

Revising Integrative Motivation: L2 Motivation Research and Learner Context

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Introduction

From Guesswork to Inquiry: A Rationale

“Why am I learning this language? How is my language learning affected by my attitudes and my context?” For the average second language (L2) learner, these questions are probably not often considered in such an explicit fashion. For L2 educators and L2 motivation researchers, however, these student-centered questions are urgent and ever-present. From my own experience, teaching English to speakers of other languages across different contexts has presented vastly differing pictures of L2 learner motivation. What is it that makes teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) to first-generation Hispanic immigrant students so different from teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) to sub-Saharan African students? From an anecdotal standpoint, the answer appears to lie in the understanding of motivation within context: which students have it, why they have it, and how to inspire the same, if possible, in other learners. Thus, as “numerous studies have provided statistical evidence that indicates motivation is a predictor of language-learning success,” L2 motivation research seems well worth examining in greater detail for both language researchers and language teachers alike (Gass & Selinker, 2009, p. 426).

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Research Questions

This literature review aims to consider (1) the evolution of integrative motivation theory and research within the framework of L2 motivation research at large, and (2) the question of context as it has been problematized within the integrative motivation construct known as integrativeness. Integrativeness, a variable affecting L2 motivation, is a somewhat contentious term that was tested in the work of Gardner and associates in the mid-1980s. It continues to appear in the L2 motivation literature today. Essentially, *integrativeness* is the notion that L2 learning is facilitated by the learner's positive identification with L2 culture and community. The predominant purpose of this literature review is to investigate whether integrative motivation and its components, especially integrativeness, have served as a valuable and authentic model in diverse L2 learning contexts around the world, or if they are limited and in need of retooling. Recent research appears to suggest the latter. This paper will highlight significant L2 motivation research, the rise and subsequent weakening of the notion of integrativeness, developments during what may be seen as the Post-Integrativeness era, and possible directions for future inquiry in L2 motivation.

Background: L2 Motivation Research

The richness and appeal of L2 motivation research stem from the field's dual heritage in both social psychology and applied linguistics. Over the past fifty years, this marriage has generated a prodigious yet often contradictory body of work that attempts to answer questions regarding integrativeness. The intersection of social psychological theories on motivation and the questions concerning language learner behavior have led researchers to a complex mapping of the numerous cognitive, psychological, and social factors that somehow interact and affect motivation in language learners. Within this broad framework, sophisticated constructs such as

integrative/instrumental motive have been introduced and detailed to account for patterns and correlations in learner behavior.

In order to thoroughly examine integrativeness and learner context as it relates to motivation, it is first necessary to situate the discussion within the conceptual framework of L2 motivation research as a whole. It is also necessary to investigate human motivation in general. It is an ageless question that why people behave the way they do. Indeed, the study of motivation goes back thousands of years. Academic motivation research, however, began to boom in the 19th century after the advent of socially situated cognitive psychological theory. As stated by Lifrieri (p. 5), “attempts at all-encompassing explanations gave way to atomistic theorizing [...] as a reaction to questions about specific aspects of motivated behavior.” While this atomistic approach may have been inherently confining, it also led to rapid advances in its more specific subfields, including L2 motivation. The development of the socio-educational model, the early and enduring Canadian school of L2 motivational thought, pioneered by researchers like Lambert and Gardner (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972) from the late 1950s onward, embodies such a forward push.

The Socio-Educational Model

While our understanding of L2 motivation as it is discussed today depends on a reassessment of the interaction of numerous and ever-evolving cognitive, psychological, social, and pedagogical models, Gardner and Lambert should still be recognized for pioneering both the discussion and study of L2 motivation. Following an extended longitudinal study in Canada, Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) found that learners’ L2 motivation was highly influenced by their attitudes toward the L2 and the culture of L2 speakers. It was from this work that Gardner and Lambert first elaborated notions of integrative and instrumental motivations and

orientations: the “integrative referring to L2 learners’ desire to identify emotionally and integrate culturally with target language (TL) speakers, and the instrumental referring to the desire and effort put toward achieving functional goals such as getting a better job or fulfilling a school requirement. This model “opened the field of second language learning to a distinctly social psychological perspective, with a focus on attitudes, affect, intergroup relationships and motives” (MacIntyre, MacKinnon & Clément, 2009, p. 44).

In the Gardnerian model, specifically, the ‘social’ aspect of the socio-educational model can be viewed as strongly tied to observation of the *individual as social being* rather than the interplay of social and cultural factors that help create motivation in the individual. The influence of socio-cultural context is embedded in Gardner’s (1985a) L2 learning model, but still “sustain the basic Cartesian dualism between the mental and material worlds, between the inner life of the individual and the surrounding culture and society” (Ushioda, 2009, p. 217). Beginning in the 1990s, hence, a new generation of researchers began to initiate a push toward the reevaluation and expansion of the existing L2 motivation research paradigm into what Dörnyei (2005) called the “Cognitive-Situated” period.

The Cognitive-Situated Period

Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Oxford and Shearin (1994), and Dörnyei (1994) all acknowledge the great foundational value of the socio-educational model, but so too question some of its unchallenged aspects (e.g., inattention to learning context) and call to “push [L2 motivation research] parameters outward” (Oxford & Shearin, 1994, p. 13). Interestingly, this call is for an expansion of *parameters*, not strictly for a radical change of perspective. With this understanding, the Cognitive-Situated period can be seen as a concurrent intertwining and narrowing of theories. It fuses progressive motivational psychological concepts such as Markus

and Nurius's Possible Selves (1986) with existing L2 motivation constructs. This led to an intensified examination of how learners' own positive and negative perceptions of themselves function as L2 motivational forces.

Much of the work from this period (Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1994; Dörnyei, 1994; Peirce, 1995) narrows the original macro-perspective of the socio-educational model to a much more learner-context-centered (i.e., micro-) approach, in terms of both theory and research. This heightened interest in the explanatory power of progressive cognitive psychological concepts and of L2 motivation in context reflects the interests and practical needs of second language educators at the time, who by and large had not been included in the L2 motivation debate. In response to real world needs, researchers (Clément *et al.*, 1994; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991) aimed to explore and define the actual domains at which L2 motivation was shaped (i.e., cognitive, classroom, syllabus, and outside of the classroom), as well as the internal factors determining what shape a language learner's motivation would take.

Implications for Future Research

The socio-educational model and cognitive-situated period laid the groundwork that is integral to today's L2 motivation research. Nevertheless, significant questions about learner identity and learner context still remained after the abovementioned moves to expand and refine L2 motivation theory in relation to real-world findings (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei, 2003; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). It is widely recognized that second language acquisition (SLA) researchers have long failed to fully address the question of context in language learning motivation adequately (Norton, 1993; Ushioda, 2009). Gardner (1991) admits that "[their] research has been conducted largely in a unilingual English-speaking community, and the opportunities to use the second language are rare," but he does not address possible limitations of

this condition (p. 58). In fact, in a later article, Gardner maintains the universality of the socio-educational model, although he cites just a single study of Jewish learners of Arabic as seeming to “indicate the applicability of the [...] model to different situations” (1994, p. 361). Yet, the construct of integrativeness had been used (and some would argue, misused) to address many concerns related to learner context, attitudes and personality in L2 motivation.

Unpacking the Integrative Aspect

Gardner expanded upon the original socio-educational model with the introduction of four motivational orientations (1985a): a reason for learning (or *goal*), a desire to attain the learning goal, attitude toward the learning situation, and effort (*motivational intensity*) (Figure 1).

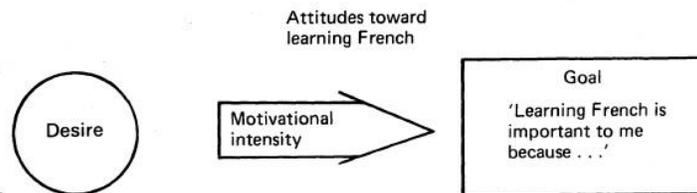


FIGURE 1

Schematic Representation of the Concept of Motivation as it Relates to L2 Acquisition

Gardner identified three different forms within the L2 motivation construct known as the *integrative aspect*, namely integrative orientation, integrativeness, and the integrative motive (Dörnyei, 2003). While similarly named, it is essential not to confound these three constructs. *Integrative orientation* refers to the generalized desire to learn an L2 so that a learner can interact with, and perhaps identify with, the L2 community. In contrast, Gardner and his colleagues (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1989; Spolsky, 1989) define *integrativeness* as the interaction of

“integrative orientation toward learning the second language, a favorable attitude toward the language community, and an openness to other groups in general (i.e., an absence of ethnocentrism)” (Gardner, 2001, p. 8) (Figure 2).

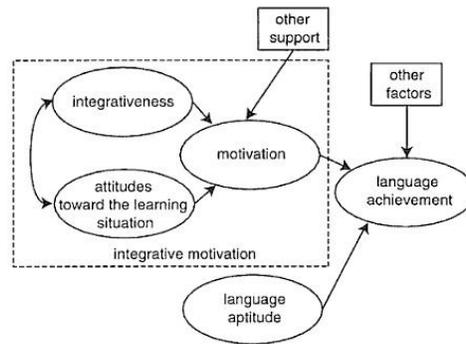


FIGURE 2

The Integrative Motive within Gardner’s Socio-educational Model of L2 Acquisition

Why “Integrativeness”?

Integrativeness was envisioned as a mediating component of the integrative motive. It was to serve as a clear-cut composite score reflecting the attitudinal variables toward the L2 community that are believed to positively affect L2 learning (Gardner, 1985b). The construct’s usefulness rested in its ability to quantitatively describe, generalize about, and predict correlations in attitudes believed to universally contribute to L2 learning success. As defined by Gardner and MacIntyre (1993), integrativeness can be assessed by attitudes toward the target language group, interest in foreign languages, and an integrative orientation to language study. Integrativeness is an extension of the linear, empirical tradition of pre-cognitive / L2 motivation research. Though it holds intuitive appeal, it also possesses some intrinsic flaws that continue to provoke L2 motivation debate to this day.

Early Influential Critiques

Extensive endorsement of the construct of integrativeness is illustrated by its integration, in some form, in five SLA models: Gardner's socio-educational model, the intergroup model of Giles *et al.*, Clément's social context model, Schumann's acculturation model, and Lambert's social psychological model (Ellis, 1997; Gardner, 1985a). In the applied research settings, however, findings on integrativeness are hardly consistent. This casts considerable doubt on its applicability across learning contexts and on the meaning of "context" itself. An exhaustive review of integrative motive/L2 achievement literature by Au (1988) scrutinizes five key propositions constituting Gardner's socio-educational model through data culled from twenty-seven L2 motivation studies across the span of twenty-five years. In his analysis, Au finds that components of integrative motive and L2 achievement measures at times correlated positively, but at other times, did not correlate, or even correlated negatively. According to Au, "[h]ow [...] some contexts [can] reverse the effect of integrative motivation" is a question to which Gardner and his associates "paid little attention" (p. 82). Another major weakness found in the studies is the failure of L2 achievement to reliably correlate to *all* measures of the integrative motive, suggesting an inherent impreciseness and lack of unity among integrativeness and other aspects of the integrative motive.

While Au (1988) does not address integrativeness directly, he does question the integrativeness-related cultural belief hypothesis, i.e., the notion that cultural beliefs within a certain context can influence integrative motive and L2 achievement. Au observes possible misuse of this hypothesis as a *post hoc* defense for negatively correlated findings. Some researchers, including Gardner, appear to have exploited vaguely defined contextual considerations by using them to explain unexpected data (p. 85). Cultural beliefs hypothesis

clearly differs from integrativeness in its focus on the group, rather than the individual, but underlying Au's argument is a concern that also applies to integrativeness: namely, how best to define and weight contexts when evaluating integrative motive evidence. Au's call for additional longitudinal research for better testing of complex causal models is therefore a judicious proposition – one that would be realized in motivation research in the years to follow.

In some measure, Dörnyei (1990) builds on Au's query about definition of contextual considerations with an investigation of integrative motive in a European EFL classroom. In response to the aforementioned contradictory findings, Dörnyei highlights concerns similar to Au's: (1) ambiguities in the definition of integrativeness, and (2) the unexplained influence of context on motivation, as also seen in Clément & Kruidenier's (1983) survey of L2 orientations. This study of Hungarian EFL learners is perhaps most noteworthy in its role as a direct antecedent of more recent dissent questioning the functionality of integrativeness in diverse contexts (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Lamb, 2004). Dörnyei asserts that "a common feature of [EFL learning contexts] is that learners have not had sufficient experience of the target-language community to have attitudes for or against it," so it would follow that "affective predispositions toward the target language community are unlikely to explain a great proportion of the variance in language attainment" (1990, p. 49). This notion reverberates strongly with Norton's (1995) theory of learner identity and investment, as will be discussed later in this review.

The goal of Dörnyei's study (1990) is to define the relevance and characteristics of integrativeness, instrumentality, and other possible influencing factors within a population of learners receiving homogeneous cultural and instructional input. After administering a two-part questionnaire of 44 questions, Dörnyei extracts seven factors that reflect the statistical predominance of certain motivation variables (e.g., "English is a bridge to other cultures and

peoples,” “English broadens one’s view” (p. 55) from the questionnaire. He does find positive correlations with both instrumental and integrative motives on L2 motivation, but the newly labeled “factors,” such as *Interest in foreign language and cultures* and *Desire for knowledge and values associated with English* are at times tricky to conceptualize given their partial connection to the pre-existing Gardnerian L2 motivation terminology. This complexity is perhaps attributable to the exploratory aspirations of Dörnyei’s work. The factors are given a clearer, more thorough arrangement in Dörnyei’s proposed Instrumental and Integrative Motivational Subsystems (1990). In sum, Dörnyei’s findings correspond with his initial hypothesis that EFL learners have not had enough contact with the target language community to form attitudes. This reconceptualization represents a bold break from L2 integrative motivation precedents by defining a contextualized, dynamic model that includes individual attitudes across contexts, instead of the rigid and unchanging factors that characterize integrativeness.

Recent Integrativeness Research: Expansion and Revision

With the appearance of these critiques and tentative advances, it seems obvious that the integrative motive and its components would undergo considerable repositioning, if not rethinking altogether. Surprisingly, though, Csizér and Dörnyei’s (2005) view of the role of integrativeness in motivation still shares much in common with Gardner’s, casting integrativeness as one of three constituents of L2 motivation that includes (a) integrative orientation, (b) interest in languages, and (c) attitudes toward the L2 community. However, the more process-oriented approach that has dominated the field over the past ten years has brought about a concentration on learner self-concept and motivation as a dynamic construct (Dörnyei, 2009). Upon more thorough inspection, researchers like Dörnyei actually split decisively from

earlier paradigms. In view of the continuing debate in the L2 motivation field, this most recent research deserves a keen appraisal.

Investment, Imagined Communities and L2 Learner Identity

Norton (who previously published as Peirce) and Kanno (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Peirce, 1995) should be mentioned for their influential work regarding L2 learner identity and learning context. While not strictly part of the L2 motivation canon, their theories of investment, identity (1995) and imagined communities (2003) are influential in L2 motivational thinking (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Norton (1995) critiques the inadequacies of existing language learner identity theory and the definition of learner context in SLA research. She argues for two key reconceptualizations: first, for that of learner identity as “multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change,” and secondly, for “a conception of *investment* rather than *motivation*” (p. 9). These concepts embody a break from the more linear cause-and-effect paradigm of the socio-educational model. They prefigure similar notions of dynamic, situated L2 learner motivation that would be adopted in Ushioda’s (2009) Person-In-Context view of motivation, identity and self, and Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System (2009).

Kanno and Norton (2003) also consider how learners’ language learning trajectories might be affected by engagement with imagined communities – groups of people with whom learners connect in a self-constructed and often idealized mental fashion. The authors reiterate their espousal of learner investment in the place of motivation, explaining that investment is best understood in the context of flexible future identifications rather than interactions between fixed variables like integrativeness. This is a critical piece of the most recent outlook embraced by SLA researchers and theorists because it is learner-based, situated, and therefore likely to be applicable in diverse L2 learning contexts. “On a temporal dimension, the notion of imagined

communities enables us to relate learners' visions of the future to their prevailing actions and identities. It is a way of affirming that what has not yet happened in the future can be a reason and motivation for what learners do in the present" (p. 248). Kanno and Norton's ideas resound in the work of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006), Dörnyei (1990), and Lamb (2004).

Challenges in EFL Contexts

Lamb (2004) recognizes the conflicting nature of integrativeness in the introduction to his report on adolescent Indonesian EFL learner motivation. He first stresses the dynamic nature of motivation in space and time (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998), and the changing face of the "culture" of World Englishes (i.e., different world varieties of English – a type of lingua franca). Essentially, in this first phase of his planned longitudinal study, Lamb seeks to identify factors associated with changes in motivation and explore links between what students report and how they actually behave both in and out of the classroom. Using a ranking questionnaire and face-to-face interview, Lamb combines quantitative and qualitative data in order to identify patterns of activity and attitudes in the school at large through direct qualitative observation and students' self-reported interpretations of the same.

Lamb's work (2004), by and large obeying the strictures of the Gardnerian paradigm, points to the primacy of instrumental over integrative motivation in the adolescent Indonesian EFL setting. Yet it should also be noted that in many cases, the students' comments reflected a blending of motivational types. Some student comments actually "invert the traditional definition of integrative orientation [,] suggesting not so much a wish to 'come closer' to English-speakers as not to be pushed away" (p. 11). Lamb concludes that in today's globalizing world, it is increasingly difficult to separate the instrumental from the integrative. This ties in to his reflection that the subjects of his study seemed to be forging a bicultural identity: an "English-

speaking, globally-involved, but nationally-responsible future self” (p. 16). Lamb’s work effectively identifies several trends through a highly qualitative, open-ended, and process-oriented methodology, but being only the first phase of a multi-phase project, its claim of inversion of integrativeness in the EFL setting demands longitudinal validation.

According to Dörnyei (2003), integrativeness, while a “principal building block of several theoretical constructs of L2 motivation[,] has remained somewhat of an enigma” (p. 5). Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) concur with this statement, and would likely support Lamb’s previously mentioned observations as well. In the model presented in the introduction to Csizér and Dörnyei’s 1999 study (published in 2005), integrativeness maintains a core position, but is said to interact in concert with six other social and psychological components: instrumentality; attitudes toward the L2 speakers/community; cultural interest; vitality of the L2 community, milieu; linguistic self-confidence. While the complex interface between these factors does cast doubt on the once outstanding “explanatory power of integrativeness for monolingual contexts of language learning” (Lifrieri, 2005, p. iii), integrativeness is still cited as the “single most important factor in shaping the students’ L2 motivated behavior in [Csizér and Dörnyei’s] Hungarian [EFL] context” (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 22). Effectively, integrativeness is seen as mediating all factors, and is equated with the *Ideal Self* or *Ideal L2 Self* (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Csizér and Dörnyei (1990) designed their study in order to verify this reinterpretation of integrativeness.

Csizér and Dörnyei (1990) administered a questionnaire consisting of items adapted from other pre-existing, psychometrically valid L2 motivation questionnaires to a total of 4,765 students in the eighth grade. On the questionnaire, students rated items concerning five different target languages and the TL communities. They rated their own attitudinal and social behaviors

and context and gave open-ended responses about their own backgrounds. The latent variables were then evaluated using structural equation modeling. Their final results “indicate that integrativeness is closely associated with two very different variables, ‘faceless’ practical incentives and ‘personal attitudes toward members of the L2 community,” which would require integrativeness to be interpreted in a broader, more individual-/identity-based sense than had been done previously” (2005, p. 29).

Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) agrees with this notion and warns against the uncritical application of integrativeness to world English-learning contexts. Problematizing integrativeness on both a theoretical and empirical basis, Coetzee-Van Rooy is wary of those SLA approaches that depend on a fixed notion of integrativeness. In her view, the perspective that integrativeness should include only factors related to a positive association with an out-group (the L2 community) is a North America-centric construct that rejects the complex identities and motivational processes of L2 learners outside of this context. In her 2002 research among Afrikaans and Southern Sotho learners of English, integrativeness is shown to be a problematic predictor of English achievement because of differences between the South African language learning context versus the context experienced by minority groups in a monolingual environment. Her findings show that language learners who identified more strongly with their in-group achieved better scores on English proficiency exams (2002). This runs contrary to notions that learner identity progresses toward a final state of monolingual or bilingual second language speaker. Rather, her findings show that the relationship between learner context, identity and motivation might be more organically related. Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006) advocates for a mindful expansion of the integrativeness concept instead of its complete invalidation.

Present-Day Currents

For nearly fifty years, integrativeness and integrative motivation have been at the center of L2 motivation research (Dörnyei, 2009). Despite its apparent ascendancy, integrativeness has remained an enigmatic and contested construct (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei, 2005; Lamb, 2004). Even within Gardner's circle, it has been observed that "[integrative orientation] is not fundamental to the motivational process, but [that it] has relevance only in specific sociocultural contexts" (Noels *et al.*, 2000, p. 37). Indeed, a key challenge to integrativeness has been the persistently vague definition of context. In Lifrieri's thesis (2005), she repeats the question of how one is to interpret integrativeness in the absence of a community of native target language speakers. Classifications of EFL and ESL contexts often seem to have been based on vague arguments, and incongruent findings between bilingual and monolingual settings are fairly common (Clément & Gardner, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Gardner, 2001).

A promising and prominent current in today's L2 motivation research seeks to respond to these discontents through the synthesis of older, newer, and more interdisciplinary concepts (e.g., possible selves, investment, and imagined communities). Dörnyei and colleagues (Ushioda, 2009) stress the need to re-theorize L2 motivation in relation to self and identity through a model that is termed the *L2 Motivational Self System*. As described by Dörnyei, the model's key concepts were designed in response to incongruities in findings and the re-analysis of statistical data from the earlier Hungarian study (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2005). This new theoretical approach brings together two individually based components: The *Ideal L2 Self* and the *Ought-to Self*. The *Ideal L2 Self*, the learner's idealized language-learning self, corresponds to variables akin to traditional components of integrative and instrumental L2 motive, and the *Ought-to L2 Self* corresponds more closely with the extrinsic factors in instrumental motivation. The third

dimension of this system is a learning context-situated motive called “L2 Learning Experience” (Dörnyei, 2009). Compared to previous, static conceptualizations of the integrative motive, the L2 Motivational Self System seems to be a compelling and viable rejoinder to criticisms of integrativeness. It synthesizes many of the most consistent and workable aspects of earlier models, is dynamic and learner-situated, and has hitherto been validated by L2 motivation research data (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; MacIntyre *et al.*, 2009; Taguchi *et al.*, 2009).

Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009) provide an encouraging and empirically grounded affirmation of the L2 Motivational Self System in a comparative replication study. In 2006 and 2007, the authors designed a large-scale quantitative study of EFL learners in the hope of corroborating Csizér and Dörnyei’s (2005) Hungarian findings. Taguchi *et al.*’s primary goal was to produce evidence of the role of the third dimension of the L2 Motivational Self System – “L2 Learning Experience,” which encompasses the situated, decision-making motives related to learner context (i.e., learning environment, teacher, curriculum, peer group, and learning success). Working in Asian EFL contexts with obvious similarities (e.g., the need for English for university entrance exams or job promotion, perceived prestige of English) and major differences (e.g., possible political and religious influences on English learning opportunities), Taguchi *et al.* were unsure if their results would prove to be country-specific or generalizable.

Taguchi *et al.* (2009) collected data from a broad swath of over five thousand L2 learners, from adolescent to adult learners of English. The researchers modeled their questionnaires on Csizér and Dörnyei’s study, using questions and statements linked to factors ranging from Gardnerian concepts (e.g., *Integrativeness*, *Instrumentality – promotion*) to the most recent constructs (e.g., *Ideal L2 Self*, *Ought-to L2 self*). Taguchi *et al.*’s statistical data analyses show significant correlations between *ideal L2 self* and *integrativeness*. According to

the researchers, these results warrant the replacement of integrativeness with the Ideal L2 self construct, since the “ideal L2 self achieved a better explanatory power toward learners’ intended efforts than integrativeness did” (p. 82). Across the three contexts, the data does appear to fit the L2 Motivational Self System well, suggesting the model’s generalizability across contexts.

To counterbalance this wealth of empirical data, Ushioda’s (2009) *Person-in-Context* view calls for a well-rounded investigation of motivation through multiple methods, theoretical stances, and participant perspectives. The Person-in-Context view maintains that motivation shapes the learner and is itself shaped through (a) engagement in L2-related activity, (b) the engagement of Individual Differences, and (c) the engagement of possible selves. Like Norton and Kanno (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Peirce, 1995), Ushioda draws from social psychology and cognitive motivational psychological theory to theorize L2 learners as individuals situated in particular cultures and micro-cultures. Her dynamic, complex, non-linear conceptualization of Person-in-Context opposes the reduced linear model of Gardner *et al.* Future qualitative studies should be undertaken to further identify and confirm the sociocultural and sociohistorical aspects of L2 learner motivation that Ushioda promotes.

As recent as the L2 Motivational Self model is, forthcoming research and in-depth theoretical critique will be vital to the advancement of L2 motivation research overall. L2 motivation research in the socio-educational vein abounds in empirical studies, though in more recent years this quantitative domination has been counterbalanced by qualitative studies (e.g., questionnaires, interviews) (Lamb, 2004; Spolsky, 2000; Ushioda *et al.*, 2009). Qualitative research, while insightful, has sometimes been undermined by less-than-rigorous methodology and uncorrelated data (Lifrieri, 2005). In an effort to work together to resolve seemingly contradictory theories, researchers have encouraged a move toward increased cross-disciplinary

collaboration, triangulation of methods (Spolsky, 2001) and the consistent employment of sound quantitative methodology (Lifrieri, 2005). There is certainly a need for well-designed quantitative enquiry based on the work of Dörnyei and the like, but not at the expense of exploratory surveys and behavioral observations.

Post-Integrativeness: Possible Future Directions

Integrativeness, as originally conceived, seems fundamentally flawed on several levels. Most strikingly, it suggests broad overgeneralizations about L2 learner contexts and overlooks the multidimensionality of learner identity (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006). A more flexible, dynamic, and learner-situated model, like Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (2009) seems to describe and predict learner behavior more accurately, precisely, and completely than the fixed, "one size fits all" trait called integrativeness. As argued by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006), integrativeness should not be applied sweepingly across multiple contexts. Today, motivation experts aid in the evolution of L2 motivation constructs through their theorizing and testing of conceptual alternatives that expand on, yet complement earlier L2 motivation literature.

The direct influence of integrativeness may be on the wane, but researchers may still benefit from the recycling of useful older concepts for future use. Still undergoing great revision, the once-popular integrativeness construct is at times both overwhelming and elusive. Today, with the field's recent thrust toward contextualization and learner identity, post-integrativeness research seems poised to both expand and redefine L2 motivation. Within SLA theory and the world at large (i.e., SLA researchers' "laboratories"), language learner identity and motivation remain fascinating and central pieces of the language acquisition puzzle.

Also fascinating is the evolving understanding of learners' shifting self-constructions as themselves, as members of imagined communities, competent L2 learners, and bicultural citizens

in an increasingly interconnected world. These concepts are integral to future investigation on L2 motivation's (or *investment's*) influence upon language learning, as spearheaded in the work of Norton (2003), Lamb (2003) and Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006).

Concluding Thoughts

In light of the invigorating discussion and fine-tuning of L2 motivation research that is taking place today, we, like Gardner and his philosophical successors, should remain optimistic about the field's future. Gardner observes that "what started out as an interest in the simple correlation between attitudes and motivation on the one hand and proficiency in the second language on the other has blossomed into a search for links with other relevant behaviors and elaboration of particular cause/effect sequences" (1991, p. 59). In truth, the post-integrativeness L2 motivation field has not simply *blossomed*, but been uprooted and replanted. The supposed duality of integrative and instrumental motive (including their component parts, such as integrativeness) has been shown to be an unusable model in L2 learning contexts, unlike that within which it was originally proposed. This has necessitated the re-envisioning and reformatting of integrativeness and integrative motivation into the contextualized and more universally applicable *L2 Motivational Self System* (Dörnyei, 2009). L2 Motivation research and theory continues to grow through the work of Clément, Dörnyei, MacIntyre, Ushioda, and the many others dedicated to identifying and interconnecting the mechanisms of L2 learner motivation.

Superficially, integrative motivation may seem like that intuitive "something" in the L2 learner that can make learning (and teaching) an L2 so remarkably different from one classroom, one community, or one country to another. However, as illustrated in this literature review, there are numerous attitude-, personality-, and context-related factors that act upon each other in

complex ways to create different, though not mutually exclusive L2 learner behaviors and experiences. SLA researchers have shown over the past two decades that overall, the integrative motive and integrativeness may not be comprehensive or powerful enough to truly describe and predict such behaviors. Fortunately, with the rich tradition of the socio-educational model, the parameter-expansion of the Cognitive-Situated period, and the renewed innovation, collaboration, and methodological integrity of cutting-edge L2 motivation researchers today, the future of L2 motivation research is full of promise.

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