CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Many would agree that motivation is essential to success; the desire to do something must exist in order to succeed at it. As Gardner and MacIntyre (1993, p. 3) have stated, motivation is "a central mediator in the prediction of language achievement." Although the term *motivation* is talked about in many circles, both professional and otherwise, there is a strange lack of consensus on a standard definition for this elusive term. According to Williams and Burden (1997, p. 120), motivation is a state of cognitive arousal which provokes a "decision to act," resulting in "sustained intellectual and/or physical effort" so that the person can achieve some "previously set goal." Dörnyei and Ottó (1998, p. 65) define motivation in this way, "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, prioritized, operationalised and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out. Clearly, these complicated definitions show the confusing nature of the term *motivation*. Greater clarity may be gained by distinguishing between the following five words: *motivation*, *motivating*, *motivated*, *motivational*, and *motivatedness*.

According to Dörnyei (2001a), there is no such thing as motivation in a strict sense. In other words, the term *motivation* is an abstract, hypothetical concept used to explain why people think and behave as they do. *Motivation* is a theoretical term covering a whole range of motives. Because motivation is an abstract concept, it is difficult to objectively measure motivation. On the other hand, it is relatively easy to determine (through outward observable effects) whether or not a student is *motivated* as well as whether or not instruction is *motivating*. For example, the motivated individual is goal directed, expends effort, is persistent, is attentive, has desires (wants), exhibits positive affect, is aroused, has expectancies, demonstrates self-confidence (self-efficacy), and has motives (Gardner, 1985). Dörnyei (2001b) states that motivating someone to do something can involve many different things, "from trying to persuade a person directly to exerting indirect influence on him/her by arranging the conditions or circumstances in a way that the person is likely to choose the particular course of action" (p. 24). Yet regardless of the form it takes, the motivating process is usually a long-term one, built one step at a time. The term *motivational* refers to that which is *motivating* and can be used to describe teaching, materials, strategies and more. For this study, the term *motivatedness* has been coined to refer to students being *motivated*. Although this term cannot be found in a dictionary, it more accurately reflects the levels of motivation discussed in this study.

Unfortunately, in the field of L2 motivation, researchers often differ in the language they use to explain the same phenomenon. As a result, there are many different approaches to understanding the concept of motivation. However, the one thing on which most researchers do see eye-to-eye concerns the two basic dimensions of human behavior. Researchers agree that motivation is responsible for the *choice* of a particular action as well as the *persistence* with it and the *effort* expended on it

(Dörnyei, 2001b). In other words, motivation determines the extent of active, personal involvement in L2 learning (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). It also explains *why* people decide to do something, *how hard* they are going to pursue it and *how long* they are willing to keep doing the activity.

History of L2 Motivation Research

Learning a language is more than just a communication code with rules that can be taught like other subjects because it involves projecting elements of another culture into the students' "lifespace" (Dörnyei, 2001a). For example, when students learn Thai, it may be helpful for them to develop a Thai identity and to learn to think Thai and become a bit Thai. Indeed, language and culture are inextricably bound together. Therefore, when students have an aversion to the L2 community, learning the language of that community may become more difficult. However, because English is now considered to be a global language, it is becoming more common to learn English in one's own country among one's own culture. Even so, language learning continues to be a deeply social event. Interestingly, early research on L2 motivation between the 1960s and 1990s focused on how students' perceptions of the L2 and the L2 community affected their desire to learn a language. This research was led primarily by Robert Gardner (the most influential ESL motivation researcher to date) as well as Wallace Lambert and Richard Clement (Dörnyei, 2001a).

L2 motivation research was initiated in Canada with the coexistence of Anglophone and Francophone communities and was dominated by a social psychological emphasis. Gardner and Lambert laid this early foundation based on the idea that attitudes related to the L2 community exert a strong influence on one's L2 learning (Gardner, 1979). Two orientations referred to as *integrative and instrumental* are widely known concepts associated with Gardner's L2 motivation research. Integrative motivation refers to a favorable attitude toward the L2 group as well as the desire to interact with and become a part of that community. Instrumental motivation, however, concerns the practical benefits of L2 proficiency, such as getting a better job or a higher salary. However, an even broader concept referred to as *integrative motive* is the most researched aspect of Gardner's theory (1985). This construct is made up of three components: integrativeness (interest in foreign languages and attitude toward the L2 community), attitudes toward the learning situation (the teacher and the course), and motivation (motivational intensity and desire to learn the language).

In the study of motivation, another accepted distinction is made between *extrinsic* and *intrinsic* motivation; that is, motivation which comes from "outside" and from "inside." The motivation that brings students to the task of learning English can be influenced by a variety of factors including the following: goals, society, people, and curiosity (Harmer, 2007). According to Harmer, one of the strongest outside sources of motivation is the *goal* for which students perceive themselves to be learning, such as an impending exam, a general desire to be able to communicate in English, and the hope of getting a better job. Society also plays a big role in influencing students' attitudes toward language learning and the English language in particular. In a school setting, language learning may be of high or low status. Similarly, cultural images associated with English may be positive or negative. In addition to goals and society, the attitudes of people who are close to students, such as parents, siblings, spouses and peers will be crucial. If these people are critical of English and of various activities involved in learning it, a student is likely to lose enthusiasm (Harmer, 2007). If, however, family members and peers are enthusiastic about learning English, chances are the student may feel more motivated to learn the subject. Finally, most students' innate curiosity will stir in them at least a mild interest at the beginning of a term or course or when they study English for the first time. Good instructors will tap into this initial motivation and make the most of it.

Intrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is associated with the learners' interest in and anticipated enjoyment of the language learning activity. The key issue in generating interest is to whet the students' appetite or arouse their curiosity and attention by creating an attractive image for the course. Dörnyei (2001a) compares raising students' intrinsic interest in the L2 learning process to a "selling" task. Several ways for teachers to "sell" students on learning an L2 include pointing out challenging, exotic or satisfying aspects of the process, connecting L2 learning with activities that students already find interesting and providing a demonstration of particularly enjoyable tasks. Mckay and Tom (1999, p. 4) suggest that intrinsic motivation is especially important for sustaining motivation in adult learners, "Motivation must come from within them and be based on their perception that what they are learning is of interest and of value to them." Intrinsically motivated learning is learning that meets people's needs to be competent and self-determining. In addition, teachers should try to make students' first encounters with the L2 a positive experience since first impressions are so important. Once students' impressions of the L2 are formed, they will strongly influence how learners will anticipate future experiences with the L2 (Wlodkowski, 1986).

During the 1990s, researchers and scholars began to question the completeness of studying motivation from a social psychological perspective only. While no one questioned the significance of the sociocultural dimension, researchers began to feel that there was much more to motivation than the two orientations posited by Gardner. Researchers wanted to close the gap between motivational theories in educational psychology and in the L2 field, because they thought that by focusing on the social dimension, other important aspects of motivation had been overlooked. Consequently, several new, more complete L2 motivation constructs were proposed. The two most elaborate frameworks from the 1990s were created by Dörnyei (1994) and Williams and Burden (1997). Dörnyei's model conceptualized L2 motivation in terms of three levels: the language level, the learning level and the learning situation level. Williams and Burden constructed their framework around internal and external motivational influences.

Motivational Theory Overview

Today, there are over twenty internationally recognized theories of motivation with many different points of view, different approaches, and continued disagreement over proper terms and definitions. Wlodkowski (1986) comments on the situation,

> As a concept, motivation is a bit of a beast. A powerfully influential and wide-ranging area of study in psychology . . . . But in terms of mutual understanding and tightly controlled boundaries of application, motivation roams the field of psychology with almost reckless abandon. (p. 44)

One reason for so many motivational theories is that in the past, motivational psychologists have spent great effort trying to reduce the multitude of potential determinants of human behavior by identifying a small number of key variables to explain the variance in people's action (Dörnyei, 2001a). That is, they have attempted to identify only a few central motives that are more important than others. Consequently, different scholars have come up with different "most-important" motives, which explain the various competing theories. Another reason why so many motivational theories exist is that no single motivational principle can capture the complexity of a classroom containing a group of individuals. This plethora of motivational theories has created such difficult problems as whom to believe, which theories to apply and how to make sense of these many confusing possibilities. Nevertheless, a brief summary of the currently dominating motivational approaches may prove insightful in this study of motivation.

According to *expectancy-value theories* (Brophy, 1999), motivation to perform certain tasks is the product of the individual's *expectancy of success* in a given tasks and the *value* which the individual attaches to success on that task. The *attribution theory*, developed by Weiner (1992), deals with learners' attributions about past successes and failures. Ability and effort have been identified as the most dominant perceived causes, and past failure hinders future achievement behavior. *Goal theories* focus on basic human needs and are often referred to as need theories. Humanistic psychologist Maslow created a need hierarchy consisting of five levels: physiological, safety, love, esteem and self-actualization (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). *Equity theories* are characterized by a mathematical ratio of inputs to outcomes. In other words, the L2 learner must believe that the probable results are worth the effort expended (Oxford & Shearin, 1994).

According to Atkinson and Raynor (1974), the *achievement motivation theory* is determined by conflicting approach and avoidance tendencies. The positive influences dominating this theory are the expectancy of success, the incentive value of successful task fulfillment and the need for achievement. The negative influences involve fear of failure, the incentive to avoid failure and the probability of failure. The *self-efficacy theory* (Bandura, 1997) refers to people's judgment of their capabilities to carry out certain specific tasks. Accordingly, their sense of efficacy will determine their choice of the activities attempted, the amount of effort exerted and the persistence displayed. According to Dörnyei (2001a), in order for students to be able to focus on learning with vigor and determination, they must have a healthy self-respect and believe in themselves as learners. The *self-worth theory* (Covington, 1992) is related to self-efficacy and holds that the basic human need of maintaining a sense of personal worth and value generates a number of face-saving behaviors in classroom settings. That is, in some situations, students may actually stand to gain by *not* trying in order to preserve their self-worth and self-esteem. Other frequent failure-avoiding strategies employed by students include non-performance, taking on too many responsibilities and setting impossibly high goals.

Self-determination theory is based on the idea that human motives can be placed on a continuum between self-determined (intrinsic) and controlled (extrinsic) forms of motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985). The theory stating that much of human motivation stems from sociocultural context rather than from the individual is called *social motivation theory*. The *theory of planned behavior* posits that attitudes exert a direct influence on behavior, because one's attitudes towards a target influences the overall pattern of that person's responses to the target (Dörnyei, 2001a).

Finally, *reinforcement theories* attribute individual behavior to the association of reward. In fact, reinforcement theories are often the only theories with which teachers are acquainted, and many teachers do attempt to motivate their students through extrinsic rewards. Yet intrinsic rewards (those coming from within the student) are often much more effective and powerful than rewards provided by the teacher.

To summarize, all of the various theories make a lot of sense in and of themselves; unfortunately, they largely ignore each other and most of the time do not try to achieve a synthesis (Dörnyei, 2001a). The reality is that pure theories of motivation are limited and do not lend themselves to effective classroom application. In order to understand why students behave as they do, Dörnyei (2001a) advocates a detailed and eclectic construct representing multiple perspectives. In truth, motivating students will never be a singular or simplistic process, but will require hard work, patience and love for students. Although some attempts have been made to organize and simplify the research knowledge regarding L2 motivation, instructors have received very few practical suggestions. Rather than take the time to wade through the confusing literature on motivation, most teachers instead rely on what has been traditionally used to enhance motivation for learning—experience, common sense and trial and error.

Process-Oriented Approach

The process model (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) represents a novel approach in L2 motivation research because it attempts to integrate propositions and models from several sources into a more comprehensive scheme. Although there is no shortage of competing motivational theories in the fields of social and motivational psychology, Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) found three main limitations among the existing theories. First, they do not provide a sufficiently comprehensive and detailed summary of all the relevant motivational influences on learner behavior in the classroom. Second, the existing theories typically focus on *how* and *why* people choose certain courses of action instead of executing goal-directed behavior. Third, most motivational theories do not account for how motivation is a dynamically evolving and changing construct. In creating this process approach, Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) goal was as follows: "to construct a framework which is based on sound theoretical foundations and which is at the same time useful for practitioners" (p. 58). Their construct, while more general and elaborate, takes a dynamic view of motivation, trying to account for the *changes of motivation over time.* Because learning and mastering an L2 is such a prolonged learning activity, motivation cannot be viewed as a stable attribute of learning which remains constant over several months or even years. Rather, students' level of motivation fluctuates daily. This variation may be caused by any number of factors such as the phase of the course or school year or the type of activity in which students must take part.

According to Dörnyei and Ottó (1998), the main assumption underlying their process-oriented approach is that motivation consists of several distinct phases: the pre-actional phase, the actional phase, and the post-actional phase. First, motivation needs to be generated. Dörnyei (2001a, p. 21) explains, "The motivational dimension in this initial phase can be referred to as *choice motivation*, because the generated motivation leads to the selection of the goal or task to be pursued." Second, the initial motivation must be actively maintained and protected while the particular action lasts. This motivational dimension is known as *executive motivation*, which is especially relevant to learning in classroom settings, where students are constantly exposed to many distracting influences. These distractions come in the form of off-task thoughts, irrelevant distractions from others, anxiety about the tasks, or physical conditions that make it difficult to complete the task. The last phase follows the completion of the action: *motivational retrospection*. This phase concerns the learners' evaluation of how things went. The way students process their past experiences in this phase will determine the kind of activities they will be motivated to pursue in the future (Dörnyei, 2001a).

One important thing to remember about this process-oriented approach is that the different phases are fueled by different motives; that is, to initiate motivation is much different from sustaining it. In adult language people commonly drop out not long after they begin because they realize that they cannot cope with the daily demands of attending the classes and completing the homework. Interestingly, many of these same learners will later decide to re-enroll in the same course; in fact, some learners repeat this cycle several times. The process-oriented model can explain this behavior: enrolling in a course is motivated by choice motivation, but continuing work required during the course is fueled by executive motivation. For the drop-outs, executive motivation is not sufficient. However, Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) are quick to note that the process-oriented approach is not without limitations, such as what to do with unconscious and irrational motives, simultaneous action, multiple goals and goal hierarchies and task-specific motivation.

Creating Basic Motivational Conditions

Most research knowledge concerning L2 motivation is theoretical rather than practical. In other words, the material written both in psychology and L2 studies has been directed at researchers to facilitate further research, instead of at practitioners to facilitate teaching. Although it is evident that the kind of knowledge teachers can use best is straightforward and unambiguous, psychologists are hesitant to make black-and-white statements regarding human behavior, since very few rules and principles are universally true. More recently, however, several articles and books of a practical nature have been published, and more researchers and psychologists are turning their attention to classroom applications. One helpful book *Motivational Strategies in the Language Classroom* by Dörnyei (Cambridge University Press, 2001a) is a short, systematic and interesting resource relatively free of theoretical terms and concepts. It is designed in such a way that every teacher can pick it up and use it immediately.

This systematic collection of motivational strategies is based on Dörnyei and Ottó's process-model of L2 motivation. Another practical book discussing adult motivation is *Enhancing Adult Motivation to Learn* by Raymond Wlodkowski (Jossey-Bass, 1986). In this book, Wlodkowski lists various strategies for practitioners try and use.

In his book, Dörnyei (2001a) lists thirty-five motivational strategies (techniques promoting the individual's goal-related behavior) from which teachers can choose to implement in their classrooms. Dörnyei makes it clear that these strategies are not meant to be solid rules; even the most reliable strategies are at best only suggestions which may work better with some learners on some days than with other learners on other days. Dörnyei (2001a, p. 28) defines his motivational strategies as "motivational influences that are consciously exerted to achieve some systematic and enduring positive effect." As mentioned previously, Dörnyei advocates a process-oriented organization including four key components of motivational teaching practice in the classroom:

1) Creating basic motivational conditions
2) Generating initial motivation
3) Maintaining and protecting motivation
4) Encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation

These four steps correspond with Wlodkowski's (1986) idea of a motivational plan. Without a motivational plan, teachers may not be able to sustain initial motivation.

In order for motivational strategies to be used and tested effectively in a classroom, Dörnyei (2001a) suggests that certain preconditions must be in place. The three most indispensable motivational conditions include the following: 1) a pleasant and supportive classroom atmosphere; 2) a cohesive learner group with appropriate group norms; and 3) appropriate teacher behaviors, including a good relationship with the students. Learning a new language is probably the most face-threatening school subject because learners are required to take considerable risk and to speak with a limited language code under pressure. Consequently, creating a pleasant and supportive atmosphere is of utmost importance. In a safe and supportive classroom, the *norm of tolerance* (Dörnyei, 2001b) prevails, and students are not embarrassed or criticized for making mistakes, thus promoting the principle of risk-taking (Brown, 1994). Encouraging *humor* as well as caring for the *physical environment* of the classroom also play a big part in making the classroom a safe and enjoyable place of learning.

Second, many teachers know from experience that the characteristics of the class group make a big difference when it comes to students' attitudes towards learning. The study of *group dynamics* (how groups behave and develop) has received widespread interest in recent years due to the recognition that a *group* has greater resources than any single member alone (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). Two aspects of group dynamics have a direct bearing on motivation: group cohesiveness and group norms.

Cohesiveness has been the subject of more research than any other aspect of group culture, reflecting the general belief of scholars that the closeness and 'we feeling' of a group may be *the* key factor in determining every aspect of the group's life. Mullen and Copper (1994) have identified three components of cohesiveness: 1) *interpersonal attraction* (the desire to belong to the group because of liking the other members) 2) *commitment to task* (the group feeling created by the binding force of the group's purpose) and 3) *group pride* (desire to belong to the group because of the prestige of its members). When two or all three of these components are combined, a solid basis of cohesiveness is created which results in a strong overall identification with the group. Several positive features of cohesive groups include making each other welcome, paying attention to one another, participating in group activities willingly, cooperating with each other, readily sharing personal details and participating with each other in out-of-class activities (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). In a study conducted by Senior (2002), adult learners in Australia from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds showed that a class group-sensitive teaching approach fosters group cohesiveness. According to Senior (2002, p. 402), "Learning takes place most effectively when language classes are pulled together as unified groups."

Most teachers, as well as students, would agree that *group norms* (rules of classroom conduct) are necessary to make joint learning possible. In educational settings, many classroom norms are explicitly imposed by the teacher or by the school. Other group norms, however, spontaneously develop during the course of the group's development and are not explicitly stated. Dörnyei (2001b) proposes that group norms are most efficient if they are explicitly discussed and willingly adopted by members. He also recommends including an explicit norm-building procedure at the beginning of a course or school year in order to ultimately agree on a mutually accepted set of class rules. As a result of these mutually agreed upon rules, when people do break the norms, the group itself will often bring them back in line. In regard to group norms, teachers themselves must be willing to practice what they preach and take extra care to enforce the established norms.

Characteristics and Skills of a Motivating Instructor

The final precondition of creating an environment conducive for using motivational strategies concerns teachers and their behaviors. Epstein (1981) considers the following to be characteristic of motivating instructors: love of their subject, satisfaction in arousing this love in their students, and an ability to convince them that what they are being taught is serious. Common elements that support the foundation of teaching for motivating instructors are the following:

- enthusiasm
- expertise
- empathy
- clarity

These building blocks are not abstractions or personality traits; rather they are skills that can be learned and improved upon through practice and effort (Wlodkowski, 1986). In regard to appropriate teacher behaviors, one of the most important behaviors that teachers can demonstrate in front of their students is *enthusiasm*. American psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1997) believes that the teachers who make the most difference in their students' lives are the ones who are enthusiastic. He writes, "If a teacher does not believe in his job, does not enjoy the learning he is trying to transmit, the student will sense this and derive the entirely rational conclusion that particular subject matter is not worthy mastering for its own sake" (p. 77). Along with Csikzentmihalyi, Dörnyei (2001a) states that the ability to make enthusiasm public instead of hiding it is one of the most important ingredients of motivationally successful teaching. By projecting enthusiasm to students, teachers are following the general process of modeling. Enthusiasm does not need to be theatrical performances or dramatic salesmanship; rather, it means that teachers' reasons for being interested in the topic are clearly identified and shared with the students. However, without substance or the ability to relate to learners, a zealous instructor appears foolish: indeed, students are more likely to ridicule than admire such an instructor (Wlodkowski, 1986). In other words, enthusiasm alone is not enough to be a motivating instructor.

Second, motivating instructors will also offer *expertise*, the power of knowledge and preparation (Wlodkowski, 1986). *Expertise*, especially for adult instructors, contains three essential parts:

1) knowledge of something beneficial for adults

2) knowledge that is known and mastered

3) the ability to convey it through an instructional process

Most adults are goal-oriented, pragmatic learners, and they want their learning to help them solve problems, build new skills, advance their jobs, make more friends and do something that is of real value to them (Cross, 1981). According to Wlodkowski (1986), the dominant question and request of adult learners for anyone who instructs them is *Can you really help me?* Instructors can answer this question for themselves by identifying concrete examples of the knowledge skills that they can offer to a group of students. Wlodkowski (1986) states that for instructors, clearly knowing they have something of benefit to offer their students will increase credibility with students as well as boost their own self-confidence.

Next, motivating instructors must have *empathy* towards their students, that is, understanding and consideration. The classical definition of empathy by Rogers (1969) is "when the teacher has the ability to understand the student's reactions from the inside, a sensitive awareness of the way the process of education and learning seem *to the* student" (p.111). Instructors cannot underestimate the value of taking time to get to know their students and finding out what their needs and expectations are. Wlodkowski suggests, "Adults' needs and expectations for what they are taught will powerfully influence how they motivationally respond to what they are taught" (1986,

p. 23). Even after instructors take time at the beginning of a course or term to get to know their students' needs and expectations, they must continuously consider their learners' perspectives and adapt their instruction accordingly.

The last characteristic of a motivating instructor to be discussed is *instructional clarity*. As Wlodkowski (1986, p. 39) states, "No matter how enthusiastic, expert and empathetic an instructor is . . . *instructional clarity* is still necessary for motivating instruction." Students are not likely to learn something that they cannot understand. Two guidelines for instructional clarity supported by research are the following: 1) the instruction must be understood and followed by most of the learners and 2) even if learners cannot understand after the initial presentation, a way for learners to comprehend is provided by the instructor. In attempting to teach in a clear way, instructors should recognize that what may be clear for one learner, may not be so clear for other learners.

Finally, teachers must maintain rapport and a good relationship with their students. While a teacher's personality is likely to appeal to some learners more than others, some aspects of a teacher's style can be modified and developed. For example, by quickly learning and using the students' names, teachers can show a personal interest in them (Davies & Pearse, 2000). Teachers should also take care to behave in a fair way towards all learners and educate themselves in topics that interest their learners. Many students tend to rely on the teacher's feedback to ascertain their progress; as a result, it can be very motivating for students when their instructor gives encouraging and positive feedback, especially after frequent corrections and expressions of dissatisfaction.

Generating Initial Motivation

Very small children tend to posses a natural curiosity and an inherent desire to learn, but as they grow older, many seem to lose their previous love and motivation for learning. Although adults will likely be more motivated to learn than primary and secondary students, the reality is that most teachers need to find ways to encourage their students (both children and adults) to accept the goals of given classroom activities, regardless of whether or not the students enjoy these activities (Dörnyei, 2001a). Indeed, student motivation will not automatically be there much of the time; rather, teachers must try to actively generate positive student attitudes towards learning. Even if the basic motivational conditions mentioned previously are in place, teachers must still attempt to generate initial motivation in their students.

Several strategies may help teachers generate this initial motivation. First, the learners' expectancy of success can be increased. The concept of "expectancy of success" has been one of the most researched aspects of motivational psychology for the past four decades. The basic tenet is that students learn best when they expect success. However, expectancy of success must be accompanied by positive values, since learners are unlikely to begin a task that they do not enjoy and that does not lead to valued outcomes. One prerequisite for increasing learners' expectancy of success is that students should not be given tasks that are too difficult for them. In addition, Dörnyei (2001a) recommends the following steps to increase expectancy of success:

- provide sufficient preparation.
- offer assistance.
- let students help each other.
- make the success criteria as clear as possible.

- model success.
- consider and remove potential obstacles to learning.

Other strategies for generating initial motivation include increasing the learners' goal-orientedness, making the teaching materials relevant to the learners and creating realistic learner beliefs. Dörnyei (2001a) advises teachers to find out what the students' goals are and what topics they are interested in and then build these into the curriculum as much as possible. Oxford and Shearin (1994) agree that teachers should identify why students are studying the new language. Because students' motivation may change over time in both kind and degree, it is necessary to periodically check in with students and ask about their motivations. There are many ways to get to know students better, including interviews, group discussions, essay writing assignments and various types of questionnaires. Because even the best coursebooks often fail to connect with the person who reads them, teachers can make these texts more motivating by relating the subjects to the everyday experiences and backgrounds of the students (Dörnyei, 2001a). Finally, confronting false learner beliefs is essential to motivation since incorrect beliefs can become major barriers to the mastery of an L2. Key issues that should be discussed with students include the difficulty of language learning as well as the specific language they are learning, the realistic rate of progress students can expect, what is required for the learner to be successful and how languages are best learned. One way to initiate such a discussion with students is to have them complete a short questionnaire on learner beliefs developed by Elaine Horwitz (1988), "Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory" (BALLI).

Sustaining and Protecting Motivation

Even if all the ingredients for generating a motivating classroom environment are in place, a teacher's motivational agenda is still incomplete. Dörnyei (2001a) argues that it is one thing to initially whet students' appetite with appropriate motivational techniques, "but when action has commenced and is well on the way, a set of new motivational influences (some negative and some positive) come into force" (p. 71). Consequently, if motivation is not actively maintained and protected during this "actional" phase, students will naturally tend to lose sight of the goal, get tired or bored of the activity and gradually, motivation will decrease. For these reasons, motivation needs to be actively nurtured. Wlodkowski (1986) explains it this way, "Any learning activity can become satiating; it happens to everyone, often without any intention on our part. Satiation is what lies behind the 'divine discontent' of human existence" (p. 144).

Instructors can employ a variety of strategies to maintain motivation. First, and perhaps quite obvious, instructors can *make learning stimulating and enjoyable*. In general, people are more than willing to spend a great deal of time thinking and learning while pursuing activities they enjoy, such as playing sports, doing sudokus or surfing the net. This suggests that learning is not doomed to be boring and tedious (which it often is). Dörnyei (2001a) lists three practical ways to pursue this strategy: break the monotony of learning, make the tasks more interesting and increase the involvement of the students. In regard to boredom, Dörnyei comments, "Boring but systematic teaching can be effective in getting short-term results, but rarely does it inspire a life-long commitment to the subject matter" (2001a, p. 75). Several elements can make tasks more interesting including *challenge*, *interesting content*, the *novelty* *element*, the *intriguing element*, the *personal* element, *competition*, *tangible outcome* and *humor*.

The next way to sustain motivation is by *presenting tasks in a motivating way*. Dörnyei (2001a) believes that with a proper introduction, even such activities as grammar drills can be made somewhat exciting. Giving a motivational introduction to an activity involves explaining the purpose of the task, whetting the students' anticipation of the task and providing appropriate strategies for doing the task. Wlodkowski (1986) advises:

> Work with learners at the beginning of difficult tasks. It's amazing what can be lifted and moved with just a little help. . . Our proximity and minimal assistance can be just enough for the learner to find the right direction, continue involvement and gain the initial confidence to proceed with learning. (p. 92)

Creating learner autonomy will help to protect motivation. Currently a buzzword in educational psychology, *autonomy* is known as the ability to take charge of one's learning (Benson & Voller, 1997). Autonomous learners are aware of their learning styles and strategies; take an active approach to the learning tasks; take risks; are good guessers; and have a tolerant and outgoing approach to the target language. Autonomy is related both to the influential self-determination theory (the freedom to choose and have choices is a prerequisite to motivation) and to group dynamics. Dörnyei (2001a) recommends the following steps to increase learner autonomy:

- Allow learners choices about as many aspects as possible.
- Give students positions of genuine authority.
- Encourage student contributions and peer teaching.
- Encourage project work.

- Allow learners to use self-assessment procedures when appropriate.

By *promoting self-motivating learner strategies*, instructors can encourage learners to take control over their own learning process (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). Dörnyei (2001a) believes that students may even be able to take control over the motivational conditions and experiences that shape their own commitment to learning. In other words, it is not a stretch to say that learners themselves can take over some of the teacher's motivational job. Self-motivating strategies can be conceptualized through five main classes: 1) commitment control strategies; 2) metacognitive strategies; 3) satiation control strategies; 4) emotion control strategies; and 5) environmental control strategies (Dörnyei, 2001a).

Encouraging Motivational Retrospection

According to Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process-oriented model, the final and equally as important phase in any motivational plan is *encouraging self-evaluation* in learners. Humans characteristically spend quite a lot of time looking back, evaluating what they have done, how well it went, and what they can remember for the future. As a result, the past becomes closely tied to the future. One important part of motivating learners is to help them deal with their past in a way that will promote future efforts (Dörnyei, 2001a). Teachers can do this by helping learners consider their achievements in a positive light. Once again, several strategies can start teachers in the right directing for encouraging motivational retrospection.

First, teachers can *promote motivational attributions*. In psychology the term *attribution* has been used to refer to "the explanation people offer about why they were successful or, more importantly, why they failed in the past" (Dörnyei: 2001, p. 118). As mentioned previously, the attribution theory is one of the internationally

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recognized theories of motivation. Attributions are especially powerful as many learners quit trying to succeed because they do not believe that they can. In the school environment, students most commonly attribute their successes and failures to the following factors: ability, effort, task difficulty, luck, mood, family background and help or hindrance from others (Graham, 1994). Regarding attribution, Ushioda (1996, p. 13) makes the following comment, "In short, the ideal motivational scenario is one in which students attribute positive outcomes to personal ability, and negative outcomes to temporary shortcomings that can be remedied." Dörnyei (2001a) advises teachers to play down the importance of ability, while highlighting the role of effort. Effort facilitates future achievement, and everybody has an equal chance to it.

The second strategy to consider is *providing motivational feedback*. Aside from grades, the feedback which teachers give their students in class or on their written papers has the most effective role in bringing about changes in their learning behaviors (Dörnyei, 2001a). Ford's (1992) *Feedback Principle* states that people cannot continue to make progress toward their personal goals in the absence of relevant feedback information. Effective feedback has a gratifying function (increases learner satisfaction and lifts the learning spirit), promotes a positive self-concept and self-confidence and prompts the learners to reflect constructively on areas that need improvement and identify things they can do to increase the effectiveness of their learning (Dörnyei, 2001a). On the other hand, some types of teacher feedback can backfire and have negative consequences. Wrong types of feedback include communicating pity after failure, offering praise after success in *easy* tasks and unsolicited offers of help (supplying answers outright).

Next, motivational retrospection can be encouraged by *increasing learner satisfaction*. Some students tend to take accomplishments for granted while overemphasizing difficulties and failures. Unfortunately, this mindset can prevent them from feeling good about their achievements and thereby hinder them from building a positive self-image and motivational belief structure (Dörnyei, 2001a). Additionally, celebrations and satisfaction are crucial motivational building blocks because they validate effort, affirm the entire learning process, reinforce the value of the experience and provide bright spots along the road toward the ultimate goal. Scheidecker and Freeman (1999, p. 105) agree, "Recognition of success is not juvenile—in fact, it is what we all expect from life, and the wise teacher, in a non-threatening manner, takes full advantage of this most common human desire." This being the case, it seems advantageous to take time to celebrate and recognize learners' accomplishments.

A final strategy in this retrospectional phase is *offering rewards and grades in a motivating manner.* Dörnyei (2001a) writes that motivational psychologists generally do not like rewards (or grades, which are a kind of reward). They claim that many times instead of boosting motivation, rewards actually damage it (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Additionally, psychologists hold that real motivational practices do not have to rely on the dispensing of rewards. Yet remarkably enough, teachers do like rewards and have a tendency to distribute them liberally for good behavior and academic performance. Careful teachers can avoid the problems associated with rewards and offer them in a motivating manner by following some helpful tips:

- Do not overuse rewards.
- Do not take the rewards too seriously.
- Make rewards meaningful to the students.
- Offer rewards as unexpected gifts to show your appreciation after students have completed the task.

- Make sure that the rewards have some kind of lasting visual representation.

Previous Research

Nikolov's (1999) quantitative study of 84 Hungarian children's foreign language motivation showed that the most important motivating factors for children between 6 and 14 years of age included positive attitudes towards the learning context and the teacher as well as intrinsically motivating activities, tasks and materials. In addition, Nikolov found that the children were more motivated by classroom practice than integrative or instrumental reasons.

In order to investigate teachers' beliefs of how students are motivated, Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) surveyed 200 teachers of English in Hungary. From the results of the survey, they were able to compile a list of ten strategies which teachers considered most important from a motivational point of view. They used these to form the basis of the "Ten Commandments for motivating language learners: final version" (p. 203). The top three commandments are as follows: set a personal example with your own behavior, create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom and present the tasks properly.

Findings from a study conducted in Israel (Donitsa-Schmidt, Inbar & Shohamy, 2004) indicate that changing the educational context in which a second language is learned (in terms of starting age and choice of language variety) brought about positive changes in learner attitudes and motivation towards the target language. The teaching of Arabic to Hebrew speakers has been considered to be extremely problematic and suffers from numerous problems, including negative attitudes and stereotypes portrayed towards the Arabic language and its speakers as well as low motivation and resistance to studying the language. In this investigation, two changes were made to the standard practice of teaching Arabic in Jewish schools. First, the teaching of Arabic was introduced earlier, in grade 4 instead of grade 7 (a change from 12 to 9 years old). The second reform was to introduce the spoken form of the Arabic language before the literary one, in order to make the language more meaningful and functional for the learners. The participants for this project included 4,000 Hebrew-speaking students from 38 Jewish elementary schools. Schools were chosen at random in the Tel-Aviv area based on available resources at the time of the study.

Although many empirical studies have been conducted using quantitative methods to survey large numbers of students, qualitative studies are beginning to be used more and more. Qualitative studies aim to uncover or explore and usually involve observational or introspective techniques to gather descriptive data for content analysis. Ushioda (1994) argues for the potential value of complementing existing quantitative research approaches to L2 motivation with a more descriptive qualitative approach. In addition, minimal research has been conducted on analyzing the dynamics of L2 motivational change. As touched on previously, during the span of learning an L2, student motivation does not remain constant. For this reason, Ushioda (1996, p. 240-241) states, "A more introspective type of research approach is needed to explore qualitative developments in motivational experience over time, as well as to identify the contextual factors perceived to be in dynamic interplay with motivation."

In one qualitative study, Williams and Burden (1999) investigated the development of learners' attributions for their perceived successes and failures in L2 learning through semistructured interviews with 36 learners of French. They discovered clear age differences in terms of the learners' construction of success. The older learners tended to believe that they did not have much of a chance of success due to their age. In addition, it was found that there was hardly any mention of using learning strategies when explaining successes, suggesting a lack of awareness of strategy use.

Student Demotivation

Past motivation research has typically conceptualized motives as a kind of "inducement." In other words, positive motives have received much more attention than negative ones. However, this does not represent the complete picture because motivational influences having a detrimental effect on motivation are abundant. Indeed, negative motives actually de-energize action in the classroom instead of energizing it. A variety of events can have a demotivating effect on students, such as public humiliation, devastating test results or conflicts with other students. Dörnyei (2001b) believes that teachers can learn a great deal from looking at and understanding what he refers to as the "dark side" of motivation. According to Dörnyei (2001b, p.142), a demotivated learner is "someone who was once motivated but has lost his or her commitment/interest for some reason." Similarly to demotivation, there are *demotives*, the negative counterparts of *motives*. A motive increases an action tendency, while a demotive decreases it.

The term *demotivation* is virtually unused in motivational psychology; however, a related concept *amotivation* is part of Deci and Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory. The concept of amotivation refers to the relative absence of motivation, not caused by a lack of initial interest, but rather by the individual's experiencing feelings of incompetence and helplessness. Amotivation differs slightly from demotivation since it has to do with general outcome expectations that are unrealistic for some reason, whereas demotivation is related to specific external causes. As of now, the only systematic line of research on demotivation is found in the discipline of *instructional communication research*. Interestingly, the reason for such an interest in demotivation in the field of (L1) communication studies is because it has been found to be a frequent phenomenon related to the teacher's interaction with the students (Dörnyei, 2001b). Two different investigations by Christophel and Gorham (1992, 1995), using both qualitative and quantitative methods have shown that two-thirds of the reported sources of demotivation were "teacher-owned," that is, lack of motivation was attributed to something the teacher had done or had been responsible for. In their 1992 study, Gorham and Christophel presented a rank order of the frequency of demotives as mentioned by the students. The top five demotives were as follows:

- Dissatisfaction with grading and assignments.
- The teacher being boring, bored, unorganized and unprepared.
- Dislike of the subject area.
- Inferior organization of the teaching material.
- The teacher being unapproachable, self-centered, biased, condescending and insulting.

Dörnyei (2001b) believes that the L2 domain is the area of education most often characterized by learning failure; nearly everyone has failed in the study of at least one language. Because language-learning failure is a common phenomenon, the study of its causes is often directly related to demotivation. Several exploratory investigations concerning L2 learning and demotivation are useful in preparing the ground for future studies.

Chambers (1993) carried out a study based on the assumption that language teachers hold this general view, "The biggest problem is posed by those pupils who are quite able but do not want to learn a foreign language and make sure that the teacher knows it!" (p. 13). To find out exactly what demotivated students are thinking, Chambers visited four schools in the UK and administered a questionnaire to 191 grade nine students all enrolled in eight classes. Seven teachers also filled in a questionnaire. These teachers had little difficulty identifying the following characteristics of demotivated students: they make no effort to learn, show no interest, demonstrate poor concentration, produce little or no homework, fail to bring materials to class, claim to have lost materials, do not respond well to extra help, lack a belief in their own capabilities, demonstrate lethargy, give negative response to praise, are unwilling to cooperate, distract other pupils, throw things, and shout out during class.

Interestingly, the seven teachers in this study perceived the causes of demotivation as related to a variety of reasons (such as psychological, attitudinal, social, historical or geographical), none of which included them. The students' responses, on the other hand, were in quite a different vein. Fourteen percent of the students viewed the compulsory language component as "not essential" or "a waste of time." Fifty percent stated that they either did not enjoy or loathed language learning. Some of them blamed their teachers for going on and on about nothing much of importance, not giving clear enough instructions, using inferior equipment, not explaining things sufficiently, criticizing students, shouting at them when they did not understand and using old-fashioned teaching materials. Other students thought the group was too big or the classroom too small. Based on this research, Chambers could only draw a few conclusions. First, in some cases demotivation originated from home rather than the classroom. In other cases, however, demotivation did stem from the L2 class and the perception of the teacher. Also, Chambers notes that the demotivated learners in his survey appeared to possess very low self-esteem and needed extra attention and praise. Speaking of the problem of dealing with demotivated students Chambers states, "I find that I am dealing not with a mole-hill but rather the mountain. . . .We cannot solve it alone. Seeking the help of pupils might be a good place to start. They could well be more cooperative than school management" (1999, p. 16).

As part of a qualitative investigation of effective motivational thinking of 20 Irish learners of French at Trinity College in Dublin, Ushioda (1998) asked participants to identify what they found to be demotivating in their L2 learning experience. She discovered almost without exception, these demotives related to negative aspects of the institutionalized learning context, such as *teaching methods* and *learning tasks*. Yet, as Ushioda emphasizes, the learners in her study were able to sustain or revive their positive motivational disposition in the face of the negative experiences by using a variety of self-motivating strategies, such as setting oneself short-term goals, positive self-talk and indulging in an enjoyable L2 activity not monitored by the teacher or exams.

In Dörnyei's (1998) investigation of demotivation, he also followed a qualitative approach by conducting interviews with 50 secondary school students in Budapest studying either English or German as a foreign language. In contrast to previous studies on demotivation that looked at a general cross-section of students and asked them about bad learning experiences, Dörnyei's study focused specifically on learners previously identified as being demotivated. Resulting from this study, Dörnyei discovered nine types of negative influence mentioned by at least two students as the main sources of their demotivation. By far, the largest category (40%

of the total frequency of occurrences) directly concerned the teacher. Another 15% of the occurrences also concerned the teacher, although indirectly, through the learners' reduced self-confidence partly due to some classroom event within the teacher's control. More than 10% of the demotives were accounted for by a further two factors: inadequate school facilities and a negative attitude towards the L2. The last five factors were less frequent, but still considered by some students to be potent demotivating factors. They included the compulsory nature of L2 studies, the interference of another foreign language being studied, the negative attitude towards the L2 community, the negative attitudes of other group members and the coursebook.

Adult Learner Characteristics

Because the participants in this study are adults, not children, an overview of adult learner characteristics as pertaining to motivation is in order. More specifically, it is important to look at what motivation means from the adult perspective. Adults can be defined according to two criteria (Knowles, 1980). First, a person is an adult to the extent that that individual is performing social roles typically assigned by their culture to those it considers adults—the roles of worker, spouse, parent, citizen, soldier and so on. Second, a person is an adult to the extent that that individual perceives himself to be essentially responsible for his own life. Research has consistently shown that adults usually choose vocational and practical education leading to knowledge about how to do something more often than any other form of learning (Wdlodkowski, 1986). Knox (1977) has found that adults have a strong need to apply what they learn and to be competent in that application. Indeed, Wlodkowski (1986, p. 6) has generalized that adults are "responsible people who seek to build their self-esteem through pragmatic learning activities in which their competence is enhanced." From this perspective, several of the motivational theories would be quite applicable for adults, including attribution theory, achievement motivation theory, personal causation theory, social learning theory and cognitive evaluation theory. These theories all support the idea that humans strive for understanding and mastery and tend to be motivated when they are effectively learning something they value.

Adult motivation can be seen as operating on three integrated levels (Wlodkowski, 1986). The first level is *success + volition*; that is, along with their success in learning, adults must also experience choice or willingness in order for their motivation to be sustained. The second level, *success + volition + value*, means that while the adult learner may not necessarily find the learning activity pleasurable or exciting, it is meaningful and worthwhile. Thus, the adult learner tries to get the intended benefit from it. Finally, the last level is *success + volition + value + enjoyment*, signifying that the adult has experienced the learning as pleasurable. It follows, therefore, that the key to motivating instruction in adult education is to help adults successfully learn what they value and want to learn in an enjoyable manner.

While most adults have multiple reasons for learning, several motives have been found to dominate in group learning situations. The most common motives include improving one's position in life, upward career mobility, better job opportunities, and enhancing the quality of life and leisure. Instructors should also be aware of barriers to adult learning. *Dispositional barriers* are most relevant to the study of motivation since they deal with attitudes and self-perceptions of people regarding themselves as learners (Wlodkowski, 1986). Two commonly found dispositional barriers for adult learners are related to age and educational background. Many older adults believe that they are too old to begin new learning activities. In addition, adults with poor educational backgrounds often lack interest in learning as well as confidence in their ability to learn. However, while it was once thought that aging was a realistic handicap to learning, this is not entirely the case. Studies have shown that if there *is* an age limit on learning performance, it is not likely to occur until around age seventy-five (Wlodkowki, 1986).

Moreover, in terms of intelligence, it is safe to summarize that normal, healthy adults can be efficient and effective learners well into old age. Although fluid intelligence (measured through abilities such as memory span, spatial perception, adaptation to new situations and abstract reasoning) decreases with age, crystallized intelligence (measured through such abilities as vocabulary, general information, arithmetic reasoning and reading comprehension) actually increases or remains stable up to around age sixty (Cattell, 1963). Fluid and crystallized intelligence are complementary. Research into both types of intelligence has confirmed the approach that reveres the wisdom of the aged but tends to rely on youth for quickness in learning new skills (Cross, 1981). Knox (1977, p. 421) explains it in this way, "As fluid intelligence decreases and crystallized intelligence increases, general learning ability remains relatively stable, but the older person tends to increasingly compensate for the loss of fluid intelligence by greater reliance on crystallized intelligence, to substitute wisdom for brilliance."

Basic Assumptions of Motivation

As mentioned previously, with such a broad and complex hypothetical construct as motivation, controversy and argument abound. Consequently, certain critical assumptions for helping adult learners must be in place in order to promote understanding and clear communication (Wlodkowski, 1986) The first assumption is that *people are always motivated.* People may not be motivated to learn, but they are always motivated to do something. Too often, instructors will label certain students as "not motivated." Such dismissal is unfortunate, since it implies a lifeless blob beyond all possible assistance as well as increases an instructor's sense of helplessness. According to Wlodkowski (1986, p. 12), a more accurate statement would be the following: "This learner is not motivated to learn with me." By rewording the statement, the issue is made into more of a problem to solve rather than a hopeless cases to dismiss.

Secondly, it is assumed that *people are responsible for their own motivation.* Instructors cannot directly motivate learners; however, they can make things stimulating and attractive, provide opportunity and incentives and influence and affect learners. Yet, learners' motivation cannot completely be controlled. If it could, learners would be more like puppets than people (Wlodkowski, 1986). In fact, seeing learners as responsible allows instructors to develop mutual respect and understanding with them. In addition, learners are able to take pride in their choices and perseverance. This assumption expects learners' cooperation as well as instructors' in making learning the reciprocal relationship that it naturally is.

The third assumption is that *if anything can be learned, it can be learned in a motivating manner*. In order to learn anything, there must be some degree of motivation, even if it is merely paying attention (Walberg & Uguroglu, 1980). However, once instructors have gained learners' attention, there are numerous ways to sustain attention and interest. Wlodkowski (1986) strongly posits that if something is worth an instructional effort, it is safe to say that there is some degree of substance to the material and that it must meet some sort of valid need. The task of finding that need, affirming it and engagingly developing it through the instructional processes is a challenge, but not impossible.

Fourthly, *there is no one best way to instruct*. Certainly some ways are better than others, but no scientific or psychological theory has yet discovered a way to make learner motivation consistently predictable through any particular method of instruction, considering such variables as individual learner differences, type of learning task, learning environment, instruction style and unconscious motives. For this reason, instructors must keep in close communication with their learners regarding their particular learning styles and preferences. In the end, instructors must also trust their personal judgment to decide what is best for their learners.

Finally, *every instructional plan needs a motivational plan*. Many times, the unstable variables than interfere with and complicate learning are human variables—people's needs, emotions, impulses, attitudes, expectancies, irrationalities, beliefs and values. These are motivational variables as well. For most subject matters, finding an instructional design format is quite feasible. However, most do not adequately deal with the human variables mentioned above. Yet motivational theories are vitally concerned with these variables and offer many methods and principles to deal with them (Wlodkowski, 1986). The challenge for instructors is to integrate these methods and principles with instruction into a collective framework. Unfortunately, most instructors do not have any such motivational plan in place, and difficulties arise when motivation seems to be low or diminishing. Many instructors are left feeling helpless and hopeless. To compound their problems, when they turn to books on motivation, the wide array of competing and conflicting theories may leave them more confused. Wlodkowski (1986, p. 15) states, "Without a plan, motivation too often becomes a trial-and-error affair lacking cohesion and continuity during instruction." In order to help instructors construct a practical motivational plan, Wlodkowski suggests trying out a variety of strategies in the classroom to find the ones that are most appropriate for particular groups of students.

Difficulties with L2 Motivation Research

In researching L2 motivation, several problems have surfaced. First, motivation is difficult to measure since it is an abstract concept and not directly observable. Consequently, motivation must be inferred from some indirect indicator, such as an individual's self-report accounts, overt behaviors or physiological responses. Ames (1992) believes that in addition to defining motivation in terms of demonstrated effort, activity or time spend on a task, L2 motivation may be also be defined qualitatively in terms of positive and meaningful thinking on the part of the students. However, it remains that there are no objective measures of motivation. According to Covington (1992), motivation is similar to the concept of gravity in that it is much easier to describe (in terms of its outward, observable effects) than it is to define. Wlodkowski (1986) agrees that the nearest thing to a direct measure of motivation is effort. When people are motivated, they will work longer, harder, and with more vigor and intensity. They are likely to have greater concentration and take greater care in the process of learning. In addition, they are more cooperative, which makes them psychologically more open to the learning material and enhances information processing. Lastly, motivated learners are able to get much more out of the instructor than unmotivated learners.

Another difficulty in researching motivation is that motivation is not stable, but changes dynamically over time. Some researchers, therefore, question the accuracy of a one-time examination, such as a survey or questionnaire study. It is argued that these measures can hardly represent the motivational basis of a long-term endeavor such as learning an L2. Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) believe that their process-oriented approach helps solve this problem because it takes a dynamic view of motivation, trying to account for the changes of motivation over time. Theirs is a motivation model with a temporal axis.

Finally, Oxford and Shearin (1994) identify teachers' lack of knowledge about students' motivation as one of the current difficulties in researching motivation. While optimal teaching demands that teachers understand why their students are studying a language and what classroom activities motivate them the most, relatively few teachers are actually aware of these factors. Many teachers make assumptions about students' motivations, mistakenly believing that students have the same intent they themselves had when learning a new language. Therefore, an in-depth exploration of motivation in action in the classroom is called for in order for teachers to make choices in the best interest of their students. The use of longitudinal measures to compare the level of observed motivation at the beginning of, during and at the end of a course, as well as before and after certain events such as field trips, exams and project work, will further aid teachers in conceptualizing their students' motivation.

Conclusion

This review has detailed a plethora of practical strategies and tips for motivational teaching. While it is impossible and unreasonable to assume that any one teacher would follow every single strategy mentioned, Dörnyei (2001a) believes teachers should aim to become "good enough motivators," rather than "supermotivators." In other words, when planning motivational instruction, *quality* is preferred over *quantity*. Dörnyei (2001a) recommends a few well-chosen strategies suitable to both the instructor and the learners. Gardner and Tremblay (1994, p. 365) refer to Dörnyei's strategies as hypotheses and suggest that it is valuable to conduct classroom research in order to evaluate whether or not the hypotheses are useful and usable. "the various strategies that Dörnyei presents could well be considered hypotheses that could be tested in the context of second language acquisition."

Much work remains to be done in the field of L2 motivation research. A vast array of mental processes and motivational conditions play vital roles in determining why students behave as they do. Graham's (1994) concluding words appropriately sum up the reality of the motivation construct:

> If there is one message I wish to convey with what has been presented in this chapter, that message is that classroom motivational life is complex. No single word or principle such as reinforcement or intrinsic motivation can possible capture this complexity. (p. 47)

Motivation is dynamic, changing over minutes, days, months and years. It is hoped that current research in the field will be sound both theoretically and practically. In addition, as more and more teachers conduct action research in their own classrooms, a clearer picture of how learners are truly motivated can be gained. In the words of Wlodkowski (1986),

> When it [instruction] is motivating, when there is a flow of learning and communication between instructor and learner, it [motivation] is much more than all have written or said it was. It is a dimension. Not something one practices or performs, but something one enters and lives. (p. 290)