Thoughts on Understanding and Influencing
Japanese University Students' Motivation to Study

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日本の大学生の学習意欲に対する理解と影響についての見解

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Abstract :

The majority of Japanese university students are typically regarded as lacking in motivation to study. This phenomenon can be described as an unsurprising consequence of the combined influence of the education system in particular, and the policies of Japanese companies. A survey designed to test whether such a description can be supported, as well as to investigate specific program level issues that may influence student motivation, was administered to 98 students. The results of the survey appear to broadly support the description, and indicate possible avenues for fresh thinking with regard to meeting student needs.

要旨：日本の大学生の多くは、概して学習意欲を欠いているとされる。この現象は、とりわけ教育システムと日本企業の在り方が複合的にもたらす影響の当然の結果といえるだろう。このような見方が裏付けられるかどうかを検証し、学生の意欲に影響を与えうる具体的な学習プログラムの構成を研究するため、98 人の学生を対象に調査を行った。その結果は、前述の見方を大まかに裏付け、学生のニーズに応える新たな考え方の可能性を示すものとなった。

Key words : Japanese, university, students, motivation, study, socialization, workplace.

1 Introduction

It is widely recognized that the majority of Japanese university students lack the motivation to concentrate their efforts on studying whole-heartedly. While acknowledging the dedication of certain students, particularly those learning medicine, engineering, and some in the sciences, Sugimoto (2010) remarks that,

> On the whole, Japanese students do not see their university life as a value-adding process for enhancing their qualifications but as a moratorium period to be enjoyed, prior to their entry into the job market. Higher education means, not so much productive pursuit of knowledge, as a consumption phase of relatively uncontrolled leisure time. (p.149)

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Various studies that provide evidence in support of this view, such as those investigating the reasons behind students' choice of major, have been published. Edwards (2010), for example, compared data gained from one hundred students at both an unnamed private university in the Kanto area and California State University, and found that 18% of Japanese students reported having "no particular reason" for choosing their major, as compared to 4% of their American counterparts.

It is also commonplace to note that this attitude towards study is, generally speaking, in contrast to that of university students in Western countries. For instance, Crystal, Kato, Olsen, and Watanabe (1995) observed that "relative to their Japanese peers, US university students are known to work hard at obtaining good grades and scholastic achievement" (p.587). In fact, according to a 2006 report by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, "university students spend an average of only thirty-four minutes per day studying outside the classroom" (Sugimoto, 2010, p.149).

It is extremely difficult to influence the behavior of students to any great extent by the time they enter a university. They are approaching an age at which they are considered adults, so the effects of a lifetime "in the system" are deeply entrenched. Nevertheless, teachers have a responsibility to do all they can to motivate students to pour their energies into study, of course. In order to influence students positively, it may be advisable firstly to try to understand what forces have shaped them, and why they may lack the motivation to study as seriously as we would hope for. Reflecting on the nature of the Japanese education system, plus the way companies operate and view university students, appears to provide the answers.

1. 1 Perspectives on Learning

Every society has its own beliefs about how and what its children should learn. Beyond imparting the basics (reading, writing, and arithmetic) Westerners, for instance, generally consider education to involve such things as the development of one's individuality, intellectual curiosity, ability to think critically, and an interest in the world and its problems.

The Japanese take a significantly different view of education, however. From the beginning of a child's education the role of schools is very broad, taking on tasks parents might expect to fulfill in other societies. It includes teaching such things as public morality, love of one's community, responsibility, friendship, and how to get along in one's peer-group (Fujita, 1995). As Shields (1995) notes, "appropriate behavior from nursery school through the university is attained implicitly rather than explicitly by means of a strict adherence to established routines, strong group identification, and almost no focus on the individual as a distinct entity" (p.6). In other words, students spend a lot of time learning how to be Japanese.

Cultural differences can also be seen in understandings about *how* students learn. For the Japanese, persistence is seen as the most crucial contributing factor to academic success. After observing numerous parent-teacher nights in Japanese schools (elementary and upwards), Singleton (1995) reported repeatedly seeing teachers dispense the same advice to parents regarding how their children might improve their grades. Regardless of where on the spectrum their grades fell relative to their classmates, parents were invariably advised that the student should try to make just *a little* more effort. In other words, in contrast to the Western emphasis on ability, "effort, not IQ, is the Japanese explanation for academic achievement" (Singleton 1995, p.11).

The pressure on students to maintain acceptable levels of effort is usually felt at home and at school. Depending on the family, the input of parents (in particular mothers) can be quite significant. It is sometimes said that mothers, aside from their natural wishes for their children to do well in life, are "socialized by the establishment and national ethic to believe that their personal merit is measured by the academic success of their children" (Wray, 1999, p.160). In the classroom, teachers work to promote a strong sense of group purpose and encourage the use of peer pressure to keep all students focused on the task at hand. This is supposed to minimize the need for overt discipline on the teacher's part. As Shields (1995) suggests, "the pre-requisite for academic achievement is seen as severe discipline self-imposed . . . and reinforced by parents and teachers" (p.5).

Given the Japanese inclination to rate effort, harsh discipline, and group harmony over individual intelligence as contributors to academic success, it seems unsurprising that university students are disinclined to approach study with the enthusiasm that Western teachers hope for. Indeed, "Japan by nature is not a very intellectual society", in which "the value of abstract learning for its own sake is weakly realized" (Clark, 2010). This view is supported by behavioral sciences-based research into how different socio-cultural patterns (collectivist versus individualist) influence the individual's beliefs and attitudes about the self. The researchers were interested in testing attitudes to self-change, and chose to work with university students (as this is the age group seen as most open to change) from Japan (representing collectivist cultures) and the US (individualist). As anticipated, Crystal et al. (1995) found that "US students were more likely than Japanese students to want to change aspects of the self related to achievement/cognition . . . while Japanese students tended to focus on areas of self dealing with interpersonal harmony and self-control" (p.584).

Moreover, American students reported a stronger desire to change themselves than did their Japanese counterparts. This attitude may also be partly attributable to the comfortable standard of living Japan has enjoyed since the post-war boom. According to Fujita (1995), between 80 and 90 percent of Japanese consider themselves to be middle class, and notes that "under these circumstances, many students tend to lose the incentive to get ahead and to study hard for the purpose of realizing a better life" (p.135).

1. 2 The Ranking System

As Wray (1999) observed, "entrance examinations are the central focus of Japanese education" (p.131). The scramble for places in Japanese universities, which are limited in number as a matter of national government policy, creates problems that foreign teachers are more commonly aware of. A system whereby only ten in every 44 university applicants gained entry in 1996 suits the universities because it is less costly than the Western approach of admitting most young people who want to study, and failing those who do not achieve satisfactory grades (Wray, 1999). However, it brings about a huge drain on the finances of parents, who have to pay cram schools and tutors to train their children for entrance examinations, and considerable stress for the students, who suffer long hours memorizing various facts. The self-interest of highly ranked universities and the powerful, thriving cram school industry, as well the innate conservatism of the Japanese and a lingering inclination to accept student suffering as a form of character development makes effecting change very difficult (Wray 1999).

The pressure to gain entry to a well-ranked university means students sometimes take entrance

exams at more than one school or department within a university, so there is a chance that they will be accepted to study at a school that does not especially interest them. The same problem can occur because of the so-called escalator system, which allows students to move from an affiliated high school to university directly. Students of this type who have not done especially well academically may not be able to enter their preferred departments. "This practice leads to low academic motivation for students assigned to a department discipline in which they are not really interested" (Wray 1999, p.140).

University life offers students their first break from so-called examination hell in a number of years. Perhaps partly out of sympathy for what their students have endured, or possibly due to cynicism about the role universities play, some university teachers are inclined to impose a light workload and don't insist on a high standard of end product. "A significant number of faculty members in non-science, arts-based departments are derelict in their duty to seriously assess their students, and it is more or less assumed that, once one is admitted to a university, one rarely fails to graduate from it" (Sugimoto, 2010, pp.149−150).

1. 3 The Influence of the Ranking System on Employment Practices

Another reason that students take such a relaxed attitude to study in their university years is that they are generally aware of the way the corporate world views the education system, and thus are inclined to feel that their fate is basically out of their hands. Japanese companies have a long-standing practice of hiring graduates based more on the rank of the university they have attended than the grades they have achieved. "The employment race is more or less over after the university entrance examinations, and grades achieved in university subjects do not significantly alter the situation" (Sugimoto, 2010, p.149). Employers tend to pay scant attention to what students have learned in university as they train new recruits with the skills they will need within the companies themselves. Indeed, while attending Ministry of Education committees in the 1990s, Clark (2010) heard "a well-known industry captain saying how poor grades could prove the student had the sense not to waste time on irrelevant university study." Graduates of the highest ranked universities can safely assume that they will win good positions with more prestigious companies, regardless of the amount of talent they have for the type of work involved.

1. 4 The Need to be a "Team Player"

The main skill that many employers expect students to practice at university is how to participate harmoniously in a team. Graduation from an American university either in Japan or in the United States dooms the student to working in less sought-after jobs with reduced chances for future advancement (Wray, 1999). In an interview with a Japanese graduate of an American university, Wray (1999) was told "I learned during job interviews that it was considered important to have an education in a Japanese university simply to know the hierarchical system of Japanese society" (p.151), or to "learn common sense", as it was described to him.

Most university students are already aware of the value that prospective employers place on being able to interact smoothly with others. Crystal et al. (1995) observed that "given the fact that the majority of Japanese employers place a high premium on the prospective employee's ability to be part of a team, increasing one's capacity for getting along with others would seem to be especially

important for university students in Japan" (p.588). So much so, in fact, that it can be more important than study for many students.

The freedom of university life gives students the opportunity to "put their energies into intensive student club activities whose demands often take precedence over class attendance" (Singleton, 1995, p.10). A significant source of the attraction of clubs and circles is that they are seen as providing useful socialization training for adapting to life in the adult world. As Warrington (2006) noted, "many university students in Japan strive to make groups, and get involved in other social outlets and functions in order to prepare and give themselves the skills necessary to be part of the social network and in the future, a team member in the workforce" (p.7).

Students tend to view having a part-time job as useful in the same sense, as long as the job involves working with others. Although welcome, the financial reward is not necessarily the only incentive. Moreover, "the Japanese economy depends heavily on the external labor market filled by university students' casual or part time jobs" (Sugimoto, 2010, p.149), so there is strong incentive on both sides for work to take a significant slice of students' time.

1. 5 The Role of Women in the Workforce

The well-documented struggles of Japanese women to achieve improved gender equality in the workplace continue to have a negative impact on society. With a declining birth rate and pension concerns, Japan desperately needs more women to work. A national government report recently revealed that keeping women involved after marrying or having a child could see the working population increase by around four and a half million (Sakamoto, 2010).

Although aware of the problem, the government has struggled to introduce meaningful steps to rectify it. "Japan still falls far behind other countries in enabling women to fully exercise their abilities in society, and ranked 101st out of 134 countries in the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index released in 2009" (Sakamoto, 2010). Until now, the traditional way of raising women to think of their future as centered on the home and family has held sway. For young women, "serious long-range career planning has not been a component of their family socialization, a message conveyed to them through the mass media, or the guidance given to them in schools" (Fujimura-Faneslow, 1995, p.167). Companies have tended to hire women on the assumption that they will quit after marrying or falling pregnant, and therefore have generally denied female graduates access to jobs that would put them on a career path toward responsible, highly paid positions. Most young women attending universities must be aware of the likely gender-based challenges they will face in the workplace, which could easily play some part in reducing their motivation to study hard.

Obviously, not all students take a casual approach to study, nor are all universities (and schools within universities) ambivalent about academic standards. However, the hypothesis of this paper is that, on the whole, university students are disinclined to study very hard due to the nature of the education system, as well as that of the Japanese corporate world, and the way in which the two interact. This paper presents some preliminary research done with students of the School of International Studies (SIS) at Kwansei Gakuin University in Kobe, in an attempt to find evidence that these systems do, in fact, have a negative impact on the attitudes of university students towards study, and also tentatively explores ideas for program level change that might improve student motivation.

2 Method

In order to test the validity of the idea put forward to explain the apparent lack of student motivation to study, a survey was constructed and administered around the mid-point of fall semester classes.

2. 1 Participants

Data was obtained from 98 SIS students, comprised of 58 freshman students and 40 sophomores (59 females and 39 males).

2. 2 Procedure

The survey was divided into three parts (see Appendix 1). Part A consisted of two research questions that didn't lend themselves easily to basic agree/disagree responses. The largest section of the survey, Part B, took the form of sixteen statements to which students indicated the extent of their agreement or otherwise (SD＝strongly disagree, MD＝moderately disagree, MA＝moderately agree, SA＝strongly agree), the last two of which were directed at females only. Before making any claims about the reasons students have limited motivation, it was necessary to establish whether or not such a description could be fairly applied to the research group. Part A of the survey, together with the first three items of Part B, was constructed with this in mind. The remainder of Part B was designed to investigate the validity of the hypothesis about the causes of limited student motivation to study.

Informal discussion with various students during the year, a number of overheard conversations, plus some student blog posts about the current university system contributed to the decision to add Part C to the survey. Seven additional statements requiring the same kind of response as Part B were included as Part C. These were aimed at exploring areas for reflection regarding the SIS English program in its current form and its possible influence on student motivation.

3 Results

The results of the survey are included as Appendix 2. Part A reveals that of the students surveyed, 51% estimate usually studying less than two hours a week (including homework), and 80% less than four hours. Although an imprecise measure, this suggests that the time devoted to study by the majority of SIS students is roughly on a par with the modest national average. Regarding their reasons for choosing their major, 9% claimed to have "no particular reason", which although not as bad as 18% (cited above), also suggests a less than ideal level of focus on study.

As for the first three statements of Part B, the responses to item 1 support the contention that the majority of students believe there is very little danger of them failing to graduate, with 88% in agreement. Despite the modest amount of time students reported spending on homework, responses to item 3 overwhelmingly show that SIS classes account for the bulk of it, therefore lending support to the suggestion that some Japanese faculty don't place many demands on their charges. Responses to item 2 also indicate a limited emphasis on study, with 33% claiming that the types of classes on offer at SIS did not play an important role in their decision to attend this school.

Given that the attitude of most SIS students towards study is not radically different from that of the average Japanese university student, the remainder of Part B can be examined for clues as to the causes of this. The proposition that the modest significance companies attach to grades attained at

universities influences student motivation is supported by responses to items 4 and 5. They appear to confirm student recognition of the fact that the name, and thus the rank, of the university they graduate from (87% rate it as important) is more likely to be significant to their employment prospects than the grades they achieve (57% consider them important).

With regard to external pressure placed upon students to study, items 6 and 7 don't reveal as much forceful maternal involvement as expected. However, the results confirm that it is more prevalent in high school years (experienced by 19%, strongly so by 10%) compared to 12% (only 1% strongly) who agreed that it is a feature of their lives these days. Given that 52% rate "severe discipline by parents and teachers" as an essential pre-requisite to academic success (as shown by Item 8), it is possible to imagine how some students might take the more relaxed atmosphere of university as confirmation that not much is expected of them academically.

Evidence supporting the importance of learning to be "team players" was found as well. Forty percent of respondents rated graduating from a Japanese university as preferable (for their employment prospects) to graduating from an American one (item 9), with only 13% in strong disagreement. Items 10 and 11 also indicate that socialization practice is valued more highly than academic success, with 96% (60% strongly) agreeing that they intend to do all they can to improve their ability to get along with others while at university, compared with 81% (only 24% strongly) claiming that getting excellent grades will be a priority.

As for the effect of perceived prospects for social mobility, item 12 confirmed that nearly all students see themselves as middle class although, counter to expectations, no evidence of lack of ambition to climb the social ladder presented itself (as shown by item 13). However, item 14 revealed that while 78% (34% strongly) indicated an interest in upward social mobility, only 58% (15% strongly) considered that studying hard at university would help them attain that.

The effect of the status of women in the workplace on motivation to study cannot be described without deeper investigation, but item 15 shows that the clear majority would like to have a career that continues beyond the onset of motherhood. Equally obvious from item 16 is that young women recognize the likelihood of having to suffer gender discrimination in the Japanese workplace in some form. One would imagine that this has a negative impact on the will of some young women to strive to improve their credentials for a long-term career. As stated, this remains to be confirmed though.

Regarding student attitudes to the English course at SIS in its current form, a brief glance at the table shows overwhelming agreement with five of the seven statements. Exactly half of the respondents expressed a belief that using English Central, the Internet site which allows students to listen to video clips and practice repeating the dialogue (and monitors the proficiency of pronunciation), is useful to them (item 1). Item 3 shows that a slightly higher proportion of students, (58% of them, only 10% strongly so), were satisfied with having reading account for half of their English classes. However, item 2 reveals 90% dissatisfaction with the amount of extensive reading they are assigned, while item 4 clearly shows that students (91% of them, 56% strongly so) want more chance to practice listening and speaking in class. Items 5, 6, and 7, related to how they envisage their futures after graduating from university, produced definitive results (90%, or slightly less, in all cases) showing that most students are not interested in trying to get an undergraduate degree abroad, but intend to try to find work in Japan and would be happy to work in a job which requires them to

use English for communication purposes.

4 Discussion

Although undeniably a small-scale project, the results of this study appear to support the main hypothesis. The combined influence of the Japanese education system and the nation's corporate philosophy plays a significant part in producing university students who are not highly motivated to study. One might be tempted to conclude that it will always be so. Although some Japanese university faculty members bemoan the iniquities of their nation's education system (Wray, 1999), the power of entrenched interests, combined with the Japanese distaste for confrontation and tendency toward social inertia, provide a massive obstacle to change.

Some encouraging signs have emerged in the corporate world, however. Nowadays some well-known Japanese companies are starting to hire graduates from mid-ranking universities that are recognized as striving to improve their standards (Clark, 2010). Furthermore, some companies are opting for "a pay system in which people who are talented and productive can earn more money, regardless of age" (Davies and Ikeno, 2002, p.192). There are signs of slow improvement in the conditions for women as well. According to Sakamoto (2010), Yokohama Mayor Fumiko Hayashi feels that "the situation surrounding working women in Japan is still severe, although it has improved to a dreamlike level compared with about 40 years ago".

As for the education system, positive change would surely have to include ending the love affair with entrance examinations. As hard as it is to imagine that happening, glimpses of fresh thinking are not impossible to find. For instance, Clark (2010) describes an innovative system at one university that allows people who failed the entrance exam to study there anyway on a one-year trial basis. If they fail their courses, they are out. In many cases, these students have performed better academically than those who passed the entrance exam. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the students were properly rewarded for showing the desire to further their education. Making the effort to study should always count for something. As Clark (2010) says :

"If the carrot of self-improvement is not enough to make people study then it has to be the whip of failure. This means failure to graduate, and failure to find a good job. Such a scheme would also provide the badly needed motivation to encourage the less academically minded school graduates to seek technical education rather than waste time at universities."

The onus is surely on faculty of each school within all universities, including SIS, to reflect on whether or not there is any room for improvement in their programs. Currently, two of the four undergraduate English classes are devoted to reading. This makes sense in view of the fact that the prime English requirement for graduate students is to translate texts from English into Japanese. However, there must be room for some doubt as to whether this system is the best means of serving the needs of the students, and the nation, as a whole.

The importance of being able to use English productively is increasingly widely understood within Japan nowadays. It is no secret that Japanese students' TOEFL test scores and general English proficiency rate very near the bottom in Asia. Concern over this has led to the recent introduction of compulsory English education in elementary schools, which aims to introduce an active com-

municative element to instruction at an early age (Fukuda, 2010). The chief driving force behind this development has been the Japan Business Federation (Nippon Keidanren), the nation's most powerful business lobby, which "wants schools to train Japanese who can *use* (my emphasis) English, which is necessary for major corporations to expand globally" (Fukuda, 2010). It has stated that there is a shortage of staff proficient in English communication in numerous companies. "Keidanren said English education in Japan has been centered on reading and writing, and this hasn't improved students' abilities to listen and speak" (Fukuda, 2010).

Numerous recent studies have confirmed the importance of oral English communication in the world of international business. For example, Kassim and Ali (2010), in a study of the English needs of Malaysian engineers in the global workplace and consequent implications for course design, arrived at the conclusion that "emphasis should be put on oral, rather than written, communication skills" (p.168). Similarly, in a study of English use in the workplace between native and non-native speakers, Myles (2009) found that "oral communication predominates at all levels of workplace activity". Interaction between workers, and negotiating meaning to facilitate communication, were found to be crucial. The ability to negotiate meaning is a skill that can only be successfully acquired through practice.

If a substantial percentage of SIS students were planning to study an undergraduate degree in an English speaking country after graduation, a heavy emphasis on reading might be more understandable (although in that case a focus on writing research essays would surely be more prudent, especially as reading is already an area of relative strength for most Japanese students). However, the results of this research indicate that the vast majority of SIS students are unlikely to pursue further study abroad after graduation. Rather, they are highly likely to seek employment at a company in Japan, and in the clear majority of cases are receptive to the idea of using English for communication in the workplace sometimes.

The fact that SIS students tend to take such a view of their futures could explain why such a resounding majority of respondents expressed a desire to have more chance to practice listening and speaking in the classroom. In all probability they recognize that developing their English communication skills will be useful to them in their future careers. That slightly more than half of the respondents reported being satisfied that reading classes comprise half of their English course points to two possible conclusions. It could suggest either that many students didn't think through the implications of the survey statements very carefully (that focusing more on one area implies less focus on another), or that they would simply be satisfied to see more time in reading classes devoted to discussion, debates, and oral presentations based on (a smaller number of) readings. This is something that requires further investigation.

In the case of English Central, although it contains countless examples of useful language and communicative skills, the computer-generated feedback on pronunciation is not completely reliable. Although, strictly speaking, it cannot be described as a form of passive learning, it is not difficult to imagine that it seems that way to those students who view solitary tasks less favorably. Teachers would probably be well advised to consider ways of introducing follow-up classroom activities based on the English Central videos. This would mean the teacher deciding in advance which videos should be watched by the whole class, or organizing groups of students according to their topic interests who could agree among themselves on the choice of clips to be used for classroom discus-

sion.

5 Conclusion

It is hard to imagine the majority of Japanese university students placing study ahead of activities linked to socialization on their list of personal priorities at any time in the near future. In all likelihood, national education policies and societal attitudes will need to change significantly before a corresponding change in the motivation of the majority of university students to study becomes noticeable. Nevertheless, universities and their faculty have the responsibility to do all they can to make students more earnestly engaged. The results of this research suggest that placing greater emphasis on listening and speaking in the SIS English program would be in line with student desires, which might therefore lead to some improvement in their motivation to study. This apparent desire to work on their ability to communicate in English and use it in their future jobs is undoubtedly what members of Keidanren would wish to see in our students, but without more focus on communication skills it seems doubtful that they will leave this school as well prepared for the global workplace as possible.

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Appendix 1 Research Survey

Part A

1) Unless I have to study for an exam or a special test, such as TOEFL, I think I study for _____ per week outside of classes. a) 0–2 hours b) 2–4 hours c) 4–8 hours d) more than 8 hours
2) What is your reason for taking your major? a) This is the best major to help me reach my goals b) I enjoy learning about the subject matter c) I have no particular reason for taking my major d) I have not declared my major yet

Part B

1) Once a student enters a Japanese university he or she is almost sure to graduate.
2) I was happy to be able to enter the School of International Studies at KGU because here I can study the subjects I am most interested in.
3) The majority of my homework at KGU is from my English courses, especially extensive reading and English Central.
4) When I try to get a job in the future, my prospective employers will be very interested to know what grades I have attained at university.
5) When I try to get a job in the future, my prospective employers will be very interested to know the name of the university I have attended.
6) My mother pushed me to study hard at high school.
7) My mother pushes me to study hard at university.
8) Severe disciple, from teachers and parents, as well as oneself, is necessary for academic achievement.
9) If I want to work at a Japanese company, it is better to graduate from a Japanese university than an American one.
10) While I am at KGU, I intend to try very hard to improve my ability to make friends and get along with other people.
11) I intend to try very hard to get excellent grades at KGU.
12) I belong to the middle class of Japanese society.
13) I want to be "higher than middle class" in society someday.
14) Studying hard in my KGU courses will help me rise above middle class in society.
15) If I have children I would like to continue in my career if possible.
16) Female employees have equality with male employees in Japanese companies, regarding salary, conditions, and opportunity for promotion.

Part C

1) I think English Central is useful for improving my English.
2) I have to read too many books for extensive reading.
3) I am satisfied to have two Reading classes (out of a total of four classes) in our English course.
4) I want to have more chance to practice listening and speaking in English classes.
5) After I graduate from KGU, I am going to try to get a job in Japan.
6) After I graduate from KGU, I am going to try to enter a foreign university to study a degree somewhere abroad.
7) I hope to get a job in which I sometimes have to use English to communicate with co-workers and/or customers.

Appendix 2 Results

Part A

	Boys (39)					Girls (59)					Total (98)			
	a	b	c	d		a	b	c	d		a	b	c	d
1	24	10	3	2		26	18	11	4		50	28	14	6
2	14	10	6	9		26	22	3	8		40	32	9	17

Part B

	Boys (39)					Girls (59)					Total (98)			
	SD	MD	MA	SA		SD	MD	MA	SA		SD	MD	MA	SA
1	1	6	12	20		0	5	16	38		1	11	28	58
2	2	12	18	7		3	15	23	18		5	27	41	25
3	1	9	15	14		3	13	18	25		4	22	33	39
4	3	15	20	1		2	22	29	6		5	37	49	7
5	0	4	27	8		1	8	32	18		1	12	59	26
6	14	16	3	6		33	16	6	4		47	32	9	10
7	15	17	7	0		35	19	4	1		50	36	11	1
8	8	15	15	1		5	19	27	8		13	34	42	9
9	5	17	13	4		8	29	18	4		13	46	31	8
10	1	0	14	24		0	3	20	36		1	3	34	60
11	3	8	20	8		2	6	35	16		5	14	55	24
12	1	8	24	6		2	1	41	15		3	9	65	21
13	1	6	19	13		3	12	24	20		4	18	43	33
14	4	15	13	7		3	19	29	8		7	34	42	15
15						3	10	18	28		3	10	18	28
16						8	37	14	0		8	37	14	0

Part C

	Boys (39)					Girls (59)					Total (98)			
	SD	MD	MA	SA		SD	MD	MA	SA		SD	MD	MA	SA
1	8	16	11	4		6	19	25	9		14	35	36	13
2	2	4	17	16		2	1	23	33		4	5	40	49
3	5	15	17	2		3	18	30	8		8	33	47	10
4	0	5	15	19		1	3	19	36		1	8	34	55
5	0	4	13	22		3	3	36	17		3	7	49	39
6	27	8	3	1		28	24	4	3		55	32	7	4
7	0	6	16	17		1	5	14	39		1	11	30	56