Entrance Examinations and Their Effect on Pre-tertiary Learners' Motivation to Communicate in English

Samuel CROFTS*

大学入試が中高生の英語コミュニケーション活動の動機づけに及ぼす影響 クロフツ サミュエル

Abstract:

This paper suggests that Japanese university entrance examinations, the majority of which do little to test communication, drive pre-tertiary learners away from improving their English communication skills. After a review of literature exploring the nature of entrance examinations in Japan, the research element of the paper is presented in the form of a motivational factors questionnaire adapted from previous work by Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010). Administered in May 2014 to 1048 learners at various stages of the Japanese public education system, the results of the survey data highlight a direct link between entrance examinations and the effort expended in studying English. The strength of this link, it is argued, can be used as evidence that reform of the entrance examination system in Japan presents a potential opportunity to provide learners with a powerful source of external motivation to improve their communicative abilities, an opportunity that is especially important, considering the seeming lack of alternative sources of motivation in Japan.

要旨:本論は、言語運用能力を重視しない大学入学試験が、日本人英語学習者のコミュニケーション能力の上達を阻む可能性があることを提言している。日本におけるこれまでの入学試験の形態を概観したのち、Dörnyei and Taguchi(2010)の質問紙を援用し、学習者の学習動機の本質を調査する。調査は、2014年5月に小学校から大学生までの日本人英語学習者1,048名を対象に実施し、入学試験と英語学習に取り組む学習動機を問う質問で、特に、入学試験と外発的動機との間に強い相関関係があることを明らかにしている。両者の強い相関関係から、コミュニケーション能力の視点を盛り込んだ入学試験を行うことが、内発的動機づけが困難な日本の英語学習環境において、外発的動機の高い学習者のコミュニケーション能力の発達を促進する契機となることが期待される。

Key words: Motivation, Communicative Competence, Entrance Examinations

Introduction

Explaining the inability of the Japanese education system to produce communicative competence in its English learners is an ambitious undertaking. It has however been a permanent fixture in

^{*}Instructor of English as a Foreign Language, School of International Studies, Kwansei Gakuin University

Japanese educational dialogue throughout the past 30 years (Ryan, 2008) and it remains an undertaking worthy of time and effort. In this paper, I argue that reform of the examination system has the potential to improve students' desire to develop their own communicative competence. The vast majority of entrance examinations do little to test communicative ability and therefore, as powerful sources of motivation, it is argued that such examinations drive students away from focussing on their communicative abilities. As a result, such examinations can be said to contribute significantly to a system which, after six years of instruction, produces learners with "weak English communication ability and low motivation toward learning the language" (Nakata, 2006: 166).

The term communicative competence, which has been credited to Dell Hymes (1971), is understood to be the product of a combination of distinct competencies; including the correct employment of language items, the use of appropriate communication strategies, grammatical knowledge, and the ability to infer meaning from context. Considering this, I will look at the non-communicative nature of entrance examinations before presenting a study that links the effort expended by pre-university learners in Japan to the presence of entrance examinations. In highlighting this link, I suggest that the Japanese entrance examination system incentivizes students to direct their energies away from improving communicative abilities and that in the absence of other external motivators, misses an excellent opportunity to provide Japanese students with a tangible and powerful source of external motivation to such skills.

Of course, entrance examinations are not the sole explanation for a lack of communicative English abilities amongst Japanese learners and a range of other explanations exist alongside the ideas presented here. In practical terms, a lack of opportunities to practice English in real communicative situations as well as a near absence of English from mainstream media has, according to McArthur (1998) relegated English to a state of decoration in Japan. Further to this, fundamental and irreconcilable phonetic differences between the Japanese and English languages (see Bradlow, 2008), can result in a cognitive burden for native speakers of Japanese that is heavier than that experienced by speakers of other languages. In terms of pedagogy, low communicative ability has also been explained as a result of an over reliance on grammar translation approaches to language instruction (Koike *et al*, 1995; Law, 1995). A final contributory factor in highlighted by Kerr (2001) from a cultural point of view, where hesitation, shyness and a lack of willingness to draw attention to one-self inhibit learners' desire to communicate in English.

In terms of how examinations themselves affect learners, the effect of testing on learning is commonly referred to as the 'washback' effect and has been characterised by Stobart (2003: 140) as a process that is not neutral and one which always has consequences for students, affecting both what is taught and how it is taught. Wall (2005) goes on to suggest that the effects of examinations differ greatly depending on students, and such differences are particularly acute in large scale language tests. It is of course worth noting that Japanese university entrance examinations are not dedicated language tests in the style of TOEIC or IELTS and therefore before trying to establish a link between such tests and students motivation, it is useful to consider what exactly such examinations are, and what they test.

Entrance Examinations in Japan

Within the Japanese education system, university entrance examinations are, put simply, the de-

fining points of Japanese students' educational career. Fukuzawa (1998) observes that entrance exams are tightly connected with future income, prestige and job security and that Japanese students are highly aware of this fact from a young age, with Sugimoto (2003) adding that *entrance to* university in Japan is in fact more demanding than *graduation from* it. In contrast with, for example the 'A-level' examinations taken by students of an equivalent age in the United Kingdom, the Japanese 'National Center Test for University Admissions' is an annually administered examination with no re-sits allowed. The exam is administered on the same weekend of the year throughout the country and consists of 29 separate tests, with candidates sitting the exams specified by their university of choice.

For many wishing to enter more prestigious universities in Japan, as well as those wishing to enter private institutions (of which there are many), further examinations are often set individually by universities and the burden on students to prepare for multiple exams can by very heavy indeed. Each entrance exam typically consists of sections on Japanese, maths and foreign languages, though as Ryan (2008) observes, the negligible numbers of students taking the test in other languages means that the 'foreign language' category basically refers to English.

Criticism of entrance examinations is certainly not a new phenomenon (see Murphey, 2001), and the negative effects that such exams can have on teaching methods are identified by Browne and Kikuchi (2009). Unfortunately for this study, the high number of examinations being set by different institutions in Japan means that attaching even a small proportion of the entrance examinations set in one year would result in a prohibitively lengthy appendix section. Instead previous work into the effects of examinations in Japan is used as evidence to support the claim that such examinations do little to test communicative abilities.

The 'National Center Test for University Admissions' comprises exclusively of multiple-choice questions (Stewart, 2009), with Nakata (2006) speculating that preparation for such exams takes place at the expense of communicative learning. Butler & Iino (2005) go further, suggesting that *juken eigo* (English for the purpose of entrance examinations) developed in the Japanese education system, not necessarily as a tool for communication, but as a screening process for educational institutions. Despite the fact that the contemporary political and economic situation in Japan does call for a degree of English communicative competence in its university graduates, it seems that universities are failing to recognise this call and refusing to adapt from previous ways of thinking. The consequences of this refusal are felt by students throughout Japan, and are particularly serious when considered in light of research by Yashima (2002) exploring willingness to communicate among Japanese learners.

As a concept, 'willingness to communicate' is the combination of factors necessary to drive a learner to communicate in a language other than their own. Studying the concept in a Japanese environment, Yashima (2002) concludes that motivation alone is insufficient to compel learners to communicate, and instead identifies a link between individuals' perceptions of their own competence and their willingness to communicate in a second language. Motivation therefore, must exist along-side positive self-perception in order to encourage communication in a foreign language.

Unfortunately, in a system which places almost no importance on communicative ability, and in which the time spent on communicative activities is not even close to adequate to acquire any degree of fluency (Weschler, 1997), it is difficult to see where the confidence and positive self-

perceptions required to encourage communication will come from. With the burden of examinations inhibiting teachers' and students' willingness to practice communicative English, a situation has emerged in which "for most secondary students in Japan, English has a clearly defined instrumental function, stripped of any communicative function" (Ryan, 2009: 215).

This paper argues that the current entrance examination system is a major source of this perception of English and suggests that the addition of communicative elements to entrance examinations could have a positive effect on students' desire to acquire communicative English skills. In order to support this claim, research presented in the next section aims to provide a direct link between the desire to pass entrance examinations and students' own efforts in studying English, along with the hypothesis that as a source of motivation, the power of entrance examinations grows as student progress through the education system towards university.

Methodology

In order to draw a quantifiable link between motivated behaviour and the presence of entrance examinations, the study presented in this paper is based on previous research from Zoltan Dörnyei. Though still relatively young as an academic construct, Dörnyei's (2005) *L2 self motivational system* has become a powerful force in language learning motivation research, with studies being replicated successfully in a number of international contexts (Taguchi *et al*, 2009; Ryan, 2009). Considering the success of these replication studies, as well as the limited resources available for this research, it was felt that the use of an established data collection method was more likely to yield useful results. The decision was therefore made to base this study on previous research conducted by Dörnyei and

Taguchi (2010), using a questionnaire to identify sources of motivation among Japanese pre-university students, and then cross referencing these variables with indicators of motivated behaviour. In the following subsections, I provide an outline of the participants and instrument used in the study before presenting and discussing the results.

Participants

Nara is the 33rd most populous prefecture in Japan (out of 47) and the 14th highest in terms of population density (GSIJ, 2008). The prefecture borders the major cities of Osaka to the east and Kyoto to the north, providing easy access to both, but also containing a number of rural areas in the south of the prefecture. Nara is neither heavily urban nor overly rural and in generating the sample, attention was paid to achieving a balance between surveying learners from both rural and urban areas.

Conducted in May 2014, research took place in the first months of the Japanese academic year, surveying 1048 Japanese learners at various stages of the education system. A questionnaire was administered to final year students from

Table 1 Sample's Statistics

School Year	Number of Students
Elementary	84
Male	44
Female	39
Missing Data	1
Junior High 1st yr	232
Male	117
Female	109
Missing Data	6
Junior High 3 rd yr	239
Male	118
Female	119
Missing data	2
Senior High 1st yr	259
Male	111
Female	137
Missing Data	11
Senior High 3 rd yr	234
Male	84
Female	147
Missing Data	3
Whole Sample	1048
Male	474
Female	551
Missing Data	23

elementary school (11-12 yrs), junior high school (14-15 yrs), and senior high school (17-18 yrs), as well as first year students from junior high school (12-13), and high school (15-16). It should be noted that participants were selected at random from each participating school, and were not selected on the basis of any particular ability or interest in foreign languages.

Instrument

The instrument used in this study was adapted from a questionnaire produced by Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010) to measure the motivation of Japanese language learners. The questionnaire consisted of 40 statements, which measured five variables (see appendix A). Four of the variables looked at various motivating factors (one of which was entrance examinations), with the final variable, 'intended effort' acting as the criterion measure for the study against which the other variables were compared. In the questionnaire, learners were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with certain statements from a 6 point Likert-style scale. The decision to remove a 'middle' value was determined by previous research (Rian, 2007; Taguchi *et al*, 2009) suggesting a tendency, especially among Japanese respondents, to look for median answers.

In order to combat fatigue effects, and to refocus the study toward the motivational power of entrance examinations, a number of variables considered irrelevant to the aims of this study were removed from Dörnyei and Taguchi's (2010) original instrument, with three variables retained to allow the reliability of the research to be compared with the other studies. Finally, additional items measuring the influence of entrance examinations were designed and added following consultations with a number of Japanese and non-Japanese education professionals. English translations of the items used to capture this data can be found below:

- Studying English is important to me, as I want to go to a famous University/High School
- I have to study English because there is an English section on all Entrance examinations
- I have to learn English because without it, I cannot go to University/High School
- Studying English is necessary to pass important exams

Results

The first part of this section assesses the reliability of the multi item scales used in the questionnaire and compares the internal reliability of the scales used here with those reported in previous similar studies. Following this, correlations in the dataset between entrance examinations and intended effort are illustrated alongside gender differences and a possible weakness of the research design.

Reliability

Table 2 presents the Cronbach Alpha(α) internal reliability coefficients based on the data collected from the participants for the five variables tested, including *intended effort and entrance examinations*. The original questionnaire used in this study is available as an appendix to this paper (Appendix B).

Table 2 Variable items, with Cronbach Alpha(α) coefficients

Variable Name	Item no.	A
Intended Effort	3, 8, 11, 18	.75
Entrance Examinations	7, 12, 17, 20	.80
Ideal L2 self	5, 9, 15, 19	.82
Interest in English	2, 4, 6, 10	.80
International Posture	1, 13, 14, 16	.78

As shown in the table, there was a generally high internal reliability across the variables, with coefficients of above 0.7, an accepted boundary for internal reliability (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). Pleasingly for this paper, the variable used to examine entrance examinations was shown to have the highest score in terms of internal reliability. With over a thousand responses, the internal reliability coefficients returned by SPSS, especially concerning the variables of specific interest to this paper, intended effort, and entrance exams were positive, adding credibility and validity to any conclusions drawn.

To be as sure as possible about the reliability of the scales used in the instrument, internal reliability coefficients were compared with those of other recent studies assessing similar variables. Table 3 presents a comparison of the reliability coefficients generated by two variables in this study and with those from two previous studies undertaken in Japan (Taguchi *et al*, 2009) and Iran (Papi, 2010).

Table 3 Reliability coefficients compared with previous studies

Variable Name	This study	Taguchi (2009)	Papi (2010)
Intended Effort	.78	.86	.79
Ideal L2 self	.80	.89	.79

Similar internal reliability coefficients compared with both previous studies indicates a positive degree of replication, which adds to the overall validity of the present study.

Entrance examinations and intended effort

At the beginning of this paper, entrance examinations were suggested to be a powerful source of motivation for pre-tertiary learners in Japan. The design of the research instrument therefore looked to focus upon these exams and measure their correlation with *intended effort*. Table 4 presents the correlation of the *entrance examinations* variable with *intended effort*.

Table 4 Correlation of Entrance Examinations with intended effort

Variable	
Entrance Examinations	.60

As shown in Table 4, the results of the survey indicate a positive correlation between *entrance examinations* and the intention to expend effort in studying English among pre-tertiary learners. Alongside this, Table 5 shows that the power of the *entrance examination* variable to compel stu-

dents to study steadily increases as students move through the educational system, as suggested earlier in the paper.

Table 5 Correlation between *entrance examinations* and *intended effort* at different stages of the Japanese education system

School year	JHS 3	SHS 1	SHS 3
Correlation coefficient	.51	.62	.65

Gender differences

Although not considered in the paper so far, the dataset produced by this research also allowed for the division of responses based not only by the stage at which respondents were located in the education system, but also by gender. The division of results in this way produced some interesting results as shown by Table 6, which presents the correlation coefficients for the *Ideal L2 self*, *entrance examinations* and *intended effort*, divided by gender.

Table 6 Correlation coefficients of *intended effort* and the three main variables, divided by gender

Variable	Male	Female
Ideal L2 self	.51	.59
Entrance Examinations	.66	.54

As shown above, an interesting and unexpected result of the research was that correlations between *entrance examinations* and *intended effort* are significantly higher in male learners than in female learners, with the *ideal L2 self* showing the opposite trend. As gender differences are not the primary focus of this investigation, I do not intend to return to investigate their significance and will instead briefly discuss them here; the *ideal L2 self* as a variable, is strongly related to future conceptions of oneself. What the results of this research indicate is that female students are able to harness such future conceptions to drive their language study. Male students on the other hand, seem to rely more on the concrete notion of entrance examinations to provide their own motivation. What causes this divergence is not immediately clear, but further research to establish how gender affects motivation would no doubt yield interesting results.

Limitations

Among the difficulties associated with making inferences in a study such as this, the question of correlation vs. causality stands out. A positive correlation between two variables can exist completely independently of causality, leaving coincidence to explain the correlation. In other cases, a third 'lurking variable' can exist alongside that which is being measured to give an impression of causality where in fact there is none. In social sciences, it is almost impossible to establish absolutes and therefore, in trying to establish that the presence of entrance examinations 'cause' students to direct their English learning efforts towards the development of non-communicative skills, it is accepted that we are unlikely to ever prove this as a fact. What we can aim to do however is provide

enough evidence to reasonably conclude that one variable is likely to have a causal effect on another.

In terms of the results presented above, perhaps the most significant in terms of the main hypothesis tested by this paper is the positive correlation observed between entrance examinations and intended effort. Although not *proof* of causality, these results add weight to the suggestion that such exams are important motivators for pre-tertiary learners in Japan. As a consequence, it can be reasonably surmised that entrance examinations do indeed drive students to direct their efforts away from improving their communicative English abilities.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I identified the prominence in educational literature of the failure of the Japanese education system to produce communicative competence it its English learners and suggested that entrance examinations made a significant contribution to this problem. The decision to focus on these examinations was inspired initially by personal experience of the power they seem to exert over pre-tertiary learners in the public education system, but was affirmed by further research as discussed in work of Nakata (2006) and Sugimoto (2003). The general lack of an English language context in Japan means that there is a shortage of sources of motivation to study English, but entrance examinations are one of those sources and therefore some sort of communicative element would seem to be an ideal complement to a government drive to increase communicative abilities.

As explained more fully in the body of the paper, entrance examinations, which are typified by multi choice tests with no creative or communicative component, are immensely important in deciding the future lives of Japanese students. It was therefore suggested that if a direct link between entrance examinations and motivation could be established, then there would be strong case to suggest that pre-tertiary learners of English in Japan may not be *unmotivated*, but moreover; motivated only to develop the skills required to pass exams which have no communicative element. When considered alongside the national drive to improve communicative English abilities then, reform of the entrance examination system would seem to present a golden opportunity to affect learners' own motivation to improve their communicative English abilities.

To empirically identify entrance exams as a significant source of motivation for pre-tertiary English learners in Japan, an instrument was adapted from previous research (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010) to quantitatively measure the motivation of Japanese pre-tertiary learners. Administered to 1048 learners in May 2014, the results of the research reflected interestingly on the questions posed at the start of the paper. In terms of establishing entrance examinations as a source of motivation, the research could be defined tentatively as a success, showing a positive correlation between efforts expended in learning English and entrance examinations, as well as the increasing potency of this variable as students get older. Looked at in conjunction with literature describing the nature of such examinations, the study concludes therefore that exams do indeed exert real pressure in driving learners to direct their efforts away from improving their communicative ability and toward the sort of skills that help them to pass current examinations.

This paper does not suggest that entrance exams are the only barrier to improving communicative competence among learners in Japan and an array of factors clearly contribute towards motivat-

ing language learners. What the paper *is* trying to argue however, is that the presence of entrance examinations in the education system is significant, and does deserve to be taken into account in any discussion of what drives learners to direct their learning efforts, and why students' communicative abilities are often bemoaned by educators in Japan.

There is no easy way to become competent in a foreign language and hours of practice are necessary for even the most gifted of linguists. However, the argument that this paper is predicated upon is that motivation is required to make the whole process work and in Japan, in the absence of a multitude of other sources of motivation, the potential of entrance examinations must be capitalised upon. In reforming the entrance examination system to include a communicative element, it is suggested that changes in classroom practice will necessarily develop to include a focus on communicative skills. The knock on effect of which would be to improve students' confidence as well as their perception of their own competence. If, as this study suggests, the potential benefits are so clear, then why, it must be asked, have such reforms not yet been implemented?

Among the reasons for a lack of reform of the system so far, logistical issues could be the most pressing. The actual process of reforming the examination system would undoubtedly be a huge undertaking in terms of both time and money. Alongside this, the fact that exams are produced individually by each university presents the problem of which institution will 'jump first.' In an autoethnographical study about his own drive to reform entrance examinations in Japan, Murphey (2001) reports a number of barriers to reform, exacerbated by Japan's risk-averse culture:

The lines of decision making and authority seem very poorly drawn and inhibit change by pushing the responsibility to another group or person. Individuals in a position to make decisions fear blame if things go wrong (Murphey, 2001: 200)

Further to this, the position of entrance examinations as a revenue generator led Murphey (2001: 200) to suggest that those in charge of entrance exams may be worried that a more challenging exam based on communicative English would "scare away" fee paying candidates. Also writing on the subject of entrance examinations as revenue generators, Stewart (2009) suggests that a lack of government funding for higher education in Japan has raised the importance of institutional testing in raising funds, suggesting they are "a cash cow that must be milked" (Stewart, 2009: 11).

A further problem with instituting wide changing reform is the high number of private universities in Japan. Although Stewart (2009) suggests that MEXT could offer incentives to institutions that use the 'Center Test' as their sole criteria for admissions, private institutions are less accountable to government education ministries and therefore, even if the political will to institute reforms existed, "the reality of the situation illustrates the relative powerlessness of the government in this regard" (Stewart, 2009: 11).

A significant amount of my own motivation to undertake this research came from personal experience of the power that entrance examinations seem to exert over pre-tertiary learners in Japan. Furthermore, the study was driven by a genuine belief that reform of the system has the potential to provide learners' with a tangible source of motivation to improve their communicative skills. Now, having established an empirical link between the motivation to study and the desire to pass entrance examinations, my conviction that such exams can be harnessed for the purposes of raising communicative competence has been strengthened.

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Appendix A: List of items used to generate variables in the instrument

Criterion measures

If an English course were offered at a University/High school in the future, I would take it I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English
I am working hard at learning English
I think that I am doing my best to learn English

Ideal L2 self

I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners I imagine myself as someone who can speak English

Entrance Exams

Studying English is important to me, as I want to go to a prestigious University/High School I have to study English because there is an English section on all Entrance examinations I have to learn English because without it, I cannot go to University Studying English is necessary to pass important exams

Interest in English

If I make more effort, I am sure I will be able to master English I find learning English really interesting I feel excited when I hear English spoken I am interested in the way English is used in conversation

International Posture

Learning English is important to me because I would like to travel internationally I like watching English films
I like meeting people from English speaking countries
I study English so I can enjoy foreign travel

Appendix B: Japanese Questionnaire

Appendix B: Japanese Questionnaire

英語学習者に関するアンケート

このアンケートは3つのパートから成り経っています。それぞれの指示に従い、回答を記入してください。これはテストではありませんので、「正解」も「不正解」もなく、名前を記入する必要もありません。この調査結果は研究目的のためだけに使われますので、正直にお答えください。よろしくお願いいたします。

パート1

このパートでは、あなたが次の事柄にどの程度共感できるかを、1から6の番号の中からひと

つを選んでお答えください。記入漏れのないようにお願いいたします。

全く	そう思わな	あまり	44	そう思う	非常に
そう思わな	V١	そう思わな	そう思う		そう思う
V)		V			
1	2	3	4	5	6

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1。海外旅行をしたいので、私にとって英語の勉強は大切である。	*	*	*	*	*	*
2。英語が話されているのを聞くとわくわくする。	*	*	*	*	*	*
3。今後、大学やその他の所で英語の授業があれば、受講したい。	*	*	*	*	*	*
4。もっと努力すれば、英語を確実に身につけられると思う。	*	*	*	*	*	*
5。外国に住み、英語で討論している自分を想像できる。	*	*	*	*	*	*
6。会話の中での英語の使い方に興味がある。	*	*	*	*	*	*
7。良い高等学校あるいは大学に入学したいので、私にとって						
英語を勉強するのは大切である。	*	*	*	*	*	*
8。英語を一生懸命勉強している。	*	*	*	*	*	*
9。自分が外国人と英語で話をしている状況を想像できる。	*	*	*	*	*	*
10。英語を勉強するのはとても面白い。	*	*	*	*	*	*
11。英語の勉強に努力を惜しまない。	*	*	*	*	*	*
12。全ての入学試験に英語の分野があるので、私は英語を勉強						
しなければならない。	*	*	*	*	*	*

パート2

次のパートは質問形式ですが、パート1と同じ方法で回答してください。

全く そう思わな	そう思わな い	あまり そう思わない	やや そう思う	そう思う	非常に そう思う
٧٧					
1	2	3	4	5	6

パート3

次の項目の \Box にチェック(\checkmark)を入れるか、空欄に回答を記入してお答えください。

性別: □男性 □女性 国籍: □日本人 □外国人 学年: □小5年生 □小6年生

□中1年生□中2年生□中3年生□高1年生□高3年生

英語教員: 英語のネイティブの先生に習ったことがある、あるいは習っていますか?

□はい □いいえ

海外経験: 旅行や勉強など、少なくとも計3ヶ月以上英語圏に滞在したことがありますか?

□はい □いいえ

ご協力ありがとうございました!