# CHAPTER II

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review begins with a summary of the work of Gardner and associates in McClelland (1998:11) who were among the first to stress the influence of the social milieu on motivation to learn other languages. Gardner's socio-educational model has since become the established paradigm guiding this whole area of research (Crookes & Schmidt, 1992:501) and necessarily underlies any further discussion of language learning motivation. The model is therefore presented in section 2.1 as a basis for an analysis of the terminology and research implications. This is followed by an account of more recent investigations of the orientations of learners in more specifically foreign language learning environments, in section 2.2. The findings of these later researchers suggest a multi-factorial view of the possible orientations that foreign language learners may have towards studying languages, and those most relevant to EFL are summarized. Section 2.3 follows with an examination of previous research in Japan, to assess the relevance of these more recent findings in the specific sociocultural context of Indonesian EFL learners, because both Japanese and Indonesian learn English as foreign language. This then forms the basis of the current empirical investigation of the orientations of Indonesian college students towards learning English as a foreign language.



## 2.1. THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MODEL

The failure of various method comparisons of the sixties by Spolsky in David Neil McClelland (1998:11) led to a renewed interest in the socio-psychological aspects of the second language learning. One characteristic of language teaching in the 1960's was an ongoing controversy regarding which of a number of classroom teaching methods currently in vogue, was superior to the others according to Diller in McClelland (1998:53). This pitted the claims of rationalist approaches such as grammar-translation, against so-called functional methods such as audio-lingualism and the various natural methods (Ellis, 1994:569-73). Unfortunately subsequent comparative studies failed to produce evidence that anyone method results in superior learning outcomes, leading to the conclusion that individual learners benefit from different types of classroom instruction said Lightbown in McClelland (1998:53).

Working in the multi-cultural environment of Montreal, Gardner and Lambert in McClelland (1998:11) suggested that successful language learning probably depends to a certain extent on positive attitudes toward the other language speaking community. This led to a theoretical distinction between "instrumental" and "integrative" orientations toward learning another language. Instrumental orientation involves learning for utilitarian reasons, such as getting a head at work, while an integrative orientation derives from an interest in learning about the other cultural community "to the point of eventually being accepted as a member" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972:11). The main contention is that integratively oriented individuals will tend to be more actively motivated than

those learning the language for purely instrumental reasons. This, however, does not represent a theoretical dichotomy and, in practice, the two orientations are more usually found in conjunction. (Gardner & Tremblay, 1994a:361).

Gardner and Lambert's in McClelland (1998:12) early work in Canada has had two major influences on subsequent second language related research on motivation. The first comes from the development of the battery of psychometric testing instruments, the Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery, AMTB by Gardner et al. in McClelland (1998:12), which has led to a large number of empirical studies in this area. As the name suggests, the AMTB consists of a battery of both direct and indirect measures of aspects of attitude and motivation connected learning other languages. The indirect measures apply mostly to attitudes towards the other language and its speakers and exploit techniques such as the semantic differential according to Spolsky in McClelland (1998:12). The direct measures apply across the range from beliefs about the importance of learning another language, through attitudes towards native speakers, to various aspects of motivational intensity. Gardner's second major contribution to language learning motivation's research, is his synthesis of the results of the above studies into his socio-educational model of second language learning by Gardner in McClelland (1998:12). Gardner continues to stress the overriding importance of socio-cultural influences by integrating (1) cultural beliefs deriving from the social milieu, (2) motivation as a source of individual differences between learners, (3) the exploitation of both formal and informal learning opportunities, and (4) linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. The clear intension is to present these elements as

causally linked, with "integrativeness" a major determinant of success said Gardner in McClelland (1998:13). Indeed, it is this emphasis on positive attitudes towards the other cultural groups that characterizes Gardner's explanation of language learning motivation. In defence of the socio-educational model by Gardner in McClelland (1998:13) presents a number of studies from a variety of socio-cultural contexts, which support his contention that second language proficiency depends upon two independent factors. The first of these is language attitude, while the second is a socially based motivation that involves "willingness to be like valued members of the (second) language community" (Gardner & Clement, 1990:499). This latter is the concept of 'integrativeness' that lies at the center of socio-educational model, and which has been the focus of so much research effort over the past three decades.

Despite the simplicity of its conception, Gardner's theory has resulted in a complex terminology that exists at four levels of generality of Gardner & Tremblay in McClelland (1998:13). At the first level are the items included in the AMTB, which measure specific aspects of attitudes, reasons for learning, and motivational intensity. At the next level, the various reasons for learning are grouped together according to the integrative and instrumental distinction, thereby giving the orientations. Finally, combination with positive measures of motivational intensity is used to define an 'integrative motive' by Gardner & Tremblay in McClelland (1998:13). A useful perspective is provided by the more usual tripartite split between affect, cognition, and motivation, found in traditional psychological theory. This requires us to adopt more rigorous definitions of

certain everyday terms such as 'attitudes' or 'motivation' and represents an important first step towards an evaluation of Gardner's findings. The following section therefore attempts to apply the concepts found in mainstream psychology to Gardner's theory to develop an objective evaluation of his overriding emphasis upon the importance of positive attitudes towards the other language community.

# 2.2. ATTITUDES, ORIENTATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

The essence of the socio-psychological approach is to stress that second language learning represents a unique context in which attitudes and motivations are better studied in tandem. According to Dornyei (1994b:519):

"Due to the multifaceted nature and role of language (ie. The fact that it is at the same time a communication coding system, an integral part of the individual's identity, and the most important channel of social organization), the motivational background of L2 learning involves a unique and necessarily eclectic construct where "motivational" and "attitudinal" approaches should meet."

The problem with this combined approach is that it results in a taxonomy, which potentially confuses cultural attitudes towards the target language community with motivation, through an overlapping terminology (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991:501). It is, however, possible to categorize the various theoretical constructs of the socio-educational model according to the balance of affective, cognitive, and behavioural components. In this way we can interpret the terminology according to the constructs taken from mainstream psychology.

#### 2.2.1. Affect and Attitudes

Baker (1992:12) defines 'affect' as feelings, such as pleasure or aversion, evoked by objects of thought. This corresponds to a conception of attitudes as merely "dispositions to respond favourably or unfavourably" (Ajzen, 1988:4) with a very weak influence on actual behaviour by Triandis in McClelland (1998;15). Thus attitudes are best seen as learned predispositions, which tend to persist but are often modified by experience (Baker, 1988:114-5). Those attitudes have such a weak link with actual behaviour suggest that they can be suppressed by cognitive factors, however, their persistence over time indicates that they are essentially affective in nature. It thus seems best to restrict any definition of attitudes to an individual's purely affective reactions to objects of thought. Baker in McClelland (1998:53) further suggests that attitudes have a cognitive component, in that we are capable of thinking about and describing our attitudes in words. This, however, seems closer to the type of consciousness described by Schmidt in McClelland (1998:53) as attention or noticing, and is better seen as a meta-cognitive awareness of the activity of the mind by Vygotsky in McClelland (1998:53)). It is thus more pertinent to focus on attitude change when considering the role of cognition. Such a definition has important implications for interpreting Gardner's socio-educational model and is discussed further in section 2.3 below.

# 2.2.2. Cognition and Orientation

Cognition concerns thought and beliefs, and thus relates more closely to the type of consciousness described by Schmidt in McClelland (1998:15) as awareness, or having knowledge of something. This type of knowing covers the whole range from intuitive to analytical thinking said Bruner in McClelland (1998:15)) and includes the type of knowledge that can not be easily vocalized. Wittgenstein points out that the ability to vocalize knowledge depends on the subject matter. While we can describe the height of Mont Black in meters, it is no so easy says how a clarinet sounds (Wittgenstein, 1958:36). Within sociopsychological approaches cognition is represented primarily by 'orientations' to learning, measured through self-report of the personal importance of learning the other language according to Clement et al., Clement & Kruidenier, Dornyei, Gardner, and Tremblay & Gardner in McClelland (1998:15). These orientations refer to reasons for learning, and are thus assumed to be cognitive representations of long-term goals. On the other hand, many of the orientations identified in the literature, such as the integrative orientation by Gardner & Lambert in McClelland (1998:15) or friendship orientation by Clement & Kruidenier in McClelland (1998:15) are clearly affectively loaded, and it is therefore better to view them as the outcome of dynamic interaction between cognition and affect. Such a synthesis of affective and cognitive influences clearly underlies both the generalized use of the use of the term orientation by Gardner & Lambert (1972:9) and the more context specific us by Schmidt et al. (1996:16). Further Clement et al. (1994:420) describe Gardner & Lambert's in McClelland (1998:54) orientations as "positively related, affectively loaded goals that can sustain motivation". This is confirmed by correlations found between orientation and attitude measures (Dornyei 1994b: 519), and denies a purely cognitive view of learning orientation. It thus seems appropriate to define orientations as relatively stable, affectively loaded but mainly cognitive, traits that underlie an individual's approach to specific situations.

## 2.2.3. Motivation

Traditional definitions of motivation relate directly to actual behaviour, and a useful description is provided by Maehr & Archer in McClelland (1998:16). Four behavioural aspects are identified: 1) Direction; choosing to engage in an activity. 2) Persistence; sticking at it. 3) Continuity; returning to the activity after some break or interruption. 4) Activity; effort or intensity. Gardner in McClelland (1998:16) also provides a behaviourally based view of motivation, "when the desire to achieve the goal, the favourable attitudes toward the goal are linked with the effort and drive, then we have a motivated organism" (Gardner, 1985b:11). Thus Gardner follows the general consensus that motivation is essentially a behavioural phenomenon, during which latent influences contribute to the emergence of learning directed activity. It is surprising that so many researchers, who claim to be following Gardner's socio-educational paradigm, fail to distinguish between reasons for learning, and motivation as the realization of learning directed behaviour. Benson in McClelland (1998:54) for example, uses the terms interchangeably.

#### 2.3. THEORETICAL AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

Adopting the above definitions has implications for interpreting research findings associated with socio-psychological perspectives on second language learning. Baker in McClelland (1998:16) points out that measures of attitude usually only account for around 5% of the variance in language achievement (Baker, 1992:35), which suggests that Gardner actually overstates the importance of affective considerations. In Crookes & Schmidt's (1991:475) words:

"Because the various attitudinal and motivational measures that contribute to the operationalization of integrative motive vary, there is no constant definition of integrative motivation across studies, and in any particular study the contribution of 'integrative attitudes' to what is called 'integrative motivation' may be quite small."

Overall, we must conclude that Gardner's assertion of direct causal links between attitudes, measured as affective reactions, and motivation, defined as behaviour, is not supportable by the evidence by Au in McClelland (1998:17). This leads to a consideration of the concept of integrativeness, which is included in Gardner's theory under the various headings of integrative orientation, integrative motive, and integrative motivation. Gardner & Tremblay in McClelland (1998:17) explain these in terms of differing aggregations from the AMTB items. 'Orientations' collate the 'reasons for learning' scales, while the 'integrative motive' further includes the attitude scales, and 'integrative motivation' involves a final combination of the motivational intensity scales. Au points out that this classification system is logical, rather than empirically derived:

"It should be noted that this taxonomy for combining scales into components is not of an empirical nature in that Gardner and his associates have not employed a factor analytic (or other) statistical technique to justify this taxonomy. Gardner himself freely admits this classification system is a logical rather than an empirical one."

(Au. 1988:79)

Further, as is argued in section 2.2.2 above, definition of an integrative orientation necessarily involves inclusion of affective considerations, meaning that Gardner's distinction between orientations and motives is little more than an artefact of his methodology. Indeed, the concept of motive deriving from traditional psychology is similar to the definition of orientations presented at the end of section 2.2.2. Kagan in McClelland (1998:54) defines a motive as a "cognitive representation to a future goal that is desired" (Kagan, 1972:53) thus following Maslow's conception of motives as cognitive-based needs in McClelland (1998:54). These exist as stored potentials that may become temporarily activated, but may equally well lay dormant (Baker, 1988:143). Thus by looking at Gardner's taxonomy through the lens of mainstream psychology, we see that within Gardner's research, the concept of integrativeness has its roots in a purely logical distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations.

Gardner's two-factor classification system seems reasonable for second language learning contexts, where easily identifiable groups of target language speakers exist in close proximity with the learners. On the other hand, the validity of such a split is questionable when we consider contexts such as that of foreign language learners, who do not usually have contact with any community of target language speakers. In this vein, Dornyei in McClelland (1998:18) suggests that most pre-intermediate level foreign language learners do not have sufficient

experience with target language speakers to be anything more than uncommitted about integrating with the target language social groups. This further leads to the contention that the motivational antecedents which emerge in foreign language learning contexts probably from clusters that are different to those emerging in second language learning situations according to Dornyei, Oxford & Shearin, Oxford in McClelland (1998:18). Thus, while Gardner's model seems appropriate to second language learning environments, it does not provide an adequate description of the socio-cultural influences applying to foreign language learning, where the learners study the language as an academic subject in isolation from target language speakers. The implication of this is to confirm Skehan's contention in McClelland (1998:18) that the most pressing difficulty facing researchers of language learning motivation, is to clarify the links that exist between context and orientations. Dornyei (1994a:275) comments:

"There would seem to be a wider range of orientations here than was previously supposed, and there is considerable scope to investigate different contextual circumstances (outside Canada!)"

This follows from his summary of the empirical evidence, in which he states that, while broadly defined "cultural affective" and "pragmatic-instrumental" dimensions do usually emerge, these can not be regarded as universals, but rather comprise "context specific clusters of loosely relating components" (Dornyei, 1994a:275). This further fits with Au's (1988:81-3) conclusion that the 'integrative motive' can not be seen as a unitary concept because the various components load differently, and sometimes separately, depending on the particular social context of the study. This appears to be

particularly true of investigations conducted in foreign language learning situations, where researchers have identified a number of orientations that do not fit Gardner's two-factor categorization. The findings from these studies must necessarily underlie any further discussion or investigation of the orientations that foreign language learners have towards studying the target language, and they are summarized in the following sections the resultant prediction of the orientations likely to appear in similar foreign language learning contexts is then used as the basis of the present investigation into the orientations held by Japanese college students studying English as a foreign language. Then, those orientations can also be used as the basis of the present investigation toward Indonesian college students, who also learn English as foreign language.

#### 2.4. ORIENTATIONS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNERS

One of the earliest studies was that of Chihara & Oller in McClelland (1998:19), who investigated the relationship between a number of attitude and orientation scales from the AMTB, and measures of attained proficiency in adult EFL learners at the YMCA in Osaka. While a number of weak correlations were found, it was felt that these did not fit Gardner's two-factor model of integrative and instrumental orientations.

"There is evidence for significant relationships between attitudes of the sort investigated here and attained level of EFL proficiency. However, those relationships are not easily explained by any existing theory known to the authors." (Chihara & Oller, 1978:67) Thus Chihara & Oller's conclusion in McClelland (1998:19) confirms the assertion that, for foreign language learning contexts, learner's attitude, interests, and values, are likely to form clusters that differ from those emerging in second language learning. Despite in this early finding, however, very little research exists regarding the exact nature of the orientations that emerge in specific foreign language learning contexts. It is thus necessary to extrapolate from the little evidence that can be found, to develop a predictive model that pertains to foreign language learning contexts.

Two key studies in this area are those of Clement & Kruidenier and Cooper & Fishman in McClelland (1998:20) in Canada and Israel respectively. Despite being based in Canada, Clement & Kruidenier's study in McClelland (1998:54) included learners studying other languages in contexts that did not facilitate easy contact with any community of the other language speakers. Similarly, Cooper & Fishman's investigation in McClelland (1998:54) involved school children learning EFL in Israel. As a result, the findings of both these studies can be considered relevant to the discussion of foreign language learning contexts.

In addition to the expected instrumental orientations, both studies identified a "knowledge seeking orientation" associated with a desire to broaden horizons and avoid provincialism. Clement & Kruidenier in McClelland (1998:20) also found three other orientations to which they gave the labels; friendships (desire to broaden friendships), travel (learning the language to facilitate travel), and "socio-cultural orientation" (a distant interest in language and culture). None

of these orientations were found to correlate with positive attitudes towards Anglophones, leading to an overall rejection of the importance of integrativeness for both groups (Clement & Kruidenier, 1983:287; Cooper & Fishman, 1977:272). This rejection of the integrative construct, however, clearly relates to the original definition of an integrative orientation produced by Gardner & Lambert in McClelland (1998:20) for second language learning contexts. McDonough in McClelland (1998:20), however, points out that this definition subsumes two possibly disparate aspects: (1) a general desire for wider social contact (similar to the 'friendship orientation'), and (2) a desire to join another community through acquisition of the socio-cultural characteristics of the other group. This latter has since been labeled an "assimilative motivation" by Graham in McClelland (1998:20), and seems likely to be the aspect of 'integrativeness' missing in the studies mentioned above. Indeed, for foreign language learners studying an international language such as English, it seems quite possible that a desire for contact with foreigners in general may exist in the absence of special attitudes towards native speakers in particular. It is thus clearly necessary to deal with the constructs of friendship towards foreigners, and assimilation with native speakers, as possibly separate aspects when dealing with learners studying English as a foreign language.

More specific definition of the orientations relevant to EFL learning, has since been described by Dornyei and Clement et al. in McClelland (1998:20) in Hungary. Dornyei in McClelland (1998:20) identifies four orientations relevant to adults EFL learners, which are similar to those, of Clement and Kruidenier in

McClelland (1998:21) but focused on foreigners in general rather than Anglophones in particular. These are summarized as follows: 1) interest in foreign languages, cultures, and people (socio-cultural orientation), 2) desire to broaden one's view and avoid provincialism (knowledge orientation), and 3) desire for new stimuli and challenges (similar to Clement & Kruedenier's 'friendship' and 'travel' orientations) in McClelland (1998:21). Finally, a fourth dimension, "the desire to integrate into a new community (travel orientation)" correlated with instrumental reasons for learning (Dornyei, 1994a:275). In this way, Dornyei in McClelland (1998:21) builds upon the earlier studies to define a number of orientations that go beyond the two factors split of integrative and instrumental orientations provided by Gardner. In a follow up study Clement et al. in McClelland (1998:21), found that while the instrumental and knowledge orientations were closely related, four other distinct orientations emerged. These they labeled xenophilic, identification, socio-cultural, and English media orientations: Xenophilic orientation corresponds to a friendship orientation, but directed towards foreigners in general; the identification orientation is similar to Graham's 'assimilative motivation' in McClelland (1998:21) and relates to native speakers; the socio-cultural orientation also follows Clement & Kruidenier in McClelland (1998:21), while the English media orientation derives from a wish to better understand movies, and pop-music. In an analysis of the relationship between the various orientations, Clement et al. (1994:433) found a certain degree of positive correlation between the xenophilic, socio-cultural, and identification orientations, and between the instrumental and knowledge orientations and the

English media orientation. On the basis of this, they categorized the orientations into integrative and instrumental subsystems of the type mentioned by Dornyei in McClelland (1998:21).

By synthesizing the above research findings, it is possible to develop a predictive model of the orientations that are likely to emerge in foreign language learning, which are formulated by McClelland in his research which are combined from several past researches in Japan. While there are some variations in the exact nature of the loadings found in different contexts, seven basic orientations seem to emerge, and these are listed below:

## 1. Instrumental orientation

It reflects the traditional definition of the more pragmatic reasons for learning another language, such as getting ahead in one's studies or finding a good job. As the respondents are all undergraduate college students, the items in this section relate to examination success and future job or study prospects.

# 2. Knowledge orientation

Relating to a wish to become less provincial according to Dornyei in McClelland (1998:30) and seems to pertain to target languages seen as being more sophisticated or international than the learners' first language (Clement & Kruidenier, 1983:284). An element of personal development exists in the definitions provided by Clement & Kruidenier, Dornyei, and Clement et al. in McClelland (1998:30).

#### 3. Travel orientation

This represents a fairly pragmatic view of learning the language as a means to facilitate future travel. This orientation first emerged in Clement & Kruidenier's study in McClelland (1998:30) as a separate factor closely related to the friendship factor. The travel orientation is also included in Clement et al.'s study in McClelland (1998:30) as separate series of items in the questionnaire, although their results show it to be inseparable from the xenophilic orientation.

# 4. Xenophilic orientation

This orientation relates to a possible wish to make personal friendships with foreigners or other language speakers. However the findings of Clement et al. in McClelland (1998:30) suggest that, for EFL learners, this is more closely related to foreign travel. Consequently, the friendship orientation is defined in the present study in terms of feeling towards foreigners in general, and is held separate from identification with native speakers.

## 5. Identification orientation

It refers to a desire to become similar to native speakers of English in thought and behaviour. This relates closely to the integrative orientation found to be significant in Second Language Learning context according to Gardner & Lambert in McClelland (1998:31). The most significant finding

that underlies this factor is that of Clement et al. in McClelland (1998:31), who found that EFL learners' identification with native speakers, not only loaded separately to the xenophilic orientation, but received significantly lower levels of endorsement.

### 6. Socio-cultural orientation

Representing an interest in finding out about foreign peoples and cultures, first found to emerge in students with little experience of the target language speakers (Clement & Kruidenier, 1983:287-8).

# 7. English media orientation

It describes a desire to better understand English language movies or pop music. This was first separated from the socio-cultural orientation by Clement et al.'s findings in McClelland (1998:31), however there is such a clear distinction that we can only conclude that movies and pop music are probably perceived differently to other aspects of foreign culture.

In a *post hoc* study, Clement et al. in McClelland investigated the degree of endorsement for each orientation and found strong endorsements for all but the identification orientation, which they took to indicate a relative absence of assimilative motivation in these particular learners:

"The absence of Anglophones from the immediate environment would appear to sustain distal friendships (through travel), an interest in English culture such as a foreign phenomenon, and an instrumental orientation based on the acquisition of knowledge and media usage rather than on the achievement of pragmatic outcomes. This is coupled with rather strong cultural and linguistic traditions which would result in the rejection of identification as an outcome of language learning." (Clement et al., 1994:433-4)

In terms of both the absence of native speakers, and the existence of strong cultural and linguistic traditions, there would seem to be many parallels between the EFL context of Hungary and that of Japan by Honna in McClelland (1998:23). On this basis the current study is intended to further investigate the relevance of the orientations identified above, to university EFL learners in Indonesia.

# CHAPTER III

# METHOD OF THE STUDY

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