Same but Different: Motivation from Diverse Perspectives[*]

ความเหมือนที่แตกต่าง : แรงจูงใจในมุมมองที่หลากหลาย

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Abstract

This paper presents different understanding of L2 learning motivation depending on perspectives of psychologists and scholars. The first perspective focuses on the motivation in the view of behaviorists, including the significant motivations; intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The second one involves the motivation under the perspective of constructive psychologists. The two motivational orientations, integrative and instrumental factors are mentioned. The last views are from cognitive psychologists. Two cognitive theories of motivation are presented. Along with each part of the paper, discussion is included.

Keywords: motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, integrative and instrumental motivation, cognitive theories of motivation

[*] The objective of this article is to inform the concepts of L2 learning motivation from varied psychologists in different periods of time. Additionally, the different concepts presented in the article can be applied to use in English language classrooms in Thai context. วัตถุประสงค์ของบทความนี้คือ เพื่อเสนอแนวคิดเรื่องแรงจูงใจในการเรียนภาษาที่สอง

จากนักจิตวิทยาหลายท่านที่มีแนวคิดที่แตกต่างกัน รวมถึงการสามารถนำแรงจูงใจที่กล่าวมาข้างต้นมาประยุกต์ใช้ให้เข้ากับบริบทของการเรียนภาษาอังกฤษในชีวิตจริงอีกด้วย

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้นำเสนอแนวคิดที่แตกต่างกันของนักจิตวิทยาและนักวิชาการในเรื่องของแรงจูงใจในการเรียนภาษาที่สอง โดยแนวคิดแรกจะเน้นที่แรงจูงใจตามความคิดของนักการศึกษาด้านพฤติกรรมของมนุษย์ซึ่งได้กล่าวถึงแรงจูงใจภายในและแรงจูงใจภายนอก แนวคิดที่สองเป็นแนวคิดที่เกี่ยวข้องกับแรงจูงใจเชิงบูรณาการและแรงจูงใจเชิงเครื่องมือ ตามหลักการของนักจิตวิทยาเชิงสร้างสรรค์ และแนวคิดสุดท้ายเป็นของนักจิตวิทยาการรู้การเข้าใจ ซึ่งในแนวคิดนี้ได้กล่าวถึงสองทฤษฎีที่เกี่ยวข้อง พร้อมกันนี้ในส่วนท้ายของบทความนี้มีการอภิปราย ถึงแนวคิดทั้งหมดที่กล่าวมาเพื่อจะนำมาประยุกต์ใช้อีกด้วย

คำสำคัญ: แรงจูงใจ,แรงจูงใจภายในและแรงจูงใจภายนอก,แรงจูงใจเชิงบูรณาการและแรงจูงใจเชิงเครื่องมือ, ทฤษฎีทางการรู้การเข้าใจของแรงจูงใจ

What is motivation?

Motivation has been rarely identified only one definition. On the contrary, integrated definition of motivation is included. It has been identified as an influential term when language teachers describe successful or unsuccessful learners (Dornyei, 2001). It has been considered as the learners' orientation with regard to the goal of learning a second language (Crook & Schmidt, 1991). In addition to this, Wlodkowski states that motivations are "the processes that can (a) arouse and instigate behavior, (b) give direction or purpose of the behaviour, (c) continue to allow the behaviour to persist, and (4) lead to choosing or preferring a particular behavior" (1985, p.2). In terms of an achievement of L2 learning, learners with sufficient motivation, regardless of their language aptitude or other cognitive characteristics, can be satisfactorily successful. As Dornyei mentions," Without sufficient motivation, however, even the brightest learners are unlikely to persist long enough to attain any really useful language" (2001, p.5).

Motivation by definition concerns two basic dimensions of human behavior – direction and magnitude (intensity). Therefore, motivations provide the explanations as follows: why people to do something, how hard they are going to pursue, and how long they are will to maintain the activity (Dornyei, 2001).

Changes in perspectives of motivation

The motivation has differently changed depending on different points of views of various psychologists. In terms of explanation of human behaviours, the views of understanding of motivations are divided into three different perspectives; 1) in the view of behaviourism, 2) in the view of constructivism, and 3) in the view of cognitivism.

Motivation in the view of Behaviourism

In the first half of the twentieth century, the early work in this area was based on the behaviours and biological needs. The motivations under the concepts of psychologists was explained that   human motivation to learn was accounted for what biological needs were being met and what kind of reward or reinforcement was provided for early attempts to learn (Williams & Burden, 1997). According to Freud's concept, he conceptualized that motivations were determined by basic human instinct and drives. Moreover, most of them were unconscious motivation which Freud suggested that people may be often motivated to behave in ways they do not understand themselves. The early psychological approaches to motivation were not satisfied because they were too simple to explain highly complex behavior. However, it seems clear that the unconscious motives play a significant role in our lives and lead to an enlighten theory of human development (Dornyei, 2001; William & Burden, 1997).

In the middle of the twentieth century, motivations were dominated by conditioning theories, relating to behavioural psychologists. A great deal of research focused on how stimuli and responses relationship on habit formation. The findings of the studies were mostly based on animals, namely dogs or rats, rather than humans. The learning motivations were relevant to the role of practice and drilling, positive and negative reinforcement, or punishment and praise.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation

Motivations that can control human behavior are intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Behaviorists link the performance of a behavior to the nature of the behavior itself (intrinsic motivation) or to the external consequences of the behavior (extrinsic motivation) (Williams &Stockdale, 2004). Intrinsic motivation importantly reflects the natural human tendency to learn and incorporate. On the other hand, extrinsic motivation is considered in its relative autonomy and can either reflect external control or true self-regulation (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Intrinsic motivation is defined as the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence. When intrinsic motivation is motivated, a person acts for the fun or challenge for himself or herself rather than because of external motives, or reward. Originally, the phenomenon of intrinsic motivation was examined in experimental studies of animals' behaviour. It was discovered that many animals in the studies were still playful, and had curiosity-driven behaviour even they were not provided reinforcement or reward (White, 1959). For humans, intrinsic motivation is not only a kind of motivation, but it is also a persistent and important one. When humans are born, they are active, inquisitive,

curious and ready to learn and explore without extraneous requirement. The natural motivational tendency is a critical element in cognitive, social, and physical development since it is through acting on one's inherent which is grown in knowledge and skills (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

On the contrary, extrinsic motivation contrasts with intrinsic motivation which originates inside of the individual. Extrinsic motivation is defined as one's tendency to perform activities for known external rewards, whether they be tangible (e.g., money) or psychological (e.g., praise) in nature (Brown, 2007). This is known as external, or extrinsic, motivation because it involves participation in activities for some kind of reward that is external to the process of participation (Karageorghis & Terry, 1969).While offering rewards to learners, motivation can be increased. However, researchers have also found that offering lavish rewards could actually lead to a decrease an intrinsic motivation. This involves a decrease in intrinsically motivated behaviors after the behavior is extrinsically rewarded and the reinforcement is subsequently discontinued. As in a classic experiment by Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett (1973), children were rewarded plentifully for drawing with felt-tip pens. They had previously enjoyed doing this activity on their own during play time. When the children were later offered the chance to play with the pens during play time, the children who had been rewarded for using them previously showed little interest in playing with the pens again. The state of being non-autonomous learners may be increased.

Nevertheless, unlike the perspectives above, Ryan and Deci (2000) proposed that extrinsic motivation can vary greatly in degree to which it is autonomous. For example, a student who does his homework because he fears his parents, it is extrinsically motivated because he does his work in order to attend the separable outcome of his parents' satisfaction. Similarly, a student studies hard because she believes that the study is valuable for her future career. It is also an extrinsic motivation even though she does her study for her own satisfaction. However, she could discover that the job is valuable for her life rather than she finds that her study is really interesting. Both examples represent intentional behaviour, but the two types of extrinsic motivation vary relative in their autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

In sum, both main motivations in the view of behaviourism are important for learners. Intrinsic motivation mainly leads learners to be autonomous since this kind of motivation focuses on engaging an activity for one own sake. The results of intrinsically motivated behavior directly derive from performing the behavior, whereas the results of extrinsically motivated behavior derive from rewards artificially linked to the behavior (Mawhinney, 1990). Extrinsic rewards can be an important tool in motivating behavior as well,

but they should be used with caution, especially with young learners. Extrinsic motivators are best applied in situations where people have little initial interest in performing the activity or in cases where basic skills are lacking, but these rewards should be kept small and should be tied directly to the performance of a specific behavior. Once some intrinsic interest has been generated and some essential skills have been established, the external motivators should be slowly staged out.

Motivation in the view of Constructivism

The learning of foreign language involves for more than simply learning skills, or grammar rules; it involves self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of beings, and has a significant impact on social nature of the learner. In a constructivist view of motivation, it focuses on individual learning motivation. People will make their own sense of the various influences that surround them in their own personal ways. Likewise, they will act in their internal nature, and use their own attribute in unique ways. Hence, it is considered that the motivation that one person prefers to use in learning a foreign language until he or she achieve their satisfactory level of proficiency will differ from individual to individual (Williams & Burden, 1997). The two significant learning motivations in the view of constructivism, which concerns an individual learning, include integrative motivation, and instrumental motivation.

Integrative and Instrumental motivation

It is really obvious that language learning is affected by social situation, context and culture in which the learning takes place. The model of language learning is called social-psychological in nature (William & Burden, 1997).

One of the most influential models is Gardner's socio-educational model of language learning (Gardner, 1985). In his socio-educational model, Gardner identifies various factors which are interrelated when learning second language (Gardner, 1982). He states that his model incorporates the learner's cultural belief, their attitudes towards the learning situation, their integrativeness, and their motivation. He emphasizes that motivation is the primary factor in the model. Other factors, namely attitudes towards the learning situation and integrativeness can influence these features. He chooses to define motivation by indicating four aspects of motivation as follows: 1) a goal, 2) effortful behaviour to reach the goal, 3) a desire to attain the goal, and 4) positive attitudes toward the goal (Garner, 1985). From his studies, Gardner focuses on classifying reasons for second language study as orientations. Then, he has found two main orientations through one of his research; 1) integrative orientation, and 2) instrumental orientation.

Gardner also interestingly distinguishes the differences between integrative and instrumental orientation. Integrative orientation is one of the factors that influences integrative motivation. It occurs when learners have a favorable attitude toward the target language community, leading to adapt to a new target culture through use of the language. Therefore, integrative motivation is defined as a form of motivation that stimulates learners of a target language to like the people that speak the language, admire the culture and have a desire to be familiar with or even integrate into the society in which the language is used (Falk, 1978). On the other hand, instrumental orientation describes several factors concern with motivation resulting from external goals. Instrumental orientation leads to instrumental motivation which happens when learners desire to have more utilitarian purposes for leaning a target language such as job promotion, passing exams, or financial rewards.

In Gardner's perspective, it was found that integrative motivation leads language learners to higher achievement. In addition to this, it was suggested that it is more important form of motivation. As in Gardner and MacIntyre's study (1992), the result has revealed that six variables were included in their measure of integrative motivation in learning a foreign language, namely attitude toward French Canadians, interest in foreign languages, integrative orientation, attitudes toward the learning situations, desire to learn French, and attitudes toward learning French. Although Gardner's socio-educational model has been highly influential in studies of second and foreign language, the number of other factors, such as learners' confidence and friendship may be more important as motivating factors (Ellis, 1994). Similarly, Gardner and Tremblay claim that the motivation is a dynamic process which many variables play apart and can contribute their model (Gardner & Tremblay, 1994).Nevertheless, according to his studies, Gardner found that integrative motivation has an extremely high significance. He still strongly states that "subjects who select integrative reasons over instrumental ones as indicative of themselves evidence higher levels of motivational intensity" (Gardner, 1985:p.53).

In contrast to integrative motivation, instrumental motivation is another form of motivation. It is oriented by instrumental orientation. This form of motivation is occurred by the desire to gain something practical from the study of a second or foreign language (Hudson, 2000) without taking a close interest to a target language community or culture. The significant model concerning instrumental motivation is originated by Dornyei. He created a model of foreign language (FL) learning with expanding views of motivations (Dornyei, 1994). He stated that "the exact nature of the social and pragmatic dimensions of second language motivation is always dependent on who learns what language where" (Dornyei, 1994 a.: p.275).

Unlike Gardner's focus on integrativeness, Dornyei's model significantly centres on instrumental motivation. His FL learning motivation model comprises three levels of categorizations: language level, learner level, and situation level. Firstly, the motives in the language level relate to aspects of the second language, such as the culture and the community, including the usefulness of the language. At this level, integrative and instrumental motivational subsystems are encompassed since it focuses on learners' reactions and attitudes towards the target language. Secondly, the second level of the model is learner level which focuses on individual learner's reaction through the target language and the learning situation. This level involves the learners' characteristics they response to the learning tasks, along with level of achievement and self-confidence. Finally, the third level is identified as the situation level. It engages the specific motivational factors, including the teacher, the course, and the group dynamics. Both intrinsic and extrinsic motives can be demonstrated at this level. However, extrinsic motivations can weaken intrinsic motives. As Brown (1990) stated that the circumstances of traditional school can often cultivate extrinsic motivation.

Besides Dornyei's FL learning model which promotes instrumental motivation, Oxford also agrees with Dornyei's point of view. Oxford (1996) mentions that instrumental motivation or orientation should have more significance in theory and research in foreign language learning setting and environments. Supported by several studies, an instrumental motivation or orientation may be more successful in language learning. According to Lukmani's study, non-westernised female learners of L2 English in Bombay felt that instrumental motivation was more significant for their language learning than the integrative motivation. Since English has become an international language in India, second language learners are successful with instrumental purposes (Kachru, 1977, cited in Brown, 2000).

In conclusion, both integration and instrumental motivation are essential elements of success. It is difficult to mention which motive or orientation should be applied in various situations. As Brown (2000) mentions that the both motivations are not necessarily mutually opponent and restricted. Learners prefer selecting the combination of the two motivations in learning a second or foreign language. From one of his studies, the sample of international students in USA learned English for academic purposes. At the same time, they wished to become integrated with American people and culture. Therefore, the combination of the two types of motivation should be utilized to assist in the successful language learning.

Motivation in the view of Cognitivism

From a cognitive perspective, the important motivational factor is choice which focuses on the influences of individual's conscious attitudes, thoughts, beliefs, and interpretation of events on one's behaviour. That means when people have their own choice in which they behave, they can control their actions (Dornyei, 2001; Williams & Burden, 1997). The outcome from the informed choice needs to be considered when they make any decision. This enables people to set goal for themselves. Thus, Williams and Burden state, "from a cognitive perspective, motivation is concerned with such issues as why people decide to act in certain ways and what factors influence the choices they make" (1997; p.119). Cognitive theories of motivation, currently, have been examined and mentioned as an important aspect in schools and the larger society. The issue that interests cognitive psychologists is one of students' and teachers' beliefs about students' success in learning and how these beliefs influence the interactions between teachers and learners, as well as students' achievement (Tollefson, 2000). There are several kinds of motivational cognitive theories. The widely employed and used ones as basis for language learning are attribution theories and self – efficacy theory.

Attribution Theory

Attribution theory starts from the premise that individual learners try to develop their lives. Moreover, they have a deeply-rooted need to understand why and how things happen in their lives, either success or failure at a task, especially when the outcome is an expected one. Attribution theory has been related to achievement motivation. Some casual attributions that influence learners' success and failure may be related to amount of effort, degree of luck, ability level, and difficulty of tasks. Concerning the earlier explanation, Weiner (1979, 1986) addresses these four sets of attributions are divided into two main factors; internal and external factors. Amount of effort and level of ability are internal factors since they come from inside of a person. On the other hand, degree of luck and task difficulty are external factorsbecause they come from outside aspects. Weiner (1986) states the two terms, internal and external factors, as locus of causality which is one of the crucial attribution elements. The other attribution component is called stability which concerns about the change or stability of the factor. The third dimension that Weiner introduced was called controllability. It refers to the elements which they are either controllable or uncontrollable.

It can be briefly stated that level of ability is an internal and stable factor and learners cannot directly control it. On the contrary, effort is considered as an internal and unstable factor and it is very controllable. Difficulty of tasks and luck are both external

elements. However, the former one is stable and far beyond the learners' control. The latter one is an unstable element and learners have a little control over it (Fatemi & Asghari, 2012).

Attribution theory covers a wide range of areas and continuously has a dominance among motivation theories. It can be obviously observed by the number of publications of the use of this theory in several domains, including in the field of education. In the context of foreign language learning, there are several studies conducted by different scholars. To name some of these studies, Williams and Burden (1999) have found that different individuals construct different factors to attribute their success and failure. They also indicated that individual's age, social interactions, context, feelings and environment have an effect on the attribution on success or failure. Concerning the attributions of success and failure in learning English, Williams, Burden and Al-Baharna highlighted the importance of attribution in learners' motivation, as well as influences in their attributional perception, such as family influence and the range of attributional factors (Willaims, Burden & Al-Baharna, 2001). In addition to these, Ushioda (1996) found out that two attributions constructed the positive motivation of learners in learning process. The first one was the attribution of success in L2 learning to individual level of ability and internal factors. The second one was the attribution of failure in second language learning to unstable factors which lerners could overcome.

Even though attribution theorists point out that the attributions play an essential role in achievement outcomes, attributing either success or failure is not without problems. As Covington and Omelich (1979) have explained that either attribution of success or failure is a "double-edged sword". On one hand, being successful brings a sense of accomplishment and pride. However, being successful can imply that one has lower abiliity than persons who can successfully complete the task with limited or moderate effort expenditure. Learners who believe they have a lack of ability to complete academic tasks successfully may not spend their real effort because failure would be a public conclusion of low ability. However, as language teachers can utilize the theory of motivation to develop students' willingness their learning achievement. Moreover, it may enhance patterns of interaction between teachers and learners, leading to the successful language learning.

Self-efficacy Theory

In researchers' points of view, they have found that self-efficacy could significantly affect academic achievement and persistence (Bandura, 1997; Lent, Brown & Larkin, 1984, Pajares, 1996). Self-efficacy is an essential aspect, influencing human motivation and behaviour, as well as actions that can affect one's life. Self-efficacy is defined as "beliefs in one's capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce giving

attainments" (Bandura, 1997: p. 3). Self-efficacy, more simply, is an individual belief he or she can accomplish using his or her skills under certain circumstances (Synder & Lopez, 2007). The basic idea behind the Self-Efficacy is that performance and motivation are determined by how effective people believe they can be (Bandura, cited in Redmond, 2010). Persons with high self-efficacy intent to finish tasks and persist even if tasks are difficult whereas ones with low self-efficacy spend minimum effort on tasks and even easily give up. Banbuda (1997) suggests that an individual self-efficacy can be affected based on four sources of information: 1) performance outcomes, 2) vicarious experiences, 3) verbal or social persuasion, and 4) physiological and/or emotional states.

Performance outcomes. According to Bandura, performance outcomes or past experience are the most influential source of self-efficacy. Positive and negative experiences can influence the personal ability to perform a given task. If one has performed well at a previous task, he or she is more likely to be competent and perform well at the similar task (Bandura, 1977). However, if an individual experiences a failure, he or she will reduce his or her self-efficacy as well.

Vicarious experiences. Other people's performances can help individuals develop their self-efficacy. A person can watch other people's performance to compare with his or hers. If a person sees someone similar to them succeed, it can increase his or her self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). On the other hand, seeing failure from someone similar can also decrease self-efficacy.

Verbal Persuasion. Redmond (2010) states that self-efficacy is influenced by encouragement and discouragement resulting an individual's performances and ability to perform. It comes from activities, such as talks, professional development workshop, and feedback about achievement. These have positive influences on the learners. However, the negative verbal persuasion can lead to lower self-efficacy and chance of success. Although verbal persuasion is regarded as the weaker source of efficacy than performance outcomes, it is widely used because of its simplicity and ready availability (Redmond, 2010).

Physiological Feedback (Emotional states). When people perceive the emotional arousal, it can influence their belief of efficacy (Bandura, 1977). It has an impact on how people interpret their physical and emotional reactions. For example, sweaty palms and a racing heart are often interpreted by individuals as signs of a lack of confidence or a poor performance. It is important to note that   if people feel comfortable with the given task, they will be capable to do it with a higher belief of self-efficacy. Negative thought or fears about individuals' ability to task can lower their self-efficacy.

According to Britner and Pajares' studies, they indicated that individuals use combination of these sources in their self-efficacy judgments. The effect of each source depends on the domain and cognitive processing strategies of individual (Britner & Pajares, 2006). In the majority of the studies, learners' efficacy is most strongly influenced by mastery experiences or performance outcomes (Bandura, 1977). Nevertheless, there are contradictory results the strength of other sources of self- efficacy. For example, some research found that vicarious experience had the most influence on self-efficacy (Hampton, 1998; Klassen, 2004), other revealed no influence (Anderson & Betz, 2001; Lopez & Lent, 1992). In terms of social persuasion and emotional states, there have been inconsistent findings (Hampton, 1998; Klassen, 2004; Anderson & Betz, 2001; Lopez & Lent, 1992).

Self-efficacy theory is a crucial factor in improving learners' motivation in language learning because self-efficacy has been found to relate to positive student and teacher behaviour. Learners with high effective study behaviours can approach to high achievement. For language teachers, to promote the learners' self-efficacy, they need to support learners' confidence for a successful achievement outcome which is critical to develop efficacy beliefs.

In conclusion, motivation still remains one of the most important aspects which covers a wide range of areas, including in the field of language learning. One of the main purposes of motivation is to change and develop individuals' behaviour. When the behaviours of language learners need to be changed, motivation, therefore, becomes salient aspect for teachers and learners. It can be said that motivation and language learning must get along to each other; language learning cannot be accomplished if there have not been motivations. Although the understanding of motivation has been changed according to the different period of time and perspectives of different educators, its purpose is still consistently existed. In the perspective of behaviorists, motivation has been originated from instincts and drives which unconsciously happens. Unconscious motives play an important role in motivational thinking in the views of behaviorists and psychologists. Motivation comes from external motives which confront the biological needs of individuals. In the perspective of constructivists, motivation has a different concept. Motivation in language learning is concerning with individuals' motivation according to their surroundings. Learners have their own levels of satisfaction in language learning which they discover by themselves. Motivation is originated from both internal and external factors. The last perspective in this paper is from cognitive psychologists. They focus on choice as an important motivational factor that comes from the consciousness of individual learner. The choice that learners make can lead them to set their own goal. In addition, students' belief about their own success is another focus of cognitive psychologists.

Even though motivation is divided and differentiated depending on the different psychologists' points of view and periods of time, the combination of motivations is applied to various contexts and situations. However, motivation never works well if there is none of cooperation between teachers and learners. As long as the learners' achievement is still a main aspect of learning, it is unavoidable to mention that motivation, yet, is a crucial factor in the area of education.

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