>	Unprompted says she wants to travel to Germany. Says reason she's studying Eng is so she can study abroad	Many wars in western cys, but standard of living is higher, better products, richer, more advanced. Indonesia has too many debts, helpless. Has met westerners but not talked to them. Would like to live abroad. Interested in future. Wd like to learn Mandarin & Chinese!	Seems to admire westerners (e.g. no riots, kids are diligent) but without warmth	Very good, disciplined, very friendly; wd really like to live there	Often met Westerners. Would like to work abroad	West cys more advanced than Indon. Shows genuine interest in western people and countries (hotdogs, Portugal), but doesn't want to be one.
<b>Strength/ weakness</b>	Admits she's near top of class, and wants to be top! (as all people do, she says). Good at speaking (brave), not so good at writing sentences.	Wrtg: Finds it difficult to express words Spkg: quickly understand Eng so can do long conversations	Good at conversation, not good at simple past tense, present tense, putting words together	Talks re pronunciation again	Wrtg: possessive pronouns very often wrong! Says she needs to examine notes again. Spkg: good, better than writing	S: can easily understand W: difficult to express herself in Eng
<b>Friends' motivation/ Own learning preference</b>	Some interested some not Latter don't realize how imp Eng is for future (e.g. travel abroad)	Some yes, some no. Prefers studying alone.	Only a few interested, most don't like it cos they don't understand T. Likes studying alone and with friends - at diff times		Has some friends who can spk Eng but rarely spks with them; Has to study alone cos no friends who want to	Friends not partic int in English, esp in class - may be int in family
<b>Ambition</b>	Wants to be No. 1 at everything! Enters lots of competitions	Wants to become a T abroad, or exchange student	Wants to be tall and clever, and go to posh school in Magelang. Re job, wants to be dr, painter, designer or astronomer!	Would like to study abroad and become fluent in Eng	Wants to study at Oxford (on qaire, Leeds, but says Oxon best for English)	Doctor
<b>Other comments</b>	Obviously a confidante of T (e.g. arranging of Eng club). Adds extra question at end - actually wants to keep talking and asks interesting q re how Eng kids learn lang	Talks very freely. Proud of position as class Secretary		Extremely guarded. young lady.	Says Eng is more useful for expanding outlook than for meeting westerners	



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