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*Integrative Motivation and Second Language Learning: Practical Issues**

統合的動機と第二言語学習：教育実践への示唆

Robert C. Gardner

ロバート C. ガードナー

Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario

「統合的動機 (Integrative motivation)」とは第二言語習得の「社会教育モデル (the socio-educational model)」の中で使われている概念であり、他言語の学習に関連する複雑な態度、意図や傾向を意味する。「統合的動機」は、「統合的態度 (Integrativeness)」、「学習状況への態度 (Attitudes toward the Learning Situation)」、及び「学習意欲 (Motivation)」という3要素から構成されている。「統合的態度 (Integrativeness)」とは、他グループへの開放的な態度、目標言語話者への好意的態度、他の文化社会の人々を理解し、コミュニケーションを行うためにその言語を学びたいと思う傾向などを含む概念である。「学習状況への態度」とは、教師や、コースなど学習状況への評価的反応を意味する。「学習意欲 (Motivation)」とは、その言語を習得する機会に関連した個人の行動として表現される学習行動の動因である。これらの3つの要素は、ATMB (Attitude/Motivation Test Battery) を用いて測定される。

本講義においては、研究の実用的意味や社会教育モデルをどのように実践に役立てるかという点に関して、言語教育者からよく質問される5つの問題を紹介することから始めたい。次に、研究の理論的背景、モデルの詳細、学習意欲の高い学習者と低い学習者を区別する個人差要因の測定について説明する。その上で、それぞれの問題点について、データと関連づけながら議論していく。最後の問題点を議論する過程で、研究から導き出せる結論を述べるが、これらは、すでに言語教育で考慮すべきものとして認知されている。

キーワード

second-language learning (第二言語学習)、attitudes and motivation (態度と動機)、the socio-educational model (社会教育モデル)、integrativeness (統合的態度)、integrative motivation (統合的動機)

The concept of Integrative Motivation is often referred to in discussions about the

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learning of another language. But it was not always thus! Less than 50 years ago, affective variables such as attitudes, motivation, and anxiety were not considered to be very important, if at all, as factors related to learning another language. Prior to the 1920's, it was generally felt that intelligence was the major variable that accounted for differences in learning a foreign language in the school setting (see Henmon, 1929). It was around then that attention was directed towards the development of "special prognosis tests", such as the Symonds (1929) *Foreign Language Prognosis Test*, to determine who would be successful and who would be unsuccessful in learning languages, and it was found that achievement in a second language was more highly related to scores on these tests than tests of intelligence. The next development in this area came in the 1960's with the development of language aptitude tests, and a focus on the types of abilities involved in second language acquisition. Thus, for example, Carroll and Sapon (1959) published the *Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT)*, showing that four abilities were involved in learning a second language, *phonetic coding, grammatical sensitivity, memory ability, and inductive language learning earning ability.*

In today's presentation, I will focus attention on the concept of integrative motivation, how it has evolved since its introduction in the 1950's, how to measure some of its components, and where it seems headed in the future. The term is used frequently in the literature, though close inspection will reveal that it has slightly different meanings to many different individuals. My intention today is to discuss the meaning of the term in the context of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition (Gardner, 1985a; 2000). I do not intend by this to indicate that this is the only meaningful definition, nor that other definitions are necessarily flawed. This concept is used in a number of theoretical models of the second language learning process (see, for example, Clément, 1980; Dörnyei, 1994; Schumann, 1978), while other models use elements conceptually very similar to it (e. g., MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998).

This is a very active area of research, and there are a number of issues that have been, and are continuing to be raised. Some of them are practical in that they focus primarily on the very act of teaching and learning languages. Others are more research oriented focusing on questions that arise in the research literature, and dealing with appropriate perspectives, and the like. There are many practical questions that could be raised, and I hasten to add that I have very few answers to them. I approach the problem from the point of view of a researcher, not a language teacher or educator. But from my point of view, I believe that the research we have conducted has implications for many of these questions.

Examples of some of these questions are:

1. Is it best to start languages early in life, rather than waiting until students have matured?
2. Does the cultural setting influence the success of second language learning?
3. Is it possible to adapt the language learning situation to cater to individual differences?
4. Can a teacher motivate students to learn a second language, or must the motivation come from within?
5. What is the relevance to the language teacher of the research on motivation in learning another language?

Before considering these questions, I would like to discuss a concept that I believe is very important to second language acquisition, and to outline how this concept has implications for the types of questions raised above. I hope that by doing so you will consider these and other practical questions about second language acquisition in somewhat of a different light than you may have done before this presentation.

Different researchers in this area have interpreted the concept of integrative motivation in various ways but, as conceived in the Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition, it involves identification with the other language community, it is dynamic, it is amenable to change (though not easily), and it involves attributions, goals and all the other features identified as motivational in other research areas. More importantly, we shall see that it is an inference (or construct), based on empirical findings, that refers to characteristics that individuals bring with them to the language learning situation.

It is very common for individuals in the world today to speak more than one language. Tucker (1981, p.77) claims that "there are many more bilinguals in the world than monolinguals, and that there are more students who by choice or necessity attend schools where the medium of instruction is their second or later acquired language rather than their mother tongues". It is difficult, therefore, to see how learning a second language can be such a problem. But if you speak to people who have studied another language, you will find many who claim that it is very difficult indeed, if not impossible.

Second language acquisition takes place in many different contexts, so the first thing that I believe must be considered is the nature of the context itself. It's an obvious point to make, I realize, but there are many cultural differences throughout the world. Many individuals live in cultures where more than one language is used quite commonly, and others live in countries where other languages are seldom heard in everyday life. Some

cultures accept learning more than one language as a simple fact of life; others consider it a relatively rare and difficult event.

At the more personal level, some individuals grow up speaking more than one language in the home; others do not. Some individuals are the children of immigrants or sojourners and have to learn the language of the host community for school, etc.; sometimes they even serve as translators for other members of their family. Some individuals decide, for any number of reasons, to emigrate to another country and are faced with the need to develop proficiency in a new language. Some individuals live in a community where their language is not the major one and they are required to learn the dominant language. Some individuals live in a community where their language is dominant, but for some reason they want, or are encouraged, to learn another language. In short, there are many different situations in which second language acquisition can take place, and it is reasonable to assume that the context will have an influence on the relative degree of success of the individual concerned.

Our thesis is that regardless of the context, truly learning a second language so that it becomes second nature to the individual requires considerable effort, attention, and persistence, and that this must be supported by something more than the immediate consequences. In many of our studies, we have demonstrated that this **Motivation** to learn the language is supported in part by a host of social attitudes that involve general reactions to other groups in general, and an interest in interacting with members of the group that speaks the language. We refer to this as **Integrativeness**. Furthermore, we have found that reactions to the language learning situation also serve to support the motivation. We refer to this as **Attitudes toward the Learning Situation**. The complex of Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation is all subsumed under the label **Integrative Motivation**.

In my opinion, one of the major characteristics of the concept of integrative motivation is that it stresses that an individual's interest in learning the language and willingness to expend the effort to make it part of their behavioural repertoire depend on his or her history (both personal and cultural). It is this focus on prior conditions, I believe, that distinguishes integrative motivation from other motivational concepts in the area of second language acquisition.

In our research, we assume that learning another language is different from much other learning that takes place in school. In truly learning the other language, the individual is attempting to incorporate speech sounds, grammatical structures, behaviour patterns, and the like that are characteristic of another culture, and this is not true of most other school

subjects. Other subjects like arithmetic, history, geography, music, etc., are generally all part of the student's culture, or cultural perspective at least, so that acquiring this material does not involve any personal conflict. But learning another language involves making something foreign a part of one's self. As such, one's conception of the "self" and their willingness to open it up to change, as well as their attitudes toward the other community, or out-groups in general, will influence how well they can make this material part of their behavioural repertoires.

We propose 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. Consider, that most thoughts involve language, and much of our behaviour is language related. We interact with others primarily through language. We even interact with ourselves through language. We talk to ourselves at times, not so much to communicate an idea, but rather to feel better. When we are sad or anxious, talking to ourselves somehow eases our pain and helps us through the difficult time. When we are happy or proud of some accomplishment, we often reinforce our pleasure by talking to ourselves about the situation. To take on another language therefore involves some modification of the self.

The concept of integrative motivation assumes that the individual's past experiences, and family and cultural background are important to learning a second language. When they are conducive to learning, then learning will be facilitated. When they are detrimental, learning will be hampered. That is, when the student enters the classroom, he or she brings a lot of emotional and cognitive baggage that can influence the learning experience. This can colour how the student perceives the class and the task at hand, and how motivated that student will be to learn the material. For example, if a student comes from a culture where it is expected that everyone will learn more than one language, or from a family where most other members have been successful in learning the language, it is likely that this background will foster greater levels of success than a cultural or familial background that considers second language acquisition a very difficult if not impossible task. In formal descriptions of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition (Gardner, 1985a), we refer to this class of variables as the social milieu.

Second language acquisition takes place in a given context, however, and this too must be considered. The teacher presents material, makes demands and requests, etc., and the student responds, but these responses are moderated by the student's own thoughts, needs, recent experiences, and perceptions. That is, he or she is more than just an individual in the

class devoting all of his or her attention to the task at hand. The present is a complex world, even for the young student, and perhaps more so for the older student. The point is that everything that is going on has an effect on the student. An exciting presentation, a fun lecture, etc., is more than that. It interacts with everything else taking place in the individual's life at the time. Similarly, a dull presentation, confusing illustrations and the like, are presented in a very active context as far as any one student is concerned. When we speak of the teacher or the curriculum or the good or bad student for that matter, we must remember that these terms apply to different individuals in different personal situations even in the same classroom.

The student's experiences in the classroom, characteristics of the teacher, the curriculum, pedagogical procedures, etc., will have an influence on levels of achievement and motivation. In our model, we refer to this as the formal language acquisition context. We also refer to informal language acquisition contexts to describe any non-instructional situation in which the individual can learn the language.

Learning a second language involves more than the individual's background and the activities that take place in the classroom. The individual might acquire considerable knowledge and skill, but if he or she doesn't also acquire the desire to use the language with members of the other language community, little has been gained. MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei and Noels (1998) propose that an important acquisition that can come out of any class is the willingness to communicate. In their model of the second language acquisition process, they hypothesize that Use of the Language is the ultimate goal, and that achievement in the language and Willingness to Communicate are two of many goals along the way to achieving this goal.

Once the student leaves the classroom, she or he may or may not use the language much again. That is, two students may have similar experiences, yet one may end up using the language with facility, etc., while the other may use the language haltingly or not at all. In our model, we refer to linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes, and one very important component of the non-linguistic outcomes is the development of attributes such as favourable or unfavourable reactions to the class. Willingness (or a lack of Willingness) to Communicate in the language in the future, etc., depending on the experiences in class. The point is, that such non-linguistic outcomes develop in part from the learning experience, and in part from preconceptions, feelings, beliefs, etc., that are a prior part of the individual's history.

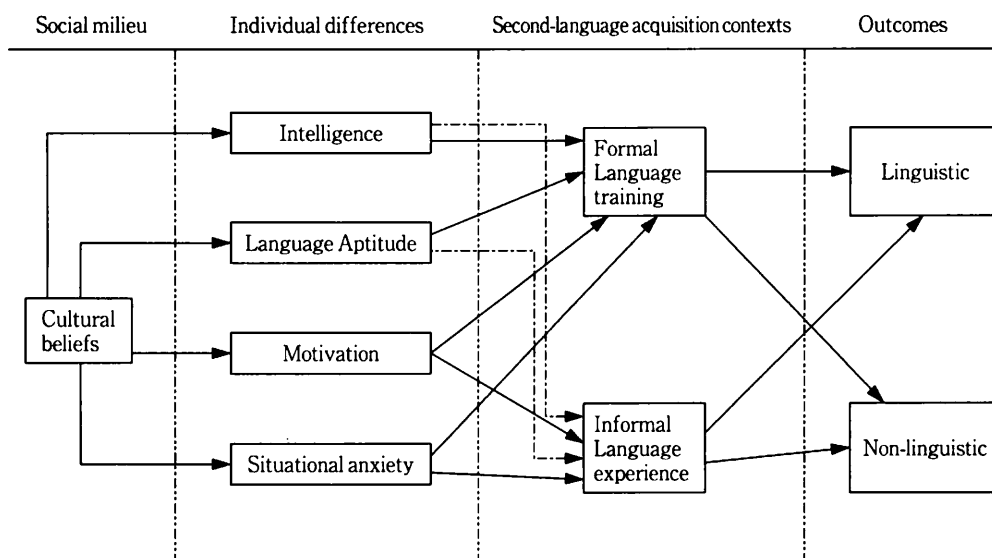
This is a wide reaching field of research, and although much of my presentation will

feature research from our lab, I don't mean to imply that this is the only relevant research. Also, our research derives from a basic model of second language acquisition that focuses on language acquisition in the classroom context, but it will be seen, I think, that much of it can apply to any type of context.

The Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition

Much of the above is summarized in our model of second language acquisition. The initial Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition, first proposed by Gardner (1979) is presented in Figure 1.

Schematic Representation of the Theoretical Model (Gardner, 1979)



As can be seen, this model is comprised of four basic components, *Social Milieu*, *Individual Differences*, *Second Language Acquisition Contexts*, and *Outcomes*. The social milieu refers to both the cultural background of the individual and her or his family, and the social dynamics of the immediate social environment, as discussed above. In the model, these are summarized as *Cultural Beliefs*, as reflected in the individual. Examples of such cultural beliefs are that learning languages is very difficult, or one must have an aptitude for languages to be able to learn a second language, or that learning the language leads to a loss of identity, or that learning the language is an economic necessity, etc. These background beliefs are seen as having an effect on the role played by four individual

difference variables, *Intelligence, Language Aptitude, Motivation, and Situational Anxiety*. These labels reflect the terminology and the hypotheses that were extant in the 1960's and 1970's. At that point, it was believed that both intelligence and special language learning abilities played a role in second language learning. For example, Carroll (1962) argued that intelligence would play a role because it would influence the extent to which the student understood the instructions and intentions of the teacher, while language learning abilities like sound symbol association ability, rote memory, grammatical sensitivity, and inductive language learning ability would result in differential aptitude on the part of the individual to learn the language. He proposed that programs could differ in terms of the intellectual demands placed on the student (thus emphasizing the role of intelligence), and that some students may have specific abilities that allow them to acquire some language skills more readily than others. Such considerations lead to the possibility that courses could be tailored to meet an individual's particular language abilities. That is, students with poor rote memory ability may be given more opportunity to study material, students with low levels of sound-symbol association ability could be instructed in how to make associations, etc...

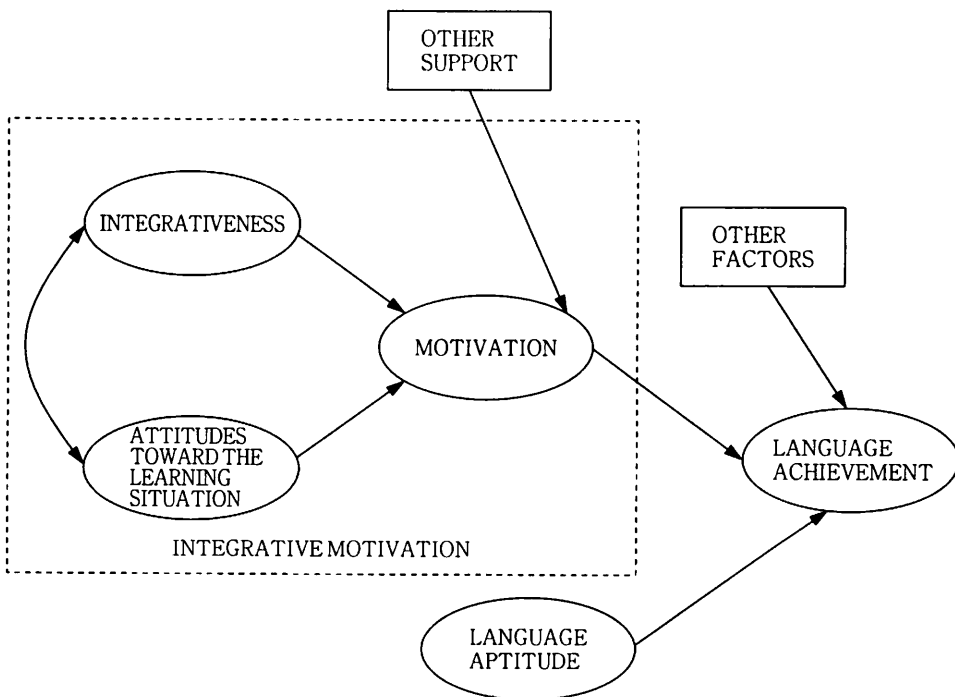
Motivation and Situational Anxiety were viewed as two affective variables. Motivation was seen as a positive force in that it energized the individual to learn the material, and to enjoy the task of language learning, etc., while situational anxiety was seen to be a negative force. High levels of situational anxiety were seen as impeding second language learning, while low levels of situational anxiety were seen as facilitating second language acquisition. The term situational anxiety was used because it was recognized that general anxiety was not related to the individual's level of success in learning a second language while anxiety specific to the situation, such as French Classroom Anxiety, or Test Anxiety was (see, for example, Chastain, 1975; Gardner & Smythe, 1975; Scovel, 1978). Ultimately, this type of anxiety came to be known generically as Language Anxiety (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1989), or Foreign Language Anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986).

Each of these individual difference variables are shown as having an influence on two different types of second language acquisition contexts, *formal language training contexts, and informal language learning environments*. Formal learning contexts refer to any situation in which language instruction takes place, like for example the typical language classroom, the language laboratory, language computer laboratories, etc... Each of the four individual difference variables are shown to have direct effects in this type of context as indicated by the solid arrows from them. That is, intelligence, language aptitude, motiva-

tion, and situational anxiety will each influence how successful the individual is in learning the language.

Informal learning contexts refer to any other setting where the individual might learn language material. Examples of these would include written material, radio and television broadcasts, movies, language clubs, etc., where the individual can experience the language in a context other than one focussing on instruction. Motivation and Situational Anxiety are shown as having a direct influence on this context (as indicated by the solid arrows) because it was expected that individual differences in motivation and situational anxiety would play a major role in influencing whether or not an individual would even enter the situation. Once there, it is expected that intelligence and language aptitude would play a role in how much the individual would profit from the experience, but they are shown as having an indirect effect, because they would not come into play until the individual had actually entered the situation. And this, we argued, would be expected to depend more upon motivation and situational anxiety.

This model has undergone a number of changes over the years, but there is considerable similarity between the earlier versions and the most recent one, which is presented in



Basic Model of the Role of Aptitude and Motivation in Second Language Learning

Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows that two classes of variables, *Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation* are two correlated variables that influence motivation to learn a second language, and that *Motivation* and *Language Aptitude* have an influence on *Language Achievement*.

The variable, Integrativeness, reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer psychologically to the other language community. 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. Since, integrativeness involves emotional identification with another cultural group, the socio-educational model posits that it will be reflected in an integrative orientation toward learning the second language, a favourable attitude toward the language community, and an openness to other groups in general (i. e., an absence of ethnocentrism). In short, the variable of Integrativeness is a complex of attitudes involving more than just the other language community.

The variable, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, involves attitudes toward any aspect of the situation in which the language is learned. In the school context, these attitudes could be directed toward the teacher, the course in general, one's classmates, the course materials, extra-curricular activities associated with the course, etc... This is not meant to imply that the individual necessarily thinks everything about the class is ideal. If the language teacher is ineffective or non-responsive, etc., if the course is particularly dull or confused, etc., these factors will undoubtedly be reflected in the individual's attitudes toward the learning situation. In the model it is recognized that, in any situation, some individuals will express more positive attitudes than others, and it is these differences in attitudes toward the learning situation that are the focus of the model. Clearly, however, there might well be differences between classes in such attitudes, and these could have an overall average effect on all students. To date, research deriving from the socio-educational model of second language acquisition has not considered these types of effects, though it may well be a valuable next step.

The variable, Motivation, refers to the driving force in any situation. In the socio-educational model, motivation to learn the second language is viewed as requiring three elements. **First**, the motivated individual **expends effort** to learn the language. That is, there is a persistent and consistent attempt to learn the material, by doing homework, by seeking out opportunities to learn more, by doing extra work, etc. **Second**, the motivated

individual **wants** to achieve the goal of learning the language. Such an individual will express the desire to succeed, and will strive to achieve success. **Third**, the motivated individual will **enjoy** the task of learning the language. Such an individual will say that it is fun, a challenge, and enjoyable, even though at times enthusiasm may be less than at other times. In the socio-educational model, all three elements, effort, desire, and positive affect, are seen as necessary to distinguish between individuals who are more motivated and those who are less motivated. Each element, by itself, is seen as insufficient to reflect motivation. Some students may display effort, even though they have no strong desire to succeed, and may not find the experience particularly enjoyable. Others may want to learn the language, but may have other things that detract from their effort, etc. The point is the truly motivated individual displays effort, desire and affect. Motivation is a complex concept, and the motivated individual exhibits many other qualities in addition to effort, desire and affect.

The figure also shows that the three classes of variables, Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and Motivation form "Integrative Motivation". As conceived in the socio-educational model of second language acquisition, integrative motivation is a complex of attitudinal, goal-directed, and motivational attributes. That is, 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. In the model, Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation are seen as supports for motivation, but it is motivation that is responsible for achievement in the second language. Someone may demonstrate high levels of Integrativeness and/or very positive Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, but if these are not linked with motivation to learn the language, that person will not be particularly successful in learning the language. Similarly, someone who exhibits high levels of motivation that are not supported by high levels of Integrativeness and/or favourable Attitudes toward the Learning Situation may not exhibit these high levels of motivation consistently. Integrative Motivation represents a complex of these three classes of variables.

The model is silent with respect to other attributes of the motivated individual, but clearly an integratively motivated individual, like any other motivated individual, exhibits a number of characteristics. In our research, we have focussed on only the defining attributes in the interest of parsimony. We believe that in our attempts to measure the elements of integrative motivation, we have defined the primary characteristics. Nonethe-

less, it is obvious that integratively motivated individuals have salient goals in addition to integration with the other community, that they have specific aspirations, that they make attributions concerning their successes and failures, etc. The question is, does considering these other aspects appreciably improve prediction of success in learning the second language. Tremblay and Gardner (1995) investigated the elements of the socio-educational model as well as a number of other indices of motivation, and attempted to integrate them into a structural equation model. The results indicated that the other motivational variables could be integrated into the model, but that the basic structure of the model was maintained. Considering them did not improve prediction of achievement.

Figure 2 shows that there can be other supports for motivation not directly associated with integrative motivation. Thus, there may be instrumental factors contributing to motivation (cf., Dörnyei, 1994; 2001), and we could label this combination of instrumental factors and motivation as Instrumental Motivation. Or, there may be other factors such as a particularly stimulating teacher or course that promotes motivation. There is no reason to argue that motivation is driven only by integrative factors.

It is also shown in Figure 2 that other factors might have direct effects on Language Achievement. Thus, research has indicated that language learning strategies (Oxford, 1990), and/or language anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1989) and/or self-confidence with the language (Clément, 1980) influences Language Achievement. It is possible, therefore, that such factors could have a direct effect on Language Achievement, though they might also have indirect effects through motivation or language aptitude. The model does not attempt to show all the possible links or even all the possible variables, since the intent was to focus attention on the role of integrative motivation.

In conjunction with the development of the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition, we have developed a test battery (the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery) (AMTB) to measure the various attributes that make up the concept of integrative motivation. Table 1 presents the general attributes assessed by the battery as well as a brief description of each attribute and the subtests used to assess each one. The descriptions are worded in such a way as to refer to the context of learning French as a second language in Canada.

As can be seen in Table 1, there are five general attributes assessed by the AMTB. The first, Integrativeness, is assessed by three subtests, Integrative Orientation, Interest in Foreign Languages, and Attitudes toward French Canadians. The second general attribute

Table 1 Attributes Measured by the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery
(With the number of items typically included in each scale)

Integrativeness. - - an open interest in the other language group, and/or outgroups in general, a willingness to identify with the group. AMTB measures: Attitudes toward French Canadians (10) Integrative Orientation (4) Interest in Foreign Languages (10)
Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. - - evaluative reactions to the language learning context. AMTB measures: Evaluation of the French Teacher (10) Evaluation of the French Course (10)
Motivation. - - effort expended, desire to learn, and favourable attitudes toward learning the language. AMTB measures: Motivational Intensity (10) Desire to Learn French (10) Attitudes toward Learning French (10)
Language Anxiety. - - feelings of anxiety and concern in using the language in the classroom and other contexts. French Class Anxiety (10) French Use Anxiety (10)
Instrumental Orientation. - - an interest in learning the second language for pragmatic reasons. Instrumental Orientation (4)

is Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and it is assessed by two subtests in the AMTB. These are Evaluation of the French Teacher and Evaluation of the French Course. The third attribute is Motivation, and it is assessed by Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn French, and Attitudes toward Learning French. The fourth and fifth attributes are not characteristics of the integrative motive, but are nonetheless assessed because of their potential contribution to success in learning a second language. The fourth one is Language Anxiety, and it is assessed by two subscales, French Class Anxiety and French Use Anxiety. In general, high levels of anxiety are associated with lower levels of achievement in the second language. The fifth is Instrumental Orientation, measured by just the one subscale.

Given this overview of the concept of integrative motivation, we can direct our attention once again to the practical questions introduced at the beginning of this session. For example, the first question was:

Is it best to start languages early in life, rather than waiting until students have matured?

From the point of view of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition, this can be seen to be a very complex question. It is obvious that older students would have more life experiences, and more developed language learning abilities than younger students, so other things being equal, it seems clear that they could learn a greater amount of material in a given period of time than would the younger child. However, the older student often has a more highly developed self-concept, a more structured attitude and belief structure, and more distractions that could interfere with language acquisition. Since younger children may not have developed firm attitudes related to Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, they may be more receptive to the learning environment, and thus learn more quickly than older children.

Then too, we expect more of the older student. If a very young child comes up to us and in their second language says, "Candy please" or even "Please candy", we are likely to think how cute, and comment that he or she is learning important elements of the language. If an older individual steps forward and says in his or her second language, "May I have a cup of coffee, please?", we are liable to begin a conversation with him or her. If these are the few words the person knows, we will probably conclude that they need much more training. Thus, even what we consider to be language learning could differ depending on the age of the learner.

As you can see, this is not an easy question to answer, and I haven't even considered other possible factors such as the critical period. It isn't necessary to invoke neurological factors to explain possible differences in the efficiency of language learning. Even by just considering the differential effects of prior experience, developed first language skills, affective factors, and what one perceives as "learning the language", the complexity of such a simple question becomes obvious.

The second question was:

Does the cultural setting influence the success of second language learning?

As we have indicated above, there are many features in the cultural setting that could influence how successful individuals might be in learning the second language. Some

examples might be the relations between the two language groups involved, the role played by the second language in the community, expectations concerning the possible outcomes expected from language training, etc. It is often said, for example, that Europeans can and do learn languages very successfully, whereas North Americans find it an impossible task. I am not suggesting that this is necessarily true. But it could be. And an analysis of the role of a factor like integrative motivation suggests that there very well could be cultural differences in the learning of a second language.

It might also be the case that the nature of motivation might change depending on the nature of the cultural setting. This was suggested by a study by Kraemer (1993) of Jewish students in Israel learning Arabic as a second language. She adapted some of the subtests of the AMTB to make them more appropriate for her setting, and included a number of other attitude measures based on her reconceptualization of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition to make it more appropriate to “a setting characterized by a high degree of intergroup conflict” (p. 83). Her results supported her modified version of the socio-educational model. Specifically, she found that motivation to learn Arabic was supported by Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, Parental Support, a National Security Orientation, and an Instrumental-General Knowledge Orientation. Motivation had significant links to Achievement and the Behavioural Intention to continue studying Arabic the following year. Thus, as in many other studies, motivation was still a major determinant of achievement, and various attitudinal variables served as supports for the motivation.

The third question was:

Is it possible to adapt the language learning situation to cater to individual differences?

Certainly, many language teachers and educators believe so. In fact, over the history of language teaching there have been many approaches and curricula suggested (see, for example, Kelly, 1969). Carroll (1962) proposed that the nature of the program could place a greater or lesser pressure on the individual depending upon the individual's level of intelligence and language aptitude. Based on this, one might hypothesize that language teaching could be adapted to mesh with the abilities of the individual.

The concept of integrative motivation suggests too that attention should be directed towards the student's background and attitudes and motivation when considering proce-

dures that might be more successful in teaching a second language. To some extent, modifications of language programs to bring a greater awareness of the cultural characteristics of the second language community, and differences between the first and second language communities are attempts to deal with such affective factors.

The fourth question was:

Can a teacher motivate students to learn a second language, or must the motivation come from within?

As teachers, we all believe that our actions can motivate our students to learn the material we are teaching. (I am a professor of statistics, not modern languages, and I know that I think it is possible to turn on or turn off students). And every once in a while a student will comment that you did have an effect. But what is the nature of the effect.

The rationale underlying the concept of integrative motivation is that experience prior to entering the language classroom for the first time, and particularly reactions to the group that speaks that language, ethnic groups in general, and the concept of foreignness, will colour a student's reaction to the task of learning the language. Experiences in the classroom can have a moderating effect on these reactions, but, with the possible exception of Evaluation of the Teacher, and possibly the Course, the attributes assessed by the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery are seen as relatively stable trait-like characteristics. Thus, from this perspective, at least, it would be expected that these attributes would be relatively resistant to change. Individuals may change moderately in the various attributes, but the changes would not be great.

I am not aware of any published research that has focussed directly on the nature of any changes that may take place over the duration of a course. A number of studies have, however, shown relatively high levels of test/retest reliability from one year to the next on all attributes assessed in the AMTB, other than Evaluation of the Teacher and the Course (see, for example, Gardner, 1985b). We did recently conduct one study with university students in Introductory French, and we considered five different measures of stability on these attributes. In this investigation, we tested students in the second week of classes on the AMTB, and again in the second last week of classes six months later. All of the measures of stability indicated that the changes in individuals on the attributes assessed by the AMTB were relatively modest. There were changes in individuals to be sure, but they were not pronounced. One analysis we did was to compare the means in 9 different classes

taught by different instructors. The one measure that resulted in significant and reasonably large variability among the classes at both the beginning and end of the academic year was Evaluation of the instructor. For these two assessments, class differences accounted for 13% and 27% of the variance respectively. Cohen (1988) defines 14% as a strong effect, thus we can conclude that what goes on in class can have an effect on reactions to the teacher.

In addition to these effects, Evaluation of the course showed significant variability at the beginning of the year, while Interest in Foreign Languages showed significant variation at the end. The effects were not as pronounced, however. Class differences accounted for only 6% of the variance in Evaluation of the Course, and 10% of the variance in Interest in Foreign Languages. Cohen (1988) defines 6% as a moderate effect. The point in all this is that despite different teachers with slightly different approaches to the course, different personalities, etc., the experiences in the classroom did not have much of an effect on student attitudes, other than reactions to the teacher. Of course, it could be that all of these teachers were very similar in their attention to the class, etc., and consequently no differences emerged. Nonetheless it is significant that even though the classes did show different reactions to the instructor they did not show differences on the various attributes of Integrativeness, or motivation. We are currently conducting a follow-up investigation to determine the extent to which such results replicate.

The fifth question was:

What is the relevance to the language teacher of the research on motivation in learning another language?

This question is obviously very important to individuals involved in second language acquisition. Often researchers come to their classes asking for class time to conduct another study, and it is reasonable for the teachers and students involved to ask what advantages will accrue if this research is supported. I am sure that sometimes one gets the impression that research is done for the sake of the research or some debate among researchers, and sometimes this might be the case. I believe, however, that research in the classroom should be supported, and that the results do ultimately have an effect on the classroom environment.

I believe this is true of our research on integrative motivation. When our first article, Gardner and Lambert (1959), was published, it was generally accepted that the major determinants of success in a second language were intelligence and language aptitude.

Table 2 Some Generalizations About the Role of Integrative Motivation in Second Language Acquisition with Sample References to Empirical Support

Generalization	Reference*
<i>Based on Classroom Surveys:</i>	
Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation are three separate but correlated constructs. Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation have an indirect effect on second language achievement through Motivation.	Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret (1997)
Differences in integrative motivation help to explain who will drop out and who will continue language study in future years.	Clément, Smythe & Gardner (1977)
Differences in integrative motivation help to explain differences in activity in the language classroom.	Gliksman, Gardner & Smythe (1982)
Differences in integrative motivation are related to whether or not children will participate in school-planned excursions to the other language community	Desrochers & Gardner (1981)
Integrative motivation promotes the retention of a second language after study ends, largely because motivated individuals tend to use the language during the subsequent period.	Gardner & Lysynchuk (1990)
<i>Based on Laboratory studies:</i>	
The rate of learning second-language vocabulary is faster for individuals with favourable attitudes and motivation.	Gardner, Lalonde, & Moorcroft (1985)
Levels of trait (i. e., long lasting) motivation to learn second languages influence levels of state (i. e., at the moment) motivation which in turn influence the rate of learning second-language vocabulary.	Tremblay, Goldberg & Gardner (1995)
Both integrative and instrumental motivation influence the rate of learning second language vocabulary.	Gardner & MacIntyre (1991)
*References to Gardner et al., articles available on my web page at http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/	

Critics of our research attempted to explain away our results by arguing that it was possible that our measures of achievement in the second language were in fact confounded by motivation and that this was what accounted for the relationships we obtained. I remember giving a talk to language teachers in Vermont in 1960, and having the findings met with skepticism. Now attitudes and motivation are generally accepted as playing a role in second language acquisition, and even classroom instruction is now directed to changing or strengthening attitudes and motivation in addition to teaching the language. Culture is very much a part of language classes now.

In preparation for this talk, I summarized some of the generalizations that now seem to be generally accepted, and that I believe arose in part, at least from research on the concept

of integrative motivation. These are summarized in Table 2.

I have classified five of these generalizations as being based largely on survey research, and three as being more associated with research from laboratory studies. I suppose I see the primary generalization to be that there is an association between reactions to ethnic communities, evaluations of the learning situation, motivation to learn the language, and achievement in that language. It is safe to assume that the cultural background of the individual and the setting in which language acquisition takes place will have an influence on the configuration and nature of these variables, but the associations are present. It seems to be well accepted too that individual differences in these attributes (that I have summarized here as integrative motivation) will be associated with perseverance in language study, behaviour in the classroom, participation in activities that encourage interaction between the student and members of the other cultural community, and even the retention of second-language skills after training ends.

I believe too that integrative motivation facilitates second language acquisition because it influences the rate at which second language material can be learned. There is no reason to attribute this association to some mystical effect of integrative motivation. It seems simply that individuals who are open to taking on material from another cultural background, who enjoy the activity, and who work hard and persevere at the task will be more efficient in their learning than individuals who are not. One way in which they undoubtedly operate is that individuals who are high in these attributes of integrative motivation will simply be more motivated at the time learning takes place. That is, they will have higher levels of state motivation. Finally, I think it has been clearly recognized that integrative motivation is not the only factor that facilitates the learning of a second language. It is very meaningful to assume that the learning of a second language can be facilitated by an instrumental motive as well. The nature of this learning may differ, but there is certainly room for motives other than the motive to integrate with the other culture to facilitate second language acquisition. Further research will help, I believe, to uncover more about the language learning process.

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