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**English Learning as a Means of Self-Fulfilment:
A Grounded Theory of Language Learning Behaviour**

by

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degree of
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DECLARATION

This work is my own. It has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis I present an original theory of language learning behaviour derived from a grounded theory analysis of interview testimony from five Japanese learners of English. The theory takes the form of the basic *English Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment* (ELMS) model. This model explains English-learning behaviour in terms of the engagement of four types of self-fulfilment drive: a drive for intellectual and affective stimulation (entertainment drive); a drive to ‘expand one’s horizons’ (perspective drive); a drive to make a ‘success’ of oneself (status drive); and a drive to engage in interaction with others (communication drive). Two additional models built on the foundation of the basic ELMS model are also introduced: the *expanded ELMS* model explains how learning behaviour is mediated by cultural and institutional context, and by the individual’s attempts to make sense of, and control, experience; and the *Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment* (LMS) model is a hypothetical general model of learning which incorporates existing concepts from the literature.

The results of the analysis demonstrate the importance of structure, rather than agency, in shaping language-learning behaviour. The theoretical rendering of motivation that emerges from the analysis is differentiated from that of motivation as a force constantly underlying behaviour. Instead, motivation is seen to make only sporadic appearances on the stage of consciousness, and to be responsible for behavioural change rather than behavioural routine. It follows that unexpected events that stimulate changes in beliefs about the self or about language learning may have much to tell us about motivation.

This research does not so much build upon existing theory as problematise it. The results challenge prevailing conceptualisations of motivation, dominant discourses and practices associated with the term within applied linguistics and Japanese English language education, and the utility of the concept itself. It is a methodologically innovative investigation into the relationship between motivation and English learning in the Japanese context, with implications that extend beyond this context.

DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

The terms that populate applied linguistics frame how its issues are conceptualised and represented.

Defining even seemingly uncomplicated terms can be challenging, because meanings differ according to perspective. This indeterminacy can, however, be played to advantage. By deliberately adopting an unconventional perspective, our understanding of a familiar term such as *school*, for example, can be usefully re-examined:

On paper...there are teachers and students, but a closer look may reveal a very different image...we might find guards and troublemakers, part-time marketers with the objective of producing satisfied ‘customers’, and students that have adopted a customer perspective on education...Perhaps teaching and learning are less central aspects of what actually goes on in many schools (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009, p. 47).

With reference to the Japanese context—the setting for the research presented here—terms such as *English* and *globalisation* may be seen as liberatory by one person, but threatening to another; a student may be considered a *language learner* by a teacher, but a *friend enduring a boring lesson* by a classmate. *Motivation* may be characterised as ‘integrative’ from the standpoint of the target language community, but as a form of abandonment by the learner’s family; one theorist may view motivation as a force underlying regular study habits, but another may see it more as a ‘shock to the system’ that sets the learner on a new trajectory. The philosopher Mary Midgely (2011) uses the analogy of an aquarium to demonstrate the difficulty of unifying conceptual standpoints in the social sciences. She advises openness rather than entrenchment as an appropriate response to such indeterminacy:

We cannot see it as a whole from above, so we peer in at it through a number of small windows...We can eventually make quite a lot of sense of this habitat if we patiently put together the data from different angles. But if we insist that our own window is the only one worth looking through, we shall not get very far (pp. 26-27).

Since terminology and concepts can be interpreted in many ways, defining them at the outset is essential if the writer is to communicate effectively to the reader. The definitions given in Table A are intended to promote the consistent usage of terminology within the thesis. Failing this (given that some of these concepts are the targets of investigation, and my understanding of them evolves over the course of the narrative), I hope they at least serve as a useful starting point.

TERM	DEFINITION
Analysis	The identification of essential features or patterns within data, and the systematic description of interrelationships among them (Richards, 2003).
Cognition	The set of mental processes involved in memory, comprehension and decision-making, such as beliefs, self-perceptions, goals and attributions (Ushioda, 2011). Cognition is associated with an information-processing view of an individual's psychology.
Concept	A relatively simple representation or understanding of a more complex phenomenon, often deriving from a given theory or model.
Culture	Behaviours and beliefs of a national, social, or institutional group within which one lives/moves, and which in part constitute one's identity.
Discourses	Historical, cultural, social and institutional beliefs, norms and practices as commonly manifested in language.

Formal theory	A theoretical rendering of an issue or process that cuts across local (substantive) contexts of study. Concepts in a formal theory are abstract and general (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).
Identity	A social persona created in interaction, negotiated during social intercourse (White & Ding, 2009).
Ideology	The deeply held body of beliefs or subset thereof that guides the thinking and behaviour of an individual, institution, or society.
Method	A specific research technique used within a wider methodological approach.
Methodology	An approach to studying research topics based on an underlying conception of how the world works and can be investigated.
Model	A theoretical framework for simplifying and representing a more complex reality. A model may contain or represent one or more theories.
Motivation	1) An abstract concept used to explain why a person thinks and behaves as they do, insofar as the person has a degree of conscious awareness or control over this thinking and behaviour. Motivation emerges from, or is contingent upon, the interaction of more fundamental drives, conscious meaning-making (goals, self-imagery), and interaction with the environment; 2) ‘What moves us’ (in line with the meaning of the Latin verb <i>movere</i>).
Narrative	An account of an event or series of events chronologically connected (Czarniawska, 2004).
Self	A set of internal beliefs about who one is as an individual and as a member of various social groups and society (White & Ding, 2009).
Significant event	An event that serves to change, intensify or clarify one’s self-beliefs, and/or one’s beliefs concerning or connecting to a given language.

Substantive theory	A theoretical rendering of a particular phenomenon or context, such as family relationships, formal organisations, or education (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).
Theory	A cohesive set of concepts used to explain some phenomenon, situation, or process.

Table A. Definitions of key terms.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ANNOTATIONS

TERMINOLOGY	ABBREVIATION
Assistant language teacher	ALT
Critical incident technique	CIT
Grounded theory	GT
Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology	MEXT
Kyoto University of Foreign Studies	KUFS
Self-determination theory	SDT
Teaching English as a Foreign Language	TEFL

Table B. Abbreviations.

ANNOTATION	USAGE
{Braces}	Contain commentary or clarification of meaning.
<Chevrons>	Indicate Japanese words or expressions.
<i>Italics</i>	Show emphasis, for example raised voice.
[Square brackets]	Indicate contributions to the dialogue by the non-turn-taker that I did not deem significant enough to give a line of their own.
<u>Underlining</u>	Used to draw attention to particularly germane parts of the transcripts.

Table C. Annotations.

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Life can only be understood backwards, but must be lived forwards.

Søren Kierkegaard

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

In this chapter I set the scene for the thesis. First, I introduce the concept of motivation. Next, I give an overview of my theoretical interests and research history. I then set out the aims and proposed contributions of the research, before presenting in abridged form a summary of the three theoretical models to be presented within it. I finish by explaining the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Setting the scene: The conceptual indeterminacy of motivation

We awake in a particular world: not just the natural world we inhabit but the world of the institutions and practices, including the discursive practices that hold sway around us. For better or worse, these practices stand between us and the absolute frame of reference, the view from above, from the vantage point of the stars (Unger, 2007, p.1).

The approach I take in this thesis differs from that of much existing research into motivation and its relationship with language learning. I reject the intuitively appealing realist view ‘from the vantage point of the stars’, according to which motivation is an isolatable object of study that can be placed under the metaphorical microscope, such that another researcher looking through the lens might observe identical features. Instead, I am interested in the idiosyncrasies of the motivation of five particular university-age Japanese learners of English, and in how their unique personalities and circumstances give rise to their learning behaviour. The insight I have gained through the data collection, analysis of the transcripts, and comparison of the results to the literature is a lone journey, and another researcher cannot tread the same ground. But not all explorers need to take the same route through a territory, nor

do they have to experience it, or represent it in the same way, in order to have something useful to say about it.

On page 10 I noted the difficulty of defining terms such as motivation, given the multiple perspectives from which they can be approached. Unfortunately, definitions constitute only one of the challenges faced by the social scientist. As noted by Unger (2007), our understanding of the world is also obscured by discourses and practices. An example of this obscuration in the current study is the way in which motivation can only be approached indirectly, through inference from participant testimony (which may be influenced by discourses) collected in interviews (which are themselves a form of social practice). In producing this testimony there is a tendency for the participant to present him/herself in a favourable light, or in a way that is in harmony with his/her self-image. Tendencies such as these obscure the 'truths' that the researcher seeks. Discourses and practices can of course vary widely across institutions, societies and cultures. In some cultures, for example, it may be more socially acceptable to attribute success to personal will and effort, while in others it may be more acceptable to emphasise the support one has received from friends, teachers and parents.

Not only is understanding obscured by discourses and practices, it may in part be constituted *by* them. Discourses of English in Japan associated with economic freedom and intellectual world-citizenry may be internalised to the point that they constitute deeply held personal beliefs, regardless of whether these beliefs are representative of an empirically verifiable reality. Similarly, a learner's language-learning approach may differ depending on what she attributes her success to, irrespective of the accuracy of these attributions. In addition, learners understand and represent themselves in terms of a narrative such as that of 'successful learner who has triumphed over hardship to learn English'. Narratives such as this form a prism through which the researcher attempts to access the 'facts' of the

matter¹. Faced with the obfuscating influence of discourses and practices, the key to ‘getting at’ motivation appears to lie in supplementing a realist perspective with a constructionist perspective: to ask not only what motivation *is*, but *what it is to the learner*, how they talk about it, and how they make sense of it.

New formulations of motivation theory certainly appear to be welcome in the L2 motivation field. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) go so far as to say that psychometric approaches typical of the individual differences paradigm have “by and large failed” (p. 98) because they do not allow the theorist to do more than confirm the ‘trilogy of the mind’: motivation, cognition and affect. What is needed, they claim, is a level of analysis that “captures the right combination of these ingredients in a given situation” (ibid.). One answer to satisfying this need may be found in the use of complex dynamic systems theory metaphor (Dörnyei, Macintyre, & Henry, 2015) (see Section 2.3.4). I hope that the analysis and discussion presented in this thesis can play a productive role in the current movement to research and theorise motivation and language learning in new and productive ways.

1.2 Background to the research

In light of the requirement that the researcher working within the qualitative paradigm account for his/her own subjectivity (Norton & Toohey, 2011), I will start by giving a brief introduction to my research background. I first researched the relationship between motivation and language learning for my master’s dissertation (Pigott, 2009), a psychometric study focussing on the statistical correlation between various motivational factors and language learning. During the process of conducting this research I had the opportunity to speak to students about their experiences learning English, and to reflect on my own understanding of language education in Japan. In retrospect, I feel that I learned

¹ It should be noted, however, that good interview technique may offer productive means to disrupt formulaic representations of experience.

more from these peripheral opportunities than I did from the ostensible results of the study.

By the time I reached the later stages of my master's degree, I had begun to realise that I was less interested in language learning *per se* than in thinking about how it relates to bigger issues such as human experience, education, and society. Despite my disinterest in the intricacies of pedagogical technique or task performance, my interest in the 'bigger picture' did in fact teach me something about these nuts-and-bolts issues, in the sense that it allowed me to frame them within the broader context and, in doing so, to assess their relative importance. Taking a broad view is the antidote to the dangers of overspecialisation alluded to by the saying: 'the expert knows more and more about less and less until he knows everything about nothing'.

Growing somewhat disillusioned with the emphasis within my own field (or at least within this field in Japan) on technique rather than policy, educational philosophy or ethics, I found myself drawn to a more holistic, cross-field outlook on language learning. I was also drawn to work that adopts a critical perspective towards theory and practice within applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001; Phillipson, 1992). It is of course easier to be critical than it is to be productive. As Norton and Toohey (2011) write: "While the destabilization of knowledge and meaning can be liberating, the challenge is to determine a principled basis for action" (p. 435). Being subversive is intoxicating, but the intoxicated do not always see things clearly or fairly. This is something that I have reminded myself of throughout the writing up stage, and the thesis is, I hope, better for it.

1.3 Aims and proposed contributions of the research

The principal aim of this research is to generate a grounded theory (GT) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) that explains the language-learning behaviour of a small group of university-age Japanese learners of English. GT can be understood in terms of focus and process as per Figure 1.1.

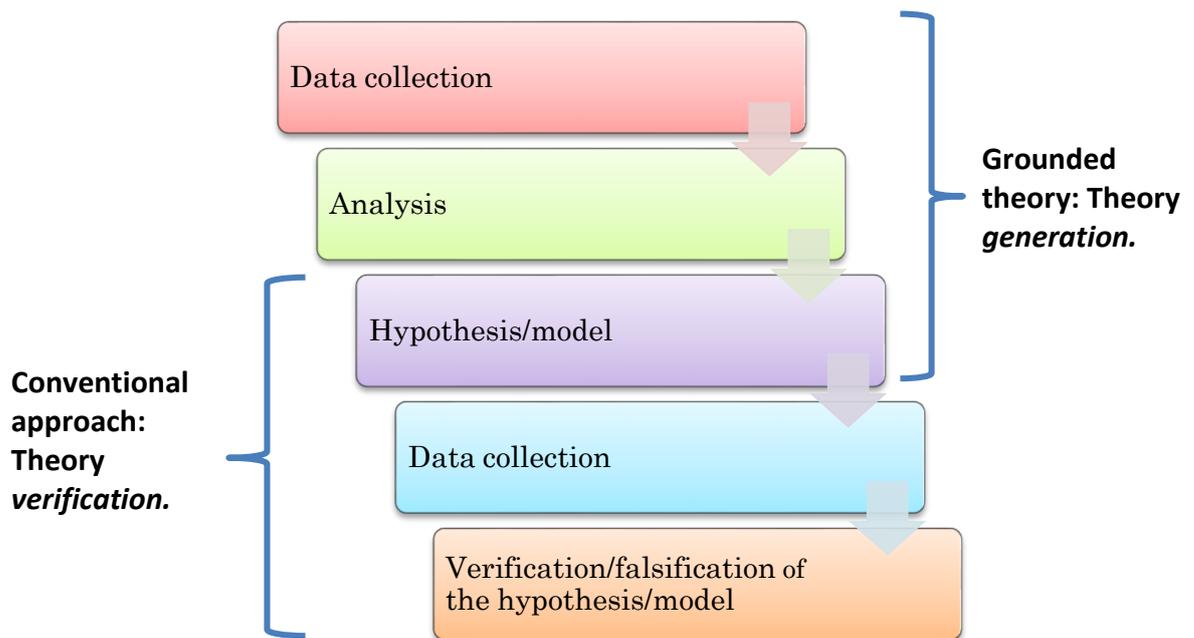


Figure 1.1. Grounded theory vs. conventional approaches.

Rather than attempting to plug a hole in existing theory, the primary intended contribution of this research lies in its adoption of a methodology that has not (to my knowledge) been used within the field before.

1.4 Introduction to the basic ELMS, extended ELMS, and LMS models

Three original models of motivation play a central role in the analysis. An overview of the three models is given in Table 1.1.

MODEL	SUB/FOR	EXPLANATORY SCOPE
Basic ELMS model	Substantive	Language-learning behaviour of five participants
Extended ELMS model	More formal	Language learning in general
LMS model	Formal	Learning in general

Table 1.1. Introduction to the ELMS/LMS models.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) use the terms *substantive* and *formal* to denote theory specific to a given context (i.e. *local* theory), and more general theory applicable to multiple contexts (*global* theory), respectively. The Basic English Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment (ELMS) model is a substantive theory explaining the language-learning behaviour of the five participants in this study. English learning is viewed as one way of engaging four types of self-fulfilment drive: a drive for entertainment (entertainment drive); a drive to expand one's horizons (perspective drive); a drive to make a 'success' of oneself (status drive); and a drive to engage in interaction with others (communication drive). Two other models build upon the basic model. The extended ELMS model is a hypothetical model of language learning, derived from the analysis of salient aspects of the participants' learning histories. It shows how the drives of the basic model are mediated, or enter into relationships with, historical and cultural context, and the learner's attempts to make sense of, and control, experience. The LMS model is a hypothetical general model of learning behaviour.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The basic structure of the thesis is shown in Table 1.2.

Chapters 2-4	
Positioning the study	Literature review; Japanese context; participant sketches
Chapter 5	
Methodology	Introduction to qualitative inquiry; Grounded theory
Chapter 6	
Analysis (part 1)	The basic ELMS model
Chapter 7	
Analysis (part 2)	The extended ELMS model
Chapter 8-9	
Discussion; contributions of the research	Revisiting the literature; motivation, agency and context; presenting the LMS model; theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the research

Table 1.2. Structure of the thesis.

I begin the thesis by presenting an overview of research into motivation and language learning. The role of the literature review is something of a contentious issue within the GT canon. Glaser and Strauss (1967) warn that "...reverence for a pre-existing theory blocks out opportunity to select potentially destructive comparisons" (p. 221). They suggest that an effective strategy is:

...at first, literally to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study, in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to

different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged (p. 37).

Not to do this, they warn ominously: “increases the probability of brutally destroying one’s potentialities as a theorist” (p. 253). The Glaser and Strauss line can be thought of as a counsel of perfection whose edicts are difficult to follow in practice. Most, if not all researchers have a familiarity with the literature from the field in which they plan to conduct research. In the case of the research presented here, I had in fact built up more than ten thousand words of literature review by the time the data collection was underway. I therefore had to compromise by making a sincere effort to set aside my knowledge of it during the analysis stage. Although I have chosen to supply the reader with relevant background information before presenting the analysis, I keep this review relatively short. I then revisit the same literature in the discussion section (Chapter 8) in light of the analysis.

The review of the motivational literature (Sections 2.1-3) is supplemented by an introduction to theoretical work on critical incidents (or, as I refer to them, significant events) (Section 2.4), and an introduction to the Japanese context (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 introduces the methodology of the research. In Chapter 5 I present sketches of each of the five participants so that the reader will have some familiarity with their stories and backgrounds prior to the analytical chapters. Chapter 6 presents the grounded theory analysis and the basic ELMS model, while Chapter 7 presents an analysis of participant experiences, adding theoretical detail to the basic ELMS model, situating it within culture and learning context. The discussion section (Chapter 8) reviews the ELMS models in terms of existing literature, discusses how motivation can be understood in terms of agency and structure, and offers an innovative take on motivation based on work by Clark and Chalmers (1998) on distributed cognition. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by reviewing the theoretical, methodological and practical implications of the research.

CHAPTER 2: SETTING THE STUDY IN THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Within exploratory research, the existing literature constitutes a resource to be drawn on judiciously, rather than a predetermined foundation upon which to build theory. In this section I introduce existing conceptions of motivation, and give an overview of relevant research from psychology and applied linguistics. I start with Maslow's (1943) theory of motivation, which like my own theory explains human behaviour in terms of the engagement of fundamental drives or needs. I then address more modern, cognitive perspectives on motivation in the form of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) and possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Higgins, 1987), both of which have been influential within general psychology and applied linguistics. I have had to choose carefully from the large body of work on the role played by motivation in language learning. I bypass frameworks of motivation which are centred on the classroom (Dörnyei, 1994; Williams & Burden, 1997), and those which address short-term motivational processes (Dörnyei, 2002; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998; Julkunen, 1989, 2001), because the participant testimony is concerned primarily with out-of-class learning² which takes place over the course of a number of years. Instead, I introduce two general, non-classroom-specific theories that are broad enough in scope to address language-learning behaviour both in and out of the classroom over longer timescales: Gardner's (2001a) socio-educational model of language learning and Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self-system. Following a brief interim section in which I offer a critique of prevalent psychometric approaches to researching motivation, I turn my attention to the movement to incorporate ideas from complexity theory into language-learning research. I finish by introducing work done in the qualitative tradition.

² When participants *do* discuss the classroom in the interviews, they tend to talk about it in general terms, rather than raising more specific issues such as pedagogy/tasks/curricula with which the motivation literature in question concerns itself.

Where possible I use as sources the seminal papers or treatises that introduced to the academic world the theories covered in this section. By selecting existing research from the literature in terms of its relevance both to this particular research project, and also in terms of its current popularity within the field, I hope to have struck a suitable and interesting balance between old and new, and general psychological and language learning-specific theories.

2.1 Defining motivation

In this section I tackle the thorny issue of defining motivation. I start with a general introduction to the concept. I then examine how researchers working within applied linguistics have defined it. I finish by offering my own working definition.

General introduction

Everybody knows how it feels to be motivated, and this feeling can be put powerfully into words. An example I came across during the course of conducting this research is taken from an old interview with the retired bodybuilder Tom Platz. Its relevance to motivation is self-evident:

When I was ten years old...I looked at a muscle magazine and saw that picture of Dave Draper on the beach with Betty Weider on one arm and two girls on each leg and another on the other arm...in the background were the waves and the surfboard stuck in the sand. I looked at that picture, and it was like, "God! I don't believe this." It was an incredible transformational moment which changed my life forever. That photo just motivated me and inspired me and said something to me—about the physicality of California, about lifting weights and having muscles of iron. I was just totally moved by that; it was like becoming a priest, having a calling from God at that young age. That's what I had to do with my life. I knew that at the time. In

fact, when I was 11, I was dead set on becoming Mr. Universe. And I knew it was going to happen; I had rehearsed it many, many times in my own mind. On the facing page of the magazine I remember a picture of Arnold drinking protein out of a blender...his biceps were hanging out...I showed both of those pictures to my dad and I said, “That’s what I want to do for a living” (The intensity of Tom Platz, 2015).

Platz’s account is particularly vivid, but many of us may have felt analogous emotions or seen analogous imagery in connection with an issue, goal, activity or lifestyle. Asking people to describe such feelings is relatively straightforward. It is also reasonably simple to describe the *attributes* of what we would conventionally refer to as a *motivated learner*. Like the bodybuilder in the gym, the motivated language learner is persistent, may experience a state of arousal and enjoyment, holds aspirations of success, derives succour from success and dissatisfaction from failure, makes attributions concerning these successes and failures (Gardner, 2001b), and makes use of various strategies or even drugs (caffeine rather than steroids) in the process of working towards shorter-term and longer-term goals.

The difficulty comes when we attempt to move from the *associations* or *manifestations* of motivation to attempting to define the concept (the entity, the force, the phenomenon) itself. What exactly *is* motivation? Since nobody has managed to offer a universally agreed upon definition of motivation yet, it seems fair to conclude that doing so is difficult. As noted in Section 1.1, perhaps a more reasonable question to ask than ‘What is motivation?’ is ‘What is motivation to the learner?’ However, whichever question we address, we are still faced with the challenge of producing a definition of motivation. The learner perspective will be addressed at length in later sections. For now, it seems prudent to ask some preliminary questions of the nature of motivation.

A logical first step is to consult the dictionary. The Oxford English Dictionary (2015) contains seven definitions of motivation, from which I have selected and adapted the following two for use here:

1. The (conscious or unconscious) stimulus for action towards a desired goal, esp. as resulting from psychological or social factors; the factors giving purpose or direction to human or animal behaviour.
2. Intellectual justification, rationale.

The first definition, which describes motivation as ‘stimulus for action’ and ‘factors giving purpose’, is derived from the use of the term motivation in psychology. The second definition is typical of how motivation is talked *about*. If I ask of a student ‘Please tell me about your motivation for learning English’, the response is less likely to be an objective analysis of the cognitive or environmental basis of his or her behaviour than a post-hoc rationale for it. The danger of mistaking post facto rationalisations for clear-cut representations of reality means that great care needs to be taken with terminology and technique in a study that uses participant testimony as data. Nevertheless, there may not be a single better way to explore motivation than participant testimony. As it underlies observable behaviour, motivation cannot be observed or measured directly, and participant testimony can certainly be of help in teasing out its nature—Tom Platz’s account presumably tells us *something* about the nature of his motivation, regardless of the fact that it has been developed into a vivid narrative, honed over the years (see for example a retelling in rh11hno, 2012).

Definitions within applied linguistics

Five definitions of motivation taken from the applied linguistics literature are shown in Table 2.1:

AUTHOR(S)	DEFINITION OF MOTIVATION
Gardner and Tremblay (1994)	A latent variable comprised of the lower level elements <i>motivational intensity</i> ³ , <i>desire to learn a language</i> , and <i>attitudes to the language</i> .
Dörnyei and Ottó (1998)	“...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” (p. 65).
Dörnyei (2005)	A manifestation of the desire to reduce discrepancy between the actual and the imagined, ‘ideal’ self one would like to become.
Ushioda (2009)	A phenomenon which is “emergent from relations between real persons, with particular social identities, and the unfolding cultural context of activity” (p. 215).
Dörnyei (2001b)	“...there is no such thing as ‘motivation. [It is]...an abstract, hypothetical concept...that we use to explain why people think and behave as they do” (p. 1).

Table 2.1. Definitions of motivation taken from the L2 motivation literature.

³ A potentially misleading label as the term ‘motivation’ appears at various levels of abstraction in the model. It corresponds to ‘Effort expended in learning’ (Gardner, 1960).

Gardner and Tremblay's definition is an example of an *operational definition*—a starting point for empirical research. By contrast, Dörnyei and Ottó's definition is *fundamental* in nature. It is representative of the prevalent understanding, at least until recently within the psychological literature, that motivation is some kind of psychological force (although they use the term 'arousal') responsible for why, how long, and how hard the learner engages in language learning (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Fundamental is, however, a relative concept. Their definition begs the question 'What is an arousal, or force, and where does it come from?' Dörnyei's (2005) characterisation is a consequence of his re-conceptualisation of motivation using possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius 1986; Higgins, 1987), with motivation being understood to link cognition and behaviour. Ushioda's definition reflects her position that an individual's motivation is always idiosyncratic.

Dörnyei's (2001b) definition of motivation is the most relevant to this study. In claiming that motivation does not actually exist, Dörnyei was playing devil's advocate, but in my view this definition is an appropriate starting point for exploratory research for two reasons. First, like Ushioda's definition, it is free of any particular theoretical or methodological trappings. Second, it contains within it a hint of scepticism, and an implicit acknowledgement of the concept's abstract nature. I therefore intend to utilise this definition. I will, however, supplement it with Maslow's (1943) observation that motivation can only offer a partial explanation for behaviour, because behaviour is also determined by biology, culture and immediate circumstances. In this research I also differentiate more clearly than Maslow between conscious motivation and unconscious drives. I treat motivation as a higher order process, deriving from lower order drives and other factors such as the environment. Taking the preceding points into account, I offer the following working definition of motivation:

Motivation is an abstract concept used to explain why a person thinks and behaves as they do, insofar as the person has a degree of conscious awareness or control over this thinking and

behaviour. Motivation emerges, or is contingent upon, the interaction of more fundamental drives, conscious meaning-making (goals, self-imagery), and interaction with the environment.

At the time of writing, the analysis has been more or less completed. Although it appears near the beginning of the thesis, this working definition was added after the analysis was completed, and therefore did not ‘contaminate’ (in Glaser & Strauss’s polemic) my analysis.

2.2 General theories of motivation

In this section I review a selection of theories from the psychological literature. I start with Maslow’s (1943) influential drives-based theory of human motivation. In Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 I introduce cognitive theories of motivation: self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), and possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Higgins, 1987). I finish by discussing a hypothetical successful language learner—i.e. one who has acquired a practical competence in English—to explore how we might expect these theories to be manifested in learner behaviour.

2.2.1 Maslow’s theory of human motivation

Man is a perpetually wanting animal (Maslow, 1943, p. 370).

Motivation theories in the first half of the 20th century tended to focus on unconscious drives rather than conscious motivations. Such theories posit that motivation arises from a trait-like internal state that impels individuals to act (Covington, 2000). Maslow’s interest lay in the functions, effects, purposes, or goals of human behaviour. According to his (1943) theory of motivation, humans are

dominated, and their behaviour organised, by such unsatisfied needs. These needs are not exclusive determinants of particular behaviours. Rather, behaviour may be undertaken to satisfy one or more needs; in other words, behaviour is multi-motivated. Maslow identifies five fundamental, hierarchically organised needs. They are, in ascending order, *physiological needs*, *safety needs*, *love/belonging*, *self-esteem* and *self-actualization*, respectively (see Figure 2.1).

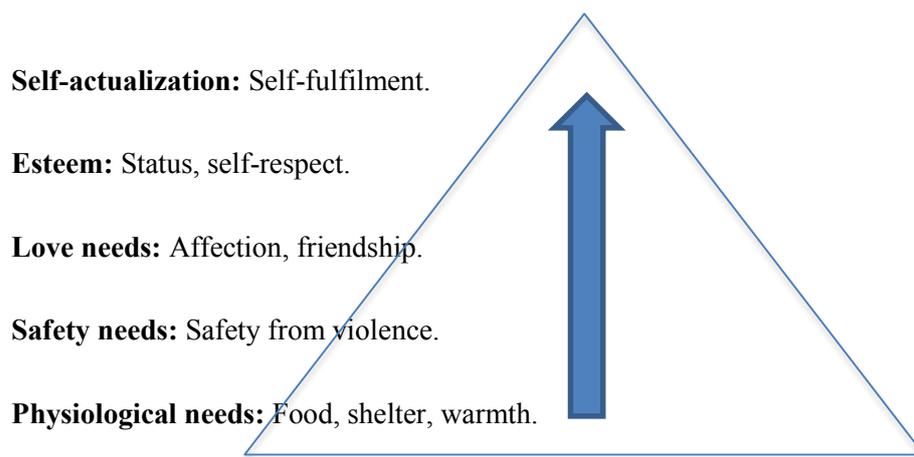


Figure 2.1. Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

Maslow contends that for any level of need to be attended to, the level immediately below it must first be satisfied. Only after physiological and safety needs are satisfied, for example, will one begin to address one's need for love. At the top of the hierarchy lies self-actualization, the aspect of Maslow's theory that has received the most attention. Maslow describes this element as follows:

...the desire for self-fulfillment, namely, the tendency...to become actualized in what [one] is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming...A musician must make music, an artist

must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy (p. 383).

Maslow views needs as the cornerstone of human behaviour. By contrast, he views perceptual, intellectual and learning capacities as a tool set whose function is to satisfy the more fundamental needs. He proposes that two important cognitive tendencies are i) “a basic desire to know, to be aware of reality, to get the facts, to satisfy curiosity”; and ii) “a desire to understand, to systematize, to organize, to analyze, to look for relations and meanings” (p. 386).

Maslow has been criticised for providing insufficient justification or evidence for the hierarchical nature of these needs (Tay & Diener, 2011). Weiner (1989) describes Maslow’s work as vague, and identified with ideals and values rather than with science, concluding that the hierarchy of needs “has generated little research and few testable hypotheses” (p. 415). Instead, he claims, its role has been heuristic, calling attention to areas of human motivation which have been neglected, and which are indeed worthy of more thought and research (ibid.).

After careful examination of Maslow’s seminal (1943) paper, I have concluded that there is a certain amount of terminological ambiguity in his writing. At times he uses the terms *goals* and *needs* interchangeably⁴; and refers to *needs* as both *motivation* and as *motivators*⁵. My understanding is that Maslow’s use of *motivation* is in line with its etymological origins in the Latin verb *movere*, ‘to move’, or ‘what moves humans’. Maslow notes in the conclusion to his paper that more work is required to define more the terms *drive*, *desire*, *wish*, *need*, and *goal*.

⁴ For example: “There are at least five sets of goals, which we may call basic needs” (p. 394).

⁵ For example: “in the human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others” (p. 374).

2.2.2 Self-determination theory

The study of motivation is the exploration of the energization and direction of behaviour. Psychological theories are motivational theories only insofar as they address these two aspects of behaviour (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 3).

In the late 20th century, motivation theory based around the concept of the self began to gain popularity among theorists. Self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan 1985, 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2000) is grounded in the notion that humans seek to determine their own behaviour. Deci and Ryan (1985) view humans as having three basic needs: competence, relatedness and autonomy. Competence refers to the control and mastery of the environment, including knowledge of how the world works and the consequences of actions. Relatedness refers to the need to interact with, and experience caring for, other people. Autonomy refers to the need to be perceived as the causal agent of one's life, and to act in accordance with one's authentic self. Self-determination theory, while underlined by these three needs, deals principally with the cognitive manifestations and consequences of the third category, autonomy. It postulates that humans are innately driven to: "explore and master new situations in their environment, and to assimilate the newly acquired knowledge into their existing cognitive structures, including their sense of self" (Noels, 2009, p. 296). The self-determined organism is one which *realises* the self through behaviour which is "congruent and fitting with one's values, interests and needs" (p. 302). When behaviour is "alienated, passively compliant, or reactively defiant", however, the organism will experience "a sense of inauthenticity and despair" (ibid.).

SDT distinguishes between intrinsic and extrinsic forms of motivation, the former deriving from internal satisfaction and enjoyment, the latter from external influences. These external influences can be arranged on a scale from *external regulation*, which can be crudely characterised as a reward/punishment situation, to *integrated regulation*, which describes a situation in which the regulation

is external in origin, but has been comprehensively internalised:

1. **External regulation:** Rewards and threats.
2. **Introjected regulation:** Rewards and threats (for example) have been accepted as norms that the learner follows without external regulation.
3. **Identified regulation:** The learner engages in an activity because she values its utility in pursuing some other aim.
4. **Integrated regulation:** The activity is fully integrated with other values, needs and identity (adapted from Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

Research into educational change has been conducted within an SDT paradigm. For example, it has been observed that school children shift from intrinsic motivation toward schoolwork up to the 3rd grade to a more extrinsic orientation by the 9th grade, showing significant decline in intrinsic motivation for mathematics and sciences, as well as for reading and social studies by the 7th grade. These changes tend to be accompanied by increasing anxiety and declining confidence (Harter, 1981; Gottfried, 1985, in Schunk, Pintrich & Meece, 2008).

2.2.3 Possible selves theories

A focus on possible selves is broadly construed as an effort to tie self-cognition to motivation, but as a consequence it also relates self-cognitions to self-feelings or affect (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 958).

Possible selves theories⁶ explain how human behaviour is mediated by “what the individual believes to be possible and by the importance assigned to these possibilities” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 961). Rather than dispositions to strive for goals, such theories give specific cognitive form to these end states and the values they embody. These possible selves represent “individuals’ ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). They therefore function as conceptual links between cognition and motivation. Possible selves are understood as symbolic futures to be approached or avoided. They are likely to derive from salient categories within sociocultural and historical context, including “models, images, and symbols provided by the media and by the individual’s immediate social experiences” (ibid.).

Higgins (1987, 1996) drew on the work by Markus and Nurius on possible selves in developing his theory of *self-discrepancy*. This theory postulates that people are motivated to reach a position where *actual* and *hoped for* selves are reconciled. Higgins postulates the existence of the *self-guide*, which consists of three basic domains of self: the actual self, the ideal self, and the ought-self (possessed of the attributes one thinks one ought to possess). Since the discrepancies between these selves cause psychological discomfort, one is motivated to alleviate this discomfort by means of bringing the selves into alignment (MacIntyre, Mackinnon & Clément, 2009). In this respect there is a parallel with the concept of the drive, whereby the organism is moved to satisfy some need, the existence of which causes an unpleasant psychological state demanding resolution. Unlike drives, however, self-guides are

⁶ I use this umbrella term to refer to work by Markus & Nurius (1986) and Higgins (1987).

constituted of conscious imagery.

2.2.4 The hypothetical learner

What characteristics might these three general theories of motivation predict of a hypothetical successful learner of English in the Japanese context? We might expect English learning to be involved in satisfying one or more of Maslow's (1943) five needs. The three of these at the top of the hierarchy—self-actualization, love needs, and esteem—would apply to the use of English as a tool to i) establish friendships with people from different cultures; ii) distinguish oneself in school; and iii) to learn about the wider world and one's place within it through learning about other cultures. Self-determination theory suggests that successful learning behaviour would be congruent with the learner's values, interests and needs. We might expect learning to be governed by intrinsic motivations, and the more internalised versions of external motivations, while external influences, such as the dictates of a teacher, would play a lesser role. Possible selves theory would predict a learner with a strong image of an ideal self who is proficient in the language. We might also expect this ideal self to be someone with lots of foreign friends, and perhaps someone who has an international outlook, and access to the particular social, career, and lifestyle options befitting a proficient language user.

2.3 Language learning-specific theories of motivation

An assumption underlying L2 motivation theory is that language learning is a unique activity that cannot satisfactorily be explained by general theories of motivation. According to Gardner and Lambert (1959), its uniqueness resides in how the language learner is required to acquire symbolic elements of a different ethnolinguistic community. Subsequent theories, while drawing on work done in general psychology, have retained in some manifestation or other Gardner and Lambert's idea of *integrativeness*. Work by Gardner opens this section, and is followed by approaches that supplement or

challenge his work.

2.3.1 The socio-educational model of language learning

...the integratively motivated individual is one who is motivated to learn the second language, has a desire or willingness to identify with the other language community, and tends to evaluate the learning situation positively (Gardner, 2001b, p. 13).

The first and most influential school of language-learning motivation theory was built on Gardner and Lambert's (1959, 1972) research on English language learners in Anglo-Franco regions of Canada.

Gardner (2009) offers the following retrospective account of the field's beginnings:

There wasn't much of a literature associated with this type of research. Historically, it was generally believed that learning languages was the sign of an educated person...and that a major determinant of success...was the individuals' level of intelligence. As a consequence, tests of intelligence came to be used as predictors of ultimate success. Later some dissatisfaction was expressed with these tests...and there developed a number of "special prognosis tests" in order to improve prediction...These special prognosis tests ultimately gave way to measures of language aptitude, tests of various verbal abilities believed necessary to succeed in learning another language...There was also some research concerned with the relation of attitudes toward the language course and its relation to success in the course...But that was it! (p. 1).

Gardner had the idea that language learning might involve some sort of psychological attraction to, or identification with, the target level community. As part of his master's thesis he devised a questionnaire

to measure, along with other factors, this aspect of psychology. The results suggested that there were two principal factors correlated with high French achievement. The first was language aptitude, and the second was the presence of an integrative (as opposed to instrumental) purpose for learning a language. For example, a learner who is learning French because she wishes to play a more active role in the French-speaking community would tend to be more successful than a learner who is learning French in order to attain a promotion at work. From these results, Gardner proposed the concepts of *integrative orientation*—“a willingness to be like valued members of the language community” (1959, p. 271), and *integrativeness*, a higher-level concept that he explains as follows:

Integrativeness reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community. At one level, this implies an openness to, and respect for other cultural groups and ways of life. In the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one’s original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both communities (2001a, p. 5).

Gardner brought his ideas together in the form of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition (cf. 1985) (see Figure 2.2).

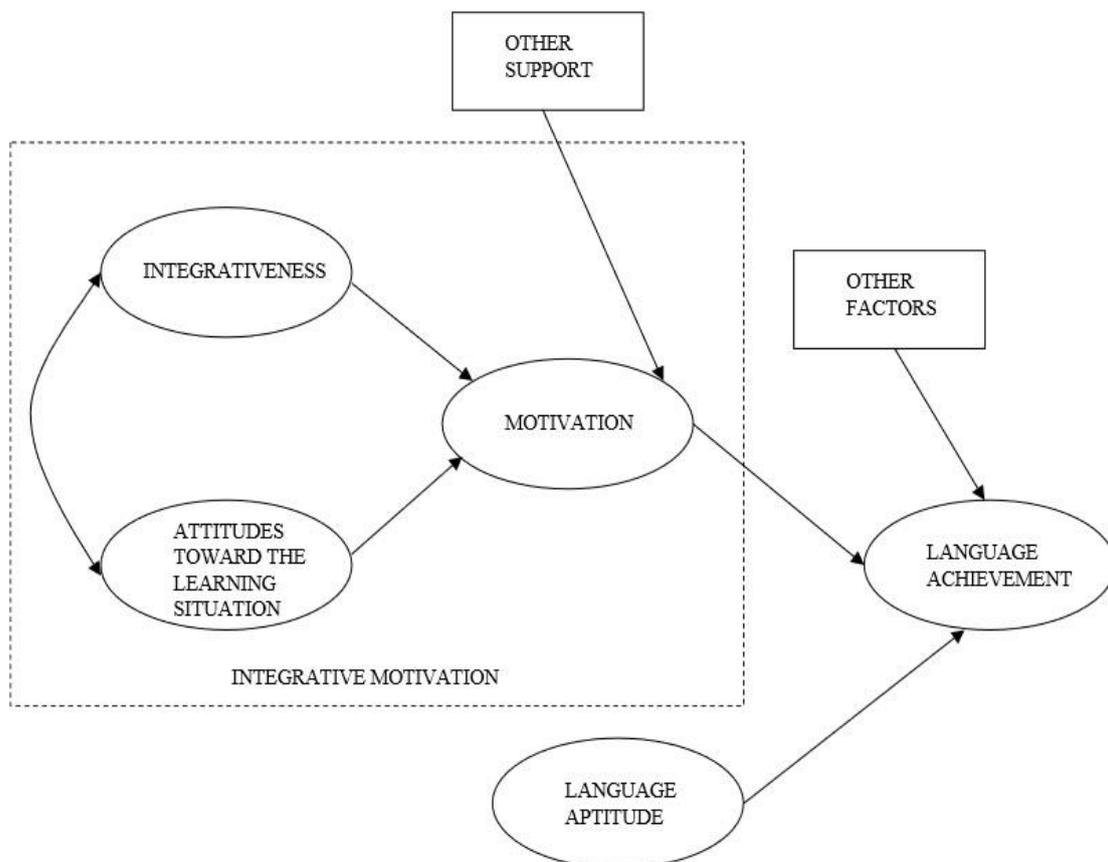


Figure 2.2. The basic model of the role of aptitude and motivation in second language learning (Gardner, 2001b).

Integrative motivation consists of three constructs: motivation, integrativeness, and attitudes toward the learning situation. Of these, motivation refers to the ‘driving force’ of behaviour. It can be understood as *effort expended in language learning*, viewed in terms of the manifestations—effort, desire, and positive affect—which distinguish the motivated learner from the unmotivated learner. For Gardner, then, motivation will always be manifest in behaviour. It is not something that can be latent, waiting to be actualised.

Integrative motivation, rather than the socio-educational model as a whole, has attracted the lion’s share of attention from researchers in the decades following Gardner’s original work. Perhaps as

a result, Gardner's work has been subject to some misrepresentation (Dörnyei, 2001b), for example through bastardisation into a simplistic dichotomy between integrative and instrumental motivations. Gardner's terminology does not help. He has defended his use of similar terminology (integration/integrativeness/motivation/integrative motivation) at different levels of hierarchy within his model (Gardner 2009) in the face of criticism (cf. Dörnyei, 2001b). In my opinion this criticism is justified.

Researchers have questioned the applicability of the concept of integrativeness to contexts such as Japan, where there is perceived to be little real or potential integration involved in language learning. I address this concern in Section 8.1.5 in light of the analysis.

2.3.2 Theories adapted from general psychology

Starting with Gardner's work, and followed by that of Schumann (1978), Clément (1980), and Giles and Byrne (1982), L2 motivation research evolved independently of cognitive perspectives in mainstream psychology (Ushioda, 2011). As noted in the previous section, Gardner regarded language learning as a unique activity. If it is indeed a unique activity presumably it is unique in certain respects rather than in its entirety. Surely it is unlikely for concepts of motivation that apply to human learning more generally *not* to apply to language learning too (Ushioda, 2011). Crookes and Schmidt (1991) argued that existing research within applied linguistics placed too strong an emphasis on the unique nature of language learning and not enough on the characteristics it shares with other types of learning. This argument led to a movement in the 1990s to introduce concepts from general psychology into theorising L2 learning. Noels (2001), for example, utilised self-determination theory in her research, finding that intrinsic motivation was strengthened by autonomy-supporting behaviour from the teacher. She found that students who study English through compulsion were less sensitive to such teacher behaviour than students learning of their own volition. As I covered the mainstream psychological literature in Section 2.2, and as work within applied linguistics has generally consisted of adaptations of this earlier work

rather than original theory, I will here give only a brief overview of one of the more important of these imports/adaptations: Dörnyei's (2005, 2009c) L2 motivational self-system.

The L2 motivational self-system model is an adaptation of the possible selves theories reviewed in Section 2.2.3. Dörnyei (2005) argues that by reinterpreting Gardner's concept of integrativeness in terms of the self-concept, a model of motivation with greater explanatory power and broader applicability can be realised. Following Higgins, Dörnyei proposes three primary sources of the motivation to learn a foreign/second language: the *ideal L2 self*, which represents the L2-related attributes a learner would ideally like to possess; the *ought L2 self*, representing the L2-related attributes a learner feels he/she *ought* to possess; and the *L2 learning experience*, which is an under-theorized category (Dörnyei, 2005) subsuming aspects of learning such as the classroom environment and the influence of the teacher. Motivated behaviour is viewed in part as a consequence of the psychological need to reduce the discrepancy between the ideal/ought-self and the actual self. Dörnyei offers the following justification for the construct:

...while the Ideal L2 Self perspective provides a good fit to the motivational data accumulated in the past and does not contradict the traditional conceptualizations of L2 motivation, it presents a broader frame of reference with increased capacity for explanatory power: integrativeness seen as Ideal L2 Self can be used to explain the motivational set-up in diverse learning contexts even if they offer little or no contact with L2 speakers (2005, p. 104).

Dörnyei and others (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; MacIntyre et al., 2009) contend that there may be considerable variation in the self-concept and the impact and/or composition of the L2 motivational self-system and the weight of the components across cultures.

2.3.3 Interim commentary: A critique of psychometric approaches

Linear models of motivation which reduce learning behaviour to general commonalities cannot do justice to the idiosyncrasies of personal meaning-making in social context (Ushioda, 2009, p. 219).

I now give an overview of some of the limitations of the psychometric approach adopted by influential researchers within the L2 motivation field, including Robert Gardner and Zoltan Dörnyei. The first limitation concerns the applicability of general models. A psychometric approach treats motivation as one of several individual difference variables⁷ implicated in second language learning (Ushioda, 2001). It utilises a carefully designed and piloted questionnaire to collect information from a large sample of people concerning opinions, feelings, perceptions, and behaviour. This information is coded in numerical form and processed statistically to discover or confirm underlying patterns. It is used to produce (or more often reproduce) abstract cognitive guides to the average learner. Notable examples include Gardner and Lambert's (1972) integrative motive, and Dörnyei's (2005) ideal L2 self (see Sections 2.3.1, 2.3.2). These guides offer a broad-brush view of abstract tendencies across a given sample rather than more concrete observations that can be related to everyday experience. In no way can knowledge of the processes creating these models be inferred from the models themselves (Van Geert, 2011). Individual difference research can therefore "tell us very little about particular students sitting in our classroom, about how they are (un)motivated and why" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 213). This is not a criticism of a psychometric approach *per se*, because understanding learners en masse is a legitimate research activity. It would, however, be a mistake to confuse abstract patterns for concrete cognitive mechanisms, and to assume that the categories from well-established theories are ideal for analysing and explaining the behaviour of a specific learner, or group of learners: one can extrapolate

⁷ Others include personality and language aptitude.

from the sample to the population, not the other way round.

The second and third limitations of a psychometric approach concern the nature of the questionnaire. The Likert-scale questionnaire used in such research is different in nature to the tool—the interview—used in the research presented here. Unlike an interview, in which there is time for the researcher to adjust the empirical focus, and to allocate time to the deep exploration of particular topics, a questionnaire by nature measures a predetermined theoretical area. In Section 2.3.1 I noted that Gardner developed a questionnaire to ‘measure’ integrative orientation. In other words, there was an assumption that this concept existed *before* the data was collected. I am sure Gardner had good reason to believe that an integrative orientation exists, and I am not arguing the contrary. I simply wish to emphasise the way in which questionnaire results, as a first step in empirical investigation, tend to confirm what the researcher wants to believe, rather than uncover unexpected theoretical categories⁸. Likert-scale items require respondents to choose their answer to a given question from a selection devised by the designer of the questionnaire, and if this designer is sensitive towards the way students think and learn, then it is quite likely that his/her intuitions about language learning will receive a statistical ‘stamp of approval’ through respondent corroboration of theoretical categories. Once again, this is not a criticism of the questionnaire as a data collection tool *per se*—if the intent of research is to test or verify a theory, then that theory must be built into the research design from the start—my intention is simply to draw attention to the existential assumptions that underlie the use of such questionnaires as tools of verification rather than exploration.

The a priori assumption of often quite abstract theoretical categories is represented in the methods sections of psychometric studies. Higgins (1987), for example, states that he “had

⁸ I have filled out a number of questionnaires of this type over the years, often looking in vain for an ‘it depends’ box to tick for most of the questions, scribbling my grumbles about the instrument on the margins of the page. People with less interest in research methodology, or who, placing themselves in the hands of the ‘expert’ and his/her ‘precision instrument’, are less likely to ‘play up’ like this. This tendency makes the pretence of rigorous scientific inquiry a little easier maintain.

undergraduates fill out a questionnaire designed *to measure their self-discrepancies*” (p. 325, emphasis added), while Markus and Nurius (1986) recount that:

We then assessed possible selves by asking a) whether the item had described them in the past, b) whether the item was ever considered as a possible self, c) how probable the possible self was for them, and d) how much they would like the item to be true for them (p. 958).

The results of these surveys will be framed very much in the researcher’s terms with little or no opportunity for input from the participants.

An additional limitation of Likert-scale questionnaires is the potential for questionnaire items to be answered despite potential ambiguity of meaning. For example, when filling out the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB)—developed by (Gardner 2004) as a way to measure motivation—participants are asked to strongly disagree, moderately disagree, slightly disagree, slightly agree, moderately agree or strongly agree with 104 statements about English. One such item reads: “I hate English”. To really know about this area we would have to know what the respondent understands by the term ‘English’. Does she see it as a tool that she will make use of in the future, or is it a troublesome classroom subject that she studies through compulsion? Does she associate it with a future career, or as something foreigners in distant lands speak? Would the concept of ‘hatred’ arise, unprompted, in her consciousness with reference to English? To what degree is the learner answering from personal conviction or is her answer largely shaped through socialisation into a particular culture? Does this matter? We might also like to know what exactly the respondent *thinks* the questionnaire designer is asking of her, and whether he/she is giving the questionnaire her full attention or just ‘going through the motions’. Issues such as these are easily addressed by the sensitive interviewer/analyst, but are beyond the remit of a questionnaire consisting of closed items. Furthermore, there is no mechanism

for identifying and addressing such misunderstandings. While the numerical language of the coded questionnaire may give the impression of precision, this is likely an illusion deriving from the conflation of numerical coding with mathematical accuracy.

In this section I have suggested that a psychometric approach is limited in terms of applicability, its focus on the verification rather than generation of theory, and the superficial nature of its data collection tool. In the following sections I look at some alternative means researchers have used to research motivation.

2.3.4 A complex dynamic systems theory view of motivation and language learning

Recent years have seen growing interest in using complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) in applied linguistics (Dörnyei, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Richards, Ross & Seedhouse, 2011; Van Geert, 2007). CDST originates in the mathematical, biological, and physical sciences. The rationale for its use in the social sciences is that social phenomena are sufficiently analogous to their physical or mathematical counterparts for a CDST interpretation to be of explanatory utility: both consist of “multiple interactions between...different components” (Rind, 1999, p. 105), each variable being a more or less significant player in an interconnected web of interacting influences; both contain multiple elements—in the case of psychosocial phenomena, upbringing, nature, nurture, society, the textbook, anonymous policymakers, the classroom, peers, the teacher—upon which the ‘system’ may be contingent. In both mathematical and psychosocial systems it is, at least in principle, difficult to discount the possibility that *any* single component might potentially influence system behaviour. Both types of systems are *nonlinear* in the sense that a perturbation to the system may cause a disproportionately significant effect (the butterfly effect), a proportionate effect, or a disproportionately *insignificant* effect. For example, fleeting intercultural encounters at an early age may exert a substantial effect on learning behaviour for some

Japanese learners of English, while by comparison eight years of test-focused compulsory English classes may be of surprisingly minor consequence (Pigott, 2013).

Strictly speaking, a CDST perspective is not a theory, but an epistemological position about how the world works. According to this epistemology, the conventional approach of formulating relationships between ‘factors’ in terms of cause and effect (Byrne, 2002) is no longer viable:

...aggregated scores from a sample are often meaningless when one tries to understand the intricate dynamics of a complex system...the central tendency observed in a group may not be true of any particular person in the participant sample⁹ (Dörnyei, 2012, p. 4).

The fact that traditional approaches take as the target of study generalities rather than idiosyncratic intricacies is said to account for the fact that quantitative researchers tend to have to settle for correlation scores of 0.40 (or only 16% of variance) between factors (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006). A CDST approach abandons such statistical prediction in favour of deep description of tendencies, patterns and contingencies (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008).

Ushioda (2015) identifies a number of challenges facing researchers adopting a CDST approach. First, there is the issue of separating the learner from context for the purpose of analysis given that, technically speaking, from a CDST perspective they are ‘one’ as a system. Second, how to account for the fact that the learner is a self-reflective organism within a paradigm derived from theoretical mathematics and physics, where self-reflection is not a relevant concept, and there is no vocabulary to describe it. Third, how to set the boundaries of context for research that are relevant to a consideration of a particular learner’s situation within a theoretical paradigm that allows for *anything* to be a potentially

⁹ This has long been recognised by researchers working within both qualitative and quantitative traditions (simply substitute ‘the individual’ for ‘a complex system’). This statement therefore offers some support for my claim that CDST proponents’ claims to originality may be somewhat exaggerated (See Section 8.1.4).

crucial influence. I address how my own research meets these challenges in Section 8.1.4.

In a recent paper (Pigott, 2013), I used Larsen-Freeman and Cameron's (2008) 16-step complexity thought modelling (CTM) procedure to investigate the motivation of four university English learners. CTM involves identifying the components of the system and their associated timescales and levels of social and human organisation, and describing the relations between components and how the system changes over time in terms of emergence and self-organization. My analysis suggested that there was certainly some utility to viewing motivation in complexity terms. In line with a CDST view, I found that:

- An individual's motivation can only be understood in terms of how it is grounded in that individual's context.
- Aspects of motivation appear to operate over multiple timescales, including those dwarfing the ones we generally associate with the classroom (task, lesson, curriculum, etc.).
- Seemingly insignificant or fleeting perturbations to the motivational 'system' often play a disproportionate role in affecting motivation.

While I certainly came nowhere near modelling the motivation of the participants, I found the procedure useful as a *conceptual toolkit*. My own experience, therefore, supports Mercer's (2012) conclusion that the key contribution of complexity theory may lie in its potential as an alternative way of thinking. Perhaps this is enough. Mason (2008) reminds us that:

...nobody in the social sciences has been able to describe, let alone predict, what degree of mass is sufficient to be critical, when a phase transition will occur, what will be the characteristics—described in more than just general terms—of the emergent phenomena.

These would be useful things to know, but even to ask after them is in some ways to misunderstand complexity (p. 16).

A recently published volume (Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015) marks the first time that CDST theorising and empirical research into motivation has been brought together in an anthology. I take a critical look at this volume in Section 8.1.4 in light of the results of the analysis. In the following section I introduce the work that has been done on L2 motivation in the qualitative realm.

2.3.5 Qualitative approaches to the investigation of motivation and language learning

In this section I give an overview of research into language learning and motivation conducted through qualitative inquiry. I start by identifying some of the differences between qualitative and experimental/quantitative approaches. I have grouped these differences into four categories: epistemology, theoretical focus, data collection and analysis. I then give an overview of some of the more significant qualitative research that has been carried out into the relationship between language learning and motivation.

Epistemology

Rather than the ‘vantage point of the stars’ perspective of the approaches covered up to this point, qualitative approaches tend to examine motivation from a constructivist standpoint—from the ‘inside out’ (Ames, 1986). Motivation is not viewed through activity that can be directly observed and measured, but in terms of the “patterns of thinking and belief that underlie such activity and shape students’ engagement in the learning process” (Ushioda, 2001, p. 96). This epistemological position dictates the use of certain analytical procedures. On the grounds that the objects of research are self-aware, qualitative researchers tend to view ‘objective’, observer-based research procedures derived from

methods in the physical sciences as insufficiently equipped to answer questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ with reference to conscious human behaviour. Instead, they tend to enter into some form of relationship with the object of study in order to investigate together how he/she makes sense of the world. So that full access to a particular research environment may be granted, and in order for stories and opinions to be related within a convivial relationship, it is necessary to build a relationship of mutual trust between researcher and research participants. Inevitably, the nature of this relationship will likely have some effect on the nature of the data collected, and the theory developed from this data. This is unavoidable, and requires thoughtful reflection that must subsequently be documented in the research report.

Theoretical focus

In order to investigate in detail how particular individuals understand and (to an extent) create reality, an emphasis on quality over quantity¹⁰, or depth over breadth, is required. Qualitative researchers focus their attention on a relatively small number of research participants, but pay each of them a proportionately large amount of attention compared to the quantitative researcher, who may be dealing with data from hundreds or even thousands of participants (necessarily reduced to numbers). A deep analytic focus on the individual is one of the key characteristics of a qualitative approach.

Data collection and analysis

While the quantitative researcher may have in mind the aim of verification as he or she collects data, the qualitative researcher is more likely to be thinking in terms of exploration. This means that the data collection cannot be set out rigidly beforehand. Preparation for interviews will likely involve deciding upon the general theme of the interview, devising some useful ‘starter questions’ through which to

¹⁰ I use the two terms free of any value-laden connotations.

enter into participant experience. Other questions are likely to be improvised during the interview in order to get to the heart of the matter in a manner that the researcher deems appropriate in the ‘heat of the moment’. Following the data collection, it is not uncommon for the analytical process to be the cause of considerable confusion, consternation, and puzzlement to the researcher (Richards, 2003), especially when compared to the relatively standardised process of statistical analysis. In qualitative work, one can plan coding procedures beforehand, but one does not necessarily know how long this process will take, or how hard it will be. Midgely’s (2011) comparison of the approaches of a chemist and a botanist may provide a useful analogy for the broad differences in approach between quantitative and qualitative approaches. The chemist analyses a leaf by mulching it up and passing it thorough a centrifuge, then listing the resulting compounds. The botanist, by contrast:

...looks first at [the leaf’s] structure and considers the possible wider background, asking what kind of tree it came from, in what ecosystem, growing in what soil, in what climate, and what has happened to the leaf since it left the tree? (p. 43).

In this case, the two approaches are presumably both entirely appropriate means of investigation given that they are tied to a relevant research question. But for the social sciences one could argue—and those within the qualitative paradigm probably *would* argue—that the botanist supplies the better model for emulation. Such a holistic approach, Midgely argues, “is not folklore but as central and necessary a part of science as the atomistic quest” (p. 43).

The following overview introduces the work of researchers working within the qualitative paradigm. Norton (1997; 2000) does not identify herself as a motivation researcher, but her work certainly has ramifications for motivation theory and how it relates to language learning. Ushioda (2009, 2015) works from within the field.

Norton's research on identity and language learning

Norton's research (1997, 2000) focuses on the role played by identity in language learning, in particular how processes of identity development and construction, power, and language learning are played out in frequently inequitable social contexts. For her doctoral research (Peirce, 1993) Norton used a variety of means (questionnaires, diaries, individual and group interviews) to collect data on the experiences of immigrants studying English in a second language environment. She describes her research focus as follows:

Central questions in my own work are not “Is the learner motivated to learn the target language?” and “What kind of personality does the learner have?” Instead, my questions are framed as follows: “What is the learner's investment in the target language? How is the learner's relationship to the target language socially and historically constructed?” (1997, p. 411).

Norton Peirce (1995) argues that cognitive explanations alone are inadequate in capturing the relationship between language learning and social identity. She questions the notion that a learner can be simplistically diagnosed as instrumentally or integratively motivated given that motivation and identity are both mediated by society and changeable over time. She contends that theorists have not adequately addressed the way in which motivation and confidence can fluctuate so widely, and why a learner can “sometimes speak and other times remains silent” (Norton, 1997, p. 11). The key to understanding such issues lies in examining how the learner functions within learning contexts. Two influential concepts Norton has introduced into discussions of language learning are that of *investment* and the *imagined community*. Investment serves as a sociological counterpart to the psychological construct of motivation (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Drawing on the ideas of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1991), this construct:

...seeks to collapse the dichotomies associated with traditional conceptions of learner identity (good/bad, motivated/unmotivated, anxious/confident, introvert/extrovert) and recognizes that the conditions of power in different learning contexts can position the learners in multiple and often unequal ways, leading to varying learning outcomes (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37).

Based on work by Wenger (1998), Norton developed the notion of the *imagined community* which, she argues, is paired with an imagined identity. The concept of the imagined community brings to mind Gardner's (1960) concept of integrative orientation, although Gardner's concept is conventionally understood to be a form of identification with a concrete, rather than imagined, community.

Lamb (2004, 2009) is another researcher who highlights the important role of identity in language learning. In his research on Indonesian learners of English, he found that integrative and instrumental orientations among students were broadly indistinguishable, raising questions about the relevance of this concept to the Indonesian context. Lamb accounts for this situation by suggesting that learners may be pursuing bicultural identities constituted of their *local L1-speaking self* and a *global citizen self*. This globally involved version of themselves is clearly linked to Norton's concept of the imagined community. Here we can see that Gardner's 'unique nature of language learning' (see Section 2.3.1) is represented in qualitative work. Like Norton, Lamb attributes changes in motivation to the way in which the learner is involved in on-going identity construction processes, particularly during adolescence (ibid.).

Ushioda's (2009) person-in-context, relational view of language learning

Working from within the motivation field, Ushioda (2001, 2003, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013) seeks to challenge "basic Cartesian dualism...between the inner life of the individual and the surrounding culture and society" (2009, p. 217). Her person-in-context, relational view of emergent motivation, self,

and identity (2009) treats motivation as “emergent from relations between real persons, with particular social identities, and the unfolding cultural context of activity” (p. 215). She takes the terms *person*, *context*, and *relational* in turn, contrasting her understanding with the way in which they are typically treated in the psychometric literature. The *person*, as opposed to the learner, is located in a particular historical, cultural, and institutional context, and only a certain part of her behaviour is devoted to language learning. Rather than viewing context as an independent background variable, Ushioda uses the *person-in-context* to capture how people and the contexts within which they act are in a mutually constitutive relationship. A *relational* view of motivation is intended to better represent the “complexity and idiosyncrasy of a person’s motivational response to particular events and experiences in their life” and the “idiosyncrasies of personal meaning-making in social context” (p. 219).

A person-in-context, relational view of motivation is an epistemological position that holds implications for the way in which motivation can be conceptualised and researched. Like Norton, Ushioda emphasises the role of identity in language learning, arguing that:

...the extent to which [learners are] comfortable with developing identities and selves connected with English learning, or ‘being an English speaker’, and expanding their sense of self, may connect profoundly with their motivation for language learning (2013, p. 10).

In this section I have illustrated how some researchers working within the qualitative paradigm have challenged traditional psychometric approaches, and how they have used the concept of identity rather than self as a conceptual link between psychology, society, and behaviour.

Through the preceding overview, and through the critique of psychometric approaches given in Section 2.3.3, I have offered implicit support for a qualitative approach. However, I do not wish to give

the impression that all qualitative work is inherently of high quality. As Ushioda (2009) notes, a great deal of qualitative work seeks to uncover “rule-governed psychological laws that explain how context affects motivation” (p. 217) rather than exploring meaning-making in social context, privileging the psychological over the social, and leaving it open to the charge of mistakenly trying to do the job of quantitative research without the necessary rigour or instruments. I address the issue of quality within a qualitative approach in Section 4.4.

2.3.6 The hypothetical learner

What can the theories reviewed in this section tell us about a hypothetical successful learner of English in Japan? According to Gardner’s socio-educational model, we would expect the motivated Japanese learner of English to have a positive identification with English speakers, or a particular subset of English speakers, and to want to be involved to some extent in their community. According to the L2 motivational self-system, the successful learner would likely possess a combination of the following two attributes: i) a powerful, attractive image of him/herself as a proficient user of English that is somewhat discrepant with his/her actual self; ii) a strong sense that he/she should become a proficient L2 user in the future, stemming from the expectations of society or parents.

According to the principle of non-linearity, CDST would suggest that unexpected events and twists of fate of seemingly minor consequence might on occasion exert a disproportionately significant effect on motivation and language learning behaviour. We therefore might expect the path of the successful language learner to have taken a number of unanticipated turns along the way. It follows that one the fundamental keys to understanding the hypothetical learner may be to examine the details of precisely the type of twists and turns of the language learning process that psychometric research overlooks.

Norton’s work suggests that the successful Japanese speaker of English would be motivated

and supported by a social environment that allowed him/her to be fully invested in language learning—a community in which he or she has a ‘voice’, and in which he/she can play an active role. We might also expect the successful language learner to have a strong identification either with a concrete English-language target language group or with an imagined community. Ushioda’s work, too, suggests that it would be simplistic to conceptualise the motivated language learner in terms of cognitive characteristics alone. Rather, it is the position of the person in context, including historical, cultural, and institutional contexts that determine motivation and successful language learning.

2.4 Significant events and language learning

One of my earliest realisations upon conducting the first round of interviews for this research was that particularly memorable events appeared to play an important role in shaping participants’ language learning histories. As a result, I originally intended to give such events a more central role in the study¹¹. Given the results of the GT analysis I have since reduced this focus, but the role of such events is nevertheless a striking feature of the data and is theorised as part of the extended ELMS model (see Section 7.3). In this section I give an overview of existing research and theory on what are referred to as ‘critical incidents’ or ‘critical events’ within the literature. The importance of *events* in shaping our lives is self-evident, and they have always been vital to an exploratory approach to the analysis of self-reports. As Rogers (1961) notes:

...in a new field perhaps what is needed first is *to steep oneself in the events*, to approach the phenomena with as few preconceptions as possible, to take a naturalist’s observational, descriptive approach to these events, and to draw forth those low-level inferences which seem

¹¹ In the early stages of the data collection/analysis I considered basing the thesis on an analysis of the relationship between these significant events and motivation.

most native to the material itself... (p. 128, emphasis added).

In my interviews with participants I found that focusing on events comes naturally—that the discussion tends to gravitate towards particularly memorable events, and that they are salient to the interviewee and consequently of great interest to me, the interviewer. Perhaps because events such as these are so idiosyncratic, they have tended not to feature in research into motivation that focuses on general tendencies. Given the apparent important role they play, this is regrettable.

Flanagan (1954) was the first to formalise the study of what he called the ‘critical incident’ through the use of critical incident theory (CIT). Flanagan’s objective was to gain an understanding of the participant in cognitive, affective, and behavioural terms (Webster & Mertova, 2007). His work with soldiers led to the formulation of a set of critical requirements for effective combat leadership. CIT has since been used in occupational settings to investigate factors influencing managerial and employee performance (McClelland, 1976), in organisational psychology, management, and healthcare (Webster & Mertova, 2007), in social constructionist work and intercultural practice (Chell & Allman, 2003), and by teachers and teacher-trainers as a means of reflection (Farrell, 2008). In education, Woods (1993) writes that critical incidents accelerate learning and understanding, that they are critical to life-change, and that they define reality and identity for the experiencer. Existing research suggests that significant events may have one or more of the following characteristics:

- They tend to be seminal moments in learning and/or self-awareness
- They promote learning in accelerated ways
- They lead the individual involved to question the way things normally operate
- The degree of their significance is a construction of the learner
- The fuller impact of such events on one’s understanding and worldview is realised only in

retrospect

- They have a traumatic, shocking, surprising, or risky element
- They are unplanned, unanticipated and uncontrolled (adapted from Cope & Watts, 2000; Tripp, 1993; and Webster & Mertova, 2007)

I do not feel comfortable stating categorically that an incident or event is or is not *critical*—that if this event had not happened, then such-and-such an outcome also would not have happened. For this reason I prefer the term ‘significant event’.

As far as I am aware, CIT and motivational theory have yet to be formally introduced within research, although the importance of individual events is implicit in some research. See, for example, work by Shoaib and Dörnyei (2005), introduced in Section 8.3.6.

The hypothetical learner

We can hypothesise that a successful Japanese learner of English may have experienced some particularly influential events that had a powerful effect on their learning, either in terms of inspiration to work harder, or by providing the justifications for, or beliefs underlying, learning. Given the stereotype of English education in Japan as predictable, prolonged and tedious, characterised by extensive test preparation through grammar translation (a stereotype that contains a good deal of truth—see Chapter 3)—i.e. a learning context in which it could be argued that there is a *paucity* of significant events—perhaps the concept of the significant event might be particularly relevant to an understanding of the motivational landscape in Japan in the sense of what might be *lacking* in this learning environment. It is to an examination of the Japanese context to which I turn in the following section.

CHAPTER 3: ENGLISH IN JAPAN

A situated account of the motivation to learn a language demands a focus on institutional, sociocultural, and historical surroundings. My intention in this chapter is to give a general introduction to the research setting. I begin with an overview of the history of English education in Japan. I then address some of the dominant discourses and ideologies of English in Japanese society. Next, I assess the degree to which there is a need for English in this context. I finish by giving an account of how the literature on motivation and language learning can be understood and used within the Japanese context.

3.1 Educational institutions and policies

In large states public education will always be mediocre, for the same reason that in large kitchens the cooking is usually bad.

Friedrich Nietzsche.

Japan's modern engagement with English began in 1854 when, under threat of invasion¹², Japan concluded the Treaty of Peace and Amity with the United States (Reesor, 2002). The Meiji era¹³ (1869-1911) saw rapid industrialisation, and English was a key means of acquiring sought-after foreign knowledge and expertise. Those working on the vital translations were relatively few in number, however, and the knowledge they gained was immediately translated and then taught in Japanese. English proficiency was therefore a necessary skill for a relatively small number of specialists (Hosoki, 2011). There was, however, a general fascination with the West, and English was introduced into the

¹² Commodore Matthew Perry proclaimed that Japan be “opened for trade or trampled”.

¹³ Eras take the name of the reigning emperor.

national curriculum of 1871 (Reesor, 2002). This fascination was, however, mixed with growing anti-Western sentiment. In 1889 the Japanese minister of Education, Mori Arinori, was assassinated by a nationalist who was outraged by Arinori's proposal to introduce modified English into the Japanese language (Ike, 1995). <Eigo-zukai> {English user} became a pejorative term (Hughes, 1999). English, while still taught in schools, tended to be treated primarily as an exam subject rather than as a practical communication tool. In 1932 the military took over the governing of the country and English, the language of the enemy, was abolished from the curriculum in the lead up to the Second World War.

Following Japan's wartime defeat, the U.S. occupation forces introduced the contemporary school system, based on the American model, and this system has been maintained up to the present day. An overview is given in Table 3.1. A typical public school class has up to 40 students in public schools. Class sizes in private schools tend to be smaller.

AGE	GRADE	INSTITUTION	COMPULSORY/NON-COMPULSORY
6-7	1	Elementary school	Compulsory
7-8	2		
8-9	3		
9-10	4		
10-11	5		
11-12	6		
12-13	1	Junior high school	
13-14	2		
14-15	3		
15-16	1	High school	Non-compulsory but attendance rate is over 97%.
16-17	2		
17-18	3		
18-19	1	University	Non-compulsory; 52% attendance rate.
19-20	2		
20-21	3		
21-22	4		

Table 3.1. Educational institutions in Japan.

While only elementary school and junior high school are technically compulsory, 97.8% of students in Japan attended high school in 2008 (MEXT, 2008). Students currently start studying English in the final two years of elementary school. The majority of students at university have to take at least one or two English classes each week in their first year, regardless of their major. In effect, Japanese students who progress to university attend at least nine years of compulsory English classes, and this number is set to rise with the introduction of English classes from the 3rd grade of elementary school in the near future

(Hosoki, 2012). Currently, by the end of junior high school, students will have had over 260 hours of English classes (600 hours by the end of high school) (ibid.). Most students attend public elementary schools but there is increasing competition for public schooling from junior high school on and, consequently, reduced options available for low-income households. Many students also study at private ‘cram schools’ in the evenings in order to boost their test performances.

As the Japanese economy developed in the post-war period, demand grew within the business community for graduates with English skills. People also became interested in learning English for travel purposes, as almost two million Japanese travelled abroad in the 1970s (ibid.). The <jitsuyou eigo kentei> (practical English test) was introduced in 1963. Since that time there has been a steady growth in the private sector of <ekaiwa> (English conversation schools). In 1987 the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) programme was initiated to hire English speakers to assist teachers in junior and senior high schools. In recent years there has been an increasing tendency for private companies to supply these assistant language teachers (ALTs).

The Ministry of Education sits at the top of the Japanese educational hierarchy. Classes throughout the country follow the same core curriculum, and must utilise only officially sanctioned textbooks. While the Ministry of Education produces white papers on English education every five years, and Japanese teachers are increasingly trained and officially required to incorporate more communicative methods of teaching into their classroom practice, the university entrance exams are changing only gradually, with most of them focusing on testing receptive skills and grammatical knowledge. Since the name of the university is the single most important factor in determining the type of job the future graduate can get, high schools therefore face intense pressure from parents and boards of education to prepare students for university entrance exams. This is known as the ‘wash-back effect’, whereby schools are forced to focus on test preparation, no matter the ‘fashionable’ proposals—communicative language classes and like—MEXT suggests in their white papers.

Harasawa's (1974) forty-year-old observation that "the time and energy our students devote to English is mostly wasted" (p. 71) retains more than an element of truth, with Japan scoring consistently poorly on standardised tests of ability such as the TOEIC and TOEFL tests¹⁴ (Jackson & Kennet, 2013).

3.2 Ideologies and discourses of English in Japan

In this section I examine how discourses and ideologies associated with English influence learners in Japan. Like any country, Japan is a product of its history, and its education policy rides the wave of wider historical shifts in ideologies and discourses associated with English. In the 1980s, for example, English became talked about in terms of <kokusaika> (internationalisation). More recently, <guroubaruka> {globalisation} has become the 'in' word. Such terms influence how the Japanese position themselves with respect to the outside world and, in turn, how they see themselves (Reesor, 2002). The widespread use of such terms can be understood to combine enthusiasm for dialogue with the West with the reinforcement of nationalist values (Kubota, 1999). This can be seen in the following extract, drawn from a white paper¹⁵ by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT):

...it is essential for {children living in the 21st century} to acquire communication abilities in English as a common international language. In addition, English abilities are important in terms of linking our country with the rest of the world, obtaining the world's understanding and trust, enhancing our international presence and further developing our nation...Cultivating "Japanese with English Abilities" is an extremely important issue for the future of our children

¹⁴ Admittedly, test-taking demographics make country-based comparisons unreliable.

¹⁵ It is titled "Regarding the Establishment of an Action Plan to Cultivate 'Japanese with English Abilities'"

and for the further development of our country (Okuno, 2007, p. 138).

Variations on this nationalistic theme of English-as-panacea tend to dominate discourses of English education in government policy statements, while more liberatory discourses of English-as-opportunity (Yamagami & Tollefson, 2011), as a means of personal growth, and as a means of participation in the international community, are likely to be seen in the private sphere in conversation school sales commercials and university English department prospectuses.

But not everything is what it seems. In an insightful analysis of government pronouncements on English, Hashimoto (2009) shows how MEXT policy is based not only on its understanding of the contribution made by Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) to national economic success, but on “the formation and maintenance of national identity in an era of globalization” (p. 23). She shows that the seductive discourse of English-as-panacea distracts attention from what she claims is the real aim of English education, which is to create a group of people who can help Japan to *cope* with the outside world as part of an ‘immune response’ to globalisation (Kariya and Rappleye, 2010). Terasawa (in Kobayashi, 2013) offers empirical support for this view, showing that the real ‘Japanese with English abilities’ tend to be relatively financially and educationally privileged. Yet, even for this demographic, English proficiency often functions as “a signature of middle-class status, [a] gatekeeper through career advancement, or a language accessory that may not [be] linked to actual communicative needs” (Kubota, 2012, p. 107).

The following extract offers a concrete ‘inside’ example of how the stated aims and real intentions within educational policy in Japan may not always coincide. Kuniyuki Nose was the Home Affairs Ministry official responsible for the introduction of the JET programme, which was ostensibly focused on the revolution of English education and contributing to the internationalisation of Japan. He has since stated:

The purpose of the JET Programme was never focused on the revolution of English education or changing Japanese society. Frankly speaking, during the year of the trade conflict between Japan and the US...what I was thinking about was how to deal with the demands of the US that we buy more things such as computers and cars. I realized the trade friction was not going to be solved by manipulating material things, and, besides, I wanted to demonstrate the fact that not all Japanese are economic animals who gobble up real estate (McConnell, 1996, p. 456).

If this is an accurate portrayal of events, the JET programme is, in terms of its origin at least, a public relations exercise. Pinning down the truth in an examination of ideology and discourse is a tricky affair. The general conclusion I draw from the examples given in this section is that ostensive education policy and superficial discourses of English in Japan tend to hide a much more complicated reality. In the following section I suggest that the most sizable elephant in the room is the issue of the degree to which the Japanese actually need English.

3.3 The need for English in Japan

In 1974 a contentious debate on language policy took place (reported in Aspinall, 2013) between Hiraimazu Wataru, an LDP politician and former diplomat, and Watanabe Shoichi, a professor at Sophia University. Hiraizumi submitted a report to the cabinet critiquing English education in Japan, arguing that only five per cent of Japanese needed to be able to speak English, that it should be an elective subject from the second year of junior high school, and that it should be removed completely from the university entrance examination system. His opponent, Watanabe, considered it axiomatic that all students should have a background in English. He recommended that they be taught English through the traditional <yakudoku> (roughly 'grammar translation') method, on the grounds that communicative proficiency could be built upon this grammatical foundation at a later date if necessary.

Watanabe's perspective won the day against Hiraizumi's 'radical' proposal. In the following 40 years, the question regarding the extent to which Japanese people actually need to learn English has largely disappeared from discussions of education policy and, as far as I am aware, from the applied linguistics literature. Instead, the notion that English is of vital importance to Japan's future prosperity (Hashimoto, 2009) has become an ideological tenet or, perhaps one could say, a matter of faith. In this section I will argue that the assumption that the Japanese need English en masse does not stand up to empirical scrutiny.

This section is concerned primarily with the same 'pragmatic need' which appears to concern policymakers, i.e. the need for English ability for the sake of the Japanese people *en masse*, rather than the individual's need or desire to learn English as a means to learn about the world, engage in intercultural exchange, travel, or pursue hobbies. Policy based on pragmatic need is based on the assumption that English is vital for the day-to-day life of the citizen, particularly within the workplace. As a country, the assumption of pragmatic need dictates that English ability is indispensable for economic success and the maintenance of international standing. Strictly defining need in this way within this section allows two straightforward and useful contrasts to be drawn. The first is between *claimed* need and *actual* need; the second is between the nature of this ostensible need and the measures taken through education policy to answer it. I return to the issue of how to define need at the end of the section.

History offers little support for the prevalent belief—at least as such belief can be inferred from educational policy statements such as the one cited in the previous section—in the importance of English to the Japanese: Japan's explosive post-war boom was in no way contingent on English ability. Currently, Japan enjoys a relatively low dependence on foreign trade as reflected in the proportion of domestic to overseas trade revenue (31.7%) compared to Korea (92.2%), Hong Kong (348.8%) and Singapore (360.3%) (Kobayashi, 2013).

In terms of concrete, contemporary need, Kubota (2012) reports that hiring advertisements in Tokyo for the Employment Security Bureau, Hello Work, in October 2007, stipulated English ability in less than two per cent of job advertisements. English may not even be widely needed within businesses involved in overseas trade. In an interview study of executives working in international companies in the city of Hasu, Kubota found that an average of only 15% of employees used English regularly at work, and that this use mainly entailed reading and responding to emails. Like Chinese learners (Chen, Warden & Chang, 2005), the Japanese can participate in global culture through the media, film, music and sports in their first language.

Despite the evidence that the need for English is significantly exaggerated, discourses concerning the indispensability of English are prevalent. In my own experience in informal discussions with non-English major university students, students tend to give the following reasons for learning English: i) Companies require English proficiency; ii) English enables Japanese to work overseas; and iii) English allows communication with people from abroad. However, when asked about individual plans, many students claim that they have little desire to work overseas and no need for English in everyday life. In other words: 'it is true...but not for me'.

Similar bivalent worldviews are prevalent within the academic literature. In a discussion of the position of English within Japanese society, Yano (2011) asserts: "Japan...depends heavily for its survival and prosperity on foreign trade, which makes it *vital for the Japanese to be able to use English*" (emphasis added). In following paragraph, without skipping a beat, he continues:

...the majority of people do not feel the need to learn English. Do they have opportunities to use what they have learned? No. *English is never used among the Japanese, while a language must be used if it is to be effectively learned* (p. 133, emphasis added).

How can it be vital for the Japanese to use a language that they have no opportunities to use? Put in such a way, the argument appears unpersuasive. Surely it is the case that *some* Japanese need English while others do not. However, the nature of the education system in Japan is such that English is either on the curriculum for all students in the country or for none. All children, it can be argued, require literacy and basic mathematical skills, but it is more difficult to make the argument for English. Yet one *must* make that argument *in order to justify its inclusion in the list of compulsory subjects*. In terms of career advancement and professional psychological health, it may be easier for teachers and academics to either play along with, or internalise the narrative that compulsory English classes are vital for everyone than it is to take a more contrarian position.

It seems to me that the failure to base English education policy on a more realistic understanding of the pragmatic need for English in Japan offers a convincing explanation for its shortcomings¹⁶—put simply, if the average Japanese person does not have a pragmatic need for a language he/she is unlikely to learn it despite having to take compulsory classes. Since, however, the idea that the pragmatic need for English might have been greatly exaggerated is missing from the discourse of policymakers and educators, it is precluded from their rationales for low levels of acquisition. How, then, is the failure to acquire English commonly rationalised? I will identify two common positions here. The first, commonly held by applied linguists and teachers, is that it is a matter of lack of time, bad technique, or focus. Aspinall (2013) notes that there are a number of obstacles standing in the way of successful acquisition of English:

- Students have little need to speak English in junior or senior high school

¹⁶ What one views as *shortcomings* depends on perspective. In terms of keeping bureaucrats, university personnel, publishers, and teachers in employment, for example, compulsory English education is a roaring success.

- They study for too little time
- They have little opportunity¹⁷ outside the classroom to practice
- They concentrate mainly on grammar and vocabulary.

The second position, which is often combined with the first, adopts theories of <nihonjinron> (Japaneseness), contending that the unique geographical, historical and cultural, and even physiological characteristics of the Japanese preclude successful English acquisition. An example of such discourse can be found on the Kyoto University of Foreign Studies (KUFS) website:

To master a foreign language...is not an easy task for Japanese. One of the reasons for this sad truth lies in our linguistic system, which has a peculiar structure. Another reason is non-linguistic. We have exclusively developed our own customs and traditions through our unique historical and geographical background. In other words, people in a country surrounded by the sea such as Japan tend to have far more trouble in learning a foreign language than those residing in countries bordering immediately on others. Thus [sic], we believe that having linguistic talent is not good enough to overcome this handicap; we Japanese must have incessant drive and go through thousands of repetitions to acquire foreign languages (KUFS, 2013, p. 2)

<Nihonjinron> ideas espousing Japanese uniqueness are ubiquitous in the media. Jackson and Kennett (2013) demonstrate how the media reinforces the idea that speaking English requires Japanese “to enact personality traits presumed to be non-Japanese” (p.10). They show that *edutainment* English TV

¹⁷ Note that ‘opportunity’ could, if it was not for the inconvenient nuance it would add, unproblematically be substituted for ‘need’.

programmes lower aspirations of its English-learning viewers by equating language ability with ethnicity, the reification of the native speaker, and defeatism towards English learning. This strengthens not only the perception that “compulsory English [is] for the vast majority of Japanese, an onerous and largely unsuccessful experience” (ibid.), but that this cannot really be helped due to the natural ineptitude of Japanese in learning English. In this environment, it is of little surprise that, as Kobayashi (2013, p.6) observes, English education produces “young monolingual Japanese who willingly ascribe their poor English skills to their pure, genetic, innate Japaneseness”, while Liddicoat (2007) argues that English education is effectively a process of Japanisation.

I do not wish to undermine the legitimate concerns about these practical and cultural obstacles to successful English acquisition in Japan¹⁸, but I would argue that such rationalisations are likely to take on the role of ‘explaining away’ the more fundamental issue of pragmatic need.

I close this section by returning to the issue of the ‘need’ of English in Japan. Language is, of course, more than simply a communication code. Through language acquisition, the learner can learn about culture and enrich his/her worldview, as well as derive satisfaction from the learning process itself—from the challenge and the sense of achievement that accompanies it. I have not focused on aspects of language learning such as these in this section, but I do not deny their importance. By failing to cater to such ‘holistic needs’ that young people may have for language learning, and at the same time overestimating the pragmatic need for English in Japan, it may be the case that education policy in Japan does itself a double injury: By treating language simply as a communication code—mechanically, so to speak—the attraction of language learning loses some of its allure for many students. At the same time, by placing an excessive pressure on students to study English, many students come to dislike English and, perhaps by association, the idea of learning other languages, too. Students who wish to

¹⁸ Although it should be noted that excessive focus on such difficulties runs the risk of creating self-fulfilling prophecies.

learn English for personal reasons, or those who might potentially benefit from learning English or other languages if they were given the opportunity to pursue these studies in less of a test-based, mechanical manner, are put off by an education system to which such needs are viewed as trivial compared to the more important ‘business in hand’: raising average TOEIC scores. English as a tool for one’s career, or for the betterment of Japan, must surely seem distant, abstract study objectives for younger learners.

Given the somewhat ambiguous position of English and English education in Japan, what does the motivation field have to offer in facilitating understanding of the situation or effecting change? This is the topic of the next section.

3.4 Motivation in the Japanese context

Within Japan, there is less interest in motivation constructs as disinterested theory than there is in using them as tools to motivate students. I conclude this chapter by playing devil’s advocate, asking whether the desire to motivate students to learn English is as benign as it might at first seem.

During the 1990s, recognition grew that motivation theory might be used to inform pedagogy. Chambers (1993), for example, examined what British high school language students “felt, what they liked and disliked, the approaches of which they approved and disapproved...” (p.13). Chambers notes the substantial, perhaps fundamental influence of social factors which may make effective language learning impossible, an observation which feels refreshingly honest viewed against the contemporary backdrop of ‘can do’ positivity. The most noteworthy addition to the motivational literature in the language-learning field is Dörnyei’s (2001a) volume *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Since its publication, there has been a clear movement to turn motivation theory around and use it to *motivate* the language learner. For example, Dörnyei (2009e) remarks that the L2 motivational self-system “offers new avenues for motivating language learners (p. 32); MacIntyre et al. (2009) suggest that

“...techniques for changing possible selves could be of practical use to educators...” (p. 51); Csizér and Kormos (2009) argue that “it is largely the teachers’ responsibility to motivate students” (p. 108); and Yashima (2009) suggests that educational initiatives may be needed to construct an imagined international community for learners. Finally, Dörnyei (2009d) claims:

What would be needed in applied linguistics now is a systematic review of the techniques utilised with a view of their potential applicability to promoting L2 motivation and the vision to master a foreign language (p. 25).

There is a considerable body of work on *demotivation* in Japan (Arai, 2004; Brown & Yamashita, 1995a, 1995b; Falout, Elwood & Hood, 2009; Falout & Maruyama, 2004; Kikuchi, 2006, 2009; Kikuchi & Sakai, 2009; Tsuchiya, 2006). Dörnyei (2005) defines demotivation as “specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention or an on-going action” (p. 143). Research in this area addresses why students appear to find their classroom English lessons unsatisfactory and how to remedy this situation. In a representative study Kikuchi (2009) found that there are five issues that Japanese high school students find demotivating: 1) individual teacher behaviour in the classroom; 2) the grammar-translation method used in instruction; 3) tests and university entrance examinations; 4) the memorisation of vocabulary; and 5) textbook/reference book-related issues. The possibility that many students likely do not have any practical need for English is not considered. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) note that it may be ethically suspect to place the locus of less than satisfactory learning problems internally, “in effect laying the blame to some extent on students themselves” (p. 153). This ‘deficit’ view of the student tends to be accompanied by efforts to find a solution through improved pedagogical practice or the use of motivational strategies. In line with my claim that the pragmatic need for English in Japan is overestimated (see section 3.3), I would argue that

a more fundamental problem than matters of demotivation or pedagogical technique is the compulsion to study a language for which at the very least a significant minority of students may have little use. If the blame lies with compulsion, then it follows that the psychological and social pressure placed on students to learn English might reasonably be understood in terms of manipulation as well as motivation. This is a case in which the use of alternative vocabulary could shed an interesting light on the situation (see Definitions of Key Terms).

Another issue that may benefit from more critical attention is the practice, common within the demotivation literature, of studying motivation by examining students who do not possess it. I find myself in agreement with Gardner when he states that:

...someone who states that they are studying a particular language because it is a language requirement is not even giving a reason for learning the language... That is, this type of reason doesn't belong in either the integrative or instrumental type of reasons for learning the language (Gardner, 2001b, p. 11).

It could be argued along the lines that many of the students featuring in the studies of demotivation in Japan are not actually language learners at all, and therefore can tell us little about anything more than the *pretence* of language learning, or perhaps at best 'learning English for tests'. Asking learners with little interest in English to fill in detailed questionnaires about their motivation is, a colleague of mine once suggested, akin to seeking their opinions on Salsa dance.

In conclusion, I propose that the belief that motivation, aptitude and personality are the keys to success in language learning (Dörnyei, 2005; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Noels, 2001) stands *only if we presume there is a widespread need for the language* (however broadly one defines this need), since the lack of need is a far greater obstacle to learning (and a far more powerful explanation of its failure), than is any

explanation based on individual psychology.

The preceding overview of the Japanese context provides essential background to the second part of the analysis (Chapter 7), and to the discussion section (Chapter 8), in which I draw on my views and experience of the Japanese situation to interpret the results of the analysis in context. Anybody's view of a given context is to a degree subjective, and mine might be considered contrarian, but I do not see this as any more of an obstacle to lucid empirical analysis than a standard (in my opinion fallacious) view. More important than 'excusing' subjectivity is the writer's self-awareness of it, and the documenting of this awareness in the written report.

3.5 Research questions

Silverman (2013) writes that good qualitative research may be based, at least initially, on the query 'What is going on here?' This broad question allows the researcher time to get to grips with rich interview data—to mull it over—and gain a phenomenological understanding of the participant experience. From the start I was confident that the interview data I was collecting would be rich enough in scope to allow for its analysis from any number of perspectives. Besides asking myself what was 'going on' in the data, I was, of course, interested in what the data could tell me about the role played by motivation, in particular its relationship with the environment, significant events, and participant beliefs. Over time, and through the process of the data collection and transcription, multiple readings of the transcripts, and preliminary analysis, these interests were refined into the following research questions:

Main research question:

1. How can participants' engagement in language learning be explained?

Secondary research questions:

2. How do concepts such as motivation, the significant event, and participant beliefs help to explain participants' engagement in language learning?
3. How do environmental factors affect participants' engagement in language learning?

The main question is a general question that imposes no theoretical constraints on the attempt to answer it, allowing the freedom vital to a GT method (see Chapter 4). Question no. 2 refers to concepts from the literature traditionally understood to explain language learning (motivation, beliefs), and a concept that is of interest to me (the significant event). Answering this question ensures that I can relate my answer to the main research question to existing theory. Question no. 3 reflects my interest in the role that structure, as opposed to agency, plays in shaping the participants' engagement in language learning—a role that is often left unexamined by existing research.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

...many critics think of...qualitatively oriented methods as being merely preliminary to “real” (scientific) knowing. But a firsthand immersion in a sphere of life and action—a social world—different from one’s own yields important dividends (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 226).

Wallace Lambert, Robert Gardner’s Ph.D. supervisor, was once heard to remark that the best way to find out about an individual’s integrative motivation was probably “to sit quietly and chat with him over a bottle of wine for an evening” (Spolsky, 2000, p. 160). This is, in essence, the starting point for the qualitative approach used in the present study. In this section I begin by presenting the research questions. I then give a general introduction to qualitative methodology, followed by an examination of the role played by narrative within my research. After this, I give a more specific overview of grounded theory methodology and the issue of quality within it. I finish with an account of the specific methods used in the data collection and analysis, and the measures taken to uphold the quality of my research.

In this chapter I do not simply lay down a blueprint for the data collection and analysis to follow. Rather, I document the way in which my thinking towards methodology has developed, and how this thinking has guided the research design and shaped the analysis. This is what Silverman (2013) refers to as a ‘natural history’ of research. Qualitative inquiry does not follow a tidy step-by-step itinerary, and it would be inaccurate (and, it could be argued, somewhat disingenuous) to misrepresent it as such. On-going adaptation of the analysis, from the start of the data collection to the write up, is an inevitable feature of qualitative inquiry (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As with all narrative, the purpose of this chapter is to impose a degree of rhetorical order on its subject, and it is organised into sections that are more discrete and organised than any qualitative research could hope to be in actuality.

4.1 Qualitative inquiry

A qualitative approach is akin to detective work: “looking for something, pursuing leads, not always knowing what will come up next and what significance it will have, and being prepared to change direction when a new lead emerges” (Holliday, 2007, p. 24). Given the exploratory nature of my research, my focus on a small number of individuals, and my intention to generate rather than verify theory, a qualitative approach was clearly the appropriate choice of methodology. Through interpretation or critique, qualitative inquiry tends to be used to investigate how meaning is socially constructed or experienced by individuals in interaction within their social settings. Its concern is with social ‘meanings’ rather than social ‘facts’. As an example of the distinction between social facts and meanings, consider the following observations of the nature of communicative events:

A potential concern in studying...communication events is bias in autobiographical memories which are episodic memories recalled long after their occurrence in an individual’s life...These memories have been found to decline in frequency over time...and are more likely to be viewed through an overly positive lens, due to the fading affect bias...(MacIntyre and Legatto, 2011, p. 167).

MacIntyre and Legatto’s use of the term *overly*, and their referral to the *fading affect bias* reflects their concerns about the way in which memories are constructed through time and not merely matter-of-fact portrayals of past events (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). The *overly* positive lens refers to the way in which events that are quite traumatic at the time are seen, in hindsight, to have been positive in nature (such events form an important part of my own data). Their nature, however, is a *concern* only if we demand a categorical account or quantifiable measurement of the event in question—a social fact that is true irrespective of time and perspective. In fact, the recollections of the event in question are, in

their own right, perfectly legitimate objects of research, as they have concrete consequences for learner beliefs and behaviour—a child who remembers being attacked by a dog will fear dogs whether or not, factually speaking, the dog was actually only trying to play. Such memories and recollections are certainly the only ‘events’ that exist in the here-and-now as an accessible object of research¹⁹. The event-as-construction offers a rich, albeit enigmatic, resource to draw on in understanding the psychological and social world. To discount it simply because it may not be strictly factual would be to discount a vital part of how we make sense of experience. Gusdorf (1980) provides one example of how memory (for example a memory of an event) leaves a ‘trail’ forming part of what it means to understand the world, regardless of the factual accuracy of the recollection:

In the immediacy of the moment...the agitation of things ordinarily surrounds me too much for me to be able to see it in its entirety. Memory gives me a certain remove and allows me to take into consideration all the ins and outs of the matter, its context in time and space, [like] an aerial view sometimes reveals to an archaeologist the direction of a road or a fortification on the map of a city invisible to someone on the ground (Gusdorf, 1980, p. 38).

Events, then, at least in terms of the access we have to them in the form of participant testimony, are constructions. It is the job of qualitative research to make sense of these constructions.

The participant testimony presented in this study can be understood as a representation of experiences, events, feelings and opinions *from the perspective of a successful language learner*. We do not get to see the motivations of these learners except through this lens, so we are essentially examining their perceptions and representations of those motivations rather than the motivation itself. It is to a

¹⁹ Unless, of course, someone was lucky enough to catch the original event on video camera.

discussion of one of the building material of these constructions—narrative—to which I now turn.

4.2 On narrative

In his work on communication theory, Fisher (1984) argued against the rationalist assumption that people are essentially thinking beings making reasoned decisions based on knowledge and understanding, navigating their way through the logical puzzles set by the world. Instead, he claimed, they are storytellers. The test of their rationality therefore depends not on measures of reason or logic, but on the coherence and fidelity of these stories (Jameson, 2001). If Fisher is correct, we are faced with the fact that the same experience can produce diverse narrative accounts among different people, and from the same person in different contexts and at different times—all accounts being partial and subjective (Bruner, 2002).

Given the important role it plays in the research, I give an overview of narrative in this section. By narrative, I refer to accounts of events or actions, chronologically connected (Czarniawska, 2004). As I touched upon in Section 1.1 with reference to the dictionary definitions of the term ‘motivation’, narratives form a key medium through which histories are related, decisions are justified, rationales expounded, and the world is made sense of. The way we treat them—for example as a representation of events, or as an opaque guide to personal psychology—has implications for the type and quality of analysis that can be produced.

The so-called ‘narrative turn’ in qualitative research has been attributed to the 1981 special issue of *Critical Inquiry* “On Narrative”. In the introduction to this volume, Mitchell (1981) writes that the real issue with narrative is not the telling of true stories from false, since the acknowledgement that there are multiple versions of stories of events had become an oft-repeated tenet of relativism, but the value of narrative—whether factual reality of real events or the symbolic reality of fictions—in making sense of reality (ibid.). He refers to Robert Scholes’s observation that one could say of narrative what Marx

said of religion: it is an opiate that mystifies understanding by offering a false sense of coherence and an illusion of sequence. This objective illusion, however, is part of our subjective reality, and there is no way off the opiates.

Narrative is one of the principal ways in which we account for and make sense of the world, particularly with regards to complicated matters (by contrast, there is no need to tell ourselves stories about physiological hunger). As we shape our stories over time and according to context, they in turn shape us, framing our understanding of the world. It is the 'language' in which the intricate details of people's motivation-related language-learning history are told. Narrative is how we impose some kind of order on what is in reality chaotic montage of life and experience (Bamberg, 2007). When we construct narratives we do so with a particular trajectory in mind and this imposes order on what at the time may have seemed to be chaotic events. Meaning emerges, at least in part, from the order we impose. This is true of both Maclure's (1993) 'sacred' and 'mundane' autobiographies. Sacred autobiography is the type encountered in a published biography, while mundane autobiography is the type encountered in everyday life, in even the most routine situations in which we tell people about ourselves. The interview, Maclure argues, is a form of mundane autobiography, but I am not so sure that this is always the case, given that successive interviews can be used by the interviewee as a canvas upon which to paint a particular picture for the researcher over a significant span of time.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the realist treatment which motivation has tended to receive within the field, human beings tend to be treated as rational decision-making machines rather than storytellers. How might an alternative, narrative focus be operationalised? In terms of narrative, interviews can be seen as a means of accessing the stories through which participants describe their world (Silverman, 2013) or which they generate to access this world. The question for the researcher using interviews as a window into motivation is, therefore, how these narratives shape how participants make sense of the world, and the implications of this meaning-making for motivation and behaviour.

For example, how chaotic or random events are shaped into a coherent narrative that makes them easier to handle and ascribe meaning to (Bruner, 1991), and how these narratives form a part of the motivational thinking of the participant (see, for example, Section 7.3.1). Key questions to ask of the data are how significant events are framed narratively, and how this framing shapes beliefs and actions.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) claim “the adequacy of a theory for sociology today cannot be divorced from the process by which it is generated” (p. 5). In their opinion, good theory is most likely to be developed inductively from the analysis of empirical data. It is the grounded theory approach that they developed to which I now turn.

4.3 Grounded theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain grounded theory as follows:

...a method of conducting qualitative research that focuses on creating conceptual frameworks or theories through building inductive analysis from the data. Hence, the analytic categories are directly ‘grounded’ in the data. The method favors analysis over description, fresh categories over preconceived ideas and extant theories, and systematically focused sequential data collection over large initial samples. This method is distinguished from others since it involves the researcher in data analysis while collecting data—we use this data analysis to inform and shape further data collection. Thus, the sharp distinction between data collection and analysis phases of traditional research is intentionally blurred in grounded theory studies (p. 187).

Grounded Theory was Glaser and Strauss’s antidote to ‘great-man’ theories, the study and verification of which, they claimed, dominated departments of sociology in the mid-20th century. Students were to master these theories, but not to question them in terms of their derivation (ibid.). Rather, the focus

was to be on their verification through increasingly advanced data collection and operational procedures. The type of qualitative research such approaches had superseded, by contrast, tended to focus on description rather than verification, and relied on common sense and logic rather than empirical analysis. The use of empirical data, when present, was non-rigorous and unsystematic. Essentially, qualitative research had a “poor showing in producing the scientifically reproducible fact” (ibid.), and it began to be relegated “to preliminary, exploratory, ground-breaking work for getting surveys started” (p. 17). GT was an attempt to release energies for theorising that were frozen by the relegation of qualitative research to a subsidiary role, and the overemphasis on verification (ibid.). Anyone, Strauss and Corbin (1990) claimed, can generate theory. Admittedly, this is the aspect of the GT canon that has been most sceptically received (Thomas & James, 2006).

A GT analysis is conducted through the researcher’s moving from description (based on patterns in semantic content) to interpretation, through which the patterns and their broader meanings and implications are theorised in terms of their significance and relationships (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is followed by the development of an abstract analytical schema of process, action, or interaction (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1990) illustrate this process with the following example based on a woman working in a restaurant. Her activities include *watching* what is going on in the kitchen, *passing information* to others, *monitoring* everything that is going on around her, and *providing assistance* to the waiting staff. Her duties can be summarised descriptively as *gathering information* and *conferring*. To move to a more conceptual understanding about her activities, it is necessary to ask why she is doing what she is doing, i.e. what function her activities perform. The authors suggest that when looking across all the categories, it appears that they could be regrouped because they all help in *assessing* and *maintaining the flow of work* (it could also be called ‘orchestrating’).

All going well, this interpretation will eventually result in a set of theoretically saturated categories that will together constitute a substantive theory—a “theoretical interpretation or

explanation of a delimited problem in a particular area” (Glaser & Strauss, p. 188). This substantive theory can then be developed into a formal theory of more general application: “a theoretical rendering of a generic issue or process that cuts across several substantive areas of study” (p. 187). In the analysis presented here, the substantive theory—the basic ELMS model (Chapter 6)—explains the English learning of the five Japanese learners of English, while the formal LMS model (Section 8.3) is a hypothetical model of learning behaviour in general. In between lies the extended ELMS model that deals with English learning in general. As one moves from the basic to the extended versions of the ELMS model to the formal LMS model, there is a move from empirically grounded theory (substantive theory) to the hypothetical generalisation of the substantive model (formal theory).

Although research has been conducted into language learning motivation using thematic analysis (Gibbs, 2007; Shoab & Dörnyei, 2005; Ushioda, 2001; Williams, Burden & Al-Baharna, 2001), the use of a GT approach is, to the best of my knowledge, unprecedented. In addition to filling a methodological gap in the literature, the research presented here serves to offer an alternative approach to researchers at a time when there is a certain amount of uncertainty as to how to proceed with CDST approaches to researching and theorising motivation.

4.4 Quality within qualitative inquiry

Qualitative inquiry is anything but a soft option—it demands rigour, precision, systematicity and careful attention to detail (Richards, 2003, p. 6).

Methodology, and the methods that arise from it, are social practice, enjoying “no immunity from or transcendence of the contextual realities governing any activity” (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 54). Reflective research using a given methodology should by definition have something to say about the methodology

itself, and the researcher must account for “the ideology which is embedded in its own discourse, method and theories” (Holliday, 2007, p. 14). This accounting process is a part of quality control, and it is this issue to which I now turn my attention. In this section I address the qualitative counterparts to measures of quality commonly used within quantitative research: generalisability, validity, and reliability. Opinions from within the qualitative realm vary from those who view such measures as either entirely unsuited to qualitative inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Wolcott, 1990) to those who feel they can be appropriated (Hammersley, 1990; Morse, 1999). The only agreement between the camps might be that debates on quality within qualitative inquiry “find their most vehement, and often most intractable, expression in the field of criteriology” (Richards, 2003, p. 292). I finish by introducing what I argue are criteria more suitable to evaluate the quality of the current study: resonance, trustworthiness, lucidity, and originality (Charmaz, 2005).

Generalisability

Given that the basic purpose of research is to find the patterns and rules behind the complicated surface, a key concern for qualitative researchers is the extent to which their research can expect to be of relevance to other settings. Richards (2003) writes that for research to be worth its salt it must certainly have relevance to those outside the immediate research settings who are in analogous or related circumstances. The question is whether or not to evaluate this relevance in terms of ‘generalisability’. Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider the term to be tainted by association with its use in quantitative work as a statistical measure; they prefer the term ‘transferability’. Others suggest that generalisability is an acceptable concept in principle, but needs to take on a different nuance to that which it has acquired within quantitative work. A third option is to highlight the relevance of the particular and to leave the question of whether the results can be generalised to the judgement of the reader. Richards (2003) writes:

The success of such research will certainly depend on the extent to which it allows readers to *engage* with the situation described and interpretations offered in terms of their own contextualised experience and its power is more likely to be *transformative* than merely persuasive (p. 289).

My position is that there is no doubt that a well-done qualitative study can eventually be shown to be relevant to other situations and contexts. However, it is not the case that the criteria against which this relevance is to be judged can be set out beforehand. This position can perhaps be explained through the analogy of a mechanic who takes apart a car and puts it together again. In doing so he can expect to learn something valuable about cars in general. In a similar way, the theory presented here is based on the examination of individuals who, while unique, are not ‘uniquely unique’—they share many attributes with learners in other contexts, and the theory, if well constructed, is bound to be generalisable to other situations to a degree. The fact that this generalisability does not assume a numerical value is irrelevant. Having stated this, I need to be cautious not to make any unjustified claims for the universality of the ELMS models. The basic model is, strictly speaking, a theory of the five research participants alone, while the generalisability of the extended and LMS models is a ‘hypothesized generalisability’ based on the data, on my own experiences, and my knowledge of the literature. With qualitative work the generalisability of research can only truly be confirmed if and when it has been read, and found to have been insightful and relevant, by researchers working with other students in other contexts. It is the potential reader who will be in a position to make any stronger claims for the models’ generalisability. Nonetheless, the researcher can do all he/she can to maximise the probability the research will be useful and insightful to others. I therefore need to ask myself whether I think my research is likely to resonate with such readers, bringing to mind parallel or related phenomena from their own professional experience, and whether it offers explanations that the

potential reader will likely find useful in applying to his/her own context. Rather than generalisability, the criterion I have chosen to ensure quality is Charmaz's (2005) category *resonance*.

Validity

In quantitative research *validity* refers to the extent to which a study measures what it claims to study. Put in such terms it seems reasonable to expect it to apply to qualitative research too. Maxwell (1992) suggests that *descriptive*, *interpretive*, and *theoretical validity* are categories of validity to which a qualitative approach might adhere. Descriptive validity describes the factual accuracy of the account insofar as this is verifiable, interpretive validity describes the degree to which this account reflects the insider/participant perspective, and theoretical validity describes how well the interpretation functions as an account of a particular phenomenon. Together, these elements provide a framework within which claims in qualitative inquiry can be developed in a principled manner (Richards, 2003). Charmaz's (2005) criterion *trustworthiness* can be thought of as subsuming Maxwell's categories.

Reliability

Reliability in the quantitative realm is, among other things, a matter of other researchers being able to do the same experiment and producing comparable results. Research based on unstructured interviews is clearly about as far from a replicable laboratory experiment as it is possible to get: such interviews are portraits of particular individuals at a particular point in their lives, and they are the outcome of interaction between these distinct individuals and the individual researcher. A sensitive interviewer will have taken measures to conduct the interviews in a reasonably objective manner, will try to *listen* without judging, and will refrain from interjecting his/her own opinions and narratives. But he/she is still has particular, personal theoretical interests in mind during the interview. The research presented here is very much the product of mine and the participants' own experiences, including that of the

interview itself, and is therefore not in any specific sense replicable. This is not necessarily a problem, however, in the same way that reliability is not a relevant measure of the worth of a good novel or critical essay, for example—reliability is simply one criterion of *certain types* of scientific research.

For the above reasons, of the three quantitative benchmarks, reliability is the least relevant to a qualitative approach. Interestingly, recent research suggests that it may be a highly problematic concept even in experimental studies. In a widely publicised report, Bohannon (2015) found that, of 100 prominent psychology papers, only 39% could be replicated unambiguously. Charmaz's (2005) criterion *the nature of the writing* is a more relevant criterion than reliability to the type of analysis presented here. Ideally, the reader needs to be aware of exactly what the researcher did, for what reasons, based on what presumptions, all of this being conveyed in unambiguous, concise prose. The reader can scrutinise the research to see if it is useful in some sense to other researchers, or if it is an exercise of ego, something that says more about the researcher than the object of study. As Seale (1999) writes:

Methodological awareness involves a commitment to showing as much as possible...the procedures and evidence that have led to particular conclusions, always open to the possibility that conclusions may need to be revised in the light of new evidence (p. x).

Naturally there may be a trade-off between showing as much as possible, and other aspects of writing such as readability and restrictions on space.

Resonance, trustworthiness, lucidity, and originality

I conclude this section by providing more details of Charmaz's (2005) criteria that I referred to above: *trustworthiness*, *originality*, *resonance*, *usefulness*, and *the nature of the writing*. *Resonance* refers to whether the richness and completeness of the research is portrayed; whether everyday or implicit understandings

have been illuminated; whether the minutiae have been linked to the ‘big picture’, and whether the interpretations make sense and contribute to participant understandings. Trustworthiness is largely synonymous with Maxwell’s understanding of validity. It can also be seen to be of direct relevance to an exploration of social meanings rather than facts. As Mishler (1990) suggests:

Focusing on trustworthiness rather than truth displaces validation from its traditional location in a presumably objective, non-reactive, and neutral reality, and moves it to the social world—a world constructed in and through our discourse and actions, through praxis (p. 240).

The nature of the writing (I prefer the term ‘lucidity’) refers to the need for lucidity and transparency. I see trustworthiness, resonance, and lucidity as qualitative counterparts to the quantitative criteria validity, generalisability, and reliability. Quantitative work focused on verification does not necessarily have to be original to be good. The same is not true of qualitative work because it has as its focus a particular group of participants or a unique target of study. *Originality* demands that categories are both data-derived and insightful; that the analysis moves beyond description to a conceptual interpretation; that the researcher shows the social and theoretical significance of the inquiry, and how the work makes a contribution to existing theory.

4.5 An integrated methodological approach

A mixture of thematic and narrative analyses in Chapter 7 follows the GT analysis of Chapter 6. In this section I examine some of the ways in which these two analytical approaches have been combined in existing research. Since no such research exists within the L2 motivation field I have had to venture further afield to find relevant examples. I also touch on ancillary approaches that provided subtle, rather than formal support for the analysis. Creswell (2007, pp. 78-80) provides a useful chart

comparing grounded theory and narrative analysis. An adapted version is given in Table 4.1.

ASPECT	GT ANALYSIS	NARRATIVE INQUIRY
Focus	Developing themes or theory to make sense of the nature of participant experience	Exploring participant experience
Type of problem	Needing to understand participant experience thematically or conceptually	Needing to tell the stories of participant experience
Unit of analysis	Participant experience as a phenomenon as experienced by disparate individuals	Studying one or more individuals
Data analysis	Coding data until saturation point	Analysing data for stories, ‘restorying’, developing themes, using a chronology
Written analysis	Generating a thematic understanding of participant experience perhaps illustrated diagrammatically	Developing a narrative about the stories of significant events in an individual’s language-learning life
General structure of study	Introduction → problem/questions → Research procedures → Coding → Discussion in terms of extant literature	Introduction → Research procedures → data collection → analysis → outcomes → Reports of stories → Individuals theorise about their experience → Narrative segments identified → Patterns of meaning identified → Summary

Table 4.1. Comparison of analytical approaches.

It is not the collection stage, but the analysis stage where the differences between thematic and narrative analyses are most marked (Creswell, 2007), but even at this point there may be shared elements. Searching for themes is an element of many, if not all qualitative analyses (Bryman, 2008), and many thematic approaches make careful use of the extracts of narrative accounts. Furlini (2005), for example, combined thematic, narrative, and phenomenological analyses in a study of caregivers of persons with chronic dementia. First she used a categorising approach derived from grounded theory to identify and codify themes across the experiences of the five caregivers. She then re-examined the transcripts, constructing narrative summaries for each participant. These helped “to tease out the central elements of each caregiver’s dilemma, represent them powerfully and preserve the contextual dimensions” (2005, p. 76). This approach resonates strongly with my own. In a narrative investigation of the historical foundations of personal experience, Candida-Smith (2001) revisited transcripts originally used for a thematic analysis in order to capture recurring symbols or expressive motifs constituting the basic units of narrative flow. Lessard et al. (2008) reversed the order of the preceding studies by conducting the narrative analysis first. Their analysis of transcripts from interviews with 80 high school dropouts led to their identification of three broad ways in which the learners navigated their narrative ‘educational journeys’: *setting the stage*, *teetering*, and *ending the journey*. Subsequent thematic analysis indicated that family turmoil, problems at school, and—of relevance to the current study—*a pivotal moment* or gradual fade out triggered the end of their educational journeys. Figure 4.1 gives a visual impression of how thematic and narrative analyses complement each other in the current study. A thematic approach, represented by the vertical line, is used to examine aspects of language learning psychology shared by all participants at a certain point in time (for example the category, or theme, *status drive*, understood to underlie the learning behaviour of all five participants). A narrative approach, represented by the horizontal line, is used to examine the role played by personal biographical experience (for example the language learning narrative of *setback*, *struggle*, *overcoming* and *vindication* found

in the narrative of the hypothetical learner, second from the top, in the diagram). Together, the two approaches offer disparate but complementary approaches to understanding the language learning. Together, they can show, for example, how learning behaviour can be influenced by both status drive and personal experience, and offer clues as to how status drive, for example, may vary in salience or quality over time (see section 6.3).

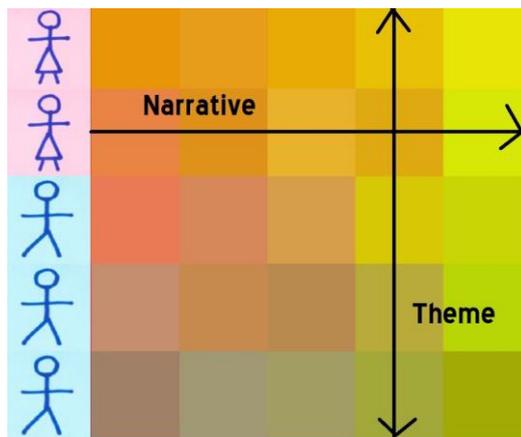


Figure 4.1. Visual comparison of narrative and thematic approaches.

Two other approaches, phenomenological analysis and critical incident technique, indirectly influenced the analysis. A phenomenological approach is an attempt to *understand* rather than conceptualise or interpret data (Creswell, 2007) in order to “enter into the lived experience and perspective of the other person...to see the world with their eyes” (Hawkins, 1988, p. 63). There are aspects of a phenomenological approach—for example the avoidance, on the part of the researcher, of reliance on existing literature and concepts, and the intent to approach the data with ‘fresh’ eyes—that are key to a judicious exploratory investigation of data or participant experience. What I propose is that my analysis and discussion should show ‘phenomenological awareness’.

The data collection procedure of critical incident technique (CIT) (see Section 2.4) is in line with the approach adopted in the present study, in that it involves:

...the investigation of significant occurrences (events, incidents, process or issues), identified by the respondent, the way they are managed, and the outcomes in terms of perceived effects. The objective is to gain an understanding of the incident from the perspective of the individual, taking into account cognitive, affective and behavioural elements (Chell 2004, p. 48).

However, the analytical procedure of CIT seems a little too prescriptive for the aims of the present study. Chell (2004), for example, claims “The interviewer must be ready for a respondent who will deny that ‘anything has happened’” (p. 46), and suggests ‘ploys’ to get around this. I chose not to adopt this position in my own data collection and analysis. The significant event was originally intended to be the anchor to which the multiple perspectives of the research would be tethered. I subsequently decided to grant this role to the GT analysis and the basic ELMS model that came from it, but it will be shown that significant events do indeed appear to be particularly useful in explaining how motivation functions.

In this section I have provided examples of how it is possible to combine various methods in the analysis of sufficiently rich interview data. It is now time to turn to the mechanism by which these data were collected: the unstructured interview.

4.6 The interview

...of all the flawed measures of subjective experience that we can take, the honest, real-time report of the attentive individual is the least flawed (Gilbert, 2006, p. 65).

The interview is the favourite tool of the qualitative researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), and is commonly used not only in qualitative studies, but also in the preparatory stages of quantitative studies.

However it tends to be under-theorised within research (Mann, 2011). This is unfortunate because, as with everyday discourse, people in interviews are not simply relating truth, so much as making sense of experience. They may say certain things, or present matters differently, depending on the audience and circumstances. They may exaggerate, omit information, or perhaps lie, without necessarily having any deliberate intention to mislead.

The constructionist standpoint is that interview data cannot be used to report on reality beyond the interview; that it has, in itself, to be the topic of analysis (Rapley, 2001). Archer (1998), for example, makes the strong claim that: “we do not uncover real structures by interviewing people in-depth about them” (p. 199). More conservatively, Bhaskar (1998) warns that “...actors’ accounts are both corrigible and limited by the existence of unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, tacit skills and unconscious motivations” (p. xvi). At the outset, I should like to state that my position is that the constructionist standpoint presented above is extreme. While the limitations or hidden aspects of interview accounts identified by Bhaskar mean that interview data need to be treated carefully, it seems to me self-evident that the interview can tell us something about the world *outside of the interview*, whether this is in terms of concrete events and facts, or in terms of how the participant makes sense of the world. Take, for example, the *significant event*. I have no reason to believe that any of the significant events related by participants are fictional. On the contrary, I see their accounts as being intimately connected to actual, real events. At the same time, the accounts concern events from years ago, their representations as well as the significance attributed to them tend to change over time and from interview to interview (Prior, 2010). While interview interaction itself is not the focus of my research, I do of course have to remain aware that the interview, while it can tell us about the world, is indeed at the same time a discourse event where meaning is constructed as well as represented. It therefore seems reasonable to treat participant testimony as both representations of factual events and also illustrative of how these events are perceived and represented, regardless of empirical accuracy. As Mann (2011)

writes in response to those who worry about the factual accuracy of interview testimony: “We still need to focus on ‘what’ is said; we just require more attention on ‘how’ this is constructed and how interaction is managed” (p. 20).

One of the criticisms of interviews is that they are artificial—the interviewee may produce an answer to answer a question for no other reason than she is required to do so by the laws of polite discourse. De Fina and Perrino (2011), for example, note that the interview is unnatural in that “the interviewer influences their production (through questions, interruptions, silences, etc.), and offers ad hoc interpretations through the use of etic (i.e. non participant generated) not emic categories of analysis” (p. 5). This may be particularly true of participant depictions of significant events (see Section 2.4). If I were to ask a respondent “Tell me about a critical event”, then the respondent who has not until that point felt that any particular event is ‘critical’ may feel obliged to fill the proceeding silence with a depiction of something—anything—that could be conceived of as being a critical event. Furthermore, throughout the interview or series of interviews the saliency or significance of a given event may increase simply by being talked about:

An hour-long interview, in which the interviewee is encouraged to talk in great detail, and at great length about such events, is very much implicated in the construction of the significance of the significant event. Here, as ever, the observer paradox is at play: by eliciting information we co-construct it. This is the sense in which interview data is ‘unnatural’ (De Fina & Perrino, 2011, p. 5).

It is tempting to view such excessive caution as navel gazing (Mann, 2011). After all, most spoken discourse could be said to be unnatural according to De Fina and Perrino’s criteria, yet we manage to function in the world, subjected to peoples’ differing accounts and making up our minds (or being

indifferent) as to their veracity. In terms of interview data, I would argue that there is a distinction to be made between narrative that the student is in control of, and freely sharing, and the struggle to come up with an answer she thinks the interviewer wants to hear (the job interview can turn into an extreme example of the latter). Which kind of information the participant supplies is determined principally by interview technique, and by the relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

One clear indication that the interviewee may be volunteering relatively honest accounts may be the recounting of personal stories that suggest a certain degree of intimacy with the interviewer. For example, in my own data, one of the participants recounted realising during a study abroad trip that he might be asexual. Another recounted a story of asking in a Chinese supermarket for a 'jinduu' – a mirror, but with the wrong tone, unintentionally asking for 'sperm'. Such exchanges are reassuring indications that there is at least the potential to collect rich data from the participant in question.

There can be no doubt that participant identity and positioning as expressed in interview discourse hold significant implications for the analysis (Richards, 2009). There is, however, a danger that in trying to 'solve' the problems of the interview by more and more careful regulation of interview technique, one grinds to a halt. If the researcher tried to keep all the potential pitfalls of interview data in mind during the interview, he or she would be distracted to a degree that would negatively impact on the interview. As Hammersley (2003) warns:

The level of caution recommended by the critics is sometimes excessive, such that the interview accounts are treated as so problematic as to be useless. The fact that they are artful productions, that...will often be shaped by concerns about self-presentation or persuasion, does not mean that they cannot be accurate representations. If it did, the same conclusion would have to be drawn about research reports themselves (p. 123).

Without going to extremes, it is important that the role of the interviewer and the way in which he/she *co-constructs* the interview content is explicitly recognised in the analysis, and that the researcher guards against giving the impression that they are merely mining the products of the interview (Donnelly, 2003). In general terms, this can be done by changing from a ‘what’ to a ‘how’ perspective. The interviewer has to ask him/herself *how* the interviewee came to say certain things, and the interview itself may well be implicated in the answer. The point, then, is not to solve the ‘riddle’ of the interview, but to acknowledge that this fuzziness is the inherent nature of interview discourse data, and factor this into the analysis.

A final point to bear in mind is the epistemic position the interviewee finds him/herself in in the interview. Potter and Hepburn (2012) make the following remarks on this issue:

People are being treated as being in a special epistemic position with respect to their own conduct. And not just with respect to actions and events, but causal and developmental relationships, intrapsychic processes and so on. The interview is dependent on a range of ambitious cognitive judgements and feats of memory and analysis (p. 29).

This is a situation that may be unusual for some people. It might be the case that the respondent can ease some of the burden of the special epistemic position they find themselves in by utilising popular discourses about certain issues—for example, discourses about motivation from the self-help industry. It is the job of the sensitive interviewer to detect instances such as these and either combat them from within the interview, or treat them with caution in the analysis. With the above concerns in mind, in the following section I endeavour to show that I have developed an awareness of the complex nature of interview data.

4.6.1 Practical examples of interview construction

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate my awareness of aspects of co-construction that may have consequences for the analysis. The commentary on the examples given in this section illustrates a level of reflective criticism of my own technique and an awareness of the risks of taking the interview at face value. Placing these excerpts here rather than in the analysis aids the readability and coherence of the analysis. The following characteristics of interview interaction and participant psychology are covered:

- The need for cohesiveness
- The degree of honesty or depth being proportionate to the degree of intimacy between interviewer/interviewee
- The way in which interviewer/interviewee positioning affects the type of testimony
- The desire for the interviewee to deliver a successful ‘product’
- Patently co-constructed dialogue caused by poor interview technique
- The construction of memory in the interview

The interviewer, interviewees, and readers alike desire coherence (Candida-Smith, 2006). There is, however, the danger that this desire can lead to the fossilisation of the information given through the repetition and prioritisation of previously shared information. The following excerpts show how the participants seek to give coherent accounts of events:

Excerpt 4.1

J What was the reason why you decided to study abroad?

K I think that I answered that question the last time maybe...

J What did you say?

K What did I say...the reason why I'm asking is I don't remember what I said.

J Well just tell me again.

K OK OK well first I... (K/3)

Excerpt 4.2

D ...er, ok. Did you ask this question last time? Probably not right...

J Well we certainly talked about things relevant to this question but I thought I'd...without telling you what you said last time I'd like to ask you again.

D Mmm I will probably say something completely different... (D/2)

Participants are wary of contradicting themselves, or at least take care to make this wariness explicit. This can be seen in Daisuke's comment "I will probably say something completely different". We might wonder if the need for coherence might at times override the need to give honest in-the-moment accounts that the interviewer might prefer, or at least that there might be some conflict between the two.

The following extract shows how participants may assess the interview in terms of how helpful they feel it has been to the researcher:

Extract 4.3

N I have a question. Did it help you? My story?

J Yeah it did. My supervisors will be pleased (N/3)

It seems reasonable to assume that the desire to be helpful is a commendable trait in an interviewee, but the researcher cannot disregard completely the possibility that helpfulness and honesty may not always coincide. If the interviewee senses that the researcher is fishing for a particular line of explanation, helpfulness might lead the participant to furnish the researcher with what he or she wants to hear.

The following excerpt reminds us that the extent of details provided, the type of content, and perhaps the honesty of the answers may depend on the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. There may of course be details of their lives that participants would hesitate to tell even to their best friends. On the other hand, a sympathetic interview can sometimes probe the depths of the inner life to an extent that rarely happens in 'real life' (see, however, the problems regarding the interviewee's special epistemic position referred to in Section 4.6):

Extract 4.4

N Yeah...did I tell you I got kicked out

J Yeah

N See...oh my god...I shouldn't tell you that... (N/3)

This extract hints at the importance of the relationship between researcher and participant in determining the degree to which rich data can be collected.

In the following excerpt, Nana appears to be positioning herself as someone who wants to catch

up with news, positioning herself in a friendly rather than interviewer/interviewee relationship:

Extract 4.5

J I'm not sure if we'll talk for a long time or a short time

N A long time. I haven't seen you in ages (N/3)

Such positioning may have consequences for the type of responses she will give. On occasion Nana, for example, tended to 'hijack' the interview to ask about my own personal life and opinions. I do not mind this, but one could argue that time spent on this is time that was not devoted to exploring Nana's experience more fully.

The following excerpt from an interview with Ryota exhibits the opposite characteristics to those typical of my dialogues with Nana. In them, I suspected that pat answers were being supplied:

Extract 4.6

J Why is English so important to you

...

R Because lots of people in Asia can speak English so it's a stereotype that people nowadays can speak English... So that's why

J Sorry, just explain one more time

R Ok, so if I can't speak English I won't get the job. It's related to the recession and the economic downturn of America has had a great impact on Japan so it's hard to look for a job without English so

J So it's important for your career and your job

R Yeah (R/1)

Perhaps Ryota is easing the burden of the special epistemic position (see previous section) by utilising common discourses; perhaps he is simply nervous. Or maybe the charge of triteness is unfair and his sentiments are heartfelt, regardless of whether or not they are internalised versions of commonplace discourses about English study. In this case my suspicions were justified. His responses in later interviews on the similar topic were much more nuanced and informative.

The following exchange showcases poor interview technique on my part:

Extract 4.7

J It sounds like you had a very strong character

N *Really* {emphasis added}

J Maybe most people, I mean maybe it would be very unpleasant but they kind of, when they're younger they'd...

N Follow?

J Follow, yes give in to the pressure but it sounds like even when you were young you are fighting

N Yeah (N/1)

The testimony Nana had given up to this point did not justify the claim of 'fighting'. In fact, considering that she had said previously "...I was really quiet student really nice girl and I just followed what my parents said", the evidence is *against* this claim. I simply did not listen to what she was saying, instead pushing my own categories onto the discourse. In general, it is possible that I over-empathised

with Nana. For example, my reaction to her story of suspension from junior high school for ridiculing a nun for being a virgin was as follows: “Oh my god you got suspended for *that*? Really?” and it was clear that I enjoyed her rebellious side. This may have inadvertently encouraged her to present her account in such a way as to be received in a favourable light. However, had we not interacted quite so convivially, I doubt I would have been able to obtain such rich data. There is no easy rubric to identify the correct level of familiarity. Like many of the issues discussed in this section, awareness is key.

In the following example, instead of allowing Nana to answer the question in a way she felt fit, I offered her choices and therefore played a very explicit role in constructing the dialogue:

Extract 4.8

J Why do you think that is—is that your personality or upbringing?

N My personality (N/1)

This is the interviewing equivalent of one of the defining characteristics of questionnaires as data collection instruments: answers are shoehorned into categories defined by the interviewer, and may be given in order to satisfy the demands of polite discourse (or questionnaire-filling-in-protocol) rather than as a result of genuine self-reflection. In this case, Nana later went on to say that she feels it was her experiences in elementary school that shaped her personality, minimising the damage of my clumsy technique.

The following excerpt gives an example of possible co-construction of participant recollection of a significant event:

Extract 4.9

J You said last time you didn't know if it was your father or your friend.

N Maybe father? They were next to me, like, and then there this guy wearing the really old clothes (N/3)

In the second interview I had introduced the ‘dirty clothes’ by way of a check (see Extract 7.25, Section 7.3.1). In this retelling, Nana integrates the ‘clothes’, which are now old rather than dirty. This is perhaps (I say ‘perhaps’ because we cannot know for certain that I am responsible for the focus on clothes) an interesting example of how memories are constructed in part from contributions from others in previous retellings. Another example where this may have happened is in Ryota’s retelling of an unsuccessful communicative event with a lost tourist in a train station (see Section 7.3.2). In the first interview he claimed this encounter lasted 5 minutes. By the last interview the encounter had grown to an excruciating 15 minutes in length. I wonder if this change is in part due to the increased cognitive saliency of the event given that we had by this time discussed it at length on multiple occasions. Regardless of the veracity of my tentative interpretation, as a researcher I need to remember that there is a lot more than objective representations of past events and experiences in the interview data.

In the following section I introduce the concrete procedures followed during the course of the research presented here.

4.7 Method

This section presents the concrete procedures used to collect, arrange and analyse the data, and to present the results. In short, data were collected through interviews, and these interviews were transcribed and subjected to a grounded-theory analysis (Chapter 6). Narrative accounts were constructed from the transcriptions, and these accounts, in addition to the original transcripts, were subjected to additional narrative and thematic analyses (Chapter 7).

4.7.1 Participant selection

Participants were recruited opportunistically (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000) and purposively, i.e. I was seeking those who “have had experiences relating to the phenomenon to be researched” (Kruger, 1988, p. 150). I was looking for participants with sufficient English proficiency to discuss reasonably complex issues in English. They had to be able to relate in sufficient detail personal narratives about events, consequences and feelings. Interviewing only participants who could do this meant that I could avoid participants who had a low level of English, and who may not have had so much to say about their experiences learning it (see my reservations concerning research on so-called ‘demotivated’ students in Section 3.4). One potential criticism of this approach might concern the danger of interviewing only students who had succeeded within the system. However, it will be seen that all of them had, to a degree, succeeded *despite*, rather than because of, institutional English education.

Participants were students at Kyoto University of Foreign Studies (KUFS), where I was working at the time. Ryota came from my first year general English class, while the other participants came from a TEFL class designed to prepare students for a future career as English teachers. I informed the students of these classes that I was conducting research, and that I would like to interview anyone who was interested in sharing their experience learning English. Students who were interested in participating contacted me by email or talked to me after class, and a time for the first interview was arranged. If the initial interview went reasonably well—if, for example, the participant’s English level was sufficient to answer questions in detail, and if I determined that I had collected data which was rich in potential—I inquired whether the participant would be interested in doing another interview, and I contacted them when I was ready to conduct it. I determined that two of the first batch of nine interviewees had insufficient English to provide sufficiently rich data. Of the remaining seven, five ended up participating in three interviews, and it is the transcripts of the interviews with these five students that form the data sample for the research.

As I was not intending to make any statistical generalisations about a wider population, there was no need to collect a representative sample. However, it will be seen that the idea of ‘standing out’ and differentiating oneself from peers is a salient aspect of participant testimony. It is possible that the participants volunteered precisely because this tendency is a particularly strong aspect of their character. It would certainly be presumptuous to claim that the way in which participants were selected was of no significant influence on the nature of the theory that was subsequently developed. In my defence, I would state the following: with the possible exception of Nana, the desire to stand out does not appear to be the overwhelming reason that any of the participants study English. In addition, the theoretical construct to be presented which encompasses this aspect of behaviour (status drive) is only one of four drives I have identified; further still, the ‘standing out’ aspect is only one of multiple aspects of the status drive construct.

Although there can be no doubt that the opportunistic sampling played a role in determining the type of students who participated in the study, the data that were collected, and the theory that was developed, this is an inevitable characteristic of a small-scale interview study such as this, and there is not necessarily a preferable way to select participants. If, for example, participants had been selected randomly, the quality of the interview data would likely have suffered as a result of the participants being less than fully invested in the exercise. While I am confident in the data collection procedure, this must not be allowed to translate into false confidence in the generalisability (or resonance) of the study (see Section 4.4). Thus, I state clearly that the basic ELMS model (chapter 6) is a theory of the language learning of the five participants, while the extended model and the LMS models are progressively more hypothetical models.

Interviews were conducted primarily in English. Although I had planned to use Japanese if needed, for example if I thought a complex issue could benefit from being revisited in the L1, this turned out to be unnecessary. Table 4.2 gives the details of the interviews and participants.

NAME	INTERVIEW	DATE	TOTAL TIME	AGE ²⁰
Koichi (M)	1	27th April, 2012	4hr 2min	22
	2	2nd November, 2012		
	3	24th January, 2014		
Daisuke (M)	1	28th April, 2012	3hr 48 min	24
	2	4th August, 2012		
	3	13th December, 2013		
Ryota (M)	1	12th May, 2012	3hr 45min	19
	2	23rd September, 2012		
	3	13th December, 2013		
Manami (F)	1	1st June, 2012	4hr 54min	20
	2	29th September, 2012		
	3	10th January, 2014		
Nana (F)	1	9th June, 2012	4hr 30min	22
	2	24th November, 2012		
	3	6th December, 2013		

Table 4.2. Interview details.

Interviews were held over a period of from 1 year and 6 months (Nana) to 1 year and 9 months (Koichi). The first two interviews were conducted in relatively quick succession, with 4-7 months

²⁰ At the time of the first interview.

separating them, while there was a wider gap between the second and third (typically around 15 months). The interviews yielded a total of 21 hours of recordings.

4.7.2 Ethics procedure

Drawing from the British and Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) criteria for ethical research, Silverman (2013) lists a number of general principles which research in the social sciences is expected to adhere to in order to ensure that participants are treated fairly.

- Voluntary participation and the right to withdraw
- Protection of research participants
- Assessment of potential benefits and risks to participants
- Obtaining informed consent
- Not doing harm (p. 161)

In arguing for the importance of an ethical approach, Silverman gives examples of research that have generated problems for the researchers in the past. Among these is research involving juvenile criminals, gang members, relatives of suicide victims, people with eating disorders and paedophiles. It will come as no surprise that interviewing students about their English learning is likely to be less of an ethical minefield than those encountered in Silverman's examples (although one participant briefly touched upon issues of domestic violence and youth-gang membership). In short, ethics procedures were followed without any problems occurring. However, given the critical stance of this study in general, I would like to add some additional observations on the application of the ethics procedures. Silverman (2013) states the standard rationale behind these procedures as follows:

...when you assure your research participants that your study has been approved by a university...ethics committee, you earn their confidence that you are a trained researcher with the backing of a legitimate academic institution. This could help you establish rapport and address any reservations people might have about answering your questions or sharing their private lives with you (p. 161).

This account bears little relation to my own experience. Silverman does in fact later address the fact that “It is often difficult to import ethical principles from one culture to another and apply them without modifications...” acknowledging the way in which “[p]eople in non-Western cultures may regard their consent to research as a purely instrumental matter” (p.168). My understanding is that the participants agreed to participate in the interviews on the basis of mutual trust rather than anything to do with my affiliation with an overseas institution that many of them had never heard of. Further, I felt that having participants sign ethics forms did the opposite of establishing rapport: it produced reactions that I would characterise as mild consternation. This can be attributed to the fact that signing one’s name on a document in Japan signifies the undertaking of responsibility, often in the context of a legally binding document. Silverman’s ‘standard’ version of the rationale for ethics procedures seems to me a very British affair—i.e. something taken for granted within a given culture, but ‘foreign’ to others. His subsequent advice suggests that he quietly acknowledges this more problematized view of ethics procedures:

The challenge to student researchers is to *package* the open-ended contingencies of qualitative research in a way that convinces your supervisor...that no risk is involved (p. 181, emphasis added).

Based upon my experience conducting this and other research in the Japanese context, it is my opinion that these ethics forms function primarily to satisfy the needs of what Haggerty (2004) describes as “a serious, ambitious bureaucracy with interests to protect, a mission to promote, and a self-righteous and self-protective ideology to explain why it is all necessary...” (pp. 415-416). I do not wish to over-emphasise this issue here because it is not the focus of this study. Ethics procedures were carried out conscientiously in line with University of Warwick guidelines. Written, informed, consent was gained from participants and from the university authorities (copies can be found appendix 1). Data have been kept on a password-protected computer, and pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis.

4.7.3 Interview procedure

Interviews were unstructured. My intent going into the first interview was to explore participant’s English learning history, including particularly memorable experiences, their reasons/rationale for studying English, how they viewed English as fitting into their life plans, and their views about English in the Japanese context. An illustrative sample of questions (drawn up after the interviews) that were, in this particular form or another, asked to most or all of the participants, is given in Table 4.3.

TOPIC	REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONS
Learning history	<i>Tell me the story of your English learning, starting from the beginning.</i> <i>Tell me about your English classes in school</i>
Memorable (in a positive or negative sense) language learning-related experiences	<i>What have been some important influences on your English learning?</i>
Reasons/rationales for studying English	<i>Why do you study English?</i>
Feelings towards and/or conception of English	<i>What is English for you?</i>
English in Japan	<i>Do you think Japanese people need English? (Why?)</i>

Table 4.3. Sample interview topics and questions.

For those students with experience studying abroad, I found the question ‘What’s your favourite memory of your study abroad trip?’ to be a productive way to start the interview. In order not to prejudice the interview data with predetermined theoretical categories, I avoided (not entirely successfully) using terminology such as *motivation* during the interviews.

I started interviews 2 and 3 by covering recent news in the participant’s life, exploring in detail aspects of their testimony potentially relevant to my research topic. From there I employed progressive focusing (Woods, 1985) to revisit areas that my analysis of the transcripts of the first interview had led me to believe would benefit from repeated attention. During the interviews I kept notes on any

particularly interesting areas that I wished to explore further, and additional questions I wanted to ask.

4.7.4 Transcription, selection, and presentation of interview data

I viewed the production of detailed transcriptions of the more than 20 hours of interview data as unnecessary, given that I am interested principally in the events portrayed in the interviews, not in the interview discourse itself. I therefore used conventional orthographic representation of interview data while adhering, for the most part, to Rapley's (2001) 'bare-minimum' requirements regarding the inclusion of interactional details:

...extracts from interviews should always be presented in the context in which they occurred, with the question that prompted the talk as well as the talk that follows being offered. In this way, readers can view how the talk is co-constructed in the course of the research and, thereby, judge the reliability of the analysis (p. 319).

I have taken care to include many of my own preceding turns in order to give the reader some indication of how questions and answers were framed, but I have not been able to do so in every case, given space constraints. There is an inevitable trade-off between the provision of detailed transcriptions and keeping to a word limit. At times the reader is asked to trust my judgement that providing preceding turns is unnecessary, compromises readability, and adds unnecessary length to the text.

In summary, in recognition of the discursive nature of the interview, I have tried, through representation of the accounts or commentary, to:

- Account for my role as interviewer, in particular how membership, roles, and the interviewer/interviewee relationship affect co-construction.

- Account for how what the interviewee says is contextually shaped, in negotiation with me, by providing contextual background for interview excerpts rather than presenting them isolated from context.

I transcribed the initial interviews in full. As I developed a sense of which sections of the interview were relevant to the research focus I transcribed progressively less of the subsequent interviews, although I estimate that I transcribed more than half of even the final interviews.

Silverman (2013) suggests that the way in which transcripts of interview data are prepared and used within research must be judged in terms of the theoretical orientation of the research, and the research questions to be addressed. The transcripts altogether amounted to more than 70 thousand words, so I had to be selective in choosing which extracts to use in the analysis and discussion sections. In line with Silverman's guidelines, I have included sections of the interview transcripts that are of the most utility in answering the research questions. These include extracts that provide support for the theoretical categories of the ELMS models used to explain participants' engagement in language learning (the main research question), and those which provide insight into the nature of the theoretical concepts (motivation, significant events, beliefs, environmental influences) constituting the theoretical focus of the secondary research questions. As I gained experience in reading and coding the transcripts, I became more adept at identifying sections that would effectively support the nascent theoretical categories. As these categories took shape this process became more efficient still. However, I had to remain actively alert to the possibility of data that undermined the categories. I read the transcripts through at the end of the coding to ensure that I had not missed any relevant section. Put simply, the extracts presented in this thesis are representative of those used to build the basic theory and illustrative models, and to address the research questions.

4.7.5 Analysis

The first part of the analysis (Chapter 6) is a strict grounded theory analysis that identifies theoretical categories explaining language learning. The second (Chapter 7) is a combination of thematic and narrative analyses in which salient non-drive features of the data are examined in terms of the three broad categories of culture, institutions, and beliefs—an attempt to ground the basic ELMS theory in a wider theoretical context. Figure 4.2 gives an overview of the analysis. I include the discussion section because it is difficult for me to draw the line between analysis and discussion. While the discussion is more speculative in nature than the analysis chapters, it still makes use of data excerpts to support the contentions made.

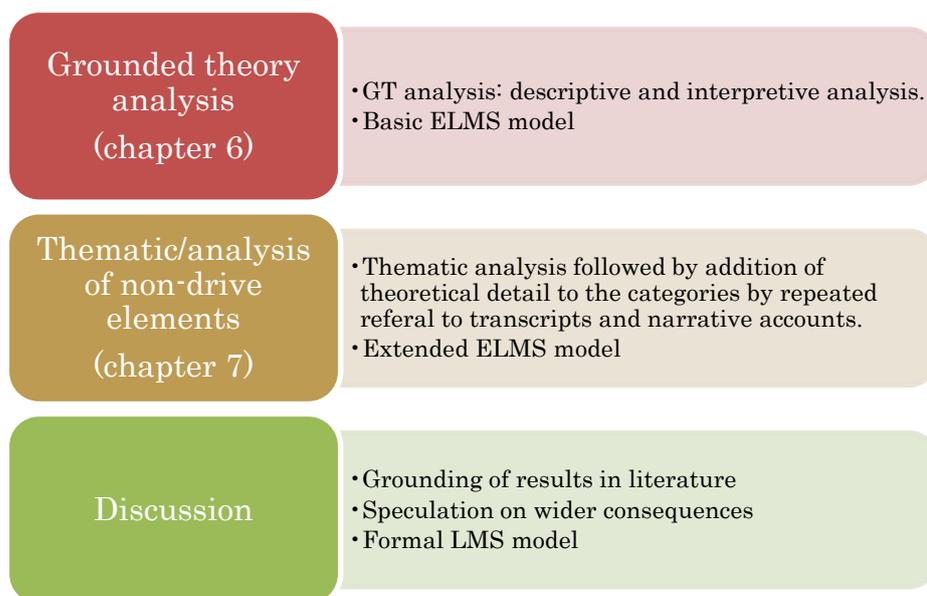


Figure 4.2. Chronology of the analysis.

Data collection and analysis are not in reality distinct stages. It could be argued that the analysis began as soon as I started the first interview, trying to make sense of the stories that were being told in order to ask the right questions. Field notes can also be considered a form of early analysis (Morgan, 1997) because their production involves interpretation. The production of transcripts, too, is a research

activity, involving repeated listening to the recordings and noticing new features of the data (Silverman, 2013). By the time I had conducted and transcribed the final interview the analysis was well underway, and I found myself in the following position:

1. I had a theoretical interest in the relationship between motivation, significant events, language learning, and context.
2. I had talked to participants at length about their experiences relating to these theoretical concepts.
3. I had read the transcripts and listened to the interview recordings many times.
4. I had produced transcripts of the interviews and had rearranged participant accounts into chronological narrative accounts.
5. On these transcripts I had made notes on any thoughts that occurred to me while reading them, describing what was happening, and speculating as to possible underlying processes, reasons or patterns. In the literature this is separated into descriptive vs. interpretive analysis, but to my mind they were activities that occurred in tandem, in answer to the question: “What’s happening here and why?”
6. Through this process I was becoming increasingly adept at identifying aspects of the data that were particularly relevant to the research focus. I was comparing nascent theoretical categories, building some of them up while abandoning others.
7. I had thought about how the data and these budding ideas related to the literature, and in a general sense how to make sense of it. By repeated reading and note-taking, I was in the process of coming somewhere close to a theory of the data.

The remainder of this section deals with the analysis ‘proper’ that was conducted after the conclusion of the third round of interviews.

Analysis, part one (Chapter 6)

Shortly after I had finished collecting my data, I decided to reread Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) seminal text *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Doing so helped me to regroup my efforts for a fresh attempt at an analysis of the data. I began to move with more confidence from descriptive to interpretative analysis, and from interpretation to the formation of conceptual categories. In doing so I made use of theoretical memos on the emergent theory. These memos were then used to inform further coding and theorising (Richards, 2003). The early drafts of the writing up of the results of the analysis can be considered a later part of this process. For some samples of the materials I produced during this stage of the analysis see appendix 2.

As the categories of the basic ELMS model took shape, I continued to collect supporting examples from the data until *theoretical saturation* was achieved. This describes a situation in which subsequent comparison of aspects of the data merely add support to a given category rather than modifying it. I eventually reached a stage where I was satisfied that the basic ELMS model provided a convincing explanation of the language learning of the participants, and that it was “couched in a form that others going into the same field could use” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 113). Writing from experience, I can state with some confidence that Glaser and Strauss have a tendency to make what are in truth quite intellectually taxing activities appear simpler than they actually are.

The following guide to the analytical process is adapted from one given by Braun and Clarke (2006) as a guide to thematic analysis. Although the actual process was much messier, and grounded theory involves the additional step of arranging themes into a coherent theory, it provides a useful overview:

Familiarise yourself with the data

1. Generate initial codes (in GT terms, descriptive analysis)
2. Search for themes (in GT terms, interpretive analysis)
3. Review themes
4. Define and name these
5. Produce the report.

Analysis, part 2 (Chapter 7)

The second part of the analysis has a more turbulent history than the first. While I felt that the basic ELMS model was satisfactorily grounded in the data, and could explain in general terms the participants' language-learning behaviour, there were multiple aspects of the data that the model could not account for, since abstract models such as this are necessarily reductionist. Salient influences on learning behaviour that are not represented in the basic ELMS model include those of cognition, other people, culture, school, and significant events. The initial task of the second part of the analysis was to address these influences on behaviour through an examination of the individual narratives. Through repeated re-readings of the narratives and the transcripts I began to organise my observations into three broad themes: the influence of Japanese-ness, school, and significant events. The first two of these I subsequently decided could be viewed from an identity perspective, i.e. *learning English as a Japanese*; and *learning English as a student*. I began to view significant events in terms of the revelatory effect they had on participant beliefs, and therefore on changing learning behaviour. These categories are not necessarily saturated (see previous page) to the extent that would warrant inclusion in a grounded theory (hence their inclusion in the extended rather than basic model). Instead, they provide a useful framework for a consideration of the issues in question. In other words, they are not the result of so many supporting examples that new instances add little to the elaboration of the category in question.

Rather, they suggest a useful heuristic framework through which to consider additional aspects of the data. Chapter 8 therefore constitutes a middle ground between the analytically tight Chapter 6 and the more speculative discussion in Chapter 8.

To close this section, it may be useful to give an example of how my theoretical interests evolved as a result of the data analysis. My initial rationale for conducting three interviews spread out over a period of two years was to focus much more strongly on recent events in order to get a picture of motivation 'in action'. Even more ambitiously, assuming that some of the participants would be studying abroad, I had hoped to establish three perspectives on significant events: i) a perspective based on the expectation of what is to come (pre-study abroad); ii) a present perspective (a Skype interview during the study abroad trip, or an interview immediately on return); and iii) a retrospective perspective. However, it soon became apparent that participants viewed their motivation as deriving primarily from particular motivational episodes (significant events), many of which had occurred years earlier. In the second and third interviews, the topic of conversation led naturally back to these significant events of years gone by, and I felt that it would be a more productive use of interview time to revisit these episodes since their importance was so keenly attested to by the participants. At the risk of looking ahead to the results, the way in which the focus of the interviews tended to return to the discussion of significant events can be accounted for in the following way: Motivation, as I conceive it within the context of this research, is not something stemming primarily from the here and now, but something rooted in particularly symbolically powerful events, the influence that these events exerted in the past, and the influence that they continue to exert in the present.

CHAPTER 5: INTRODUCING THE PARTICIPANTS

This section supplies the reader with biographical details of the five participants in order to set the stage for the analysis (Chapters 6 and 7). These details can be referred back to as necessary as the reader works through the analysis, so that he/she can understand the events and processes examined within biographical context. I have tried to give a reasonably detailed overall picture of each participant. However, some events, which form a significant part of the later analysis, are bypassed, or mentioned only in passing in order to avoid unnecessary duplication.

These accounts were produced by a process of “gathering stories, analysing them for key elements...then rewriting...to place them within a chronological sequence” (Cresswell, 2007, p. 55). The interview transcripts were rearranged into chronological accounts, and reduced in length through paraphrasing for the purposes of concision and readability. The sketches given here are significantly shortened versions of the original narrative accounts.

5.1 Nana

I'm the kind of person who really wants to communicate with people so I've got to learn English, right?

Nana is an only child, born and raised in Kyoto. There were no particularly salient indications that the young Nana would be able to speak three foreign languages—Korean, English, and Spanish—by the age of 20. Her parents did not speak English, she did not attend English classes in kindergarten or elementary school, nor did she have any foreign friends. Her sociable nature (“I like to talk and I like to make friends since I was in the kindergarten. I can say I was a popular girl”) and her mother’s habit of renting English-language movies are the only possible indications that can be identified with the benefit

of hindsight. During her junior high school years, Western movies and TV shows began to play an increasingly important role in her life, offering a fantasy retreat from her troubled teenage years, and sparking interest in Westerners and Western culture. These days, Nana continues to enjoy American movies and dramas.

Pre-junior high school

During six years of elementary school Nana had little contact with English outside of movies. She enjoyed her social life at school and recalls studying hard and being particularly good at mathematics. Towards the end of elementary school Nana began to attend cram school in order to prepare for the entrance exams for a private junior high school. It is at this time that ‘cracks’ begin to appear in Nana’s ‘good little girl’ persona. Looking back, these problems can be viewed as portentous:

Extract 5.1

J When you were...

N In cram school I kind of refused to go one time I didn’t want to go and he {her father} slapped me...that’s why I stopped showing my opinion I just, you know, followed what they told me to do but like I say {in} junior high I exploded (N/1)

Nana’s strict upbringing seems to have inspired resentment that would eventually find an outlet in rebellion.

Junior high school

Nana successfully gained entrance to a private Catholic junior high school. It appears that the environment at this junior high school combined explosively with her character. The majority of her

peers had moved up into the junior high school from an affiliated private elementary school. This marked Nana as something of an outsider. She compares her new classmates unflatteringly to those in elementary school, calling them arrogant—people who take “pride on what they have, what they use, kind of expensive things they carry and I didn’t like that this...they’re rich so they’re proud of it so I thought it’s kind of stupid” (N/1). Nana, it should be noted, is from a well-off household, the daughter of a successful doctor. This aversion to peers with similarly well-off backgrounds is a running theme in her testimony. Nana especially disliked her English teachers. She recounts:

Extract 5.2

...even though I wanted to understand the grammar but the teacher just gave me “oh, this is the way it is so you’ve got a just study it—you shouldn’t ask questions” that kind of way...I really hated because if you don’t ask how are you going to...understand the you know, what’s the meaning of it and the teacher didn’t give any of that (N/1)

In this extract we can see a relatively ‘un-Japanese’ characteristic which is marked in Nana’s testimony—that of openly challenging authority figures. It is of course sensible to consider that this might be a flavour added to her narrative in hindsight, but given her demeanour in the interviews, and her life experiences in general, I find it easy to believe that Nana was relatively untypical in this sense even at an early age (see also Section 7.1.1, Extract 7.8). Nana got into all sorts of trouble at school and was once suspended for asking one of the sisters if she was a virgin. The anecdote encapsulates nicely the way in which Nana had trouble fitting in to the school environment. Outside of school, too, Nana was finding trouble. Her relationship with her parents was so troubled that she lived for a while with her grandmother. Sadly, her grandmother fell ill and died, and Nana moved back in with her parents. It was a difficult period of her life:

Extract 5.3

N My father used to tell me I am such a bad girl at that time

J Why so bad? School? You're getting into trouble at school?

N School and going out at night hanging out with bad people, little bit of fighting (N/2)

One refuge that Nana found during this period was Hollywood movies. Nana describes them as 'precious', 'totally different', and more 'dynamic' and 'worth watching' than their Japanese counterparts. Nana's interest in the exotic, the different, and also the 'hot actors' later, it seems, developed into an interest in English as a concrete means by which she might be able to further her participation in this world.

Although she officially graduated from junior high school, Nana was refused permission to enter the affiliated high school. Was she to find another high school or, unlike 97% of Japanese youth (see Chapter 3), give up on high school and search for work? It so happens that a 20 year-old cousin of Nana's suggested studying abroad in Canada. With nothing to lose, Nana decided to go.

Canada

At the age of 16 Nana set off for a year in Canada. Her ability to attract trouble accompanied her. Nana's first homestay family was motivated singly by financial incentives: they neglected to take care of Nana, who lived off watermelon and milk for a month. It is a measure of Nana's naivety at this time that she simply assumed that this was a normal diet for Canadians. Eventually, her agent discovered her pitiful situation, and an alternative host family was found. The second homestay (three months) started somewhat better with her host mother cooking her meals for the first time in Canada. However, shortly after this the host mother decided to get a facelift, and Nana skipped school for a week to nurse her and feed her during the recovery period. Perhaps in connection to the plastic surgery, the host mother

shortly after found a boyfriend with whom she used to engage in sexual activity on the living room sofa, making for a difficult homestay atmosphere. Nana suspected that the boyfriend had been stealing her underwear. Matters came to a head when he entered her room, drunk, and attempted to kiss her. Upon escaping downstairs and looking for help, Nana was thrown out of the house by her enraged host mother. The final homestay was better, but spoiled by Nana's discovery of an illicit relationship between her roommate and her Taiwanese boyfriend. In conclusion: Nana's Canadian stay was eventful.

In terms of language learning, Nana made swift progress despite having arrived knowing only "ABCDE, the alphabet and 'cat' and 'dog'". Prior to her arrival Nana had believed that she would learn English with ease simply by absorption. It was not to be. She soon found herself studying for eight hours a day, struggling to communicate with her classmates by drawing pictures in a notebook which she carried everywhere with her. During this period, she says, she realised that she loved to learn languages. Returning home after a tough but productive year, Nana decided that she would like to study abroad again for a longer period rather than complete her high school education in Japan.

The UK

After a year in Japan studying for the necessary tests and earning money by working part-time, Nana set off for the UK, where she was to stay at a boarding school in Temple, Worcester, for two years. The school was for international students, most of whom were speakers of English as a second language. It centred on business education and the student population came from affluent families. Nana studied hard, particularly at her reading and writing. She took A-levels in biology, chemistry, maths and business and economics. She was accepted to the University of Birmingham as an undergraduate student but she decided to return to Japan to attend university.

University

Upon her return to Japan, Nana was apprehensive about studying at a ‘normal’ Japanese university, due to the fear that she would find it difficult to get along with her Japanese peers. So far, her experience at KUFS has been mixed. The level of difficulty, after her experience in the UK, is understandably low. She expected there to be more students at KUFS who spoke English fluently. She has found some of the classes quite boring, and the attitude of her peers infuriating:

Extract 5.4

I’m in the top course, but nobody speaks up—me and one other student, we are the only ones to speak up to talk to the teacher and the rest of them are just like this just sit down and write down something. That’s it...so I don’t like the bad atmosphere really (N/1)

Taking stock

By the time of the third interview Nana’s life circumstances had changed, and her fiery attitude had cooled. Her former junior high school had refused her request to return there to undertake teaching experience (a mandatory part of obtaining a teaching license). She had therefore had to do it in a ‘rough’ school, and had suffered doubts about her ability to cope should she end up working at such a school as a teacher. Her stepmother, to whom she is very close, had become sick and was planning to come to Kyoto to live with her. At the time when I ceased my data collection Nana was considering entering graduate school which, I suspect, was in part a way to put off having to enter the ‘real world’ as an English teacher. Her narrative does not have a tidy ending, but is of course on-going. I take two key messages away from my recollection of interviewing Nana and analysing her transcripts. First, her English ability is something she is very proud of. It is a badge of honour won through sweat and tears. Second, by the time we reached the end of the third interview her rebellious side was finally in the

process of being ground down. There is a well known Japanese idiom that describes Nana's situation at the end of the third interview (as I understood it): <deru kui wa utareru> {the stake that sticks out gets hammered down}.

5.2 Daisuke

People in different countries are kind of interesting. This is what I always feel when talking to people from different countries. We must use English which is, you know, not my mother language but if I succeed to communicate with them by using my English...I feel really satisfied...

Daisuke is from Kyoto. He has three younger brothers. His father sells calligraphy paper and his mother is a teacher. Daisuke says of his parents:

Extract 5.5

They are not that strict. Especially my father since we were quite young, he said “don't study. You guys don't have to study. You guys just do what you like to do” (D/2)

Daisuke is an interesting mix of extroversion and underlying insecurities. He attributes his fear of what other people may think of him to his mother, and his bright, outgoing nature to his father. Daisuke is rather eccentric, and is something of a class joker—in a likeable way.

Pre-junior high school

Daisuke says of his parents that they really wanted to talk to people from different countries and they really wanted to use English. When Daisuke was in elementary school, his father began to invite ALTs

living locally (whom he picked up in the local supermarket, for example) to his house for dinner, so Daisuke was exposed to the company of foreigners and had the opportunity to listen to and talk English from a relatively early age, long before he encountered formal English lessons in junior high school. These ALT visits continued (“like, literally a thousand times”) throughout junior high school.

Junior high school

Daisuke describes his English lessons in junior high school as ordinary. He does not recall studying hard except for speech contests. Of his English classes, he says:

Extract 5.6

If I raised my hand a lot or answered questions my classmates would think, you know, I was strange. You know this feeling right Japanese students they have this...I was afraid of it so I just studied normally like other subjects (D/3)

The implication is that he would have liked to interact in English if it was possible, but the institutional or group dynamic made this impossible. Authentic interaction with ALTs at school was therefore limited to out-of-class hours.

Daisuke travelled abroad for the first time at the age of 15, for a 10-day cultural exchange trip in Muscatoon, Ohio. While there he went to a farm, watched a baseball game, and had a barbecue. His impression of the United States was positive for a number of reasons, from the way in which people talked in a friendly manner with strangers, to the beautiful environment.

High school

Daisuke identifies his high school years as the time when he saw himself becoming a future English speaker. Because of his warm identification with foreigners, and because he felt English ability and English-related experiences distinguished him from his peers, he studied English harder than other subjects. He claims that his scores tended to hover around the 70 mark compared to a class average of 65.

Upon finishing high school, Daisuke had no plans to go on to university. I suggested to Daisuke that this was true for many people, but they go to university anyway because “that’s what people do”. Why was he different? I asked:

Extract 5.7

D Well, as I say I don’t like studying, you know, kind of, I felt that that’s kind of boring stuff for me

J So you actually *did not* want to go to university

D Absolutely, absolutely. I *didn’t* want to go to (D/1)

Second trip abroad

Daisuke’s father suggested that he attend university in the US. Given his interest in foreigners and foreign culture, Daisuke agreed to his father’s suggestion, although he later cites the lack of ownership of the idea as the prime reason why his trip ultimately ended in failure (as he sees it). The plan was to enter an ESL programme to get his TOEFL score up to scratch before progressing to university proper. In fact, he remained stuck in the ESL programme for two years. He claims that his motivation let him down:

Extract 5.8

...the reason why I did so was because of my motivation. I like to communicate with people from different countries. I like it but, as I said, I don't like studying and then in the two years on the ESL programme I didn't study a lot and then that's the reason why I couldn't get enough TOEFL score (N/1)

Daisuke became a recluse. He describes himself as being 'mentally sick' at the time. While he enjoyed communicating with Americans, he was at the same time "really afraid of people" and "tired both physically and mentally". It came to a point where he consciously tried not to talk to other people in public. Daisuke recalls feeling that his English ability was simply too poor to live in the US. As his melancholy grew, he became more and more disappointed and lacking in confidence. This, loneliness, and to top it all, the food, fed his depression. He looks back on this episode with regret:

Extract 5.9

J ...did you spend a lot of time by yourself

D In front of the computer yes I used Skype to talk to my friends in Japan, [ok, right] yeah, that was wasting. I really hate...I'm now...I think now that I wasted such a wonderful opportunity to talk (D/2)

Despite being told by his mother on a number of occasions that he could return to Japan whenever he wished, Daisuke's guilt at the amount of money his parents had spent on sending him abroad made it difficult, he claims, to 'face the truth' and return home.

Transition to University

After two years, Daisuke returned to Japan, and did little but surf the Internet and get fat for three months (“I literally did nothing”). Daisuke’s mother was worried about him and suggested he apply to enter a local community college. Daisuke reluctantly began to make some preparations, and soon realised that his scores would be high enough to warrant aiming a little higher. He applied to several universities. While he claims not to have cared which one he ended up going to, he recalls that one of the attractions of KUFS was that it has an exchange programme. Interestingly, even after his recent trial overseas he appears to have felt attracted to studying overseas (he would eventually succeed getting onto this programme in his third year, between interviews two and three). Upon being accepted to KUFS he said to himself: “ok, let’s go”.

University

Daisuke decided at the KUFS orientation camp (an overnight stay at an activity centre in the countryside) that he would be seen as stand-out student at university—that his experience abroad, despite the difficulties he had encountered, gave him valuable experiences that his peers lacked, and that it had toughened him up considerably:

Extract 5.10

...at the camp or whatever I realized that a lot of students cannot speak English as I could so I realized ok I think I can pretend I'm a good student and the impression people will have to me will be good and also the tuition too expensive so I think I can study here and successfully (D/3)

I first met Daisuke in April 2012 as the teacher of a TEFL class. At that time he was in his second year of university, but he was three years older than his peers. He was, by any standards, a great student. At

the time of the interviews, Daisuke prided himself on being a straight A-student. This, he calls *pretending* to be a good student. Daisuke's misgivings about some of his classmates, however, temper his enthusiasm for the university experience. While less critical toward his peers than Nana, he notes that their fear of making mistakes, and their tendency to use Japanese has unfortunate ramifications for his own learning.

Another year in the States

Between the second and third interviews Daisuke studied in the US once again. This time the decision was Daisuke's alone, and the trip was a success. Here, too, he proudly tells me that he received all As and A+s for his coursework. He attributes the success of this year to 'pretending' to be outgoing and talkative.

The future

In his first and second interviews Daisuke was planning to be an English teacher, or at least to find a job that required English:

Extract 5.11

Future goal...I think I...using English is the only way... to have kind of normal job in the future. Not manual labour, right. I'm not good at physical activity...I'm not good at calculating, I'm not good at other things—science, social studies...Japanese language. Only English. That's the reason (D/2)

In the third interview his priority had changed to getting *any* full-time job:

Extract 5.12

...the reason is simply is that I want money. My parents have you know spent a lot of money not only to me but also on my three younger brothers. I mean I have to support my parents financially {traditionally the responsibility of the eldest son} (D/3)

The juxtaposition of Daisuke's oversized personality in class, his straight 'A' ways, and his claim that this is all an act—that he has no particular ambition other than just to get a job—any job—is intriguing, and I did not feel like I had solved this riddle by the end of the third interview.

5.3 Koichi

With my English I see the world differently from somebody who doesn't have English, because I can speak with you. I kind of know what you think, but my friend, my parents cannot speak English, cannot listen to you, can't have your ideas.

Koichi is from Amagasaki, Hyogo prefecture. He lives with his parents, commuting almost two hours each way to KUFUS every day. In my TEFL class he was not particularly studious in the vein of Daisuke, but unfailingly polite and amenable. He claims to drink a can of beer before presentations to calm his nerves, a technique recommended to him by his favourite teacher in the US. This kind of anecdote, and the way he dresses—cap back to front, baggy jeans—speaks to the way in which I feel Koichi projects a slightly cool and rebellious edge (this is of course a subjective interpretation). His path to becoming a fluent English speaker does not appear to have been characterised by any particularly outstanding or

unusual events other than that of a very convincing message from his cram school teacher (see Section 7.3.3) concerning the importance of English. Koichi's parents speak only a little English, and they did not push him to study English or anything else. He credits his ability to speak to a year spent in the US.

Pre-junior high school

Koichi was first introduced to English at the end of his elementary school years courtesy of a cram school teacher who, until that point, had prepared him for exams to enter junior high school. This cram school was unusual in that it was run from the teacher's house—an old-fashioned arrangement. In between passing these exams and actually entering junior high school, Koichi's cram school teacher began to teach him English in order to prepare him for his classes in junior high school. In school, at this point in time, Koichi was more interested in mathematics and science than English, but his cram school teacher explained to him the necessity of learning English regardless of one's academic focus, giving the example of a researcher who travels overseas:

Extract 5.13

...what he said was...OK, if you study mathematics or something hard, you will be researcher in the future and if you invent...invent if you find something something really important something really new to the world OK you will have present...[it] to the world maybe, so when you have the presentation or inform something to the world it must be English...I think what he said...and I agreed with him. I naturally knew that English was important (K/3).

This particular conversation appears to have been a revelation for Koichi. He emphasises the importance of English in a similar manner during a discussion of his aims as a future English teacher:

Extract 5.14

K I just want them to like English...to love English. Maybe I said this before...whenever the meeting happens {between foreigners and Japanese} we have to talk in English. English is worldwide language. If I can speak English I can go kind of anywhere, so...at this point or in the future, English is not a subject, English is something to live with

J like a life skill

K yeah, like a life skill...yeah...it's just so important (K/3).

Junior high school

Koichi's cram school teacher played a more influential role than any single teacher at junior high or high school. Although his methods did not differ in technique from the teachers in school, he tailor-made the content for his individual students, and he explained clearly to each student the intricacies of English usage. No doubt due in part to the support he was receiving in cram school, Koichi was able to make swift progress at school. Koichi enjoyed junior high school, and attributes his success to his habit of sleeping well and studying only in school and at cram school (i.e. not paying too much attention to homework). He paints a mature picture of himself in those years: "...I'm kind of—just a little though—{more} talented than others in studying”.

High school

In high school, Koichi's priorities shifted from studying to baseball and girls. He played baseball six or seven days a week and therefore had no time to study other than to make an effort to keep up with his English classes. Of his mathematics class, for example, he recalls:

Extract 5.15

...one day when I woke up {in class}...I have no idea what was going on...and if I kept studying maybe I was good {i.e. perhaps he could have made up the lost ground} but I didn't study at all so I was just only good at English but nothing else. Then I kind of gave up... (K/2)

Koichi says of his English classes that there were not enough opportunities to talk. A typical 'communicative' lesson consisted of listening to the ALT and then practising prepared dialogues in pairs. If called on, a pair would then have to perform the dialogue in front of the class.

University

Koichi entered KUFS able to speak only hesitantly. Any ability he did have he ascribes to his better-than-average knowledge of grammar and vocabulary. Between his first and second years he decided to study abroad. The reasons he gives are that he wanted to be an English teacher, and therefore needed to improve his English skills, and also that he felt that America was a place he should visit at least once in his life.

A year in the United States

From February 2011 Koichi lived for a year studying in the US. He spent the first five months in language school, which he describes as a fantastic experience, studying with students from around the world and learning a smattering of various languages. In June Koichi was involved in a minor car crash due to the carelessness of the other driver. He was misled by the police as to the documents he had to produce at which place by what time, with the result that he was charged a significant fine that he felt morally impelled to challenge in court (this speaks to his resoluteness). He won his case and paid a reduced fine, but as a result of missing classes because of the trial and the stress associated with it, he

was forced to leave the college, losing his student visa in the process. In retrospect, Koichi takes pride in the experiences he accrued abroad, even those that were stressful at the time. When I asked if he attributes his English gains to school or outside-of-school activities, he answered without hesitation that he owed his English abilities to experiences outside of school. By the time of the third interview Koichi had accepted a job as an English teacher at an elementary school.

5.4 Ryota

My parents always say “Oh we wish that part of your personality and part of your brother’s personality mixed and make one person one brother...” because he’s mentally and physically strong and I devote myself to study...

I taught Ryota for one term in the second half of his first year at university. He stood out immediately as a student who spoke exclusively in English and participated enthusiastically, never losing a single opportunity to practise his English. I was not surprised to learn that Ryota had been the head of his year in high school. Although I did not initially enjoy the kind of down-to-earth rapport I experienced with Nana (for example), I found myself increasingly impressed by his single-minded determination to acquire English (and Chinese), and the hard work and effort he devotes to language learning.

Pre-junior high school

Ryota’s parents speak only a little English and were not interested in whether or not Ryota learned English. His first experience of English was courtesy of his aunt, a graduate of KUFS, who taught him some easy words. It was, according to Ryota, “just fun”.

Junior high school

Ryota claims that he simply did what was required of him in junior high school, and that this tended to involve repetitive study for the sake of exams. He preferred baseball to studying, and claims to have caused people trouble during this period:

Extract 5.16

R I bothered many people, so...

J For example...

R So, like, skip the school and, you know, fighting, so...and my parents worried about my future, has anxiety for my future, so I was ashamed of that right before I graduated from junior high school... (R/1)

Ryota claims that reading a book about Mother Teresa caused a change of heart, and he decided to become a more diligent student. At around the same time, Ryota experienced an unsuccessful encounter with a direction-seeking foreigner in a train station (see Section 7.3.2). This appeared to inspire Ryota to take a greater interest in his English lessons at school, and accounts for how English became 'his' subject. He also recalls watching a translator working with foreign baseball players in the Japanese league on TV. His dreams of being a baseball player being shattered by a shoulder injury, he wondered if he might still be able to play a part in the baseball world through English:

Extract 5.17

...the interpreter is always with players, especially foreign players, so that seemed to be a very interesting to me...I thought...“ok let's choose a school which has [a good] English course...”
you know, put energy on English (R/2)

High school

Ryota belonged to an ‘international stream’ in high school. He and his cohort had five English classes a week compared to the usual three. At high school he was able to enjoy extensive interaction with ALTs, to whom he credits his success with English:

Extract 5.18

...well I really appreciate it, I really appreciate it to my high school teachers, because there are some ALT teachers in my high school now, Australian, American, and all of them have the same idea about English education. So English education, er what is important is not how long to study but how deeply, so the best way to learn English is to... not just...speaking is the most important, so, my reading skill is not as good as speaking but I can say I like English because of their education, their support (R/1)

During his time in high school Ryota used to visit Kansai International Airport to practise speaking English to visitors to Japan. He also became interested in Australia through his school’s Australian sister school. This influenced his decision later to study there for six months. He lists exchange students from places such as Sweden, America or Korea as inspirations during these years.

University

Like other participants, Ryota expresses disappointment in many of his peers at university:

Extract 5.19

...the motivation of each student is different from what I had expected so students...my impression of students in <Gaidai> {KUFS} was that students who went to <Gaidai> have

{more} motivation than in general University but on the first day in my English class—seminar class—I was so surprised because most of the students don't try to use English positively (R/1)

Ryota rejects the explanation of Japanese shyness for this behaviour. Instead, he believes that his peers simply do not have motivation. Rather, the whole purpose of coming to university for them is “chatting to friends” and to get a graduation certificate for the purposes of seeking employment:

Extract 5.20

...it's like an elevator system students ride elevator that calls...four years later everybody will have to start job hunting before that we have four years to do anything...everyone thinks that three years is for {simply having fun} (R/1)

Ryota is a member of the university's English speaking club, which involves organising and taking part in activities such as guiding foreigners around Japanese sightseeing spots.

Six months in Australia

Between the second and third interviews Ryota studied in Australia for six months. He describes the experience as fun, and says that he would like to work there in the future. In the first few weeks of his trip he got homesick, and suffered from anxiety concerning his ability to function in class, given his level of English ability. Four of his roommates were Mandarin speakers so he spent most of his time speaking Chinese. Ryota says that he came back from Australia stronger.

The future

It is interesting to watch Ryota's plans for the future develop through the series of interviews. In the

first interview he wanted to work for a professional baseball team as an interpreter or for a tourist company. By the second interview he wanted to work for an international volunteer organisation, and goes into some length about how money is not as important as having an enjoyable job:

Extract 5.21

...I don't care, just enough to support me...I think the...motivation...I choose a job whether it gives me the passion or motivation or it makes me energetic for that job, yeah, so even yeah that's ok...so even if the job money is not high, I don't care (R/2)

By the time of the third interview Ryota had turned his attention to a more traditional career as a 'salary man'. As with other participants, this is a time of life where idealism and dreams meet reality.

A salient thread running through Ryota's testimony is that of competition and rivalry. The last interview came to a very nice close when he revealed that he has an identical twin brother who was a great source of rivalry growing up. They were both fanatical about baseball, but in high school his brother went to a private high school with a prestigious baseball team while Ryota went to a public school. His brother continued down the 'physical' route, and is now training to be in the Japan Coast Guard, while Ryota took a more studious route. They remain constant rivals.

5.5 Manami

I like people and talking is my forte. Maybe I can't live without talking...

Originally from Amagasaki, Manami moved to Osaka with her mother and father when she was six. Manami is a pleasure to have in class. If I had to choose one identifying characteristic it would be her

strong sense of right and wrong. She seems to be a genuinely good person, in that she seems personally troubled by other people's pain or injustice. For Manami, English is a means of getting close to other people and understanding them. More than once in the interviews Manami emphasises that, in effect, she sees talking as an end in itself, whether in Japanese or English.

Pre-junior high school

Manami started learning English as a child. After her regular kindergarten classes had finished for the day she used to join an English class in which the students would sit in a circle while a native teacher showed them pictures:

Extract 5.22

“Apple”—we say “apple!” and “Banana”, “Banana”! I could enjoy it and I loved the class. And when the class finished, “See you!” I used to go with my friend, Atsuko, and we enjoyed it together (M/1)

When Manami moved to Osaka she did not have access to English lessons in school, but since she had enjoyed her English lessons in Amagasaki so much her mother sent her to ECC, a private English school. The teacher there only used English, Manami recalls, and it was therefore fun to try to work out with her friends what he was saying.

When I ask her about her reasons for studying English in this early period, Manami identifies her mother as a key influence. She and her mother would chat about her classes, and her mother would praise her if she did well in a test. In later years she began to glean satisfaction from test results and noticing her own progress, but her mother remained an influence in the sense that Manami wanted to ‘give something back’ (she uses the Japanese term <okaeshi>) to her parents by studying hard and

doing well, on account of the financial sacrifice her parents had incurred in sending her to private conversation school.

Junior high school

Manami's English lessons in junior high school were not what she had hoped for. She found the level of the speaking practice unchallenging. Conversely, she found the focus on memorising grammatical rules difficult to the point that she hated it. Unfortunately, before long the format of her ECC lessons changed too. She began to spend the first half of the class with a Japanese teacher studying grammar which was to be used in the second half of the class in conversation practice with the native teacher (this can be seen as ECC accommodating the market demand for its lessons to play a useful role in exam study). She found herself motivated by the worry that she would not be able to speak to her friends in the second half of the class if she fell behind with the grammar. Since they studied the grammar hard, she had to, too.

For the first two years of junior high school Manami claims that her priority was talking to her friends in English, but by the time she reached the third grade she realised that she would have to study to pass tests for high school entrance. Her cram school teacher encouraged her to use these tests as means to an end rather than goals in themselves. Manami continues to adopt this mind-set towards the TOEIC and EIKEN tests. Looking back, Manami says of her early days at ECC that her focus was on talking about herself in English, but this later developed into a desire to use English to understand other people. She enjoys both talking about herself, and hearing people's stories or ways of thinking.

High school

Manami evaluated the English classes in high school much more highly than those in junior high school. Speaking to her friends in English had always been her favourite aspect of language study, and

there were more opportunities to do this in high school. Tuesdays were her favourite day because she had nothing but English classes. By the end of the first grade she had decided that she would like to go to KUFS to study English.

At some point in high school Manami recalls watching the movie Titanic. The movie contains a scene in which a non-English-speaking family heads to their death because they cannot read a sign written in English. Manami was struck by how this scene demonstrated the importance of language ability:

Extract 5.23

M ...why I want to be a concierge...because the urge... {to me} have you seen Titanic?

J Yes

M Titanic the scene has a person who can't understand the...notice and the person can't understand and "what what what meaning of the word I can't understand I can't run away, escape"...the ship is sinking and everybody is panicking and the person cannot understand what's happening—can't understand English and I saw the scene I thought the person can't understand English so the person can't do anything [right] so I want to help people who can't understand language so that time I learned English so I want to learn English perfectly and something German or Spanish or something and I helped the person who can't understand the word or language so I studied hard in English

J So you like helping people

M Yes... (M/1)

This scene strengthened Manami's belief that language could be used to help people, and the idea that this was a facet of language ability that she could incorporate into her own life. The memory of the

event is also connected to her choice of future career as a concierge, or station staff. Both jobs entail helping people.

University

Given that English was her favourite subject in high school, and how she has always found speaking English (although not necessarily studying it) a highly enjoyable activity, the decision to study at KUFS came naturally for Manami. Manami continues to get satisfaction and motivation from improving her English, using it to help people relax, and to get close to them. Language, Manami explains, has an inherent power:

Extract 5.24

...because if you are said by your partner “I love you” or your children “I love you” that sentence makes you happy but “I don’t like you” or “I hate you” is also has a big effect on your mind, so language affects people’s mind or sometimes words change the person’s life...we can’t live without language (M/3)

For Manami, being able to speak English means she can talk to a wider range of people than she could through Japanese alone. While she is proud of Japan—the martial arts, the culture, the language—she also believes that difference is healthy for people, and she wants to enrich her own thinking and life by looking at issues from various perspectives.

Manami criticises the Japanese understanding of language learning because students are taught that each question has one answer. This, she argues, is not the way that real language works. If this was the case, she claims, language would be boring, and the same is true of life in general.

The biographical overview of Manami and the other four participants’ learning histories

presented in this chapter allows the reader to place the events and opinions related by participants in the proceeding analysis chapters within the chronology of the participants' lives, and to understand them in terms of the broader narratives in terms of which the participants make sense of, and represent, these histories. In short, it allows for a fuller, more richly contextualised understanding of the analysis.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS (PART ONE)

In this chapter I present the results of the grounded theory analysis of the interview transcripts.

Walford (2001) identifies three types of theory. *Grand theory* is a way of interpreting the world (for example Marxism), *micro-theory* makes predictions of causality to a particular phenomenon, and *middle-range theory* consists of a concept or set of concepts which describe, define and/or elucidate the processes underlying a phenomenon or activity. The theory to be presented here, which takes the form of the English Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment (ELMS) model, belongs to this third category, in that it consists of a set of concepts (drives and engagement) that explain the activity of language learning. Chapter 6 presents the basic, or *substantive* (see Section 4.3) version of the model. By substantive, I mean that this model: i) is inductively derived, grounded in the data, not based on deductive inference from existing theory or hypothesising; and ii) purports to explain the language learning of the five research participants rather than that of a wider population. The basic model is therefore modest in scope but well-grounded in the data.

The ELMS theory posits that learning English is a way to engage four fundamental drives. *Perspective drive* is the drive to broaden perspective by accruing knowledge and experience of the world, as encapsulated in the expression ‘broaden one’s horizons’ and its Japanese corollary <shiya o hirogeru> {widen one’s field of vision}. *Entertainment drive* is the drive to be entertained, to be intellectually or emotionally stimulated, or to have fun; *status drive* is the drive to accrue respect from others, differentiation from peers, and recognition as a responsible member of society by virtue of one’s abilities, experiences and achievements—in other words the drive to make a ‘success’ of oneself in the eyes of others; finally, *communication drive* is the drive to engage in communicative human interaction. English learning behaviour can be viewed as one of many ‘streams’ of behaviour directed toward the engagement of one or more of these drives. At times this stream may constitute only a

trickle; at other times it may be a torrent, so that a learner devotes many of her waking hours to autonomous language study.

A visual representation of the ELMS model is given in Figure 6.1. Models are by nature abstract representations of a vastly more complex reality, and it should be borne in mind that each element in the model has a consequential relationship with every other element (some of these relationships will be explored in Chapter 7). Nonetheless, the core relationship between English learning behaviour and the fundamental drives is strongly evident in the data. Entertainment drive is bordered by a dotted line. This represents my hesitancy in including this element in the basic model, for reasons that will be explained in Section 6.2.

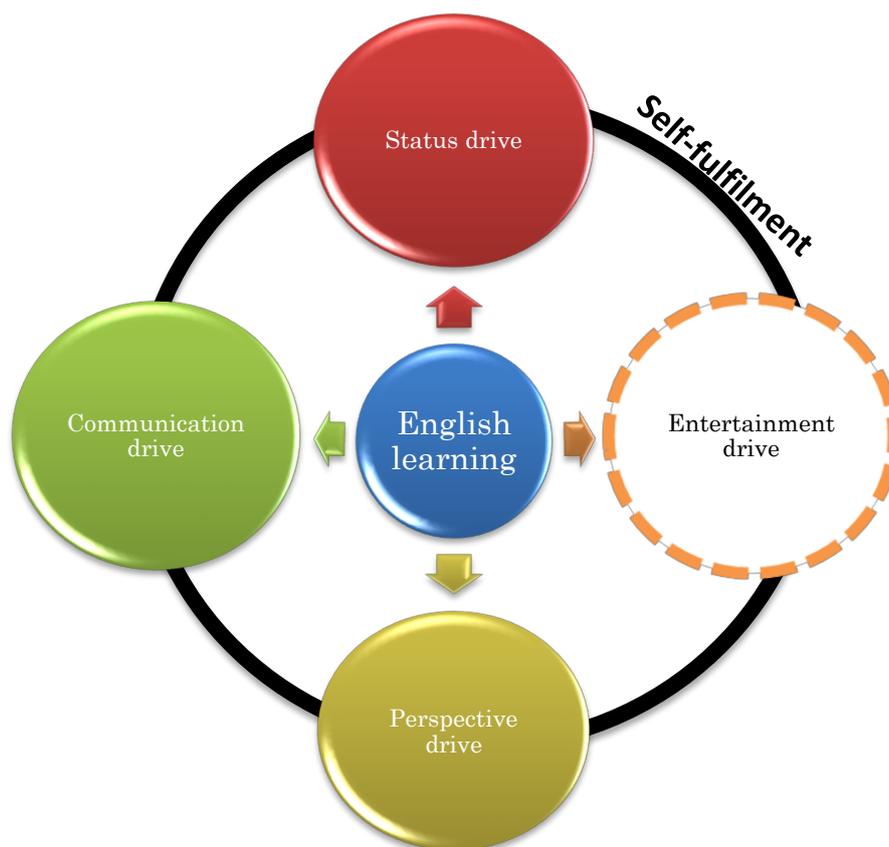


Figure 6.1. The basic English Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment (ELMS) model.

The basic ELMS model explains behaviour in terms of how the learner engages fundamental drives. Drives are traditionally understood to be unconscious psychological or physiological states of agitation that an organism is motivated (or *moved*) to dissipate (Hull, 1935). In the case of a simple physiological drive such as hunger, one satisfies the drive by eating—problem solved, at least for a while. In the case of psychological drives such as those hypothesised here, the situation is more complicated. For example, it may be the case that, try as one might, one may never satisfy one’s perspective drive; in fact broadening one’s perspective a little might serve only to intensify the saliency of the drive (through the mediation of motivation and other elements—see Chapter 7). Furthermore, the intensity of this drive may weaken or strengthen at particular stages of life, and it may be suppressed or heightened in saliency according to cultural or circumstantial context. Such drives are perhaps insatiable and certainly changeable. I therefore refer to *engaging*, rather than *satisfying* drives.

It is in the process of engaging these drives—if this engagement is conscious, calculated, or controlled—where motivation enters the picture as a useful concept. It will be clear in the remainder of the chapter that the analysis is dealing with conscious actors who are making decisions or at the very least constructing rationales about learning behaviour. This in no way prejudices the drives theory to be outlined in the following section: as a grounded theory it stands by itself, regardless of how motivation is conceptualised. For now, the issue of the conscious processes mediating drive engagement—including the role of conscious motivation—is put to one side. It will be taken up again in Section 6.5 as part of a segue to the second part of the analysis (Chapter 7).

The following extended extract offers a preview of how the engagement of multiple drives is manifested in participant testimony. In it, Daisuke relates how he used to tell his English teacher at school about visits to his house by assistant language teachers (ALTs):

Extract 6.1

J Can you talk a little bit more about the motivation you felt toward these ALTs, you know, how did it feel to be motivated in that way?

D Like when I was in junior high I often—it's difficult to describe this—sometimes well I often talked to my English teachers, I mean Japanese person who teaches English, so and the...I often talked to her about visiting, inviting ALT teachers, so...

J Who started those conversations?

D Like after the class I often go to the front of the class and said “ah Mrs. Suzuki yesterday Courtney came to my house and I played UNO with her” and I ...I think there's a correct word to describe this feeling. I talked to her about that and after that the ALT teacher said in the class {i.e. in front of the other students} that “Daisuke has quite unique opportunities of, you know, communicating with English speakers because he's...” I mean my father and me sometimes invite Courtney to my house and eat dinner together and talk, talk in English, play UNO, etc. she said that to the class. And I'm kind of...I don't know the word, I don't know the word

J Embarrassed

D No, opposite

J Proud

D Probably that. Probably.

J What's the Japanese word?

D Er, <jiman> {pride, boasting, self-satisfaction}...no

J <jiman> is what, being proud of yourself?

D Kind of...or <hokorashii> {proud} probably proud...er I don't...I didn't directly say that, you know “Courtney came to my house and we had dinner together and...” I didn't say that.

I'm quite shy and, you know, it's kind of strange for me to say that, but in my mind I was like {he liked it} that I was probably having er...opportunities to talk to communicate with English speakers which other students probably cannot have, yeah

J Did...when you told the teacher did you expect the teacher to tell the class

D Probably, probably...I didn't directly, you know, said that "please spread this information to the class" but I probably thought that if I tell this to the teacher she probably will talk about this in the class and then...

J Because...you had a good relationship with this teacher

D Yeah

J So she probably understands what you are thinking

D Probably, yeah

J Could you just talk a little bit more about, yeah, ok this feeling that you had. This kind of proud feeling or whatever...this feeling you had and what's the connection to your motivation to learn English

D Er how should I say that...I still have that pride right now that, you know, I have more opportunities to communicate with people from different countries...

J ...that other people don't have

D ...don't have. You know, Japanese people are quite, they're not good at communicating with people from foreign countries, right. They're afraid of ...talk to them, I don't know, but like my father and mother and...bullied {or 'believed'. Unclear} me to positively talk to them. This skill is, as you said, which the ordinary Japanese people don't have. Probably, I don't know...mmm it's quite difficult to explain. In order to show that I have kind of uniqueness. In order to show that, I must learn English more. In order to do that I also can have, you know...enjoy talking to them, native speakers...mmm? I'm now complicated. Mmm...it's

complicated.

J Oh yes it is. A complicated thing.

D I said I'm interested in communicating with native speakers. Yes I think so. I feel so. And I also feel that I'm proud of it, of communicating with native speakers who...this is what normal Japanese cannot do. My friends in my home town probably cannot do even if they wish to do so. Yeah...then this first one: interested in communicating. Yeah it connects to the motivation, of course. Yeah, I like to communicate and in order to have better communication I must learn English, yeah. Second one...what was it...[proud to...] yeah proud for communicate. In order to show that I have...does this connect to motivation, I'm not sure... (D/2)

In this extract Daisuke identifies two threads to his motivation to learn English: having unique opportunities that other people do not have, and deriving pride from this state of affairs. This aspect, in the ELMS model, is classified as behaviour undertaken to engage the status drive. Second, he claims to enjoy talking to English/native speakers, and to find it interesting. This aspect is understood in terms of engagement of the perspective/entertainment/communication drives (there is not enough detail in this extract alone to delineate them).

The following sections build the case for the ELMS model by showing, through the presentation of extracts from the data, how a satisfactory level of 'theoretical saturation' (see Section 4.3) has been obtained for the categories of the basic ELMS model.

6.1 Perspective drive

Perspective drive is the drive to accrue, through learning English, knowledge and experiences of foreign (in this case, broadly speaking, Western) people, contexts, and cultures. The way in which perspective drive draws participants to engage with difference resonates with Zotzmann's (2014) description of

how intercultural learning takes place through a similar engagement with difference:

...at the boundaries between what one knows and has been taken for granted and the unknown: the experiences not yet lived, the perspectives not yet understood, as well as the discourses and other semiotic resources not yet encountered or appropriated. It is about current subjective boundaries...and to rediscover the previously 'known' from a different and hitherto 'unknown' perspective (pp. 177-8).

In addition to Zotzmann's 'learning', engaging the perspective drive involves the accrual of visceral, affective experiences (see, for example, extract 7.2).

Empirical support

The following extracts build the case for this theoretical category:

Extract 6.2

...English is...mmm...maybe if we can't acquire English or speaking English maybe we can live {i.e. it is not the end of the world...}, but if you...want to have more and more range or sight big sight, you should study another language...we can know a lot of things from other people...not other languages {per se}, but other people... (M/3)

Extract 6.3

If I could speak English, you know, I'll have much more chance to talk with a lot of people who have different ideas or different thought... (R/1)

Extract 6.4

If I can speak English naturally well it enables me to er expand perspective and exchange with lots of people not only in Japan but also all over the world from all over the world so English is a tool to express myself and to communicate with foreigners... (R/1)

Extract 6.5

I can speak English so I just went to London and I talked to the people in English and I could get new idea that is totally different to Japanese thinking (K/2)

Extract 6.6

J Could you tell me what English is to you

R A tool

J To do what

R To communicate er broaden my perspective

J How does it broaden your perspective

R Through the structure of Japanese and English are very different in terms of grammar so that kind of thing interests me (R/1)

Extract 6.7

With my English I see the world differently from somebody who doesn't have English, because I can speak with you. I kind of know what you think, but my friend, my parents cannot speak English, cannot listen to you, can't have your idea. I think it's better to have (K/3)

The references to ‘more range’, ‘big sight’, expanding perspectives, acquiring new or different ideas, and Koichi’s claim that through English he can ‘see the world differently’ to a non-English speaker, speak to the way in which participants are motivated to widen their perspectives through exposure to different cultures and ideas through English study and ability.

An ethical dimension

For some of the participants, perspective drive-related rationales for learning English appear to take on an ethical dimension over time, in the sense that learning English or another language can be viewed, in itself, to be an ethical undertaking. As a potential future English teacher, Manami emphasises that gaining a foreign perspective on teaching is important for one’s teaching philosophy and technique. More generally, she emphasises the importance of seeing the world from different perspectives:

Extract 6.8

...it is good to think about not only Japanese and it is good for students or children to think about not only our country, think about other country’s people or other people’s thinking is good for the people or person... (M/2)

Ryota believes that knowledge gained through intercultural communication complements (or perhaps rectifies some of the failings of) school lessons that, in retrospect, he views as deficient in certain respects. Through learning languages he is able to know about “...English, Chinese history or society that cannot be experienced in school because teachers just taught us for the test—from prints or textbook” (R/2). He claims the experiences he gained through acting as a volunteer tour guide led him to re-examine some of the prejudices he held:

Extract 6.9

R The more I guided tourists the more I feel the sense of fulfilment of guiding, and the I found the interesting parts of talking with people in overseas because there were many things...that I didn't know ...and I used to have a prejudice against, especially Chinese people, so, like now the <senkaku> islands problem is ...

J In the news

R In the news, yeah, so I was told that by teachers that Chinese people don't like Japanese

J You were told by teachers

R Yeah, and there are lots of...many problems between us, so, but my friend, one of my friends, one of my guiding friends never think that, and he...starter of the guide

J Right. Why didn't he think that, his personality, he has a nice personality...

R Er he's half Japanese and his father is Chinese... Hong Kong, so yeah, he gave me a chance to change to change my fault for er especially Chinese people and I guided a Chinese family and they are so kind, very kind to us, even though I spoke not good English and they tried to understand my English and after all they took a picture of us, so that activities changed my thought. Not only changed my thought but also improve my English and give me much more passion

...

And now I'm, learning Chinese as a second language because of that meeting—having met them (R/2)

According to his understanding, the experiences he gained through speaking and using English have not only enriched his understanding of the world, but also made him a better person.

In this section I have explained how learning English can be a means of engaging a perspective

drive to accrue knowledge and experiences of foreign people, places, cultures, and ideas. The desire for perspective appears to follow from initial interest in foreign culture: gaining perspective is a way of taking this initial interest further, or deeper. This may be a transitional phase between the satisfaction of curiosity and a heartfelt investment in the foreign culture that can, given appropriate conditions, lead to concrete efforts to learn a language. It can be detected in Nana's testimony. She recalls, as a junior high school student, wanting to meet the people in Hollywood movies, thinking: "damn, if I could speak English to communicate with hot actors like them..." (N/1). Such experiences are affective experiences that appear to be connected to later engagement with language learning.

In the following section I will argue that this perspective drive appears to be preceded by (but does not necessarily *supersede*) a less complex drive to enjoy culture or language learning, which I have labelled *entertainment drive*.

6.2 Entertainment drive

Perspective drive forms a central part of the ELMS model, indeed it was the most immediately striking category that I identified in the data. However, as I developed this category, I found it difficult at times to code certain aspects of participant experience as perspective drive-oriented. This category seemed to be too 'mature' to account for the motivation of learners such as the young Manami, who found learning English simple 'fun' long before she had ideas of 'broadening her horizons' through it.

As a precondition to being motivated to broaden one's horizons through English, it seemed to me that one must start by finding English learning or foreign culture interesting or fun. Testimony that ascribes English learning to curiosity or enjoyment can therefore be understood to engage a broader *entertainment drive*—the desire to seek self-fulfilment through novelty seeking, entertainment, and fun. The entertainment drive is not simply a precedent of the perspective drive, by which it is subsequently superseded—it appears to be alive and well in the participant testimony concerning present-day English

activities. As I stated in the introduction to this chapter, I chose to represent entertainment drive in Figure 6.1 with a dotted line to represent my hesitancy in including it in the basic model. This is for two reasons. First, I suspect that the other three drives are more important than entertainment drive in constructing an understanding of the participants' motivations to learn English at the time the research was conducted (see Section 8.3.6). Second, of the four categories presented in this section it is the least grounded in the data. By this, I mean that this category is not theoretically saturated to the extent that the other categories are. I am therefore concerned that it may be seen to contradict somewhat my claim in the introduction that the basic model is 'grounded in the data, not based on inference from existing theory or hypothesising'. I wish to state these concerns transparently, as I do not wish to overstate, through overconfidence or oversight, the claims I make for the model.

Empirical support

Although Manami first encountered foreign culture in the context of English lessons at an early age, it can be seen that the language learning was, at that time, incidental to the more general enjoyment of classes. She uses the word *interesting* to describe the experience, and talks of being *glad*, and *liking the feeling*. Together, these experiences engender positive feelings or feelings of curiosity towards English learning:

Extract 6.10

J So can you tell in a little bit more detail why, I mean why is it interesting?

M English?

J Yeah

M ...so I started to learn in kindergarten. I have no interest in English because I'm so young but it's interesting, interesting, no, I can enjoy to learn something and if I learn English I can

talk erm the person who can speak English, so {to herself} why? why? why?... {to me} So I learned something some grammar and I got used to talking with native [speaker] and if I can tell my feelings and the person understands my feeling I'm so glad so I like the feeling so I want talk someone who doesn't talk Japanese so, er, yes, English (M/1)

Manami refers to having no interest in English per se, because she was so young, but as an activity it is fun. This is clearly the enjoyment of language learning divorced from the engagement of the perspective drive in any full sense of the meaning. Naturally, there are multitudes of ways in which the child can engage the entertainment drive. English classes simply happen to be one of these ways for a middle-class Japanese child whose parents have the necessary inclination and the financial means.

The following extract also speaks to the case for making a distinction between entertainment and perspective drives. Here, Daisuke relates the details of his first trip abroad. At this point he was not an autonomous English learner:

Extract 6.11

...that 10 days exchanging was almost like a trip a group trip so I simply thought that must be interesting. I didn't, you know, think about learning English. I just wanted to go to the different countries, different areas and then I wanted to experience some different kinds of things which I cannot experience in this country Japan (D/1)

Extract 6.12

...I thought, you know, that must be interesting. Having different kinds of experience and opportunity in another country...and then I thought communicating between with different countries. People in the different countries is kind of interesting (D/1)

These extracts feature the term ‘interesting’. Daisuke’s behaviour might be seen as nascent interest in engaging the perspective drive (it is also perhaps significant that <omoshiroi>, the Japanese for ‘interesting’, can also be translated as ‘fun’ depending on the circumstances), or perhaps an activity that is engaging both entertainment and perspective drives. It appears that, for Daisuke, experiencing the new and different—Zotzmann’s (2014) ‘experiences not yet lived’—precedes language learning ‘proper’. The same is true for Nana, for whom early engagement with Hollywood movies preceded interest in language learning. As a child, Nana used to watch movies without dubbing²¹, “...with subtitles. But {just because} I listened to the English sound...doesn’t mean I like English...I just like the movie, but not English” (N/2). She later started listening to Western pop music. She describes the experience as follows:

Extract 6.13

N ...I bought Britney Spears at the time when I was in junior high 14, 13. I was quite shocked, like, you know, it was completely different from Japanese musician artists

J How is it different

N I love that beat R&B Rock, Jazz

J Different feeling

N Yeah and it is much cooler compared with Japanese pop so that’s why (N/1)

Nana was shocked by the difference between Western and Japanese pop music, finding the former cooler than its Japanese counterpart. This, too, can perhaps be seen as the engagement of the entertainment preceding a genuine interest in learning English—this entertainment was not in itself

²¹ When VHS was the dominant rental format, most films in the rental store would be available in two formats—dubbed or subtitled.

enough to stimulate the thousands of hours of study it takes to learn a language. By way of analogy we could contrast watching a ‘serious’ movie with a trashy action movie. The former takes some effort, patience, and concentration, it may even be unpleasant, uncomfortable, but is a potentially more meaningful experience than the latter, which is a way to unwind after a hard day at work. Both play important roles, and different people may prefer a different balance between the two. While many people like the idea of knowing a second language, only some will have the necessary dedication to master one.

In this section I have argued that perspective drive alone is insufficient to account for language learning, especially at an early age. I have shown that there is a progression from engagement of the entertainment drive through a simple enjoyment of foreign culture or English classes, to a deeper interest that engages the perspective drive. This appears to come with age.

As I noted earlier, it is clear that language learning and use retain an element of enjoyment for candidates, and that perspective cannot be seen as superseding entertainment drive:

Extract 6.14

I enjoy talking to people from other countries. I mean I *enjoy* I feel really happy that I successfully tell things I wanna tell, and then also when I comprehend understand what you know my he or she people from different, and then I understand and enjoy if communication occurs between me and people from other countries then I am happy. I feel that I’m good at English I can use English, I can communicate with people by using English (D/1)

For Daisuke, the entertainment drive—the drive for curiosity and exploration, fun, and entertainment—remains. The affective allure of communication does not dissipate with age; rather, entertainment and perspective drives are increasingly engaged simultaneously. It is also possible that

there is a morality drive which English learning begins to play a part in engaging. This idea will be incorporated into the formal, expanded model (see Section 8.2.4) but is far too hypothetical to incorporate into the basic model.

Figure 6.2 gives a visual representation of how perspective drive might either grow from, or complement, entertainment drive as English learning becomes a more heartfelt and intellectualised activity than ‘mere’ enjoyment or fun. The comparatively simple interest and curiosity of a child develops into reasoned justification for multilingualism.

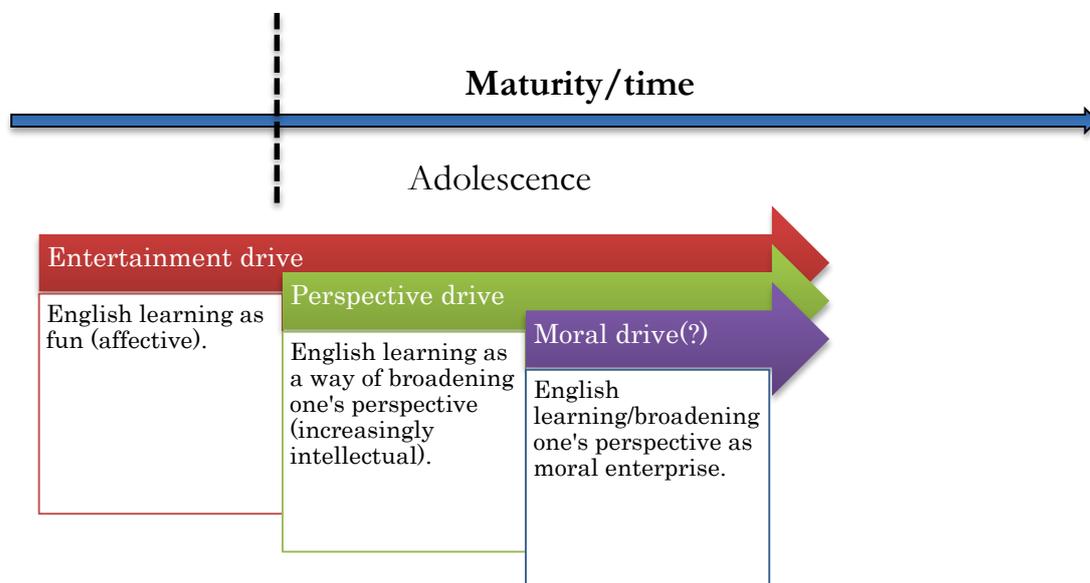


Figure 6.2. Entertainment/perspective drives over time.

It should be noted that the key category here—the one that is most salient in the data, and central to the analysis—is the perspective drive. Entertainment and moral drives constitute a hypothetical chronological contextualisation. See Section 8.3.6 for more discussion of this issue.

6.3 Status drive

Towards the end of the introduction to this chapter I presented an extract from Daisuke in which he claimed to be motivated by the way in which his ability to communicate differentiates him from others. It is this aspect of language learning to which I now turn. I show how English ability is not only a way to learn about the world, but a yardstick against which to judge one's success, a validation of one's investment in the language, and an aspect of one's identity—how one sees and understands oneself, and how one wishes to be seen by others. All of these aspects can be explained by positing that there is a fundamental drive to accrue symbolic and material resources that serve to enhance self-worth (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Status drive is the drive to accrue, through learning English, demonstrable ability, for this ability to be recognised by others, and to feel that one is worthy of respect, or deemed successful in the eyes of one's peers, parents or society. In other words, it is the motivation to make a 'success' of oneself compared to others, and in the eyes of others.

How status is understood and measured, and the particular symbolic resources that the learner associates with this status, is likely to vary considerably between learners. In the current data set, for example, Nana and Daisuke attach importance to *differentiation from others*, while Ryota derives status from successful engagement in competition and rivalry with others. For Koichi and Manami, status drive appears to play a less prominent role in motivating their language learning. For this reason, in this section I address the status-drive related testimony of each participant in turn. However, taken collectively, I am confident that the data justify the general theoretical category. I now provide extracts from the interview transcripts with commentary to argue my case.

Empirical support

Nana's testimony supporting the status drive concept takes the form of a narrative of failure, struggle, and success. According to this narrative, her particularly strong perspective drive derives from her

experiences as a child:

Extract 6.15

J Why did you take English and think ok this is what should...this is what I should focus on

N Ah, ok ok ok . Ok if I'm good at math—actually I am good at it—nobody will recognise it.

Nobody will realise my skill of mathematics. But English is conversation people can actually see if I spoke English and they will think “oh she can speak English. Amazing”. That's the impression they will get from me, right. So it's easier to impress people {laughs embarrassedly}

J Why?

N Why I want to impress?

J Yeah I'm sure everybody has something like this but why do you...

N Because nobody said “oh you're a good girl or good at doing something”, they think of me as a fool. And even my father thought that I wouldn't be good at anything so that's why I also thought I'm not going to be good at anything, but once I went to England and Canada and I got a TOEIC score and also IELTS score the people say “you are really good”, you know. That experience I never had

J But I mean when you were young you had some friends, you had your cousin.

N Yeah. They also thought I'm not good at anything

J But they're still your friends.

N Yeah it's not bullying but it's my friends of me easy to me to say kind of rude things as a joke

J As a joke, and...and you laughed...but somewhere...

N yeah in the bottom my heart you thought kind of sad, you know...I don't like these jokes
(N/3)

Evidently Nana's pursuit of English is connected with how she sees herself and how she wants to be seen by others. In another interview she recounts being told by friends that she looked really good in terms of confidence after spending six months in Canada—that she had grown mentally and become more mature. She claims not to have been able to imagine becoming like *this* (i.e. an English-speaker in an interview with me). Her old friends are apparently very impressed that she is in university: “They thought I would be in a prison or just walking the street...” (N/2). When Nana is complemented by her friends, she feels vindicated in her decision to study English. A possible source of the idea that English ability can serve as a form of symbolic resource may be detected in the following extract:

Extract 6.16

N ...I was interested in music and also...movies, and I was kind of like envy the people who can speak English

J Do you remember any particular...

N ...I watched TV there is this Hollywood star. Behind her there is this interpreter speaking you know to the celebrity, yes, and I kind of *wow*, you know, if I could speak English that could be the job or something you know I dreamed about this I guess I just wanted to communicate

J but with...you can communicate with Japanese people so...why...why English?

N I wanted to have some skill, you know, one talent, you know, that everyone can be proud of. I mean I wasn't good at doing anything at the time {in junior high school} and I didn't feel any confidence but if I can speak English then people are, you know, “wow you can speak English” and they look at me differently... (N/3)

English ability, Nana explains, is something that she, and other people can be *proud* of. This anecdote forms an interesting contrast with the anecdote related in the following extract, in which Nana recalls the reaction of venue staff where she worked as a volunteer guide for the Kyoto marathon. Together, they constitute two ends of a narrative of suffering, and ultimately overcoming, adversity.

Extract 6.17

N ... {at} the marathon there was a place like they were organising...yes and the staff looked at me a little like “here comes the lazy university student”. They looked at me like that but as soon as I spoke English it changed the way they looked at me

...

N That’s what I did and they looked at me like “wow”. At first you know “her hair is brown²² and put too much make-up on” but then after I spoke English they changed the way looked at me so...

J And how did you feel?

N Felt good really I had the really...how do you say. I didn’t feel confidence when I was young

J Mmm

N And how do you say I forgot...<hyouka>, I had a low evaluation of myself, so that’s why once they said “wow you can speak English” and then I felt “wow English could be the things I can feel like you know proud, confident” (N/3)

The satisfaction that Nana feels is contrasted with the dissatisfaction she recounts feeling as a child.

English, as the currency with which this satisfaction and esteem is earned, has for her a symbolic value.

²² Non-dyed hair (black, for most Japanese) is seen as conservative. Many high schools do not allow dyed hair, and for job interviews etc. it is frowned upon.

I will now examine how Daisuke's English learning can be explained as a way of engaging the status drive. The following series of extracts show quite clearly that Daisuke wishes to be differentiated from others, and that he sees English ability as a means of achieving this aim:

Extract 6.18

J What is English for you? What is it?

D Probably my identity. [right]. My English is not perfect, but this is what I can do better than normal people, yeah, this is the tool to describe that I am Daisuke {family name}, my er...who I am, what kind of things I can do...those things. Identity. I like that word... (D/2)

Extract 6.19

...I still have that pride right now that, you know, I have more opportunities {than his peers} to communicate with people from different countries... (D/2)

Extract 6.20

D Like my father, I actually enjoy talking with people from different countries.

J Why is that, do you think?

D This part is difficult I don't have the vocabulary to explain it...I don't think this is the best way...that I'm special...<yuunou> {able, capable}? Something like positive I feel superior than other people you know communicating in English something like that not everybody can do so naturally...when I do this I feel that I'm good at it that I'm different, I mean better than other people. I feel pride, the long nosed thing—braggart. I think that's the reason... (D/3)

English, Daisuke explains, is something he can do better than normal people, something that gives him more opportunities than his peers, and something that makes him superior and different. In Extract 6.18 the connection with the self-concept is evident (although it should be noted that I introduced the concept of *identity* several turns earlier).

Nana and Daisuke are by far the most unequivocal in testifying to the prestige that learning English can bring. Ryota, by contrast, appears to derive status or self-worth from rivalry. For him, English ability is proof of having succeeded in the ‘fight’ rather than the object of status in itself:

Extract 6.21

R In the workshop class I take now. Mr Smith, and we are supposed to make a brief film 5 to 6 minutes...a commercial, and I worked on it with my friend who was in Australia for 5 months so he had a good command of English and he’s kind of rival and...push myself

J Competition...

R Yeah

J Are you competitive with each other?

R Yeah

J In a friendly way?

R Both...he passed the <eiken> {an English proficiency test} first grade...so he’s a good rival who always influences my efforts on my learning English and language as well...

J How about...in your interview it comes out that you like competition you are quite competitive. Is that still an important part of...

R Yes

J For example...

R Yes, erm, in the process of looking for a job or...getting a job is always competitive because

I must compete with smart university or prestigious universities like <Toudai> {Tokyo University} so always comparing to, so, yeah, I think I can say I'm in a competitive environment where everyone is eager to get the ideal job (R/3)

Extract 6.22

I have a good rival whose English is great and his name is Hajime, and when he is around me I will fade into the background, so, not to be that, I always try to push me over {push myself} (R/1)

Ryota often uses 'rival' when we might expect the more obvious choice of word to be 'friend'. My understanding is not that he seeks one-upmanship—to be distinguished from them in the way that, for example, Daisuke wishes to be distinguished from 'normal people'. Rather, he views rivals as role models worthy of emulation—a friendship of rivalry is a healthy friendship to Ryota's mind. How, then, is this rivalry connected to status? The following extract, from the very end of the third interview may indicate the source of this competitive spirit. It appears that for Ryota, status may be tied up with distinguishing himself from one person in particular: his twin brother:

Extract 6.23

I never said this to my parents but I sometimes think “why am I a twin?” because in primary and junior high school we belong to the same baseball club and the others compared him with me—school performance and baseball performance and somehow for some reason I became depressed and I wish I were like him and then I thought oh what I could do and I could be I could win...was English or learning languages (R/3)

Extract 6.24

R I struggled finding something that beats him

J Right, was it beating him or you want to be unique, or you just wanted to beat him

R Beat him, yeah, as rival, so that nobody compares him with me (R/3)

Extract 6.25

J How big an influence do you think your brother has been? Constant important influence or...

R Yeah constant. Always rival (R/3)

These last five minutes of the final interview with Ryota tied together neatly multiple aspects of his testimony. They cause me to wonder what other revelations such as this *might not have been told* by Ryota and the other participants.

The desire for differentiation is less salient, but not completely absent from the remaining participant accounts. Manami recalls how her classmates in elementary school thought it was cool that she could write English:

Extract 6.26

Because I want to speak English with friends but many friends in elementary school doesn't know English, [mmm] so if we, I write some English or erm <romaji> {roman alphabet} [yeah] so, my friends, surprised at "you can speak or write English. Oh! Good! Cool!"... {laughs} yeah, like that... (M/2)

In Koichi's case status drive does not appear to play a particularly important role. Status drive appears to be engaged through English learning only *indirectly*. In the first of the following two extracts we were

discussing how his English test scores were bolstered by his out-of-school studies at a cram school, and that his classmates were not necessarily aware of this:

Extract 6.27

J Was it deliberate? Did you deliberately keep it a secret...[no no no] because then people think “Oh Koichi’s clever”...

K Aaahhh...some of my friends told me I was really smart. I didn’t say...a lot {laugh together} in the average {English test scores} I was the highest (K/2)

Extract 6.28

K The bad experiences also I think they are good experiences

J In retrospect

K Yes I have a lot of Japanese friends all so but none of them had this kind of experience I had so many trouble but none of them had this kind of experience (K/1)

Higher test scores and the accrual of life experiences—consequences of English study—may be connected to status or self-worth. However, Koichi claims not to take pride in English *itself* as something that distinguishes him:

Extract 6.29

J ...do you think this is true for you, do you think for you English is something that makes you unique, stand out, like an ego thing at all.

K I don’t think [in] that way, because I know lots of people who are good at English...yes, if I can speak Russian, whatever, I think that I can stand out. I can show off...but maybe English

maybe foreigners take it for granted that anybody can speak English... (K/3)

Presumably the role of status drive is contingent in part on whom one chooses or tends to judge oneself against, and how one relates more generally to other people. Analysis is, of course, made difficult by the differing degrees of openness that participants may feel in discussing the desire to accrue status, the different ways they define it, and the degree of modesty they display in the interview, consciously or otherwise, but can be little doubt that English learning is involved to some extent in efforts to engage the drive to accrue status.

At the risk of venturing into territory that is less than strictly grounded in the data, I should like to make a few observations of how status drive may evolve over time. The data appear to suggest that early manifestation of status drive is based on pleasing one's parents, that in adolescence one begins to compare oneself more to classmates, and later still one views oneself favourably or not in terms of a 'young person', citizen, or job-seeker. The Japanese concept of *seken* may be of heuristic use here. Sugimoto (2010) describes *seken* as an imagined community that extends beyond primary communities such as family, colleagues and neighbours, but stops short of the nation. It is the largest unit of social interaction, imagined or otherwise. It holds: "the normative power of approving or disapproving of and sanctioning individual behaviour", and "it is often said that if one deviates from social norms, *seken* will not accept one. If one does something shameful, one will not be able to face *seken*. One should not expect *seken* to be lenient and permissive..." (p. 301). Figure 6.3 offers a hypothetical visual representation of how perspective drive might be engaged through interaction with a growing number of people over time. For young children, parents' approval and support mediate self-worth. As they grow older and start school, the group grows to include friends and peers, and during adolescence, they start to think in terms of the wider world, or *seken*.

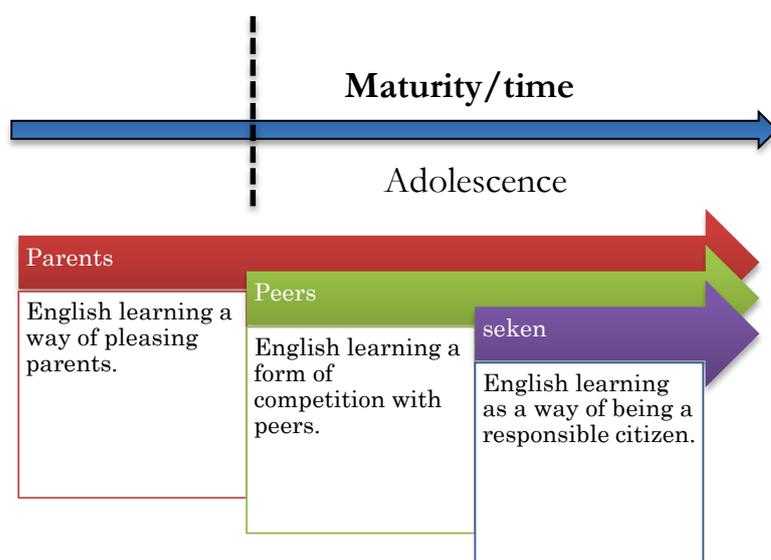


Figure 6.3. Key Mediators of status drive over time²³.

Like any symbolic resource, knowledge or skill, English ability can be understood to have some kind of value in terms of how one enters into relation with others in certain situations, and how one is seen and valued by others. The status drive category was strongly present in the data, but it is a more complex category than perspective drive, and I therefore I had some difficulty in choosing an appropriate label for it (it started life as ‘accomplishment drive’). There is an obvious connection between status drive and the maintenance of self-esteem. I shall explore this relationship in more detail in Section 8.1.3 when I review the ELMS theory in the light of the existing literature.

6.4 Communication drive

Engaging in interaction with others appears to be an end in itself for some participants. *Communication drive* is the drive to enter into verbal communicative interaction with others. It is slightly more difficult to determine what the learner gains by engaging this drive than it is for the other drives. Through

²³ This figure is subject to the same caveat following figure 6.2: the key category here is peers, while parents and *seken* form a hypothetical chronological contextualisation.

engaging the perspective drive, for example, the learner learns about the world and his/her place within it; by engaging the status drive the learner accrues symbolic capital; through engaging the entertainment drive, the learner satisfies curiosity and has fun. What benefits does verbal interaction for its own sake bring? Perhaps Manami comes closest to answering this question when she claims that, for her, communication involves a feeling of closeness, the establishing of a relationship in which one can appreciate, and be appreciated by, others:

Extract 6.30

J So what's the purpose of communication? to...

M To...know the person's feeling, and know what the person we want to something. I want to know that

J You want to know what they want

M Yes. It's my maybe goal, because it connects to service and I said I want to be said by person "thank you" or "I needed you" so, yes... (M/3)

The participant testimony that first alerted me to the possibility of the category communication drive is contained in the following extract in which Nana relates her experience upon arriving in Canada:

Extract 6.31

N ...so I thought maybe I was really stupid at the time I thought like maybe just going there I could speak English but you know it wasn't true I [had] to work really hard I bought this reference book from the Japanese bookstore in Canada and then I studied at least six hours a day every single day, wanted to communicate. My biggest motivation was to communicate, yeah, at that time

J You *had* to communicate

N I wanted, I really wanted to... (N/1)

Even in an environment where, I suggest, she *had* to communicate, Nana corrected me, insisting that it was *wanting to*, rather than *having to* communicate that drove her to study and practise English so intensively in Canada. This was not simply communication to achieve particular ends (although I am sure it was this too) but communication at least in part for communication's sake. I decided to check my take on matters by returning to the topic the next time I talked to Nana:

Extract 6.32

J Was there anything before this suggestion from your cousin that you were, you know, interested in Speaking in English

N My hobby was just to communicate with people that's the only thing that I loved to do so...in Canada I need to speak English so that's why.

J In the last interview I said *had* to communicate and you actually corrected me and said "no I *wanted* to communicate"

N Oh. Mmm true. It is both feeling. I want to but I need to at the same time (N/2)

Although this was not quite as emphatic an assertion as she made in the first interview, it seems clear that Nana used English more than was strictly necessary for pragmatic purposes.

Empirical support

The following extracts provide additional empirical support for this category. Nana describes communication as something that she is innately drawn to:

Extract 6.33

I am the kind of person who really wants to communicate with people so I've got to speak English, right? (N/1)

When communication is not possible, dissatisfaction is an inevitable consequence:

Extract 6.34

...when I went to Canada...I tried to communicate which I couldn't cos I couldn't use English at all, so I felt really stress and struggle with it, and that's how I started to learn English (N/2)

When Nana first arrived in Canada she had to draw pictures on her notepad in order to communicate.

It seems that the drive to communicate overrode any self-consciousness this caused:

Extract 6.35

I felt stress *not* talking to anyone. I wanted to...even if they feel annoyed me talking to them of really strange English but I still wanted to... (N/3)

Manami also speaks in terms similar to Nana:

Extract 6.36

J What's your goal?

M Maybe my goal is...mmm maybe it is easy {simplistic?} but talking is my goal (M/3)

She describes her desire to communicate as being bound up with the idea of helping people to relax, and achieving closeness with people:

Extract 6.37

I want to speak with relax the person so I want to study first English and second is now German. I want to speak with relax and, erm get close, yeah, so I want to study foreign languages now... (M/2)

Extract 6.38

J So you like people

M Yes people, I like them, and talking is my forte...I love talking (M/1)

The connection that Manami draws between communication and service (which includes the desire to be thanked by people) caused me some analytical concerns. Should this be seen as a form of status drive, whereby she derives status from being appreciated by others? It is certainly a possibility, and there is no reason why ‘being thanked by people’ cannot at the same time be understood as the process of engaging both the status drive and communication drive. The reader may also recall the symbolic role played by Manami’s repeated watching of the movie *Titanic* (Section 5.5), and the strong feelings she experienced in connection the scene highlighting the importance of language ability in saving lives. This element in Manami’s motivation is also seen in her choice of future career as a station attendant:

Extract 6.39

...in a station in a station have the person and the person see the maybe the person the person “how do I go somewhere” so I can answer, or “How I buy this ticket”. I can say something so

it's also service so...yes, I see the station and...yeah service, I want talk with someone (M/3)

Although this possible future is not directly connected with English, it fits with Manami's general disposition towards English or other pursuits. In Section 8.1.1 I suggest that communication drive, particularly as it appears to be manifested in Manami's testimony, may correspond to Maslow's concept of *love needs*—the need for affectionate relations with others and a valued place in a social group (Maslow, 1943).

Communication drive is the simplest of the proposed drives. Put simply, humans are social animals and communication with others is a fundamental drive. Communication for communication's sake appears to be particularly marked among the female participants. Perhaps innate factors are at play here (see Section 8.1.2), and there may also be a social dimension, possibly connected with the relative 'openness' of non-Japanese interlocutors and gender-related aspects of Japanese language, interaction, and society. This idea is explored further in Section 7.1.2.

6.5 Conclusion to part one of the analysis and segue to part two

In this chapter I introduced the basic ELMS theory, which explains English learning behaviour in terms of the engagement of four fundamental drives. This theory was derived by means of thematic analysis conducted according to a grounded theory methodology. To conclude this chapter, and to provide a bridge to the second part of the analysis, I will problematise this model by showing how learning behaviour is about more than these unconscious drives. I do this by drawing attention to an aspect of the data that is there for all to see, yet is not addressed by model, namely the way in which participants are reflective agents who portray their behaviour as being led not by unconscious drives (as I have portrayed it in this chapter), but by thoughts, understandings, rationalisations, decision-making, and circumstances.

Some have argued that cognitive processes are unimportant in terms of their power to explain behaviour. Maslow (1943), for example, viewed everyday desires—aspects of cognition to which subsequent theorists would pay so much attention—as “surface indicators of more basic needs” (p. 394). He advised against taking them as the principal object of study, because this would cause the researcher to be in: “a state of complete confusion that could never be resolved” (ibid.), perhaps like a doctor who is forever trying to understand and treat symptoms rather than the underlying disease. I sympathise with Maslow’s view. My analysis so far has been conducted on the understanding that the things that the participants say and think are clues to a more fundamental explanation of behaviour—that there is something underlying this ‘surface activity’. Maslow’s rationale can, however, be subjected to at least two objections. First, it is an appeal to theoretical parsimony, and this in itself does not discount the possibility that the conscious might exert an influence on behaviour, only that it is *tidier* to explain it in terms of drives. Second, the principle of emergence which has become an established part of our understanding of how the world works since Maslow’s time—the idea that phenomena can consist of more than the sum of their parts—teaches us that structure does not simply follow on a building-block basis from the atom upwards. Rather, higher order structures may emerge from lower order structures *and then exert influence on these lower order structures*. Thus, for example, consciousness can be considered as emergent from drives and other elements, but consciousness can then dictate to an extent the work that the brain does, thereby mediating behaviour.

It is perhaps easy to discount the influence of the conscious when it seems straightforwardly to be working *with* drive engagement. We may be likely to consciously desire what our unconscious needs dictate, even if the particular form of this desire depends on context and culture. Consider, for example, the way in which the awareness of *not* being special ‘motivated’ Manami:

Extract 6.40

M ...every student can speak English and yes reading is good and writing is good and speaking is good everyone can use the English so I'm I think I have to study more and more hard because everyone can speak...everyone can use English so not... I'm not special in this school.

J Before that you went to ECC so you could speak some English

M Yes more than the classmates...so the ALT come the class and he says something and I can understand but everyone can't understand is junior high school but in high school everyone can understand so "Oh, I'm not special" so I have to study more and more because I want it said you are a good student by my mother I love my mother so...maybe (M/3)

Manami was cognisant of how her status was lacking, and how English study was a valid way to improve matters, but it could reasonably be argued that this conscious awareness is 'window dressing', and that Manami's behaviour was in fact dictated by the engagement of status drive. It is perhaps more difficult to discount the role played by conscious awareness such as the fear of failure. Consider the following examples from Ryota, in which he recalls a relatively traumatic communication event with a foreigner in a train station (for a full account, see Section 7.3.2):

Extract 6.41

R ...and I just wish I had the motivation in the class before I met the man in the station, yeah

J You were thinking this at that time, yeah

R The word 'station' reminds me of the experience (R/2)

Extract 6.42

...even now I still remember when talk to...I...guide the tourist around temples and shrines and when the words don't come up this is the same thing... {that happened in the station} The same feeling I had... (R/3)

It seems that this event is a powerful symbolic reminder of failure. I use the term *symbolic* because it is not a particularly *realistic* example of failure—Ryota is already proficient in English, and would have no problem giving directions to a stranded tourist these days. It is an event, or the memory of an event, that guards against complacency by reminding the learner of the consequences of failure. We can conjecture (it is impossible to measure directly) that this 'lesson' helps to keep his learning on track. It seems reasonable to at least consider the possibility that learner consciousness of this variety is likely to play a supporting role (or perhaps a hindering role; in any case *some type of role*) in mediating drive engagement.

Another way in which consciousness can be argued to play an actual rather than symptomatic role is in supporting self-worth. In the following excerpt, Daisuke explains why he gets such high grades at university despite claiming to hate studying:

Extract 6.43

D I don't like studying but I don't like to be seen that I'm a bad student. Or stupid? Stupid, lazy students, those things. Negative impression. From my teachers, from my classmates. Those two things: I hate studying, I hate the negative impression from people. Which one is worse, I thought...impressions. From my point of view, you know...I'm afraid of *this* more than...I don't like *this* one {gestures}. That's why I kept studying.

J Why are you so scared? What's so bad about...who cares, you know, so what? Why do you

care so much about looking bad?

D I don't know. {to himself} Why? {to me} That's a difficult question. That's a difficult question...Why? I don't know if this can be the answer to that question, but I like to be seen that I'm a good person, that I'm a good student, that I'm a nice person (D/3)

In order to reconcile the fact that he studies extremely hard with the fact that he actually hates studying, Daisuke explains that he fears looking bad *even more than* he hates studying. We might say that Daisuke is torn between engaging the entertainment drive (doing something more fun than studying) and the status drive (studying). Whether this explains behaviour (i.e. consciousness is playing an explicit role in shaping behaviour) or rationalises it (consciousness plays an indirect role in supporting self-worth), consciousness certainly seems to be playing some sort of consequential role.

In light of examples such as these, it is difficult to maintain that these cognitions are merely symptomatic. How people feel about themselves and their environment appears, either directly or indirectly, to hold consequences for their behaviour (see Section 8.2 for further discussion of the role of consciousness/agency). In the following chapter it will be shown that consciousness is one of multiple of elements in relation with which the drives of the basic ELMS model can be understood to function.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS (PART TWO)

In the latter half of the 20th century, researchers within psychology replaced needs and drives with attributions, goals, and self-discrepancy as concepts explaining human behaviour. Their theories focused on how mental structures, information-processing mechanisms and cognitive representations were implicated in action (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). It is cognition, they argued, that “arouses motives and emotions, and guides overt behavior toward its target or goal” (Baldwin, 1969, p. 326). Against this backdrop, the basic ELMS model presented in the previous chapter seems almost archaic. It relegates cognition to the background, where it plays a secondary role to the more fundamental and unconscious need to maximise self-fulfilment. In addition, and in contrast to more recent CDST perspectives, or to Ushioda’s (2009) concept of the person-in-context, the basic ELMS model treats the social world as an arena that may enable or constrain self-fulfilment behaviour, rather than something with which the individual forms some kind of ‘unit’. How can the ‘old-fashioned’ nature of the ELMS model be justified? First, I would argue, as does Maslow (1943), that the focus on drives, rather than cognition, offers a more theoretically parsimonious explanation of participant behaviour. This desire for parsimony undoubtedly influenced my analysis, particularly given the inductive rather than theory-driven nature of the study: faced with a rich data set I wished to answer a broad question—how language learning can be explained—in as straightforward a way as possible, rather than building on currently fashionable theory. The treatment of the agent and environment as disparate elements, too, may derive from the data-driven nature of the model. Participants view themselves in terms of individuals acting in the world, where the ‘individual’ and the ‘world’ are clearly differentiated, and this view is reflected in the model. Researchers too, when they are not consciously trying to ‘problematise’ the world, tend to think in such terms. Perhaps, for example, I was asking myself “Why is she doing this?” (where the question and answer are framed in terms of ‘she’, not ‘she-in-context’), instead of the more neutral ‘What’s going on here?’. This can be contrasted with the constructionist view of the social

science theorist who is ‘on guard’, or in ‘critical mode’, who will tend to see clear distinctions between agency/structure, self/other as naïve or simplistic. The preceding is not an apology for the basic ELMS model—a simple abstract model by definition can only address a limited number of aspects of behaviour—but an attempt to set the stage for the second part of the analysis, in which I draw on what the data reveal about context and cognition to paint a more complex picture of learning behaviour. The question I ask is how the drives of the basic ELMS model are mediated by, and function in relation with, other elements of the data. I have grouped my observations into the following three themes that I found to be particularly salient:

- i) Culture
- ii) Institutions
- iii) Revelations

It strikes me that the first two of these elements can be thought of in terms of identity. *Culture* can be taken to mean what it means to learn English ‘as a Japanese’, and *institutions* to mean what it means to learn English ‘as a student.’ *Revelations* refers to events that appear to have influenced language-learning behaviour, and that retain symbolic power for a long time after the event. I have used the results of the analysis to develop the extended ELMS model, shown in figure 7.1, which is intended as a hypothetical general model of language learning.

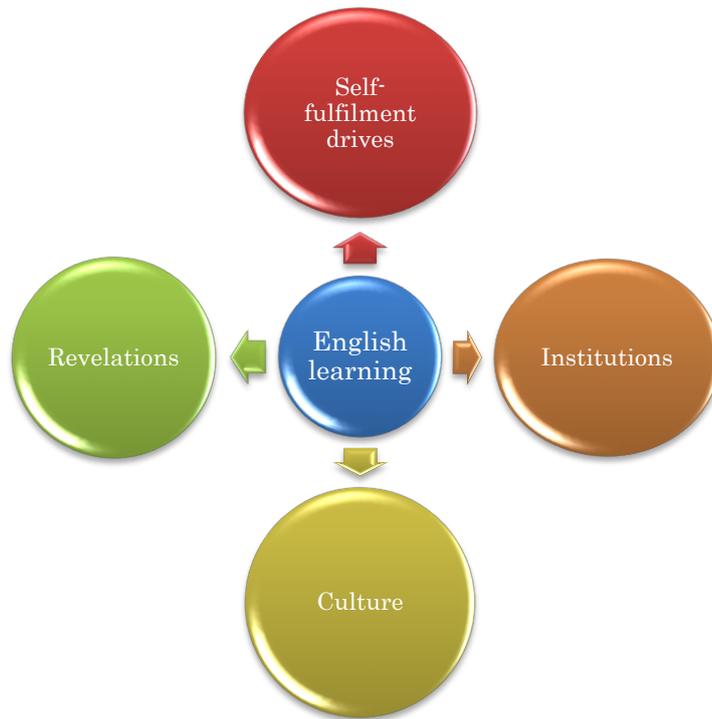


Figure 7.1. The extended ELMS model.

The extended ELMS model explains language-learning behaviour as a function of the three elements introduced above, in addition to the self-fulfilment drives introduced in the previous chapter. I organise the analysis by asking what the data can tell us about the relationship between the four drives and the three additional elements. By doing so I am not assuming the pre-eminence of drives over other elements. It is simply a straightforward analytical framework that allows me to build theoretically on the insights of the previous chapter. In principle, this provides 12 aspects of the data to consider, as shown in Table 7.1.

	E. DRIVE	P. DRIVE	S. DRIVE	C. DRIVE
Culture (Section 7.1)		✓		✓
Institutions (Section 7.2)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Revelations (Section 7.3)		✓	✓	

Table 7.1. Analysis matrix.

In practice, space and the limitations of the data set preclude a comprehensive treatment of them all. For example, I could not raise any significant insights into how English learning engages the entertainment drive from a Japanese standpoint (i.e. the relationship between *culture* and *entertainment drive*). The same is true of the relationship between *culture* and *status drive*: I have already shown how English ability differentiates one from peers, thereby conferring status on the learner in the Japanese context (see Section 6.3), given that English proficiency levels are generally low. There may be additional ways in which the position of English within the Japanese education system, and wider cultural beliefs about the importance of English study, hold consequences for the engagement of the status drive. However, I do not find myself in possession of additional insight to include in this section. I therefore do not pursue this line of analysis. As can be seen from Table 7.1, eight of the twelve potential categories are addressed in the following section. It goes without saying that these categories are not mutually exclusive. Teachers, for example, can play both an institutional role and a ‘people’ role.

7.1 Learning English as a Japanese

In this section I analyse the relationship between perspective and communication drives and learning English ‘as a Japanese’—aspects shaded in blue in Table 7.1. As I have shown in the first part of the

analysis, the participants all profess a strong and consistent interest in speaking to foreigners and engaging with the cultures they represent. In this section, I argue that the engagement of self-fulfilment drives in the Japanese context is not only a function of the allure of the unknown, but also of one's position to the familiar. Table 7.2 sets the scene for the subsequent analysis by listing a representative sample of the participant portrayals of Japanese and foreigners encountered in the data.

JAPANESE	FOREIGNERS
Quiet, shy, keeping their thoughts to themselves	Open
Tending to have similar opinions to each other	Having a wide view
Good at cooperation. Liking harmony	Individualistic
Unlikely to speak in front of the whole class	Eager to offer answers
Modest	Show-offs
Not so friendly	Kind, friendly
Not good at speaking English	
Not good at communicating with foreigners	
Sticking together in a study abroad situation, tending not to make foreign friends	

Table 7.2. Participant portrayals of Japanese and foreigners.

7.1.1 Perspective drive and culture

If Japanese and foreigners are seen as being fundamentally different, it follows that learning about or experiencing this difference is a way of engaging the perspective drive, and that English is a tool to use to do this. I will now give some examples of how this general inference is supported by the data. I start by giving a more in-depth example of the information given in Table 7.1 before moving onto examples that shed light on the way in which the engagement of the perspective drive works in the Japanese

context. In the following extract, Koichi discusses the differences between Japanese people and foreigners:

Extract 7.1

K I feel that, compared with Japanese people, Americans don't care what they are looked by someone. They have their own identity. For example this is not such a good example, but if I'm Japanese in April, or maybe in March or February if I wear only this T-shirt: "What is he doing, it's fucking cold outside" but Americans do this...

J Nobody would notice

K Nobody would notice in America, but in Japan in summertime if you are a sweater, "What the fuck is he wearing—it's too hot." But in America, nobody cares about it, like, Japan is composed by one race, like, in Japan we are all Japanese, and our ancestors are also Japanese but in America the culture is a very mixed up from Australia, Japan, Africa, China so their way of thinking is very open and they don't care about, like, tiny things...

J You kind of understand other people's background, upbringing, to a certain extent

K Yeah, maybe easier than other countries, but in America, everybody has different opinion and also their character is, like, they want to show off what they have: "I can do this I can do this", this style is very...

J In Japan: "I can't do this. I can't do this"

K Yeah, if you {i.e. an interlocutor} say "your English is a very good." "No no not really". This style. In Japan...we cannot see a bunch of genius people because education is kind of well-balanced, so, no Einstein or...but maybe in America there are more genius people but who are not good at other subjects, but very interested in one subject...can learn what he want to learn in America, but in Japan we have to learn the subject that is decided by teachers... (K/1)

Koichi asserts that Americans do not care what others think of them, that they have their own identity, their own opinions, that they want to 'show off what they have', and that their education allows them to excel in certain areas. These characteristics are contrasted with Japanese characteristics of modesty, and cultural and educational homogeneity. The exploration of this difference offers the opportunity to engage the perspective drive. The following extract is intriguing in that Koichi claims that his character changes when he speaks English, in that he becomes a little more American:

Extract 7.2

K The reason why I learned English was to be a teacher but now I brush up my English skills of course but I actually...like I said English is something to live with, so I just cannot live without it

J It's part of...your life. Part of you

K Yes. Part of me. English is...my character. When I'm speaking in English my character can be a little different from when I'm speaking in Japanese

J How is it different? For example...

K ...in the beginning, when I first started to learn English I was of course quiet...This happens to everybody.

J Because even if you want to say something you can't

K Yes. Just I can't. But since I learned English through American culture, when I'm speaking English my character is a little more like Americans

J Why is that. You have to fit in?

K Language is not only language. Language has strong character and, You know, at first when I'm learning English I have to listen to somebody and I just imitate what somebody says, and I learned, I listened through American and the way that I'm talking and what I'm saying to you is

also what I heard from some Americans maybe (K/3)

Koichi's comments are reminiscent of Gardner's (2001b) assertion that:

...learning a second language involves taking on the behavioural characteristics of another cultural group of people, and that this has implications for the individual. Language is an integral part of the individual, and is a significant part of the self...To take on another language therefore involves some modification of the self (Gardner, 2001b, pp. 3-4).

However, the impression I get is that at least some of 'modification of the self' appears to be temporary in nature, so that it might be more appropriate to describe it in terms of identity. This is in line with Guiora et al.'s (1972) concept of the language ego, according to which one feels "like a different person when speaking a second language and often indeed acts very differently as well" (p. 199). From Koichi's example we can hypothesise that engaging the perspective drive is not only a matter of learning about a language or culture, but of *assuming* that culture, if only temporarily—'living' the difference, so to speak.

The following series of extracts give an indication of how this positioning of difference, and learning through this difference, is nuanced differently according to the individual. Daisuke describes his feelings about the classroom culture in a school in the US, in particular the way in which students actively volunteer answers, as follows:

Extract 7.3

J Do you think it really is a Japanese thing?

D I saw students in the US I went to high school one time and I saw students you know...I felt wow this is a difference between us and them... (D/3)

Daisuke does not see this as a case of having to ‘choose sides’, though. He likes both cultures:

Extract 7.4

...er I like Japan. Yes, I like this country. Pretty much. I also like American culture. I like both cultures, but American and Japanese culture has different characteristics, like {greeting} people who I don’t know, daily life, way of communicating, spending time with friends, etc. etc. there are many aspects. I like both... (D/2)

He explains the role English plays as follows:

Extract 7.5

...and then...it’s quite difficult...er... haaarrgh... {to himself} How does it related to my English? {to me} I know how to speak in Japanese, so I can know or feel the good points of Japanese culture, but in order to learn American culture I still need my English skills improved... (D/1)

Learning American culture is seen as something self-enriching, and in order to do this, English is needed.

As can be seen from the following extract, Ryota sees Japanese and English speakers as

differentiated, and being in an English-speaking environment, surrounded by this difference (away from Japanese people), as educational:

Extract 7.6

...I thought I shouldn't be in the environment where there are a lot of Japanese or there are only Japanese because I think if I were in like that environment I would have kind of bias and prejudice against the overseas and I think I would perceive mistrust I mean perceive anything reported from overseas if I don't know the structure of language and the people as well (R/1)

Most of the participants position themselves fairly unproblematically as Japanese (albeit distinguished from the 'typical' Japanese), but Nana is somewhat different. As can be inferred by her use of 'they' in the following extract, she positions herself to some extent as an outsider:

Extract 7.7

They {Japanese people} accept everything. But in Japan it's more like that...people accept everything (N/1)

Generally speaking Nana positions herself as being *particularly* untypically Japanese because of her personality. She talks of not being able to understand or make sense of the Japanese way of doing things, for example when it comes to school rules. I asked her to her explain her thinking:

Extract 7.8

J And if somebody said to you "you are Japanese so why don't you understand?"

N I don't know maybe I'm a weird one. I wanted to have a reason why {i.e. she always asking

‘why’}. Like I been asking teachers “Why do we need to follow this rule? It doesn’t make sense.”

Even I don’t know. In Japan I always ask ‘why’? Why do these things like to be like that or like this? If there is a reason but in the Japanese the school rule doesn’t have reason (N/3)

She contrasts what she sees as constrictive, closed-minded Japanese education with the ‘wide view’ of her teachers in the UK, and describes English people as the type of people she can get along with:

Extract 7.9

...well, like I said, I didn’t really like the Japanese education system so I don’t know kind of like maybe it’s just my imagination but the people who, I mean the foreigners, I mean English people kind of had a wide view and kind of I love the teachers in my college Temple College I love the teachers and I love the way they think so that’s why I just wanna stay here and I wanna learn more in England and I love the atmosphere, yeah (N/1)

For the other participants, experiencing difference is something akin to ‘going on holiday’. For Nana, by contrast, it is more a form of liberation or release—a place where she can be herself.

In this section I have argued that Japan is understood by participants to possess a diametrically opposed culture to that of English-speaking cultures. On one side of this cultural ‘divide’ are the quiet, humble, cooperative Japanese; on the other, the outspoken, confident, individualistic foreigners. This perceived disparity between the two cultures, and the phenomenological experience of acting within both cultural and linguistic systems, offers a particularly strong motivational basis to language learning as a way of engaging the perspective drive.

7.1.2 Communication drive and culture

Different cultures have different communication styles, and it seems reasonable to expect that some of these communication styles might be more conducive to particular aspects of one's personality and proclivities than others. This section takes the position that engaging the *communication drive*—the desire to experience communicative human interaction—works differently between cultures, and that this might affect the motivation to learn a language.

This section consists principally of an extended extract taken from the third interview with Manami. Manami assigns at least some of the blame for the difficulties she encounters interacting in the Japanese context to the nature of Japanese language and communication style. She contrasts this constrictive communication style unfavourably with that of a particular English class at university. I have edited the transcript somewhat for readability and length, and broken it up into three sections separated by commentary. In the first section Manami talks about interacting in Japanese in her workplace.

Extract 7.10 (Part 1)

M ...talking is difficult...if I use Japanese because...selecting the word is difficult

J ...talking's difficult in Japanese?

M ...yes, because, so I talk with my boss I have to use <keigo> {honorific language}...respect words

J So you're saying this limits how much you can say or the kind of topic or...

M Yes topic, and <keigo> is difficult to remember...<mimasu, haiken shimasu> {normal vs. polite ways to say 'have a look'} are different but maybe not all Japanese people understand this but the boss knows {this} so if I use the wrong words {by mistake} the boss thinks "you don't know these so you don't have knowledge" so it is also difficult and I talk with my friend but

Japanese is some trouble because there are a little similar word or...sorry...do you know {the word} ‘connotation’? [Mmm] so Japanese love connotations...so we have to think what the sentence...what the meaning of this sentence or the words...so Japanese thinking is difficult to understand

J <kuuki o yomanai to...> {One has to ‘read the atmosphere’}

M Yes, so but...it is Japanese style...not...in other countries...sometimes we have to <kuki o yomu> in other countries yes of course, but not every time... (M/3)

Manami makes two points about interaction in Japanese. First, politeness forms—which are notoriously difficult for learners of Japanese to master (I can confirm this from personal experience)—can cause the Japanese problems too. While this is not a problem with friends, one can be judged as being uneducated or coarse if one misuses them when dealing with one’s ‘superiors’—for example in the workplace. Second, she observes that interaction in Japanese requires reading between the lines—the characteristic of a culture that Hall (1976) refers to as high context, i.e. one in which there is a relatively strong reliance on the context of communication rather than the content. Manami gives these two characteristics of communication in the Japanese context as explanations for the fact that ‘talking in Japanese is difficult’.

The following extract gives a concrete example of communication/interpersonal difficulties that Manami has encountered in the context of her university club activity, <kyuudou> {Japanese archery}:

Extract 7.10 (Part 2)

M ...every time I am said by my senior club mates “you shouldn’t say {such and such} because it make...”

J To the teacher or to the classmates?

M ...mmm to teacher or to club mates there yes, but...always said “don’t say that because it makes trouble”, or...

J Can you give me an example?

M My club mate, yes, ‘A’ {a person who shall remain nameless. The person is a <kohai>, i.e. younger than Manami, and new to the club}. ‘A’ always makes some trouble and I’m always annoyed by him

J You don’t like ‘A’ so much...annoying

M Yes, annoying, so I always said to ‘A’ “Why did you do this?” Or “Did you do {a certain task} in time for the deadline today?” He said “No. Why {are you always talking like this}...” and I said “If you can’t do your work please quit this club because this club is...you can’t work well...the club mates have trouble if you can’t do your job”...he is the accounting section

J Oh, right. Important.

M Yes, too important, when we go to somewhere or...we have a party or something, but he can’t work well, so {I told him that}. But ‘A’ {complained about this} to my senior club mate, who said {to me} “your thinking is...I understand your thinking but you cannot say that because he’s your club mate...if ‘A’ can’t work well you have to help him”...so, not I *help*, I *did* that work. Not help, I did all of the work, so, yes, trouble.

J Why is that a Japanese...is that a particularly Japanese problem?

M Yes, I think

J Why? You’re talking about <sempai kouhai> {senior/junior} relations?

M I said truly

J Too direct

M Yes. I...don't say different story... {indirectly}.

J Indirect...

M So...if I don't say "please quit this club" what I supposed to say? I told my senior "'A' didn't work so I have to {do his job for him}...I said {to 'A'} 'please do that' but he didn't do anything". {Anyway, my senior {told me} I have to change the words

J You have to say it in a different way

M Yes

J For example

M {for example} "If you do not do it we will have to do it for you because your work is not completed"

J OK

M So "Please do that", or "If you're busy I'll help you so let's do this together". But his work...I have also my own work. *Why?* So {the senior club member} said be kind to him, but I'm also busy and tired, so why do I {have to} save him I can't understand. He's always...the Japanese want to...the Japanese don't say directly. If {they do so} the person think maybe "I hate you" or ...but change the word. The Japanese are like this...*this*... (M/3)

From Manami's perspective the problem is that her club mate is (in my own words) a 'waste of space', but according to the communication rules she is not allowed to express this opinion. In fact by expressing this opinion *she* is the one acting inappropriately (at least according to her club-mate). This may be an aspect of Japanese culture that does not suit Manami's personality. She says of herself "the

saying is faster than the thinking I so I have some trouble with people” (M/3).

In the final part of this excerpt, Manami recalls the feeling of liberation from Japanese-style communication that comes in the form of English class activities:

Extract 7.10 (part 3)

M ...do you know {name of teacher}?

J Maybe not

M He is {my teacher} and he always says “Japanese want to keep their thinking secret so in this class you have to say your thinking so we {are going to have a} discussion and if you... {must say} “I absolutely agree” or something...not “I agree *but...*” or something or “your thinking is good *but...*” but “I disagree...” {i.e. don’t sugar-coat your disagreement. Say it strongly and directly}

J What happens...do the students follow his...instructions...

M Err...but I feel relaxed.

J You think it’s helpful

M Yes, and er he said “Japanese like harmony but this class harmony is not needed”. And we have to prepare the ‘hot’ discussion questions...so ‘yes’ and ‘no’ {teams?} are divided, and we have to say directly and we attacked but I’m enjoyable

J Oh you enjoyed that

M Yes, because I can attack and I can say directly. I’m free

J Yes

M So I enjoy and I can say big voice and yes...use a lot of debate skill so that...in Japanese {if}

we did this debate we can discuss and say our opinion. *Not* attack. So just I agree with this topic because...and stop. But in this class “You said this statement and this is not correct” and attack at that point. Japanese is not {Japanese do not do it in this way}... (M/3)

Manami describes the opportunity to speak her opinion freely, to ‘attack’, as relaxing and liberating (“I’m free”). We can hypothesise that English is one way in which to deviate, take a break, or escape from social norms and communication rules. With Manami this appears to be true even of the ‘artificial’ environment of the English classroom (she has never been abroad).

Perhaps gender comes into play here, since it can be argued that constraints on communication in Japanese are, linguistically and pragmatically, more marked for women. There is some support in the literature for the idea that Japanese women in particular may feel a sense of liberation when speaking English (cf. Takahashi, 2012). As my own data set does not appear to have too much to say about this issue I shall limit myself to this observation, but it is perhaps significant that the extracts that provide the supporting evidence for this section come from a female participant.

7.2 Learning English as a student

In this section I examine the relationship between engaging in English learning as a means of self-fulfilment and formal educational institutions in Japan (aspects of the data shaded in green in Table 7.1). The data support stereotypical portrayals of formal English lessons in Japanese junior high school and (to a lesser extent) high school as being teacher-centred, based on the step-by-step introduction of grammar through the use of textbooks, involving the memorisation of testable knowledge, with this testing being the measure of one’s success within these institutions (see Chapter 3). The main message to take away is that compulsory English lessons do not provide an environment conducive to the engagement in English learning as a means of self-fulfilment. I begin by addressing the ways in which

schools fail to provide an environment amenable to drive engagement. I then examine the more positive aspects of the school environment.

7.2.1 Lack of drive engagement opportunities in the classroom

I begin by giving three examples of Ryota learning languages in different contexts. First, consider the following account of his English learning in junior high school, which he considers, in retrospect at least, as little more than duty:

Extract 7.11

...most of the students in my class when I was in junior high school didn't like English because of the way the teachers taught us English—just memorising words, so, compulsory, just order just do it [do this] do this yeah or you won't get any credit or you won't go to the good high school because most of the schools high schools now require us to take English examination when {we} enter or apply for the high schools, so...²⁴ (R/3)

Ryota contrasts his experience in junior high school with his later experience learning Chinese. I asked him why he was able to master Chinese so rapidly:

²⁴ One thing I realised upon reading the transcripts and re-listening to the interviews was that I do not think Daisuke, Ryota, or Koichi necessarily had particularly negative appraisals of their English lessons in junior high school *at the time*. Rather, these are post-facto evaluations. This is an example of where I need to take care not to confuse retrospection with a contemporary account (which, of course, I have no access to). Experiences are inevitably reconstructed in the light of subsequent events and from the perspective of the point they now perceive themselves to have reached.

Extract 7.12

Can I make an excuse? I think when I was in junior high school {with reference to English classes} the phrase that I remembered for the first time was “This is my book. This is my pen”. I’ve never used such a sentence in English...unlike the method of learning English... {with} Chinese I started off with watching movies and listening to music. That never, er, made me bored, so that’s the difference I think... (R/3)

On one hand there are compulsory, ‘just do it or else’-incentives for learning, on the other autonomous study through movies and music. In terms of the ELMS model, Ryota was able engage his perspective and entertainment drives through his early Chinese studies. Another contrast to his school lessons comes in the form of the English activities he arranged with a group of friends (see also Section 6.1):

Extract 7.13

R On Saturdays I went to Kansai airport [right] with some of my friends to speak in English... I mean I waited at the arrival and tourists or sightseers, you know, were walking and just came near them and said “I know some good restaurant around here so if you have some free time why don’t we go for lunch together around here?”

J This was in high school

R Yes but outside of high school—my hobby (R/1)

Clearly this was exciting, interesting, and illuminating to a degree that the classroom environment would struggle to be. By comparison to his Chinese learning and his extra-curricular English studies, compulsory English lessons in junior high school provided an impoverished environment for the engagement of drives. This is true of all of the participants. Daisuke, for example, expresses similar

sentiments:

Extract 7.14

When I was a junior high school in high school I just studied without any passion or something. That was the necessity. I was a junior high school or high school student which means we need to study not only English but also science, maths that kind of thing. I simply studied what my teachers want us to get a good score for the test or something like that simply...that was our duty and I simply did that without any kind of passion or that kind of thing (D/1)

Studying English tends to be an activity done without passion—a chore that simply has to be completed, like cleaning one's bedroom. It is something that the teacher makes students do. It is based around the memorisation of grammatical forms. Depending on one's educational philosophy one might even describe it as overbearing:

Extract 7.15

J So you like English but you don't really like the lessons in junior high school [yes] did you study hard?

M No because it is boring and only grammar or textbook or something and it is not freedom

J Mmm. always following the textbook

M Yes yes *yes* (M/1)

Of all the participants, Nana had the most visceral negative reaction to junior high school lessons, as the following extracts show:

Extract 7.16

N ...the moment I went into the English class there was this like the cassette tape the recorder and just listen to the English and need to write it down and I didn't even know 'ABCDEFGH' I didn't even know that but started it and was like—how do you say that—lost, really, so

J Overwhelmed

N Overwhelmed, yes (N/2)

Extract 7.17

N I just don't get it...for my English the subject of the English. I try to understand it so I ask questions but the teacher doesn't really give me the details of it, why "Why the subject is here, why this connect..." like all the details...

...

N ...at the time I don't really understand what English is about and I don't understand why I'm learning (N/2)

Nana's English classes were no fun, had no cultural element, were overwhelmingly difficult, and offered no opportunities for communication—not even with the teacher. In other words, classes offered her few opportunities to engage any of the four fundamental drives which the theoretical model I have presented in the current study posits will account for successful English acquisition.

7.2.2 Drive engagement opportunities on the periphery of the classroom

Opportunities to engage self-fulfilment drives in junior high school tend to come on the periphery of lessons, often in connection with ALTs (see, for example, Daisuke's relationship with his English teacher and ALT, reported in the introduction to Chapter 6). Ryota relates a particularly memorable

interaction with a foreigner as follows:

Extract 7.18

R I can't forget that the first time my English, er...you know I was make myself understood in English...that experience gave me a motivation so if I did more, the probabilities of understanding each other is more increased, so I just worked so hard, more and more all the time

J Can you tell me about the first time that you made your ALT understand you?

R Er I just asked "Can you tell me the way to the station?"

J You asked your ALT?

R ALT teachers understood that word. That sentence

J This is in a class?

R After the main English class working together, so ALTs gave us some questions, so useful expressions in daily life, like what I said just now was in it, that sentence, and ...most of the students didn't have confidence in their English pronunciation, but I didn't know why, but I thought that pronunciation was very important, so I just tried to speak like native speaker, and I said "Could you tell me the way to the station?" and she understood quickly

...

J So what did she say?

R "Oh great" and "the station is..." and, yes, how do you say <sono choushi> keep going {keep up the good work}, or...so the teacher said keep going or keep working keep it up and I just wish I had the motivation in the class before I met the man in the station, yeah... (R/2)

At the time of this interview I remember thinking how humdrum an experience this appeared to be—

nothing more than a decontextualized practice of a language form. However, I later learned that its significance was contingent on an uncomfortable communicative encounter Ryota had experienced some time earlier (see Section 7.3.2). Viewed against the background of this encounter, the exchange with the ALT is a notable motivational episode that had a revelatory effect on Ryota's beliefs about the possibility of his becoming a successful language learner.

Daisuke recalls preparing hard for an annual speech contest each year in junior high school. This presumably offered him some opportunity to engage his status drive by standing out:

Extract 7.19

I...attended a speech contest in all three years. Because I liked speaking English, so I as I said, I hate studying, but for that, the preparation of the speech contest, I energetically remembered the lines and practised a lot (D/3)

In junior high school, status drive appears to be the only drive that students can engage, albeit in a limited sense, by peripheral opportunities such as these, or through engaging in test-score competition.

The situation among the five participants improved somewhat for those (Manami and Ryota) who attended private high schools with specialised English programmes that incorporated more opportunity than usual for communicative practice and interaction with ALTs. Ryota claims to owe a lot to his high school ALTs, and that he did every test with all of his energy, while Manami recalls:

Extract 7.20

...after class or I talked with ALT. ALT is every day come to Higashi high {the name of her high school} so I can talk every day so one person I can keep in touch now email and I Facebook, I do the Facebook maybe four or five teachers now I can keep in touch [right] so I

love that (M/2)

Again, note that this interaction happened outside of class. In terms of the ELMS model these encounters offered the only limited opportunities to engage drives other than status drive at school.

Koichi and Daisuke went to conventional high schools. By this time English was ‘their’ subject. Koichi, distracted by baseball and girls, lost interest in studying in general, though he still attempted to wake up for his English classes. Daisuke continued to ‘do his duty’.

Of the institutional contexts covered here, the university environment appears to be the context in which language learning is given room to contribute towards drive engagement. With the pressure of university entrance test performance a thing of the past, university offers greater opportunities and more time for autonomous study. Even so, most of the participants are far from satisfied with their situation at the time the data was collected. The most common complaint is that their peers are unmotivated and unwilling to speak English—that they are, in a sense, ‘faking it’ in order to get through the four years and get a graduation certificate.

Extract 7.21

If {my brother} really wants to learn English or other languages...this uni is kind of...I shouldn't say this because I don't know other environment but I personally feel that this environment is comfortable but comfortable does not mean the best for learning languages. I would not suggest him to come here in that way of thinking. If he really wants to learn English I suggest going abroad... (D/3)

Likewise, Nana has her misgivings about her current situation:

Extract 7.22

N When I was in college {in the UK} all the people like, I was kind of bottom—not bottom but middle in the college but there are a lot of people...who can understand English more and also speak properly and write down a lot, you know, [so...] I kind of follow them but I don't have that kind of people in this university do you understand what I mean

J You don't have any role models

N No, ah exactly (N/1)

Both Daisuke and Nana have extensive experience living overseas, and it is hard to imagine university being able to live up to the study abroad environment in terms of supplying authentic opportunities to engage self-fulfilment drives through language learning, and it is perhaps unfair to expect them to do so. But lazy classmates do not help matters.

7.2.3 Interim conclusion

This section exists by virtue of the fact that school is such a big part of young people's lives. Good or bad, it will feature in accounts of participant learning histories. Unfortunately, Japanese schools all too often fail to provide even motivated students with sufficient opportunities to engage self-fulfilment drives through their language studies. Lessons are not fun, so the entertainment drive is not engaged. Lessons do not teach language as part of a culture, but as a set of vocabulary lists and grammatical rules, so there is no engagement of the perspective drive. There is little chance to interact in English, therefore no engagement of the communication drive. While there may be some opportunities to engage the status drive by competing with classmates, this engagement is limited to being 'good at

school' rather than accruing English as a symbolic resource in a richer sense. This is attested to by the way which speaking English in class is likely to be greeted with derision from classmates rather than respect. In the words of one of my students, <warawareru> {one gets laughed at}. As Alexander and Entwisle (1988) note, children who do the best in school are those who are able to adapt to the mainstream culture of the institution, rather than those with proclivities for a particular subject.

Opportunities for the engagement of self-fulfilment drives in schools in Japan tend to be found at the periphery of formal lessons. It is therefore hardly surprising that the participants appear to derive most satisfaction from out-of-class activities and experiences. The motivational landscape may improve somewhat for those who have enough money to pay for private high school and university (Manami and Ryota fall into this category) with more 'native speaker' lessons, communicative activities in class, and more English classes in general. On balance, however, considering the enormous time students spend in the classroom, formal education appears to play a disproportionately minor role in motivating English learning among the participants.

In the following extract, Manami can be seen to live a kind of dual-life in terms of her English learning, comprised of 'school work' and 'friend work'.

Extract 7.23

J So you're not thinking about you know your test scores or getting into high school you're thinking about "I want to talk to my friends"

M Yes. In second grade, *that*, and in the third grade we have to think about getting a score because we have a test to go to high school so we have examination so that time I think I have to get a good score so I study English. However also I enjoy to learn English because that time also I continue to go to ECC and my level is high and high [yeah] so I can speak with my friend with laugh "oh really! Ha ha ha" in English in daily life conversation we can speak in English.

So I so enjoy... (M/2)

It could be argued that ‘English as practical language’ and ‘English as school subject’ are for all intents and purposes differentiated objects of study. Gardner (2001b) writes that by language learner he means someone who has done “more than learning a few words of vocabulary, some grammatical rules, non-fluent utterances, and the like”, and that a language learner “is at least able to understand and carry on a relatively fluent conversation...” (p. 11). By this definition, many of the people in Japanese schools would not be considered language learners at all (see Section 3.4).

7.3 Revelations: How beliefs change, and how these changes influence language learning

As I wrote in the conclusion to Chapter 6, it is plain that participants are reflective agents who view their behaviour as subject to thoughts, understandings, rationalisations, and decision-making.

Participants have beliefs about English and English learning, they attribute success or failure to certain experiences, attitudes, decisions or mind-sets, they tell themselves stories about the course of their studies and their lives in general, and they rationalise English study in order to make sense of their experiences and their plans for the future. In the context of psychology, these beliefs constitute folk understandings (Seargeant, 2012)—that is, those expressed in everyday speech—or *ethnoscience*, which Weiner (1989) defines as:

...the perceived reasons that [people] behave as they do...It is evident that individuals have ideas, and often elaborate theories, about what people are like and what motivates them.

Although these theories are “implicit”...they determine social reality (p. 432).

If these cognitive processes affect behaviour (rather than being ‘surface indicators—see Section 6.5), they warrant inclusion in the extended ELMS model. In this section, I address the role of a certain aspect of cognition by asking how beliefs about English and the self are affected by unexpected, revelatory events.

The revelatory power of the significant event

In my interviews with participants, and in my discussions with students more generally, there is often a particular story or memory which is perceived by them as having played an important role in sparking an interest in language learning. I originally planned to frame the research presented here in terms of the influence of such significant events, in an attempt to examine how motivation is *forged*, rather than spreading the theoretical net wide in the hope of drawing general conclusions. Given the results of the GT analysis, the scope of the research has since broadened so that the significant event is only one of several elements examined; yet its influence on behaviour and beliefs is undeniable. Table 7.3 shows a number of significant events observed in the data, and my interpretation of the revelation they initiated.

	EVENT	REVELATION	ACCOUNT
Daisuke	University orientation	English ability can make me a star in a given environment	Section 5.2
Manami	Titanic	English can be used to help people.	Section 5.5
Nana	<Yakiniku>	English ability is cool	This section
Ryota	Train station	Lack of English ability is humiliating	This section
Koichi	Cram school	Learning English is necessary	This section

Table 7.3. Significant events.

I am open to the possibility that these events played a key role in the path the participants took to learning English. But of course I do not know what would have happened had these events *not* occurred. Would another event have taken its place? Were the participants *ripe* for such events in their adolescent years? There is little point in playing alternative histories. I therefore concentrate here on the revelatory effect on beliefs that these significant events had, and continue to have. By this, I mean the effect they appear to play on the formation of narratives of their learning, and as a constituent of their beliefs about themselves and English. Perhaps the first thing to point out is that it is not only the case (in theory) that their language learning depends on significant events, but that significant events, at least as they are constructed in the present, depend very much on language learning. This can be inferred from the shrewd point made by Koichi, with reference to a memorable conversation with his cram school teacher (for more details see section 5.3):

Extract 7.24

J Why do you think...obviously you remember this conversation [mmm], you remember his message. Why do you remember this? Why do you think you remember this message that...

K Because I'm still interested in English. If I was studying something else maybe I would {have forgotten} (K/2)

The cram school teacher's message *in itself* this was perhaps nothing special—people tell us their versions of what is important every day and we duly ignore them. But this particular statement came from a particular person with a particular authority, at a particular stage in Koichi's life, in a particular institutional and cultural context. It is only relevant today because Koichi's life and studies have taken a particular direction. Its value is symbolic. It not only put Koichi on the English learning path (if we take a realist view of the data), but it also reinforces the idea, in retrospect, that deciding to put time and

effort into English was the right thing to do. This idea presumably has ramifications for future behaviour.

In this section I introduce three significant events that appear to possess a significant symbolic value for participants. I have provided relatively extensive excerpts in order for the reader to gain a phenomenological feel (see Section 4.5), rather than simply matter-of-fact understanding of the events in question.

7.3.1 Nana's <yakiniku> incident

Nana's <yakiniku> incident revealed to her, or at least made more salient, the idea that English could be a means of acquiring prestige or self-worth. In her junior high school years she encountered, in a <yakiniku> {grilled beef} restaurant, an unkempt man in the company of a glamorous blonde woman. When he began speaking English, Nana's initial unfavourable impression of him changed instantly:

Extract 7.25

N I went to <yakiniku> shop with my friend or with my father I don't remember...I think it was my friend. And we sat down, and there was this guy looks homeless. Really dirty or something and I was like "What is he?", but here comes this blonde beautiful woman and they started speaking English...and I was like "wow", really shocked ...after they started speaking English my first impression totally disappeared and I was thinking "wow he must be really smart"

J Japanese guy

N Yeah Japanese guy looks like homeless

J Beard

N Yes

J With dirty clothes

N Yes. With the blonde beautiful woman and I was really shocked and I realised if I could speak English that well people are gonna be really impressed with me yeah because if I dig it more {i.e. ‘if I think about it more...’} I realised no one was impressed with me...I was good at math but everyone is good at math—there’s nothing I was really good at, just average or lower, so my parents never complimented me... so I was just maybe thinking “I wish I could speak English that well”... (N/2)

This was clearly a vivid experience. It also puts things very nicely into place narratively, acting as an analogy for her life:

Extract 7.26

N Actually I was more impressed with this guy. He looked homeless I’m sorry to say, but he looked really homeless, and he looked as though had no talent at all...yeah...yeah

J And was it just shock at that moment or did you

N Yes I was shocked and also excited—you know, this could happen to me (N/3)

In the third interview, Nana compares the <yakiniku> incident to Susan Boyle’s appearance on Britain’s Got Talent, which she watched live while in the UK. This too fits into the narrative of struggle to overcome hardship and ultimate success:

Extract 7.27

N A similar feeling I found was in the UK in the high school there was a common room we were watching a TV show there was this ugly woman not ugly but old woman...and the

audience were disappointed “Oh no, a bad one comes again”, including me and my friends were thinking like that and here she comes and started singing a beautiful song...And that similar shocking...that guy dressed up like a homeless speaking English that well—I don’t know {how} well ...When I was watching Susan Boyle I remembered the homeless guy. It was that shocking for me...appearance is not...doesn’t matter to learn language, I thought (N/2)

This is the <yakiniku> incident all over again in a different setting, and it resonates with Nana’s experience, reinforcing the idea that English—like a beautiful singing voice—can be something of an equaliser for those who grew up with certain disadvantages or insecurities. Nana uses the incident to remind herself how she has come from nothing to have the ability to confound people’s expectations (see her account of volunteering at the Kyoto Marathon given in Extract 6.17, Section 6.3). It became a symbol of her rationale for learning English—a powerful reminder of the liberatory potential of language learning.

7.3.2 Ryota’s train station incident

Ryota’s significant event takes the form of an uncomfortable, drawn-out encounter with a foreign tourist in a train station that haunts Ryota to this day. The tourist was in his mid-40s, white, with short hair. Ryota was coming home from school. They got off at the same stop, and Ryota went to the ticket adjustment machine to pay an additional fare. Before he got to the exit:

Extract 7.28

R I think he was confused, or I think he might, didn’t know how to do, buy a ticket or something and suddenly, all of a sudden he came near, came over to me and said something but I couldn’t understand what he was saying

J What did you do?

R Just gesture. Did a gesture {waving his hand in front of face, meaning ‘Sorry, can’t understand/help’} (R/2)

A drawn-out, unsuccessful communication encounter ensued:

Extract 7.29

J So he’s standing there, and you’re like that {gestures}

R Yeah, for five minutes

J This is very strange [er...] what’s happening

R Just er he was saying something

J He was talking the whole time

R Yeah yeah

J He’s trying to get you to understand [yeah]. He’s like “I-m T-r-y-i-n-g to go to this station

R Yeah something like that

J Did he have a map?

R Yeah he did...but written in English, so I couldn’t understand, know what he was saying

J So you’re kind of listening to him, and listening some more but can’t understand

R I try to get him to give up and I just wanted to go home

J Right

R So, yeah, but now remember there was other way to get him to understand or, er, so like asking some other people like station officer {staff} so I didn’t do that so that’s erm regretting...I regretting not do that, yeah (R/2)

This is one of those occasions that I imagine we have all experienced when we look back and think “If only I had...” or “Why didn’t I ...?”:

Extract 7.30

J ...how did you feel at the time?

R Oh confused

J Confused. Anything else?

R Er I was just felt confused, and a little bit annoyed

...

J How about his proximity, his physical proximity. Was he close to you? Far away?

R {laughs} too close, so I was so... a little frightened, scared (R/2)

One gets the sense that this was an uncomfortable experience not easily forgotten. Ryota claims that this embarrassment and failure to help the man in the station marked the start of his English study:

Extract 7.31

R I felt so embarrassed...not only about my English level but also I couldn’t help him with the buying a ticket so that’s the starting point of my English study

J Why did you feel embarrassed?

R At that time...[I] already had some friends who can speak English naturally around me [oh really] so I thought that everyone speaks English naturally it’s... it’s erm... as usual, you know

J It’s obvious

R It’s obvious yes so I thought that Japanese people all Japanese people can speak English
(R/1)

The memory of this stressful experience has led to the desire to make sure that something along these lines never happens again. In the third interview I ask Ryota what kind of situation triggers this memory:

Extract 7.32

...after [entering high school] I met my ALT teachers that they remind me...of that event in my junior high school [right] and, yes, like I said before, the Australian teachers look like a little bit similar [right] to that man I met in the station... (R/2)

This significant event served to change the way in which Ryota viewed himself. He was in effect humiliatingly ‘exposed’ as lacking ability. It is perhaps no surprise that Ryota’s first successful interaction with a foreigner involved the practice of a simple question-answer form with a train station/direction finding theme in the classroom with an ALT (see Extract 7.18 Section 7.2.2).

7.3.3 Koichi’s cram school teacher incident

As related in Section 5.3, Koichi first encountered English courtesy of his cram school teacher, who argued persuasively for its importance. Whatever he did in the future, Koichi was told, he would need English:

Extract 7.33

J He told you you should study English

K Yeah

J What did he say?

K Er...whatever I do I have to speak English...if I want to work all over the world. If I want to

go out from Japan English is a vital language when we go out. Or even when we are in Japan...English used not to be that important but nowadays it's getting important...is basically what he said.

J So before that you'd never really thought about English?

K No I don't, I don't think {so}... (K/2)

The teacher's message, and the analogies he employed to press it home, obviously served as something of a revelation to Koichi:

Extract 7.34

K His message was so strong and it makes me to study

J Do you know why?

K Erm, yeah, maybe... He explained, he had an example of a guy who is really good at math but who has just been to America or English. He had <gakkai> {a conference}, and he has a lot of knowledge of maths or science but he couldn't speak at all so he had to have a translator so that was not cool

J Not cool.

K Not cool and...

J ...what do you mean exactly? What did he mean exactly?

K If we are using translator what we are saying is not going to be same, I mean...

J It's not direct.

K It's not direct

J Even if we're not native English we have to speak in our words, our own words [yeah] to get them understand (K/2)

This was a message so convincing that it appears to have translated quite directly into action, in the same way that an announcement at an airport might motivate one to go to a certain gate for departure, no questions asked. If one understands the world to be a certain way, then acting accordingly is simply a matter of common sense.

One of the underlying reasons for Koichi's cram school teacher's influence may be the fact that Koichi respected him highly. He admired his talent, his intellect, his teaching style, and the way he was untypically Japanese. Perhaps there is an element here of the cram school teacher showing by example how status can also be accrued through English ability in terms of the differentiation one gains from peers:

Extract 7.35

When he knows when he is right he cannot help complaining other stuff but I think he is right [mmm] but like here we Japanese are not supposed to do that sometimes—we have to hide it in our mind... (K/2)

The influence of role models is a salient feature of the data, from Nana's cousin (Section 5.1), to Koichi's cram school teacher, to Ryota's twin brother (Section 5.4). The most important influence they have on motivation may be to show by example what is possible with hard work, or with a certain attitude, and in so doing changing the beliefs participants hold about language learning and about their own potential. An examination of the role of significant others initially constituted a chapter of its own, but it was subsequently incorporated into the existing schema.

7.3.4 Interim conclusion

In this section I have shown how certain significant events have a dramatic effect on learner beliefs. In Nana's case, a significant event revealed to her the way that English ability can be a way to acquire status; in Ryota's case the significant event illustrated his own shortcomings, and in Koichi's case the significant event drew his attention to the necessity of English in the modern world. These events are revelatory, having a 'light-bulb effect' on the participant's understanding of a situation or circumstance, which therefore undergoes an abrupt change. They sit centre-stage in various narratives of English learning, such as the narrative of triumph over adversity and ultimate success. These stories are used to rationalise and explain current behaviour and experiences, supporting self-esteem. They guard against fears that may exist in the psyche:

The socially anxious possible self is linked with the memory that "I used to be afraid of people." And the unwanted possible self is tied to the painful image of always being "the last one chosen for the softball team" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 955).

The underlying principle of the ELMS theory is that English learning will be engaged in when it is understood to provide a viable way to engage one or more self-fulfilment drives. *Understanding* that English learning can play this role can happen simply through a teacher *telling* one that it is the case (as happened to Koichi), or it may be the case that someone else's experience resonates with one's own, suggesting a path that one had not previously considered. If the learner constructs the world in a certain way (or if a respected teacher constructs it for him/her) he/she will act according to this new understanding of this world. Broadly speaking, we can posit that the changes in beliefs triggered by significant events hold consequences for the engagement of the ELMs drives. For Nana, the significant event acted as a catalyst in strengthening her beliefs about English as a means of accruing status. The

means, not necessarily the status drive itself, gained saliency. For Ryota, his perceived status took a blow when he realised how helpless he was at the train station. English study presents itself as a way of fixing his damaged pride. Before the incident he did not feel deficient in status, but the event brought this vulnerability to light.

The observations made in this section are very much in line with the characteristics of significant events listed in Section 2.4, particularly the way in which they are seminal moments in learning and/or self-awareness, the way they lead the individual to question the way things normally operate, and the way they are unplanned, unanticipated and uncontrolled. Given the effect that these events have on the learning trajectory it follows that they may provide a particularly rich resource for investigating the nature of motivation.

7.4 Conclusion to part two of the analysis

In this chapter I have analysed how culture, institutions, and experiences interact with the four fundamental drives of the ELMS model. I have shown the following:

- Learning English as a Japanese brings the opportunity for access to a culture that is fundamentally different to one's own. This creates opportunities to engage the perspective drive.
- Interacting in English as a Japanese creates the opportunity to communicate in a different manner to that to which one is accustomed. With this different communication style comes liberation (or perhaps just a short break) from local linguistic and cultural hierarchies and customs that are enacted through language.
- From the perspective of the ELMS model, the Japanese education system can be viewed as offering few opportunities to engage in self-fulfilment through English with the possible

exception of the status drive, and then only in a limited sense.

- Significant events have a revelatory effect on language learning through the changes they instigate in beliefs about oneself or language learning. These in turn can suggest new ways—in this case English study—as a means to engage the fundamental drives.

In the following section I position the research in terms of existing theories of motivation, and examine some possible implications of the research.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

In Chapter 6 I presented the basic ELMS model of language learning, which is derived from the analysis of empirical data according to a GT method. It consists of four categories of drives that are understood to constitute the underlying stimuli for participant learning behaviour. ELMS theory is an abstract reduction of a more complex reality and, as such, is no different to any other theory of behaviour, be it Maslow's (1943) Theory of Human behaviour or Higgins's (1987) Self-discrepancy theory. What distinguishes ELMS theory is the way in which it was derived from data, and the fact that this process was carefully documented. In Chapter 7 I added theoretical detail to this basic ELMS model by showing how these fundamental drives are mediated by, and interact with, elements such as culture, institutions, and beliefs. To summarise, in the previous two chapters I presented the derivation and elaboration of an original theory of language learning behaviour. The basic model was derived with sufficient rigour so that I can state with confidence that it provides a convincing explanation of the language learning of the five research participants. The extended model uses the data to propose a more hypothetical model for application to the wider Japanese context. In this chapter my task is to examine the findings presented so far in the context of the existing theoretical literature introduced in Chapter 2, and in light of the wider context of my own experience living and teaching in Japan (see Chapter 3). As I do so, I allow myself more leeway for hypothesising and speculation than in the preceding analytical chapters.

I begin, in Section 8.1, by revisiting the theories reviewed in Chapter 2 in light of the analysis. In Section 8.2 I speculate on how motivation might be conceptualised in terms of agency and structure. In Section 8.3 I present a formal model of learning behaviour. Finally, in Section 8.4 I offer an alternative conception of motivation borrowing from work by Clark and Chalmers (1998) on extended cognition.

8.1 Positioning the extended ELMS theory in theoretical context

My objective in this section is to review selections of the existing literature on motivation in the light of

the analysis, giving an account of how the data and ELMS models support or challenge this literature. It is perhaps unsurprising to find many parallels between the ELMS model and existing theories of motivation that have been found statistically valid across contexts including Japan. After all, the participants in this study are not, as I stated in Section 4.4, ‘uniquely unique’. Like their counterparts elsewhere they exhibit some or all of the following attributes:

1. Their interest goes beyond English itself, to the people and culture they associate with English.
2. They draw satisfaction from progress and worry about the consequences of failure.
3. English learning, or being an English speaker, forms an aspect of their identity or imagined futures.
4. They have been socialised into a particular set of cultural, social and institutional practices that influence their attitude towards language learning.

The following critique moves beyond these shared generalities to focus on more specific resonances or divergences between ELMS theory and existing theories introduced in Chapter 2. The critique is supported by extracts from the interview transcript.

8.1.1 Maslow’s (1943) theory of human motivation revisited

Both Maslow’s theory of human motivation and the basic ELMS theory posit that humans are motivated to engage fundamental drives. It is therefore unsurprising that, of the theories reviewed in Chapter 2, Maslow’s shares the most commonalities with the basic ELMS model. Maslow’s needs for *self-actualization*, *esteem*, and *love needs* equate to the ELMS theory’s drives for *perspective*, *status*, and *communication*, respectively. It should also be noted that the two important cognitive tendencies

observed by Maslow—to know about the world and to look for meaning (see Section 2.2.1)—appear to be cognitive manifestations of the perspective drive. There are no equivalents of the lower two of Maslow’s needs—physiological and safety—within the ELMS theory, but it is clear from the data that English can be used to engage such needs. Both Daisuke and Koichi talk of the necessity of doing things such as opening a bank account, arranging for accommodation, and signing up with electricity providers in the study abroad context. These are activities directed towards physiological and safety needs. Consider, too, Koichi’s account of dealing with the procedural aftermath of being involved in a minor car crash:

Extract 8.1

...when I had the traffic accident after I bought the car...because I had that accident I had to deal with insurance stuff. I had to talk with the other party’s staff. I had to argue that I was in the right, that I was not wrong. I explained the situation, I explained how fast I was driving, how I entered the intersection and how the party made a left and how we hit, how we bumped each other and I explained everything and I told that I was right to go straight, and that experience gave me this English...talking to foreigners is so freaking difficult, and...but I eventually got better at speaking, and listening too...I think this story has both good and bad side. I experienced a lot, I think that my English got better with this, but I had bad side too...my visa stopped...but when I tell this story everyone laughs... (K/3)

Such needs did not form a major category within the data because none of the participants appear to learn English chiefly for ‘survival’.

The ELMS model categories are effectively slimmed-down counterparts of Maslow’s categories.

Perspective drive, for example, deals with only limited aspects of its Maslowian counterpart, self-actualization (see Extracts 6.2-6.7). Since the ELMS model was derived from data concerning language learning rather than human experience more generally, this is to be expected. There is no reason to suppose that language learning could ever be the ‘be all and end all’ of self-actualization. Presumably Maslow’s concept has parts ‘where language learning cannot reach’, and even with the most comprehensive data set, perspective drive might remain more narrowly defined than self-actualization.

Perhaps the closest corollary between the two models is the ELMS model’s status drive and Maslow’s need for esteem. Maslow’s (1943) commentary on the need for esteem—particularly the second type he identifies (italicised in the following excerpt)—resonates strongly with the description of status drive, which I defined as ‘the drive to acquire demonstrable ability, for this ability to be recognised by others, and to feel that one is worthy of respect, or deemed successful in the eyes of one’s peers, parents or society’:

...people...have a need or desire for a stable, firmly based, (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others. By firmly based self-esteem, we mean that which is soundly based upon real capacity, achievement and respect from others. These needs may be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom...*Secondly, we have what we may call the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), recognition, attention, importance or appreciation* (pp. 381-2).

As is the case with self-actualisation (and for the same reasons), Maslow’s *need for esteem* category is broader in scope than its ELMS model counterpart, but it would certainly be possible to view Nana’s

efforts to gain confidence and respect through English proficiency (extracts 6.15-6.17), or Daisuke's wish to feel superior to his peers in terms of either status drive or Maslow's need for esteem:

...I feel superior than other people you know communicating in English something like that not everybody can do so naturally...when I do this I feel that I'm good at it that I'm different, I mean better than other people... (from extract 6.20)

The most significant discrepancy between Maslow's and the ELMS categories is to be found between *love needs* and *communication drive*. Communication drive, as I have defined it, is quite narrowly viewed as a desire to engage in verbal interaction with English speakers. Manami, for example, claims that talking is, in itself, a goal for her (see Extract 6.3.6). By contrast, Maslow (1943) writes that someone who is being driven by love needs will: "hunger for affectionate relations with people in general, namely, for a place in his group, and he will strive with great intensity to achieve this goal..." (p. 32). Perhaps a need for closeness, and to 'connect' with people on an emotional level is a more important aspect of communication than I gave it credit for in Chapter 6. A need for closeness certainly appears to be part of Manami's feelings towards communicating with foreigners, with reference to wish she states: "To...know the person's feeling, and know what the person we want to something...It's my...goal, because it connects to service and I said I want to be said by person "thank you" or "I needed you..." (from extract 6.30). Whether the ELMS category might be too narrowly defined is certainly something that warrants further consideration.

I conclude this section by documenting two ways in which my position and Maslow's diverge. First, while the basic ELMS model views behaviour from a drives perspective, and while this perspective is explained by the method through which it was derived, the expanded version (Chapter 7) includes a component related to cognition (see Section 7.3) and the influence of significant events. My

view is that cognition is more than, as Maslow claims, simply a symptomatic surface indicator of more basic needs (1943); that it can at times play a more fundamental role in guiding behaviour. Koichi's belief in the importance of English (section 5.3) underlies his learning behaviour; stimulated by the yakiniku incident (section 7.3.1), Natsuyo consciously tells herself how she might be able to make something of her like through English study; and Ryota's memory of an unfortunate encounter in a train station (section 7.3.2) functions as an important symbolic warning of the consequences of failure. These are all examples of emotions, beliefs and memories that form an important part of the participants' psychological make up that either justify or support the learning process.

Second, unlike Maslow's needs, the ELMS model drives are not ordered hierarchically. The data show that participants simultaneously engage multiple drives (see, for example, Extract 6.1 from the Introduction to Chapter 6). Maslow claims that lists (i.e. not hierarchically organised) "...will get us nowhere for various theoretical and practical reasons" (1943, p. 371). The research presented here is data-driven and, as such, cares little for Maslow's 'practical reasons', which presumably refer to the 'practical business' of theorising. Had Maslow's theory been grounded and presented more explicitly in documented empirical data, I suspect that he might have found the hierarchy argument more difficult to make. I also prefer not to refer to 'satisfying' needs, which suggests that one can satisfy one before and move up the hierarchy in a step-like fashion. My decision to use the term 'engage' illustrates the different position I take on this issue. However, just because I do not understand drives to be organised in a strict hierarchy, this does not mean that certain drives may not dominate others. In Extract 6.1, for example, the status drive seems almost to subsume the other drives. Defining and understanding the relationship between the drives, and the extent to which one can subsume, or be dominant over another in a given situation, is one area that could benefit from further theoretical attention.

Noticeably absent from the comparisons made above is the entertainment drive. I can offer two explanations for this, and both concern the type of 'self-actualizing' individuals that Maslow based his

work on—examples include Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Frederick Douglas. These people were all i) mature adults; and ii) extremely high achievers—some of society’s finest. They probably did not spend too much of their time watching ‘trashy movies’ (see my movie analogy in Section 2.2.1), or if they did, Maslow was probably not interested in this aspect of their lives. He was certainly not interested in “the study of crippled, stunted, immature, and unhealthy specimens” as he thought they could yield only a “cripple psychology and a cripple philosophy” (1954, p. 234). This statement may account for the lack of any *entertainment need* in Maslow’s model, as well as revealing something about Maslow’s own motivations, namely that he did not wish to investigate or explain human psychology in general, but only what he considered to be the very finest of it, or perhaps how he thought it *should* be. In fact, Maslow’s theory might more accurately be labelled ‘a theory of the behaviour of exceptional humans’.

That there should be general similarities between Maslow’s theory and the ELMS model is unsurprising, but—entertainment drive aside—it is intriguing that the categories identified correlate so closely. If, as I have demonstrated, the ELMS model is sufficiently grounded in empirical data, it supplies some support for Maslow’s currently out-of-fashion view of human motivation.

8.1.2 Self-determination theory revisited

ELMS theory and self-determination theory can be considered complementary rather than opposing theories. Two of the basic needs understood to underlie SDT, control and relatedness, certainly find parallels in the perspective drive and communicative drive categories. Perspective drive, as does the need for control, involves learning about the world and one’s place within it:

...if you...want to have more and more range or sight big sight, you should study another language...we can know a lot of things from other people... (from extract 6.2)

Communication drive, like the need for relatedness, involves a need to connect, and enter into relationships with others (see Extract 6.30).

SDT proper concerns itself with the third need seen to underlie it: autonomy. It distinguishes between types of motivation according to the degree to which they are internal or external in origin and, with reference to the external variant (extrinsic motivation), the degree to which it has been internalised, or is in a state of congruence with the authentic self. The extended ELMS model, by contrast, posits that drive engagement is mediated by various elements such as culture, institutions, and beliefs. The agent is understood to be in a dynamic relationship with context, rather than *internalising* it to varying extents. Another way to put this is to state that the ELMS model does not presume the primacy of the psychological over the social. Motivation is not classified according to the extent of internalisation, but is understood to operate in a narrower sense as an internal exercise of the will. This exercise of the will can be detected in the following extract, in which Nana describes how she persevered in school in Canada:

Extract 8.2

...first they didn't even wanna talk to me because I'm the Asian and they knew that I can't speak English but like I say I want to communicate so I bought this notebook like this white notebook and, like you know, I can't write down proper English so I just draw something to talk [right] communicate with foreigners and they kind of thought like you know oh this person is not shy and wanna talk to us so maybe they sense that so they started to talk to me (N/1)

Motivation, according to my own understanding of the concept, is implicated in Nana's determination to communicate despite the social discomfort that she might cause to herself and the people who

‘didn’t even want to talk to her’, and connected to her beliefs and the narrative of struggle to overcome hardship. According to SDT, motivation would be a broader concept, in part internal (what I would characterise as communication drive, rather than motivation), and in part external in the shape motivational factors. In practice, neither intrinsic motivation nor basic self-fulfilment drives exist in a vacuum. As van Lier (1996) writes:

In many activities in everyday life, including scholastic activities, both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations play a part. For example language students may participate in classroom discussions because they are interested in obtaining good grades, they want to make their parents happy, they like the target language and want to spend a year abroad there, and they also enjoy the activity itself because it is challenging, it makes them feel competent, and it is entertaining. To ask such students whether they are intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to do the activity appears a rather spurious question (p. 113).

Although self-determination theory can be reconciled with the ELMS models, *self-esteem* may be a more relevant concept to use in explaining the interaction of the ELMS model elements—that is, if self-esteem is to be considered as separate from the status drive category.

Though autonomy, or self-determination, is not a focus of the theory deriving from the analysis this does not mean that its importance, or at least that of perceived autonomy, is not present in the data. Daisuke compares the difference in motivation between himself and his classmates as stemming from autonomous decision-making, which we could reasonably characterise as self-determination:

Extract 8.3

...that was my father’s decision, no, suggestion. I just simply thought “oh that’s interesting”,

which means my motivation is, you know, not like you know. Not so serious, like...

...

...my friends when I met in the ESL programme from China from Vietnam and Korea, etc. from Saudi Arabia. They decided by themselves to study to stay in the United States and to study in the University so actually they succeeded to pass the TOEFL and then they successfully became university students and they still are now studying in the University. It was their decision but I didn't but the idea of studying abroad is not from me...my father just suggested me (D/1)

He contrasts this situation with his later success at university, which he attends of his own volition:

Extract 8.4

This decision is completely by myself. I mean my father suggested me to go to the United States both for 10 days and two years but this time I decided by myself, and then you know the motivation is different than the past (D/1)

The belief in the importance of the ownership of decisions—what Bruner (1994) refers to as 'agentive activity', and Noels (2009) as the 'phenomenology of autonomy'—is particularly salient in Daisuke's case. I examine this issue in more detail in Section 8.2.

Interestingly, research into self-determination theory may be relevant to understanding the communication drive. Koestner and Losier (2002) claim that regulatory guides may be genetically inherited. Thus, as Noels (2009) notes:

It is plausible that some people may be genetically predisposed to enjoy verballity generally, which eventually becomes channelled into enjoying learning new languages. In contrast others

may only come to enjoy language learning as a result of socialisation and internalisation (p. 308).

Different learners will by nature be endowed with self-fulfilment drives of different strengths, and proclivities to seek self-fulfilment in different ways. The degree to which self-determination is perceived as important by the learner, and the utility of Deci and Ryan's theory in explaining behaviour, is also likely to vary between individuals, as well as being mediated by culture.

8.1.3 Possible selves theories revisited²⁵

The basic ELMS model posits that unconscious drives are a significant determinant of human behaviour, and the expanded model posits that these drives interact with a variety of elements such as culture, institutions, and experiences, and indeed conscious beliefs and rationalisations. Possible selves theory, by contrast, maintains that conscious awareness of the self-concept is central to an understanding of behaviour, in particular the congruence or discrepancy between the current self-concept and imagined possible selves. Apart from this emphasis, there does not appear to be a fundamental conflict between the two theories if we accept the plausible notion that the individual can be influenced by both unconscious drives *and* conscious cognition: consciousness can be understood as an emergent property of multiple elements (such as those addressed in Chapters 6 and 7) that at times exerts a top-down control on these elements and behaviour (Jurrero, 1999) (see Section 6.5).

In this section I address the way in which my methodological approach brings into question the claim of possible selves theory that possible or imagined selves are not merely a useful abstract theoretical construct, but *a concrete phenomenological reality*. The idea that possible selves are concrete cognitive manifestations serving as tangible evidence of the link between cognition and behaviour is a

²⁵ I have chosen not to address Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self-system separately here. My critique of the general theory applies to Dörnyei's adaptation.

key ‘selling point’ of possible selves theory. Markus and Nurius (1986) argue that it is not, for example, the abstract notion of ‘getting a BA’ that takes cognitive form in the mind of a university student, but that “this goal is represented as the particular individual himself or herself achieving that goal, that is ‘my getting a BA’ or ‘my having a BA’...there is a piece of self in that goal space” (p. 961). Markus and Nurius (1986) write: “We *assume* that all individuals have possible selves and that they can easily reflect upon them” (p. 958 [emphasis added]). In this section I argue that the data set used in the current study provide little support for existence of cognitive manifestations of possible selves. Of course the fact that a theory of possible selves may not be grounded in the current data set does not mean that this would hold for other data sets.

In Section 7.3 I examined aspects of the data relevant to an understanding of the cognitive dimension of learner behaviour, such as beliefs about English, and about the power of individual commitment to bring about change. Admittedly, the cognitive aspect of learner behaviour is not the main focus of the study, but given the current popularity of possible selves theory among language-learning theorists (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, 2011) it appeared to be worthwhile to revisit the data for the purposes of this section, examining it in selves terms. Upon re-examining the data I have come to the conclusion that I cannot state with confidence that there are reasonable grounds for inferring that possible selves exist from a participant, or emic, perspective. At first glance, the following extract would appear to support the existence of a hypothetical, alternative self:

Extract 8.5

If I didn't feel like with foreigners it's totally fine {to be the} Koichi who doesn't have English. Maybe he is just have different job and he is going be satisfied with it. He is, I think he is fine. He speaks Japanese well. He is a likeable person maybe [laughs]... (K/3)

Closer examination of the context of this contribution, however, shows that this hypothetical doppelgänger was created in response to an earlier turn of mine, which I finished by asking “Is one better than the other? Is *the English-speaking Koichi* better, or...” It seems that I am the one who created this possible self, not Koichi. While events such as Nana’s revelatory yakiniku incident (see Extract 7.25) appear to fit with the idea of the emergence of a possible self, it does not follow that she created, consciously or otherwise, a concrete cognitive manifestation of a possible or ideal self that embodied these ideals. Nana says here that she *realised* that she might gain people’s admiration through English proficiency, and that she was *thinking* “I wish I could speak English that well”, but she makes no reference to ‘my future self’ or ‘me in the future’. In general, of course, we do not talk this way, but this is precisely the point I wish to make—based on my reading of the data, I do not have any grounds to claim that we *think* this way either.

Dörnyei (2005) writes: “...research has shown that the impact of the self will be even stronger if a positive possible self is offset by a *feared* possible self in the same domain” (p. 100). The strongest candidate for a ‘feared self’ is Ryota’s train station incident (see Section 7.3.2). He says of this experience that he was embarrassed, that he wishes he had been a motivated learner *before* this incident occurred, and that he is reminded of the experience when he struggles to speak fluently when guiding tourists. But fearing the consequences of failure does not necessarily require the concrete manifestation of a ‘feared self’. In the ELMS terms, this experience can satisfactorily be understood as creating a memory that holds symbolic power to remind Ryota of the consequences of failure.

Analysis of the examples given by the originators of possible selves theory to justify their construct leads me to the same conclusion. Markus and Nurius (1986) write that:

Carl Lewis claimed to have used the early track victories of Jesse Owens *to create a possible self* and to give a specific cognitive form to his desire to become the world’s fastest runner. Similarly

Geraldine Ferraro fostered the creation of *a new possible self, that of a political self, a leader self*, for many American women. And James Fixx, the expert on running who died of a heart attack while jogging, was the source of *a compelling negative possible self* for many runners (p. 955).

If we examine the testimony that presumably served as a source for this conceptualisation, we can identify a conceptual ‘jump’ from this source to the theorising cited above, namely the contention that Carl Lewis ‘created a possible self’:

I was a little kid, I was a late bloomer and Jesse said ‘You’re a little kid, but you can beat the big guys if you work hard.’ It was a simple message but effective...I never forgot that time and it was kind of a bizarre situation because you look at this and say ‘You have got to be kidding me. I met Jesse when I was a kid’ and growing up, watching the Olympics and loving it and wanting to go. And here I am later, being there in ‘84 and going there and trying to emulate someone I admire so much (Dyer, 2012).

Lewis was inspired by this unforgettable encounter, and drew a simple but effective message from it. My argument here is not that the message did not have significant consequences for his self-concept, and his future development as an athlete, but that there is little justification for the claim that the mechanism through which change occurs requires a concrete cognitive construct of the possible self. Selves theory is, in terms of its derivation, the projection of an abstract framework onto reality *done with the aim of bolstering the credibility of the theoretical framework*, rather than a principled building of theory from data: reality interpreted into the ‘language’ of possible selves theory. Imagining one’s future does not appear to require the cognitive construct of a ‘possible self’—it simply requires imagining what might happen to one’s *current self* in the future. The burden of proof lies with those who claim that ideal selves

exist. I do not believe they have given sufficient proof. Rather than an empirically verified fact, I would argue that the concept of the possible self is a useful abstract construct.

Rather than possible selves, *self-fulfilment* is, of course, the central concept of ELMS theory. Other self-related concepts of relevance are *self-esteem* (see the similarities between status drive and Maslow's *self-esteem* outlined in Section 8.1.1) and *self-worth* (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996; James, 1892; Smith & Mackie, 2007), which can be thought of as the cognitive counterparts to the unconscious status drive. Distinctiveness, for example, has been shown to be a particularly important aspect of self-esteem. McGuire and Padawer-Singer (1976) contend that "We notice any aspect or dimension of ourselves to the extent that our characteristic on that dimension is peculiar to our social milieu" (p. 744). Through such cognitive awareness, the learner is presumably able to identify ways in which status drive may most fruitfully be engaged. Investigation into the relationship between language learning and self-worth/self-esteem certainly appears to be a potentially fruitful alternative to possible-selves research, which has already received a great deal of attention (for example Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009).

To end this section on a cautionary note, it is worth bearing in mind that there is a substantial literature in sports psychology and health psychology that evidences the positive impact (on performance or well-being) of future self-visualisation techniques. It may indeed be the case that possible selves can be manifested to positive effect through appropriate interventions (Murru & Ginis, 2010). This does not, however, justify reading possible selves into data, especially if interviewees have been primed to represent such possible selves by being asked, for example, how their 'future self' is.

8.1.4 A CDST view of language learning revisited

CDST is said to act as a conceptual toolkit) that can stretch thinking in new directions (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015). In this section I start by addressing some ways in which CDST concepts have contributed to the analysis. I then offer a critique of the nascent CDST movement on the grounds that CDST theory alone is ill suited to do more than offer a superficial description of human behaviour. I finish by describing how I have answered some of the challenges of understanding language-learning behaviour in CDST terms without utilising a overt CDST method.

CDST and the analysis

I do not consider my approach to be representative of the wider CDST movement within applied linguistics, but CDST concepts have nonetheless proved useful to the analysis and discussion. In the second part of the analysis (Chapter 7) I drew attention to the disproportionately large effect on learning that significant events appear to have on participant beliefs and motivation, and the disproportionately small effect played by the formal classroom, despite the many hundreds of hours participants spent there. The CDST concept of *non-linearity* is tailor-made to describe such relationships between circumstances and learning. In addition, in Sections 6.5 and 8.1.3 I used the concept of *emergence* to describe how consciousness may exert control over behaviour despite itself being the product of more fundamental forces—the whole being greater than the sum of its parts. In Section 9.3 I use the concept of the *phase transition*—a sudden ‘tipping point’ where learning behaviour takes on a new complexion—to describe how education in Japan could most efficiently be reformed. Some of the analogies I give in order to suggest new ways of thinking about motivation in Section 9.5 are reminiscent of the CDST concept of the *state space* representing all possible manifestations of a ‘system’ over time, or the ‘trajectory’ the learner takes through life and learning, given the influence of environmental conditions and competing distractions. There is much to be said for thinking about

motivation in CDST terms.

Critique of the CDST movement

The following critique is not aimed at the principled use of CDST terminology within research. Rather, its target is the use of CDST as an overarching epistemological framework for the understanding of learner behaviour, as proposed in the first anthology on the application of CDST to language learning, *Motivational dynamics in language learning* (Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015). I argue that CDST terminology and concepts are no substitute for tried and tested epistemological frameworks such as empiricism and constructionism, nor are the approaches suggested in this volume a substitute for existing qualitative techniques of investigation that have been developed over many decades. I build my case through a critique of a selection of what the editors claim are “powerful and universally relevant maxims” (p. 423): ‘dynamic principles’ that they advise we are counselled to “internalise in our worldviews” (ibid.). My opinion is that these maxims are product of the enthusiasm to ask of CDST something—a comprehensive epistemology—that it cannot provide. My commentary on the extracts show that current claims made for a CDST approach within the literature somewhat overstate its originality and potential.

My claim for the first two examples is that it may be more helpful to examine motivation as one component of a complex system, rather than as *constituting* one.

Example 1

Open system: Studies of motivation in SLA are examining an open, inherently continuous system that involves fluctuations from one state to another with constant interference from additional motives and other processes in an ongoing, evolving and iterative basis (p. 423).

In this extract, the writers claim that motivation fluctuates in quality and intensity in interaction with other motivations and the environment over time. Motivation as I have characterised it in the current study is a cognitive phenomenon, distinct from drives, environmental factors etc. ‘cognitively bound’, and does not therefore qualify as an open system. Further, it is understood to act sporadically, rather than continuously. An example of motivation in action is Nana’s determined behaviour to interact with students in high school in Canada, despite what she saw as the almost demeaning reliance on drawing pictures in a notebook (see Extract 8.2). Subsequently, the time and effort she put into English learning, extreme by most standards, became more habitual in nature, and less reliant on motivation. My preference would be to characterise motivation as an emergent quality of the (open) learner system or, to move down a level of hierarchy, an emergent quality of cognition. Perhaps more important than the use of generic labels is the awareness of the interconnected nature of all things motivation-related. Such awareness does not necessarily require CDST terminology or concepts.

Example 2

Self-organisation and nonlinearity: Motivation has adaptive and self-organising properties, with feedback loops that continuously integrate internal and external contexts and act as reinforcing or counteracting forces, creating nonlinear changes in levels of motivated behaviour (ibid.).

Here, the writers claim that motivation will at times be more stable, at times more changeable, depending on the influence of psychological and social elements. The conception of motivation given here differs from my own conception of motivation as something that acts sporadically as a product of conscious control (see Sections 7.3 and 8.2). It seems to me that this maxim does not account for the way in which motivation is not only self-organising, but is *organised* by, and acts in accordance with, conscious beliefs or desires. Koichi’s belief in the indispensability of English, for example (See Section

5.3) appears to have played an important motivational role in the initial impetus required to start studying English. CDSST theory leaves no obvious affordance for the role of agency and reflection in guiding behaviour. The concept of self-organisation can, however, be useful in explaining the way in which language study becomes habitual rather than an activity requiring motivational struggle each and every time it is carried out.

Example 3

Multicausality and soft assembly: Motivation is multi-determined, so that no single element, input or force controls or causes change. Instead, motivational processes and outcomes are softly assembled i.e. elements of the system interact in different ways depending on the task, context (etc.) (ibid.).

In the example above, the writers claim that there are multiple determinants of motivation. This complexity means that it is impossible to identify any single element responsible for change. The analysis presented in Section 7.3 (see also Extracts 5.10 and 5.23) appears to contradict the assertion that ‘no single element, input or force controls or causes change’ since it showed that significant events have precisely this quality, although it may of course be difficult to *identify* a single cause.

Examples 4

Timescales: conclusions about motivation are tied to the timescale on which they occur. In other words, the on-going ebbs and flows of motivation, or the emerging cycles or reporting patterns, can be observed and described using various starting points and over various timescales (ibid.).

Example 5

Levels of abstraction of the 'system': The motivational patterns that we observe in SLA can be described alternatively at different levels of abstraction by focusing on the interrelationships among processes in a more abstract sense...processes within an individual...or processes at a group level (pp. 423-4).

My critique of examples 4 and 5 is that there is nothing particularly CDST-specific about these maxims. This can be seen by the way I addressed related concerns in the analysis without recourse to CDST concepts or terminology. In example 4, the writers claim that we can examine motivation in terms of various timescales, and that short-term and long-term motivation may appear to be very different. This is of course true—Nana's comments about here lessons (see Extract 7.16) may interest someone interested in classroom motivation, while Manami's claim that a desire to communicate is part of her very nature (Section 5.5) may be relevant to a focus on motivation over an extended timescale, given that it appears to be a relatively fixed personality trait. My own approach was designed to understand motivation over the long-term, hence the focus on fundamental drives rather than sporadic transitory environmental factors. In Section 6.2 I suggested how drives might evolve or emerge over time (I develop these ideas further in Section 8.36).

In extract 5 the writers claim that motivation can be examined at different levels of abstraction, for example in terms of beliefs, behaviour, or group dynamics. In my own study I have wrestled with levels of hierarchy, for example whether to view behaviour fundamentally as a consequence of drive engagement, or to bring in 'complicating factors' (Chapter 7) such as particularly memorable events, culture, and institutions.

In closing, it may be illustrative to show how my own study, although not framed in CDST terms, answered the challenges of a CDST approach as posed by Ushioda (2015) (see Section 2.3.4).

First, I have dealt with the operational challenge of separating learner from context by trusting in the GT analysis. According to this analysis, participants see themselves as individuals, not as ‘learner-systems’, and this is reflected in the resultant model, which is a fairly conventional psychological theory. Ushioda’s second challenge is to account for the reflective individual within a CDST framework. The extended ELMS model accounts for the reflective individual, albeit in a very limited sense, through the element ‘revelations’, which deals with the issue of changes in beliefs towards language learning and the self. These changes are, I argue, the causes of subsequent motivational change. Ushioda’s third challenge is that of deciding how wide to spread the theoretical net considering that, in theory, no single element can be discounted from influencing an open system. My approach is straightforward—to ask how the data can best be explained in a way that addresses the research questions. My initial focus was determined by the results of the GT analysis, and this analysis was subsequently elaborated to include other salient aspects of the data. Only within the discussion section do I draw more heavily on the literature and my own speculation. I suspect that trusting in the data is as good a guide as any to meeting this third challenge, and that it would be difficult to lay out beforehand guidelines for researchers on how to set the limits of empirical focus.

CDST methodology

Turner (1997), in advocating a complexity approach, claims that social science has until now “been forced to use logical and mathematical instruments originally designed to deal with hugely simpler systems” (p. xxvii). Turner may be overstating his case somewhat. While his statement may apply to statistical approaches, it is not true of qualitative work. Researchers working within the qualitative paradigm have long been using methods designed to examine the long-term behaviour of ‘learner systems’ (or, as they prefer, ‘people’). It is therefore no surprise that nascent CDST approaches draw heavily on qualitative methodologies (cf. Dörnyei, 2011). Yet a qualitative approach is not a simple

series of steps that someone new to the paradigm can follow, and in so doing expect to produce high quality research—it is a skill that is learnt over a number of years. One cannot bypass the myriad challenges facing the qualitative researcher (a number of which were addressed in Chapter 4) and yet produce quality research by attaching a CDST label to the methodology. As many CDST theorists hail from the quantitative tradition, this difficulty will be keenly felt if they are to aspire to qualitative research of a high standard rather than produce work within an isolated, mutually supportive community. Given the rich history of quantitative research and writing on methodology, I contend that researchers in the nascent CDST field have a great deal more to learn from qualitative researchers than the other way round.

Concluding thoughts

The editors of the CDST volume addressed above claim that the use of CDST “makes us deal with the way the world actually works, not simply the way we all think it works” (p. xviii). The problem with this statement is that the way that we *think* the world works has an effect on how the world does work—thinking and reality are not mutually exclusive. The language learner’s attributions, beliefs, and self-related imagery have consequences for behaviour, regardless of whether or not they are founded in a ‘truthful’ understanding of reality (see Section 1.1). In the conclusion from this anthology the editors claim:

...as one of the contributors to this volume astutely pointed out, ‘once a researcher understands the complexity worldview, in a sense there is a transformation in thinking. Everything you observe and experience from then on—whether it involves personal relationships, parenting concerns, events unfolding in contemporary society, to say nothing of second language classroom phenomena—is nothing if not complex and dynamic. This

understanding leads to the conviction that there are certain things that can only be uncovered from a dynamic systems perspective' (Hiver, personal communication) (MacIntyre et al., 2015, p. 421).

While I agree that the world is complex and dynamic, I would argue that most thinking people have always considered it so, whether they couch it in these terms (nearly two millennia ago Aristotle wrote that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts—in effect a statement on emergence), or in terms of mystery or wonder. The contributor's observation on the transformation in his understanding is merely a personal reflection projected onto others. While it may resonate with those of us who have recognised the limitations of seeing the social world through a psychometric lens, it is nothing new. I am more inclined to agree with Hiver (2015) when he writes more soberly that “the jury is still out on precisely what a [C]DST approach brings to researching motivation that is entirely new” (p. 231).

Given the popularity of the recent CDST trend, I thought it appropriate to address it at some length. It may be pertinent to maintain a certain level of caution towards jumping headfirst into a CDST approach lest one falls prey to the trap of importing theory “from other disciplines that do not fit the data of sociology and inappropriately apply sociological theories developed from the study of data different from that under consideration” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 238).

8.1.5 The socio-educational model of language learning revisited

There are clear parallels between Gardner's view of language learning and the ELMS model. I limit my discussion here to some observations on Gardner's famous concept of integrative motivation.

The analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7 suggests among the participants openness to particular cultures and a readiness to interact with their representatives, but not necessarily a willingness to go overseas for more than study. These results are in line with Irie's (2003) finding that Japanese

students exhibit “positive attitudes to [target language] communities without a desire to assimilate into them” (p. 90). However, they stop short of supporting Yashima’s blunt contention that “Even though many Japanese learners wish to interact with native speakers of English, they are not particularly interested in identifying with them” (2009, p. 145). Rather, there is a degree of variation between those participants who identify more strongly with English-speaking cultures (Nana, Daisuke), and those for whom interaction could be better described as a break or diversion from everyday Japanese life. Koichi, for example, says of his recent trip to the US: “I wanted to touch the culture not in Japan...”—‘touch’ or, given the use of the Japanese equivalent <touchi>, perhaps ‘become involved in’—but not ‘assimilate into’ or ‘adopt’. *Perspective* seems a more nuanced and appropriate concept with which to explore participant positioning to English and English-speaking people than *integration*. This does not by any means undermine Gardner’s core argument that, all other things being equal, the stronger the identification with, or intent to integrate with, a target culture the more highly motivated the learner is likely to be. It simply supports arguments that the precise term is unlikely to be a universally neat fit across cultures. The claimed inadequacy of Gardner’s concept of integrative orientation and motivation have, in my opinion, been exaggerated. Integrative orientation remains relevant in the Japanese context.

Perspective/integrative-related drive engagement will not only be an aspect of the learner’s interest in the English-speaking culture, but also a function of two other factors: first, the cultural distance between English-speaking cultures and one’s home culture; and second, the *quality* of the interest in the English-speaking culture. An examination of Koichi’s and Ryota’s feelings about interacting with Koreans and Chinese helps to clarify this point:

Extract 8.6

J So you had a good relationship with your classmates. Did you become friends? Did you socialise outside of class as well?

K Yeah sometimes, especially Korean friends, you know, Japan and Korea culture is very close and we can share the opinions. I guess most of Japanese people who had studied abroad had a really good relationship with Koreans.

J Right, because of the similar cultures.

K Yes, easy to understand each other (K/1)

Extract 8.7

J How about when you speak to Chinese people or Taiwanese people compared with how you speak to English speakers, is it...how is it different?

R Like Australia is...heterogeneous county, Chinese Hong Kong is homogenous, so I don't know, but I have kind of the same feeling as them, so I don't think I have a barrier that prevent us.

J So it's easier?

R To make friends.

J Oh, interesting, interesting. Do you feel more comfortable speaking English or Chinese?

R In terms of my convenience or fluency I feel more comfortable speaking mandarin (R/3)

The attraction that Ryota feels to English may be connected to a desire to explore the unknown; for Chinese it may be more of a desire to actually integrate. Gardner's terminology does not allow for much nuance in this regard. In ELMS terms, perhaps English learning is more of a perspective drive-heavy activity, and Chinese is more communication drive-oriented, especially given the possible

connection between communication drive and Maslow's (1943) love needs identified in Section 8.1.1.

8.1.6 Qualitative perspectives revisited

Although they come from different research traditions, both Norton (1997) and Ushioda (2009) view motivation as emergent from human interaction in the social world (Sealey & Carter, 2004), how learners are situated in specific local, social, cultural, and historical contexts, and how they resist or comply with the affordances of these contexts (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Norton prefers the term 'investment' to motivation, while Ushioda (2009) works with the term motivation but suggests that the unit of theoretical focus in studies of motivation should be the person-in-context, not the average language learner. The extended ELMS model does not come into conflict with either of these positions. At its core are the four self-fulfilment drives, but these are viewed as only one aspect of behaviour, not as a fundamental construct through which everything else is mediated. In this section I will examine how the ELMS models can benefit from the incorporation of some of the ideas from Norton and Ushioda's work.

Norton (1997) refers to phenomena such as friendship, education, and language as 'symbolic resources'. When language learners speak, she claims, they are doing more than exchanging information—they are "organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world" (p. 17). Therefore, when a learner invests her time and energy in a language, she simultaneously invests in her own social identity. We can see this process at work from Nana's account of her experience volunteering at the Kyoto marathon (see Section 6.3):

Extract 8.8

...the staff looked at me a little like "here comes the lazy university student". They looked at me like that but as soon as I spoke English it changed the way they looked at me (N/2)

In ELMS terms, Nana’s language ability offers her the opportunity to engage the status drive. But understanding the kinds of circumstances in which this engagement is possible requires a social perspective. In Norton’s terms we could perhaps understand Nana’s *investment* in the language (a ‘saleable commodity’) *paying off* in the context of volunteering at the Kyoto marathon, where English proficiency is ‘in demand’. In an environment in which English proficiency is a form of symbolic capital, unevenly distributed, it has a certain value. Incidentally, if—speaking hypothetically—all Japanese people were to suddenly develop English ability overnight, this opportunity to engage the status drive through English ability would vanish. The ‘status’ aspect of English ability in the Japanese context is contingent on the fact that it is a scarce resource (see my comments on the need for English in Section 3.3).

The implication of Ushioda’s concept of the ‘person-in-context’—that person and context are simultaneously both objects and determinants of behaviour—makes perfectly logical sense to me, yet I find it difficult to see how the person-in-context *as a theoretical unit* can be operationalised. Perhaps this is in part due to the limitations of my cognitive apparatus, and also in part due to the constraints of terminology: the pronouns of the English language all refer to the person, not the person-in-context (as referral to any of the extracts from the data will show). This is not to say that there might not be legitimate advantages to be had by thinking in such terms, perhaps through the use of CDST metaphor, or perhaps through other means, one of which, ‘distributed motivation’, I introduce in Section 8.4.

A looser interpretation of the person-in-context, and one that is more in line with Ushioda’s own approach (personal correspondence), is that it entails an *awareness* that the person and context are in a mutually influential relationship. In recognising this relationship one becomes more sensitive to the “unique local particularities of the person as self-reflective intentional agent, inherently part of and shaping her own context” (2009, p. 218). Perhaps the most obvious contextual influence is that of other people. In section 5.4 I introduced the important role played by Ryota’s cram school teacher in

shaping his views on English. Nana's cousin helped suggest a vital way she might play her growing feeling that she did not fit in well to Japanese education by suggesting she study abroad:

Extract 8.9

J you were having a rough time at JHS at that time and then one evening your cousin suggested...

N Yes...he said I'm not going to be suit for the Japanese curriculum...yeah school education curriculum (N/3)

It is impossible—or at least it is not wise—to decouple the objects of research, in this case Nana, from the “contexts they are part of and that, in many senses, shape and are shaped by who they are and what they do” (Ema Ushioda, personal correspondence) if we are to understand the processes of motivational and behavioural change. I explore this issue from an alternative perspective in section 8.4.

It seems to me that Ushioda's and Norton's positions are representative of a choice faced by motivation theorists. The first is to use the term motivation, but to increase the scope of the term to include aspects of its socially and environmentally contingent nature (Ushioda's position). The second choice is to leave motivation to the psychologists, and use alternative terminology such as investment to represent the sociological side of human behaviour (Norton's position). The position that I have developed in the course of the analysis and discussion is that motivation can usefully be thought of as a cognitive process. As such, it represents only one of myriad influences on behaviour. In a theoretical sense, perhaps I lean towards Norton's position. At the same time, if we do not pay attention, as Ushioda advises, to how motivation is a contingent phenomenon, we stand little chance of getting to grips with how motivation functions even if we treat it as an aspect of cognition. Awareness of the legitimacy and strengths of alternative approaches is more important than paying undue attention to

exactly how one is affiliated to a particular subset of an academic field.

8.1.7 Conclusion

I conclude this section by presenting in table form a summary of the comparisons between the ELMS models and a selection of existing motivation theory.

THEORY	COMPARISON TO EXTENDED ELMS MODEL
<p>Theory of human motivation (Maslow, 1943)</p>	<p>An analogous theory but broader in scope, given that it deals with the whole of human experience. Love, esteem, and self-actualization needs are similar in some respects to communication, status, and perspective drives respectively. The current study offers some empirical support for these categories, but does not support their hierarchical arrangement.</p>
<p>Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985)</p>	<p>A complementary theory. Intrinsic motivation may be analogous to self-fulfilment drives. In practice, learning behaviour is likely to be determined by (in SDT terms) a mixture of internal and external motivations, and (in ELMS terms) both drives, cultural, institutional, and psychological elements.</p>
<p>Possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Higgins, 1987)</p>	<p>Possible selves theory is of limited relevance to the ELMS theory, although it may be of utility in adding theoretical detail to the component ‘revelations’, which is under-theorised in the extended ELMS model. Based on the data, I have raised the concern that possible or ideal selves are not in fact a</p>

	phenomenological reality for participants.
Complex dynamic systems theory (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015)	CDST metaphor is useful as a conceptual toolkit, but the concepts it brings to the table may have had their importance somewhat overstated. In terms of methodology the field is in a nascent state and the approaches that protagonists use have much to gain from close study of established qualitative approaches.
The Socio-educational model of language learning (Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972)	Gardner’s concept of integrativeness bears some theoretical similarity to the perspective drive, although ‘integrativeness’ is not quite the right terminology to describe participant positioning towards the English language and related culture.
L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2005)	The L2 motivational self-system is of limited relevance to the ELMS models, according to which L2 learning is i) multi-motivated, and ii) one of many behaviours adopted toward the engagement of a particular drive. An L2 learning-specific motivational model is therefore not ideal in explicating motivation in terms of the wider context.
Social identity, investment, and language learning (Norton Peirce, 1995); Person-in-context relational view of language learning (Ushioda, 2009)	Norton’s concept of social capital adds theoretical detail to the status drive element of the ELMS models. Ushioda’s person-in-context is understood in a loose, rather than strict sense, as a statement about the interconnectedness of individual and context which should be kept in mind by the principled researcher.

Table 8.1. Comparison of the ELMS models with existing theories.

8.2 Motivation, agency, and structure

...in examining their actions and lives one cannot see that they owed anything to fortune beyond opportunity, which brought them the material to mould into the form which seemed best to them. Without that opportunity their powers of mind would have been extinguished, and without those powers the opportunity would have come in vain... These opportunities, therefore, made those men fortunate, and their high ability enabled them to recognise the opportunity... (Machiavelli, 1515, Chapter 6).

Machiavelli saw both fortune (structure) and the power of the mind (agency) as essential to success: without one, the other is of no consequence. The issue of agency and structure underlies or undermines any model of language learning based on rational decision-making, and has key consequences for the way in which motivation is conceptualised. In this section I address how, even if language learning may largely be a function of structure, agency—even *perceived* agency—may still be of vital importance in influencing behaviour. I finish by introducing some ideas from the literature on agency and structure that support my contention that motivation may play a less prominent role in mediating behaviour than is customarily assumed. Some of the greatest minds in history have wrestled with the problems of free will/determinacy and agency/structure. I do not hold any ambition of laying the matter to rest here. Instead, I settle for arguing the case that i) existing work on motivation has tended to neglect the importance of structure; and that ii) this neglect has caused researchers unwittingly to exaggerate the role of motivation in determining behaviour. The theme of the following section is in part formulated in question form by Dörnyei & Ushioda (2011) as follows:

Do we treat [individuals] as autonomous agents...or do we reduce the significance of their agency by assuming that their motivation is largely the function of the social norms, values,

meanings and identities that make up the sociocultural context? (pp. 36-7).

To this, I would add that the potential significance of agency can be reduced further by adding to consideration the more concrete types of structure that are hard to avoid or overcome: the financial resources of one's parents; genetically determined aspects of personality, etc. Here are some examples of what structure appears to either dictate or regulate in the Japanese context:

- **What can, and cannot be studied.** Despite the descriptor in the national curriculum 'language education', most Japanese schools do not offer any foreign languages besides English.
- **How it can be studied.** Lessons in school are likely to be focused on test performance.
- **The nature of one's peers.** In the compulsory classroom, the learner is likely to be studying English with many peers who have little motivation to become proficient in the language.
- **How peers view English ability.** Active engagement as a language learner marks one as 'different', and may even be derided (see Section 7.2.3).
- **The extent to which one is compelled to study English.** All students in compulsory education have to study English for seven years. For those who continue to university this rises to 11 years (three in high school, at least one in university).
- **Where one can study.** Given the lack of real-life need for practical English in Japan, practising speaking tends to require paying for private lessons.
- **When one can study.** Study abroad for most students is only realistically possible (or at least seen this way) in the university years (Nana is an exception).
- **The pressure one feels to study in a certain way.** Powerful discourses dictate that it is important to go to school and to study hard (rather than skipping school and studying by oneself at home, for example).

- **The extent to which English is needed, or can be used in everyday life.** For the vast majority of people in Japan, English is unnecessary for daily life.

Structure can be analogised as the rules of a football game. Players are “constrained by rules, but these rules also give players the freedom to compete in a fair game that does not descend into complete anarchy” (Al-Hoorie, 2015, p. 58). To resist or get around some of these structures requires agency. This may be done in two ways: first, by exerting a degree of agency within the parameters set by such structural constraints. A learner may, for example, put her faith in autonomous study rather than trusting to compulsory English classes, thereby framing these classes as irrelevant rather than the ‘be-all and end-all’ of her English studies. While she may be required to attend such classes, there is enough flexibility within this structure that she can quietly redirect her energies to autonomous study. Other structures, however, may be less flexible. Try as one may, for example, it may be impossible to fight cultural or institutional attitudes toward English, such as those encountered by Daisuke in junior high school, where he relates the impossibility of participating actively or speaking English in English class:

Extract 8.9

I just didn’t want to be seen as strange to be crazy student from...classmates. If I raised my hand a lot or answered questions my classmates would think, you know, strange. You know this feeling right Japanese students they have this...I was afraid of it so I just studied normally like other subjects... (D/3)

A second option is resist or get around structures is to abandon one context for another. Studying abroad is the perfect example of this. The constraints of the Japanese classroom are of no consequence when one is removed from that environment.

Even when the learner is seen to be undertaking agentic activity, it may, of course, be the case that this agency is only *perceived* as such. Participant accounts of agency would traditionally be considered a poor measure of actual cognition, given research on confabulation, choice blindness and misattribution of agency (Bar-Anan, Wilson & Hassin, 2010; Hall et. al, 2010; Johansson et. al, 2005). However, given that our perception of the world presumably has consequences for the way in which we act within it, even this weaker form of agency is of consequence. Perceived conscious decision-making in the data is associated with making a fresh start and the pursuit of personal aspirations, while passive behaviour is associated with lack of alternative options or ideas, following the advice of others, and the *real world*, as opposed to the years when one is in school or university. Perceived self-agency can also be seen to support self-esteem:

Extract 8.10

I want to become an English teacher. Well, also I can't think of any other job to do but like the reason why I choose to become a teacher is when I was in Tembley in the college I kind of taught Japanese to the international students as a Japanese subject. I was the assistant but I kind of helped the students I mean my friends to teach Japanese and I really enjoyed it I really love so that's why. It's just a simple reason (N/1)

Here, Nana briefly acknowledges the structural constraints she is under, but immediately discounts them in favour of attributing her decision to become a teacher to her own agency. By thinking this way, she maintains self-esteem as someone who is in control of her life. If, instead, she allowed herself to believe that she was simply trundling along a pre-determined path, this would presumably have some depressive effect, which would in turn have an influence on behaviour. In order for agency to have an effect, one first has to *believe* in agency.

In a fascinating introduction to the literature on the agency and structure, Al-Hoorie (2015) suggests that automaticity—behaviour that is, as I referred to it in the introduction to Chapter 6, on ‘auto drive’—is indispensable for the explanation and prediction of virtually all psychological phenomena (Bargh et al., 2012). Bargh (1997) claims that automaticity accounts for 99.44% of human behaviour, and Dijksterhuis, Chartrand and Aarts (2007) claim that the role of consciousness in explaining behaviour has been vastly overrated. Such explanations, they claim, are generally post-hoc rationalisations of responses that emanated from the “adaptive unconscious” (p. 107). Random events, Mlodinow (2008) asserts, rule our lives. If agency really is at best an illusion, this suggests that motivation is not an antecedent of human behaviour, but a pre-existing affective state that accompanies certain behaviours (Al-Hoorie, 2015). However, even if the role of the consciousness is ‘offline and indirect’ (Baumeister, Masicampo & Vohs, 2011), this might still be enough for it to exert influence at key moments, given the existence of a convincing rationale or cognitive imagery that impels us to resist impulse or to select from a number of competing impulses:

This indirect view of agency supports a duality within human nature; while on the one hand the terrain with its multiple influences disposes behaviour toward one direction, on the other, agentic behaviour requires conscious evaluation of these tendencies and vetoing what is deemed maladaptive (Al-Hoorie, 2015, p. 63).

Intriguingly, this agentic capacity may only be possible for those who believe in free will (see my own comment on the importance of belief in agency at the head of this page). If one does not believe that one can pass an exam through the expending of effort and time studying, one is unlikely to bother doing so. In this indirect way, participant theories about the self can have “a direct and unequivocal effect on behaviour, attitudes and motivation” (Al-Hoorie, 2015, p. 47). Within a sea of structure, there

is a window of agency, and no matter how small this agency may be proportionately, it is not to be dismissed out of hand, because it is what enables one individual to take the hard path while his peers 'go with the flow'. Just because agency or motivation may have a drastically reduced role does not mean that it cannot pack a significant punch in certain circumstances.

It seems clear that Al-Hoorie's view is in line with my characterisation of agency as being possible within certain structural parameters. Consider the example of Nana and Daisuke's first study abroad trips. Nana, although she had a tough time, persisted in communicating despite having little communicative ability, being seen (as she saw things) as uncool, and having to use a notebook in an almost humiliating way to get her meaning across to her classmates. She had the conscious 'muscle' to fight through the difficult circumstances. In Bandura's (1997) terminology, she showed the "ability to behave differently from what environmental forces dictate rather than inevitably yield to them" (p. 7); Daisuke did not. He withdrew into his room and avoided social contact. Of the two, Nana was the motivated learner.

The consequence of the position I have set out in this section is that the motivation field may have overemphasised agency and overlooked structure in explaining language learning. I have shown some ways in which language learning is dictated by structure, and I have argued that this position finds support in the literature. However, I also contend that, even if more than 99% of behaviour is determined by factors other than motivation, the 1% influenced by motivation is still of importance, because it can be key in explaining why learner behaviour changes. Presumably one place in which to observe such motivation in action (albeit retrospectively) is the revelatory significant event. This view is broadly in line with the explanation of language learning offered by the extended ELMS model, which deals largely with structure: three of the four extended ELMS model elements are structural elements (drives, institutions and culture) and only revelations are analysed in terms of the ramifications they have for conscious decision-making. For more on this, see Section 8.3.4.

8.3 Presenting the Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment (LMS) model

In this section I present a hypothetical model of learning which I have labelled the *Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment* (LMS) model (see Figure 8.1). Learning behaviour is conceptualised as being a function of four elements: self-fulfilment drives, identities, beliefs and motivations, and structures. This model builds on the extended ELMS model, drawing on my review of the literature in the previous section. It is reformulated from a substantive (five people studying English in Japan) to a formal focus (people learning in general). Learning behaviour is seen as function, or emergent outcome, of the interaction of the elements. Motivation need not necessarily be part of this interaction. For purposes of parsimony, I have conceptualised cultural and institutional influences under the category *identity*. In order to keep the visual representation of the model concise, and given the speculative nature of the categories, I have decided to give the details of the categories in note form in the proceeding sections.

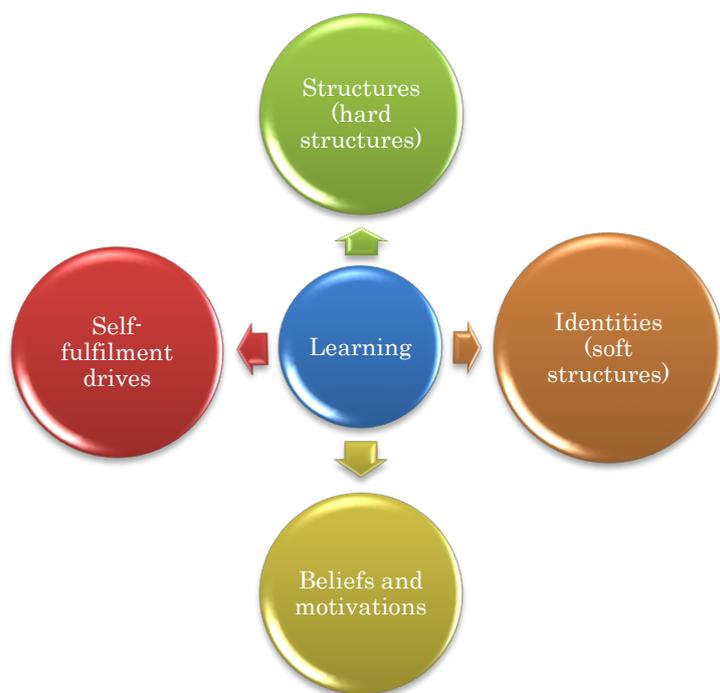


Figure 8.1. The Learning as a Means of Self-fulfilment (LMS) model.

8.3.1 Drives

These include the drives of the ELMS models plus a hypothetical moral drive (see Section 6.1). I added Maslow's physical and safety needs (see Section 8.1.1) since they may conceivably be engaged through language learning in certain situations.

- Perspective drive
- Status drive
- Entertainment drive
- Communication drive
- Moral drive
- Physical and safety drives

These drives are largely unconscious in nature. They may also be considered intrinsic motivations. The nature and strength of each drive will tend to vary in intensity over time. The category status drive can potentially be enriched by the incorporation of concepts such as Maslow's Esteem needs, and Norton's symbolic resources. Aspects of Maslow's Love needs might strengthen the communication drive category. For information on the hypothetical moral drive, see Extracts 6.8 and 7.6.

8.3.2 Structures

By 'structures' I refer to the physical or material environments that constrain or enable learning. In Japan, for example, structures preclude studying French in elementary school, and determine that one's family must have the necessary financial resources if one wishes to practice spoken English. Perhaps genetically determined characteristics such as aspects of personality, temperament, intelligence, and language aptitude can be included in this category. To the extent that drives are predetermined, it could

be argued that that category too could be subsumed by ‘structures’. In operational terms it can therefore be seen as something of a ragbag category for structural elements *not including* Drives.

8.3.3 Identities

This category includes the following subcategories (and potentially more):

- National identity
- Cultural identity
- Social identity
- <seken> identity (see Section 8.3)
- Institutional identity
- Individual identity

As an influence on learning, these identities can be approached through asking the question: ‘What does it mean to learn [English/mathematics, etc.] as a [Japanese/Indian etc.]?’ This category might also be understood as *soft structures*, i.e. those that arise from interactions between mind and society, as opposed to the *hard structures* represented by the category ‘structures’.

8.3.4 Beliefs and motivations

This category is a slightly more narrowly defined version of the broad category *cognition*. It is the most complex category. Aspects that have come to light in this study are as follows:

- Beliefs about the object of study
- Beliefs about oneself

- Conscious motivations to change the course of learning based on evaluation of the above beliefs.
- The need to rationalise behaviour in order to support self-esteem (this could perhaps be thought of as the conscious counterpart to status drive) (see Extract 8.10).

In the research presented here I have highlighted the important role played by significant events. I hypothesise that these constitute one important source of changes in beliefs. From these beliefs may spring the motivation to change behaviour. Given fundamental drives, identities, structures, and beliefs, behaviour will be directed in a particular direction. Motivation is the cognitive process required to *deviate* from this course.

8.3.5 Explanatory scope of the model

The LMS model explains behaviours other than language learning. Take, for example, a learner with a strong perspective drive. We can postulate that there are multiple ways other than language learning for such a person to engage this drive. They include:

- ‘Traveling back in time’ through a study of history
- Exploring the physical world through science
- Exploring metaphysics through philosophy
- Exploring fantasy worlds through role-play games

All of these activities conceivably entail gaining a new perspective on the world, broadening one’s horizons. Language proficiency is even less essential to the engagement of one’s status drive: there are

as many ways to engage it as there are ways to be ‘successful’.

8.3.6 Learning over time

The way in which the five participants took varied paths to achieving English proficiency precludes a tidy chronology of language learning, but it is possible to identify the following shared tendencies:

- Relatively early engagement with English outside of school. This engagement persists despite generally apathetic attitudes towards lessons in school
- Learning either starting in earnest, or accelerating rapidly during later adolescence
- Adolescence punctuated by key events that exert a disproportionately significant influence on motivation

Against this background of this very general shared chronology, we can ask how specific elements of the LMS model may change over time. As the learner grows up, seeks fulfilment, learns how to ‘be in the world’, and grapples with the idea of becoming an adult, he or she encounters changes in her relationship with parents and significant others, goes through a succession of educational institutions, notices shifts in personal beliefs, experiences various incidents that life has to offer, some of them adverse, and makes sense of life in terms of the past, and in terms of possibilities for the future. It might be expected that understandings of human motivation and behaviour for one age group may not apply to another. The motivations of a child learning English as a second language in an immersion environment, those of a teenager studying learn English as a foreign language in order to pass exams as a requirement to enter the workforce, or those of a pensioner learning language as a hobby, may be so disparate in nature as to make a unified model quite impractical, or at least so blunt as to be of little explanatory use.

A limited amount of research has been conducted on changes in motivation to learn languages in school over the short term (Koizumi & Matsuo, 1993; Tachibana, Matsukawa & Zhong, 1996; Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant & Mihic, 2004; Inbar, Donitsa-Schmidt & Shohamy, 2001; Chambers, 1999; Ushioda, 2001) (see also Section 2.2.2). They tend to show that students tend to lose motivation for language study over time. No research within the L2 motivation field that I am aware of addresses motivational change over the lifetime. It seems reasonable to suppose that drives may emerge, perhaps disappear, and certainly vary in saliency or specific functioning over time (sexual drive, although not necessarily language learning-related, is an obvious example). In Sections 6.2 and 6.3 I suggested some ways in which this may be the case. Perspective drive, I proposed, presumably develops from, or complements, a pre-existing entertainment drive. I also argued that some sort of morality drive to either live one's life in an ethical manner, or to at least tell oneself that this is the case, may be something that emerges in adolescence, while status drive may at an early age be associated with pleasing parents, then later concerned with peers, and later still with the wider world, or <sekai>.

Significant events appear to strike at a certain point in the chronology of language learning, during adolescence, particularly during later junior and high school years. Lamb (2004) notes that changes in the motivation of Indonesian learners of English to learn the language may in part be explained by “on-going processes of identification, especially during the formative years of adolescence” (p. 1). Adolescence is presumably also a time when beliefs about learning, personal abilities, aspirations, and possibilities are in a state of flux, being formulated, changed, abandoned and replaced in tandem with changes in environment (Head, 1997). This may be especially true in a globalising world (Giddens, 2000) in which some learners may aspire to a ‘bicultural’ identity incorporating “an English-speaking globally-involved version of themselves in addition to their local L1-speaking self” (Lamb, 2004, p. 1). The point at which I interviewed the participants was quite possibly a time when the student identity—in connection with which learning English is an activity associated with engaging the fulfilment drives

as a Japanese, as a student etc.—is interacting with immediate concerns of job-hunting and entering society as an adult. This observation is in line with Shoaib and Dörnyei's (2005) research on 25 learners of English, through which they identified six salient “motivational transformation episodes” which were connected with a reformulation of their motivational disposition. One of these was *Moving into a new life phase*. The writers observed that: “When our subjects entered a new life phase, for example left school and started work, this transition often brought about a change in their learning goals” (p. 32).

It seems prudent to acknowledge the possibility that the ELMS models may be particularly relevant to young adult language learners who are at a stage of life when they are making the transition from formal education to the world at large.

8.4 Distributed motivation

In this section I present a new, approach to conceptualising the motivation of the person-in-context, drawing on Clark and Chalmer's (1998) concept of expanded cognition. Towards the end of Section 8.1.6 I argued that motivation theorists could in effect choose one of two paths when theorising motivation. The first is to stick with the term motivation but to expand its boundaries to account for social interaction, i.e., to ‘situate’ it socially. The second choice it to accept that motivation is a fundamentally psychological concept and to supplement it with socially oriented concepts such as Norton's *investment*. I indicated that my own inclination is to the latter option, leaving motivation in the psychological realm, and in so doing downgrading its explanatory power in the face of the overwhelming importance of structure in influencing language learning. In this section I play devil's advocate by suggesting how motivation might be reconceptualised to incorporate what would conventionally be seen as social aspects of language learning.

I would like to suggest that one way of integrating the psychological and social sides of

motivation is to use as a model the work of Clark & Chalmers (1998) on expanded cognition²⁶. Clark and Chalmers argue that there have traditionally been two answers to the question of where the mind stops and the world begins. The first is to set the boundary at the cranium and proceed under the assumption that the mind is in the head. The second is to argue that meaning is not only in the mind, but also in the world, independent of the physical brain. The third way, they write, is “a very different sort of externalism: an active externalism, based on the active role of the environment in driving cognitive processes” (p. 27). What have traditionally been seen as environmental *supports* for cognitive work, or *tools* for cognition—paraphernalia such as pen and paper, language, books, diagrams, smartphones and culture—can, they argue, be considered fundamental elements of that cognition. These manipulated media are “*in the loop*, not dangling at the other end of a long causal chain” (p. 29, emphasis in the original). In all of these cases the brain conducts some operations while others are delegated to “manipulations of external media” (ibid.). Were our brains different, they claim, so would the distribution of tasks between internal and external media, but this would not make the cognitive process itself any different. They conclude:

If, as we confront some task, a part of the world functions as a process which, *were it done in the head*, we would have no hesitation in recognizing as part of the cognitive process, then that part of the world *is* (so we claim) part of the cognitive process. Cognitive processes ain’t (all) in the head! (p. 28, emphasis in the original).

²⁶ It has since come to my attention that there is a related concept of ‘distributed cognition’ which pre-dates work by Clark and Chalmers, in which the fundamental unit of analysis is taken to be “a collection of individuals and artefacts and their relations to each other in a particular work practice” (Rogers & Ellis, 1994). Extended cognition also has links to Vygotskian sociocultural theory (1978) and work by Salomon (Salomon & Perkins, 1998) on individual and social aspects of learning. In order to keep things simple I limit myself to a discussion of Clark and Chalmer’s paper ‘The extended mind’ (1998). It should, however, be noted that I have substituted the descriptor ‘expanded’ for ‘distributed’ because I prefer the nuance of the latter.

Clark and Chalmers’s argument is one of parsimony. While it would be possible to explain action in terms of internal processes, inputs, and actions, doing so makes explanations needlessly complex. In a real sense, they claim, the re-arrangement of Scrabble tiles on the tray to promote word recognition can quite simply be thought of as part of thought rather than action.

It does not require a huge leap of the imagination to conjecture that the motivation as I have conceptualised it in the present study—the process by which the learner deviates from the present path of action—could, like cognition more generally, be “distributed across internal human minds, external cognitive artefacts, and groups of people”, and even “across space and time” (Zhang & Patel, 2006, p. 333). Let us examine an example from the data to explore how this could be the case. According to a conventional explanation, the effect of Koichi’s cram school teacher’s inspirational speech about the importance of English (see Section 5.3) might be explained in the following way: 1) Koichi had no knowledge about English; 2) His cram school teacher showed him a new way of looking at the world according to which English is an essential skill; 3) Koichi’s beliefs about English came into existence for the first time; and 4) He became motivated change his English learning behaviour (see Figure 8.2).



Figure 8.2. Koichi’s motivation: a conventional description.

By contrast, a distributed motivational perspective views motivation not as an aspect of Koichi’s psychology alone, nor as the result of a causal sequence, but as an emergent phenomenon distributed between Koichi and his cram school teacher. This could be called a motivational assembly (see Figure 8.3).

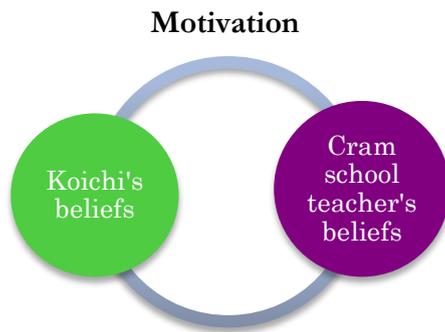


Figure 8.3. Koichi’s motivation: a distributed motivation perspective.

If, to use Clark and Chalmer’s way of explaining things, this same motivational transformation had happened without the intervention of the cram school teacher; if it had come about instead as a result of deep personal reflection we would have no problem in describing it in motivational terms. Under a distributed motivation picture the situation is different only in that the motivation is distributed between Koichi and his cram school teacher.

In a similar way, we can view motivation as distributed between Nana and the Canadian context (see Section 5.1); or Manami and the movie Titanic (see Section 5.5). Changes in learning behaviour can be brought about by the formation of motivational assemblies constituted of the participant plus a person, a movie, or a context, or any other number of elements. Traditionally, these would be called motivational ‘influences’. Using the idea of distributed motivation, they can be seen as directly constitutive of motivation itself.

Several consequences follow from the conceptualisation of cognition and motivation as distributed phenomena:

- If words are seen as part of cognition rather than manifestations of it, these words, and narratives they make up can be expected to assume a more eminent position in explaining, or perhaps constituting behaviour. The production of narrative must, in some respects, be considered not the outcome of a cognitive process, but part of that process:
talk/communication *as* cognition/motivation.
- If the mind extends into the world, motivational beliefs about language learning can be considered not as being influenced by, but being *constituted* of discourses and ideologies.
- The boundaries of the self might “extend beyond the cranium” (p. 39), to include the company one keeps, and the expectations others have of you. The distinction between self and identity/identities therefore becomes more fluid.

One possible note of contention towards the idea of distributed motivation might be the way in which it is justified by an appeal to theoretical parsimony. In a strict sense, describing motivation as distributed may be more parsimonious than describing it in terms of cause and effect. On the other hand, if humans are predisposed by nature to think in terms of cause and effect—if that is how our cognitive apparatus is designed to make sense of the world—then perhaps parsimony in a strict sense is less than parsimonious *in practice* if it is unnecessarily hard for people or researchers to get to grips with it.

The concept of expanded motivation may hold the potential to answer some questions that have been asked of newer views of motivation that have yet to be answered. For example, how the CDST view of the person as being coupled with the environment (Dörnyei, MacIntyre & Henry, 2015) or how Ushioda’s person-in-context can be operationalised as a single unit of analysis for the purposes of research or theorising. It may also go some way to address existing inconsistencies that have been

noticed within the literature. Norton Peirce (1995), for example, argues that artificial distinctions drawn between the individual and the social within existing research lead to the arbitrary assignment of particular factors as being either individual or social. Krashen (1981, 1982), she observes, regards motivation as being independent of social context, while Spolsky (1989) sees them as intertwined. Krashen differentiates between motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety, while Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977) view motivation as a theoretical subset of self-confidence. Krashen (*ibid.*) sees self-confidence as an intrinsic factor, while Gardner (1985) argues that it “arises from positive experiences in the context of the second language” (Norton, 1997, p. 11). The significance of these inconsistencies disappears if the theories from which they originate are reformulated, rejecting the “hegemony of skin and skull” (p. 39). On the other hand, there might be a danger that piling them all together and denoting them ‘distributed’ is simply a way of glossing over very important differences between them.

CHAPTER 9: CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH, CONCLUSION

In this thesis I used a GT analysis to develop a theory that explains language learning in terms of the engagement of self-fulfilment drives. This theory was used within three theoretical models to address substantive (the learning behaviour of five particular learners), more formal (language learning in Japan), and formal (learning in general) areas of study. In addition to the derivation of the basic/expanded ELMS models and LMS model, the research has made the following theoretical contributions to theory on language-learning behaviour:

1. It has shown some of the ways in which language learning is driven by multiple underlying needs or drives.
2. It has shown that language learning can be explained in terms of general, rather than language learning-specific theories of motivation.
3. It has supplied empirical support for a drives-based perspective on motivation and language learning.
4. It has shown some of the ways in which significant events play a key role in motivating and supporting language learning.
5. It has shown how cultural and institutional identities may enable or hinder language learning.
6. It has presented the case that motivation may be usefully thought of in terms of its occasional, rather than constant, influence on behaviour.
7. It has shown that a learner's recollection of past experiences may have more to tell us about motivation than the real-time examination of what would conventionally be viewed as 'motivated' behaviour.

In this section I start by answering the research questions. I then consider the theoretical, methodological, and practical contributions of the analysis. In closing, I offer some reflections on the nature of motivation.

9.1 Theoretical contribution: The research questions revisited

The research questions read as follows:

Main research question:

1. How can participants' engagement in language learning be explained?

Secondary research questions:

2. How do concepts such as motivation, the significant event, and participant beliefs help to explain participants' engagement in language learning?
3. How do environmental factors affect participants' engagement in language learning?

In this thesis I have shown that engagement in language learning can be understood as a means of pursuing self-fulfilment. I have demonstrated that this need takes the form of at least four unconscious drives: perspective, status, entertainment, and communication drives. I have also identified concrete ways in which culture, institutions, and significant events hold consequences for the engagement in language learning. My answer to the first research question is, in short, that engagement in language learning is explained by the basic and extended ELMS models (Chapters 6 and 7).

The answer to the second research question is shown in Table 9.1:

ELEMENT	ROLE
Motivation	Motivation is the exercise of conscious control over behaviour whereby the current learning trajectory is either <i>maintained</i> despite factors that would otherwise divert the learner from an existing trajectory, or <i>changed</i> in the face of influences on behaviour that would otherwise tend to support an existing trajectory.
Significant events	Significant events can have two principal effects on engagement in learning: i) a revelatory effect, whereby they cause a dramatic change in learner beliefs with consequent effect for learning engagement; ii) they act as a symbolic reminder of the justifications for language learning, or of the consequences for success or failure, thereby supporting language learning engagement.
Beliefs	Participant beliefs underlie engagement in language learning, particularly in terms of the views that the learner holds towards the self and towards English learning. The ELMS/LMS models do not address the psychological processes whereby motivation is produced, or emerges. Rather, they provide frameworks into which pre-existing theories relating behaviour to self-fulfilment or self-esteem can be accommodated.

Table 9.1. Answers to research question 2.

The third research question is very broad in nature. The environmental element to which I have paid the most attention is the significant event (see above). Significant events tend to be unexpected, and occur outside of the classroom, most commonly during adolescence. I addressed other issues, such as the importance of cultural norms, in Section 8.2. My general conclusion is that environmental elements—curricula, social surroundings, household environment, (and also drives and personality, if one broadens the definition of environment to the extent that it becomes analogous with *structure*)—

hold significant implications for learning. It follows that motivation may play a less important role, proportionately, than is commonly assumed (I explore these ideas further in section 9.4). In addition, I argued that the environment can be understood in terms of *hard* and *soft* structures. Hard structures refer to concrete constrictions and opportunities governing possible behaviour, while soft structures refer to culture, institutions and people whose influence is to an extent a function of the interaction between the learner and these elements.

9.1.2 Issues warranting further attention

I am confident that the principled, transparent process of inductive analysis employed to derive the ELMS models ensures that they can serve as a robust basis for subsequent researching and theorising. This may take the form of verifying, elaborating, or modifying the models. However, given that the process of reduction involved in producing such models inevitably results in many interesting aspects of the data being left out and theoretical avenues left unexplored, it may also involve identifying and exploring aspects of learning unaddressed by the models. Some of the issues that may warrant further research attention are as follows:

1. The relationship between perspective and communication drives, Gardner's integrative orientation, and Maslow's love needs.
2. The extent to which drives vary in strength according to personality, age, or gender (see Section 7.1.2).
3. The role played by narrative in constituting motivation. See, for example, the role of Nana's proud narrative of triumph over adversity in supporting status drive (Section 5.1).
4. The role played by constructs such as self-esteem and self-efficacy in shaping motivation and language-learning behaviour, and how they can be understood in terms of

unconscious drives (for example status drive) and conscious cognitive processes.

5. The role of significant others in instigating behavioural change.

Having addressed the theoretical contributions and the implications of the research, I now address its methodological contribution.

9.2 Methodological contribution

In this section I compare the relationship between data and theory in the research presented here with that of existing research. In order to evaluate the methodology of a given theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend asking: “To what degree is the theory grounded? What kinds of data are used, and in what capacity, in relation to the theory?” (p. 18). The theory derived from the analysis presented here is grounded in empirical data, and the process of its derivation has been documented clearly and carefully in the methodology and analysis sections. This characteristic distinguishes it from the theories reviewed in Chapter 2. I begin with theories from general psychology.

Rather than a carefully delineated empirical data source, Maslow’s theory of human motivation is based on clinical observation as well as influences as diverse as James, Dewey, Wertheimer, Goldstein, Freud and Adler. Although his theory of human motivation may be to an extent grounded in data, it is difficult to specify the extent, because it is not documented. In Section 8.1.1 I drew attention to how Maslow’s theory might have differed had it been scrupulously grounded in data, and had this process been documented. Other general theories of motivation, self-determination theory and possible selves theories, are more deductive in their derivations than Maslow’s theory. Markus (2006) describes the impetus behind the development of possible selves theory as follows:

Focusing on possible selves gave us license to speculate about the remarkable power of imagination in human life. We also had room to think about the importance of the self-structure as a dynamic interpretive matrix for thought, feeling, and action, and to begin to theorise about the role of sociocultural contexts in behaviour. Finally, the concept wove together our mutual interests in social psychology, social work, and clinical psychology (p. xi).

In other words, this theory was the result of top-down theorising, not the inductive analysis of empirical data from the bottom up. Self-discrepancy theory, too, began life as a hypothesised rearrangement of existing literature.

The ELMS theory can also be distinguished methodologically from language learning-specific theories of motivation. Gardner (2001b) describes how his research focus arose from discussions with his thesis advisor, W. E. Lambert, who was at that time conducting research on bilingualism. Since Gardner himself was not bilingual, Lambert suggested studying second language learners. During the course of these discussions, Gardner made an offhand observation that he doubted that somebody could learn a language properly if they did not like the group who spoke the language. To which Lambert replied: “Hey man. There’s your thesis!” (p. 1). Gardner’s academic work since that time has been to develop this idea conceptually and to verify it statistically. The most enduring and influential body of work on motivation and language learning derives from a hunch, not data—a testament to the casual or imaginative way in which theory is commonly derived.

Dörnyei’s (2005) L2 motivational self-system is an example of the incorporation of theory from general psychology into language learning-specific theory. Dörnyei (2005) recounts three reasons that led him to develop this theory: i) the feeling that language learning is part of the individual’s identity; ii) his long-standing fascination with Gardner’s concept of ‘integrativeness’; and iii) the need for a theoretical framework to accommodate the findings of empirical research (e.g. Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002;

Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). Dörnyei found Higgins's *self-discrepancy theory*, and in particular the concept of the ideal self, useful in meeting this third requirement. Although the results of a statistical analysis of a data set (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005) provided a stimulus for the new model, the theory was not derived in a systemic way *from* the data. Rather, he rearranged existing theory in order to fit the data (Dörnyei, 2005) based on his feelings about language and his views on existing theory.

Of all the theories presented, Norton's concepts of investment, imagined community, and symbolic capital are perhaps the most grounded in data, as they were developed as part of an effort to understand participant testimony collected as part of her Ph.D. thesis. However, it should be noted that they were also a product of her readings in social theory by writers such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Ogbu (1978), in addition to her attempt to produce theory within a feminist, post-structural perspective. While her research is grounded, it is not conducted in the spirit of a fresh start (i.e. 'forget everything except the data') representative of the (admittedly idealistic) grounded theory approach.

Flawed though my execution of it may have been, the inductive method used here to create a theory of language learning behaviour represents a methodologically original attempt to investigate the relationship between motivation and language learning.

9.3 Practical implications

*Educators continue to wrestle with the difficulties of working with academically unmotivated students
(Hidi and Renniger, 2006, p. 111).*

In this section I offer some practical recommendations for language education policy based in part on the results of the research. More importantly, I address the way in which deriving such suggestions can be extremely challenging, and therefore needs to be done cautiously, bearing in mind how much more

complicated and unpredictable is practice than theory. To begin, here is a reiteration of my ELMS theory-related observations on educational practice in Japan:

1. ALTs appear to play a significant out-of-class influence on those students who are genuinely interested in gaining practical proficiency in English. In general, sources of motivation in school derive from the ‘edges’ of classes rather than the classes themselves.
2. Interest in culture, or simple enjoyment of language classes may be a prerequisite for the development of interest in a language and then the decision to invest concrete efforts in acquiring it. In general, schools in Japan tend not to cater to this prerequisite.
3. Schools do not provide a learning environment in which there is the opportunity to fully engage self-fulfilment drives through language learning.
4. Learners are not supplied with valid rationales and support to make sense of their learning *as Japanese*, or as *learners in compulsory education*. Economic/nationalistic rationales such as those given by MEXT (see Chapter 3) are unlikely to resonate with young people, and the liberatory/emancipatory aspects of English learning do not fit well with rigid test-based approaches, not to mention the lack of daily need.
5. As a strictly controlled environment characterised by predictable routine, the school is unlikely to be host to the unpredictable significant events that appear to stimulate learning by effecting a sudden change in beliefs towards the self or English.

A number of straightforward practical recommendations follow from these observations. Acting on the first observation, for example, one might call for more opportunities to be made for ALTs to interact with students informally at school. I will leave the remaining implications to the reader’s imagination for reasons that will shortly become clear. The remainder of this section will be given to express my

view that we need to take care in deriving practical recommendations from observations such as those listed above on the grounds that i) reality is more complicated than theory; and ii) observations about what *is* (theory) do not automatically translate into what *should be* (practice).

The world of practice (i.e. the real world) is a great deal more complicated than that of theory. Theory is by nature a simplified picture of reality, dealing with underlying rules rather than surface complexities. One reduces the complexities of the world to make a useful theory that can describe and explain that reality in very general terms, but it does not follow that this theory alone can reliably inform practice. Figure 8.4 gives an abstract visual analogy. Image A represents the real world. Image B represents a simplified abstract model of the real world reduced to 10% of its original complexity. Image C represents the mistaken idea that this theory alone can be ‘blown up to size’ as a guide to reality in specific rather than very general terms.

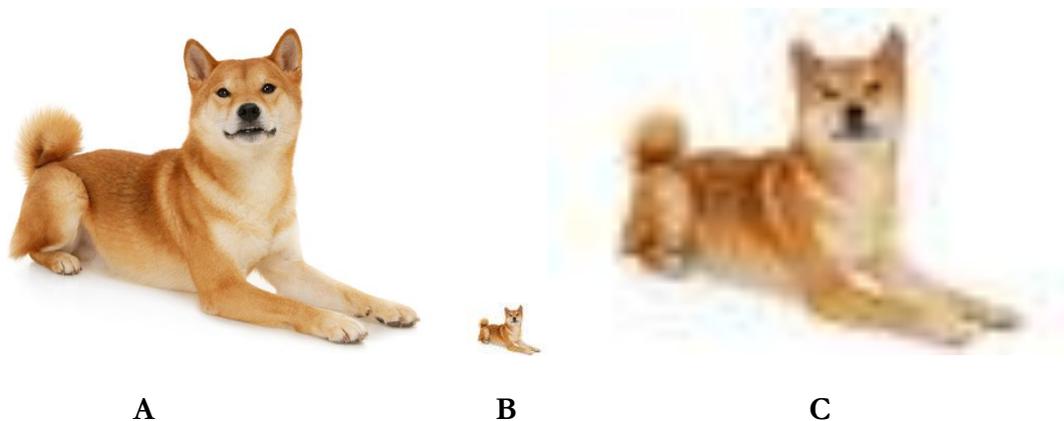


Figure 8.4: From reality to theory to practice: a visual analogy

Let us take a hypothetical example of the dangers of deriving practical implications from a single theory: let us imagine that MEXT decides to act on the first of my observations given above by employing more ALTs and engineering more opportunities for them to engage in informal interaction with students before and after lessons. Because of the simplistic nature of theory compared to practice,

it is impossible to know exactly what would happen should this policy be implemented. It is certainly possible to envision a scenario that does not meet with the desired results. Perhaps, for example, those students who are already motivated would dominate the ALTs' time, and the majority of students who do not enjoy English would not benefit at all. This is not something that could be predicted by the abstract theory. Instead, it requires a holistic understanding of the school environment and the characteristics of student behaviour—the kind of 'common sense' that lies behind the observation that "it's a nice idea but it would never work in practice" (presuming that the commentator is being helpful rather than defeatist). More generally, interpreting a context in terms of single concept—motivation, for example—is perfectly valid theoretically, but we should proceed with great caution to deriving practical recommendations from the study of this single concept. Placing the burden of responsibility for successful English acquisition on motivation, and therefore either on the student for lacking it, or the teacher for failing to inspire it, may be akin to treating the symptom rather than the disease. Although treating symptoms may not in itself be harmful, it distracts attention and resources from the bigger problems.

A second problem of turning theory around to use in practice is that it involves a jump from discussing what is, to what *should be*. In a discussion of the application of complexity theory to education, Morrison (2008) reminds us that "...to move from a descriptive to a prescriptive theory is to commit a category mistake, to mix fact and value, to derive an 'ought' from an 'is'..." (p. 29). Dörnyei (2001a) writes that part of the appeal of motivation theory to teachers can be explained by the failure of educational institutions to enact the kinds of changes recommended by scholars. Teachers have therefore, he claims, turned their attention to "how to prepare learners to succeed *in spite of* the education they receive" (p. 103, emphasis in the original). The sentiment that guides such examinations is no doubt noble. However, it is a mistake to assume that there is something inherently good about motivation. Surely it is the end to which motivation is put that requires judgement. My concern is that

the hundreds of hours that Japanese students currently spend in language classes, and the thousands of additional hours required to learn a language successfully, carry a sizable opportunity cost of time, effort, and resources. Given the arguments I set out in Chapter 3 about the questionable need, en masse, for English in Japan, I personally feel that, even if it were to be drastically improved in its implementation, many doubts could still be raised about the ethicality of compulsory English language education on such a scale, and over such an extended period of time.

Practical changes

In closing, I will permit myself a few paragraphs in which to express my own practical recommendations for language education in Japan. While these recommendations take into account the results of the analysis, they are not limited to them. This is because, as explained above, I do not think it is sensible to derive practical implications for something as complicated as language education from a single academic field, let alone a lone empirical study. As the giver of recommendations, I feel it is my responsibility to draw on all my experience, not simply that of conducting the analysis.

First, I would like to emphasise the point that I do not define ‘positive change’ in the superficial sense of increased language proficiency, but holistically in terms of the enjoyment of school, freedom of thought and study, and the general contribution of language education and education in general to a healthy, happy, productive, and safe society. With that rather vague (space precludes anything else) foundation in place, I will proceed. Structural defects require structural fixes. There is, in my opinion, a need for a shift in focus from attempts to motivate the learner, to attempts to structure lessons, curricula, and the education system, so that the ‘problem’ of motivation goes away. The most efficient way to do this in a hierarchically controlled system is from the top down. Positive changes might, in my opinion, include a combination of the following:

1. Increasing the range of languages available for students to study.
2. Allowing students who either have little interest or need for language study to opt out of language study at an earlier age (for example by the end of junior high school).
3. Removing English as a compulsory component in the national university entrance test.
4. Encouraging the sporadic use of a mixture of proficiency and progress tests, rather than the over-reliance on progress tests.

If these measures were combined with deregulation, granting schools more autonomy to determine their own curricula and how to teach them, change need not be needlessly complex. A student told me recently that he had read that policymakers were considering replacing the English section from the current university entrance exams with TOEFL test score requirements. It strikes me that some small change in the structure of the system *along these lines* (I have no particular affection for the TOEFL test) is much more likely to bring about widespread positive change than the most concerted effort to motivate students through, for example, teacher-training or some such systematic strategy implemented at great expenditure of bureaucratic energy. What is needed is for the system as a whole to experience its own ‘significant event’—a shock to the system that instigates (in CDST terms) a phase transition. Giving young people a choice of languages to study is another relatively simple change that could have positive ramifications for the system as a whole. If I had to boil my opinions down to their essence, I would state that the way to deal with the motivation ‘problem’ is not to fix it, but to fix *things* so that it disappears, or is significantly reduced in scope. On a planning and policy level, lack of motivation would most productively be treated as a symptom of systemic problems within education.

9.4 On motivation

The core theoretical concept of the analysis presented here is the drive. Viewed in terms of psychology the drive is a fundamental and unconscious phenomenon, and therefore much less complicated in nature than motivation²⁷. Concrete structural influences are similarly straightforward, being in principle visible and measurable. It is when the individual interacts with context (forming what I have referred to as *soft structures*) that things become complicated. Identity is socially constructed, negotiated in social intercourse. Conscious motivation, too, is indirectly contingent on context as well as more fundamental characteristics of learner psychology such as drives and personality. Against this backdrop it is understandable that Maslow (1943) recommended viewing cognitions as symptomatic to more fundamental processes on the grounds of theoretical parsimony. Yet, as I showed in Section 8.2, it seems reasonable to presume that motivation is greater than the sum of its parts, and therefore a fundamental, rather than symptomatic, influence on behaviour. At the beginning of this thesis I gave the following working definition of motivation:

An abstract concept used to explain why a person thinks and behaves as they do, insofar as the person has a degree of conscious awareness or control over this thinking and behaviour.

Motivation emerges from, or is contingent upon, the interaction of more fundamental drives, conscious meaning-making (goals, self-imagery), and interaction with the environment.

At the close of the thesis I am in a position to refine this initial definition somewhat to emphasise the important role that motivation may at times play in behavioural change. The following definition incorporates, in broad terms, the contributions of the analysis to my understanding of motivation:

²⁷ Although I am sure it is complicated enough for biologists for whom it is an emergent rather than fundamental phenomenon. It is a question of hierarchy.

Motivation is a psychological process by which the self-reflecting organism either maintains, or instigates *changes* to current behaviour. Given fundamental drives, structures, identities and beliefs, behaviour will be directed in a particular direction. Motivation is required to deviate from this course.

This definition is much more tightly defined than conventional definitions (see Section 2.1).

Accordingly, many aspects of learner cognition and behaviour that are usually associated with motivation—persistence, arousal, aspirations, attributions and strategy-use (see Section 2.1)—would be attributed to the influence of drives or soft or hard structural features, rather than motivation itself.

The more strongly behaviour is determined by structural elements, the stronger the motivation will be required to change it. This can be positive or negative in terms of language learning. If one is thrown into a second language environment in which one needs to acquire the local language in order to survive (one could argue that technology makes this less common these days), motivation as I have defined it is less likely to be necessary, because the circumstances dictate acquisition. Where the survival need is less essential, motivation will play a more vital role (see the comparison of Nana and Daisuke in Section 8.2).

To finish, I should like to offer two complementary analogies that I feel provide a useful representation of motivation as I have conceptualised it here. First, the term ‘course’, or ‘trajectory’, which I have used periodically, brings naturally to my mind the consequences of Newton’s first law of motion:

- An object that is at rest will stay at rest unless an external force acts upon it.
- An object that is in motion will not change its velocity unless an external force acts upon it.

Given that language learners are conscious ‘objects’, these consequences require tweaking to make them more useful as an analogy. We could posit that Newton’s external forces represent elements beyond conscious control: drives, for example, belong to this realm. We might then add an internal, conscious element, which in the LMS model is represented by the beliefs and motivations category. The second consequence of the laws of motion fits well with my proposition that motivation can be seen as the instigator of *changes* in how and to what extent the ELMS drives are engaged, and that much of behaviour, including learning behaviour, may carry on as a matter of habit rather than motivation. Motivation itself accounts for *changes* in how drives, identity and structure are reconciled with English learning (out of a whole host of alternative behaviours).

Another ‘space-based’ Newtonian analogy is the gravity assist, or slingshot manoeuvre, used by a space ship or probe to gain speed without using fuel. The spaceship passes close to a planet and uses its gravity to slingshot itself off at increased speed (see Figure 8.5)

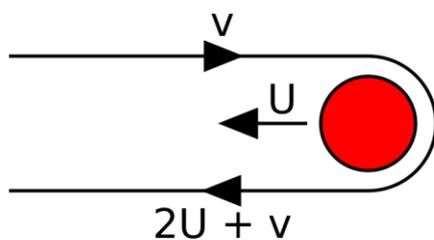


Figure 8.5. The slingshot manoeuvre (Gravity assist, n.d.).

The spacecraft represents the language learner, its trajectory stands for learning behaviour, and the planet represents environmental influences that influence learning effort—the move to a foreign country, for example. The thrusters on the spacecraft itself represent motivation. While relatively weak compared to the gravitational influence of the planet, over time even a short blast can result in a

dramatic change in ultimate destination.

9.5 Conclusion

In this thesis I have presented the results of the analysis of interview data. The results are, in my opinion, sufficiently trustworthy, and lucidly enough presented to satisfy Charmaz's (2005) criteria of quality within qualitative research (see Section 4.4). The third of these categories, resonance, will have to be judged by the reader, but I hope to have shown that the ELMS theories are applicable to contexts beyond that of the research.

In this thesis I have proposed three theoretical models of language learning and general learning; I have shown that drive theories are not dead, and that motivation's importance may have been exaggerated by those who pin to it their hopes for successful language learning in a context such as Japan. Schumann (2015) writes that there is unlikely ever to be a definitive answer to the relationship between motivation and L2 learning, but that "the field might just get tired of the issue, and its importance in applied linguistics could diminish" (p. xviii). The results of this research do in fact support the idea that motivation is not quite as important as we may have come to believe: that it is, as Dörnyei (2001b) writes: a "partial, albeit significant account of 'why people think and behave as they do'" (p. 1). The relative importance of structure over agency, and the idea that motivation might be best approached as a process that acts sporadically rather as a constant force underlying behaviour might (should anyone agree) lead to a diminution in the emphasis placed on motivation within language education. I am by no means arguing that motivation is unimportant, simply that there are a lot of other elements that are equally if not more important, such as educational policy and choice, financial power, larger discourses and ideologies about English within society, and the extent of actual need for a language in a given context.

One of the assumptions underlying L2 motivation research is that it represents a special case

necessitating domain-specific concepts (Ushioda, 2011). The results of the analysis suggest that language learning does not in fact require specialised theory, but this does not mean that applied linguistics is not as rich an arena as any within which to research motivation.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasise that a grounded theory is a work in progress rather than a finished product. Whether this thesis is an isolated outing for the ELMS models or whether I will take them up again in subsequent work I do not know, but I can take a certain amount of satisfaction that it offers at least the opportunity for further worthwhile work within, and around, the field.

I will draw this thesis to a close by emphasising the importance of a term that I have used periodically throughout it, and which I have come to believe is key to an understanding of language learning. The term is 'awareness'. By awareness I mean a holistic sensitivity to the theoretical and practical surroundings of one's specialisation as a researcher. It is possible to be a specialist and at the same time to hold an awareness of the field as a whole, of the situation of the field with respect to other fields, and a humble appraisal of the relative importance of one's own research. I have at various points emphasised my belief in the importance of awareness of a number of issues:

- The nebulous nature of terminology (Definition of key terms)
- The abstract nature of motivation (Section 1.1)
- The subjectivity of one's views (Section 3.4)
- The process by which one's methodology evolves (Introduction to Chapter 4)
- The participant viewpoint and experience (phenomenological awareness) (Section 4.5)
- Interview construction (Section 4.6)
- The nature of the relationship between the interviewer/interviewee (Section 4.6)
- The interrelation between person and context (Section 8.1.6)
- The legitimacy of alternative theoretical approaches (Section 8.1.6).

Getting to the bottom of any of these issues is a tall order, but *awareness that they are there* is a more modest and achievable aim. This can apply to the bigger issues as well as theoretical niceties: awareness that educational policy is not only about ‘turning theory around’ and applying it practice, but about politics, socialisation, ethics and history among other things; awareness that humans are storytellers as well as rational decision makers; and awareness that arguing the finer points may at times be of little relevance to an understanding of the whole.

I wrote in Section 1.2 that I learnt more behind the scenes of my Master’s dissertation than from the ostensible results. The fruits of the research presented here are, I am happy to report, more evenly balanced between empirical findings, theoretical insight and increased theoretical and practical awareness. I hope to have made a solid theoretical contribution to the field while gaining an increased sensitivity to a selection of the complexities involved. I wish to build on both this theory and awareness in future research and theorising.

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APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORMS

INFORMATION / CONSENT FORM

Project Title [研究課題名]: Critical Events and Motivation in Japan

Name of Researcher [研究者氏名]: Julian Pigott

As part of my doctorate research at the University of Warwick, I would like to interview you in order to learn about your motivation for learning English, your opinions about English education in Japan, your experiences learning English abroad, and other related areas. The interview will last up to 1 hour, and there is a possibility that I may request further interviews in the future. By conducting this research I hope to gain an increased understanding of English education in Japan.

The interview recording and transcripts of the recording will be kept secure and password-protected. I will keep your personal information confidential and will not disclose any personal information that could be identified with you without your permission. I plan to publish the results of this study as part of my PhD thesis. I may also use data from the project in academic papers or conference presentations. In any publication, I will present information in such a way that you cannot be identified.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from this research at any time with no negative consequences. Please sign below if you have understood the above and are willing to participate in this study.

Participant [参加者]

2012/4/25

Date

年月日

Name (Please print)

名前 [はつきり書いてください]

Signature

署名

Researcher [研究者]

2012/4/25

Date

年月日

Name (Please print)

名前 [はつきり書いてください]

Signature

署名

Julian Pigott, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies, 6 Saiin, Kasame-cho, Ukyo-ku,
Kyoto City 615-85587

京都外国語大学広報委員会 〒615-8558 京都市右京区西院笠目町 6

Email [メールアドレス]: julianpigott@gmail.com

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Participant [参加者]

27 April 2012

Date

年月日

Julian Pigott
Name (Please print)
名前 [はっきり書いてください]

Julian Pigott
Signature
署名

Researcher [研究者]

Julian Pigott 27th April

Date

年月日

Julian Pigott
Name (Please print)
名前 [はっきり書いてください]

J.P. Pigott
Signature
署名

Julian Pigott, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies, 6 Saiin, Kasame-cho, Ukyo-ku, Kyoto City 615-85587

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Email [メールアドレス]: julianpigott@gmail.com

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Participant [参加者]

2012/05/11

Date
年月日 (11th May)

K. U. S. U.
Name (Please print)
名前 [はっきり書いてください]

[Signature]
Signature
署名

Researcher [研究者]

2012/05/11

Date
年月日 (11th May)

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Name (Please print)
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Participant [参加者]

2012/6/1

Date

年月日

Julian Pigott

Name (Please print)

名前 [はつきり書いてください]

[Signature]

Signature

署名

Researcher [研究者]

2012/6/1

Date

年月日

Julian Pigott

Name (Please print)

名前 [はつきり書いてください]

[Signature]

Signature

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As part of my doctorate research at the University of Warwick, I would like to interview you in order to learn about your motivation for learning English, your opinions about English education in Japan, your experiences learning English abroad, and other related areas. The interview will last up to 1 hour, and there is a possibility that I may request further interviews in the future. By conducting this research I hope to gain an increased understanding of English education in Japan.

The interview recording and transcripts of the recording will be kept secure and password-protected. I will keep your personal information confidential and will not disclose any personal information that could be identified with you without your permission. I plan to publish the results of this study as part of my PhD thesis. I may also use data from the project in academic papers or conference presentations. In any publication, I will present information in such a way that you cannot be identified.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw from this research at any time with no negative consequences. Please sign below if you have understood the above and are willing to participate in this study.

Participant [参加者]
Date
年月日

Julian Pigott Julian Pigott
Name (Please print) Signature
名前 [はっきり書いてください] 署名

Researcher [研究者]
Date
年月日

J D Pigott J D Pigott
Name (Please print) Signature
名前 [はっきり書いてください] 署名

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APPENDIX 2: ANALYSIS SAMPLES

The following pages give examples from initial coding (pp. 315-319), the writing of theoretical memos (pp. 320-322), and diagramming (p. 323).

so before you and your cousin had this conversation it was off your radar.
You completely had no interest whatsoever in it
so I was interested in music and also... movie 24.36 and I was kind of like envy the people who can speak English

Do you remember any particular
is this because I watched TV there is this hollywood star Behind her there is this interpreter speaking you know to the celebrity, yes, and I kind of Wow you know, if I could speak it that could be the job of something you know I dreamed about this I guess I just wanted to communicate

but with... you can communicate with J people so... why
why English? 25:40 I wanted to have some skill, you know, one talent, you know, that everyone can be proud of. I mean I'm not good at doing anything at the time and I didn't feel any confident but if I can speak English then people are you know wow you can speak it and they look at me differently. Like two years ago I did the volunteering for the marathon in Kyoto and like the way I looked was kind of... and I was doing the volunteering and I went to the institution and there was the staff and people looked at the like there was cheesy, like I looked a little cheesy

the staff
or who are you imagining was thinking the
the staff
what institution

the marathon - these was a place like they were organizing
yes and the staff looked at me a little like ~~like~~ comes the lazy university student. They looked at me like that but as soon as I spoke English it changed the way they looked at me

Why did you speak E
I was handle the 27.30 the interpreter for the foreigners translate what the staff were saying and I translated to E and they spoke English to me and I translated to Japanese. What's what I did and they looked at me like wow. At first you know her hair is brown and put too much makeup but but then after I spoke English they changed the way looked at me so...

and how did you feel
felt good really I had the really... how do you say. I didn't feel confidence when I was young
man

and how do you say I forgot
Hyoka, I had a low evaluation of myself.
Yes of myself, so that's why once they said wow you can speak E and then I felt wow E could be the things I can feel like you know proud, confident

yeah

but this was what two years ago.

Yeah, 29:06

Let's say in JHS you said you were kind of not very good at...

anything

it's ok, it's alright for me... so let's say everything's kind of bad... mathematics was ok

in Japan as well

but you got mathematics blah blah and English, history, kokugo. Why did you take it and think

ok this is what should... this is what I should focus on

sh, ok ok ok. Ok if I'm good at it (actually I am good at it) nobody will recognize it. Nobody

will realise my skill of mathematics. But English is conversation people can actually see if I

speaks it and they will think oh she can speak English. Amazing. That's the impression they

will get from me, right. So it's easier to impress people [laughs embarrassedly]

Why?

Why I want to impress?

to 'show' a yearning?

but she does not account for the 'star-struck' aspect.

to scold in the eyes of others
to be respected

to shine
to rise above.

to control people's expectations
to show them.

(I'll show them... what do you think of that eh?)

To have the last laugh.

Take pride. Feel confident in oneself.

PRIDE?

An ability which can be displayed - a public weapon to be used against the naysayers.

Impress people

6.5

realizing what she
came to Canada that
there a many people
who have studied
abroad and she obviously
she wanted them
expressed their
love.

More of them are
selfish and self-
indulgent

wanted to do... it's my selfishness to go study abroad so that's why I need to do something to... achieve it...cos... [1:43:45] and a so I realised when I come to university when I came to this university there are a lot - not a lot, but many people who have been study abroad and obviously they are really self-centred I say (right).
 Never experienced working hard never experienced study hard... that's I see it for people who studied abroad. Most of them are really selfish and self indulgent [self-indulgent] so I don't really like the idea because I've seen it in Canada. Some Japanese are really make me angry. In another word piss me off, so that's why I wanted to earn money actually go to Europe I mean UK.
 [1:44:53] How about three years later when you succeeded in getting into Birmingham University but you said in the last interview that you gave up because of money. Do you think it may have been possible in theory.
 Did your father offer?
 Yes
 He offered
 But I said no no no
 Because
 Because it's my selfishness and because actually... maybe it might be an excuse - but I didn't know if I could succeed to graduate from university in Birmingham because some of my friends they go to university in the UK they tell me really hard really hard
 But you didn't know that at that time
 No I didn't know that at that time I was scared
 Of taking money from your father (misunderstood)
 And also I heard university in Birmingham I heard it's quite hard
 Did your father try to persuade you
 No he said do whatever you want to do
 Do you think that is the right decision [to come here] or do you think you are a bit stubborn and you should have gone to Birm...
 I don't think about it... I try not to I always think this is the right way to go otherwise I feel depressed again [right] but I feel like the level English getting lower lower because I haven't talked to a foreigner for a long time since I broke up with my boyfriend who was from the UK I haven't spoken English apart from the classroom
 And guiding
 But somehow I feel like I need to slow down, or oh I need to use easy vocabulary... that's how... I shouldn't blame on people but the students in this university cannot really speak English for my point of view I think not so many students - also the teachers - the Japanese teachers - can actually speak English fluently so I always had somebody who I can look up to when I was in the UK but there's not so much in this university because of the English level is little different.
 Because the teacher like you need to use the easy word to students right? and you need to slow down a little
 Even in everyday life because I've been teaching English for nine years now or more...oh god...so my natural English speaking speed has slowed down

Not liking the idea having seen it in Canada.
 Some Japanese making her really angry
 Pissing her off
 So that's why she wanted to earn money

More than: comparison: double of peers in private school.

Disturb of spirit Japan.

Disturb of her father's health

HATES THE SPILT MIDDLE CLASS.

Again level of English has been falling recently.

have low opinion of students (in this university's) English ability. Teacher has kind people to look up to in English but not her.

didn't realize for her bottom of this.

hears that Bern Uni is quite hard Bern sounds RE. whether she would be able to do it successfully.

Not thinking about whether come back to Japan was right or not.

have to believe that and is down to right time otherwise she'll feel depressed again

Her father offered
 She said no

The role of rationalisation. Seems to be what a lot of it is

when ANALYSIS STARTED END of AUGUST 2014

relating to the research focus

relating to construction - the interview. (black box pg. 16)

normal points

= when I go 'beyond description' and start to get a little analytical

2012.04.28 Kousuke Inoue. Interview 1. FULL

You tell me a little bit about yourself, where are you from—that sort of thing.

setting out the purpose. Getting to the point.

Your was born in 1990 I'm now 21 let's say about my English. I started to study English and I was 13, 12 when I studied to study junior high, I just started English I was not so interested in English

at first I do love baseball. I belong to the baseball team for 10 years. That's not so important

no initial interest in English (no talent)

are you from Kyoto

I'm from Amagasaki in Hyogo [waffle about geography]

Real love was baseball.

[1:42] So you went to school there

Yes

and decided to come to Kyoto for university

yeah

do you have any study abroad experience

yes I do. Last year I took one year off and I went to the United States and that was 2011, February, and I stayed there for one year

do you have a favourite memory

yeah, a bunch of memories. You mean good memory, right?

lots of memories, both good (I assume) and bad

any memory. Good memories bad memories

presumption I'm interested in good memories (fair enough, given my use of 'favourite')

okay I bought a car there, like a second-hand one, and two weeks later I had a traffic accident...

then the police came up to me and asked the color of the light and I said blue and that was not right—I should have said green and that was kind of a very big event for me and I have one

language getting here into trouble. Evident - answer (correct)

more story that is related to that accident the policeman told me to show my insurance but

didn't have it in my car, I had the insurance but I didn't have the papers, that was a problem,

and the police suggested to me that I could show them by e-mail like showing the policy

assumes he allows that interaction with the police

number, which company, and I show that three months, four months, and I show them. After

three months I had a call from somebody in authority, Civic Centre, or something and he called

me and he said "you have the pay \$800" because I didn't show the paper that time, but you

(at the cost in general etc. - is probably in a state of shock)

know the police allowed me to show that by e-mail and

and you sent the e-mail

violates if the laws
→
resides to follow without the procedure
→
how worried - out of the blue
→
A weird event on a work - so it's no vacation

A weird event on a work - so it's no vacation

* or, another way of looking at it, "actually I'd rather talk about a bad

memory"

→ This waffle is an example of Inoue's very own experience and intention: not talking, but I would argue it means I am not too empty-headed while remaining open-minded!

preaching to the choir of America
redundant.

theory

I feel that, compared with Japanese people, Americans don't care what they are looked by someone. they have their own identity. For example this is not so good one, but if I'm Japanese in April, or maybe in March or February if I wear only this T-shirt "what is he doing, it's fucking cold outside" but Americans do this, but Japa.. you know

nobody would notice

→ natural, but to be avoided as an interviewer.

nobody would notice in America, but in Japan in summertime if you are a sweater "What the fuck is he wearing—it's too hot." But in America, nobody cares about it [he's swearing because I did], like, Japan is composed by one race, like, In Japan we are all Japanese, and our ancestors are also Japanese but in America the culture is a very mixed up from Australia, Japan, Africa, China so their way of thinking is very open and they don't care about, like, tiny things...aaargh I wish my English was that

there's a culture backing up his views / bluntness with theory?

one race → conform. mixed up → open anything goes.

so in kind of scientific language we'd say America is an individualistic society in Japan is a collectivist society... what do you think about you know the way in America they have...it's very multicultural lots of people together and Japan is relatively homogenous—the opposite what your thoughts on that, you know, good points, bad points

presumes that we both

very helpful to put it like this

I haven't thought that way but [this may be an indication that what follows is not so important] but of course both countries have good and bad points, let's see... in Japan, we kind of have same idea or opinion because we Japanese have been having, like, same education compared with American. They are very, like, education is also kind of freedom, what they wanna learn, but Japan in elementary and middle in high school teacher decided what they have to learn in Japan so... This is, this could be a good thing when we cooperate together so we have a similar or same opinion so we can get along with each other and we can do something together, you know

theory

let's see how I can answer your question(?)

When formulated with education

Japan → control (work together), US → freedom, same diff.

[24:20] you kind of understand other people's background, upbringing, to a certain extent yeah, maybe easier than other countries, but in America, everybody has different opinion and also their character is, like, they want to show off what they have: "I can do this I can do this", this style is very...

'I can do this' more generous but less bold here

in Japan: "I can't do this. I can't do this"

yeah yeah, if you say "your English is a very good." "No no no not really" this style. In Japan...we cannot see a bunch of genius people because education is kind of well-balanced, so, no Einstein or... but maybe in America there are more genius people but who are not good at other subjects, but who is very interested in one subject but he can learn what he want to learn in

* How much of this is our own 'generalized theory' (!?) and how much is he simply relating the 'liberal' / US common stereotypes etc.

* Nakano, too, isn't exactly passive - we shouldn't assume so. With an active interviewee you can get away with bad (interview) technique. It's awareness that counts.

4322 words

RYOSUKE INTERVIEW 1 2012.05.12 P a r e d d o w n 1 1 %

[1:27] ... do you have any experience studying abroad
 No
 going abroad
 never gone out of Japan
 no... so, your English is very good, so why is your English so good?
 It's a kind of motivation?
 yeah
 I have a good rival whose English is great and his name is Hajime, and when he is around me I will fade into the background, so, not to be that, I always try to push me over
 push myself...
 push myself
 ...to improve more
 yeah
 ok, and his name's Hajime
 Hajime...
 ...
 So Hajime is a Kyoto Gaidai student [yeah] and you met him in Kyoto Gaidai
 Yeah
 and he's a big motivation for you
 yeah
 does he know that he is the big motivation for you
 er no maybe he doesn't know
 he doesn't know, it's kind of like a secret motivation
 yeah
 ok, I see, but I think before you came to Gaidai, your English was quite good, I mean much better than average, so why was your English good before that, before you came to Gaidai well I really appreciate it, I really appreciate it to my high school teachers, because there are some ALT teachers in my high [4:00] school now, Australian, America, and all of them have the same idea about English education. So English education, er what is important: is not how long to study but how deeply, so the best way to learn English is to... not just...speaking is the most important, so, my reading skill is not as good as speaking but I can say I like English because of their education, their support.
 Right. ALTs?
 ALTs, assistant English teachers, Yes
 so there were two teachers in the same room
 yes one Japanese teacher one English teacher and every year the ALT teachers changed...
 And the high school I went to was the same as Gaidai
 Nishikou?

→ has this changed?

competition + rivalry
Get more on this. Are you competitive by nature?

Continued [11]: more on he, me?

→ establishment guy.

Might be interested to delve into his Japanese friendships, alt relationships

We need to go from saying "he is down by competition" to "he says he is down by competition."

How much of Ryosuke is a construction for the 'outsider'?

general note.

How to incorporate PETS into this?

pretext for narrative

As I read through the transcript and my notes for the thematic analysis I notice that certain interesting aspects of the data are to be understood in terms of discourse or devices that need to adapt one's approach or demands for it. - so it's not +100% but that's own approach or demands for it.

3.4

This time: felt kind of sorry

He took my handle

"I thought he felt relieved because you know a guy killed to me and... I think that I could speak English like I couldn't do so I...

He let the guy down

failed

3.5 "I thought somehow I have to learn or master Eng."

quintessence: "when the words don't come up this is the same thing."

SE

basically, his feeling's toward the event have become more negative

KEY - GSE and CONTEXT

REINTEGRATION

We can think of literature as a reproduction & performance of narrative rather than why or what narrative is.
 But the question is, why or what narrative is.
 Perhaps: Then we are what is combined
composition? socially or culturally
could be both historical
what could be how historical
is possible to have historical
is possible to have historical

To do: on books
keeping writing
keeping writing
keeping writing
keeping writing

"I met to Skype to talk to my friends in Japan... year, had new & exciting. Don't I really talk... I'm not... I think now used to repeat the past. I wanted just a wonderful opportunity to talk..."

Two years! I could have enjoyed my English skills more... (perhaps here to Egoists, Adams?)
 perhaps even Mark's (3rd person reported the speaker on the Timeline?)

2.8
 How's the room? I'm not very excited to go this time because I remember some a little fast.
 I'm not sure what will happen... I think I can do better... but I still have, you know, fear

"I think I can do well this time - talk to people more, don't stay in my room, don't use Skype that much etc."

What's English for you
 Probably my identity. My English is not perfect, but it's this is what I can do better than most people... this is a tool to describe that I am Dutch; because my ex... who I am, what kind of things I can do... those things. I think, I like that word. (I got it from me).
 English makes me who I am

STAGE 2.

DATE:

to be seen as a good student getting one over the competition.
 Basic special, superior, different, showing out from the crowd.
 Expressor's competitiveness, individuality.
 Pride, temporary pride. "I'm a winner".
 Responsibility to group without normal people can't do.

Interest in foreigners. The exuber, the different.

1. Satisfaction in communication: *My English*

Fear of failure
 Regret.
 English is my pride

English is what I've got attached to circumstances

Specialty

Abstract: - Motivation.

LOSURE

English is school. Bringing rights. Practice, ego.
 The Allow me to see the world differently to others.

professional responsibility to learn

Interest in the other.

More than a tool.

English is my identity
 Love of languages
 English is part of me identity.
 The only this I'm good at. my subject.

English is my pride

English is my pride
 Inspire by teacher
 Through teaching / poor student

RYOSURE

Compare: used to be others.
 rivalry. Starts out.
 Can't compete. Can't win.
 Distraction: must win others. 3.10.
 A way of winning?
 Strong will to learn English.
 strength & mind.
 To the extent that he judges others according to how good their English is.

Successful communication.

Redemption - ~~the~~ puts right what went wrong. (the student regret, some student market).

the subject I need?

Satisfaction by circumstance 2.7
 Thanks to my teacher

Striving to be something better. To be more. Aspirations.
 Did I really grow?
 Enthusiasm on weekend.

