

Motivation and Attitudes Toward Foreign Language Learning as Socio-politically Mediated Constructs: The Case of Korean High School Students

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This paper investigates socio-political aspects of English as a foreign language (EFL) learning motivation and attitudes toward Americans and toward English learning among Korean high school students. I analyzed the nature of situation-specific language learning motivation and attitudes among 364 Korean high school students who completed questionnaires about EFL learning and an English proficiency test. Factor analyses revealed seven motivational factors, including a situation-specific *competitive motivation* across gender and age groups. This debilitating motivation might have been due to the negative washback of the nation-wide high-stakes test of college admission. A negative correlation was identified between the attitudes toward Americans and English proficiency, which might be attributed to anti-American sentiment among young Koreans. The results suggest that EFL motivation should be considered as a dynamic construct reflecting the socio-political dimensions of Korean EFL learners' educational contexts.

Historically, the English language evokes a special emotion in South Korean people. As the result of the Cold War, two distinctive regimes were established on the Korean peninsula after World War II: communist North Korea espoused by the Soviet Union and capitalist South Korea supported by the U.S. From then on, American influence on South Korean society and the

importance of English have been growing (Kwon, 2000). It would be nearly impossible to discuss education in South Korea without commenting on its close relationship with the U.S. (McGinn et al., 1980). Given this socio-political context, many Korean students and their parents have long equated English learning with the acquisition of an affluent lifestyle of the “West,” especially of the U.S. and climbing “the social ladder” (Zeng, 1995) into the bureaucratic power-elite in Korean society.

However, student political demonstrations gradually increased after the 1980s. Many of the “nonconformist” students criticized that the U.S. Army stationed in South Korea was unnecessary and the South Korean government should be an autonomous regime freed from the aegis of “the White House”; some of the radical leftwings attributed the U.S. Army’s presence in South Korea to American imperialism (J.-W. Kim, 1992, p. 25). With the increasing voice against the U.S. army (K.-D. Kim, 2003), in January 2004, the Korean Ministry of National Defence and the 2nd Division U.S. Army have agreed to pull out all American military forces from Seoul and relocate them south of the capital by 2007 (*Korea Times*, 2004, January 18).

Another social phenomenon in South Korea is its *hakbul*-orientedness (B.-T. Kim, 1997; D.-H. Kim, 2001). *Hakbul*, or the stratification of society based on an individual’s university degree, functions in Korean society somewhat like the Indian caste system (D.-H. Kim, 2001). The *hakbul*-orientation is well summarized by the traditional catch phrase, Dragon Gate, which is a widespread concept at least in China, Japan, and Korea. Zeng (1995, p. 59) explains this term as follows:

In East Asia, the ‘Dragon Gate’ is one of the images in folk culture, visualising the dream of socio-academic rise. In this totemic metaphor, carp fish represent men from humble origins. As soon as a carp flips over the ‘Dragon Gate,’ he will turn into a dragon, the sacred creature of success and glory. The gate especially epitomises the high-stake examination system. Admittedly Chinese in its origin, it also mirrors ‘degreocracy’ ... as related to the *sine qua non* examinations for gaining university admission.

It is noteworthy that the tradition of social class through a single high-stakes test is still remaining in Koreans' mentality, and nowadays the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) functions as the prime role for Dragon Gate in Korea. The CSAT, which is administered once a year, has an enormous effect on Grade 12 students' long-term social and academic life. The CSAT scores are a crucial determinant of post-secondary streams of study. High scores are equated with being able to enter four-year university programs whereas low scores mean entry into less prestigious (felt by some Koreans) two-year vocational colleges. In the CSAT, English language is one of the five areas: Korean, mathematical, science/social science/vocational inquiry (choose one) and foreign language (i.e., English), and second foreign language (choose one from Arabic, Chinese, Classical Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish). Moreover, after the mid 1990s, the Ministry of Education in Korea has promoted a diversification policy of entrance to four-year universities. Students, who can demonstrate high proficiency in English, obtain extra credits for university admission. Some high school students take the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) in order to submit official scores from Educational Testing Service to the university admission committee. In this social milieu, English is perceived as an important social ladder to ascend to the high road to better social class.

The two socio-political phenomena – rising anti-Americanism and hakbul-orientation – in South Korea need to be linked to Korean English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students' language learning since language learning motivation can be conceptualized as the result of the constant “interaction between the individual and the social learning settings” (Ushioda, 2003, p. 90) and thus can be viewed as “a complex [and] composite construct” (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 19). In this regard, in this study, by analyzing 364 Korean high school students' EFL motivation, attitudes, and their relationship to English proficiency, I will examine the potential impact of anti-Americanism and the hakbul-orientation upon students' motivation and

attitudes for learning EFL.

STUDIES OF MOTIVATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

The existing studies on Korean EFL motivation (Kang, 2000; Lee, 1996) placed much emphasis on factor-analytic description without sufficient considerations of socio-political specificities in Korea. For instance, Lee (1996) administered motivation/attitude questionnaires to 780 secondary school students in South Korea. By factor analysis, he categorized seven motivational factors and argued that girls tended to have more favourable attitudes toward Americans and learning English than boys. Kang's (2000) study identified motivational constructs which cannot be categorized into Gardner's (1985) integrativeness and instrumentality. Both studies, however, did not explicate what the origins of distinctive Korean EFL motivational constructs are nor how their socio-cultural contexts are interspersed therein.

Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) quasi-longitudinal survey study in Hungarian foreign language (FL) situation is unique in the sense that it focused on longitudinal aspects of FL learning motivation and interests, influenced by FL students' socio-political contexts. They administered questionnaire surveys to Hungarian secondary school students in 1993 and 1999 and compared the changes in Hungarian students' FL learning motivation. Interests in Russian and German, which had been either politically or geographically important, drastically declined during this period, in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and subsequent infiltration of U.S. culture into the lives of the general Hungarian public. Their study indicated that only motivation for English learning persisted.

As shown in Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) Hungarian case study, socio-cultural factors in a country can have an impact on the students' affective factors. Likewise, it is highly probable that unique socio-political contexts in

South Korea might be affecting Korean EFL students' perceptions, inducing them to formulate distinctive motivational constructs which have not been identified in the previous literature. With this aim, I have focused on explicating EFL motivation subcomponents and investigating the relationship between EFL motivation and attitudes and English proficiency in the Korean context. I posed two research questions concerning motivational and attitudinal factors in the EFL context in Korea:

1. Do anti-American attitudes have a significant relationship with Korean EFL students' English proficiency?
2. Can we find motivational factors attributable to exam-orientatedness in Korean society? If so, what are these factors that are significantly correlated with English proficiency in the Korean EFL context?

METHOD

Participants

The participants in the main study were 364 high school students (183 male, 181 female) in Grade 11.¹ In the original data, the number of participants was 399. However, 35 students reported that they had experiences of living in foreign countries where English was a medium of daily communication. Their data were excluded because the purpose of the study was to investigate EFL (not ESL) learners' motivation/attitudes. They were attending six different high schools in a large-sized city in South Korea and had been studying English for at least four years as a mandatory school subject at the time of this study. Forty-nine percent of the

¹ Originally, I collected 64 Grade 12 female students' data as well. However, I could not recruit Grade 12 male counterparts because the high school principals that I contacted were concerned that my research may negatively affect Grade 12 students' CSAT preparation by sacrificing two class hours. Thus, I excluded Grade 12 female students' data in this paper.

participants ($n = 179$) had started learning English before they entered junior high schools.

Materials

Questionnaire

Before administering the main study, I conducted a pilot study to collect and distinguish the most relevant motivation questionnaire items for Korean EFL high school students. First, 81 female students in a city in South Korea were asked to jot down five reasons for English learning.² This open-ended, free-style writing identified several distinctive motivational features such as the goal for the Internet use, for backpack foreign travel, and for studying abroad among Korean high school students. Itemizing these features as well as adding motivation questionnaire items from Lee's (1996) study, I set 55 EFL motivation questionnaire items for the pilot study. The motivation questionnaire items were factor-analyzed, whereby only 33 items, which bore strong internal consistency (Cronbach $\alpha = .91$), were used for the main study.

In addition, referring to Gardner's (1985) Attitudes/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), 20 questionnaire items asking about participants' foreign language learning attitudes were included in the pilot and the main study questionnaires.³ Out of 20 items, 12 were related to attitudes toward

² I collected a total of 405 items but excluded inappropriate ones that merely reflected previous language learning experiences. Motivation involves goal-directed activity, and previous language learning experiences is not related to the goal of language study; rather it is only related to EFL learners' past reflection of EFL-related experiences (see Gardner, 1985, pp. 50-51). For this reason, items such as "I have to learn English because it is a mandatory school subject" or "I should master English because my parents want me to do so" were excluded.

³ Literature on second language motivation (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) conceptually differentiates motivation and attitudes. For example, Gardner (1985, p. 54) theorizes motivation as an umbrella term incorporating efforts,

Americans, and the others were related to attitudes toward English learning.

Both motivation and attitudes questionnaires adopted a five-point Likert scale. That is, 1 meant 'strongly disagree,' 2 'somewhat disagree,' 3 'neither disagree nor agree,' 4 'somewhat agree,' and 5 'strongly agree'. The questionnaire was written in Korean to prevent any possible misinterpretation of the items (see Appendix).

English Proficiency Test

To measure participants' general English proficiency, a practice version of the Test of English Proficiency at Seoul National University (TEPS) was used. The test had a multiple-choice format and was composed of four subtests: listening, grammar, vocabulary, and reading, which is different from the current CSAT English section (17 listening comprehension and 33 reading comprehension). Since I wanted to investigate the effects of motivation and attitudes on four different areas measured by the TEPS, I used this test instead of various versions of mock CSAT English test. The validity and reliability of the TEPS has been reviewed by many language testing experts. Bachman (1996, p. 381), for example, mentions as follows:

The SNUCREPT [this was renamed to TEPS in 1997] is a well-designed and carefully researched EFL proficiency test. It is soundly grounded in both applied linguistics and psychometric theory. The content and task characteristics of the test clearly reflect current models of language use and language ability, as these are specified in the design features of the test and realized in actual test tasks.

The total number of questions in the TEPS was 200, and the total time for

desire to achieve a goal, and attitudes. Tremblay and Gardner (1995, p. 510) also schematize language attitude directly influences goal salience, valence, and self-efficacy, all of which constitute the concept, motivation. For this reason, I treated motivational questionnaire and attitudinal questionnaire on a differential basis.

completing all four subtests was two hours in the original practice version. However, considering a 50-minute class hour and item difficulty which may induce the participants' physical exhaustion, only 95 items (listening 25, grammar 25, vocabulary 25, and reading 20) were used in the pilot study, and 46 items (listening 12, grammar 12, vocabulary 12, and reading 10) in the main study.

Design and Procedures

The Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted in a large city in South Korea in December 2001. The number of participants was 161 Grade 11 students (male 80, female 81). They were reminded that there were no right or wrong answers in the EFL motivation/attitudes questionnaire. One class-hour (i.e., 50 minutes) was allotted for the TEPS grammar, vocabulary, and reading sections. The other one class-hour was for the listening comprehension section and the EFL motivation/attitudes questionnaire. A 30 minute audiotape recorded by native speakers of North American English was used for the listening comprehension section.

In the English proficiency test, 46 items were selected from the pilot. The item selection was based on a range of *item facility*, or "the proportion of students who answered a given item correctly" (J. D. Brown, 1989, p. 69), between .30 to .60. That means, 30 to 60 percent of the participants in the pilot study responded correctly to all the 46 items. For the motivation questionnaire, as mentioned above, only 33 items were selected considering internal consistency.

The Main Study

The main study was conducted from late spring of 2002. The participants were 364 high school students attending six different schools in and around a

large city in Korea. The participants who took part in the pilot study were excluded from the main study.

The main study was administered by me or on one occasion by the participants' English teacher who was well versed in test administration procedures and understood the purpose of the study. It took 60 minutes to complete both the EFL motivation/attitudes questionnaire and the TEPS; the participants were first required to complete 46 multiple-choice TEPS questions for approximately 40 minutes. After that, they were required to complete the EFL motivation/attitudes questionnaire. The participants both in the pilot study and in the main study were required to take the TEPS first than the questionnaire because I needed to explain the format of the TEPS to the participants in Korean for their limited English proficiency and distributed the test sets and answer sheets before their class began. Even though the TEPS sections (four sections: listening, grammar, vocabulary, and reading comprehension) were different from the CSAT English (two sections: listening and reading comprehension), both tests were multiple-choice format, which the participants were already familiar with. Hence, it was assumed that the differences in test sections did not affect the participants' test performance.

Analyses

Three statistical measures were used. First, Varimax factor analyses were conducted for the motivation/attitudes questionnaire items to identify the component of each construct. Second, Pearson product moment correlations were calculated to investigate the relationships between EFL learners' motivation/attitudes and the TEPS test scores (*alpha set* = .05). After clustering the motivational and attitudinal factors, multiple regression analyses were conducted to investigate the predictability of the analyzed factors to English proficiency. All these statistical analyses were processed using the SPSS 10.0.

RESULTS

Korean EFL Learners' Motivation

Descriptive Analysis

The item means ranged from 3.90 to 2.13. Motivation questionnaire item number 10 (see Appendix) was the most positively responded item, 'because I should survive in the future world' ($M = 3.90$), and the least favored one was Number 16, 'because I want to have a pen pal' ($M = 2.13$). The items whose means were above 3.80 were Number 1, 'because English is a world language,' Number 32, 'because the importance of English is becoming greater than the past,' Number 15, 'because English will contribute to self-development,' and Number 29, 'because English is important in every field' ($M = 3.90, 3.86, 3.82, \text{ and } 3.81$, respectively). These items seem to represent the participants' perception that English is needed for their success in life.

The items least positively responded to, including Number 16, were Number 19, 'because I want to have a chat with foreigners on the Internet,' Number 31, 'because I have strong curiosity toward English,' and Number 6, 'because it is easy to learn other European languages once I master English' ($M = 2.16, 2.32, \text{ and } 2.32$, respectively). These items asked about participants' intrinsic motivation and communicative needs for English.

Factor Analysis

Table 1 is the rotated component matrix of the motivation questionnaire items. A Varimax orthogonal rotation was used in the factor analysis to achieve maximum parsimony among all questionnaire items.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin index of 0.88 indicated that no multicollinearity existed between the factors. Factor loadings were all above .40, indicating that all items have a substantial link to one component. By cumulative

eigenvalue, 60.87% of all variance could be attributed to these seven factors. The seven extracted factors were termed as follows: 1) instrumental motivation, 2) competitive motivation, 3) intrinsic motivation, 4) self-development motivation, 5) cultural-exchange motivation, 6) heuristic motivation, and 7) integrative motivation.

Among the seven factors, the second factor was termed as competitive motivation. This factor is similar to the first factor, instrumental motivation, in the sense that learners are motivated from external sources. However, the competitive motivation seems more related to the participants' aspirations to occupy a superior position in life and to be evaluated positively by others.

It is noteworthy that integrative motivation was identified as the last factor. Number 26, 'because I want to live in a foreign country such as Canada, the U.K., or the U.S,' represented the participants' aspirations to become members of the target language group. Numbers 24 and 25 also seemed to be related to an integrative motivation because the aspirations to see a movie without subtitles and to accumulate foreign knowledge reflected a favorable attitude toward the target culture (e.g. Gardner, 1985, p. 179).

TABLE 1
Factor Analysis of Korean EFL Learners' Motivation

Items	Factors						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	.77						
4	.77						
22	.68						
7	.66						
23	.61						
6	.47						
9	.47						
1	.44						
12		.80					
11		.74					
17		.66					

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20	.66						
10	.65						
28	.61						
5		.83					
2		.80					
31		.77					
33		.60					
29			.69				
15			.66				
30			.58				
21			.51				
32			.45				
18				.73			
27				.70			
19				.64			
16				.49			
14					.82		
13					.78		
8					.52		
25						.65	
26						.57	
24						.52	
Eigenvalue	8.93	3.73	2.09	1.78	1.43	1.12	1.03

Note. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. See Appendix for actual items.

The Relationship Between Motivational Factors and English Proficiency Test

Although the correlations were low, most of the motivational factors were significantly correlated with the TEPS scores (see Table 2). The strongest correlation was found in intrinsic motivation ($r = .28, p < .01$), the second strongest was in instrumental motivation ($r = .25, p < .01$), and the third strongest was in integrative motivation ($r = .24, p < .01$) (see Total in Table 2).

TABLE 2
Correlations Between Motivational Factors and TEPS Subtests

Motivational Factor	TEPS Subtests				
	Listening	Grammar	Vocabulary	Reading	Total
Instrumental motivation	.23**	.20**	.24**	.15**	.25**
Competitive motivation	-.05	-.03	-.02	-.05	-.06
Intrinsic motivation	.27**	.24**	.29**	.17**	.28**
Self-development motivation	.13*	.15**	.15**	.07	.14**
Cultural-exchange motivation	-.02	.01	-.06	.01	-.01
Heuristic motivation	.13*	.10*	.12*	.14**	.16**
Integrative motivation	.24**	.11*	.20**	.16**	.24**

Note. $N = 364$; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 3
Correlations Between Motivational Factors and TEPS Subtests
(High Proficiency Group)

Motivational Factor	TEPS Subtests				
	Listening	Grammar	Vocabulary	Reading	Total
Instrumental motivation	.03	.22*	.04	-.02	.04
Competitive motivation	-.21*	-.02	-.12	-.21*	-.26*
Intrinsic motivation	.30**	.30**	.22*	.06	.27**
Self-development motivation	.09	.21*	.05	.02	.10
Cultural-exchange motivation	-.18	.08	-.24*	.14	-.21*
Heuristic motivation	-.02	.09	.00	.06	.03
Integrative motivation	.19*	.19*	.12	.11	.21*

Note. $n = 91$; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

On the contrary, the correlations in the high English proficiency group (HG) students who belong to the upper 25% ($n = 91$) were different from those of the total population (see Table 3). In Table 3, similar to the total population, intrinsic motivation ($r = .27, p < .01$) and integrative motivation

($r = .21, p < .05$) had significantly positive correlations with the TEPS total score than did the other motivational factors. However, it is noteworthy that for the HG students, competitive motivation ($r = -.26, p < .05$) and cultural-exchange motivation ($r = -.21, p < .05$) had negative correlations with the total score.

Korean EFL Learners' Attitudes Toward Americans and English Learning

In general, the means of all items ranged from 2.56 to 4.01, and the standard deviation was around 1.00 each in the attitudes questionnaire. The factor average (χ)⁴ of negative attitudes toward Americans was 3.64, and it was higher than positive attitudes toward Americans ($\chi = 3.08$). Negative attitudes toward English learning were also noticeable given the fact that the factor average of the negative was 3.34, while that of the positive was 3.30.

TABLE 4
Correlations Between Attitudinal Factors and TEPS Subtests

Attitudinal Factor	TEPS Subtests				
	Listening	Grammar	Vocabulary	Reading	Total
Positive attitudes toward Americans	-.11*	-.03	-.14**	-.13*	-.14**
Negative attitudes toward Americans	.21**	.20**	.27**	.17**	.25**
Positive attitudes toward English learning	.12*	.14*	.20**	.10	.15**
Negative attitudes toward English learning	-.30**	-.28**	-.30**	-.24**	-.34**

Note. $N = 364$; * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4 shows the correlation results between the attitudinal factors and the

⁴ Factor average (χ) is the concept that represents overall frequency of the items which belong to one particular component (Ehrman & Oxford, 1989).

TEPS. The negative attitudes toward English learning were negatively correlated with the TEPS subtests ($r = -.34, p < .01$). Negative attitudes toward Americans had strong positive correlations with the subtests ($r = .25, p < .01$). Both positive attitudes toward Americans and positive attitudes toward English learning had low correlation coefficients with the TEPS test results.

The Impacts of Motivation and Attitudes on English Proficiency Test

To investigate their impacts on the TEPS, all seven motivational factors and four attitudinal factors were entered as independent variables in a regression analysis. The Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) ranged from 1.05 to 1.31, and Tolerance was between .76 and .96, which indicate that no multicollinearity exists in the regression model.

TABLE 5
Stepwise Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting TEPS Total Score

Step	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i>
Negative attitudes toward English learning	.34	.12	.11	47.12**
Integrative motivation	.38	.15	.14	31.06**
Cultural-exchange motivation	.41	.17	.16	24.76**

Note. $N = 364$; ** $p < .01$.

Table 5 provides the result of the stepwise regression analysis for English proficiency, and 16.4 % of the total variances were explained by three variables: 1) negative attitudes toward English learning, 2) integrative motivation, and 3) cultural-exchange motivation. The other eight variables (i.e. five motivational factors and three attitudinal factors) did not have significant explanatory power for the TEPS total scores.

DISCUSSION

The Competitive Motivation

Overall, the seven motivational factors found in this study could be classified neither into Gardner's (1985, p. 153) socio-educational model nor into Ryan and Deci's (2000, p. 61) extrinsic-intrinsic motivation continuum. They also differed from other Korean EFL motivation studies conducted during the last decade (Lee, 1996, 1998).

Lee (1996) identified seven motivational factors after analyzing 780 high school students' data. *Vis-à-vis* Lee's (1996) components, competitive motivation in the present study draws particular interest since it is assumed to represent the educational contexts in South Korea. As mentioned earlier, a characteristic of competitive motivation is the desire to obtain relative superiority to peers.

In previous studies, questionnaire items such as 'because I do not want to yield to any of my friends,' 'because I want to succeed in life,' and 'because I do not want to be an illiterate person' were incorporated into factor groupings of either external motivation (Lee, 1996) or instrumental motivation (Lee, 1998). However, these items are qualitatively different from other items since they share many similarities with performance goals (Ames, 1992) or ego orientation (Nicholls, 1984). Ames (1992, p. 262) commented on the nature of performance goals:

Central to a performance goal is a focus on one's ability and sense of self-worth (e.g., Covington, 1984; Dweck, 1986; Nicholls, 1984b), and ability is evidenced by doing better than others, by surpassing normative-based standards, or by achieving success with little effort (Ames, 1984b; Covington, 1984). Especially important to a performance orientation is public recognition that one has done better than others or performed in a superior manner (Covington & Beery, 1976; Meece et al., 1988). As a result, learning itself is viewed only as a way to achieve a desired goal (Nicholls, 1979, 1989), and attention is directed toward achieving normatively defined success.

Despite some exceptions (e.g., Cumming, Kim, & Eouanzoui, in press), research suggests that a student mainly dominated by performance goals cannot go beyond the desired level and use superficial learning strategies (Meece, Blumenfield, & Hoyle, 1988; Pintrich, 1989). That is, even though they can achieve what seems to be imperative to them, immediately after the perceived object of comparison ceases to exist, they do not make extra efforts.

This previous finding is also corroborated in the correlation between motivation and English proficiency in this study. Despite the fact that competitive motivation was extracted as the second component in factor analysis, it did not have any significant correlation with any of the TEPS subtests. Instead intrinsic motivation ($r = .28, p < .01$) and integrative motivation ($r = .24, p < .01$) bore significant correlations (see Table 2). Moreover, through the stepwise regression analysis, competitive motivation proved to be a non-significant predictor for the participants' English proficiency. Rather the regression results show that these Korean EFL learners' integrative or cultural-exchange motivation, which is more or less a similar concept to mastery goals (Ames, 1992) or task orientation (Nicholls, 1984), contributed to their English proficiency (see Table 5). Although it would be oversimplistic to distinguish mastery and performance goals (Hidi & Harackiewicz, 2000), the results in the present study suggest that more emphasis in education should be placed on arousing and maintaining EFL learners' intrinsic and integrative motivation rather than competitive motivation.

Like many other East-Asian secondary school systems, the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT) wields enormous power in Korean high school curricula. The CSAT has a normative multiple-choice format and is administered once a year in November. The purpose of the test is "to evaluate an applicant's intellectual thinking ability, needed to be successful students in colleges and universities" (Pak, 1997, p. 249). The CSAT scores achieved determine college selection decisions. That is, if the Grade 12s earn a better score than peers, they have more college choices. Moreover, the Korean socio-psychological and cultural tradition, *hakbul*, or stratified credential

society (B.-T. Kim, 1997; D.-H. Kim, 2001; D.-H. Lee, 2001; K.-H. Lee, 1993), strengthens the role of the CSAT.

The findings of previous research in the 1990s have reiterated that a considerable interface exists between integrative motivation and instrumental motivation (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991) or performance goals and mastery goals (Hidi & Harackiewicz, 2000). This means that we can find a facilitative function in instrumental motivation and mastery goals even though it endures for a relatively short period of time. The Korean educational context, nonetheless, creates another debilitating motivational construct, competitive motivation, which might be attributable to the negative washback effect (Bachman & Palmer, 1996) from the nation-wide high-stakes test, the CSAT. As Wall and Alderson (1993) have suggested, washback affects not only individual test-takers but also the educational system per se. The proliferation of cramming schools, or private after-schools whose sole purpose is to help enrolled students get a higher score in school exams in Korea are related in this account (D.-H. Lee, 2001, pp. 285–293).

The Negative Attitudes Toward Americans

The interpretation of the correlation between Korean EFL students' language learning attitudes and the TEPS score does not seem straightforward. It is usually assumed that if students have positive attitudes toward EFL, their proficiency in EFL should be better than others with negative attitudes, or vice versa. The correlation results in this study, however, present quite a different picture. The negative attitudes toward Americans were *positively* correlated to English proficiency ($r = .25, p < .01$), a trend which was not observed in previous studies in Korea. Lee's (1998) study, for example, showed that the correlation between negative attitudes toward Americans and English proficiency is not significant in any group regardless of participants' gender or age. He concluded that the deciding factor in Korean EFL contexts is a positive attitude toward English learning and not a negative one.

The general conclusion of previous second language (SL) motivation

research is that a positive correlation exists between attitudes toward the target language group and SL proficiency (Gardner, 1985). However, the positive relationship was negated in some studies. For instance, Oller, Baca, and Vigil (1977) contended that it was possible to attain high SL proficiency even if SL learners held negative attitudes toward the target language group. Oller and Perkins (1978) also indicated that some language learners may be motivated to excel in the target language due to their negative attitudes toward the target language group. This specific SL learning phenomenon is known as *Machiavellian motivation* (Oller et al., 1977).

However, direct application of the *Machiavellian motivation* to the results of this study runs the risk of blurring the distinction between second language and foreign language contexts. As Saville-Troike (1996, pp. 358–359) aptly puts it:

Students learning a foreign language within the context of their native culture generally have little opportunity even to interact with members of the speech community that speaks the foreign language natively, and they have little opportunity (or need) to become part of it.

This becomes obvious when considering the homogeneous Korean socio-cultural context, where EFL students have little opportunity to meet with native English speakers in their lives, yet English is one of the mandatory school subjects. In this sense, their negative attitude toward Americans needs to be explored from a different basis than from the minority SL learners exemplified in Oller et al.'s (1977, 1978) studies.

Given that, what has resulted in such a relationship that has not been observed in previous research? Even though a definite explanation is not possible mainly due to the cross-sectional research design of the present study, I think that a clue is provided in the disparity between the negative attitudes toward Americans and toward English learning. Negative attitudes toward English learning had a negative correlation with English proficiency ($r = -.34, p < .01$), which might not be surprising, whereas the negative attitudes toward Americans bore positive correlations with it ($r = .25, p < .01$).

This must mean that the participants perceive these two negative attitudes differently. Whether the participants may or may not like Americans, their necessity to learn English has not changed very much. The pragmatic necessity of learning English for success in school or possibly future career has obscured and neutralized Korean EFL learners' fondness for America.

Regarding this, supporting evidence might be found in the anti-American sentiment among South Koreans between ages of 20 to 40 (J.-W. Kim, 1992). As benefactors of rapid economic development in South Korea from the 1970s, the younger generation has very different viewpoints of the U.S. from those of their parents who had experienced the atrocities of the Korean War in the 1950s (J.-W. Kim, 1992). Supporting evidence might be found in the culmination of student political demonstrations in the 1980s, and a widespread anti-American sentiment might be the major cause of the demonstrations. The anti-Americanism among the young generation, however, needs cautious interpretations because it does not mean that they are totally against the U.S. but rather that they have gradually come to understand the meaning of the U.S. to South Korean people (J.-W. Kim, 1992, p. 6). This new "objective understandings of the U.S." has been spread from socio-politically radical cliques to the general Korean public since the 1980s. The younger generation is often said to be lenient to other ideologies like socialism and progressive conservatism, and this is corroborated by the victory of the progressive political party in two sequential five-year term presidential elections in 1997 and 2002. The participants of the study were Grade 11 high school students. Their parents and teacher group might be broadly categorized in the younger generation whereas their grandparents would be the older generation. Thus viewed, the participants can be considered as the third generation, and the existence of prudent anti-Americanism and its impacts on the third generation's EFL motivation were found in this study.

Considering both the practical needs of English learning and the socio-political context in South Korea, the participants in this study might be gauging the pragmatic benefits of English learning differently. They seem to

be disillusioned from naïve view of equating English learning with positive evaluation of Americans, which their former generation have had, and gradually adopt a pragmatic vantage point that *English learning is one thing and linking the U.S. to it is another thing*.

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As stated above, two Korean-specific factors (i.e., negative washback from the CSAT and anti-American sentiment) clearly seem to affect Korean EFL students' motivation and attitudes. Specifically, this study demonstrates the existence of competitive motivation and pragmatic attitudes toward learning English, both of which are caused by proximal sociocultural situations.

The findings of this study have several implications for EFL education. Since competitive motivation does not have much of a facilitative role in EFL proficiency, EFL policy makers and administrators need to reconsider the format of the CSAT. A change from the current norm-referenced format to a qualification exam for applying to universities might be a viable alternative. Along with such macro-level EFL policy changes, micro-level classroom applications also need to be embraced. For instance, if the CSAT format were changed into a qualification exam, EFL teachers could alleviate excessive competition among their students by introducing collaborative language learning (Swain, 2005) since "it explicitly puts the initiatives and control of the learning process into the hands of learners themselves, and harnesses their sense of peer group solidarity and shared responsibility" (Ushioda, 2000, p. 126). In addition, the results of the stepwise regression analysis underscore an important role of integrative and intrinsic motivation. In order to foster and maintain these motivations, EFL teachers and parents need to support their students and children to steer through their own learning progress and encourage them to actively use language learning strategies autonomously.

The stepwise regression analysis presented in Table 5 indicates only a total

of 16.4 percent of English proficiency are explained by motivational and attitudinal factors measured by the questionnaire. The psychological constructs not considered in the study may have the potentials to explain the other 83.6 percent. For example, language learning strategies are certainly one of the influential factors for East Asian students' English proficiency (cf. Zhang, 2003). The integration of inquiry into language learning strategies in the field of second language or foreign language motivation is a promising future direction in this regard (Brown, 2002; Dörnyei, 1996, 2001).

Nonetheless, the present study has chronological, geographical, and methodological limitations. First, the cross-sectional research design was not able to thoroughly explore the dynamics of EFL motivation and attitudes. Longitudinal studies should be conducted in order to capture the intricacy of motivational processes in language learning (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). Second, I conducted the study mainly in one city in South Korea, and the participants were limited to high school students. For these reasons, the results of the study cannot be generalized to all Korean EFL students let alone other foreign language contexts. A more extensive study with participants from a broad spectrum is desired (e.g., Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). In addition, as Kim (2005, in press) mentions, other data elicitation methods such as interviews, think-aloud protocols, longitudinal classroom observation, and diary studies need to be implemented in subsequent studies in order to capture the dynamics of EFL motivation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The data in this article were originally collected for my MA thesis supervised by Dr. Oryang Kwon at Seoul National University, Korea. I thank Drs. Alister Cumming and Merrill Swain at OISE/UT, and Mila Glavinic and Jung-Yeon Park for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Thanks also go to three anonymous reviewers. Any errors are, however, my sole responsibility. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2005

Canadian Association of Applied Linguistics (CAAL) at the University of Western Ontario.

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APPENDIX

EFL Motivation and Attitudes Questionnaire (English Translation)

This questionnaire will be used for the study of learner motivation and attitudes. The results of the questionnaire will not be publicized under any circumstances and will be used only for the research purpose. There are no right or wrong answers to each question. Please give your candid responses.

High school name: _____ Student id: _____ Your name: _____

1. EFL Motivation

Please check the items below without an exception.

	1	2	3	4	5
	NO	no	hmm	yes	YES
1 I learn English because ...					
1 English is a world language.					

- 2 Studying English is exciting and interesting.
 - 3 I should communicate with foreigners when I travel abroad.
 - 4 I want to talk with foreigners.
 - 5 I like English.
 - 6 It is easy to learn other European languages once I master English.
 - 7 I want to make foreign friends.
 - 8 There are many professional books written in English.
 - 9 I want to be familiarized with new culture.
 - 10 I should survive in the future world.
 - 11 I don't want to be an illiterate person.
 - 12 I want to succeed in life.
 - 13 I want to get information written in English.
 - 14 I can get an easy access to information through Internet.
 - 15 English will contribute to self-development.
 - 16 I want to have a pen pal.
 - 17 Other people think me an elite if I can command a good English.
 - 18 I want to know the exact meaning of Korean songs written in English.
 - 19 I want to have a chat with foreigners on the Internet.
 - 20 I don't want to yield to any of my friends.
 - 21 It is a useful tool to have broad perspectives on the world.
 - 22 I want to go to a backpack foreign travel if I become a university student.
 - 23 I want to study abroad.
 - 24 I want to watch Hollywood movies without relying on Korean subtitles.
 - 25 I want to accumulate knowledge on foreign countries.
 - 26 I want to live in a foreign country such as Canada, the U.K., and the U.S.
 - 27 I want to understand and enjoy the meaning of pop songs.
 - 28 I want to have a head start on other people.
 - 29 English is important in every field.
 - 30 I want to develop myself.
 - 31 I have strong curiosity toward English.
 - 32 The importance of English is becoming greater than the past.
 - 33 I want to read interesting literature written in English.
-

Motivation and Attitudes Toward Foreign Language Learning as Socio-politically Mediated Constructs

2. EFL Attitudes

Please check the items below without an exception.

	1	2	3	4	5
	NO	no	hmm	yes	YES
1 Americans are sociable and kind.					
2 Americans are self-independent and have strong personality.					
3 Americans live reasonable and scientific lives.					
4 Americans keep their promise well.					
5 I want to know Americans more.					
6 I will be able to speak English better once I know Americans more.					
7 Americans are pompous and self-righteous.					
8 Americans are egoistic and individual.					
9 Americans lack consistency.					
10 Americans lack courteous manners.					
11 Koreans should not learn American life style.					
12 I do not admire Americans even if there is something to learn from them.					
13 I think that I should learn English.					
14 English learning is interesting.					
15 I will continue to learn English.					
16 English should be taught to everybody and should be a mandatory school subject.					
17 English learning is hard and difficult.					
18 Every student does not have to learn English.					
19 English learning is not interesting.					
20 Although I admit the necessity to learn English, I do not want to learn it.					

Thank you for your participation!