

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**DEMOTIVATION IN LEARNING ENGLISH AMONG
IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN THE NINTH GRADE OF
COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL**

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by

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Vaikka maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden osuus kouluissamme on kasvanut merkittävästi viime vuosikymmeninä, tutkimusta heistä englannin kielen oppijoina on vähän. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, millaisia motivaatioon kielteisesti vaikuttavia tekijöitä eli demotivoivia tekijöitä on maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden englannin kielen oppimisessa. Tutkimus vastaa seuraaviin kysymyksiin: 1) Mitkä ulkoiset tekijät vaikuttavat negatiivisesti maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden englannin kielen oppimismotivaatioon? 2) Mitkä sisäiset tekijät vaikuttavat negatiivisesti maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden englannin kielen oppimismotivaatioon? 3) Mitkä tekijät auttavat maahanmuuttajaoppilaita selviytymään demotivaatiosta?

Tutkimusaineistona on seitsemän puolistrukturoitua haastattelua. Haastateltavat ovat yhdeksäsluokkalaisia maahanmuuttajaoppilaita, iältään 14–17 vuotta ja kotoisin Afganistanista ja Iranin Kurdistanista. Haastattelut nauhoitettiin, litterointiin ja analysointiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin menetelmin.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittivat, että suurin osa demotivaation johtavista tekijöistä on ulkoisia. Ulkoiset tekijät muodostivat tärkeysjärjestyksessä seuraavat neljä teemaa: opettaja, oppimateriaali ja kurssisisällöt, oppimisympäristö ja useiden kielten yhdenaikainen oppiminen. Sisäisiksi demotivoiviksi tekijöiksi mainittiin epäonnistumisen kokemukset, menestyksen puute ja negatiiviset asenteet englannin kieltä kohtaan. Vaikka haastateltavat nostivat esille useita sekä ulkoisia että sisäisiä demotivoivia tekijöitä, he olivat onnistuneet suhteellisen helposti selviytymään demotivaatiostaan. Tärkeimmiksi syiksi nousivat englannin kielen asema lingua francana, positiivinen suhtautuminen koulunkäyntiin, monipuolinen englannin kielen käyttö vapaa-ajalla ja positiiviset asenteet englannin kieltä kohtaan.

Tutkielman tulokset antavat englannin opettajille vinkkejä siihen, miten maahanmuuttajaoppilaiden demotivaatiota englannin oppimisessa voidaan välttää ja siten tehdä heidän oppimiskokemuksistaan miellyttävämpiä.

Asiasanat: learner characteristics. second language acquisition. motivation. demotivation. immigrant pupils.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The number of immigrant pupils in our schools has increased significantly since the early 1990s. At the moment approximately 3 % of the pupils in basic education are immigrant pupils but in the bigger cities the percentage is considerably higher, even up to 60 % (Finnish National Board of Education 2004a: 3, later referred as FNBE). It is clear that immigrant pupils pose new challenges to schools and require new abilities and skills from teachers. According to Matinheikki-Kokko (1999: 40), in order to be able to teach pupils with different cultural backgrounds, specific competence with a certain set of knowledge, skills, and attitudes is required from teachers. Firstly, a teacher has to recognize his or her own cultural values and backgrounds. Secondly, a teacher should be able to evaluate his or her teaching from the point of view of immigrant pupils. Thirdly, a teacher should choose to use teaching methods that take immigrant pupils' cultural and societal frames of references into consideration.

As a result of the increase in the number of immigrant pupils in our school during the past two decades, several studies have been conducted on immigrant pupils and learning in order to help teachers to face the challenge of teaching pupils from different cultural backgrounds. However, most of these studies have concentrated either on immigrant pupils as learners of Finnish or on their school adaptation in a more general level and there is lack of research on immigrant pupils as learners of different subjects. Therefore, the goal of the present study is to increase understanding of immigrant pupils as learners of English. Exploring their experiences as learners of English is expected to facilitate the second and third constituent of the competence required from the teachers of immigrant pupils discussed above.

The study investigates the English learning experiences of immigrant pupils from the point of view demotivation. As motivation is considered to be one of the main determining factors in success in second or foreign languages (L2), it has been a

widely researched topic for decades but its darker side, that is, demotivation has been long neglected and only recently recognized as an important factor in L2 learning. However, demotives, that is, factors that influence motivation negatively by de-energising action have been found to be frequent in language classes around the world. Because they can have a detrimental effect on L2 motivation, it is of major importance to recognize these negative influences and deal with them effectively. The first objective of the study is to find out what kind of external demotives play a part in the English learning experiences of immigrant pupils. The second objective is to collect descriptive information of the internal demotives that influence the learning of English. The third objective of the study is to find out how serious a problem demotivation is among the participants by exploring the ways that they overcome demotivation.

The study will begin by outlining the developments in the field of L2 motivation, discussing the socio-psychological, cognitive-situated, and process-oriented period in Chapter 2. After that, in Chapter 3, demotivation is discussed by reviewing the few studies conducted on the topic in the field of L2 learning. Chapter 4 examines immigrant pupils, taking account issues such as the developments in the number of immigrant pupils, education arrangements and support measure for immigrant pupils, and their learning outcomes and attitudes. In Chapter 5 the research design of the present study is described, including the aims of the study, the method of data collection, the participants, and the method of data analysis. This is followed by a presentation of the findings in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 further discusses the findings in the light of previous research findings and considers the practical implications of the findings. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the study and offers suggestions for future studies.

2 MOTIVATION IN SLA

The term *motivation* is used constantly in everyday and professional context but defining motivation precisely is a demanding task due to its complex and

multifaceted nature (Dörnyei 2001a). Motivation with respect to language learning poses even a more challenging dilemma because compared to other school subjects, learning a language presents a unique situation due to its role and nature (Dörnyei 1994a: 274). A L2 is a “learnable” school subject in which skills such as grammar can be learned, but at the same time language learning is a deeply social event where a wide range of elements of the L2 culture are incorporated (Dörnyei 2001a: 46). According to Williams (1994, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a: 66), language is part of one’s identity and learning a language involves “an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner”. To put it simply, motivation explains why a person starts to learn a language and later acts as the driving force to keep the interest in the long process of L2 learning (Dörnyei 2005: 65). Despite the complexity of defining motivation in L2 learning, it has been found to be the most influential factor of all the individual differences in language learning (such as aptitude, learning style, and age) when learning outcomes are considered. In addition, all the other factors involved in L2 acquisition seem to presuppose motivation to some extent (Dörnyei 2005: 65). Therefore, language abilities or appropriate curricula and good teaching do not guarantee good learning outcomes without motivation and, on the other hand, lack of language aptitude and deficiencies in learning conditions can be made up by high motivation (Dörnyei 2005: 65).

As motivation plays such a crucial role in the demanding process of L2 learning, it has been a widely researched topic since the 1950s. The complexity of defining motivation has, however, resulted in great diversity of theories and approaches when studying motivational influences related to L2 acquisition (Dörnyei 2001a: 46). Scholars have highlighted different aspects of L2 motivation but only a few have attempted to synthesize the different approaches (Dörnyei 2001a: 46). This chapter provides an overview of the different approaches to L2 motivation and the recent developments in the field of L2 motivation research are discussed. The organization of this chapter follows Dörnyei’s (2005) division of L2 motivation into

three main periods: the socio-psychological period, the cognitive-situated period, and the process-oriented period in L2 motivation research. The chapter begins by presenting the work of Robert Gardner and his associates as it has been the most influential in the L2 motivational research. After that, the focus will move on to examining some of the complementary approaches to L2 motivation characterized by a cognitive orientation and focus on situational or educational aspects of L2 motivation. Then, a process-oriented approach to L2 motivation is examined as it attempts to synthesize the different approaches in the field. Finally, the new ways of researching L2 motivation brought by the complementary approaches are discussed. It has to be noted that as the purpose of this chapter is to give a quick overview of the L2 motivation field and serve as a basis for discussing demotivation in Chapter 3, the few approaches to L2 motivation that were selected here, are presented rather condensed and simplified in this context.

2.1 A social-psychological period

The most extensive studies in the area of L2 attitudes and motivation have been conducted by Robert Gardner who with Wallace Lambert and several other associates grounded motivation research in a social-psychological framework (Dörnyei 1994a: 273). The socio-psychological approach was founded on the belief that “students’ attitudes toward the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language” (Gardner 1985: 6, as quoted by Dörnyei 2005: 67). Several studies on L2 attitudes and motivation mainly in bilingual settings in Canada were conducted, as a result of which Gardner (1985) constructed his socio-educational model of second language acquisition.

The socio-educational model of second language acquisition by Gardner (1985) outlines how motivation is related to other individual differences in language learning and language achievement (Dörnyei 2005: 68). During the past decades, the original model has undergone several changes. The most recent version of the

model is presented in Figure 1 and Gardner (2001: 4–7) explains it in the following way. Three primary variables constitute the socio-educational model: Integrativeness, and Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation both of which influence the third variable, Motivation to learn the L2. The first variable, *Integrativeness* refers to a genuine interest in learning the L2 with an intention to get closer to the other language community. This may mean openness to and respect for other cultural groups or in extreme cases even complete identification with the community whose language is being learned. According to the socio-educational model, Integrativeness is reflected in an integrative orientation towards learning the L2 which includes favourable attitude towards the language community and openness to other groups in general. In contrast, the second variable, *Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation* includes attitudes related to the situation in which the language is learned, being it the school context or natural L2 learning environment. As maintained by the socio-educational model, whatever the situation, some learners will express more positive attitudes than the others towards the learning situation even though the situation would not be ideal. The third and the most important variable of them all, *Motivation*, refers in Gardner's terms to the driving force in any situation. In the socio-educational model motivation is seen to consist of three elements: *effort* expended to learn the language, *desire* to achieve the goal of learning the language, and positive *affect* towards the task of language learning because it is enjoyable.

The three variables, Integrativeness, Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation constitute together *Integrative Motivation* (see Figure 1). An integratively motivated learner is motivated to learn the L2, has a desire or willingness to identify with the other language community, and tends to evaluate the learning situation positively. From these three constituents of Integrative Motivation, it is, however, mainly Motivation that is responsible for achievement in the L2. Thus, Integrativeness and Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation are seen as support for Motivation and therefore their effect is indirect, acting through Motivation (also Masgoret and Gardner 2003: 170).

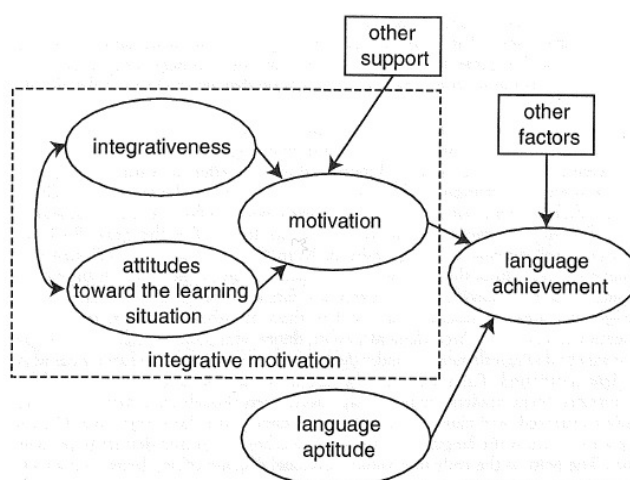


Figure 1. Basic Model of the role of aptitude and motivation in second language learning. (Gardner 2001: 5)

In addition to the three main variables discussed above, there are two additional variables in the socio-educational model, namely Integrative orientation and Instrumental orientation. *Integrative orientation* towards learning the L2 which includes positive attitude towards the language community and openness to other groups in general reflects Integrativeness (Gardner 2001: 5). In contrast, *Instrumental orientation* is characterized by a desire to gain social recognition and economical advantages by learning foreign languages, such as getting a better job or a higher salary (Dörnyei 2001a: 49). Thus Integrative orientation reflects a personal interest in the people and the culture whereas Instrumental orientation reflects practical value and advantages. It has been these two orientations that have gained the main attention of scholars and often Gardner's theory has been misrepresented constituting of Integrative and Instrumental orientation which have been equated as integrative and instrumental motivation (Dörnyei 2005: 70; Gardner 2001: 13). According to Gardner (2001: 16), the orientations are, however, solely classifications of reasons that can be given for studying a language but there is little evidence that these orientations would directly related to success in L2 learning. Thus, although all of the five variables discussed above (Integrativeness, Attitudes towards the learning situation, Motivation, Integrative orientation, and Instrumental

orientation) have been found to be positively related to achievement in L2 learning, it is, however, Motivation, that is more highly related to language achievement than the other four variables that rather act through the variable Motivation (Masgoret and Gardner 2003: 205).

To measure the different variables of L2 motivation, Gardner developed the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). AMTB is a multicomponential motivation questionnaire and includes over 130 items (Dörnyei 2005: 70). The main constituents of Gardner's theory of integrative motive are operationalised in the test battery and it also includes components of language anxiety, parental encouragement and instrumental orientation (Dörnyei 2005: 70–71).

Without question Gardner and his associates' work has been most influential in the field of L2 motivation and his socio-educational model of second language acquisition, conceptualization of integrative motivation, and the test battery have resulted in numerous studies by other scholars. However, especially from the early 1990s onwards his work has been criticized for several reasons. One of the problems of Gardner's social-educational model of second language acquisition has been that the term integrative is mentioned three times at three different levels: integrative orientation, integrativeness, and integrative motivation, which has led to misunderstandings as these concepts are easily interchangeable (Dörnyei 1994b: 516). In addition, it is not clear what Gardner means when discussing motivation as the overall construct Integrative Motivation includes also a subcomponent Motivation as seen in Figure 1 (Dörnyei 2005: 69). Furthermore, instead of viewing the whole theory, scholars have tended to pay attention to only two motivational components, instrumental and integrative orientation, and seen the theory as the sum of integrative and instrumental motivation (Dörnyei 2005: 69–70). Interestingly enough, the main problem of Gardner's social psychological approach to L2 motivation seems to be that it has been too influential as a result of which alternative approaches have not been seriously considered (Crookes and Smith 1991: 501; Dörnyei 1994a: 273).

2.2 The cognitive-situated period

In the 1980s major changes took place in mainstream motivation research as a consequence of the cognitive revolution in psychological research (Dörnyei 2003: 7; Dörnyei 2005: 71). These advancements had an effect also on L2 motivation research, as a result of which the 1990s saw a new wave of L2 motivational research in which the new concepts were utilized (Dörnyei 2003: 7; Shoaib and Dörnyei 2004: 22). Gardner's motivation model which had remained unmodified over time despite the changes in mainstream motivation research was no longer considered to be an adequate explanation of L2 motivation and new ways of conceptualizing L2 motivation began to emerge (Dörnyei 2005: 71).

According to Dörnyei (2005: 74–76), the cognitive-situated period in motivation was characterized by two broad trends. First of all, there was the need to narrow the gap between motivational psychology and L2 motivation research and increase understanding of L2 motivation by utilizing some of the most influential concepts of the 1980s. The new concepts were cognitive in nature, emphasizing the view that how one thinks about one's abilities, possibilities, and past performance, for example, and how one sees various aspects of the tasks to accomplish or goals to achieve, are important aspects of motivation. Second of all, there was a desire to a more situated approach of motivation instead of the macroperspective of L2 motivation which the social-psychological approach had adopted. Whereas the macroperspective of L2 motivation focused on the motivational disposition of whole communities, the microperspective was called for to explain how motivation operated in actual learning situations such as language classrooms. According to Dörnyei (2005: 74–76), despite this change in perspectives, the researchers generally accepted that Gardner and his associates' macroperspective still had its place in characterizing and comparing the motivational patterns of whole learning communities as a basis of which conclusion about intercultural communication and language contact, for example, could be drawn. It was, however, considered that the macroperspective had not much explanatory power in actual classroom situations

and therefore the focus moved on to the learners' immediate learning situation. As a result, many studies on the motivational impact of the main components of the classroom learning, such as the teacher, the curriculum, and learner group, were conducted during this period.

One of the new areas of research that utilized the new cognitive variables from mainstream motivational psychology during this period was self-determination theory in L2 learning (Dörnyei 2005: 76). Deci and Ryan's *self-determination theory* (1985) has been one of the most influential approaches in motivational psychology and especially Noels and her associates have attempted to adapt parts of it to the context of L2 motivation research (Dörnyei 2003: 7). In self-determination theory motivation is seen to consist of two types of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, which lie on a continuum of self-determination (Noels et al. 2003: 38). The *intrinsic motivation* refers to behaviour performed for its own sake; because it is enjoyable and satisfying (Dörnyei 2001a: 27; Noels et al. 2003: 38). *Extrinsic motivation*, on the other hand, refers to behaviour performed in order to achieve some instrumental end, such as receiving a reward (for example good grades) or avoiding punishment (Dörnyei 2001a: 27; Noels et al. 2003: 39).

Although extrinsic forms of motivation are more controlled than the self-determined intrinsic forms of motivation, extrinsic motivation does not necessarily mean that there is a lack of self-determination in the performance (Dörnyei 2001a: 28). In fact, different types of extrinsic motivation can be classified along a continuum on the basis of the extent to which the motivation is self-determined (Noels et al. 2003: 39). Vallerand (as quoted by Noels et al. 2003: 39) has distinguished three levels of extrinsic motivation. Firstly, the lowest level of self-determination can be found in *external regulation* which is defined as activities that are determined by external sources, such as benefits or costs. If this reason to learn no longer exists or is taken away, there is no reason to continue the engagement in the learning process. Secondly, a more self-determined type of extrinsic motivation is *introjected regulation*. It refers to reasons that have made the individual to perform an activity

due to some type of pressure that has been incorporated into the self. A pupil who engages in the L2 learning process because he or she would feel ashamed if he or she could not speak the L2 is one example of this type of introjected regulation. Thirdly, the most self-determined form of extrinsic motivation is *identified regulation*. It is characterized by an individual's investment of energy into an activity because he or she has personally significant reasons to do so. An example of this level of extrinsic motivation is a pupil who feels that fluency in L2 is an important aspect of his or her educational development and therefore engages him- or herself actively in oral exercises.

Noels and her associates have sought to establish the connections between the intrinsic/extrinsic levels of motivation established in motivational psychology and orientations developed in L2 research (Dörnyei 2001b: 47; Dörnyei 2005: 77). As a result of several empirical studies they have come to a conclusion that Gardner's integrative orientation discussed in section 2.1 correlates most with the more self-determined and intrinsic forms of motivation whereas instrumental orientation is highly associated with extrinsic external regulation (Dörnyei 2001a: 60; Dörnyei 2005: 77). Another issues of interest in the studies by Noels and her associates have been investigating how various classroom practices influence the learner's level of self-determination (Dörnyei 2005: 77). Their findings indicate that the more pupils see their teachers as controlling and as failing to provide instructive feedback, the less intrinsically they are motivated (Dörnyei 2005: 77).

In addition, Noels and her associates have developed a valid and reliable measuring instrument assessing the various components of self-determination theory in L2 learning, the Language Learning Orientations Scale: Intrinsic Motivation, Extrinsic Motivation, and Amotivation (Dörnyei 2005: 79). According to Dörnyei (2001a: 61), this scale developed by Noels and her associates together with the continuum of intrinsic and extrinsic forms of motivation, may be helpful in organizing language learning goals (in Gardner's terms orientations) which are a crucial component of motivation systematically. Moreover, the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic

forms of L2 motivation is well suitable in analyzing the classroom climate and the teacher in regard to how controlling they are and, on the other hand, how much they promote autonomy (Dörnyei 2001a: 61; Dörnyei 2001b: 47).

Another motivational theory that appeared in the cognitive-situated period was *Attribution Theory*. The theory links people's past experiences with their future achievement efforts by introducing causal attributions as the mediating link (Dörnyei 2005: 79). Attribution theory is thus concerned with the causes people attribute to the perceived successes and failures in their lives, they can, for example, see a failure as being due to a lack of effort, lack of ability or someone else's fault (Williams, Burden and Al-Baharna 2001: 172). How people process the past experiences of failure or success will affect an individual's actions in the future and result in different affective and emotional reactions (Dörnyei 2001a: 57; Williams et al. 2001: 172). Attributional processes are likely to have a significant role in the process of language learning as failure is such a prominent phenomenon worldwide (Dörnyei 2005: 79).

Research on *Task motivation* relates more closely to the second trend of the cognitive-situated period, namely the situated approach to L2 motivation. Tasks have been of interest in the field of SLA because by focusing on tasks, it is possible to break down the complex and long L2 learning process into smaller, discrete segments that are easier to define and thus also more researchable as units (Dörnyei 2003: 14). Julkunen (1989) was the first to address the significance of tasks in the field of L2 motivation (Dörnyei 2003: 15). According to him (2001: 33), different tasks affect motivation and learning in different ways and when the task characteristics are the focus of attention in motivation, we can speak about task motivation. A learner's attitudes and beliefs about factors such as control over the task, the perceived value of the task, and perceived competence for the task influence his or her motivation for and success at a particular task (Marzano 1991, as quoted by Julkunen 2001: 33). Identifying components of task motivation is pedagogically very useful as it allows curriculum designers and language teachers

to select and administer tasks that are motivating for the learners and thus increase their engagement in learning (Dörnyei 2001b: 48).

2.3 The process-oriented period

As a result of the more situated approach to L2 motivation discussed in the previous section, also another neglected area of motivation received attention, namely the dynamic character and temporal variation of motivation (Dörnyei 2003: 17). When motivation is examined in relation to specific learner behaviours and classroom processes, it is obvious that learners' motivation undergoes constant changes even within a single lesson, not to speak of longer periods of time such as a whole school year (Dörnyei 2001b: 45; Dörnyei 2003: 17). In order to explain these ups and down of motivation, that is, the on-going changes in motivation over time a process-oriented approach is needed (Dörnyei 2003: 17–18; Dörnyei 2005: 83).

In the L2 field, the most detailed process-oriented construct was developed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) (Dörnyei 2001b: 46). In their model, three different phases of the overall motivational process can be distinguished: preactional stage, actional stage, and postactional stage (Dörnyei 2001a: 85–92; Dörnyei 2003: 18–21; Dörnyei 2005: 84). In the *preactional stage* motivation is generated. Because the generated motivation results in the selection of the goal or task that an individual strives for, the motivation in this first stage can be named as *choice motivation*. In the second stage, that is, *actional stage* the motivation generated in the first stage is maintained and protected during the action. This motivation dimension can be referred to as *executive motivation* and it is important especially in learning a L2 and learning in the classroom context where a set of influences such as off-task thoughts, physical conditions, or distraction from others might distract learners. Finally, after the goal has been achieved or the task has been terminated, *postactional stage* takes place. During the postactional stage, learners process and evaluate their past experiences, which can be referred as *critical motivational*

retrospection. On the basis of this final stage, learners make decisions about what kind of activities will be motivating for them in the future.

According to Dörnyei (2003: 18), many of the controversies and disagreements in L2 motivation research result from not paying enough attention to the temporal aspect of motivation. As the key component of the process approach to L2 motivation is that learners are influenced by different motivational factors during the three stages of the overall process, instead of excluding each other, different motivation theories can be seen to be connected to different stages of the motivational behavioural process (Dörnyei 2003: 18–20). To sum up, a process-oriented approach to L2 motivation synthesizes a number of different lines of research by discussing both preactional choice motivation (i.e. the motives influencing selecting goals) and executive factors during the actional phase (i.e. motives affecting ongoing learning behaviours) within one framework (Dörnyei 2002, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001b: 46; Shoaib and Dörnyei 2004: 24)

2.4 From new approaches to alternative research methods

So far this chapter has attempted to illustrate the developments in the L2 motivation field beginning from Gardner and his associates' grounding work in the socio-psychological period and moving through the cognitive-situated period to the process-oriented period. The conceptualisation of L2 motivation by Gardner and his associates has added significantly to the knowledge of how and why pupils learn a L2 and still serves as solid base for constructing models and theories that have more explanatory power in the immediate learning situations of the learners (Oxford and Shearin 1994: 12). Therefore, the more recent and alternative approaches to L2 motivation have by no means attempted to discredit Gardner and his associates work but rather are complementary in their nature (Oxford and Shearin 1994: 13). All in all, the research in the field of L2 motivation has shifted focus from macroperspective to microperspective, that is, from the general motivational components to factors in the immediate learning environment, such as the classroom

environment (Dörnyei 2003). As a consequence, the approaches to L2 motivation that emerged during both the cognitive-situated period and the process-oriented period provided more educational implications than the studies conducted from the macroperspective during the socio-psychological period. The more situated approaches to L2 motivation are significant particularly in the systematic development of both motivational strategies that can be used to generate and maintain motivation in learners and in the formulation of self-motivating strategies that increase learners personal control of the affective conditions and experiences that shape their involvement in learning (Dörnyei 2003: 23).

The new approaches to L2 motivation have brought along also new approaches to research methodology. The traditional quantitative research methodologies such as the AMTB have been complemented by qualitative approaches (Dörnyei 2001b: 49). As a qualitative construct, motivation can be defined in terms of what “patterns of thinking and belief underlie such activity and shape students’ engagement in the learning process”, instead of seeing it as an observable and measurable activity as done in the quantitative tradition (Ushioda 2001: 96). Qualitative interpretive techniques such as in-depth interviews have been recently considered to offer in many respects a better way to approach the internal dynamics and the multilevel construct of learner motivation (Dörnyei 2001b: 49). Thus, the rich data yielded by qualitative methods may provide ‘new slants on old questions’ (Pintrich and Schunk 1996, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001b: 49).

One of the new areas of research that has been found to be highly connected to immediate learning environment is demotivation, the darker side of motivation. The next chapter will discuss this phenomenon in the light of empirical research findings.

3 DEMOTIVATION

Past motivation research has mainly concentrated on the positive motivational influences as seen in the previous chapter. A motive has been seen as a kind of inducement whose force ranges on a continuum from zero to strong (Dörnyei 2001a: 141). In addition to positive influences there are, however, negative effects that de-energise action (Dörnyei 2001a: 141). This darker side of motivation, that is demotivation, has been found to play a crucial role in the learning process but yet it has been neglected as a research topic until recently. As the literature on demotivation is relatively scarce, this chapter discusses the phenomenon mainly in the light of previous research findings. First, demotivation is defined and compared to the concept of amotivation. After that, previous studies on demotivation are reviewed in order to further illustrate the role of demotivation in L2 learning.

3.1 Defining demotivation and the related term amotivation

Demotivation as a concept is relatively new in the field of L2 motivation and therefore not many definitions can be found for it. Dörnyei (2001a) has, however, contributed significantly to increasing awareness of demotivation and has managed to shed light on the dark side of L2 motivation that has earlier been left with little attention. According to him (2001a: 143), *demotivation* refers to “specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention or an ongoing action”. However, not all researchers agree with this definition. Sakai and Kikuchi (2009: 58) refer to several studies where researchers have included also internal forces, such as a learner’s lack of self-confidence and negative attitudes of the learners in addition to external forces. They point out that in fact Dörnyei himself (2001a) has listed reduced self-confidence and negative attitude towards the foreign language as sources of demotivation. Thus, Sakai and Kikuchi feel the need to expand Dörnyei’s definition stated above to comprehend both internal and external factors that reduce or diminish the motivation to learn a L2.

Whether external or internal, reasons for demotivation are many. Dörnyei (2001a: 142) aims to form a portrait of a demotivated learner by giving hypothetical examples of learners who are demotivated. Firstly, a demotivated learner can be a learner whose study group was divided into two groups depending on the ability, and the learner was put among the 'slow' students. Secondly, a learner's motivation to learn French can diminish as result of not understanding what the teacher is talking about in class. Thirdly, a learner can feel demotivated because he has suffered an embarrassing experience of having to speak in front of the class. In short, according to Dörnyei, a demotivated learner is someone who once was motivated but for one reason or another has lost his or her commitment or interest in learning. These reasons for losing interest can be called *demotives* which are the negative counterparts of *motives*, and whereas motives increase action tendency, demotives de-energize it (Dörnyei 2001a: 142).

All types of negative influences cannot, however, be categorized as demotives. Dörnyei (2001a: 142–143) gives three types of negative influences that in his opinion would not be labelled as demotivation. Firstly, powerful distractions, such as watching TV instead of doing one's homework, are not demotives because they do not carry a negative value in the same way as demotives. Distractions like these do not reduce the actual motivation but as more attractive options distract the action. Secondly, the gradual loss of interest in a long-lasting, ongoing activity cannot be seen as a demotive because it does not result from a particular incident. Thirdly, sudden recognitions of the costs of an activity, for example, realizing that how demanding it is to attend an evening course while working during the day, cannot be labelled as demotives because these types of recognitions do not have any specific external trigger but result from internal processes of deliberation.

Moreover, it is important to make a distinction between the states of 'diminished motivation' and 'total loss of motivation', that is to say demotivation and amotivation respectively. Dörnyei (2001a: 143) emphasizes that demotivation does not by all means entail that all the positive influences that in the beginning made up

the motivation basis have been lost. According to him (2001a: 143), demotives rather function as resultant forces de-energizing the action but some other positive motives may still be active in a learner's learning process. For instance, someone who has partly lost his interest in learning English because the English teacher does not treat the learners fairly, may still consider learning English important because it is the lingua franca in today's world.

Amotivation, by contrast, refers to lack of motivation resulting from realizing that there is no point (Dörnyei 2001a: 143). Amotivation was introduced by Deci and Ryan (1985) as a constituent of their self-determination theory and they (1985, as explained by Dörnyei 2001a: 144) define it as "the relative absence of motivation that is not caused by a lack of initial interest but rather by the individual's experiencing feelings of incompetence and helplessness when faced with the activity". According to a review by Vallerand (1997: 282), four major types of amotivation can be found. Firstly, amotivation can result from a capacity-ability belief, meaning that the learners think that they do not have the ability to perform an action. Secondly, amotivation can result from strategy beliefs amotivation, meaning learners' perceptions that the strategies used do not bring the desired outcomes. The third type of amotivation, capacity-effort belief, refers to amotivation due to beliefs that the behaviour is too demanding and requires too much effort. Lastly, the fourth type of amotivation, a helplessness belief, results from a general perception that learners' efforts are inconsequential considering the enormity of the task to be accomplished. To sum up the difference between these two related terms, demotivation is related to specific external forces whereas amotivation refers to general outcome expectations that are unrealistic for one reason or another (Dörnyei 2001a: 143).

Now that the term demotivation has been defined and it has been compared to amotivation, the focus will shift to the previous studies on demotivation. As the literature on demotivation is scarce, previous studies are discussed somewhat in detail as they assist in forming a more precise picture of demotivation. First, studies

by Chambers (1993), Ushioda (1996), Oxford (1998), and Dörnyei (1998) are reviewed. Following this, more recent studies devoted fully to demotivation are discussed, finally reviewing a study on demotivation in learning English in Finland.

3.2 A study on demotives by Chambers

Gary Chambers was one of the first ones to address the issue of demotivation in the field of SLA. Before him, demotivation had been examined as its own right mainly in the field of instructional communication (see Gorham and Christophel 1992). In order to find out what goes on in the heads of the pupils who are not interested in learning English, Chambers (1993) conducted a study where he collected data from 191 year nine pupils in Leeds by means of a questionnaire. Besides the pupils, seven teachers filled out the questionnaire. The pupils' task was to respond to 14 questions on a four-point scale and they were also given a chance to give reasons for their answers. In addition, two open questions were included in the questionnaire.

From the teachers' point of view, demotivation was found to be a prominent problem. One of the seven teachers considered demotivation a very serious problem, two saw it as quite a serious issue and four teachers as giving some grounds for concern. Furthermore, it was easy for the teachers to identify the typical characteristics of a demotivated pupil. Demotivated pupils were described, for instance, having poor concentration, lacking belief in their own capabilities and making no effort to learn. In addition, they tend to be disruptive, distract other pupils, and fail to bring materials to lessons. As the causes of demotivation the teachers saw a variety of reasons including psychological, attitudinal, social, historical, and geographical reasons, yet not mentioning themselves as possible sources of demotivation.

Chambers (1993) was pleased to find out that even though the teachers had identified a number of demotivated pupils in the group under investigation, the vast majority of the 191 pupils found language learning as very important or quite

important. Language learning as an experience was not, however, seen as particularly enjoyable. Only about 10 % felt any kind of pleasure, about half of the pupils did not mind language learning and the rest 40 % either did not enjoy it or loathed it. Percentages like these can, however, result from the fact that the pupils were in an age when it is not cool to show enthusiasm for anything. Various reasons for not enjoying language learning were given in the pupils' responses. *Teachers* were criticized, for instance, for using out-dated teaching materials, not giving clear enough instructions, and criticising pupils. Some pupils stressed the importance of proper *class-size* in creating positive language learning experiences. The class-size referred to both number of students in a class and the actual classroom where the lessons were held. It was mentioned, for example, that one cannot learn the language because the group is too big and in addition, the need for a bigger room and for two teachers were expressed. No far-reaching conclusions could be drawn from the data. Chambers (1993) concludes that the data on what pupils like most or least in language learning offer nothing conclusive. According to him (1993:14), "what one pupil likes, the next pupil detests".

The study by Chambers (1993) did not offer clear explanations for how language learning experiences actually affect the pupils' opinions of language learning. The feelings about language learning had been affected mainly by three factors: attitudes brought to the language classroom from home, previous language learning experiences and the teacher. A firm conclusion was, however, that a significant number of the pupils who were demotivated seemed to possess a very low self-esteem. There were also pupils who began their language learning already demotivated. This was because they did not see the point in learning because everybody should learn English.

Although no broader conclusions can be drawn from the study by Chambers (1993), it was the first study in the field of SLA devoted fully to demotivation. The researcher concludes that he started off with his investigation to satisfy his curiosity but as a result, he found himself far from feeling satisfied:

...I find that I am dealing not with a molehill but rather a mountain. There are so many aspects to the problem of motivation that I have not even started to do it justice. I have made a barely perceivable scratch on the surface. (Chambers 1993: 16)

3.3 Factors negatively affecting L2 motivation identified by Ushioda

Ushioda (1996, as quoted by Ushioda 2001) conducted a small-scale empirical study on L2 learning motivation which aimed at exploring learners' own working conceptions of their motivation and their thinking in relation to specific kinds of motivational experiences and changes in motivation over time. Investigating the factors that negatively affect L2 motivation was one part of her study.

The study was conducted among 20 university-level learners of French at Trinity College Dublin in Ireland and it consisted of two phases. In the first phase (in 1991) the aim was to explore the participants' own working conceptions of the factors that motivated them to learn French and therefore a very loosely structured interview technique was chosen to elicit data. The intention was not to introduce motivational concepts such as goals, aims, and attitudes to the participants, which could influence their responses, that is, what they said and in which order. The interviews were thus mainly dictated by the subjects' own personal conceptions of language learning motivation and factors affecting it, and only occasionally the participants were prompted by the researcher.

A detailed content analysis was applied to the data collected in the first phase of the study. The most salient or important motivational factors were identified, resting on the assumption that the participants would mention the most important factors in the early stages of the interviews. Identified dimensions were further processed and as a result eight descriptive dimensions emerged: academic interest, language-related enjoyment/liking, desired levels of L2 competence, personal goals, positive learning history, personal satisfaction, feelings about French-speaking countries or people, and external pressures/incentives. Of these eight dimensions language related

enjoyment/liking and positive learning history were emphasized the most in the participants' individual motivational profiles. Personal goals and desired levels of L2 competence ranked next.

In addition to finding out the different motivational dimensions and their order of importance, correlations between motivational dimensions and prior school achievement were measured in the study. A positive correlation was found between positive learning history and participants' post-primary French grade. Also perceptions of L2 ability were positively associated with the learning achievement. A negative correlation was found between French grade average and personal goals. All in all the findings indicated that those with very positive language learning experiences usually emphasized intrinsic motivational factors that related to perceptions of L2 ability and the desire to achieve a high level of competence. Those with the less positive language learning experience, on the other hand, tended to define their motivation mainly in terms of particular personal goals and incentives. Accordingly, the less successful learners could not, however, be classified as having less motivation but they rather expressed their motivation in a qualitatively different way.

In the second phase of the study (in 1993) a more structured interview type was used because the aim was to investigate the participants' thinking in relation to specific kinds of motivational experience and evolution over time. Although fairly structured, the interviews were in the form of open-ended questions in order to encourage the participants to describe events from their own point of view. The interviews focused on four aspects of motivation as a dynamic phenomenon: motivational evolution over time, motivational perspectives on L2 development over time, factors negatively affecting L2 motivation, and motivational strategies. Responses to the open-ended questions covering these themes were summarized in note form and then the noted features for all the subjects were compared and commonly underlying patterns were traced.

According to Ushioda (1996, as reported in Ushioda 2001), the participants' explained motivational evolution over time in two ways: resulting either from global changes (i.e. changes in the overall strength of motivation) or from qualitative changes. All of the global changes in motivation resulted from a particular language-learning or language-related experience and there were experiences with both positive and negative influences. In some cases motivation had grown as a consequence of coursework and exams, through personal relationship with a L2 speaker, as a result of experiencing less anxiety over L2 grammar or because of L2 improvement after a summer spent in France. Dissatisfaction with coursework had in its part weakened the motivation of some participants. The direction of motivational change was usually predictable in a sense that stronger motivation resulted from positive L2 experience or outcomes and vice versa.

Also many of the qualitative developments in motivational evolution were directly related to L2 learning or a L2 related experience. These qualitative developments fell under three different categories: qualitative developments such as development of intrinsic motivation through a positive L2 experience in France, overriding short-term incentives such as high motivation from immediate exam pressure, and clearer definition of L2 related personal goals such as entering teaching profession. In addition, some of the qualitative developments were also related to two other factors which were not within the L2 learning and L2 related context: other priorities now affecting L2 motivation and personal crises which had an effect on L2 motivation. These individual experiences such as development of stronger motivation for other subjects or temporary loss of motivation during a period of depression competed for attention and priority within the learner's overall hierarchy of personal needs and motives.

The second special kind of motivational experience emphasized in the follow-up interviews of Ushioda (1996, as reported in Ushioda 2001) was motivational perspectives on the L2 development over time discussing issues such as

motivational importance of doing well in the L2, criteria for evaluating success or development in the L2, and attributed causes of the L2 success or development. The analysis indicated that those participants who had emphasised the importance of positive learning history considered motivationally important to do well in the language. They, for example, gained personal satisfaction from doing well or on the other hand felt ashamed if not succeeding or progressing in their studies. As criteria for evaluating the L2 success or development, mainly academic evaluative criteria (e.g. exam performance) were identified although also the L2 intrinsic criteria (e.g. level of fluency) were mentioned. In contrast, those participants who did not consider doing well in the L2 to be motivationally important focused on incentives (e.g. spending the following academic year in France) rather than on past experiences and performances. This way they were able to sustain their engagement in learning, although they had been unsuccessful in learning the L2 (all had failed their summer examinations in French and had to do therefore supplemental examinations). The attributed causes that the participants gave for their the L2 success or development were mainly internal, such as personal abilities, hard work, or interest in the L2 or related to personal experiences or circumstances, such as time spent in France or having a French girlfriend. External attributes, such as good teachers, were fewer and less prominent.

Of the four foci in the follow-up interviews in the study, the third one, factors negatively affecting L2 motivation, is the most interesting focus considering the present study. Whereas success and development in L2 was mainly explained by internal attributions as seen above, demotivating experiences were overwhelmingly predominated by external factors associated with the learning environment. Except for one internal attribute that only one participant mentioned, namely the pressure of setting too high standards for oneself, all the other factors that had a negative influence on L2 motivation seemed to derive from the institutionalized language learning experience. Demotivating factors related to the concrete learning environment fell under three categories. Firstly, *L2 classes with native speakers* were said to have a demotivating effect because the atmosphere was too casual,

there were too many classes, or the number of students in the class was too big. Further reasons for demotivation resulting from the L2 classes specifically were jokes that alienated the teacher, classes experienced as boring waste of time listening to artificial prepared speeches, and difficulty in speaking on uninteresting topics in a contrived atmosphere. Secondly, demotivation derived from issues related to *L2 coursework or methods* used in class. Here, for example, dull teaching methods in a particular grammar class, emphasis on learning facts and figures in a particular course, a gap between coursework studied and exam questions, and limited opportunities for student interaction in some tutorials were mentioned among several other demotivating factors. Thirdly, *institutional policies and attitudes* were critically evaluated, including critical remarks on, for example, lack of individual attention with too many students, lack of oral L2 use or practice, and too many lectures in English rather than the L2.

Finally, motivational strategies were the fourth focus of the interviews in the second phase of the study. It was found that a belief in a personal capacity to generate one's own motivating experiences was a major feature of the participants' effective motivational thinking. In this fourth and final open-ended question the participants came up with numerous ways in which they tried to enhance their motivation in the case of negative experiences or setbacks. The first strategy category focused on incentives or pressures. Incentives included thinking about a reward of spending year in France depending on the exam success and looking forward to a summer trip to the US after exams. Pressures derived from exams coming up, dread of failure, deadlines, and dread of guilt of wasting parents' money. The second strategy was to focus on L2 study by psyching oneself up to get work done well before deadlines, setting oneself a L2 task to achieve, keeping active through regular written work, and trying to study for a few hours. The third strategy included ways to seek temporary relief from L2 study, such as taking a break from L2 study, having regular outside interests to provide other motivation, and trying to talk to a L2 speaker. The fourth and last strategy was talking over motivational problems which

meant talking to other students about feelings, reminding oneself of reasons for L2 study, or encouraging oneself.

3.4 Investigation of L2 demotivation by Oxford

Oxford (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a: 146–147) conducted a study which aimed to get information specifically on demotivating factors by applying content analysis on essays written by approximately 250 American students. The students included both high school students and university students and they were asked to write about their learning experiences over a period of five years. Prompts such as ‘Describe a situation in which you experienced conflict with a teacher’ and ‘Talk about a classroom in which you felt uncomfortable’ were used.

Four broad themes emerged through content analysis from the data. The first one of these was the *teacher’s personal relationship with the students*, including factors, such as lack of caring, hypercriticism, and patronage or favouritism. The *teacher’s attitude towards the course or the material* made up the second theme. This included factors, such as lack of enthusiasm, sloppy management, and close-mindedness. The third theme consisted of *style conflicts between teachers and students*, including multiple style conflicts about the amount of structure or detail, and conflicts about the degree of closure or ‘seriousness’ of the class. *The nature of the classroom activities* made up the fourth theme and issues, such as irrelevance, overload, and repetitiveness were touched upon.

3.5 Demotivating factors identified by Dörnyei

The study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a: 150–155) differed from the studies presented above in the sense that it concentrated specifically on pupils who had been identified as being demotivated. Like Ushioda, also Dörnyei chose to follow a qualitative approach because his study was exploratory in its nature.

The data was collected by means of structured interviews which lasted from 20 to 30 minutes. Although the interviews were rather structured, no fixed structure was set for the questions and the participants were allowed as much free speech as they wanted. A total of 50 secondary school pupils studying either English or German as a foreign language in Budapest were interviewed and all of them had been identified by their teachers or peers as being particularly demotivated. The analysis of the data followed a stepwise theme-based processing procedure in which the first step was to mark all the salient demotivating factors mentioned by the students on the basis of which common themes were established. Then, the most important demotivating factors were identified for each student, followed by their tabulation according to the main categories established earlier. Dörnyei assumed that some negative elements were only reflections of already existing demotivation and therefore only the primary demotives were tabulated.

As a result of this processing procedure, nine categories of demotives emerged from the data collected by Dörnyei. These nine negative influences were mentioned by at least two students as the main sources of their demotivation. Similarly to the previous studies, *teacher* was found to be the most salient source of demotivation, accounting for 40% of the total frequency of occurrences. Issues such as a teacher's personality, commitment to teaching, attention paid to students, competence, teaching method, style, and rapport with students were raised in relation to teacher. The second most salient demotive with 15 % of the occurrences was *learner's reduced self-confidence* which mainly resulted from specific classroom events within the teacher's control (for example, perception of too strict marking). Thus, also reduced self-confidence was related to teacher, although indirectly. These two most salient categories, the teacher and learner's reduced self-confidence, accounted for more than half of all the demotivating factors mentioned. Two further factors were found to be significant sources for demotivation: *inadequate school facilities* and *negative attitudes towards the L2*. Their proportions were more than 10 per cent of the occurrences. Inadequate school facilities included factors such as a group being too big or not of the right level, and frequent changes of teachers. Negative

attitude towards the L2 for its part meant that a learner disliked the way the language sounds and/or operates.

In addition to these four most salient demotives mentioned, there were other, less frequent but still influential demotivating factors. Some students found that *the compulsory nature of the L2 studies* had a demotivating effect and for some *interference of another foreign language being studied* lowered motivation. It was mentioned, for example, that problems in learning German resulted from having learnt English first and English was in general considered a more important language to learn. In the case of some students *negative attitudes towards the L2 community* made the learning experience less pleasant, as was the cases with one student who did not find American culture attractive and had no need to travel to the United States. Further two demotives related more closely to the classroom environment were found: *attitudes of group members* (for example, laughing at others) and the *course book*.

3.6 Overcoming demotivation

Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) conducted a study on demotivation among Vietnamese students. Like the studies presented above, they also focused on finding out demotives and their degree of influence. The third of their foci, student's experiences in overcoming demotivation was, however, a topic that the previous studies had not examined. Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) wanted to fill this gap and set finding out the long-term effects of various demotives as one of their goals of the study. In addition, they were particularly interested in whether the special status of English as an international language affected student demotivation. As the previous studies had included a mixture of English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) students and students studying a language other than English, investigating only students of English offered possibilities to make comparisons of the influence of the status of English.

A stimulated recall methodology was used to collect retrospective data. A group of 100 second-year EFL students from the University of Economics in central Vietnam were asked to recall their English learning experiences, look back on the whole learning process and write a three part essay based on their retrospection. The first part of the essay concentrated on the existence of demotivation and its sources, the second part dealt with students' experiences of overcoming and coping with demotivation, and the third part was aimed to find out the students' views of how demotivation can be minimized effectively.

The results of the study indicated that demotivation was a significant issue in EFL learning. Of the 100 participants, 88 identified themselves as having felt demotivated and having experienced demotivation more than once. It was found, however, that even though demotivation was a salient phenomenon, the students seemed to accept its existence and it was often experienced as a temporary state. As the source of demotivation, 48 factors were recognized. These demotives were grouped under 14 categories and classified either as internal attributions or external attributions.

External attribution accounted for 64 % of the total number of demotivation encounters. External attributions consisted of three subcategories: teacher-related factors, the learning environment, and other external factors. Like in the other previous studies reviewed, *teacher-related factors* was found to be the main source for demotivation in this study, accounting for 38 % of all demotives. The teacher-related factors included issues relating to teacher's behaviour, his or her competence, teaching method, and grading and assessment. *Learning environment*, accounting for 21 % of the total number of demotivating encounters, included classroom atmosphere, opportunities to use English, learning conditions, class time, and textbook. The remaining 5 % included *other external factors*, meaning issues related to obligation and negative changes in students' courses.

Internal attributions, that is student-related demotives, were not as prominent as external factors but they were still influential in the experiences of the participants. Students' *experience of failure or lack of success* was found to be the most prevalent internal factor and in most cases it resulted from decline in the background knowledge of English. The second most common internal demotive was students' *negative attitudes towards the English language* and the third category related to students' *self-esteem*.

In regard to overcoming demotivation, no category was found to be more difficult to overcome. The students had both internal and external reasons for overcoming demotivation and of these, internal factors were found to have greater influence on students, accounting for 82 % of the total amount of reasons. Out of the internal reasons, the students' awareness of the role of English and their determination to succeed appeared to be by far the most effective tools in overcoming demotivation. Thus, the results indicate that the special status of English as an international language is a crucial factor in motivating students and helping them to recover their motivation. External factors assisting in overcoming demotivation included positive changes in teacher behaviour, teaching method, learning conditions, and external encouragement. All in all, Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) concluded that the more reasons students mentioned as helping them to recover their motivation, the more possibilities they have to completely overcome demotivation.

3.7 An analysis of demotives in the EFL classroom by Sakai and Kikuchi

Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) explored Japanese high school students' demotivation by collecting data from 656 students through a 35-item questionnaire. In addition to identifying demotivating factors in English class for Japanese senior high school students, they wanted to examine the differences in terms of factors between less motivated and more motivated learners. In previous studies researchers had focused only either on demotivated learners or more motivated learners and the differences between these groups had not been compared.

The questionnaire consisted of 35 5-point Likert type questions about demotivation and they were designed to measure six constructs derived from previous studies: teachers, characteristics of classes, experiences of failure, class environment, class materials, and lack of interest. A principal axis factor analysis as applied to the data and as a result, five demotivational factors emerged from the data although the questionnaire was based on a six-factor model. These five demotivational factors found were *learning contents and materials*, *teacher's competence and teaching styles*, *inadequate school facilities*, *lack of intrinsic motivation*, and *test scores*. Thus, the hypothesized characteristics of classes and learning materials were in the end loaded as one factor, learning contents and materials but all the other factors were similar to what it was expected when the questionnaire was formed on the basis of previous studies.

Contrary to most of the previous studies presented so far, factors related to teacher were not found to have very strong demotivating influence compared to learning contents and materials or test scores which were found to be the two most salient demotives among participants. In addition, lack of intrinsic motivation was found to be as salient as a teacher's competence and teaching styles which suggests that internal forces have to also be taken into account when discussing demotivation. Inadequate school facilities were not found as demotivating although it was mentioned by some participants. As an answer to their second research question concerning differences in demotivating factors between less motivated and more motivated learners, Sakai and Kikuchi found statistically significant differences for three factors: learning contents and materials, lack of intrinsic motivation, and test scores. Participants with almost no motivation or with a little motivation found these three factors more demotivating than the participants with moderate or high motivation. Especially lack of intrinsic motivation was more salient among less motivated learners.

3.8 Demotivation in learning English in Finland

Muhonen (2004) conducted a study on factors that discouraged pupils from learning the English language using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The study had four areas of focus: finding out demotivating factors, frequency and importance of the factors emerging, the differences in demotivating factors among boys and girls, and the relationship between demotivation and achievement

The data for the study was collected by means of a retrospective writing task in which the pupils were asked to describe in their own words the issues that had had a negative influence on their motivation to learn English and explain in what way these demotives had affected their motivation. In addition, it was emphasized in the instructions that the pupils would write about the negative influences in the order of importance. A total of 91 ninth-grade pupils in a comprehensive school in Jyväskylä completed the writing task, of which 86 tasks were subjected both to qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

On the basis of qualitative content analysis several demotives emerged from the data. These demotives fell under five main themes. Again, as discovered in most of the previous studies reviewed earlier, the *teacher* was found to be the most important demotivating factor. In addition, negative aspects related to the teacher were described in more detail than in any other theme. The negative aspects of the teacher fell under three subcategories: teaching methods, lack of competence, and personality. The second theme in the order of importance was *learning material* and especially the text and exercise books were criticized for having boring contents or exercises. The third theme covered demotivating factors that lied within the learners themselves and they were labelled under the common heading *learner characteristics*. These learner characteristics were found to reflect in motivation in two ways. Firstly, lowered confidence in pupil's language skills and lack of skills were said to have a demotivating effect as the pupils were left behind in the class. By contrast, good language skills had made it difficult to keep up the interest in

learning English because learning had become too easy and unvaried. In addition, failing in an exam had had a demotivating effect in some cases and in that way contributed to the learner characteristics. The fourth theme, *school environment*, included three types of problems. Firstly, some pupils were displeased with the scheduling of English classes. They were often held in the afternoon and the pupils found it difficult to concentrate on learning languages at that time of the day. Also the changes in the teachers were considered demotivating including cases where a good teacher had been replaced by a not so good one and when teaching had suffered from having a substitute teacher instead of the regular teacher. In addition, issues related to the classroom, such as the temperature, were mentioned under the theme school environment. The fifth and the last theme emerging from the data was *learner's attitudes towards the English language*. Not very clear explanations were given by the pupils for why the English language was not found an interesting subject to learn. Instead, it was simply stated that English was a stupid language, there was no point in learning it, or it had never been an interesting subject to learn.

No significant differences between boys and girls were found in the study. There were, however, some differences between these groups in regard to the themes teacher and the learning material. The boys attributed demotivation more often to the teacher than the girls. Learning material, on the other hand, was found to be a more salient demotive among the girls, being twice as frequent among them as among the boys. Comparing demotivating factors and English grades revealed that the average grade of those pupils who considered the English language as demotivating was significantly lower than of those pupils whose demotivation resulted from the teacher or the learning material.

3.9 Summary of the previous studies on demotivation

The previous studies presented above all confirm the prominence of the problem of demotivation in language learning. However, as all of the studies have been introductory in their nature, making any far-reaching conclusions of the results is

impossible. Moreover, comparing the results of the different studies (the importance of particular demotives) is difficult because all researchers have categorised different demotives in their own way as a result of which many of the categories overlap. In addition, whereas some researchers have talked about only external sources of demotivation, others have taken also the internal attributes into account. What can be said, however, is that the teacher seems to be the main source of demotivation in most cases, as it has been found to be the most salient attribute in all of the studies except for the study conducted in the Japanese context by Sakai and Kikuchi (2009).

Despite the differences in conceptualising and categorisation of demotives, the previous studies have managed to illustrate the range of possible demotives and each of the studies have increased our understanding of demotivation. The study by Chambers (1993) opened the research agenda in the field of L2 learning although no far-reaching conclusions could be drawn from his results. The study by Ushioda (1996), for its part, indicated that demotivation can be best understood when looking backward although investigating demotivation was only one part of a larger study on L2 motivation. Further, despite the fact that Oxford (1998) prompted mainly comments about teachers when collecting data, it was a study that concentrated specifically on demotivation and thus increased the knowledge of the variety and nature of demotives. Moreover, Dörnyei (1998) was the first one to concentrate specifically on pupils who had been identified as being demotivated and he also emphasised the importance of identifying the primary demotives for each learner. Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) contributed to increasing information on demotivation by adding the aspect of overcoming demotivation. The study by Sakai and Kikuchi offered statistical information on the already recognised demotives but these predetermined categories might have limited the responses and what is more, their study did not offer any descriptive information on different demotives. The study by Muhonen is valuable because it is the only study conducted on L2 demotivation in the Finnish context.

All in all, the previous studies discussed in this chapter illustrate that demotivation in learning a L2 is a matter of concern worldwide. Therefore, much more information is needed on the nature of the phenomenon. The present study aims at increasing our understanding on demotivation by investigating the phenomenon in the realities and experiences of immigrant pupils in the ninth grade of comprehensive school. Before explaining the research design of the present study, however, immigrant pupils in basic education are discussed.

4 IMMIGRANT PUPILS IN BASIC EDUCATION

During the past decades Finland has evolved from a country of emigration to a country of immigration as the number of immigrants has significantly grown since the early 1990s (Vartia et al. 2007: 16). As the Finnish society has become more multicultural, also the number of immigrant pupils in our schools has increased and teachers are facing new cultures and challenges (Talib, Löfström and Meri 2004: 13). This chapter examines the teaching of immigrant pupils in basic education. The chapter begins by discussing the immigration situation in Finland and changes in the number of immigrant pupils in basic education. The focus will then move on to examining the teaching arrangements of immigrant pupils in basic education. Areas such as goals and regulations for immigrant education, support measures for immigrant pupils, and learning results of immigrant pupils are covered. The last section of this chapter reviews the previous studies on immigrant pupils as learners of foreign languages.

4.1 Immigration in Finland

The term *immigrant* is used as an umbrella term for all persons that have immigrated to a country with an intention to stay there permanently (Matinheikki-Kokko 1999: 32). It can refer to a number of different kinds of groups: refugees, emigrants, remigrants and other foreigners and, in some cases, asylum seekers as

well (Immigrant education in Finland n.d.). Most of the immigrants are *foreigners*, that is, persons that have nationality of some other country than Finland or do not have a nationality of any country (Peltonen 1998: 7; Talib et al. 2004: 20). Immigrants can be divided into two groups on the basis of the reason for immigration: those who have been forced to leave their home country and those who have left free willingly (Mikkola and Heino 1997: 5). Thus, refugees belong to the first group and remigrants and emigrants to the second group. A further division can be done between first generation and second generation immigrants. Often the country that a person was born in is used as a deciding factor meaning that a person who was born in his or her new home country but at least one of whose parents was born abroad is classified as second generation immigrant (Liebkind 1994: 10). Sometimes also persons that were born abroad but have come to their new home country already in their early childhood are considered second generation immigrants (Liebkind 1994: 10–11). All in all, immigrants form an extremely heterogeneous group in regard to the diversity of cultures, reasons for immigration, and the length of stay in the new home country. However, common to all immigrant groups apart from remigrants is that they form new ethnical minorities in their new home country (Liebkind 1994: 10; Mikkola and Heino 1997: 5).

Although immigration in Finland is a fairly recent phenomenon, the number of immigrants has grown rapidly during the past two decades. In 1987 there were only 18 000 immigrants in Finland of which over 50 % were from Western-Europe and 900 of them were refugees (Jaakkola 2000: 28). In 1993 the number of immigrants in Finland had tripled and the number of refugees was ten times as much as in the late 1980s (Jaakkola 2000: 28). Immigrants were now coming from different ethnical and social backgrounds as the proportion of Eastern European, Asian, and African immigrants grew (Jaakkola 2000: 28). Since the 1990s the increase in the number of immigrants has further accelerated. By 2008 the number of immigrants in Finland was five times as much as in 1990. Although the percentual proportion of immigrants continues to remain relatively low compared to many Central-European or Nordic countries, in Finland the percentual increase in the number of immigrants

in the 1990s was faster (Nissilä 2008: 15; Ruusunen 1998: 6). The rapid change in the number of immigrants is illustrated in Figure 2.

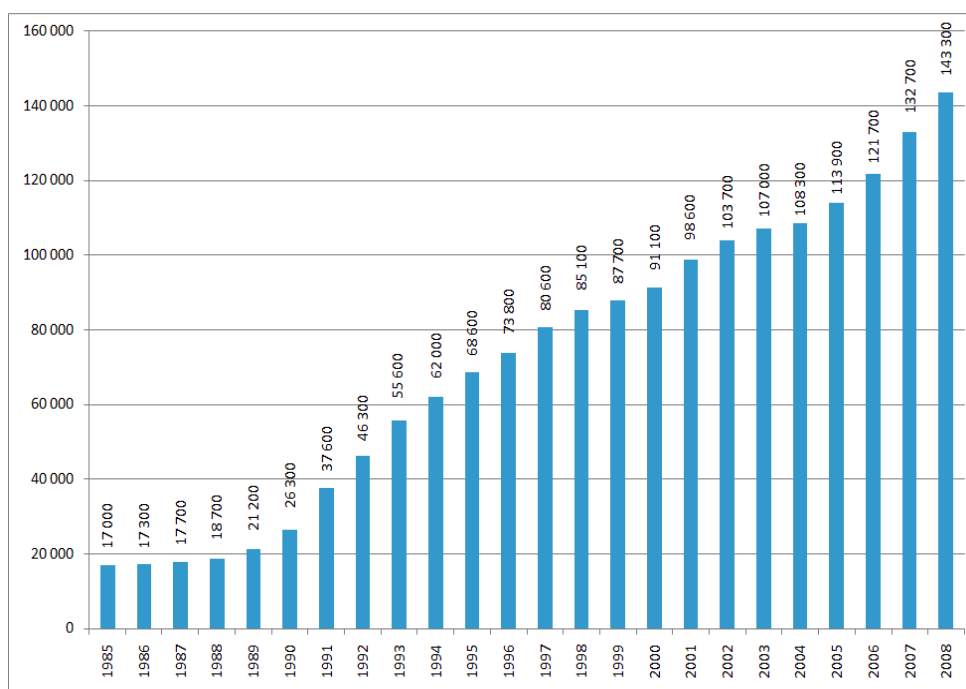


Figure 2. Immigrants in Finland 1985-2008. (Tilastokeskus 2009a)

At the moment approximately 143 200 immigrants live in Finland constituting 2.7 % of the population (Tilastokeskus 2009b). The largest nationality and language groups are found in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. The largest foreign nationality groups in Finland in 2008 (Tilastokeskus 2009c)

Nationality	Number of persons
Russia	26 909
Estonia	22 604
Sweden	8 439
Somalia	4 919
China	4 620
Thailand	3 932
Germany	3 502
Turkey	3 429
Iraq	3 238
Great Britain	3 213
India	2 736
Serbia and Montenegro	2 637
Iran	2 508
United States	2 282
Total number of foreigners	143 256

Table 2. The largest foreign language groups in Finland in 2008 (Tilastokeskus 2009d)

Language	Speakers
Russian	48 740
Estonian	22 357
English	11 344
Somalia	10 647
Arabic	8 806
Chinese	6 458
Kurdish	6 455
Albanian	6 308
German	5 096
Vietnamese	4 977
Turkish	4 669
Thai	4 519
Persian	4 222
Spanish	3 968
French	2 713

The numbers in Table 1 include only those persons residing in Finland who have not been granted Finnish citizenship. Thus, it is important to remember that there is also number of people who were born abroad but have Finnish citizenship already. In the end of 2008, of all of the persons with Finnish citizenship (5 183 058) over 90 000 were born abroad (Tilastokeskus 2009b). As will be seen in the next section, the definition of immigrant pupils does not take into account the citizenship of the pupils and therefore the term encompasses a larger and even more diverse group of people than the term *immigrant*.

4.2 Immigrant pupils in basic education

According to the national core curriculum for basic education (2004: 34, later referred as NCC), *immigrant pupils* are defined as children and young people who have immigrated to, or been born in, Finland, and have immigrant background. Thus, the definition of immigrant pupils is broader than the definition of the term immigrant discussed earlier as also those pupils who have Finnish citizenship and were born in Finland but whose parents have an immigrant background are accounted as immigrant pupils. This broader definition is more useful in the sense that the pupil's mother tongue informs the schools more about the need for support measures than the pupil's nationality as those pupils who have already been granted the Finnish citizenship still need additional support due to their immigrant background and mother tongue (Halmetoja 2009)

The number of immigrant pupils in our schools tripled in the 1990s. In 1992 there were only 4 945 immigrant pupils attending basic education whereas in 2002 their number was already 15 105 (FNBE 2004a: 3). In 2007, 18 647 immigrant pupils at the ages of 6–15 were taking part in basic education and their number still continues to grow (Tilastokeskus 2008). The development in the number of immigrant pupils during the recent years is further illustrated in Figure 3 by Nissilä (2008: 16).

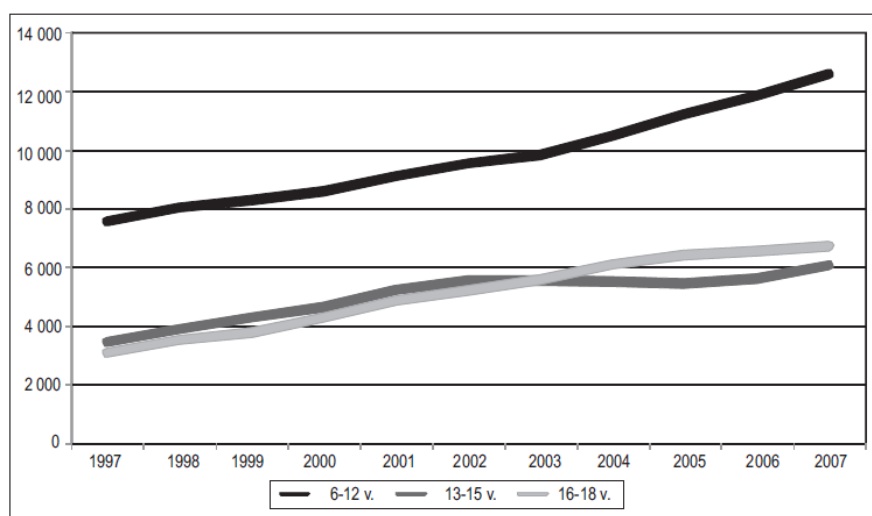


Figure 3. Children between the ages 6 –12, 13 –15 and 16–18 with some other mother tongue Finnish in 1997 – 2007. Asylum seekers are not included in the numbers. (Nissilä 2008: 16)

Almost half (44%) of the immigrants in Finland live in the Helsinki metropolitan area and 29 % in Helsinki (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Vesala 2002: 19). Therefore, also the number of immigrant pupils is the greatest in the Helsinki metropolitan area. According to Helsingin Sanomat (5 Feb 2008), at present approximately 11 % of the pupils in comprehensive schools in Helsinki have a foreign background whereas seven years ago their proportion was only 6 %. Immigrant pupils are not, however, distributed evenly between different schools. According to Vuori (as quoted in Helsingin Sanomat 5 Feb 2008), there are already a couple of comprehensive schools in Helsinki where one third of the pupils speak some other languages than Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue but there are also schools with practically no immigrant pupils. Vuori further predicts that in 2015, there will be schools in Helsinki in which over 50 % of the pupils have an immigrant background. In 2020 nearly one in four school children in Helsinki will come from immigrant families according to the estimates presented in Helsingin Sanomat (5 Feb 2008). Of the different language groups, the speakers of Somali and other Central African languages have been estimated to increase most and also the number of speakers of Kurdish is growing although their proportion is still relatively small.

Despite the fact that the majority of immigrant pupils are attending comprehensive schools in the Helsinki metropolitan area, immigrant pupils can be found in almost all of the municipalities (Ikonen 2005: 7; Peltonen 1998: 7). All in all approximately 3 % of the pupils in basic education have an immigrant background (FNBE 2004a). In Jyväskylä, where the present study was conducted, approximately 5 % of the 7 300 comprehensive school pupils have an immigrant background (Tervetuloa Jyväskylään 2007). The situation in Jyväskylä well illustrates the heterogeneity of immigrant pupils. In the group of approximately 400 hundred immigrant pupils there are 36 different nationalities and 30 different languages and in addition, these pupils have vary varied backgrounds in regard to reason for immigration and previous experience of formal learning (Tervetuloa Jyväskylään 2007). Thus, instead of forming a homogenous group, immigrant pupils form many different groups making the planning and implementation of teaching even more challenging for teachers.

4.3 Education of immigrant pupils in basic education

The Basic Education Act guarantees the right to free basic education for everyone including foreigners who reside legally in Finland (Ekholm, Mikkonen and Martiskainen 2008: 25). In addition, the Basic Education Act defines compulsory basic education which is provided free of charge (Ekholm et al. 2008: 25). Compulsory education begins in the year that a child turns seven and continues until basic education syllabus is completed or 10 years have passed from the beginning of compulsory education (Immigrant education in Finland n.d.) Thus, immigrants of compulsory school age (7–17) who are permanent residents of Finland are entitled to the same free basic education as Finnish pupils (Nissilä 2008: 18).

The same legal regulations related to education (Basic Education Act 628/1998, Basic Education Decree 852/1998) apply to immigrant pupils as well as all other pupils (FNBE 2004a: 3). In addition, there are certain regulations in legislations that specify the teaching of immigrant pupils and pupils with some other mother tongue

than Finnish or Swedish (FNBE 2004a: 3). These regulations are concerned with preparatory teaching for basic education, tuition in the mother tongue, and assessment of immigrant pupils (FNBE 2004a: 3). More specifically the teaching of immigrant pupils is governed by the NCC for basic education (FNBE 2004a: 3). Before discussing the regulations stated in the NCC, preparatory teaching for immigrant children is examined.

4.3.1 Preparatory teaching

One of the support measures for immigrant pupils is preparatory teaching. It is offered to immigrant children in the comprehensive school age in order to prepare them for integration into comprehensive school (Ekholm et al. 2008: 38). The aim of this preparatory tuition is to support the balanced development of the pupils and their integration into the Finnish society, as well as to give the necessary skills to attend comprehensive school education (FNBE 2004b; Nissilä 2008: 20). In preparatory teaching an individual learning plan is formulated for each pupil as there is no national curriculum to follow (Ikonen 2005: 13). The different ages, learning abilities and learning histories of the pupils are taken into account in teaching (Nissilä 2008: 20). Naturally the emphasis is on Finnish as a second language instruction but the pupils also receive tuition in other subjects according to their individual learning plans (Ikonen 2005: 13). During preparatory teaching, immigrant pupils are integrated into general education groups when appropriate (Nissilä 2008: 20). Integration into general education groups facilitates immigrant children's integration to the surrounding society, development of social language skills, and acquisition of course contents in different school subjects (FNBE 2004a: 4). According to a survey by the FNBE (2004a: 11), in most cases pupils were integrated into general education in arts, crafts and physical education because these subjects do not require such a good command of Finnish. It was also found common to integrate immigrant pupils into general education in mathematics and in English.

According to the Basic Education Act, immigrant pupils between the ages 6–10 are given at least 450 hours of preparatory teaching and pupils older than that receive at least 500 hours of preparatory teaching (Ekholm et al. 2008: 39; Ikonen 2005: 14). Usually after one year of preparatory teaching, an appropriate school level is determined for each child individually (Ekholm et al. 2008: 39). The decision on the school level is not only based on the biological age but more importantly, the previous schooling and knowledge of the pupil are taken into account (Ekholm et al. 2008: 39).

4.3.2 Support measures for immigrant pupils in general education

All teaching in basic education is governed by the NCC for basic education set by the FNBE. Municipality- or school-specific curricula are formulated following the guidelines of the national core curriculum and national legislation (Ekholm et al. 2008: 26). Several sections of the national core curriculum discuss the teaching of immigrant pupils.

Already in the basic values for basic education stated in section 2.1 of the NCC (2004: 12), multiculturalism in schools is taken into account. The underlying values of basic education are human rights, equality, democracy, natural diversity, preservation of environmental viability, and the endorsement of multiculturalism. Finnish culture is stated as the foundation for teaching but it is also mentioned that diversification of Finnish culture as a result of immigrants from different cultures is taken into account in teaching. It is further stated that teaching supports the formation of pupils' cultural identities and their participation in both the Finnish society and globalizing world. This is said to promote also tolerance and intercultural understanding.

Chapter 6 of the NCC for basic education (2004: 31–34) is concerned with the teaching of different language and cultural groups and section 6.4 discusses specifically immigrant pupils. According to the NCC (2004: 34), the NCC is applied

to immigrant pupils taking into consideration their backgrounds and starting points, such as mother tongue, culture, reason for immigration, and length of stay in Finland. It is in addition stated that the teaching of immigrants has also special objectives in basic education. Teaching has to support immigrant pupils' growth in becoming an active and balanced member of both Finland's and his or her own linguistic and cultural community. Achieving this goal requires that immigrant pupils achieve functional bilingualism. Therefore in both basic education and upper secondary education immigrant pupils learn Finnish or Swedish as a second language and they are also entitled to instruction in their mother tongue if it is possible to organize it.

Section 7.3 of the NCC (2004: 44–116) defines and describes the different possibilities for completing the syllabus of the subject 'mother tongue and literature'. Immigrant pupils learn Finnish or Swedish as a second language if their language skills in one of these languages are not on a par with that of native speakers in all areas of language proficiency (NCC 2004: 34). The aim of second language instruction is that by the end of basic education, pupils have achieved as good language skills in Finnish as possible in all language skills, are fully able to study all the subject taught in basic education, and have the potential to continue educating themselves after basic education (NCC 2004: 95). Approximately 75 % of immigrant pupils receive instruction in Finnish as a second language (Nissilä 2008: 23). The majority of the 25 % of the immigrant pupils who learn Finnish as a mother tongue attend these lessons because their language skills are already very good or at least they are coping in the lessons (Nissilä 2008: 23). Sometimes, however, immigrant pupils have no other option than to attend Finnish as a mother tongue classes as Finnish as a second language instruction is not organized due to lack of resources (Nissilä 2008: 23).

Mother tongue instruction for immigrants is supplementary teaching in basic education and it is not governed by the Basic Education Act (NCC 2004: 303; Nissilä 2008: 24). Thus municipalities are not obliged to organize instruction in different mother tongues of the immigrant pupils and the recommendations for

teaching mother tongue for immigrant pupils stated in appendix 5 of the NCC only provide guidelines (Ekholm et al. 2008: 41). Although organizing mother tongue instruction for immigrant pupils is not compulsory, almost the same number of pupils attend classes of their mother tongue than classes of Finnish or Swedish as a second language (Nissilä 2008: 24). Sometimes schools are not able to organize mother tongue teaching for all immigrant pupils due to the small number of pupils (the required group size is 4 pupils) or difficulties in finding a teacher (Ekholm et al. 2008: 41; Nissilä 2008: 24). Mother tongue instruction is of major importance as knowledge of the mother tongue is required for learning other languages and together with Finnish or Swedish as a second language, instruction in the pupil's mother tongue strengthens his or her identity and builds the foundation for multiculturalism and functional bilingualism (Ekholm et al. 2008: 41; NCC 2004: 303; Nissilä 2008: 24).

In addition to Finnish or Swedish as a second language and mother tongue, immigrant pupils in general learn the same subjects as everyone else (Ikonen 2005: 18). In order to ensure immigrant pupils learning abilities equivalent to those of non-immigrant pupils, remedial instruction in different school subjects is organized according to the needs and resources of schools (Ekholm et al. 2008: 42; NCC 2004: 34). In remedial instruction either Finnish or Swedish or the pupil's mother tongue is used as the medium of instruction (Immigrant education in Finland n.d.). Many of the immigrant pupils need remedial instruction in order to complete the basic education syllabus as their situation is very different compared to others in general education (Ikonen 2005: 18–19). The situation is especially challenging for those who have come to Finland at an age in which they begin school in Finland in the upper grades (7–9) of comprehensive school (Ikonen 2005: 18). At the same time that these pupils are only learning Finnish, they should be able to learn other subjects through Finnish and progress at the same pace with their peers (Ikonen 2005: 18).

If the objectives for learning are not achievable regardless of remedial instruction, differentiation in instruction, and other support measures, individual syllabus in one

or several subjects is drafted for the pupil (Ikonen 2005: 19). Immigrant background or poor language skills of the pupil are not, however, sufficient reasons for individualizing the syllabus (Ikonen 2005: 19). In general immigrant pupils are not given exemption from different school subjects even though release especially from arts, crafts and physical education due to religious beliefs or culture is often discussed (Ikonen 2005: 19). Cogent reasons are needed in order to release a pupil from learning a subject and therefore immigrant pupils are not, for example, automatically released from studying Swedish as a second language before completing the syllabus is perceived as excessive (Ikonen 2005: 19).

The assessment of immigrant pupils is regulated in section 8.1 of the NCC (2004: 260–263). Pupil's background and gradually improving skill in Finnish or Swedish are taken into account when assessing immigrant pupils in different school subjects. Diversified and flexible assessment methods adapted to pupil's situation are used thus giving the pupil the possibility to demonstrate his or her performance despite possible deficiencies in Finnish or Swedish language skills. Except for final assessment, the assessment of immigrant pupils can be even verbal throughout basic education if necessary.

4.3.3 Learning outcomes and attitude towards education of immigrant pupils

In order to increase information on teaching arrangements of immigrant pupils and their education in general, the FNBE has in recent years published studies that have focused on Finnish or Swedish as a second language, mother tongue teaching for immigrant pupils, and teaching immigrant pupils who have come to Finland in the upper grades of comprehensive school (Rönneberg 2008: 33). The most recent study by FNBE (2008) discusses broadly the learning results and attitudes of immigrant pupils in comprehensive school age by using a variety of data collected during the years 2001–2007.

The study by FNBE (2008) was based on several evaluations of learning results from years 2001–2007. 5th graders were assessed in environment and nature studies, 6th graders in mathematics, and 9th graders in mathematics and in mother tongue and literature. In addition, other evaluations such as international assessment of English skills and assessment of Swedish learning results were used as data. All in all examination and comparison of different data indicated that immigrant pupils' learning results were on average weaker than those of Finnish speaking pupils. There were, however, also immigrant pupils who performed very well in school. Differences between genders were quite clear - except for physical education, immigrant girls were found to perform better in all subjects compared to immigrant boys (Karppinen 2008: 154). In regard to language learning, some immigrant groups were found to outdo Finnish pupils. Second generation immigrants had better average grades in A1 and A2 languages and immigrants coming from EU countries had better average grade in B1 language compared to Finnish pupils (Karppinen 2008:144).

As immigrant pupils are graded on somewhat different grounds than Finnish pupils, the differences between immigrant pupils and Finnish pupils were found to be greater in learning results than in grades (Kuusela and Etelälahti 2008; Puustinen 2008). The grading of immigrant pupils follows the instructions given in the NCC for basic education but as a result, immigrant pupils continue to upper secondary education with weaker basic knowledge than Finnish pupils although the differences in grades are not that significant (Kuusela and Etelälahti 2008; Puustinen 2008) In the worst case, higher grades can lead to unrealistic decisions when choosing from the different options for upper secondary education but at its best the grades given help pupils to achieve the desired education place (Kuusela and Etelälahti 2008: 128). The results of the study by the FNBE showed that general upper secondary education is more popular among all immigrant groups than vocational education and training. Completing the upper secondary school syllabus is, however, demanding for many immigrant pupils as they have, as discussed above, weaker basic knowledge than Finnish pupils and have therefore also unrealistic expectations

(Kuusela 2008, as quoted by Puustinen 2008). Although learning results of immigrant pupils were not found to be as good as those of Finnish pupils, their attitudes towards school and learning turned out to be more positive. The difference between these groups was emphasized when attitudes were compared to learning results. Especially those immigrant pupils who performed poorly had a clearly more positive attitude towards school than corresponding Finnish pupils.

Although the immigrant pupils' attitudes towards education were found to be more positive, they were at a greater risk dropping out of education after completing the basic education syllabus. Whereas 5.5 % of the original population did not apply to, get in, or dropped out of upper secondary education, the corresponding proportion among first generation immigrants from non-EU countries was 15.5 % (Kuusela et al. 2008: 12). According to Kuusela et al. (2008: 12), results like these on the one hand indicate that basic education has not been able to offer the necessary support for immigrant pupils, and on the other hand, the results predict accumulation of problems.

4.4 Previous studies on immigrant pupils and foreign language learning

In addition to nationwide surveys by the FNBE, several small-scale studies with a narrower focus have aimed at increasing knowledge of immigrant pupils in the Finnish education system. The majority of these studies have examined school adaptation of immigrant pupils (see e.g. Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004; Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti and Solheim 2004) and the focus has usually been on immigrant pupils in the lower grades (1–6) of comprehensive school (see e.g. Honkala and Laitinen 2006; Kosonen 1994; Mikkola and Heino 1997; Tervo 2007). A number of the studies on immigrant pupils have been conducted from the point of view of class teachers (see e.g. Jauhiainen and Luostarinen 2004; Leducq 2006) and especially teachers' competence in multicultural education has been of interest (see e.g. Määttä 2008; Soilamo 2008).

Of the studies that have focused on some specific school subject, those on immigrant pupils as learners of Finnish as a second language are by far most common. This is understandable as Finnish skills play such a crucial role both in their school adaptation and integration into the Finnish society. The studies on other subjects than Finnish as a second language are scarce, although the recent increase in studies in subjects such as physical education (see e.g. Medjadji 2007; Taavitsainen and Virolainen 2006) and music (see e.g. Havila 2001; Vuorela 2000) indicate the need for more studies that examine immigrant pupils as learners of different school subjects and take also the point of view of subject teachers into consideration. The focus will now move on to examining the few studies that have been conducted on immigrant pupils as learners of EFL. Some of these studies were not directly concerned with immigrant pupils as learners of EFL and thus only the results that are relevant in terms of the present study are reviewed in this context.

In Sweden, Balke-Aurell and Lindblad (1983) conducted a study on immigrant pupils' learning of English as a third language. The aim of the study was to investigate the command of English of immigrant pupils in grade 8 in comprehensive school. A total of 2 736 pupils completed a standardized test in English and in addition to the test results, sex, grades in English and Swedish, parental background, pupils' other languages and time of immigration were used as data. It was found that the immigrant pupils test results and grades in English were almost without exception equivalent of those of the whole pupil population. Those immigrant pupils who had taken a more advanced course in English tended to have higher test results than the corresponding pupil population. Thus, immigrant pupils did not seem to have any special difficulties in learning English. It has to be noted, however, that as the pupils attending other than regular instruction in English were not included in the study, the results applied only to those immigrant pupils who had been in Sweden for a long period of time and therefore took part in regular instruction in English. The results also indicated that the factors which make immigrant pupils heterogeneous as a group also had an effect in the assessed grades and standardized tests. These factors included the mother tongue, time of arrival in

Sweden, languages spoken at home, teaching in mother tongue, and differences in parental education. Balke-Aurell and Lindblad (1983: 136) conclude that when assessing immigrant pupils' command of English, the levels of proficiency in the first two languages are important and therefore the proficiency in English should be looked at in relation to the other languages.

In a study by Salo (2008) on immigrant pupils and multilingualism, also immigrant pupils' attitudes towards learning English were touched upon. The aim of the study was to investigate how the participants had become multilingual, what kind of language repertoire they had and how they utilized the different languages in their repertoire. The experiences of multilingualism and beliefs about languages were also examined. The participants consisted of three immigrants (1 male and 2 female) between the ages of 20 and 23. The data collected was multimodal as self-portraits drawn by the participants were used in addition to semi-structured interviews. Also background information forms, observation, and keeping a research diary were used to gather as rich data as possible.

The participants of the study by Salo (2008) all agreed that English is an important language and they valued it because of its status as an international language. Some of them even rated English as more important than their mother tongue and believed that of all of the languages in their language repertoires, they will capitalize their resources in Finnish and English the most in the future. Although attitudes towards the English language in general were very positive, the participants were not completely happy with their English learning experiences. Two of the participants expressed that English lessons at school were not enough in order to achieve good enough language skills and languages in general were easier to learn in social situations outside of school. They felt that they did not have enough chances to actually use the language in real contexts.

Liiti and Saarinen (2007) conducted a study on immigrant pupils as learners of Swedish learners but discussed also both demotivation and immigrant pupils as

learners of English to some extent. The aim of the study was to explore how immigrant pupils experienced learning of Swedish, what kind of attitudes they had towards Swedish and what factors influenced their motivation to study Swedish. The data consisted of 11 semi-structured interviews with immigrant pupils attending the grades 7–9 of a comprehensive school in Jyväskylä. It was found that immigrant pupils had positive attitudes towards language learning in general and considered the learning of languages important because language skills were needed in the future. Swedish as a second language was regarded as a subject among others and its position as a compulsory subject was not questioned by the participants. Learning Swedish was considered a positive or neutral experience but opinions about teachers were highly emotional, often also negatively very loaded. Some of the participants felt that a teacher had favoured pupils of Finnish origins and they as immigrant pupils had been discriminated. It was, for example, explained that the teacher had blamed immigrant pupils for disturbing behaviour in class and he or she had not given any positive feedback to the pupils. This finding of the teacher as a demotivating factor is consistent with the findings reported in chapter 3 as also in studies on demotivation in EFL, the teacher was often found to be the most salient demotive. The results of the study conducted by Liiti and Saarinen (2007) also indicated that of all the languages learned at school, English was the favourite of immigrant pupils. Knowing English was regarded as important because it was needed in the future and it was spoken all over the world. In addition, many of the participants mentioned that also their parents encouraged them to learn English and as a language it was seen more important than, for example, Swedish.

A study by Suomela (2001) focused specifically on teaching EFL to immigrant pupils in comprehensive school. A total of 32 teachers of English in Helsinki filled in a questionnaire that consisted of two parts. In the first part the teachers were asked to react to statements given on a 5-point Likert scale and in the second part they were given open questions answers to which were analyzed qualitatively. The participants generally agreed that when Finnish students and immigrant students were compared as learners of English, immigrant pupils did have more difficulties

in learning English but these problems were directly related to how well the students knew Finnish. Thus, the key to success in learning English in the Finnish school system is to have a good command of Finnish. The teachers' attitudes towards immigrant pupils in their English lessons were very positive and although they admitted that teaching immigrant pupils was sometimes challenging, they praised the immigrant students for motivation and effort. They did, however, feel that teacher education did not take immigrants very well into account and wished for more theoretical training in multiculturalism.

On the basis of the previous studies presented above it seems that learning English does not pose serious problems for immigrant pupils compared to Finnish pupils. The results of the studies by the FNBE (2008) and Balke-Aurell and Lindblad (1983) both indicated that immigrant pupils were on a par with other pupils in English and some of the immigrant groups even outdid their peers. According to the studies by Suomela (2001) and Balke-Aurell and Lindblad (1983), the success of immigrant pupils in EFL depends first and foremost on their knowledge of the second language. All in all the results of the previous studies are encouraging as the results show that immigrant pupils in general have a positive attitude towards the English language and learning. As studies on immigrant pupils and learning EFL are, however, this scarce, more information is much needed. The focus will now move on to presenting the research design of the present study which for its part aims to give more insights into immigrant pupils' experiences on learning EFL.

5 RESEARCH DESIGN

Now that the theoretical framework for the present study and the previous studies on both demotivation and immigrant pupils have been examined, the focus will move on to reporting the present study. In this chapter, the research design of the present study is outlined. First, motivation for the present study and the research questions are presented after which the semi-structured interview as a data collection method is discussed. Next, the participants of the present study and

conducting the semi-structured interviews are described. Finally, the procedure of data processing is explained in detail.

5.1 Motivating the study and research questions

As discussed in Chapter 4, the number of immigrant pupils in our schools has increased remarkably during the past decade. Taking account the changes in the number of immigrant pupils in our schools, it is likely that many English teachers face the challenges of teaching immigrant pupils during their career. This development does not yet, however, manifest itself in the research in the field of teaching and learning EFL. As reviewed in Chapter 4, the majority of studies on immigrant pupils have been conducted either on the field of learning Finnish as a second language or from the point of view of class teachers especially focusing on the school adaption of immigrant pupils. Studies on immigrant pupils in different school subjects after the lower grades (1–6) of comprehensive school are scarce and the study by Suomela (2001, see section 4.4) on immigrant pupils as learners of English in the upper grades (7–9) of comprehensive school examines the phenomenon from the teacher's point of view. Thus, the goal of the present study is to provide much needed information on English learning experiences of immigrant pupils by means that emphasize the voices of these pupils.

The present study addresses also another novel area of research as it approaches English learning experiences of immigrant pupils from the point of view of demotivation. As is evident from Chapter 3, demotivation is a salient phenomenon among L2 learners but despite its importance in language learning, only a few studies have been conducted on the topic. It has been suggested that demotivation can in fact have a greater effect on the learners' learning experience than the initial positive motivational basis and therefore the present study, too, takes demotivation as its focus instead of the positive side of motivation. Identifying and understanding the causes of demotivation can offer practical implications through which the

English learning experiences of the learners can be improved. Therefore, more information on the variety and nature of demotives is much needed.

The goal of this study is to identify by qualitative means factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupil's motivation to learn EFL. It seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the external factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupils' motivation to learn English?
- 2) What are the internal factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupils' motivation to learn English?
- 3) What factors help immigrant pupils to overcome their demotivation?

In the present study demotivation is seen to consist of both external and internal factors like in the studies by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) and Sakai and Kikuchi (2008). Although the other previous studies do not make such a clear distinction between the external and internal factors as the scholars mentioned do, they discuss factors such as negative attitudes and a learner's reduced self-confidence when reporting the results. These demotives can be classified as internal factors and although the variety and influence of external demotives has been found to be greater in the previous studies, also internal demotives seem to de-energize the learning experience in many cases. The present study aims to explore the range and nature of both external and internal demotives and thus offer an understanding of what discourages immigrant pupils in learning English as a L2. The aim of the third research question is to examine the long-term influences of demotives correspondingly to the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007). Examining the long-term influences of demotives is expected to give insights into how serious and permanent a problem demotivation is among immigrant pupils.

5.2 Data and data collection

The previous studies on demotivation reviewed in Chapter 3 have explored the phenomenon by both quantitative and qualitative means, although the majority of the previous studies have adopted a qualitative research approach or alternatively combined these two. In the present study, the qualitative research approach was chosen as both demotivation and immigrant pupils as learners of English are relatively new areas of research. Qualitative research employs an inductive research strategy instead of testing existing theory (Merriam 1998: 7). Therefore, qualitative methods are often chosen because there is a lack of theory, or existing theory fails to adequately explain a phenomenon (Merriam 1998: 7). In the present study, no hypothesis could be drawn to guide the present study due to a lack of theory on demotivation and the small number of previous studies and therefore the quantitative research approach was not regarded as an appropriate research approach. On the contrary, it was considered important that predetermined categories of analysis, which are typical of quantitative methods, would not be imposed on the participants during the interviews or to the collected data in the analysis phase. In addition to the inductive research strategy, the qualitative research approach was seen to meet the aims of the present study also because it emphasizes the participants' perspective. In qualitative research the main focus is on understanding the phenomenon of interest from perspectives of the participants, often referred as the 'emic', or insider's perspective (Merriam 1998: 6). Giving the voice to the immigrant pupils was one of the goals of the present study as most of the previous studies on immigrant pupils have been conducted from the teacher's point of view as discussed earlier.

5.2.1 The semi-structured interview as a data collection method

From the possible qualitative data collection methods, interviewing was chosen as the most suitable way of collecting data as the present study aimed at yielding in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences, thoughts, and feelings

concerning demotivation. Interviewing allows us to enter into the participant's perspective, revealing feelings, thoughts, and intension that are not directly observable (Patton 2002: 341). As interviews are personalized and the interviewer is in a direct linguistic interaction with the participants, they permit a level of in-depth information-gathering, free response, and flexibility that are not achievable by other data-collection methods (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 34; Hirsjärvi, Remes and Sajavaara 1997: 204; Seliger and Shohamy 1989: 166). In addition to these benefits of interviewing, interviewing was chosen as the data collection method also because the Finnish language skills of the participants were not known in advance. The written language could possibly cause language barriers for some of the participants as the writing skills develop slower than oral skills among immigrant pupils who learn Finnish as a second language (Suni 1996, as quoted by Lumme 1999: 39). In contrast to data collection methods which utilise writing skills, in a face-to-face interview it is possible for both the interviewer and the interviewee to ask clarifying questions and negotiate meanings together and therefore misunderstandings and other language difficulties can be minimized. Thus, for example, a retrospective writing task, such as a life story, was not considered a feasible data collection method in the present study although it has been effective in collecting rich, in-depth information on demotivation in some of the previous studies (Muhonen 2004; Oxford 1998; Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. 2007, see Chapter 3) and would have enabled a larger group of participants.

Interviews vary in their degree of structure and explicitness, ranging thus from very open interviews to very structured ones (Seliger and Shohamy 1989: 167). Of the different interview types, the semi-structured interview, which is the most commonly used interview type in Applied Linguistics, was seen to best suit the aims of the present study (Dörnyei 2007: 136). It offers a compromise between the structured interview and the unstructured interview but definitions for the semi-structured interview are many. According to both Eskola and Suoranta (1998: 87) and Gillham (2005: 70), in the semi-structured interview, questions are the same for everyone but the direction or character of the responses is open and the interviewees

are encouraged to answer in their own words. According to Fielding (1993, as quoted by Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 47), the formulation of questions is the same for everyone but the interviewee can change the order of the questions. Dörnyei (2007: 136) defines the semi-structured interview more loosely by stating that in the semi-structured interview a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts guide the interview but the format is open-ended and that participants are encouraged to elaborate on the issues discussed. Although all of the definitions emphasize somewhat different aspects of the semi-structured interview, common to all of these definitions is that some aspects of the interview are decided beforehand whereas other aspects remain open (Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2000: 47). In the present study, Merriam's (1998: 74) definition of the semi-structured interview was adopted, according to which the semi-structured interview is mainly guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, but the exact wording or the order of the questions is not determined beforehand.

Flexibility was considered the main benefit of the semi-structured interview as the previous research on demotivation and immigrant pupils as learners of English is scarce. According to Merriam (1998: 74), the semi-structured format makes it possible to react to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the participants and to the new ideas on the phenomenon that they introduce. In a more structured interview, tight formulation and order of the questions and ready-made response categories might limit the depth and breadth of the participants' stories (Dörnyei 2007: 136).

Following the above discussed characteristics of the semi-structured interview, the interview schedule (see Appendix 1) was planned during spring 2009. In developing an effective interview schedule, three different sources are used to develop a set of questions or themes to be discussed: researcher's intuition on the phenomenon of interest, previous research and literature on the topic, and theories on the phenomenon under investigation (Eskola and Vastamäki 2007: 34). In the present study, the themes and questions for the interview schedule were mainly derived by

looking at the previous research but also by intuition to some extent. The third option, adapting a theoretical concept to a form that could be measured was not possible as there is currently no theory or model of demotivation as discussed in chapter 3. The previous research on demotivation did, however, help in gaining a good enough overview of the phenomenon in order to develop broad questions on the topic, thus enabling the semi-structured format in the interviews (Dörnyei 2007: 136). The preliminary interview schedule received peer feedback, on the basis of which the themes and questions in the interview schedule were re-considered and somewhat modified in order to increase the effectiveness of the interview schedule. Before actual interviews, the interview schedule was piloted as a result of which, some guiding questions were added to it. The contents of the interview schedule will be explained in more detail in section 5.2.3 in which conducting the interviews is described. Before that, however, the participants of the present study are introduced.

5.2.2 Participants

In contrast to quantitative studies, in qualitative studies the focus is usually in depth on relatively small number of participants, which are selected purposefully (Patton 2002: 230). In the present study the sample group was purposefully restricted to immigrant pupils attending the ninth grade of the comprehensive school. This criterion was set for two reasons. First of all, from the point of view of an English teacher, comprehensive school is the most probable place to face the immigrant pupils as all children between the ages 7–17 permanently residing in Finland are subject to compulsory education. After basic education pupils go into different directions to continue their studies in secondary education and it can be assumed that, for example, immigrant pupils in general upper secondary education are a selected group in regard to their level of motivation. The second reason to limit the sample group to pupils attending the ninth grade was that it was expected that of all pupils in the comprehensive school, pupils in the ninth grade would have most experience of learning of English and therefore would have also most likely to have

experienced demotivation at least to some degree. Other requirements were not set for the participants as in the case of immigrant pupils it is anyhow impossible to get an entirely homogenous group with respect to the participants' background factors, such as age, years studied English or years attended in the Finnish education system.

The participants of the present study consisted of seven ninth grade immigrant pupils with various backgrounds. The participants included two female and five male learners of English. All of participants attended the 9th grade of the comprehensive school in a school in Jyväskylä at the time of the interviews but the age of the participants varied from 14 to 17 years. All of the participants were of Middle Eastern origin. Four of the participants were originally from Afghanistan and three participants were from Kurdistan in Iran. As after the Russians, Afghans and Iranians form the biggest immigrant groups in Jyväskylä, the participants can be considered to represent typical immigrant pupils in Jyväskylä (Halmetoja 2009). Most of the participants had come to Finland in the beginning of the 21st century but two of them had arrived already in the mid 1990s. The length of stay in Finland varied from approximately 3 years to 13 years and therefore both the years studied in the Finnish education system and the years studied English differed. Some of the participants had studied English already from the third grade when it is normally started whereas one of the participants had studied English only for one year. None of them had studied English before starting school in Finland except for one participant. He had come to Finland only three and a half years ago and thus had studied English for two years in his home country. It was common to all participants that all studying of English had taken place in the formal language learning environment in the comprehensive school. In order to assure the anonymity of the participants, the participants of the study are not described in more detail and from now on, they are coded as P1–P7.

The participants were contacted with the help of their English teachers. All the teachers were contacted through e-mail and the purpose of the study and the

required sample group was explained to them. When the permission to conduct the present study in this school had been received from the headmaster, the potential interviewees were met face-to-face in the beginning of their English lessons and the purpose and the design of the study was explained to them. All of the willing participants were given a permission sheet to be signed by one of their parents as all of them were under aged (see Appendix 2).

5.2.3 Conducting the interviews

The semi-structured interviews were conducted during May 2009. The interviews took place in the participants' school in empty classrooms during lessons. The language used was Finnish, the participants' second language, as it was expected that they would be able to express themselves well in Finnish if they could do it orally and were given enough time. In the beginning of the interviews the purpose of the study and the nature of the interview were once again explained to the participants as it is ethical to inform the participants what the interview deals with (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 73). In the present study, it was made clear to the participants that the main interest in the interviews was in the negative experiences in learning English. This was made in order to ensure that the participants would feel comfortable about sharing both positive and negative experiences that they had had during their career as learners of English. For the same reason, the anonymity of the participants was as well emphasized before beginning the interview.

In order to activate a wide range of English learning experiences in the participants' minds, a warm-up task adapted from Kalaja and Dufva (2005: 18–19) was given to the participants in the beginning of the interview (see Appendix 3). In the warm-up task the participants were asked to think back their path as learners of English beginning from the moment that they had had their first contact with English and continuing until the present. On the path they were asked to mark the three most positive and three most negative experiences if possible. After this, the same procedure was done in regard to learning of Swedish. Although the instructions of

the warm-up task also include also other languages besides English and Swedish, only the paths of these two languages were drawn. The warm-up task proved to be an effective way to activate the participants' memories of learning of English as already in this stage they began naturally share their positive and negative experiences. Therefore, with the help of the prompts, the discussion moved naturally on from the warm-up task to deal with the themes in the interview schedule.

The interview schedule consisted of the following five broad themes (see Appendix 1 for more detail):

- 1) Participants' background
- 2) Learning English at school and attitudes towards the language and its learning
- 3) Typical English lesson
- 4) Factors that have a negative impact on learning English, that is demotives
- 5) Overcoming demotivation and satisfaction with own language skills

As it often is a good idea to start the interview with relatively neutral, descriptive information which lays the ground for questions that focus on the participants' perceptions and emotions, these five main themes were sequenced so that the more general and neutral themes came first and later on the focus was narrowed specifically to demotives (Merriam 1998: 82). This order of the themes also gave the participants first the freedom and possibility to introduce important demotives without imposing any ready-made categories of demotives. Theme 4, factors that have a negative impact on learning English, focused specifically on demotives and was discussed with all of the participants towards the end of the interview to make sure that the focus would specifically stay in demotives.

The interview schedule ensured that roughly the same topics were discussed with all of the participants. The questions in the interview schedule were, however, only guiding in their nature following Merriam's (1998: 74) definition of the semi-

structured interview explained earlier in section 5.2.1. In order to emphasize the voices of the participants, all of the interviews were mainly steered by the participants, allowing them to introduce new themes or topics to be discussed. This was considered important because it was difficult to know in advance what kind of demotivating factors the participants would elicit and consider important due to the small number of previous studies.

The warm-up task included, the interviews lasted 32 minutes on average, ranging from 44 minutes to 26 minutes in length. The interviews were tape-recorded and afterwards transcribed. The transcription conventions are described in Appendix 4 with illustrative extracts from the data. The next section will describe the procedure of data processing after the data had been transcribed.

5.3 Data processing: content analysis

The aim of analyzing qualitative data is to increase its information value by creating explicit and meaningful information from its fragmented nature (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 138). In order to achieve this, qualitative data is condensed by usually identifying recurring patterns, such as categories, factors, variables, and themes, which cut through the data (Merriam 1998: 12). The explicitness of the data attained through analysis makes it possible to draw clear and reliable conclusions of the phenomenon under investigation (Hämäläinen 1987, as quoted by Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 108). In the present study qualitative content analysis was applied to the data in order to reveal the underlying patterns in it.

Content analysis originates from a quantitative analytical method of examining written text in which words, phrases or grammatical structures are counted and put into categories but recently it has become closely associated with qualitative research (Dörnyei 2007: 245). In general terms, “...*content analysis* is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings”

(Patton 2002: 453). Stated like this, content analysis is considered a broad theoretical framework which can be connected to different sets of analytical entities and therefore it can be said that most of the different analytical methods in qualitative research are on one way or another based on content analysis (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 91). Content analysis can, however, be considered also a separate method in which documents, such as articles, diaries, interviews, and dialogues, are analyzed systematically and objectively (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103). The aim of this method is to create a verbal, condensed and explicit description of the phenomenon under investigation and thus quantification of the data is not considered a possible method of analysis (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 103–108). Although the aim is to rearrange data into condensed and explicit form, at the same time no information content is lost (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 108).

In the American tradition of qualitative research a distinction is made between inductive and deductive content analysis (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 107). In short, *inductive* analysis involves discovering patterns, themes, and categories in one's data, allowing them to emerge out of the data through the interaction between the data and the analyst (Patton 2002: 453). In *deductive* analysis, on the contrary, the data is analyzed according to an existing framework on the basis of which categories are usually predetermined and then 'forced' to the data (Dörnyei 2007: 245; Patton 2002: 453). A more fine-tuned description of the different approaches to combining theory and previous knowledge in qualitative analysis is offered by Eskola (2007). He makes a distinction between data-driven, theory-driven and theory-bound analysis. The first two approaches, that is data-driven and theory-driven approaches, are comparable with the distinction between inductive and deductive approaches respectively, although these concepts are not entirely congruent with each other. The third approach, theory-bound analysis, lies between the other two and in it some connections to the theoretical background are made during the analysis but the analysis does not directly arise from a theory or base on a theory (Eskola 2007: 162). To clarify this, the analytical units emerge from the data itself in the same way than in data-driven analysis but previous knowledge directs and facilitates the analysis to some extent (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 96). All in all

it is possible to detect the influence of previous knowledge from the theory-bound analysis but the meaning of previous knowledge is not a test a theory as in the theory-driven analysis but rather to create new ways of thinking (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 97).

The present study adopted a theory-bound approach to content analysis. This was done in order to overcome the problems of data-driven analysis in regard to total objectivity and freedom from theoretical background (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 96). Only few if any researchers are able to begin analyzing data without initial ideas and biases (Dörnyei 2007: 253). For example, the concepts used in theoretical framework, research design and methods used are all decided by the researcher and thus they indirectly have an effect on the results (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 96). In addition, already the fact that the researcher gets familiar with the theoretical framework before designing his or her study, directs his or her data collection which then on its part is bound to influence the data analysis (Eskola 2007: 166). These are, however, problems difficult to avoid in any study, even data-driven. When speaking of theory-bonded content analysis, the theory-bonded aspect deals mainly with the later stages of the analysis. Thus, theory-bonded analysis begins exactly the same way as data-driven analysis that is by letting the categories and themes to arise from the data itself and therefore being as inductive as possible (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 117). The difference arises towards the end of the analysis where in data-driven analysis theoretical conceptions such as themes and categories are created from the data itself whereas in theory-bonded analysis for example main categories are brought from the previous knowledge on the phenomenon (Tuomi and Sarajärvi: 117). In the analysis in the present study, for example, it was already decided beforehand that demotives emerging from the data are divided into two main categories, external and internal demotives, and because these categories were brought from the previous research findings, the analysis can be said to be theory-bonded. The differences between data-driven and theory-bonded analysis and the role of previous knowledge are further illustrated when the analytical process of the present study is now described in detail.

In practice the analyzing the data began by reading carefully through the transcribed interviews several times. Naturally some initial views were already formed when transcribing but while reading through the transcription, a general overview of the whole data was grasped. While reading, the warm-up tasks were kept in sight as they helped to structure the contents of the interviews. After this initial reading, the data was read through concentrating on specific research questions. At first, instances related to research questions number one and two were searched for in the data meaning that the data was read carefully through underlining those utterances that seemed to indicate some kind of demotivation. In contrast to a single word, clause, or sentence, for example, a meaning functioned as the unit of analysis. Thus, the length of the passage did not matter as long as the passage underlined represented a single meaning that was relevant to research questions. At this stage the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic demotives was not drawn. After underlying the relevant meanings, the next step was to condense the underlined meanings into reduced meanings which described the original meaning with one or two words. This stage of the analysis is often called reduction of the data (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 109). The reduced meanings were written on the left hand margin of the interview sheets and when this stage was completed, the original meanings and reduced meanings were collected into a separate file.

After all original meanings with their reduced meanings relevant in regard to research questions one and two were copied to a separate file, it was time to cluster, that is group, them. All the reduced meanings were gone through carefully looking for similarities between them. Reduced meanings that resembled each other were pasted in the same group to form subcategories and each subcategory was named to express its contents. The subcategories formed were further compared and combined into categories which are in this context called themes. The themes were again named according to their main contents. The last step was to group the themes further to main categories. In this stage the previous research findings came to play a part as the themes derived inductively from the data were divided into two main categories, extrinsic demotives and intrinsic demotives. Categories from the

previous studies were brought to the analysis only in the very final stages in order to make the analysis as inductive as possible (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2009: 97). Usually this was done in the last stage when the themes were divided under two main categories but in some cases the influence of previous research findings can be detected also in the names of the lower level categories. The same procedure with the same stages was repeated with the third research question, although with the difference that this time no main categories of analysis were brought from the previous studies. Therefore, the analysis of the third research question included only four stages (i.e. meanings, reduced meanings, subcategories, themes) in contrast to the first two research questions where the analysis was conducted in five stages. Although no main categories were brought from the previous studies when analysing the transcriptions from the point of view of the third research questions, the influence of previous research findings can be still detected in the names of the themes, making the analysis theory-bound. The tables in Appendix 5 illustrate the analytical process described here. However, for practical reasons each of the tables includes an example of the analytical process of only one theme under each research question.

As a result of the data processing and method of analysis described in this section, several demotives emerged from the data and reasons for overcoming demotivation were revealed. The focus will now be on presenting the findings of the present study.

6 FINDINGS

This chapter reports the findings of the present study. A number of demotives (reduced meanings) emerged from the data which formed subcategories that were combined to themes and further classified as either external or internal demotives. The organization of this chapter follows the order of the research questions of the present study. Therefore, first the external demotives found in the data are discussed

after which the focus will move on to examining the internal demotives. Finally, the ways that immigrant pupils have overcome their demotivation are described.

The findings are illustrated with extracts from the interviews. All the extracts are numbered and the English translations with a matching number can be found in Appendix 6. The most important parts of the extracts are underlined. Although the interviews were transcribed in detail for analytical purposes, in the quotations all the pauses are not included in order to make the quotations more continuous. For the same reason sometimes also some of the text has been omitted and marked with ---. Usually the omitted passage has been the interviewer's utterances expressing affirmation and interest or prompts that have encouraged the participant to elaborate on the issue. It was considered carefully that the deletion of pauses and parts of the text would not change the meaning of the extracts. In order to further clarify the extracts, some words have been added when needed. These additional words are marked with square brackets, for example, "*at this moment it [improvement] feels impossible*". The letter and numbers in the brackets after the quotations, such as (P2,7) indicate the participant and the page number of that specific interview transcription on which the quotations can be found. When the extracts are explained, the personal pronoun 'he' is used to refer to all participants regardless of gender. This is done in order to ensure the anonymity of the participants as only two of the participants were females.

6.1 External demotives

The external demotives experienced by the participants fell into four themes: the teacher, learning material and course contents, learning environment, and simultaneous learning of many languages. Each of these themes included several subcategories constituting of the reduced meanings. The presentation of the different themes follows the order of frequency of these themes. However, as for example the themes learning material and course contents and learning environment were equally frequent as large themes, they are sequenced so that the theme more

closely related to the immediate learning environment, that is, learning material and course contents, is discussed immediately after the theme teacher. After that, demotives arising from the institutional or school level of the learning environment are discussed. The subcategories under each theme are sequenced by frequency.

6.1.1 The teacher

The findings of the study indicated that the teacher has a very influential role in the English learning experiences of the pupils. All participants mentioned at least one aspect related to the teacher that had had a demotivating effect during their careers as learners of English. Three main issues related to the teacher had caused demotivation: classroom activities, teaching methods, and the teacher's behaviour and personality.

Classroom activities

Different aspects of the classroom activities governed by the teacher were a cause of demotivation. For example, lack of group-work was considered demotivating. Extract (1) discusses this discontent:

(1) *joo kyllä se [ryhmätyö] mun mielestä auttaa enemmän niinku siis silleen että englannin puhumisen niinku taito vähä [paranee] (P2,5)*

It was pointed out that there was too little group-work and more of it was wished for as it would promote the development of speaking skills. In addition to group-work, the participants hoped for more speaking exercises because they felt that languages are learned first and foremost by speaking. This view resulted mainly on the participants' previous experiences of learning foreign languages, as illustrated in extract (2):

(2) *pitää puhua sitä [opittavaa kieltä] aika paljon että oppii ... ensin me asuttiin viis vuotta iranissa nii siitä mää sen [persian kielen] opin kun mää puhuin siel ... en mää siellä koskaan opiskellu että miten pitää puhua (P3,2)*

The participant explained that when living in Iran, he had learned Persian without any formal instruction by speaking the language in various contexts.

Moreover, practicing receptive language skills was sometimes experienced demotivating. Extract (3) illustrates the demotivating effect of listening to the texts in the textbook:

(3) *sitä ei vaan oikeen jaksa --- seurataan kirjaa koko ajan että ite ei saa tehdä mitään sille et sun pitää vaan seurata kirjaa ku ... tekstissä tulee se vähän niinku luetun ymmärtämistä se mutta luetun ymmärtämisessä on helpompaa ku siellä on jotakin sellasta että sää vastaat joihinkin ... siinä [kuuntelussa] sä et vastaa mihinkään sä vaan kuuntelet* (P5,4)

This pupil had been demotivated by the fact that he just had to listen passively. In order to keep his interest in the task, he would have needed something that he would have been able to do actively at the same time, such as answer a set of questions. Although this pupil (P5) preferred reading exercises for listening texts, reading exercises were also criticized for being too long. In addition, gap-filling exercises were found demotivating, as in extract (4):

(4) *mut mä vihaan kun pitää tehdä täyttötehtäviä ... niistä mä en hirveesti tykkää*
(P1,9)

The pupil (P1) argued that he liked writing exercises but instead of solely filling short gaps in a text, he would like to write long sentences of his own. He estimated that unfortunately 40 or 50 per cent of the exercises done in class were, however, gap-filling exercises.

Teaching methods

In addition, the way the teachers organized their teaching and the way they actually taught the course contents had had a demotivating effect for several reasons. Mainly the teacher's lack of competence to explain specific course contents had demotivated the pupils. Extract (5) illustrates this point:

(5) *se [nykyinen opettaja] osaa ... hallitsee niin hyvin sen enkun taidon ... se kertoo niin hyvin selittää sen asian et mä ymmärrän jo eka kerralla et mistä on kyse mistä asiasta on kyse --- aina ei joka opettajasta mä en oo saanu (xxx) tarkasti tietoo mutta --- se [nykyinen opettaja] on niin hyvä selittää (P5,8)*

The participants evaluated and compared the teachers that they had had on the basis of whether or not they could explain well the subject matters that were being learned. It was stated that it was simply easier to learn from certain teachers and some teachers just taught better whereas the teaching of others was difficult to follow. No further explanations were given for which skills a good teaching competence consisted of.

Relating to the ability to explain the subject matter well, also too fast teaching rate had had a demotivating effect. This is discussed in extract (6):

(6) *no just se et se [opettaja] menee liian nopeesti ja sit se ei paljon selitä niitä jokaista juttua niinku vaikka kieliopista jotain sääntöjä (P2,6)*

A too fast teaching rate had made the teaching difficult to follow and thus resulted in demotivation. The too fast teaching rate was traced back to the teacher's way of teaching and was therefore a constant phenomenon. Sometimes proceeding too fast was, however, a temporary state because the upcoming exams had made the teacher to speed up the pace. The too fast teaching rate manifested itself also in lack of repetition and it was in addition felt that the teacher had not been helping the pupils enough. It seemed that the teacher had not given enough attention to those pupils who could not keep track of teaching in a given situation by revising and helping.

Another issue in the teachers' teaching methods that had caused demotivation was teacher-centeredness of the instruction. This point is made in extract (7):

(7) *siellä pitää olla aina hiljaa ja sit se kestää aina kauemmin kun muut tunnit --- sit se kestää kauan aina ... istua ja kuunnella opettajaa --- kyllä me itekin päästään välillä mut kyl se enemmän on opettajan puolella se puhuminen (P4,5)*

The fact that the lessons were characterised by the prominence of the teacher was found demotivating. It was mentioned that there was a mismatch between teaching methods (passive listening) and participant's learning style. The lessons were considered boring and tiresome if it was mainly the teacher who was speaking. The teacher was even criticized for not allowing the pupils to take actively part in the course of the lesson. The teacher-centeredness had made some of the participants unable to concentrate on the course of the lesson and instead, they had hoped for the lesson to be over.

A further demotive related to the teaching methods was the teacher's way of evaluating and assessing pupils' performance, as expressed in extract (8):

(8) *(laughter) no just se [oli parempaa entisessä opessa] et se niinku arvioi enemmän niinku tuntiaktiivisuutta ku kokeen numeroon ja sitte ... sit se antoi niinku puheenvuoron sillee ja sit se opetti hyvin (P2,4)*

It was estimated that the grades were given solely on the basis of test grades and active participation in class was not reflected in the grades. Neither was the ability to actually use English in real-life contexts taken into account in grades. It was even suggested that even though the grades had not gotten better during the upper grades (7–9) of comprehensive school, the language skills especially in regard to speaking skills had improved. Thus, it was perceived that the grades did not reflect the true development of language skills. All in all it was suggested that if the active participation in class and speaking skills had been taken into account in assessment, the grade would have been better.

Teacher's behaviour and personality

Also the way that the teacher treated the pupils and his or her personality had had a demotivating effect. The biggest problem had been lack of discipline, as illustrated in extract (9):

(9) *se [uus ope] ei osannu pitää kuria (laughter) --- sitte kaikki rupes riehumaan eikä sillo pystyny kunnolla opiskelemaan (P4,1)*

If the teacher had been unable to discipline the pupils, the pupils in the class had become restless, and that had had a negative impact on the learning conditions. Lack of discipline had also manifested in letting the pupils choose themselves their seating in the classroom. If, on the other hand, the teacher had decided the seating of the pupils, they had been more concentrated on listening, which had facilitated learning. It was, however, also mentioned that having too much discipline was not good either. Too strict teachers were considered irritating and thus demotivating.

Moreover, the teacher's biased behaviour had resulted in demotivation. This point is made in extract (10):

(10) *no joskus mua ärsyttää kun se ope silleen ... kun mun luokassa on kaks muuta ulkomaalaista? se vertailee niinku mua ja niitä erilailla? mua ärsyttää se joskus tosi paljon --- se on niinku mua kohtaan paljon kireempi kun niitä kohtaan (P1,6)*

In this case it was felt unfair that the teacher had expressed that he or she would be assessing the other two immigrant pupils in the class with a different criterion. The assessment of immigrant pupils can differ from that of Finnish pupils as discussed in section 4.3.2 but the problem was that this particular immigrant pupil was assessed more strictly than the other two immigrant pupils in the class. He or she was thus assessed with the same criterion than Finnish pupils. Sometimes the teachers had also favoured pupils that had been good in English and treated those with not so good language skills differently, resulting in demotivation. The teachers' biased treatment of the pupils had manifested itself in the way that the teachers spoke to certain pupils or the way that they looked at them. Although the teacher's behaviour had not decreased the interest in English, it had made the English classes an unpleasant experience. In addition, occasionally also personality conflicts between the teacher and the pupils had had a demotivating effect.

In summary, the *classroom activities* steered by the teacher demotivated pupils when they passivised the pupils or were otherwise boring (6 participants). Secondly,

the *teaching methods* of the teachers had had a demotivating effect during most of the participants' careers as learners of English (5 participants). Issues such as teaching competence, too fast a teaching rate, teacher-centeredness, and unfair grading were raised. Thirdly, *the teacher's behaviour and personality* had been experienced as demotivating, mainly in the forms of lack of discipline and unfair treatment of the pupils (3 participants).

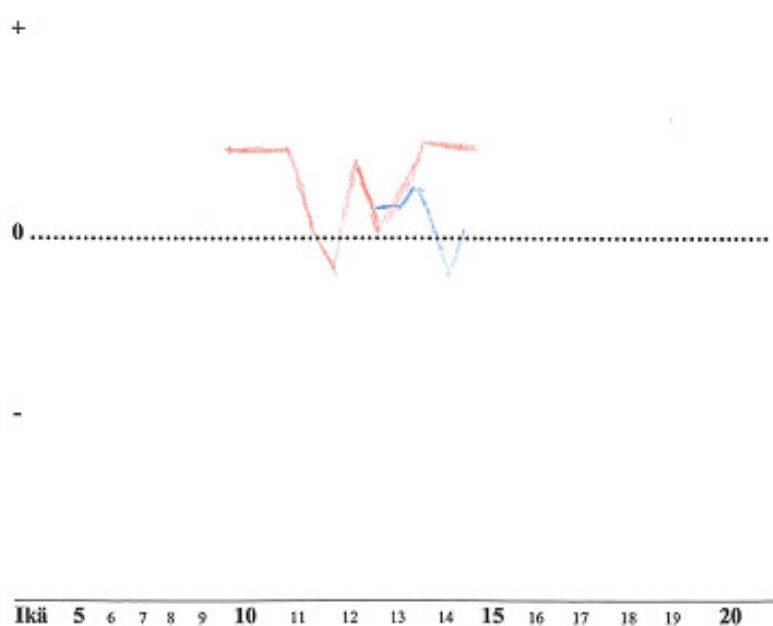


Figure 4. Path as a learner of English and Swedish by P4. The English language is marked with red.

All in all, the demotivating influence of the teacher was very salient as comments related to the teacher were expressed more directly and emotionally than expressions of any other demotive. Moreover, all the drawings sketched as a warm-up task demonstrated the influence of the teacher to some degree. The drawing by P4 in Figure 4 was the clearest illustration of the power that the teacher might have in the experiences of the pupils.

P4 explained all major ups and downs in his English learning career by the changes in the teachers in the following way:

(11) *tässä kun mä alotin niin se oli tosi kivaa ... se oli helppoo ja kaikkee semmosta ... sitte ku tästä näin opettaja vaihtu sit se opetuskin alko vaihtumaan samalla vaikeemmaks --- se ei osannu pitää kuria --- sitte kaikki rupes riehumaan eikä sillo pystyny kunnolla opiskelemaan --- sitte kun mä tulin seiskalle [ja opettaja vaihtu] niin se oli taas kivaa --- mut se opettaja vaihtu ... sit se taas alko huononemaan --- se kuri taas ei pystyny kunnolla opiskelemaan --- ja sitten tässä näin kun [nykyinen opettaja] tuli niin kuri alko olemaan hyvä ja opetuskin tosi hyvä (P4,1)*

6.1.2 Learning material and course contents

Although difficulties in being able to follow the course of the lessons was usually traced back to the teacher as discussed before, also learning material and course contents had made the learning experience unpleasant. Three main sources of demotivation related to learning material and course contents emerged from the data: course books, uninteresting course contents, and focusing on grammar.

Course books

The problem with the course books had been the too difficult level of them. This is illustrated in extract (12):

(12) *ne on liian vaikeeta ei niitä pysty aina harjotella --- [englannin opiskelu ois mukavampaa jos ois] helpompia tekstejä tai ... tai ne on mulle liian vaikeita en mä tiiä muille oppilaille (P6,9)*

Mainly the texts in the textbook were considered too difficult because they were too long and they included too many new words. In addition, it was pointed that the vocabulary given in the exercise book for each text was not large enough for the needs of the participants. The difficulty of the course books was experienced demotivating especially by the participant who had come to Finland only three and a half years ago. When he or she started school in Finland, he or she had received instruction in English in a separate group consisting only of immigrant pupils. There

they had used an adjusted version of the course books which had included, for example, more vocabulary. The difficulties arose when he or she was integrated into general education group and began to use the same course books as the rest of the pupils. In addition to the too difficult texts in the text book, too demanding level of the tasks in the exercise book had demotivated the participants. The experience of not being able to complete a task successfully had resulted in demotivation.

Moreover, the previous course books were criticised for not paying enough attention to how the language is actually used and spoken. It was stated that compared to the course books in the previous grades, the course books used in the ninth grade emphasised the spoken language and development of speaking skills more and were therefore more interesting and less demotivating.

Uninteresting course contents

Course contents were criticized for consisting of too much repetition and including uninteresting topics. Repeating the same subject matters every year had demotivated some pupils although others wished for more repetition as discussed in section 6.1.1. Extract (13) illustrates the demotivating effect of repetition:

(13) silleen.tuntuu et kerrattais niitä imperfektiä ja näitä juttuja ... joka vuos tulee niitä ... joskus vähän tuntuu et tää on vähän kyllä kertausta --- siis tulis enemmän uusia asioita (P1,9)

Instead of repeating the same subject matters every year, new topics were wished for. It was explained that learning was at its best when a new subject matter was being learned. In those situations one was motivated to work hard in order to learn the new subject matter which in many ways made the learning easier.

It was even suggested that by reducing repetition during the lower grades (1-6) and upper grades (7-9) of comprehensive school, the learning could be made more

efficient. As a result, pupils would leave comprehensive school with an ability to actually use English. This point is made in extract (14):

(14) *jos tää kolme vuotta tai silleen tää kuus vuotta käytettäis järkevästi tai silleen? niin mun mielestä aika moni oppis enkkua paljon paremmin ku nytte? --- siis tulis enemmän uusia asioita...mutta kyllä vaan kyllähän niitä lukiossakin tulee mut ei aika moni ei mee lukioon ... nii et niinku tän peruskoulun aikana oppis silleen sujuvasti englantia . pärjäis sillä (P1,9-10)*

It was estimated that if the six years of English studies during comprehensive school were used more efficiently, many of the pupils would leave comprehensive school with better language skills and would be able to cope with the language outside of school.

Focusing on grammar

The data also revealed that paying too much attention to forms of the language in language teaching had demotivated pupils. Extract (15) discusses this issue:

(15) *joskus käydään liian tarkkaan sitä kielioppia ja --- tylsää se on tylsää --- ettei pidä olla nii tarkka siinä asiassa --- että pitää oppia se ihan täsmällisesti (P3,6-7)*

It was regarded as boring that such a big part of teaching focused on grammar and the grammatical phenomena were gone through in too detail. It was pointed out that although grammar was important, such a correct and detailed use of grammar was not needed in everyday situations. This understanding was a consequence of the participants' own experiences of learning Finnish as they had learned Finnish mainly by speaking it in real-life contexts.

The focus on grammar was prominent also in when thinking about school as a language learning environment. Although the role of the school in language learning was considered important, the school was mainly seen as a place where grammar is learned. This is illustrated in extract (16):

(16) *niitä sanoja kyllä enemmän oppii vapaa-ajalla --- [täällä koulussa oppii] rakenteita ja sanajärjestyksiä ja aikamuotoja (P4,4)*

The acquiring of different language skills were in a way divided into different learning environments. Grammar was seen to be learned at school whereas vocabulary and also speaking skills were left to be learned outside school in informal learning environments. This division of language skills to different learning environments manifested itself also in the lack of speaking exercises discussed in section 6.1.1. Moreover, it was pointed out that the achievement tests at the end of the courses consisted mainly of tasks testing the knowledge of grammar. The results of these tests were often believed to be used as the only basis for giving the overall grade, also discussed in section 6.1.1. As a result, the grades were seen to reflect for the most part the command of grammatical forms. It was mentioned that only at the end of the ninth grade, that is, at the time of the interviews, the oral skills of the pupils were assessed by means of short oral exams.

In its extreme it was evaluated that as a matter of fact one learned more in informal learning environments than in school. This point is made in extract (17):

(17) *vapaa-ajalla [oppii enemmän] --- no koulussa tavallaan silleen on pakko tehdä niin vapaa-ajalla se oma-aloitteisesti oppii sitä .se on paljon helpompi oppii sillo ... ainakin mun on helpompi oppii sillo (P1,5)*

In addition to the impression that especially oral skills and vocabulary were learned outside of school, informal learning was seen to be more efficient also because it was voluntary and therefore more motivating.

In summary, the different characteristics of the *course books* had demotivated the participants (5 participants). Usually the problem was the too difficult level of the course books, which made the texts or tasks too demanding. Secondly, *uninteresting course contents* in the form of repetition or boring themes to be discussed were considered demotivating (2 participants). Thirdly, *focusing on grammar* was considered demotivating as such an approach to language learning did not

correspond with the participants' views on how languages are learned and how English is actually used (2 participants).

6.1.3 Learning environment

The demotives related to the theme learning environment fell under four subcategories: classmates' distracting behaviour, scheduling of classes, changes in staff, and lack of opportunities to actually use English.

Classmates' distracting behaviour

Classmates' negative behaviour had distracted learning during the lessons resulting in demotivation. This is discussed in extract (18):

(18) *se [ongelma] on vaan näissä oppilaissa ollu se että nekää ei oo jaksanu kuunnella (xxx) paljon puhu(xxx) ... kaikki me ollaan alotettu puhumaan niin opettajakaan ei oo voinu sille mitään (P5,6)*

The classmates' distracting behaviour had made it difficult for the others to concentrate on what was being learned. It was stated that distracting behaviour of the classmates, such as speaking all the time, throwing papers, pencils and rubbers, was a constant phenomenon which hindered learning. Sometimes the teacher's lack of discipline had made this kind of negative behaviour possible as discussed in 6.1.1. However, the classmates' distracting behaviour was mainly traced to the pupils themselves as is evident in the previous extract.

Scheduling of classes

Also unfavourable scheduling of classes had caused demotivation. First of all the time of the day that the English lessons were held was not always considered appropriate. This is illustrated in extract (19):

(19) *se aina vähän riippuu et missä vaiheessa se tunti on niinku et ... niinku vaikka jos se ois niinku kolmesta neljään niin ei kyllä tunnu kivalta* (P2,3)

Late afternoon classes were experienced as most unpleasant because it was often difficult to stay concentrated at time of the day but also morning classes were unsuitable for some. The participants agreed that the best time to have English classes is in the middle of the school day.

Another demotive related to the scheduling of classes was poor sequencing of the English lessons during the year. This point is made in extract (20):

(20) *me- **meillä** oli ysiluokan alussa (xxx) syksyllä oli neljä tuntia viikossa... se oli aika paljon --- **oli** se liikaa ... **kaks kolme** tuntia ihan ok mut **neljä** tuntia on liikaa oikeesti --- se oli aika ärsyttävää mut **toivottavasti** se kesti vain kaks kuukautta* (P6,7)

Having four English classes in a week was experienced as excessive. Fortunately this seemed to be a temporary arrangement and normally the pupils had two or three English classes in a week, which suited the participants.

Changes in staff

The constant changes in English teachers were experienced demotivating. Extract (21) discusses this discontent:

(21) [opettajien vaihtuminen on huono] *ku tottuu miten se opettaja opettaa nii ... niin tietää miten joku opettaa ... sit minkälaisia asioita se tuo kokeeseen --- sitte vaihtuu opettaja niin ei tiä mitää miten se arvostaa niitä* (P3,7)

The constant changes in English teachers had demotivated pupils because it was difficult to get used to the way that the new teacher teaches and assesses pupils. The changes in teachers had been quite common. It was mentioned that the participants had had a different English teacher every year, meaning that they had had three English teachers during the upper grades (7–9) of comprehensive school.

In addition, having substitute teachers had had a demotivating effect. This point is made in extract (22):

(22) *sitten joskus niil [enkun opettajilla] oli välillä enimmäkseen sijaisia ne ei ollu ite aina paikalla --- ois ollu hyvä jos ois vaan yks sijainen mut ne sijaiset vaihtelee joka viikko tai --- vaikuttaa silleen että se toinen sijainen tulee niin sit se ei tiä missä me ollaan --- mennään taas johonkin toiseen [asiaan] niin sitte ei oo oikeen (xxx) samoihin asioihin niin ei mennä eteenpäin ku ei oo oikee ope paikalla (P5,7)*

The learning had not progressed when the pupils had had substitute teachers as the substitute teachers had not known what the pupils had done during the previous lessons. As a result, the same topics were gone through several times. The fact that also the substitute teachers changed all the time, even every week, made the problem even bigger.

Lack of opportunities to actually use English

Yet another demotive related to the learning environment was lack of opportunities to actually use English. This is illustrated in extract (23):

(23) *vaikka kaikkien se sanamuodot ja kaikki on niinku sama mitä meidän omassa äidinkielessä on mutta se tuntuu vaikeelta ... ku sitä ei käyttää nii se tuntuu vaikeelta (P3,5)*

It was experienced that the learning environment did not offer enough possibilities to use English. This discontent derived from the participants' experience of learning Finnish mainly by speaking as discussed already earlier when considering the lack of speaking exercises in section 6.1.1. This time, however, the lack of opportunities to use English resulted from not having contact with native speakers of English. It was suggested that this problem could be solved by offering the pupils the possibility to travel to an English speaking country during their school time. It was argued that such a possibility would force the pupils to use English and as a consequence they would be encouraged to use the language.

In summary, the learning environment had demotivated the participants in several ways. Firstly, *classmates' distracting behaviour* had hindered learning as it was impossible to concentrate during the lessons (5 participants). Secondly, *scheduling of classes* had demotivated some as the lessons were in a disadvantageous time of the day or there were too many classes in a week (4 participants). Thirdly, *constant changes in staff* had led to demotivation (3 participants). Either the changes in teachers of English had been too constant or there had been too many substitute teachers. Finally, *the lack of opportunities to use English* demotivated because not using the language in real contexts was believed to make the learning more difficult (2 participants).

6.1.4 Simultaneous learning of many languages

The fourth external source of demotivation, simultaneous learning of many languages, resulted from the immigrant pupils background factors. Both learning Finnish and Swedish at the same time interfered with the learning of English although interference of Finnish skills was naturally more of a problem.

Learning Finnish at the same time

Learning Finnish at the same time than beginning learning English was considered demotivating by most of the participants. This is discussed in extract (24):

(24) sillo ku alotettiin olik se neljälle luokalla niin sillon mun piti opiskella suomen kieltä --- eli kaikki tärkeet asiat mitä enkussa sillon opiskeltii nii jäi ohi sillo neljännellä ja kuuennella luokalla (P3,1)

As learning English began at the same time when the participants started their school in general education groups, the poor Finnish skills made the learning of English more difficult resulting in demotivation. First of all, learning Finnish took such a big part of the participants' attention and energy that other subjects were left with less attention. Second of all, the poor Finnish skills of the participants made it

difficult to follow the teaching during the English lessons. The problem in the poor Finnish skills was especially the lack of explicit grammatical knowledge. It had been difficult to keep up with the teaching of grammar because the terms and concepts were unfamiliar to the participants even in the Finnish language.

The poor Finnish skills were not a problem only for those participants who had come to Finland after the age that going to school normally begins. Also those participants who had been in Finland already before the compulsory school age admitted that poor Finnish skills had caused problems also for them. This is illustrated in extract (25):

(25) kyl mä yritin mut siin vaikka mä opiskelin niin en mä ymmärtäny yhtään mitään - -- vaikka mä puhuin silleen hyvin suomee mut siis koulussahan käytetään just vaikeita sanoja ja tällasia niin en mä ymmärtäny niitä sillon (P1,1)

Although the participants had had a good command of communicative skills in Finnish when starting school, the special vocabulary and concepts used in learning at school had made it difficult to follow the teaching.

Learning Swedish at the same time

Also learning Swedish at the same time than learning Finnish and English was experienced as exhausting resulting in demotivation. This point is made in extract (26):

(26) se [englannin oppiminen] on vähän vaikee tuntuu iteltä että ei opi --- koska pitää samalla oppia ruotsia ja suomen kieltä (P7,4)

Learning Swedish at the same time was experienced demotivating mainly by those participants who had come to Finland fairly recently and were thus still struggling also with the Finnish language. The work load was experienced so excessive that it was even suggested that part of the lessons allocated to Swedish could be reassigned

to English in order to achieve a good command of at least one of these foreign languages.

In contrast, those who had started the Finnish school already in the lower grades (1-6) of comprehensive school felt that beginning to learn Swedish was easier than beginning to learn English. By the seventh grade when the learning of Swedish began, their Finnish skills had already improved and therefore all the learning had gotten easier. This is discussed in extract (27):

(27) [ruotsi on menny koko ajan paremmin kun] *mun kielioppi on ollu parempi ku alotettiin seiskalla ni suomen kieli on ollu parempi seiskalla ku sillo alotettiin nelkillä sitä englantia* (3,4)

Beginning to learn Swedish was evaluated as easier and more pleasant experience because by the seventh grade the Finnish skills and especially the grammatical knowledge of the participants had already improved. The demotivating effect of poor Finnish skills was therefore no longer such an influential one when beginning to learn Swedish compared to that of English. This illustrates the crucial role of level of Finnish skills in immigrant pupils' learning experiences.

In summary, *learning Finnish at the same time* than beginning studying English had demotivated the pupils (5 participants). Poor Finnish skills of the participants had made it difficult to follow the teaching of English and learning so many subjects at the same time than the main attention was on learning Finnish had made the learning feel exhausting. In addition, *learning Swedish at the same time* was experienced demotivating especially by those participants who had attended the comprehensive school only for couple of years (2 participants).

6.1.5 Summary of the external demotives

The external demotives that emerged from the data fell under four themes: the teacher, learning material and course contents, learning environment, and simultaneous learning of many languages. Of these themes the demotives related to

the theme *teacher* seemed to be most influential as discontents related to the teacher were expressed most explicitly emotionally. Moreover, the range of issues raised under this theme was the widest.

Interestingly enough, although the fourth theme, *simultaneous learning of many languages*, could have been expected to be the most influential problem for immigrant pupils, it was not mentioned by all of the participants. In contrast, all of the participants mentioned at least one issue of concern related to the other three external demotivational themes. It seemed in general that the language problems were considered unavoidable and therefore somewhat acceptable whereas the teacher, learning material and course contents, and learning environment were areas in which changes could be made in order to improve the English learning experience of the participants.

A prominent concern that cut across all the demotivational themes except for simultaneous learning of many languages was concentration on the forms of the language at the cost of oral skills. In the first theme, *the teacher*, this manifested itself both in the classroom activities and in the teaching methods. It was stated that there were too little speaking exercises and group-work in which oral skills could be rehearsed. In addition, teachers seemed to evaluate the pupils on the basis of test grades which reflected almost solely the grammatical knowledge of the pupils. In the demotives related to *learning material and course contents* this mismatch was very clear in the form of focusing on grammar during the courses but also the previous course books were criticised for not paying enough attention to oral skills. Moreover, also the *learning environment* offered too few possibilities to use the language which resulted in demotivation.

6.2 Internal demotives

In contrast to the external demotives, the internal demotives, negative influences related to the participants themselves, were fewer and their range was narrower.

However, also internal demotives seemed to play an important role in the English learning experience of the participants. The internal demotives fell under three themes: experience of failure, lack of success, and attitudes towards English. These themes are now discussed with their subcategories in the order of frequency.

6.2.1 Experience of failure

The majority of the participants had experienced some kind of failure during their careers as learners of English. Three types of experience of failure emerged from the data: getting a low grade in a test, being behind classmates, and getting a low grade in a school report.

Getting a low grade in a test

Getting a lower test grade than expected had had a demotivating effect in the English learning experiences of the participants. Extract (28) illustrates this point:

(28) *mä yritän parhaani sit kun mä oon lopettanu sen kokeen niin mul on hirveen hyvä fiilis et se meni hyvin --- mut sitte kun se koe tulee käteen niin siin on jotain seiskaa* (P4,9)

Although a lot of effort had been put into preparing for the test, it had not manifested itself in the test results. After the test the participant had had the feeling that the test had been easy and a good grade could be expected. When the test results came, however, the participant was disappointed as the grade did not fulfil his expectations. It seemed that some the participants took test grades quite seriously and therefore disappointments in them resulted in demotivation.

Moreover, the participants were unable to explain why the test went how it went and were puzzled by the fact that the test results of a test that had seemed so easy were so disappointing. This point is made in extract (29):

(29) *mutta jos otetaan sitä koetta mä en tiää miks mä niinku kokeessa aina mul menee huonosti ... sit tunnilla niinku mä osaan niitä silleen* (P2,7)

It was pointed out that the English language skills of the participants somehow failed when taking a test. The participants felt that they mastered the required subject matters during lessons but for some reason they failed to demonstrate their skills in tests.

Being behind classmates

Being behind classmates had frustrated the participants and therefore led to demotivation. This is illustrated in extract (30):

(30) [oli vaikeeta ku] *kaikkihan osas täällä lauseita ... sitten ne puhu aika sujuvasti vaikka seiskalla ... ne puhu suju- ne oli jo opiskellu silleen monta vuotta kolkilla nelkillä viikillä ... neljä vuotta --- no **mulla** tuli vähän paha huono fiilis --- no ku mä en osannu **mitään** ne muut oppilaat osas ne --- oli vähän huono fiilis ku **kaikki** osas sitten mä en osannu mitää* (P6,4)

It had been difficult to begin learning English in a group where the others had already several years of studying English behind them. The participant (P6) pointed out that whereas he had learned only isolated words and expressions when learning English in his home country, the others in the class could already form sentences and knew how to pronounce. The problem of being behind classmates was experienced not only by those participants who had come to Finland relatively recently but also by the ones who were less behind the classmates in learning English. For example, both the participants P3 and P7 began learning English only one year after the others, that is, in the fourth grade, but still felt after six years of studying that they were lacking behind their classmates.

As a solution it was suggested that learning English could start already during preparatory teaching. This point is made in extract (31):

(31) [englannin oppimisesta tulisi mielekkäämpää jos] *alotettas sitä kie- englannin kieltä vähä aikasemmin ja sitä ... esim ulkomaalaisilla annetaan sitä opetusta sillä --- maahanmuuttajaluokassakin* (P3,8)

By beginning tuition in English already during preparatory teaching, the immigrant pupils would not be that far behind of their classmates when integrated into general education groups in English. As a result, integration into the general education group would be easier for them and they would catch up the others faster.

Getting a low grade in a school report

A further demotive that was characterised by an experience of failure was getting a low grade in a school report. This is illustrated in extract (32):

(32) [huono numero] *masentaa --- no ku saa huonon numeron niin mä s-sanon että en mäi opi tätä en mä jaksa opiskella tätä enempää* (P3,9)

An unsatisfactory grade in the report had resulted in demotivation and the participant felt that he could not learn English any more. Fortunately at least this participant was able to overcome this feeling of failure, ways for which are discussed later in section 6.3.

In summary, the experience of failure had resulted from three types of incidents. Firstly, *getting a low grade in a test* had been experienced as demotivating as the effort made in preparing for the test had not resulted in success (4 participants). Secondly, *being behind classmates* resulted in demotivation because the participants had felt themselves inferior to the others in class (3 participants). Finally, *getting a low grade in a school report* had had a demotivating effect (1 participant).

6.2.2 Lack of success

Closely connected to the experience of failure, also lack of success had resulted in demotivation in learning English. Two issues had caused demotivation: effort without success and feeling unable to learn.

Effort without success

The experience that working hard had not resulted in success had demotivated the participants. This point is made in extract (33):

(33) *jotenkin vaikka **kuinka** mä harjottelen niin kokeisiin tai tämmösiin mä en saa parempaa tulosta mitä normaalisti saisin (P5,1)*

It seemed that there was something about learning English that made it so difficult that even investing a lot of time and energy in it did not result in success. In addition, it was evaluated that the same effort made in other subjects would have resulted in improvement. It was further stated that not seeing the improvement in one's language skills had made the participants feel bad and as a result, the learning of English had seemed almost impossible. No further explanations were given for what hindered the effort made from turning into improvement in language competence.

Feeling unable to learn

The second type of lack of success was more related to the feeling that one is unable to learn. This is illustrated in extract (34):

(34) *nyt se [kiinnostus englannin oppimista kohtaan] on vähentynyt [ala-asteelta] koska mä luulen että mä en oikeen opi sitä ... enemmän (P7,6)*

In contrast to the demotivating effect of lack of success despite effort, being unable to learn was traced more clearly to the participant's own abilities. Being unable to

learn was expressed as if it had been an inherent characteristic of the participant, something that could not be changed. Similarly to effort without success, learning English was seen as an impossible task and no further reasons were found for it. In contrast to the demotive effort without success, it seemed that in this case the participant had already to some extent given up making effort because improvement appeared so impossible. This kind of state could be seen as amotivation resulting from either capacity-ability belief or capacity-belief as discussed in section 3.1 but as also in the case of this particular participant other positive motives (see section 6.3) were still active in the learner's learning process, feeling unable to learn was taken account as a demotive and not considered being amotivation which refers to lack of motivation.

In summary, *effort without success* had resulted in demotivation as working hard had not been rewarded with success (3 participants). Moreover, *feeling unable to learn* had been experienced as demotivating as improvement in English seemed to be almost an impossible goal to be achieved (1 participant).

6.2.3 Attitudes towards English

The third internal source of demotivation was attitudes towards English. Three categories related to attitudes emerged from the data: complex grammar, difficult pronunciation, and perceived difficulty of the English language in general.

Complex grammar

The grammar of the English language had demotivated the participants. This is discussed in extract (35):

(35) *sitte ku ei onnistunu niin tuli nää kielioppiasiat ... sit tuli aika vaikeeksi* (P3,1)

The interest in learning English had decreased as the grammatical phenomena discussed in lessons had become more complex. All in all the pleasant experiences

of learning English were overshadowed by complex grammar. Especially the tenses, such as the past tenses and the conditional were said to be difficult to learn. The focus on form in formal language learning discussed in sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 increased the demotivational effect of the complex grammar because the participants experienced that they were assessed mainly on the basis of their knowledge of grammar.

Difficult pronunciation

The target language was also criticized for being difficult to pronounce. This point is made in extract (36):

(36) *se on vaikee --- koska sitä kirjoitetaan eri tavalla ja äännetään sa- eri tavalla*
(P7,2)

The pronunciation of English was found to be difficult because it did not correspond with the written form. The difficulties in pronouncing English were also raised in regard to being behind classmates in learning (see extract 30). It was found problematic that when the participant (P6) had been integrated into general education group in English, the others could already speak quite fluently, whereas the participant did not know how to pronounce. He had missed out on all instruction that had been given on how English is pronounced and was therefore faced with the demanding task of catching up the others at the same time than the learning progressed in all areas of language skills.

Perceived difficulty of the English language in general

In addition to mentioning that the grammar or the pronunciation was difficult in English, the English language as a whole was evaluated as difficult. This is illustrated in extract (37):

(37) *siis kyllä mä haluan oppia sitä kieltä mut sit ku se on vaikee silleen mulle --- en mä tiä mä en jotenkin opi sitä helposti* (P2,4)

This particular participant (P2) felt that although he or she wanted to learn the language, the difficult nature of it had made the learning task demanding and discouraged the participant. It was mentioned that for some reason the participant did not learn the language easily but no further explanations were found for why English seemed difficult as a language. The participant (P2) pointed out that his or her interest in learning English was 70 % of the maximum interest and the 30 % was lacking because the English language was so difficult.

In summary, perceptions of the English language had had a demotivating effect. Firstly, *difficult grammar* of the English language discouraged the participants (4 participants). Secondly, the *difficulties in pronouncing* had resulted in demotivation (2 participants). Thirdly, the English language as a whole was perceived as a *difficult language* without finding any further explanations for it (1 participant).

6.2.4 Summary of the internal demotives

Although there were fewer internal than external demotives and the range of them was narrower, they still seemed to be influential in the English learning experiences of the participants. In the order of frequency, experience of failure, lack of success and attitudes toward English had demotivated the participants.

Both *experiences of failure* and lack of success had depressed the participants. Both the test grades and school report grades had resulted in demotivation because the participants had not been able to demonstrate their abilities in tests and as a result no improvement had taken place school report grades. Further, being left behind classmates in learning due to background factors had made the participants feel inferior to others. Experiencing a constant *lack of success* in learning English had made the participants perceive the learning a very demanding task, in extreme cases an impossible task. It was not understood why persistence in learning English did

not give rise to better results (effort without success) or the difficulties in learning English were traced back to one's own abilities (being unable to learn).

Attitudes towards the English language had demotivated some participants because the language as a whole, its pronunciation, or grammar was perceived as difficult. However, the negative attitudes towards the target language did not seem to demotivate the participants to any greater extent, which will be explained by the factors that help the immigrant pupils to overcome their demotivation to be discussed in the next section.

6.3 Overcoming demotivation

The reasons that helped the participants to overcome the effects of the demotives reported in sections 6.1 and 6.2 constituted four broad themes: realising the status of English as a lingua franca, attitudes towards schooling, using English outside of school, and positive attitudes towards English. In addition to these themes, naturally positive changes especially in the external demotives discussed in section 6.1 assisted the participants to overcome their demotivation. For example, if the teacher had changed to a teacher who could better explain the subject matter, this specific demotive 'teaching methods' lost its importance. Further, as the Finnish language skills of the participants improved, their demotivating effect was no longer such an influential one. This is illustrated in extract (38):

(38) *kolkilla ei ollu ihan jees kun piti opiskella (xxx) suomee silleen ... ja sitten kun vähän oli jo oppinu suomee niin sit oli ihan kiva ... innostunu siihen että voi opiskella englantiakin* (P2,1)

These types of reasons for overcoming demotivation can be said to be external as they were positive changes in the external demotives. This section concentrates, however, on discussing the more internal reasons for overcoming demotivation as they seemed to be much more influential. Only few changes in external demotives were mentioned whereas several internal ways of overcoming demotivation were

raised. The internal reasons for overcoming demotivation were vital because they helped the participants to overcome their demotivation although the sources of demotivation, that is, the demotives, still existed in the language learning environment. Thus, the internal reasons decreased the effects of different demotives and helped the participants to recover their interest in learning English. The four themes of internal reasons for overcoming demotivation are now discussed in the order of frequency.

6.3.1 Recognising the status of English as a lingua franca

The status of English as a lingua franca, that is, as the “common language used by people of different language backgrounds to communicate with each other”, had a crucial role in the participants experiences of overcoming demotivation (Kirkpatrick 2007: 7). Three influential issues were raised: status of English as an international language, realisation of the importance of English, and encouragement from family members due to the status of English.

Status of English as an international language

When the participants were asked why they were interested in learning English, the responses were immediately related to the status of English as an international language. This is illustrated in extract (39):

(39) *no just sen takia et se on kansainvälinen kieli ja sillee (P2,3)*

The participants agreed that they were interested in learning English because it was an international language which was spoken globally. They claimed that English skills were needed in the future and if one could speak English, one would cope in today’s world.

In addition, the international status of English made the participants like and appreciate English as a school subject and they thought that everyone should learn it. This point is made in extract (40):

(40) [mä pidän enkusta oppiaineena koska] *se on **ihan hyvä** kieli sitä kannattas oppia ... jokais- jokaisen (xxx) englannin kieltä ... kato kun se on **kansainvälinen** kieli* (P6,6)

It was stated that it was worthwhile to learn English as it could be used all over the world. It was further emphasised that English was a subject that everyone should learn. Moreover, it was mentioned that also the pupils in the participants' home-country should be made aware of the importance of learning English. This is discussed in extract (41):

(41) *se ois ihan hyvä et kaikki osais [englantia] sit ois paljon helpompi kommunikoida muitten ihmisten kanssa ... sit jos mä ... jos musta isona tulee tota nii ... sit ku mä meen meidän maahan nii ainaki mä kannustan niitä tyttöjä opiskelemaan englantia* (P1,12)

The importance of knowing English was considered so crucial that also the pupils in the home-country should be encouraged to learn English.

It was even mentioned that the English lessons were interesting because one has to learn English as it is such an important subject due to its role in the world. Only seldom were reasons, such as interesting or fun lessons given for liking learning English at school. The importance of the status of English as an international language was evident also when the participants compared English and Swedish as school subjects. Extract (42) illustrates this:

(42) *englanti mua kiinnostaa ku se on silleen kansainvälinen kieli ... kaikki puhuu sitä muut (xxx) **mä haluun oppia** --- mut se [englanti] on niin vaikee --- mut mun **ruotsin numero on ysi** ... pakko se on opiskella nii ... se on **ihan helppo** mut se on **ihan turhaa** se ruotsin kieli --- ruotsi ei oo **kansainvälinen** kieli se on vaan ruotsi ruotsalaisten kieli niin miks sitä pitäis oppia* (P6,2)

Although the English language was experienced as difficult to learn, it was valued more than Swedish as a school subject despite the fact that learning Swedish was easier. The difference resulted from the status of these languages: English was seen as an international language spoken everywhere whereas there seemed to be no point in learning Swedish because it was not seen to have any use in the future.

Realisation of the importance of English

In addition to stating the importance of English, the participants could also recognise that they had not always been aware of the role of English in the world. This is discussed in extract (43):

(43) *olihan se aikoinaan vähän tylsempää mutta nykyään se on parempaa nyt on vähän kiinnostunu enemmän kun tajunnukki että se on ... että se on pitää oppia että on hyötyä jos (xxx) muualle menee tai --- et se on niin tärkeä ---.kolkilla mä vaan mietin että mä saan kuitenkin näistä ihan jonkun numeron vaan nii se on siinä että sitä ei tarvii sen enempää käyä mutta sitten alko sitten (xxx) seiskalla et sitä tarvitaan muuallakin (P5,7)*

The participants elaborated that in the lower grades (3–6) of comprehensive school they had not been so interested in learning English because they had not realised its importance. At that time English was seen as a compulsory subject among others without any special meaning. Later on, however, the participants had realised that it was good to learn English because it would be needed in the future. This had increased the participants' interest in learning English and decreased the influence of different demotives. Thus, for example, boring lessons had not been experienced so boring anymore because learning had become more meaningful for the participants.

In addition to the change of mindset that the participant had experienced when moving on to the upper grades (7–9) of comprehensive school, in the case of one participant (P6) the change had happened when he or she had started school in Finland. This is illustrated in extract (44):

(44) *en mä tienny että ... ei sinne [iraniin] anneta tietoja ... englannin kieli on kansainvälinen kieli --- me opiskeltiin englannin kieltä --- mä luulin et se on ihan normaali kieli se on kuin saksan kieli ... en mä tienny et se on kansainvälinen --- no ku mää tuln suomeen sitte mä olin mamuluokassa valmistava niin meidän o- mul oli yks opettaja ... se aina kehu että --- englannin kielikin on tosi tärkeä kieli se on kansainvälinen kieli ... sit mä menin ettimään netistä nii mä sain tietää et se on tosi tärkeä kieli --- niin maailmassa sitä käytetään aika paljon ... sitten mää innostuin siitä kielestä (P6,9–10)*

Before starting school in Finland, the participant (P6) had regarded English as a 'normal' language among others. However, one of his teachers had told that it is important to learn English because it is an international language. As a result of realising its importance, the participant had become inspired of learning the language.

Encouragement from family members

Moreover, the family members of the participants encouraged the participants to learn English because they too valued the language for its international status. This point is made in extract (45):

(45) *no mun yks isoveli kannustaa mua tosi paljon enkun kieleen --- nekin [vanhemmat] kannustaa että niitten ne on tavallaan ilosia kun mä osaan puhua englantia ja tälleen niin ne on silleen siitä ylpeitä --- koska ne sanoo et se on niin silleen niinku tavallaan kaikki kulttuureissa jos haluaa kommunikoida niin niin sillä kielellä pitää kommunikoida muitten ihmisten kanssa? (P1,4)*

It was mentioned that the parents of the participants valued English and therefore stressed that it was an important school subject to learn. One participant (P7) even stated that he or she spoke English with his or her big brother at home because the brother thought that learning English was very important.

In summary, recognising the status of English as a lingua franca had helped the participants to overcome their demotivation in three ways. Firstly, the fact that *English is an international language* had made the participants regard English as an important school subject, the learning of which was seen very useful

(7 participants). Secondly, *realizing the importance of English* had had a crucial effect on the way that the participants viewed the learning of English as earlier they had seen it as a compulsory school subject among others (7 participants). Thirdly, the participants received *encouragement from their family members* due to the important role of English in the world (6 participants). All in all, recognising the status of English as a lingua franca had diminished the effect of demotives presented in sections 6.1 and 6.2 as recognising English as a lingua franca had made the participants to put a lot of effort in learning English despite setbacks.

6.3.2 Positive attitudes towards schooling

In addition to recognising the status of English as a lingua franca, the participants' positive attitudes towards schooling helped them to overcome their demotivation. The reasons for overcoming demotivation that related to positive attitudes towards schooling fell under three categories: obligation and possibility to learn, want for improvement especially in English, and competitiveness.

Obligation/possibility to learn

Seeing learning as the pupils' obligation had helped the participants to cope with their demotivation related to learning English. This is discussed in extract (46):

(46) *no eihän mikään oppiaineista ole kiinnostavaa paitsi liikunta ja nää --- en mä oikeen tykkää sitä [enkkua opiskella] siis kun meidän on pakko opiskella oppilaiden on pakko ... niiden velvollisuus on opiskella mut en mä oikeen tykkää sitä ... tai siis se on sama- samanlainen kun muut tunnit vaikka yhteiskunnan tunti sitten ruotsin tunti ... ruotsi on tylsempi vielä (P6,8)*

It was stated that although lessons of none of the school subjects were interesting, it was the pupils' obligation to learn and attend classes. Also English lessons were considered uninteresting but it was seen as an obligation to anyhow try to learn the language. Viewing learning like this helped the participants to overcome their

demotivation as they saw learning as something that had to be done no matter what and despite demotives.

In addition to regarding learning as obligation, it was seen as a possibility. This is illustrated in extract (47):

(47) *no ihan kivalta silleen ku en käyny niinku ennen (xxx) koulus mut kyllä mä näin että ne muut meni siellä iranissa meni kouluun ja sitte kyl määkin oisin halunnu mut ku ei sinne saanu* (P2,2)

Learning was seen as a possibility due to the previous experiences of the participants. The fact that the participant had not had the chance to go to school before coming to Finland had made him appreciate the possibility to learn. This was reflected also in learning English as also in this school subject he was more willing to make an effort.

Want for improvement

In addition to recognising the obligation or possibility of learning, the participants expressed being willing to make an effort in order to improve their English skills. This point is made in extract (48):

(48) *kyl mää meen mielellään [enkun tunneille] että mä halun kuitenkin oppia sen vaikka oli tylsää ... **nykyään** mä oon koittanu yleensäkin kuunnella* (P5,5)

It was stated that even though English lessons were sometimes regarded as boring and thus demotivating, the participants were anyhow willing to improve their English skills and therefore attended the lessons with a good attitude. It was clear that the participants wanted to improve their English skills and were motivated to make an effort in order to achieve this goal. It was, for example, mentioned that a lot more effort was put on learning English than learning other subjects and also some extra tasks were asked from the English teachers in order to get better in English. In addition to spending some of their free-time in order to learn English,

the participants demonstrated their want for improvement by participating actively in class.

Moreover, the want for improvement manifested itself in the high level of determination after an experience of failure which is illustrated in extract (49):

(49) *no ku saa huonon numeron niin mä s-sanon että en mää opi tätä en mä jaksa opiskella tätä enempää --- no aina mä luovutan mut sitte aina [sanon itelleni et] älä nyt luovuta niin kyllä sä sitä opit (P3,9)*

When the participant had got a not so good grade in a test, he had been demotivated by it. However, his want for improvement and determination to learn English had made him to encourage himself and as a result, he had kept on trying.

To sum up, although poor learning experiences had temporarily demotivated the participants, the want for improvement had helped the participants to rise from that state and they had turned the demotivation into determination to try even more. This is emphasised in extract (50):

(50) *mä jaksan kyllä yrittää mutta tuntuu kyllä se [jatkuvasti huono numero todistuksessa] silti sen verran pahalta --- mulle se on tärkeätä et osaa enkkua --- ihan vaan oman tietoisuuden takia et mä opin ite jotain* (P5,10)

Although the participant had been demotivated again and again by an unsatisfactory grade in a school report, he had been able to overcome demotivation because he considered learning English so important.

Competitiveness

Yet another manifestation of positive attitudes towards schooling and learning was competitiveness. The effect of competitiveness in overcoming demotivation in learning English is illustrated in extract (51):

(51) *mut silleen mä haluisin olla parempia ku silleen ne [mun kaverit] --- [se] ärsyttää mua ku ne leijuu ja jos joku leijuu mulle nii sit mun on pakko ... niinku oltava siinä aineessa ihan täydellinen --- sen takia mä haluun tosi paljon oppia englantia* (P1,11)

It was explained that if someone boasted about his or her language abilities, it raised the want to compete with that persons because his or her behaviour was so irritating. Thus, the participants strived for even better results despite demotivating factors. It was, in addition, stated that it was important to be at least as good in English as the classmates and it was a nice feeling when one could show off one's language skills in class.

In summary, the participants were able to overcome their demotivation due to their positive attitudes towards schooling for three reasons. Firstly, the participants saw *learning as an obligation and possibility* and that decreased the long-term influence of different demotives (5 participants). Secondly, the participants were so *willing to make an improvement* in English that their determination overrode the effects of demotives (4 participants). Thirdly, the *competitiveness* of the participants helped them to overcome their demotivation as they aimed at better language skills in order to outdo their peers (3 participants).

6.3.3 Using English outside of school

As focusing on form and lack of opportunities to speak the language had demotivated the participants (see section 6.1), the possibilities to use English outside of school had increased the participants' interest in learning English and thus helped them to overcome their demotivation. Three types of uses of English emerged from the interviews: use of English in certain domains, multicultural contacts, and mixing English with other languages in specific domains.

Use of English in certain domains

Needing English outside the school context had increased the participants' want to learn the language. This point is made in extract (52):

(52) mä oon nyt ysin aikana tosi kiinnostunu englannista ... tai siitä että mä käytän enkkua tosi paljon ja tälleen varmaan siitä johtuu hirveesti (P1,9)

The participants stated that as they had realised that they used and needed English in different contexts, they had become more interested in learning English. The domains where the participants used English were travelling, watching movies and series on TV, reading news on the internet, and playing video games.

Moreover, the use of English in these domains contributed also to the learning of English skills. The participants specified that they had learned especially vocabulary from, for instance, movies and video games. In addition, it was mentioned that it was nice to go to an English lesson when one had learned something on one's own and could demonstrate this to the others during the lesson.

Multicultural contacts

In addition to using English when travelling and utilising different media, multicultural contacts of the participants had helped the participants to overcome their demotivation as they too offered the participants possibilities to actually use English. This is discussed in extract (53):

(53) mesessä [käytän enkkua] (laughter) --- sedän enon ja kaikkien semmosten sukulaisten kanssa serkkujen ja --- [ne asuu] norjassa ruotsissa australiassa ja tämmösissä (P4,3)

The participants had relatives around the world as the extended family had immigrated to different countries and with them the participants could use English. Although the participants and the relatives shared a common language, that is their

mother tongue, English was used when talking online as the mother tongue was difficult to write with a computer due to different alphabets. In addition, English was used as a common language with relatives also when they were visiting the participants in Finland. It seemed that some of the communication took place in English because the common mother tongue had already been forgotten to some extent.

However, it was not always the relatives around the world with whom English was used. Also multicultural friends here in Finland offered possibilities to use English. This point is made in extract (54):

(54) viime vuodesta asti mua on alkanu kiinnostaa enkku tosi paljon --- mulla on tosi paljon kavereita jotka puhuu englannin kieltä? tai silleen on niinku monikulttuurisia kavereita? sen takia (P1,2)

The use of English with friends with diverse cultural backgrounds had made the participant (P1) more interested in learning English. As the participant had experienced the usefulness of knowing English, he was more interested in learning English even though learning English at school included demotivating characteristics.

Mixing English with other languages in specific domains

Further, mixing languages in specific domains had increased the participants' interest in learning English and therefore decreased the effect of demotives. This is illustrated in extract (55):

(55) kun me puhutaan [kavereitten kaa] tälleen me puhutaan meidän omalla kielellä mut en mää tiä jos me puhutaan esim mesessä tai tekstataan niin sit me käytetään enkku en mää tiä mistä se tulee mut silleen vaan käy ... siis mä en itekkään ymmärrä mut siis kato mun viestit --- kaikki vaan niinku englannin kielellä mun kavereitten viestit ... sit välillä tulee suomeen sekasin mut taas enkku --- sit siin on sekasin muitakin kielii (laughter) en tiä me vaan lähetetään (P1,5)

Although the participants and their friends shared a common language or even two of them, that is, their mother tongue and Finnish, they used English or mixed it with other languages in specific domains. These domains were instant messaging and sending text messages. This kind of use of English seemed to be very natural to the participants and illustrated how English had gained ground in specific domains in Finland.

In summary, the experiences that the participants had had on using English outside of school had made them more interested in learning more as a result of which the demotives lost some of their importance. Firstly, the use of English in the domains of travelling and media had made the participants realise that they do use and need English in real contexts (5 participants). Secondly, the participants utilized their language skills when keeping in touch with their relatives around the world and thus were motivated to learn more despite the demotives (4 participants). In addition, mixing English with other languages when sending text messages or talking online was natural language use for the participant and they were inspired by this kind of use of English (2 participants).

6.3.4 Positive attitudes towards English

In addition to recognising English as a lingua franca, also other positive attitudes towards English had assisted the participants to overcome demotivation. These attitudes were more related to the language itself and not its status in the world.

It was mentioned that learning English was liked despite the existence of demotives because the language itself sounded nice. This point is made in extract (56):

(56) kyllä se niinku kuulostaa ihan kivalta silleen mukavalta kieleltä ... kyl määhaluaisin niinku osata enemmän ja oppia enemmän englantia (P2,2)

Although learning English was experienced very demanding, one wanted to learn it because it sounded nice. In addition, it was mentioned that English was such a beautiful language that one wanted to learn to speak it perfectly.

Moreover, it was suggested that knowing English was part of one's all-round education. Extract (57) discusses this:

(57) mun mielestä tuntuu et se on yleissivistystä että osaa englannin kieltä ... musta tuntuu juuri siltä et niinku sit jos sä osaat enkun kieltä? ... tavallaan tulee enemmän arvostusta esim meidän maassa tyttöjä tytöt ei opiskele enkkaa tai ylipäätään ne ei ees opiskele? ... jos mä nyt meen sinne hyvällä ammatilla ja sit vaikka ku mä osaan enkkaa nii silleen ne arvostaa paljon enemmän ne on silleen et oo sä osaat enkkaa wau (laughter) (P1,10)

It was pointed out that it was a part of one's all-round education that one knows English. In addition, people who had a good command of English were thought to be appreciated and valued.

In summary, the positive attitudes towards the English language helped the participants to overcome their demotivation for two reasons. Firstly, the participants wanted to learn English despite the demotives because English was regarded as a beautiful language (2 participants). Secondly, knowledge of English was considered being a part of all-round education and competence in it resulted in appreciation (1 participant).

6.3.5 Summary of the ways of overcoming demotivation

Although the participant could name a variety of internal and external demotives as discussed in sections 6.1 and 6.2, the reasons for overcoming demotivation seemed to be so influential that the participants were able to recover their motivation to learn English. In other words, the positive motives that were active in their learning experiences despite the demotives, inhibited demotivation turning into a state of amotivation in which learners lack motivation because there is no point in learning.

Particularly the participants' awareness of the status of English as a lingua franca was crucial in overcoming demotivation. The fact that English was used worldwide in a variety of contexts had made the learning of English purposeful for the participants and realising the long-term benefits of learning English overruled the effects of demotives. Because of the status of English as a lingua franca, the participants rated English as an important school subject and were willing to learn English even though it would not be compulsory. It was even suggested that the number of English lessons could be increased by decreasing the number of Swedish lesson because in contrast to English, learning Swedish was not considered meaningful due to the restricted possibilities to use the language. All in all, the reasons for liking English as a school subject were traced back to the status of English as a lingua franca and not to the factors in the immediate language learning environment, which illustrates the importance of the status of the target language when motivating pupils.

Moreover, the participants' positive attitudes towards schooling in general kept them motivated in learning English despite several demotives. The participants saw learning as a obligation or as a possibility and therefore learning also English was considered something that had to be done despite the demotives. Most of the participants were willing to make an effort in order to improve their skills in English and were also otherwise determined to succeed. It was interesting to notice, however, that those pupils who did not express any want for improvement in English, were those who had experienced learning English as very difficult compared to the others. However, also these pupils, who had not been that successful in English, emphasised the status of English as an international language and therefore still considered learning English very important.

Further, the possibilities to use English outside of school had helped the participants to overcome their demotivation as they had noticed the benefits of knowing English in various types of situation. Using English outside of school in media contexts and with multicultural relatives and friends seemed to be quite natural for the

participants. In addition, mixing English with other languages in text messaging and instant messaging illustrated the spread of English in new domains especially among the youth. This, too, helped the participants to overcome their demotivation because they were aware of the fact that they actually used English almost daily and thus it was not only another subject learned at school. In addition, for some the English language itself without emphasising its instrumental value was a good enough reason to keep on trying to learn English despite experiences of demotivation.

All in all, the participants seemed to be able to overcome their demotivation relatively easily due to the reasons discussed above. The status of English as a lingua franca, the positive attitudes towards schooling, the use of English outside of school, and positive attitudes towards English made the participants interested in learning English and willing to make effort in order to achieve a higher level of competence in English despite the influence of different demotives.

7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to find out by qualitative means factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupil's motivation to learn EFL. It sought to answer the following questions: 1) What are the external factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupil's motivation to learn English? 2) What are the internal factors that have a negative impact on immigrant pupils' motivation to learn English? 3) What factors help immigrant pupils to overcome their demotivation? In order to answer these research questions seven immigrant pupils on the ninth grade of comprehensive school were interviewed. The semi-structured interviews were analysed by means of qualitative content analysis as a result of which several external and internal sources of demotivation emerged from the data and the ways of overcoming demotivation were revealed. This chapter discusses the findings of the study presented in the previous chapter in the light of previous research findings.

The findings are discussed in the order of the research questions. Thus, the external demotives are discussed first, after that the internal demotives. Next, the findings related to the ways of overcoming demotivation are compared with the previous research findings. Finally, implications of the findings for teachers of English who face immigrant pupils in their classrooms are considered.

7.1 External demotives

First of all, the findings of the present study indicated that the external demotives were more influential than the internal demotives in the participants' experiences as the number of external demotives mentioned was greater and the range of them wider. The external demotivational themes that emerged from the data were the teacher, learning material and course contents, learning environment, and simultaneous learning of many languages. The prominence of external demotives is consistent with the findings of those previous studies that have made the distinction between external and internal attributes as they too have indicated that language learners are mainly demotivated by external factors in their language learning experience in school contexts. For example, in the study by Ushioda (1996, as quoted by Ushioda 2001) except for one internal attribute, that is, the pressure of setting too high standards for oneself, all the other demotives were related to the external factors in the formal language learning environment. Moreover, in the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) external attributions accounted for 64 % of the total number of demotivational encounters.

The findings regarding the first research question showed that *the teacher* often had been the most influential demotive in the learning experiences of English by the participants. All of the participants mentioned at least one demotive related to the teacher and in addition discontents related to the teacher were expressed more unprompted, explicitly, and emotionally than with any other demotive. Moreover, the range of issues raised under this theme was the widest. Attributes related to classroom activities (e.g. lack of group work), teaching methods (e.g. lack of

competence), and teacher's behaviour and personality (e.g. lack of discipline) were raised. The salience of the teacher as a demotive did not come as a surprise because except for the study by Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) in which learning contents and materials and test scores were found to demotivate the participants more than the factors related to the teacher, findings of all the other previous studies on language learning demotivation have indicated the teacher to be the most salient source of demotivation (see Chambers 1993; Dörnyei 1998; Muhonen 2004; Oxford 1998; Ushioda 1996; Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. 2007). For example, in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a) the teacher accounted for 40 % of the total frequency of demotivational occurrences and the correspondent proportion in the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) was 38 %.

In addition to the teacher, external attributes related to learning material and course contents, learning environment, and simultaneous learning of many languages had demotivated the participants of the present study. In regard to the theme *learning material and course contents* issues, such as course books, uninteresting course contents and focusing on grammar were found demotivating. Also in the previous studies issues related to the learning material and course contents have been found to demotivate L2 learners. The results of the study by Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) indicated that learning contents and materials were the main source of demotivation for Japanese students. In addition, in the study by Chambers (1993) the course book and the materials produced by the teacher were criticised for several reasons and in the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) the textbook was found demotivating because it was boring or it did not match with the pupils' levels of proficiency. Further, in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a) course books were found to be an influential demotive although they were listed as a less frequent demotive. Moreover, the results of the study by Muhonen (2004) indicated that the learning material was the second most common demotivational theme among the Finnish learners of English, accounting for 19,8 % of all occurrences.

In the demotivational theme *learning environment*, classmates' distracting behaviour, such as speaking all the time and throwing papers was the most common source of demotivation. This specific demotive is almost non-existing in the previous research findings as the only study that mentions this attribute is the one by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) and even in their study the problems in the classroom atmosphere were mainly related to the quiet and boring or on the other hand stressful nature of the classroom atmosphere and only rarely to the negative behaviours of classmates. In fact, also in the present study the atmosphere of the classes was said to be good most of the time and the classmates were given credit for being nice, helpful and encouraging during lessons although most of the participants admitted that distracting behaviour of classmates had demotivated them.

The other factors causing demotivation under the theme *learning environment* are, in contrast, supported by the previous research findings. The unfavourable scheduling of classes was found demotivating also in the studies by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) and Muhonen (2004). In the first named problems in the class time were mainly connected to the limited class time but also unfavourable class time was mentioned. The findings of the present study are consisted with the findings made by Muhonen (2004) as in both of the studies the pupils were displeased with the scheduling of classes because the English lessons were often held in the afternoon when it was difficult to stay concentrated. In addition, the findings of both studies indicated that constant changes in staff caused demotivation as the teaching suffered from having a substitute teacher instead of the regular one. Moreover, in the present study the learners had also been demotivated by the frequent changes in regular staff as some of them had had a new English teacher every year. Also in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a) the third significant source of demotivation, that is, inadequate school facilities included frequent changes of teachers among other things. Yet another demotive related to the learning environment that emerged from the data of the present study was the lack of opportunities to use English in the form of not having contact with native

speakers of the target language. Also in the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) the learners were displeased because there were both lack of opportunities to contact foreigners in class and lack of opportunities to use English outside class.

A general concern that cut across the first three external demotivational themes (the teacher, learning material and course contents, and learning environment) seemed to be the focus on grammar of the language at the cost of oral skills as discussed in subsection 6.1.5. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of the study by Ushioda (1996, as quoted by Ushioda 2001) in which demotives under the theme L2 coursework or methods expressed a similar kind of concern. In her study factors, such as emphasis on learning facts and figures and limited opportunities for student interaction were claimed to have cause demotivation similarly to the present study. In addition, lack of oral L2 use or practice under the theme institutional policies and attitudes were criticised in the study by Ushioda and the same concern was raised by the participants of the present study under the themes teacher, learning material and course contents, and learning environment. Also the immigrant pupils in the study by Salo (2008) stated that they did not have enough chances to actually use English and in addition they argued that English lessons at school had not offered enough in order to achieve good enough language skills.

The fourth external demotivation theme, *simultaneous learning of many languages*, was expected to emerge from the data as the previous studies on immigrant pupils as learners of foreign languages have indicated that the skills in the second language, that is, the medium of instruction, are crucial in order to succeed in EFL (see Balke-Aurell and Lindblad 1983; Suomela 2001). However, it was surprising that the demotivational influence of the simultaneous learning of many languages was not that strong compared to the other external demotives. It seemed that although learning Finnish at the same time than learning English had demotivated most of the participants including even those who had been living in Finland since the early childhood, it was anyhow a demotive that they accepted being unavoidable and therefore it was not such a serious concern. Moreover, most of the

participants had already reached the state where the influence of this demotive had diminished to a great extent as their skills in Finnish had improved during the years. As the language difficulties were regarded as a matter of fact by the participants, the other external demotives discussed above were more influential and changes to those were wished for.

7.2 Internal demotives

The answers to the second research question showed that although many researchers have not made the distinction between external and internal demotives and Dörnyei defines demotives as external factors, the internal demotives do play a significant part in the learning experiences of English by the pupils although they are not as influential as external demotives. Similar conclusions of the significance of internal demotives have been drawn by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) and Sakai and Kikuchi (2009). Moreover, even some of the studies (Dörnyei 1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a; Muhonen 2004) which have not made the distinction between external and internal demotives, discuss the demotives related to internal learner characteristics when presenting their findings and this too confirms the existence of internal demotives.

The three internal demotivational themes that emerged from the data of the present study were experience of failure, lack of success, and attitudes towards English. The *experience of failure* had resulted from getting a low grade in a test, being behind classmates, or getting a low grade in a school report. *Lack of success* was, on the other hand, related to the experiences of not achieving success despite a lot of effort and feeling unable to learn. Similar types of experiences have been found to demotivate learners also in a number of previous studies. In the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) experiences of failure or lack of success combined were found to be the most salient internal demotive. Issues such as failing to understand lessons due to lost background knowledge, being left behind classmates, and getting low marks despite having studied seriously were raised somewhat

similarly to the present study. Regarding the experience of failure, the findings of the present study were consistent with some of the previous studies as also they discussed the demotivating effect of test grades and being behind classmates. The findings of Sakai and Kikuchi (2009) indicated that obtaining low test scores was perceived strongly demotivating especially among less motivated learner and in the study by Muhonen (2004) some participants had been demotivated by the poor performance in a nation-wide English test. In addition, the results of the study by Muhonen showed that lowered self-confidence due to being left behind of classmates had demotivated the learners and in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a) learners' reduced self-confidence due to incidents, such as too strict marking accounted for as much as 15 % of all demotivational occurrences.

The third internal demotivation theme, *attitudes towards English* was not such an influential demotive in the present study. The negative attitudes towards the English language were mainly related to the perception of its grammar being difficult but also difficulties in pronouncing were raised and English was claimed to be a difficult language in general. In the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) negative attitudes towards English were much more prominent as a demotive as they accounted for 16 % of the total demotivational encounters. Similarly to the present study, complicated grammar and difficulties in pronouncing were typical reasons for the negative attitudes towards English but in their study also large vocabulary had been experienced as demotivating by the participants. Also in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a) negative attitudes towards the L2 accounted for more than 10 % of the occurrences. The reason for why negative attitudes towards the L2 were not found to be such an influential demotive in the present study was the fact that the participants' attitudes towards learning English were highly positive. These positive attitudes helped the pupils to overcome the experiences of demotivation.

7.3 Ways of overcoming demotivation

The answers to the third research question indicated that although demotivation was a prominent phenomenon among immigrant pupils and a variety of demotives were raised, it was a state that was possible to overcome. Also the findings of Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr (2007) indicated that the L2 learners seemed to accept the existence of demotivation and often experienced it as a temporary state. Their findings indicated in addition that 71 % of the reasons for overcoming demotivation were internal and similarly in the present study the participants gave mainly internal reasons for overcoming demotivation although also some external reasons were mentioned. The internal reasons given for overcoming demotivation in the present study constituted the following themes: recognising the status of English as a lingua franca, positive attitudes towards schooling, using English outside of school, and positive attitudes towards English.

Especially the status of English as a lingua franca was a crucial factor in overcoming demotivation among the participants of the present study. This finding is consistent with the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) in which an awareness of the importance of English was found to be the most important reason to overcome demotivation, accounting for 27 % of all reasons. Also the findings of Liiti and Saarinen (2007) and Salo (2008) indicated that immigrant pupils valued English as a language and considered its learning important because of its status as an international language. In the present study the perceived benefits of knowing English were considered so important that the participants were able to overcome the different demotives. This view was emphasised when learning English was compared to learning Swedish because the participants elaborated that although learning English was more difficult to them than learning Swedish and although some of them were less successful in learning English than Swedish, demotivation in learning Swedish was much more serious concern as the learners felt that it was no use in future. Also Chambers (1993) was pleased to find out that because appreciating the long-term benefits of learning English, the learners were prepared

to tolerate some boredom in the short-term. In other words, although not particularly enjoyable, learning had been seen as very important and therefore the learners were able to overcome the different demotives. To sum up, the status and perceived usefulness of the target language seems to play a crucial role in how influential the learners experience different demotives to be and how well they are able to overcome the experiences of demotivation.

In addition, the positive attitudes of the participants towards schooling were important in overcoming demotivation. Also the study by FNBE (2008) showed that immigrant pupils possess a very positive attitude towards schooling and often perceive it even more positively than Finnish pupils despite the difficulties resulting from their background factors. In the present study the positive attitudes towards schooling seemed to result from the participants' experiences of not having chances to go to school in their home country. In addition to seeing learning as a possibility or obligation due to the background factors, the participants emphasised that they were willing to make effort in order to improve their skills in English. Moreover, some of the participants admitted being competitive and therefore wanted to outdo their peers. These findings are consistent with the findings of the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) which showed that self-improvement constituted for 12 % of the reasons for overcoming demotivation and self-determination for another 12 %.

Moreover, using English outside of school in different kind of settings (e.g. media, multicultural contacts, mixing language when instant messaging) had helped the learners to overcome they demotivation as they realised that they actually were using English in a variety of situations. Also in the study by Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. (2007) personal reasons that accounted for 16 % of the reasons for overcoming demotivation included factors such as code-switching and liking being able to understand world news on TV or internet. Further, in the present study positive attitudes towards English other than perceiving it as an international language had helped some of the participants in overcoming demotivation. Similar kind of attitudes were also find important in the study by Thi Thu Trang and

Baldauf Jr. (2007) as the findings showed that although accounting only for 4 % of the total reasons, positive attitudes towards English were still helping the participants to recover their motivation after experiencing demotivation.

7.4 Implications of the findings

As the findings of the present study clearly indicated that demotivation is an issue of concern even with those pupils who are doing well in English, it is an issue that has to be taken into account in L2 classrooms. Therefore, this section discusses the practical implications of the findings for the teachers of English who face immigrant pupils in their classrooms. In addition, although some of the implications are concerned with specifically immigrant pupils, many of the implications on a more general level are applicable also when working with Finnish pupils in the L2 classrooms.

First of all, as the participants experienced the focus on form instead of oral skills demotivating in a number of different areas (classroom activities, grading, course books, course contents, and learning environment), special attention should be paid to this issue. Because many of the immigrant pupils have previous experiences of learning foreign languages mainly by speaking without any formal instruction as discussed before, they might experience the contents and methods in the formal language teaching more demotivating than those pupils who have learned foreign languages only in the formal language learning environment. On the basis of the findings of the present study there seemed to be a mismatch between the way that immigrant pupils saw language learning and how the teaching was actually organized. In addition, the participants felt that the assessment, that is, the testing and grading, of language competence did not agree with their understanding of what was important in knowing a language. In order to diminish the demotivation resulting from these mismatches, teachers should understand immigrant pupils' previous language experiences and also utilise these in teaching. More attention should be paid to practising the communicative competence in the target language

by increasing teaching methods that emphasise oral skills. Moreover, oral skills should be also taken into account when giving grades in school reports and the tests assessing the overall language ability for example at the end of a course should be scored in a way that reflects the communicative competence of the learners instead of the level of grammatical correctness. As some of these changes require also changes on the institutional level, they are necessarily not that easy to implement. However, the least that can be done is to emphasise the importance of communicative competence instead of test grades during lessons and give pupils positive feedback on their development in communicative competence. By these means the formal teaching of English would better foster and encourage the communicative skills of the learners and thus demotivation resulting from the experience that too much weight is put on the grammatical correctness at the cost of oral skills could be avoided.

Moreover, because of the participants' background factors, simultaneous learning of many languages, teaching competence, too fast a teaching rate and too difficult a level of course books were found demotivating by many of the participants. Naturally, simultaneous learning of many languages is unavoidable in the case of immigrant pupils but special attention and support can be given to them in different areas in order to help them to better keep up with the teaching. For example, it should be made sure that pupils understand the meaning of the terms that are used when discussing different linguistic phenomena. Moreover, as also the too difficult level of the course book had resulted in demotivation in some cases, it would be beneficial to prepare extra materials that increase the linguistic support for immigrant pupils, for example more extensive word lists to complement the wordlists in the course books. As those pupils who were lacking behind their classmates in English felt that the teaching rate was too fast and some of the teachers had not been able to explain the subject matter well, it should be regularly checked that all pupils are keeping up with teaching by asking pupils if they needed repetition. In addition, many pupils could benefit from alternative ways of going

through the subject matter and therefore alternative methods that would suit as many learning styles as possible should be sought for.

As the findings demonstrated also the influence of internal sources of demotivation, special attention should be paid to encouraging immigrant pupils in order to diminish the long-term effects of the demotives. In the case of immigrant pupils encouragement and positive feedback are essential in order to keep their spirits up and avoid demotivation resulting from being behind classmates or being unable to make an improvement, for example. In addition, as some of the immigrant pupils in the present study seemed to take test grades and grades in school reports quite seriously, they should be encouraged after getting their grades in order to avoid feelings of failure. Reasons for the gotten grade should be discussed together with pupils as the findings indicated that some of the participants had not understood why they had not gotten as good a grade as they had expected. Moreover, positive feedback should be given for the skills that they master in tests or during the course and learning goals for the future could be discussed together with learners. Yet another issue related to grading is to make sure that pupils understand on which basis they are graded as the findings of the present study showed that some of the participants were a little unsure about whether the immigrant background should be taken into account in assessment or should they be evaluated with the same criteria as the Finnish pupils.

This said, it has to be remembered that immigrant pupils are an extremely heterogeneous group, which also the findings of the present study illustrated. The participants demonstrated a great variety of preferences related to several factors in the language learning environment and the differences were sometimes resulting from the participants' background factors, usually the years attended the Finnish educational system. For example, some of the participants had been bored while learning English as they felt that there was too much repetition and more variety for the course contents were wished for. Others, in contrast, experienced learning English as a demanding task full of complex subject matters and wished for more

repetition. Thus, immigrant pupils cannot be treated as a group who would have similar needs and preferences. Although some similarities can be found between them, they all have to be considered as individuals taking their personal background factors, abilities, and needs into consideration. As in the case of all pupils in general, differentiation is of key importance. As often as possible and feasible, those pupils who are lacking behind should be offered additional support and material and, on the other hand, the pupils who are at a risk of being demotivated because of not having enough challenges in learning should be given additional tasks and material to work on.

In addition to the implications that are directly connected to the demotives resulting from the situation of immigrant pupils, several other implications can be drawn from the findings which concern all the pupils in the English classrooms. As the teachers were found to be the most influential source of demotive both in the present study and in the previous studies, they are the ones who can tackle the problem of demotivation most effectively by being aware of the phenomenon (Thi Thu Trang and Baldauf Jr. 2007). In the present study, several issues related to the teacher were criticised, including different types of classroom activities, teaching methods, and teacher's behaviour and personality. Attention should be paid to the issues that emerged from the data as demotivating pupils, such as discipline in order to ensure good learning conditions, grading, and working methods just to mention a few of them. As already concluded on the basis of previous research findings (see e.g. Chambers 1993) it is anyhow difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions as L2 learners demonstrate very different learning preferences and it is therefore impossible to please all at the same time. However, what we can be done is to ask pupils for their opinions about the teaching and get them involved in influencing the course contents, working methods, and even assessment.

In regard to the ways of overcoming demotivation it is important to recognise the reasons why pupils are capable of overcoming the different demotives as the reasons can be used to further motivate the pupils. Although the participants of the present study were well aware of the status of English in the world and that was the

main reason why they were able to overcome experiences of demotivation, the status of English could be still further emphasized when possible by making pupils aware of how prominent the English language actually is in today's world. In addition, the other reasons that the participants had for overcoming demotivation could be utilized in the classroom. For example, lifting up the ways that pupils actually use English outside of school would make them more aware of the role of English in the lives and that would probably increase their motivation to learn. Further, the different domains in which the pupils are using English almost daily could be brought into the classroom and for example the internet, instant messaging conversations, and weblogs could be used as a resource material for teaching. In this way the learning would be more meaningful for the pupils.

All in all, when taking into account the status of English in the world the problem in the case of immigrant pupils is not in any way in the initial motivational basis (pre-actional stages of motivation). However, there seems to be a variety of factors mainly in the immediate language learning environment that cause demotivation among these pupils. As these situation specific negative influences can override the initial motivation and positive attitudes towards learning the L2, teachers should be aware of these influences and avoid being the source of demotivation in the ways that they have been found to be in the studies on L2 demotivation. The first step is to recognize the existence of this phenomenon and critically evaluate the classrooms practices. Then, if teachers want their pupils to be motivated to learn, they must directly address the important teacher- and course specific aspects that their pupils are displeased with (Dörnyei 2001a: 150).

8 CONCLUSION

Now that the findings of the present study have been discussed in the light of previous studies and the practical implications of the findings have been considered, this concluding chapter evaluates how well the present study succeeded in what it was set out to do. First the contributions and the strengths of the present study are

discussed after which the limitations of the study are considered. Finally, issues to explore in the future studies are suggested.

As there was very little previous research on immigrant pupils as learners of English, this study succeeded in shedding light on how immigrant pupils experience the learning of English in the formal language learning environment. Exploring the English learning experiences of immigrant pupils from the point of view of demotivation turned out to be a good option as it revealed the negative influences that had de-energised their learning of English. A wide range of demotives emerged from the data, increasing the much needed information on possible sources of demotivation. As a result, several practical implications could be drawn to help the teachers of English who face immigrant pupils in their classroom. By recognising the existence of demotivation in their classrooms and by paying attention to the demotives that participants brought up, teachers can enhance the learning experiences of English by the learners and most importantly, avoid being sources of demotivation themselves. Moreover, in addition to finding out the variety and nature of different demotives, it was also beneficial to explore the reasons that the participants had for overcoming demotivation. Firstly, the findings to the third research questions indicated that although demotivation was an issue of concern among the participants as all of them had been demotivated at some stage and for a variety of reasons, the participants were able to recover their motivation in the long run. Secondly, the findings gave a very promising and encouraging message to the teachers of immigrant pupils as the reasons for overcoming demotivation indicated that pupils considered the learning of English very important due to its status in the world, they were determined to make effort in order to achieve better results, and had in general positive attitudes towards schooling.

Choosing a qualitative approach to the present study was a natural choice as there were only few previous studies both on L2 demotivation and on immigrant pupils as learners of English. Conducting the interviews confirmed that as the Finnish skills of the participants could not be known beforehand, it was necessary to use oral

methods instead of only written ones. Several times during the interviews there was the need to negotiate meaning of some words or ask clarifying questions both by the interviewer and the interviewees. In addition, the interviews offered a great amount of flexibility, allowing the participants to introduce new themes and issues to be discussed as the interviewer could not know beforehand what to expect due to lack of previous research findings. Moreover, the warm-up task used in the beginning of the interviews turned out to be an effective way of activating the participants' memories of learning English and using this kind of data collection method in addition to the interviews made the data richer and more reliable.

However, the qualitative methods used including the interview technique to elaborate data were not without disadvantages. First of all, because there was no anonymity in the interview situation, it is possible that the participants tried to display themselves in a better light (Dörnyei 2007: 143–144) and were uncomfortable about bringing up the negative emotions and experiences that they had had. Therefore, in order to collect richer data, it would have been a good idea to start with a written task despite the language difficulties and afterwards complement it with interviews. In that case the participants would have also had more time to activate their memories of learning English and would have thus remembered a wider range of ups and downs in their careers as learners of English. In addition, using multiple methods of data collection, that is, method triangulation would have strengthened both the reliability and internal validity (Merriam 1998: 207).

Further, the inexperience of the researcher might have affected both the quality of the data and the reliability of the findings. During the interviews the interviewer might have asked loaded questions thus unintentionally leading the participants to certain directions. In addition, the interviewer did not necessarily realise to ask enough additional questions in order to achieve as rich data as possible. However, in order to ensure the quality of the data, the interview schedule was carefully designed and it received peer feedback. In addition, it was piloted before the actual interviews on the basis of which more prompts and additional questions were added

to the schedule. The inexperience of the researcher might have affected also the analysis of the data by increasing the subjectivity which is in general an issue of concern in analysing qualitative data. Getting a second opinion from another rater would have increased the reliability of the content analysis and probably the categorization of the different demotives would have looked somewhat different. However, using a second rater was not possible. Thus, in order to increase the reliability of the findings, the analytical process was explained in detail when introducing the research design and illustrative examples of the processes of data reduction and categorisation were added to the appendices (Hirsjärvi et al 1997: 232–233; Mason 1996: 188). Moreover, extracts from the interviews were added in order to increase the trustworthiness of the interpretations (Hirsjärvi et al. 1997: 232–233).

Due to the methods used and a small number of participants, no generalisations can be made of the findings. However, although not generalisable, all the demotives that emerged from the data were influential in the participants' individual experiences and therefore important factors in their paths as learners of English. Moreover, the findings are valuable as they illustrate the range of demotives that immigrant pupils can experience in learning English.

As there still is relatively little research on both demotivation in L2 learning and on immigrant pupils as learners of English, more studies are definitely needed in both of these areas. Both the previous studies and the present study on L2 demotivation have indicated that even those pupils who are highly motivated to learn English demonstrate changes in motivational level instead of stability and if we want our pupils to be motivated to learn, we cannot ignore the factors in the language learning environment that de-energise learning (i.e. demotives).

Because the present study was exploratory in its nature, more studies on immigrant pupils and L2 demotivation are needed to confirm the findings of the present study. Triangulation in the data collection methods and in the methods of analysis should

be considered. Moreover, it might be beneficial to consider which demotives are the primary attributes and which of them are only by-products caused by another factor (Dörnyei 2001a: 155) as done, for example, in the study by Dörnyei (1998, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a). In the present study this was not the case due to the exploratory nature of the study that aimed at increasing descriptive information on different demotives but it is quite likely that if only the primary demotives for each participant would have been taken into consideration, the findings would have looked somewhat different. For example, it is possible that especially some of the internal demotives, such as lack of success or attitudes towards English resulted from the external demotive simultaneous learning of many languages.

Moreover, it would be interesting to explore whether there are differences between immigrant pupils and Finnish pupils in terms of the demotives that have been influential in their learning experiences of English. In addition, it could be investigated whether both of these groups are able to overcome demotivation as easily and for what reasons. Yet another interesting topic to explore would be demotives in learning Swedish among immigrant pupils because the data of the present study clearly indicated that although learning Swedish was easier than learning English for many participants, they experienced learning Swedish much more demotivating. It has been suggested, for example, by Dörnyei (2005: 118) that a two-tier approach to L2 motivation in general should be introduced, focusing on world-language-learning and non-world language learning separately. On the basis of the present study it is safe to say that also in the case of demotivation the status of the target language in the world has an impact on the demotives and especially on the overcoming of demotivation. As demotivation in learning Swedish seems to be much more a serious concern, it would be even more crucial to investigate the nature of the phenomenon in that context.

All in all, especially when the research on L2 demotivation is still on an exploratory level, qualitative research methods are best suited to explore the issues suggested above. For example Ushioda (1996, as quoted by Dörnyei 2001a: 83) has suggested

that a more introspective type of research approach is needed in order to find out the qualitative developments in motivational experience over time and to identify those factors in the language learning contexts that are in a dynamic interplay with motivation. It seems that learning histories of different types, such as autobiographies could reveal new aspects of the L2 motivational complex by offering a rich description and taking into account the long-term motivational changes (Shoaib and Dörnyei 2004: 36).

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APPENDIX 1: The schedule of the semi-structured interview

Marianne Hirvonen
Pro Gradu –tutkielma
Puolistrukturoitu haastattelu

1) Tausta

- Ikä ja luokka-aste
- Koti-/lähtömaa
- Suomeen tulon ajankohta ja muuton syy
- Äidinkieli ja kielirepertoaari
- Kouluhistoria kotimaassa – kouluhistoria Suomessa

2) Englannin opiskelu koulussa ja asenteet kieltä ja sen opiskelua kohtaan

- Millaisena pidät englannin kieltä?
- Missä sitä käytät/tarvitset?
- Milloin olet aloittanut englannin kielen opiskelun (kotimaassa/suomessa)? Miten englannin opiskelun aloittaminen sijoittui suomalaisen koulun aloittamiseen?
- Alkoiko englannin opiskelu suomessa heti oman luokan kanssa vai muussa ryhmässä?
- Millaisessa ympäristössä oppiminen on tapahtunut? (formaali/informaali)
- Miltä englannin opiskelun aloittaminen tuntui?
- Ovatko tuntemukset englannin opiskelusta muuttuneet ajan myötä? Miten? Miksi?
- Pidätkö englannista oppiaineena? Miksi/Miksi et? (verrattuna myös muihin kieliin/oppiaineisiin)
- Onko englannin opiskelu sinulle helppoa? Miksi, miksi ei?

3) Tyypillinen englannin tunti

- Kuvaile omin sanoin tyypillistä englannin kielen tuntia
- Menetkö englannin tunnille mielellään? Miksi? Miksi et?
- Miltä englannin oppitunnit tuntuu? Millainen on luokan ilmapiiri? Työrauha?
- Onko opetusta helppo seurata?
- Osallistutko aktiivisesti tunnin kulkuun? Miksi/miksi et?
- Ovatko tunnintunteista kiinnostavia? Miksi/miksi ei?
- Luokan eri tekijöiden (opettaja, muu ryhmä, oppimateriaali, käytetyt tehtävätyypit) vaikutus englannin opiskelun miellyttävyyteen

4) Demotivoivat tekijät

- Miten kiinnostunut olet tällä hetkellä oppimaan enkkua (tämän hetkinen oppimismotivaatio)? Onko kiinnostus/innostus muuttunut? Miten? Miksi?
- Huonot englannin oppimiskokemukset?
- Onko hetkiä jolloin enkun opiskelu on tuntunut ikävältä tai ei kiinnosta? Miksi?
- Mistä et pidä englannin kielen oppimisessa? Miksi?

5) Demotivoivista tekijöistä selviytyminen/tyytyväisyys omaan osaamiseen

- Pidätkö (silti) kaiken kaikkiaan englannin oppimisesta? Miten englannin opiskelusta tulisi sinulle miellyttävämpää/kiinnostavampaa?
- Koetko, että englantia on tärkeä opiskella? Miksi?
- Koetko, että sen opiskelusta koulussa on sinulle hyötyä? Missä suhteessa? Jos se olisi vapaaehtoinen aine, opiskelisitko sitä?
- Koetko olevasi hyvä englannin kielessä?
- Oletko tyytyväinen englannin numeroosi/osaamiseesi? Onko numero oikea suhteessa osaamiseen/yrittämiseen? Miten paljon panostat englannin oppimiseen?
- Arveletko voivasi parantaa enkun arvosanaasi, jos haluaisit?
- Tavoitteet englannin kielessä? Onko sinulle tärkeää menestyä enkussa? Miksi/miksi ei?

APPENDIX 2: Permission sheet for parents

Hyvä vanhempi tai huoltaja

Kerään lapsenne koulussa aineistoa tutkimukseen, jossa tarkastellaan oppilaiden motivaatiota opiskella englannin kieltä. Pyydän, että saan haastatella lastanne. Haastateltavan henkilöllisyys ei tule esille tutkimuksen raportoinnissa.

Haastattelututkimus on osa maisterin tutkielmaa Jyväskylän yliopiston kielten laitokselle.

Olkaa hyvä ja palauttakaa tämä kirje allekirjoitettuna lapsenne mukana kouluun.

Ystävällisin terveisin

Marianne Hirvonen
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(lapsen nimi)
saa osallistua aineiston keräämiseen. Aineistoa saa käyttää nimettömänä tutkimustarkoituksiin.

Huoltajan allekirjoitus ja päiväys

APPENDIX 3: Warm-up task

Kokemukset vieraiden kielten oppimisesta

Piirrä taulukkoon punaisella värikynällä elämäkkaresi – nousuineen ja laskuineen – englannin kielen oppijana alkaen siitä, kun ensimmäisen kerran kohtasit englannin kielen ja päättyen tähän päivään. Merkitse kaarelle kolme myönteisintä (+) ja kolme kielteisintä (-) oppimiskokemustasi.

Piirrä sitten taulukkoon sinisellä värikynällä elämäkkaresi ruotsin kielen oppijana. Merkitse taas kaarelle kolme myönteisintä ja kolme kielteisintä oppimiskokemustasi.

Täydennä taulukkoa vielä muiden opiskelemiesi vieraiden kielten osalta.

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Ikä 5 6 7 8 9 **10** 11 12 13 14 **15** 16 17 18 19 **20**

APPENDIX 4: Transcription conventions

Symbol	Explanation
...	Pauses One stop = a very short pause; three stops = a pause lasting for a couple of seconds or longer
(laughter)	Other activities than speech
(XXX)	Unclear speech
mi-	Cut-off sound, repetitions of syllables
language	Emphasis
?	Rising intonation

APPENDIX 5: Example of the analysis

Table 3. Example of the analytical process regarding the first research question

Stage 1 Meanings	Stage 2 Reduced meanings	Stage 3 Subcategories	Stage 4 Themes	Stage 5 Main categories
<p>Reading through the transcriptions and underlining utterances indicating demotivation</p> <p>(58) <i>noo aina kuunnellaan.enemmän niin joka tunnilla kuunnellaan niin paljon et sen takia [se ei kiinnostaa] (P5,1)</i></p> <p>(59) <i>no joskus opettaja antaa niitä pitkiä tekstejä nii --- mut en mä oikeen tykkää niistä ne on pitkiä (xxx) (P6,6)</i></p> <p>(60) <i>no ehkä se riippui nyt opettajien siitä ... tai miten ne opettaa silleen - -- ei osannu hyvin selittää silleen --- et oppilaat ymmärtäis sen asian (P2,1)</i></p> <p>(61) <i>no koska se vanha ope meni nopeesti ne asiat --- mut tää uus ope niin jos ei osaa niin kertaa aina (P7,5)</i></p> <p>(62) <i>noo se oli yleensä nää kun --- ne ei osannu kunnolla pitää kuria tai ne vähän piti välillä joskus piti (P5,7)</i></p> <p>(63) <i>kasin opettaja oli tosi tiukka? --- jos on liian tiukka niin sillon ärsyttää (P1,8)</i></p>	<p>Condensing the underlined meanings into reduced meanings</p> <p>Listening exercises</p> <p>Reading tasks</p> <p>Teaching competence</p> <p>Too fast teaching rate</p> <p>Lack of discipline</p> <p>Strict teacher</p>	<p>Looking for similarities in the condensed meanings and grouping them</p> <p>Classroom activities</p> <p>Teaching methods</p> <p>Teacher's behavior and personality</p>	<p>Further comparing and combining subcategories and forming themes</p> <p>The teacher</p>	<p>Dividing the themes into main categories</p> <p>External demotives</p>

Table 4. Example of the analytical process regarding the second research question

Stage 1 Meanings	Stage 2 Reduced meanings	Stage 3 Subcategories	Stage 4 Themes	Stage 5 Main categories
<p>Reading through the transcriptions and underlining utterances indicating demotivation</p> <p>(64) <i>on tullu harmittanu joku koe ku on vähän...ihan helppo ja sit on ymmärtäny sen mut on saanu.en oottanu sitä numeroo mitä on saanu (P5,7)</i></p> <p>(65) <i>yks syy oli se et mä kokeessa mä sain koko ajan kutosia tai seiska (P6,1)</i></p> <p>(66) <i>vaikka va-esimerkiks mennään uus sanasto...sinä on ehkä vaan viiskyt sanaa niin...ne muut oppilaat ymmärtää lähes puolet yli puolet niistä.mut mä en ymmärrä mitään niin mä joudun harjottelemaan niitä kaikkia niin se on aika raskasta (P6,10)</i></p> <p>(67) <i>no en oo vielä [ottanu muita kiinni] ... ne osaa vielä enemmän (P7,3)</i></p> <p>(68) <i>[huono numero] masentaa --- no ku saa huonon numeron niin mä s-sanon että en mä jaksata tätä en mä jaksaa opiskella tätä enempää (P3,9)</i></p> <p>(69) <i>englanti on huonoin numero mitä mul on todistuksessa --- [se tuntuu] huonolta (P3,4)</i></p>	<p>Disappointing test grade</p> <p>Low test grade</p> <p>Knowing less than the others</p> <p>Being behind the others</p> <p>Depressed after getting a low grade</p> <p>The worst grade in school report</p>	<p>Getting a low grade in a test</p> <p>Being behind classmates</p> <p>Getting a low grade in school report</p>	<p>Experience of failure</p>	<p>Dividing the themes into main categories</p> <p>Internal demotives</p>

Table 5. Example of the analytical process regarding the third research question

Stage 1 Meanings	Stage 2 Reduced meanings	Stage 3 Subcategories	Stage 4 Themes
Reading through the transcriptions and marking the utterances that discussed overcoming demotivation	Condensing the underlined meanings into reduced meanings	Looking for similarities in the condensed meanings and grouping them	Further comparing and combining subcategories and forming themes
(70) <i>no just se että ... sitä puhutaan kaikkialla (P3,4)</i>	Spoken everywhere	Status of English as an international language	
(71) <i>mun mielestä se on tosi hyvä...ku ajattelee että sillä pärjää koko maailmassa (P4,3)</i>	Can cope with it everywhere		
(72) <i>ku oli ala-asteella nii sitä oli esim pakko opiskella vaan ... nytte tuntuu siltä että sitä pitää opiskella ku sitä tarvitaan tulevaisuudessa (P3,4)</i>	Understanding the use of knowing English	Realisation of the importance of English	
(73) <i>kyllä se kiinnostus on noussu sillee --- on vähän miettiny että mitä tulevaisuudessa ... niinku voisin tehdä (P2,5)</i>	Realising the need of English in the future		Recognising the status of English as a lingua franca
(74) <i>[vanhemmatkin on sanonu] et kun suomen kieltähän ei puhuta missään muualla ... ni et sit on niinku hyvä sitte osata englantia tai jotain toista kieltä (P2,7)</i>	Encouragement from parents	Encouragement from family members	
(75) <i>se ... mun isovelj sanoo että pitää oppia --- koska jos masmatkustaa niin siellä ei puhuta suomea ... tai meidän kieltä (P7,2)</i>	Encouragement from brother		

APPENDIX 6: English translations of the quotations

(1) *yes I think it [group work] helps more I mean in achieving better speaking skills in English (P2, 5)*

(2) *you have to speak it [the target language] quite a lot in order to learn ... first we lived five years in Iran and that's why I learned it [Persian] because I spoke it...I never studied how you have to speak it (P3,2)*

(3) *you don't really feel like it --- following the book all the time that you don't get to do anything yourself you only have to follow the book when ... in the text it's a little bit like reading comprehension but in reading comprehension it's easier because there's something that you answer to some ... when [listening] you are not answering to anything you just listen (P5,4)*

(4) *but I hate when we have to do gap-filling exercises ... those I don't like so much (P1,9)*

(5) *he [the current teacher] can ... masters so well the English language... he tells so well explains the subject matter in a way that I understand on the first time what it's about --- from all of the teachers I haven't got (xxx) so clear information but ... he [the current teacher] is so good at explaining (P5,8)*

(6) *well that that he [the teacher] moves forward too fast and then he doesn't explain everything for example some rules in the grammar (P2,6)*

(7) *you always have to be quiet there and the lessons last longer than the other lessons --- then it always lasts long ... to sit and listen to the teacher --- also were get to sometimes but mostly it is the teacher who talks (P4,5)*

(8) *(laughter) well exactly that [was better in the former teacher] that he assessed more active participation during classes than the test grades and then ... then he let us to express ourselves and then he taught well (P2,4)*

(9) *he [the new teacher] lacked discipline (laughter) --- then everyone began to misbehave and it became difficult to study (P4,1)*

(10) *well sometimes I get irritated because the teacher ... because there are two other foreigners in my class? he compares me and them in a different way? sometimes I'm really irritated by it --- I mean he is much more strict with me than the other two (P1,6)*

(11) *here when I began it was really nice ... it was easy and everything ... then from here onwards the teacher changed and at the same time the teaching became more difficult --- he didn't know how to have discipline --- then everybody began to*

misbehave and it became difficult to study --- then when I started the seventh grade [and the teacher changed] it was fun again --- but the teacher changed ... and it again began to get worse --- there was again lack of discipline you couldn't learn properly --- and here when [the current teacher] started the discipline began to be good and teaching also very good (P4,1)

(12) *they are too difficult you cannot always practise them --- [learning English would be nicer if there were] easier texts or ... or they are too difficult for me I don't know about the other pupils (P6,9)*

(13) *it kind of feels like that we are repeating those past tense and those things ... every year they are ... sometimes it feels like that this is all repetition --- there should be more new things (P1,9)*

(14) *if these three years or these six years were used wisely or I mean? in my opinion quite many would learn English better than they are learning now? --- there should be more new things ... I guess in the general upper secondary school there will be new things but there are quite many who don't go there ... that's why during comprehensive school you would learn fluent English . you would cope with it (P1,9-10)*

(15) *sometimes we go through the grammar in too detail and --- boring it's boring - -- you shouldn't be so strict with it --- that you would have to learn it precisely (P3,6-7)*

(16) *well words you learn more on your free-time --- [here in school you learn] structures and word orders and tenses (P4,4)*

(17) *on your free-time [you learn more] --- well in school you have to do it and on you free-time you learn it voluntarily. it's then much easier to learn ... at least for me it's easier (P1,5)*

(18) *it [the problem] has been in the pupils that also they haven't been able to concentrate on listening (xxx) a lot of talk(xxx) ... we all have started talking and the teacher hasn't been able to anything about it (P5,6)*

(19) *it depends on which time of the day we have the lesson ... I mean if it was from three to four then it doesn't feel good (P2,3)*

(20) *we had in the beginning of the ninth grade (xxx) during the autumn four lessons per week ... that was quite a lot --- it was too much ... two three lessons is quite ok but four lessons is really too much --- that was quite annoying but hopefully it was only for two months (P6,7)*

(21) *[when the teachers change it's bad] when you get used to the way that the teacher teaches ... you know how somebody teaches ... and the kind of things he*

puts in the tests --- then there's a change in teachers and you don't know how he values them (P3,7)

(22) and they [English teachers] had every now and then substitute teachers they weren't there themselves --- it would be good if there was only one substitute teacher but the substitute teachers change every week or --- it affects so that the other substitute teacher doesn't know where we are up to --- we go into some other [thing] and then we don't (xxx) back to the same things and we are not proceeding when the actual teacher is not there. (P5,7)

(23) even though all the word forms and everything are the same than in our mother tongue it still feels difficult ... when you don't use it it feels difficult (P3,5)

(24) when we started was it on the fourth grade then I had to learn the Finnish language --- I mean all of the important things that we learned then in English went past then on the fourth and sixth grade (P3,1)

(25) I did try but although I studied I didn't understand anything --- although I spoke Finnish quite well but in school they use difficult words and things like that so I didn't understand those then (P1,1)

(26) it [learning English] is a little bit difficult it feels that I don't learn --- because at the same time I have to learn Swedish and Finnish (P7,4)

(27) [in Swedish I've been all the time better because] my grammar was better when we started in the seventh grade my Finnish was better in the seventh grade than when we started English in the fourth grade (3,4)

(28) I try my best and when I'm finished with the test I have a very good feeling that it went well --- but when I get the test back the grade is seven or something (P4,9)

(29) but if you look at the test I don't know why I I mean in tests I always do so poorly ... then on the lesson I can do the things (P2,7)

(30) [it was difficult because] everybody here could form sentences ... then they spoke quite fluently for example in the seventh grade ... they spoke fluently- they had already studied for many years on the third fourth fifth grade ... four years --- I had a little bit sad bad feeling ---- because I didn't know anything but the other pupils could --- I had a bad feeling because everyone could but I could nothing (P6,4)

(31) [learning English would be nicer if] we started lang- the English language a little bit earlier and it ... for example for foreigners it would be taught in --- also in preparatory teaching (P3,8)

(32) [a low grade] gets me depressed --- well when I get a low grade I say that I won't learn this I can't study this more (P3,9)

(33) *somehow no matter how much I practise for tests or other similar things I won't get better results which I would normally get (P5,1)*

(34) *now it [interest in learning English] has decreased [since the lower grades of comprehensive school] because I think that I cannot really learn it ... more (P7,6)*

(35) *then when I couldn't do it these grammar things were gone through ... then it got quite difficult (P3,1)*

(36) *it is difficult --- because it is written in a different way and pronounced in the sa- different way (P7,2)*

(37) *I mean I want to learn the language but then it is difficult for me --- I don't know somehow I don't learn it easily (P2,4)*

(38) *on the third grade it wasn't ok because you had to learn (xxx) Finnish and like that ... and then when I had already learned Finnish a bit so then it was quite nice ... keen on that I can learn also English (P2,1)*

(39) *well because of that it is an international language and like that (P2,3)*

(40) *[I like English as a school subject because] it is a quite good language you should learn it ... every- everyone (xxx) English ... you know because it's an international language (P6,6)*

(41) *it would be quite good that everyone would know [English] then it would be much easier to communicate with other people ... and then if these ... when I grow up if I become ... then when I'll go to our country so at least I'll encourage the girls to learn English (P1,12)*

(42) *I'm interested in English because it is an international language ... everyone speaks it other (xxxx) I want to learn --- but it [English] is so difficult --- but my grade in Swedish is nine ... it's compulsory to study so ... it's easy but it's totally useless Swedish I mean --- Swedish isn't an international language but it's just Swedish language of the Swedes so why should you learn it (P6,2)*

(43) *at some stage it was more boring but nowadays it's better now I'm a little bit more interested because I've realised that it's ... that it's have to learn because it's useful to know it if (xxx) you travel somewhere or --- that it's so important – on the third grade I only thought that I'll anyways get some grade of it that's it that you don't need to learn more but then (xxx) on the seventh grade that it's needed also elsewhere (P5,7)*

(44) *I didn't know that ... they don't give information to Iran ... English is an international language --- we learned English --- I thought that it's just a normal language like German ... I didn't know that it's international --- well when I came to Finland and then I was on an immigrant class preparatory so our tea- I had one*

teacher ... he always praised that --- the English language is also a very important language it's an international language ... then I went to search on the internet and found out that it's a very important language --- it's used quite a lot in the world ... then I became interested in that language (P6,9–10)

(45) well one of my big brothers encourages me a lot to learn English --- they [parents] also encourage they are in a way happy that I can speak English and so they are proud of it --- because they say that it's like in a way in all cultures if you want to communicate then you have to communicate with that language with other people? (P1,4)

(46) well none of the school subjects is interesting except for physical education and those --- I don't really like it [learning English] I mean we pupils have to learn it ... their obligation is to learn but I don't really like it ... or I mean it's the same than other lessons for example social studies then Swedish lesson ... Swedish is even more boring (P6,8)

(47) well quite nice because I didn't go to school before but I saw that the others in Iran went to school and I would have liked also but you weren't allowed (P2,2)

(48) Yes I do like to go[to English lessons] because I anyhow want to learn it even though it was boring ... nowadays I've tried to listen in general too (P5,5)

(49) well when you get a low grade then I say that I won't learn this I can't learn it more --- well always I give up but then always [I say to myself that] don't give up now you'll learn it (P3,9)

(50) I'm able to try more but it [always a low grade in school report] feels quite bad --- it's important for me to know English --- just because of my own awareness that I learn something myself (P5,10)

(51) but like I would like to better than the others [my friends] --- [it] annoys me when they are bragging and if someone is bragging in front of me than I have to I mean I have to be perfect in that subject ---- because of that I really want to learn English (P1,11)

(52) during the ninth grade I've been really interested in English ... or of that that I use English a lot and like that I suppose it's because of that (P1,9)

(53) in instant messaging [I use English] (laughter) --- with my uncles and all the other relatives like that cousins and --- [they live] in Norway Sweden Australia and places like that (P4,3)

(54) since last year I've become really interested in English --- I have a lot friends who speak the English language? or I mean I have multicultural friends? that's why (P1,2)

(55) *when we speak [with friends] like we speak in our own language but I don't know if we for example send instant messages or text messages then we use English I don't know where it comes from but it just happens ... I don't really understand it myself but look at my text messages --- everything in English the messages from my friends ... then in the middle it's Finnish but then again English --- then there's also other languages mixed (laughter) I don't know we just send (P1,5)*

(56) *it does sound like a nice in a way attractive language ... I would like to know more of it and learn more (P2,2)*

(57) *I feel that it's part of your all-round education that you can English ... I do feel just like that that if you know English?... you are in a way more appreciated for example in our country girls girls don't learn English or in general they don't even study?... if I would now go there with a good profession and then for example when I'm good at English they in a way appreciate you much more they're like that you can English wow (laughter) (P1,10)*

(58) *well always we listen. more like on every lessons we listen so much so that's why [it's not interesting] (P5,1)*

(59) *well sometimes the teachers gives those long texts so --- but I don't really like them they are long (xxx) (P6,6)*

(60) *well maybe it depends on the teacher's or how they teach it --- couldn't explain well so that --- so that the pupils would understand it (P2,1)*

(61) *well because the former teachers went the things through so quickly --- but this new teachers if you cannot do it so he always repeats it (P7,5)*

(62) *well it was usually when these --- they didn't have discipline or they sometimes had a little (P5,7)*

(63) *the teacher on the eighth grade was really strict? --- when you are too strict then it's annoying (P1,8)*

(64) *it has become got me some test when it's been a little ... quite easy and then you have understood it but you've got . I didn't expect the grade I got (P5,7)*

(65) *one reason was that I got all the time grades six or seven (P6,1)*

(66) *although for example we go through new vocabulary ... it has maybe only fifty words so ... the other pupils understand almost half of them . but I don't understand anything so I have to practice them all so that is quite hard (P6,10)*

(67) *well I haven't yet [caught up the others] ... they can still even more (P7,3)*

(68) *[a low grade] gets me depressed --- well when I get a low grade I say that I won't learn this I can't study this more (P3,9)*

(69) *English is the lowest grade I have in the school report --- [it feels] bad (P3,4)*

(70) *well exactly that ... that it's spoken everywhere (P3,4)*

(71) *I think it's really good ... when you think about that you cope with it everywhere in the world (P4,3)*

(72) *when I was in the lower grades of comprehensive school then it was for example compulsory to learn it ... now it feels like you have to learn it because it's needed in the future (P3,4)*

(73) *interest in English has increased in a way --- I've been thinking about what in the future ... I mean I could do (P2,5)*

(74) *[parents also have said] that Finnish isn't spoken anywhere else you know ... then it's good to know English or some other language (P2,7)*

(75) *he ... my big brother says that you have to learn --- because if you travel so there they don't speak Finnish ... or our language (P7,2)*