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Exploring motivation and investment: a new perspective in language learning

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EXPLORING MOTIVATION AND INVESTMENT: A NEW PERSPECTIVE IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Nonny Basalama
Universitas Negeri Gorontalo
nonny.basalama@live.vu.edu.au

INTRODUCTION

Whilst the number of studies on motivation in language learning has increased over forty years and the research in the field has become a large body of literature which provides an understanding of the importance of motivation in both second language and foreign language learning (e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1972; Noels, Pelletier, Clement and Vallerand 2000; Noels, Clement and Pelletier 2001; Dornyei and Csizer 2002; Mori 2004, Lamb 2004; Rueda and Chen 2005; Li 2006), the concept of motivation is broad-ranging and often creates confusion. This study considers to particularly discuss some concepts of motivation within literature such as the best known concepts; integrative and instrumental motivation introduced by the pioneers of motivational studies Gardner and Lambert 1972, and the concepts of 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' motivation by Deci and Flaste 1996. Following the sections, the new notion of motivation; 'investment' by Norton's (1995, 1997, 2000) which is a concept in language learning that goes beyond the learners' motivation to provide a framework which considers underlying conditions and factors that impact on motivation will also be further discussed.

VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF MOTIVATIONS IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Motivation is stimulation for an action. Defining the notion is not a simple task because there are numerous theoretical perspectives coming from the various fields including psychology, education and social science. Within the literature of motivation studies in language learning, the concept of motivation is broad-ranging and includes an idea of learning orientation.

The concepts of 'motivation' and 'learning orientation' are often used interchangeably (Belmechri and Hummel 1998; Noels 2001; Wright and McGrory 2005). According to educational psychologist Robert Gardner, the two concepts of motivation and orientation should be clearly distinguished in order to avoid the confusion in their use (Gardner 2006). Gardner defines motivation as "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language" (Gardner 1985:10). According to this definition, learners have some goals or orientations toward learning a language. Yet this does not mean he/she has a high motivation to reach the goal.

Meanwhile, the term of learning orientation is not necessarily a sign of motivation (Masgoret and Gardner 2002:175). Citing a study by Noels and Clement (1989), Masgoret and Gardner (2003) report how some learning orientations are related to motivation and some are not. When a person has an 'integrative' orientation to studying a language, the person may or may not be motivated to learn the language. Alternatively, a person may have an 'instrumental' orientation, but may or may not have the motivation to learn the language. Belmechri and Hummel (1998) have discussed the distinction of these two terms from the social psychological perspective. They indicate that motivation is "a composite of intensity and orientation that correspond respectively to the effort expended and to the learner's goal" (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:220), whereas orientation has been distinguished as 'learning orientation', involving long-term goals combined with attitudes which can prolong learners' motivation in language learning. They further add that even though researchers have applied motivation and orientation interchangeably, it is motivation which contains the power to achieve the reflective goal in the learning orientation. Adopting Gardner's perspective, Belmechri and Hummel discuss how power comes from the learner's aspiration to reach the goal, positive attitudes towards the target language, and hardworking behaviour (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:220). Within the literature of motivation studies in language learning, the concept of motivation is broad-ranging and includes 'integrative' and 'instrumental' motivational concepts as discussed in the following section.

INTEGRATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVATION

In earlier studies, the pioneers of motivational studies, Gardner and Lambert (1972) suggested an individual's motivation in learning a language (hereafter L2) is prolonged by both attitudes toward the L2 community and the goals, or orientations acquired through L2 acquisition.

Their theoretical framework hypothesized two types of orientations: 'integrative' and 'instrumental'. It is worth describing how these terms are different. On the one hand, 'integrative orientation' refers to the driving force of the learner to learn a language when the learner wants to be more naturally engaged with the target language community, with the expectation that this will lead to acceptance by that community. On the other hand, 'instrumental orientation' reflects the interest in learning the language which is derived from other influential factors, such as to pass a test in order to achieve a desired position or career (Gardner and Lambert 1972:3).

Although these two kinds of motivations have not been construed as contradicting each other, they suggested that the learner who embraces the integrative learning orientation can be predicted to be more successful in learning the language (Gardner and Lambert 1972:175). Integrative orientation is seen as the key to successful language learning because it represents a positive viewpoint towards the language, as well as its culture. However, one criticism of integrative orientation is its conceptual limitation to contexts where the L2 is a second language and there is opportunity to practise the target language (Dornyei 2003). Dornyei further discussed that it does not work so well in a foreign language context where there is limited contact available for a learner with the target language community (see Dornyei 2003; Mori, 2004; Dornyei and Csizer 2002; Csizer and Dornyei 2005). Csizer and Dornyei (2005) in their study of students' motivation in Hungary found that the key element of the 'integrative' concept which has been used to elucidate 'the underlining mechanism' of the motivational nature and behaviour of the language learner may possibly be developed to incorporate new constructs and interpretations (Csizer and Dornyei 2005:5).

In contrast to integrative orientation, the concept of 'instrumental orientation' in learning, which was also introduced by Gardner and Lambert (1972), has been considered a more useful concept to explain in language learning where there is limited contact available for the learners with the target language community (Lambert and Gardner 1972; Lukmani 1972, Belmechri and Hummel 1998). Gardner and Lambert (1972), in their study on motivation among students in the Philippines, found that instrumental orientation appeared to be more powerful than integrative orientation. English in the Philippines is a valued international language and students there benefit from great parental support which gives them an instrumental motivation to achieve success in learning the language (Gardner and Lambert 1972:141). Similar results had also been found by Lukmani (1972) for English learners in India (cited in Littlewood 1984), and Belmechri and Hummel (1998) for English learners in Quebec. Belmechri and Hummel's quantitative study explored high school students' motivation in learning English as their second language and found that travel, friendship and career formed part of the instrumental orientation for learning (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:238-239).

While the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations is best known in ELT research and are often used interchangeably as 'integrative and instrumental motivations' within motivational literature (see e.g Belmechri and Hummel 1998), there are also the concepts of motivation by Deci and Flaste (1996) which are widely recognized in understanding motivation in language learning and teaching; 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic motivation'. Deci and Flaste (1996) claimed that intrinsic motivation is the motivation which is present when one's interest in undertaking an action stems from a sense of fulfillment or challenge that is internally driven (Deci and Flaste 1996). Extrinsic motivation, in contrast, is present when one's action arises primarily from desire to achieve some externally originated reward or recognition, or avoidance of punishment. These two concepts were introduced and developed in motivational literature to explain learners' motivations in language learning. For example, Li (2006) explored the motivations of Chinese students in the UK to learn English and, during their first year, found that their motivational orientations were categorized as instrumental and extrinsic and that both positive and negative attitudes towards the British had different influences on the students' motivations. She also found that a positive self-perception influenced their motivation and confidence in learning (Li 2006:55). Li found that while some students were committed and worked hard to attain their goals because they valued their current learning environment and saw it as supportive to their own goals in learning, others did not feel that way. As a result the latter group of students were more likely to seek more instruction in their learning, as a consequence of what Li refers to as "perceived deficiency of the environment" (Li 2006:55).

Other studies have placed motivation within the perspective of cultural difference and suggested that a learner's motivation and its relationship to their learning a foreign language may vary across cultures (Littlewood 2001; Lamb 2004; Rueda and Chen 2005). For example, Iyengar and Lepper (1999) found that Anglo-American students demonstrate less intrinsic motivation when the choice to learn has been made by

others rather than themselves. In contrast, Asian-American students show the most intrinsic motivation when the choice has been made for them by their authority figures (see also Rueda and Chen 2005; Lamb 2004 for this discussion). In accordance with this, Littlewood (2001) has claimed that for some cultures the inequalities of power and authority are seen as something acceptable and normal, while for other cultures, even though the power imbalances exist and are recognized, there is “an ethos which says that they should be in some way minimized and their effects reduced” (Littlewood 2001:5).

In the era of the 1990s, studies on motivation have moved from socio-psychological approaches towards what Dornyei (2001a, 2001b, 2003) has called a more ‘education-friendly’ approach to L2 motivation. Since Dornyei’s observation, other scholars have embraced this move. Ushioda (2006) states that this shift has been influenced by an understanding that there is a need to bring language learning motivation research in line with the cognitive revolution in mainstream motivational psychology and the move has brought with it considerable enrichment and diversification of motivation concepts under scrutiny (Ushioda 2006:149). As a result one of the new education-friendly concepts is that of ‘investment’, a concept developed in a post-structuralist perspective. This concept will be further explored below.

INVESTMENT: A NEW CONCEPT IN UNDERSTANDING MOTIVATION

Norton (1995, 1997, 2000) introduced the notion of ‘investment’ in language learning to better understand motivation. As discussed previously, early motivation theories arose from the field of social psychology, being introduced by the well known experts Gardner and Lambert (1972). However, Norton (2000) argues that with their conceptualization of integrative and instrumental motivation, Gardner and Lambert (1972) do not fully embrace the complex relationship between ‘power’, ‘identity’ and ‘language learning’ which she discovered in her 1993 study. Norton’s (1993 cited in Norton 2000) doctoral study was a study of immigrant women learning English in a natural learning setting outside the formal classroom in Canada. Norton found that respondents’ learning barriers, such as not being able to constructively face the changes in learning, or not being able to take advantage of the material presented, was not due to the absence of motivation. In contrast, she argues that her learners were all highly motivated, but felt subordinate and humiliated because of feeling powerless as non-Canadians. Norton (2000) further says that the notion of investment assumes that when language learners communicate with the target language community they are continuously shaping and reshaping who they are and how they themselves relate to the world socially. Thus a learner’s investment into the language also represents the learner’s investment into his/her own identity, an identity “which changes across time and space” (Norton 1997:411). Norton demonstrates that the concept of investment goes beyond the learners’ motivation to provide a clear picture of underlying conditions and factors that affect motivation.

Whilst the notion of investment is relatively new in the language learning literature, having being introduced and developed by Norton (1997, 2000), a number of empirical studies have applied the concept to various contexts, including Chinese learners and classroom learning (Arkoudis and Davison 2008; Gao, Cheng and Kelly 2008; Norton and Gao 2008; Trent 2008); learners and classroom identity (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997; Morgan 1997; Schechter and Bayley 1997); learners, citizenship and identity (DaSilva Iddings and Katz 2007; Gao, Zhao, Cheng and Zhou 2007; Piller 2001; Stroud and Wee 2007); learners, agency and identity (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi 2002; Ushioda 2006; Xu 2005); language policy and policy responses (Clapson and Hyatt 2007; Clarke 2007; Dudzik 2007; Parmer 2007); language teachers and teaching issues (Flowerdew and Levis 2007; McDonough and Chaikitmongkol 2007; Tembe 2006) and language learning and socio-cultural context (Clemente 2007; Tarone 2000).

CONCLUSION

Through the discussion of various distinctions of motivation and their use, some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, there have been several distinctive concepts of motivations such as integrative and instrumental motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, and the concept of investment, which all can be used in understanding motivation in language learning. However, despite the similar breath brought by the terms of motivation which refers to a stimulation for an action, the distinction of investment is clearly noticeable, where the understanding of the concept has also been linked to the shaping and reshaping of identity. Lastly, although only providing a brief discussion of the notions of motivations and their uses in language learning, it is hoped that the discussion can contribute to the growing understanding on each concept which hopefully can lead to a clearer, in depth discussion and analysis of studies on motivation and language learning and teaching area.

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