

Measuring Motivation : Models and Methods

Dexter Da Silva

The aim of this paper is to look at the important issues concerned with research on the motivation of students towards foreign language study. The most well-known, in fact dominant, model in the area, Richard Gardner's Socio-educational model is contrasted with two other models of motivation in general psychology. Important differences and focus areas of concern are suggested. It is also suggested that future research should be done to test Gardner's model in different contexts and using a variety of means, to provide data that would supplement his model, and expand understanding in the field.

Introduction

In the past decade there has been a renewed interest in the study and measuring of motivation towards the learning of foreign languages. Prior to this, Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model, developed over a period of about twenty-five years (Gardner, 1968, 1979, 1980, 1983; Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972; Gardner et al., 1979; Lambert, 1967;) dominated the field, despite some criticism (Au, 1988). The 1990s seemed to usher in this renewed interest with calls for an expansion of the concept and of the research agenda (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Oxford, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994;). Gardner has responded to these (Gardner & Tremblay, 1994; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) and continued to

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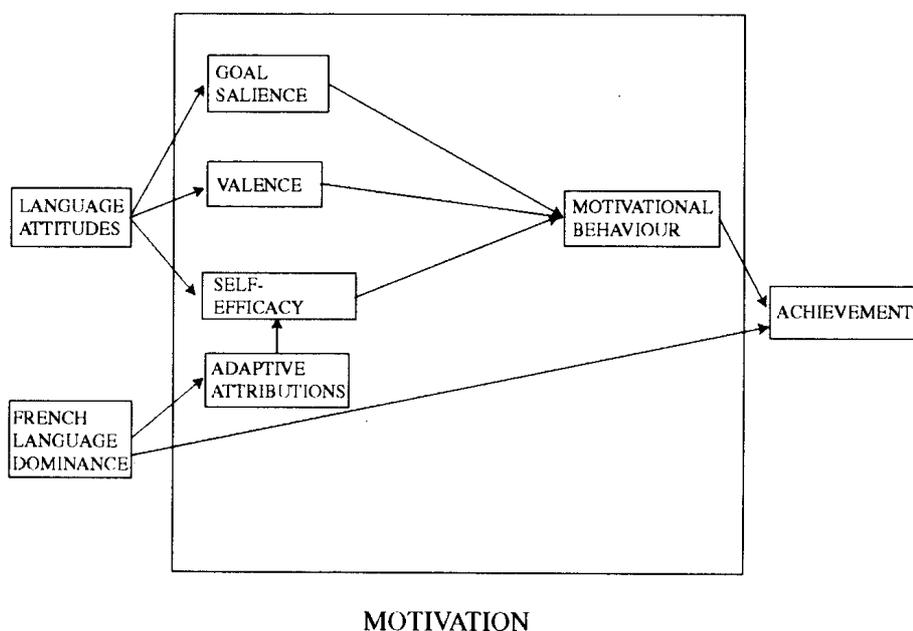
work on building a full model of SLA with motivation as an integral component (Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997). A few other studies, outside of the Socioeducational Model paradigm (e.g. Schmidt, Boraie, & Kassabgy, 1996) show the burgeoning interest in the area. Dornyei's (1998) overview updates earlier summaries and analyses, and brings motivation in FL/SL learning in line with recent theory and research in motivation in education in general (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). His comprehensive summary also shows the burgeoning interest in this area, with most of the work aimed at supplementing Gardner's model.

The Expanded Socioeducational Model

Figure 1 shows the expanded version of the Socioeducational Model proposed by Tremblay & Gardner (1995). The definition of motivation hasn't changed from the earlier version (Gardner, 1985) and includes the three components of effort, desire to learn the language, and satisfaction. In the testing of this model, these are measured by three scales of his AMTB. In figure 1, desire to learn the language, and satisfaction with the task of learning the language are represented by 'Valence'. Effort is measured by a 'Motivational Intensity' scale of the AMTB, and is the original one of three components represented by 'Motivational Behaviour' in Figure 1. The two new ones are Persistence, and Attention. Influences on motivation come mainly from 'Language Attitudes', which includes 'integrativeness', "an open and positive regard for other groups and for groups that speak the language," (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995, 506) and attitudes towards the learning situation, both of which are measured by scales on the AMTB. In their expansion of the model Tremblay & Gardner (1995) have made a distinction between motivational antecedents and motivational behaviour, and increased the concepts and measures of both parts. From general psychological, and educational psychological research,

they have introduced measures of attributions, self-concept, and goals, in order to delve into the micro level of motivation. The important question for now is ‘Does it go far or deep enough?’ Tremblay and Gardner themselves do not see this as the end, but as a process of developing a comprehensive model of motivation in SLA. The next section will look at some of the important issues that need to be addressed when facing this challenge.

Figure 1 .



Important issues in measuring motivation

The renewed interest in motivation towards the learning of a foreign or second language has naturally brought with it important questions or issues that need to be addressed. This is naturally so because motivation is seen as being a complex concept involving a variety of factors, and inextricably connected to the social context. While most agree on the importance of motivation in second or foreign language learning, its exact nature, the role that it plays, its development, the best way to measure it, means of

increasing or modifying it, are just some of the pressing issues facing researchers and teachers which are still unclear. In the present and developing research agenda, the following are some of the important issues that have been addressed. At the risk of sounding overcritical of Gardner, his model is used below as the benchmark of where we are regarding motivation in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). To further our knowledge in the field, a thorough testing, and critical analysis, of the strongest theory is necessary.

Self-report questionnaires-validity and reliability

The majority of research in motivation towards foreign language study, including Gardner's, and others using his AMTB (Attitude/Motivation Test Battery) (Gardner, 1985) has been done with the use of questionnaires. Oller (1981; 1982) has been the main voice in questioning the validity of self-report of attitudes. Problems or dangers of self-reporting, subjects not responding according to their true beliefs but responding differently for approval, and the need to answer in a way which reflects positively on them, as well as trying to be consistent with their responses, were the reasons cited. These objections seem to have been overcome by improved questionnaire design techniques, as well as by advanced statistical procedures.

Quantitative vs Qualitative Data

One of the strengths of Gardner's model is that it is built on solid empirical quantitative data over a long period. His model has been constantly tested, especially with structural equation modelling analysis, confirming his hypotheses concerning relationships between the variables and achievement. Ushioda (1993, 1994) targets this very aspect as the inherent reason why the learner's point of view is missing from the research results, not to

deny the value of the quantitative data but to supplement it. Gillette (1994) and Peirce (1995) are some of the other attempts at a qualitative analysis of learner motivation, but by far the bulk of research has been psychometric.

Product vs Process of Learning

Gass & Selinker (1994), and Ellis (1994), two of the most comprehensive accounts of current SLA theory and research have pointed out another limitation of Gardner's model. They both refer to its focus on the long-term, or the **product** of learning, ignoring the short-term, or **process** of learning. This may be inevitable as the socio-educational model, is a proposed model of Second Language Acquisition, with motivation playing a central role. The focus is on how motivation affects achievement or proficiency, as measured by tests, and grades. However, if motivation is to be addressed by both teachers and learners, then there is the need for a focus on the present, and the short-term, as well as the long-term. Crookes & Schmidt (1991) and Dörnyei (1994) were the main forces in arguing for the inclusion of the learning situation in the study of motivation. Another way of viewing this opposition is the macro vs the micro level. Gardner has attempted to address this issue (e.g. Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997) by looking for relationships with variables other than achievement, such as learning strategies, anxiety, and confidence, but this remains an area that needs much more development.

Cause vs Effect

Gass & Selinker (1994), and Ellis (1994) also both suggest that Gardner's model limits the possibility of 'resultative motivation', where learning experiences or achievement may have a positive effect on motivation. The cross-sectional nature of his studies don't allow for perception of changes in motivation over time, of which success or failure could be a factor.

Motivational Behaviour vs Motivational Antecedents

Gass and Selinker (1994) also contrasts Gardner's definition of motivation, which includes 'effort', with standard psychological definitions, which have effort as the **result** of motivation. Tremblay & Gardner, (1995) have confronted this charge, by making a distinction between motivational behaviour and motivational antecedents. However, they have refrained from making any basic changes to the model. Gardner (1985, 10-11) explains why desire to learn the language without effort, or effort at study without real desire to learn the language, is not really motivation to learn the language. This, as with the concept of goals mentioned below, takes the global view, while the micro view misses out.

Individual vs Social / Cultural Aspects

Another strength of Gardner's model is that it provides a detailed account of how social factors influence proficiency (Gardner, 1985). However, as Ellis (1994) points out it lacks an explanation of how particular contexts may influence attitudes, motivation, and achievement. In theory, the Socioeducational Model recognises the importance of the sociocultural context in which the second or foreign language learning is taking place. However, in its methodology, it has focused on attitudes within the individual, though these are seen as developing from the society in which the individual is placed. Peirce (1995) criticises this present state of motivation on the grounds that it is seen as being in the individual, separated from her social environment. Cultural psychology and Sociocultural Theory, developed from Vygotskyian psychology (Cole, 1996; Vygotsky, 1986; 1978; Wertsch, 1985; 1991; 1998; Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992), takes this as its starting point. Theory and Research in SLA has recently opened up to this field (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995; Schinke-Llano, 1993). Hickey (1997) argues that methods for studying motivation need to

be expanded to accommodate both the factors that are identified as residing more in the individual, and those that are more contextualised.

Holliday (1994), Pennycook (1994), and Phillipson (1992), from political perspectives, have argued for the importance of the sociocultural context when considering the teaching of English as a foreign language. Referring to the Socioeducational model, Pennycook is harsh, “we cannot reduce questions of language to such social psychological notions as instrumental and integrative motivation, but must account for the extent to which language is embedded in social, economic and political struggles.” (p15). Thus, when attempting to measure and describe the motivation of Japanese students to the study of English it would be necessary to take into account the roles that English play in Japan. This would include recognising Japan as a member of Kachru’s (e.g. Kachru & Nelson, 1996) ‘Expanding Circle’ of countries, where English plays a limited role in society, but is widely studied, and referring to other aspects of English language education in Japan (e.g. Ike, 1995; Ingulsrud, 1994; Koike & Tanaka, 1995; LoCastro, 1996), and to Japanese society in general (e.g. Sugimoto, 1997).

Another important concept, which is also related to the next issue, is that of ‘self’. Peirce (1995), believes the self to be multiple, changing over time, and inseparable from the social context. Returning to the specific context of Japan, Kondo (1992), Rosenberger (1992), and Sugiyama Lebra (1992), describe the Japanese self as both multiple and changing. The more ‘interdependent’ as opposed to ‘independent’ self of the Japanese (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Kitayama & Markus, 1995; see also below) needs to be recognised also. Tremblay & Gardner, (1995) introduces the concept of self to their model. However, the measuring of this is limited to language use and language class anxiety, and self-confidence as expressed by

expectancy. It is considered that when measuring the motivation towards learning a foreign language, we need to obtain data about a more complex self, or social identity.

Finally, and related to the 'self', is the concept of goals. Tremblay & Gardner, (1995) include goal salience in the updated model. This is measured by scales for Goal Specificity and Goal Frequency, but for Gardner goals are only relevant if they are directly related to the ultimate goal of learning the language. "To qualify as goals of second language learning, the reasons must relate to learning the language." (Gardner, 1985, 51) This is one of the areas in which, as mentioned above, the **product** of learning is focussed on at the expense of the **process** of learning. Goal theory (e.g. Ames, 1984; 1992; Dweck & Elliot, 1983; Elliot & Dweck, 1988; Locke & Latham, 1990) places goals as central to an understanding of motivation and achievement. Typically, the focus is on two types of goals: learning or task goals, where the focus is on meeting challenges and improving, and performance or ability goals, where the major concern is approval of performance compared to others and by others. Blumenfeld (1992), Ford (1992), Ford and Nichols (1991), and Urdan and Maehr (1995), argue for an expansion of this, especially to include social goals. This is especially critical, if we are seeking to apply a model of motivation in a variety of sociocultural contexts.

Etic vs Emic

This duality refers to the contrasting viewpoints one can take in order to study human behaviour in different cultures. The etic is the perspective from the outside looking in. It assumes that the phenomena under study is generalizable or universal. The emic takes the standpoint of looking from within at the unique, or particularities of the object of study. Regarding

human motivation in general, the dichotomy of collectivist and individualist societies has been the main concept raised that would cause cultural differences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Kitayama & Markus, 1995). Care needs to be taken then with the instrument of measurement to ensure that it is culturally sensitive. Gardner considers his model to be generalizable to other contexts and cultures, but warns that the specifics of the situation would demand adaptation of his instrument, the AMTB. Kraemer (1993) tested Gardner's model in Israel, and found support for its basic components. Belmechri & Hummel (1998) in Canada, and Nakata (1994) in Japan, qualified their support by adding new orientations or motives to his model. Berwick & Ross's (1989) results also suggest that at least the earlier version was inadequate to assess the motivation of Japanese university students. These studies, and others, which fail to show support for an integrative orientation, an integral component of Gardner's model, suggest that the Socioeducational model, or its measurement tools, or both, are at present imperfect ones for application in all situations. Gardner does recognise the possibility of this in his theory: "If, however, the programme focused on the cognitive aspects of language, as in traditional grammar-translation courses or courses which stress a reading knowledge of the language, it seems possible that such attitudes would be involved to a lesser extent." (p7)

Kubo (1997) has developed a scale specifically for Japanese university students studying English. This deserves further consideration. However, this paper is most concerned with theory and measurement tools which can be applied universally, but which are also sensitive to the specifics of different situations. If motivation is the important factor in foreign language learning that so many teachers, researchers, students, parents, and other concerned people believe it to be, then a theoretical model of

motivation that can be used to compare learners in different situations, and cultural contexts, is necessary to be able to make comparisons and generalizations. Japanese people often compare themselves unfavourably with other nationalities, other Asian peoples as well as European, on their level of spoken English after years of study. Several reasons could be considered important, such as the teaching methodology, educational aims, and differences between the native languages and English, but a comprehensive model of motivation that would allow for comparison, as well as reflect the emics of the cultures, would go a long way towards providing some solid answers.

The above points lead to an assessment that in order to reach a fuller understanding of motivation in SLA, measurement that is varied, including qualitative as well as quantitative, longitudinal in addition to cross-sectional, that addresses both the individual and contextual elements, and that covers both the etic and emic viewpoints, is needed. The next section of this paper will compare Gardner's model with two alternative comprehensive models of motivation in general psychology, as a way of suggesting further development of research in the area. The two models have not previously been applied to the area of foreign language learning as far as I know.

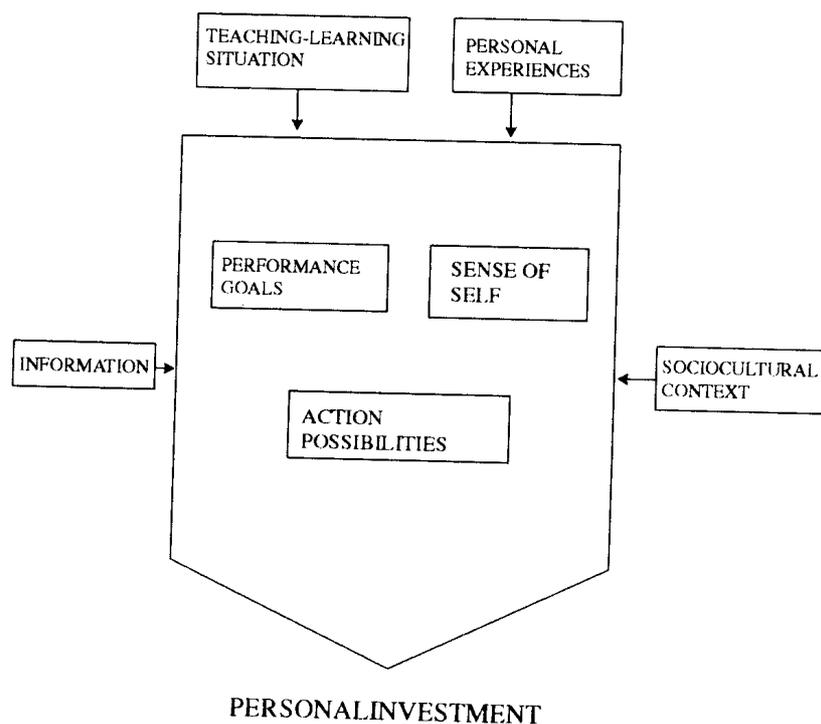
Maehr's Personal Investment Model

The Personal Investment Model (Maehr, 1984; Maehr & Braskamp, 1986) (see Figure 2) includes four kinds of goals, or personal incentives. These are: task goals, ego goals, social solidarity goals, and extrinsic rewards. McInerney (McInerney, 1991; 1995a; 1995b; McInerney & Sinclair, 1991; McInerney & Swisher, 1995; McInerney, Roche, McInerney, & Marsh, 1997) has used Maehr's multiple goals model as the basis for his Inventory

of School Motivation (ISM), and demonstrated its relevance and applicability with indigenous groups, Australian Aboriginals and the Navajo in North America. The three core concepts of personal incentives, or performance goals, sense of self, and perceived options, or action possibilities, are thus considered to be generalizable, etic constructs. In addition, these studies showed his ISM to be successful in measuring the motivation of these culturally-different groups psychometrically.

The challenge to use this model psychometrically for measuring the motivation of Japanese students towards the study of English would be to devise an instrument, a questionnaire, which was sensitive enough to the emic components, but also successful in capturing etic ones. This model could help provide answers to questions that confront teachers and researchers that the Socioeducational Model at present cannot. For example, a conflict of goal orientations from the four performance goals, may

Figure 2



explain why an otherwise highly motivated student doesn't seem to perform to her best on a given task. Ushioda (1993) found that students' reports on motivation tended to focus more on the present and past, rather than future goals. This could be explained by task goals (present), and personal experiences (past) which may translate directly to the sense of self component, rather than the goals component.

Ford's Motivational Systems Theory

The other model of motivation which I will compare with Gardner's Socioeducational Model, is Ford's Motivational Systems Theory (Ford, 1992; Ford & Nichols, 1991). This is a comprehensive model of motivation that has attempted to integrate constructs from different theories into one. The three main components are: goals, emotions, and personal agency beliefs, or self-efficacy, which interact closely to shape motivation. The model's main characteristic however is its extensive taxonomy of goals (Ford & Nichols, 1991). The total of twenty-four goal categories are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Ford and Nichols Taxonomy of Human Goals (1991)

Desired Within-Person Consequences	
Affective Goals	
Entertainment	Experiencing excitement or heightened arousal; Avoiding boredom or stressful activity
Tranquility	Experiencing serenity or peace of mind; Avoiding stressful over-arousal
Happiness	Experiencing feelings of joy, satisfaction, or well being; Avoiding feelings of distress, dissatisfaction, or lack of fulfilment
Bodily Sensations	Experiencing pleasurable physical sensations; Freedom from physical pain or discomfort
Physical Well Being	Feeling strong, healthy, or physically robust; Avoiding feeling weak or fatigued

Cognitive Goals

Exploration	Satisfying one's curiosity, perceiving new information; Avoiding circumstances in which there are no secrets or novelties to discover
Understanding	Gaining knowledge or making sense out of something; Avoiding feelings of ignorance or confusion
Intellectual Creativity	Formulating or expressing new ideas; Avoiding routine or familiar ways of thinking
Positive Self-Evaluation	Avoiding feelings of incompetence, guilt, or worthlessness

Subjective Organization Goals

Unity	Experiencing a sense of harmony, coherence, or oneness; Avoiding feelings of psychological disunity or disorganization
Transcendence	Experiencing extraordinary, idealized, or spiritual states; Avoiding feeling trapped within the boundaries of ordinary experience

Desired Person-Environment Consequences

Self-Assertive Social Relationship Goals

Individuality	Feeling unique, special, or different; Avoiding similarity or conformity with others
Self-Determination	Experiencing a sense of freedom or personal control; Avoiding feeling constrained or manipulated by others
Superiority	Comparing favorably to others in terms of winning, status, or success; Avoiding losing or unfavourable comparisons with others
Resource Acquisition	Obtaining approval, support, assistance, advice, or validations from others; Avoiding social disapproval or rejection

Integrative Social Relationship Goals

Belongingness	Building or maintaining attachments, friendships, intimacy, or a sense of community; Avoiding feelings of social isolation or separateness
Social Responsibility	Keeping interpersonal commitments, meeting social role obligations, following social and moral rules; Avoiding social transgressions and unethical or illegal conduct
Equity	Promoting fairness, justice, reciprocity, or equality; Avoiding unfair or unjust actions
Resource Provisions	Giving approval, support, assistance, advice, or validation to others; Avoiding selfish or uncaring behaviour

Task Goals

Mastery	Meeting a standard of achievement, improving one's performance; Avoiding incompetence, mediocrity, or decrements in performance
Task Creativity	Constructing or inventing new processes or products; Avoiding repetitious or mindless tasks
Management	Maintaining order, organization, or productivity in daily life tasks; Avoiding sloppiness, inefficiency, or disorganization
Material Gain	Having money or tangible goods; Avoiding the loss of money or material possessions
Safety	Being unharmed, physically secure, and free from risk; Avoiding threatening, depriving, or harmful circumstances

Ford and Nichols (1991) suggest two basic methods for assessing goals, which correspond with the quantitative and qualitative dichotomy mentioned above. The Assessment of Personal Goals, attempts to discover which goals are generally more important than others and allows for more comparison between individuals and groups. The Assessment of Core Goals, on the other hand, attempts to discover more specifically, the most important goals. The former's advantage is breadth, and is assessed more quantitatively. The latter's strong point is its depth, and is assessed more qualitatively.

Comparison of the Three Models

Table 2 provides a simple comparison of the three models.

Table 2. A Comparison of the Three Models

	Gardner's Socioeducational Model	Maehr's Personal Investment Model	Ford's Motivational Systems Theory
Definition	"the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes toward learning the language." (Gardner, 1985, p10)	Personal investment in a particular situation is determined by: 1) beliefs about self, 2) perceived action possibilities, and 3) perceived goals. (Maehr, 1984)	Goals x Emotions x Personal Agency Beliefs (Ford & Nichols. 1991)
Concept of self	Self-efficacy (Gardner & Tremblay, 1995); Measures of performance expectancy and anxiety;	Sense of competence;	Personal Agency Beliefs (very similar to self-efficacy from other theories)
Goals	Goal Salience (Gardner & Tremblay, 1995); Measures of goal specificity and frequency; Sole main goal is to learn the language;	Four categories: 1) task goals, 2) ego goals, 3) social solidarity goals, and 4) extrinsic rewards;	24 general categories divided between: 1) within-person; and 2) Person-environment; no assumed hierarchy; multiple goals act simultaneously;
Other important concepts	Attitudes: eight variables measured by the AMTB; Orientations = classes of reasons; Integrative orientation;	Perceived action possibilities, or perceived alternatives; Antecedents of meaning-personal experience, the teaching-learning situation, information, sociocultural context;	Emotions; Goal Processes-goal-setting strategies, orientation;
Measurable outcomes	Achievement; Measures of performance on tests, grades;	Behavioural direction, persistence, continuing motivation, activity, performance;	Achievement= Motivation x Skill x Responsive Environment
Effort	A component of motivation	Result or outcome of motivation;	Separation of behaviour from goals;
Strengths	Solid model specific to SLA; Supported by empirical studies over an extended period;	Combination of goals address the emic /etic duality; verified in different cultural contexts;	Comprehensive model integrating concepts from many theories; Multiple goals provide possibility for both breadth and depth of assessment; Clear practical implications for teachers;

Conclusion

Gardner's Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition (with motivation as a primary component) has brought us a long way towards understanding how attitudes contribute to motivation to learn a foreign or second language. It has also used advanced psychometric techniques to build up a history of solid empirical results. But the study goes on. The issues depicted above point to areas in which research needs to be directed. Spurred on by recent attempts, theory of motivation in Second Language Acquisition is catching up with motivational theory in general education. Research challenging and extending Gardner's model needs to be done in a variety of contexts, using both qualitative as well as quantitative methods, and longitudinal, as well as cross-sectional research designs. The alternative models contrasted above are meant to supplement Gardner's model, not to supplant it. They can provide alternative ways of looking at the field to inspire varied research projects and ideas.

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