



Learner Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs in Language Learning

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Abstract: *This literature review examines recent research in the area of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about language learning and about themselves as language learners, together with the consequences of these perceptions on learning outcomes. After an overview of relevant definitions of these complex concepts, the review categorizes this research into three orientations: studies that have focused on how learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs relate to their traits and characteristics; studies that have examined how these notions relate to the learning environment; and studies that have looked at how these notions play out in the interaction between the learner and the environment. The review concludes with suggestions related to research design and research questions that would address current lacunae in the field.*

Key words: *language learning anxiety, learner attitudes, learner beliefs, learner perceptions, motivation*

Understanding language learners is a matter of examining a variety of evidence, both observable and unobservable, about their learning of language. This review of the literature is largely concerned with a certain subset of unobservable attributes of language learners: that of their attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about language learning. In that these attributes are unobservable, the researchers who examine them largely ask language learners to share what they think, and assume that these thoughts are pertinent and important to understanding how languages are learned and taught.

One can generally categorize the scholarly works in this review of the literature as having one of three orientations: focusing more on the learner as the agent, and how learners' static, largely unchanging attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs relate to their own demographic or identity characteristics ("trait" or "learner" studies); focusing more on learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs as affected by their learning situation ("state" or "environmental" studies); and focusing on the interaction between the learner and the learning environment ("dynamic" or "complexity" studies). Numerous scholars have noted the distinction between trait and state orientations in research on language learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs (see for instance Barcelos, 2003a; Dörnyei, 2009a, 2009b; MacIntyre, 2007¹). The third orientation has been suggested by Barcelos (2003a, 2003b) and others to characterize studies that

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focus on the dynamic, constantly negotiated, embedded, and interconnected nature of learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs.²

This review of the literature seeks to examine research in the area of learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs³ about language learning and about themselves as language learners, together with the consequences of these perceptions on learning outcomes. This review further emphasizes the last 10 years of research in foreign language (FL) contexts (i.e., contexts in which the language being taught is not the majority language of the surrounding community) in the United States. Earlier works and works from related language learning contexts are referenced as appropriate.

Foundations and Definitions

The groundwork for the inquiry into learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs was laid for the most part in the 1970s and 1980s, with studies that emphasized defining and validating key concepts such that further research could take place. Work like Bartley's 1970 article correlating attitude with attrition, Gardner's (1985) exploration of the attitude-dependent socio-educational model of language learning, and Horwitz's work with anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986) and learner beliefs (Horwitz, 1988) largely focused on the task of operationalizing the target construct, crafting a survey from its primary identified components, and validating that survey. Important instruments like the Foreign Language Attitude Scale (FLAS) (Bartley, 1970), the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (Gardner, 1985), the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz et al., 1986), and the Beliefs and Attitudes Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Horwitz, 1988) were the tools that were created, validated, or used in those studies. Other texts of the time that focused on individual learner differences, notably Spolsky (1989) and Skehan (1989), also depended on these instruments to define these concepts.

Although high-profile qualitative research (e.g. Norton, 1995) and critiques

of the prevalence of survey research (e.g., Dörnyei, 1994; Oxford, 1994) about language learner attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs were published in the 1990s, the dominance of survey research has continued to the present day. These surveys have been frequently composed of Likert-scale items that reflected the components of the construct being investigated; for instance, the participant's agreement with the statement, "I think French people are good people" would be seen as a measure of attitudes toward the target community. Learners themselves have completed these surveys at some point before, during, and/or after their language learning experiences. They have been analyzed with everything from simple frequency counts to structural equation modeling (SEM). Mills, Pajares, and Herron (2006) suggested, in describing the limitations of their own study, that self-report instruments of this type hold an inherent danger in that "participants sometimes report what they believe is expected, rather than their true beliefs." The authors continued in stating that "the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity" and using "valid empirical ... measurements" did mitigate this problem (Mills et al., 2006, p. 285). This review of the literature, therefore, is positioned in part to assess the body of survey-based research on attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, and to present some of the alternative modes of inquiry that have been put forth in the past 10 years.

A brief review of some of the general definitions of the three concepts offers further foundations for understanding the issues at play in the current literature in the field. Learner attitudes have often been addressed in the literature in relation to two different targets: attitudes toward the learning situation (often encompassing the instructor as well as the instructional techniques used [Gardner, 2005]), and attitudes toward the target community. Attitudes toward the target community have been addressed in recent work by Yashima (2009), who developed the idea into the notion of "international posture," which relates to

how students see themselves as “connected to the international community, [with] concerns for international affairs and ... a readiness to interact with people [from the target culture(s)]” (Yashima, 2009, p. 146).

Learner perceptions, like learner attitudes, have been commonly associated with two targets in the literature: perceptions of themselves, and perceptions of the learning situation. Perceptions of themselves have often been defined as how students understand and make sense of themselves and their own learning (Liskin-Gasparro, 1998; Williams & Burden, 1999). Learner perceptions of the learning situation have included how students experience and understand aspects of the classroom, like instructor behaviors (Brown, 2009). It is important to note that, although many researchers have chosen to focus on one perceptual target or the other, most have operated under the assumption that these two types of learner perceptions are interrelated.

Learner beliefs, although rarely distinguished formally from learner perceptions in the literature, have often been assumed to be more overarching and pervasive than perceptions, which have tended to focus on specific experiences. Learner beliefs have included what learners think about themselves, about the learning situation, and about the target community. Beliefs that learners have about themselves have often been related in the literature to the notion of self-efficacy, or “the judgments [students] hold about their capability to organize and execute the courses of action required to master academic tasks” (Mills et al., 2007, p. 417; see also Bandura, 1997; Graham, 2006). The notion of self-efficacy rejects what Bandura has called the “crude” idea that everything is externally controlled (Bandura, 1997, p. 23). A related type of self-belief is language-learning self-concept, or how students generally feel about themselves as language learners (Mills et al., 2007, p. 423). Learner beliefs can be focused on more external targets as well; Barcelos and Kalaja (2003) suggested that beliefs comprise students’ “opinions and

ideas about the task of learning a second/foreign language” (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2003, p. 231). Yet more generally, Horwitz (1988) defined beliefs as “student opinions on a variety of issues and controversies related to language learning” (Horwitz, 1988, p. 284). Ostensibly, these definitions allow for beliefs to be not just about the learning situation, but about the target community, language, and culture as well.

Finally, two important related concepts, motivation and anxiety, have often been placed in causal relationships with learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in the literature, featuring prominently in many of the foundational texts mentioned above. Motivation has been closely connected with “the affective characteristics of the learner, referring to the direction and magnitude of learning behavior in terms of the learner’s choice, intensity, and duration of learning” (Dörnyei, 2009a, p. 231). As Gardner (2005) has attested, motivation can be a way of understanding learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, in that it offers “one parsimonious way of accounting for individual differences in second language acquisition” (Gardner, 2005, p. 21). Motivation may thus serve as a central construct that can guide and structure research.

Another important concept is anxiety, which has been typically characterized as situation-specific anxiety (Horwitz, 2010). Aida (1994) explained that Horwitz and her colleagues have conceptualized FL anxiety as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning processes” (Horwitz et al., 1991, p. 31, as cited in Aida, 1994, p. 156). Similar to motivation (which incidentally has included anxiety as a component in most models), anxiety has offered researchers a way to understand and contextualize learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in a framework that is easily measured and understood in the field. Works of research on the constructs of motivation and anxiety are referenced in this review particularly

when they emphasize the components of attitudes, perceptions, or beliefs that contribute to the constructs.

Ultimately, as this review of the literature demonstrates, the importance of consistent and reliable definitions of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs cannot be underplayed. All too often, the body of literature and development of a dialogue has been hindered by unclear definitions or inconsistent application of guiding principles in examining a specific notion. Hopefully, this review can contribute to the dialogue that can improve this present dynamic.

The Trait or Learner Orientation

Studies with a "trait" or "learner" orientation have focused on describing, measuring, and understanding learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about language learning in a manner that is independent of the learning context and other environmental factors. Often, these scholars have depicted learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs as unchanging and static.

Describing Learner Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs

Some studies with the trait/learner orientation have remained at the descriptive level, refraining from linking learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs to outcomes, although those implications were often suggested. For instance, authors of studies using both structural equation modeling (Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005) and qualitative interviews (Graham, 2006) have provided detailed descriptions of motivation (in the former case) and self-efficacy (in the latter case). These researchers did not provide evidence connecting the findings with learner outcomes, but they did suggest, interestingly, that the positive academic outcomes were expected, given the effort implied in highly motivated students or students with high self-efficacy.

Descriptions of student perceptions have also been common in the field, often

focusing on specific aspects of the language learning classroom: first language (L1) usage (Rolin-Ianziti & Varshney, 2008), technology (Peters, Weinberg, & Sarma, 2009), the native versus nonnative class instructor (Hertel & Sunderman, 2009), and, in the context of incoming freshmen in a university program, preferred classroom activities (Mandell, 2002). Similarly, Price and Gascoigne (2006) sought to describe more general attitudes from college students about the "importance of foreign language study" and "postsecondary foreign language requirements" (Price & Gascoigne, 2006 p. 386). Usually, these studies have been interpretive in nature, depending on the analysis of essays, interviews, and other forms of data, but some, notably Peters et al. (2009), have used surveys with Likert-scale and rank-order questions to ascertain student perceptions. Note that these studies, when considered together, do not create a body of coherent findings about student perceptions; they represent isolated cases of exploratory work that each contribute to a different knowledge base about disparate topics (e.g., L1 usage, technology) in language learning.

A group of similar studies has focused on tracing the relationship between learner and instructor perceptions. Scholars have examined this relationship as it relates to target language use in the classroom (Levine, 2003), learners' self-expressive speech (Yoshida, 2007), effective FL teaching (Brown, 2009), accents in the target language (Drewelow & Theobald, 2007), and teaching strategy frequency (Bernaus & Gardner, 2008). These studies all found that the learners' perceptions did not match those of their instructors. Interestingly, researchers looking at English learners in Georgia, Eurasia, found that learners and instructors in that context were quite similar in their beliefs about language learning. This suggests that differences between learners and instructors do not necessarily always exist when researchers examine concepts other than perceptions (Polat, 2009). The research methods in these

studies differed slightly, with most using some form of parallel survey administration; in contrast, Polat (2009) added qualitative data, and Yoshida (2007) conducted a purely ethnographic study.

This small body of work is an interesting area of inquiry, and it proves that the investigation of learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs without necessarily connecting it to outcomes can be an important contribution to the discourse in the field.

Connecting Learner Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs With Outcomes

The most abundant body of literature on attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs with a trait/learner orientation, however, has focused on how those concepts can be related to a diverse array of outcomes. The attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs investigated in this type of study have been directed in one or more of three areas: learners looking at themselves as language learners, learners looking at the process of language learning, or learners looking at the target community.

Learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about themselves as language learners have been associated with outcomes like enjoyment (Brantmeier, 2005) and achievement on proficiency measures or grades (Brantmeier, 2005; Donato, Tucker, Wudthayagorn, & Igarashi, 2000; Graham, 2004; Mills et al., 2006, 2007). Similar studies have correlated learners' perceptions of themselves as language learners and their levels of FL anxiety (Yan & Horwitz, 2008) and their extrinsic or intrinsic motivation (Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 2001). Of these studies, Graham (2004) and Yan and Horwitz (2008) offered the only non-survey data, in the form of interviews. Note that several of these studies focused on the principle of self-assessment, where the learners offered evaluations of their own ability in language class, essentially indicating their beliefs about themselves as learners (see Brantmeier, 2005). Other researchers looked at the concept of self-efficacy, ask-

ing the students to comment on their confidence in completing specific tasks (see Mills et al., 2006). The findings in these studies generally showed that more positive learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs were associated with more positive outcomes of the types listed above (e.g., more enjoyment, higher achievement, lower anxiety). However, some of the studies also raised questions about how the interaction of different attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs might have influenced outcomes in different ways, such as with motivation and anxiety (Graham, 2004; Yan & Horwitz, 2008).

Learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs related to the process of language learning have been connected to outcomes as well. In the 2000 study mentioned above, Donato et al. sought to "create a profile" where items including attitudes and self-assessment could be related to individual achievement (Donato et al., 2000, p. 386). Cochran, McCallum, and Bell (2010) similarly included students' attributions for their own success and their attitudes toward learning a language, examining their relationship through the quantitative analysis of Structural Equation Modeling with the students' achievement. Other studies have been more focused on perceptions of the learning situation specifically, linking perceptions of corrective feedback with their desire to participate (Yoshida, 2008), perceptions of certain instructional techniques with their choice of learning strategies (Mori & Shimizu, 2007), or perceptions of instructors with their motivation or anxiety (Ewald, 2007; Wesely, 2009). This emphasis on perceptions is notable, and it suggests that there is room for further research in this particular trait/learner orientation that might further explore the relationship between these perceptions, learner attitudes, and beliefs.

In some studies, learner attitudes toward language learning have been seen as a contributing factor in achievement, but only as mediated by other contributors. Aida (1994) connected learners' attitudes and fears about the class with their anxiety, which Aida then connected with

their performance in class. Quantitative studies on motivation have been characterized by this type of modeling of contributors to achievement (e.g., Bernaus & Gardner, 2008; Hernández, 2006; Yashima, 2009; Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, & Shimizu, 2004). For instance, Bernaus and Gardner (2008) connected students' perceptions of teaching strategies (attitudes toward the learning situation) with their motivation and their achievement in a large-scale survey. In other studies, the students' attitudes toward the target community have been seen as contributing to either their "integrative motivation" (Hernández, 2006) or their "international posture" (Yashima, 2009; Yashima et al., 2004), which then in turn influenced motivation in general, which led to achievement. This brief summary of these quite complex studies, while necessarily simplified, allows for an important perspective on how these concepts have been linked to outcomes.

These trait/learner-oriented studies that have connected learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs to outcomes, in their correlational analysis and focus on relationships, have offered an elegance and clarity to the field of literature. They have provided strong evidence of the importance of these concepts in any understanding of language education and the experience of the language learner. However, one important critique of these studies, as suggested in the aforementioned work by Donato et al. (2000), lies in the nature of correlational relationships. Associating or correlating two learner attributes, such as learner self-efficacy and high levels of proficiency, does not provide proof that self-efficacy produces high proficiency. The possibility cannot be ruled out that students who have higher proficiency, perhaps as a result of an unknown or unmeasured variable like access to better learning strategies or members of the target community, then have higher self-efficacy. Finally, scholars should embrace when a relationship is not found when expected, and they should allow themselves to explore and interpret the reasons (see for instance the study by

Cochran et al., 2010). This is a perspective that is currently lacking in educators' understanding of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs.

Addressing Learner Characteristics With Their Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs

The third group of trait/learner-oriented studies has emphasized how learner characteristics can be connected with learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. In most cases, these studies have examined a group of individuals with a specific characteristic (e.g., heritage learners), or two groups with contrasting characteristics in the same environment (e.g., male/female, L1/second language [L2] background), and explored their perceptions of themselves and of their language learning, often as related to their learner characteristics. Some of these authors have linked the learner characteristics to their attitudes, perceptions, or beliefs, and then in turn to outcomes. Note also that these studies have represented a variety of research approaches; although there have been some purely quantitative studies (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001), most of the studies have contained at least some qualitative elements, and many have been completely interpretive in nature.

The literature on heritage learners has dominated this particular area of inquiry. Case studies of heritage learners of German (Dressler, 2010) and interviews with heritage learners of Chinese (Wong & Xiao, 2010) in a special issue of the *Heritage Language Journal* revealed that how some university students viewed themselves as heritage learners had a strong relationship with how they felt about their own linguistic expertise and investment. The connection between heritage identity and linguistic and cultural investment was supported by a qualitative study by Bearse and de Jong (2008), which contrasted Spanish L1 students and English L1 students in a two-way high school language immersion program.

The authors found that Spanish L1 students valued Spanish foremost for its connection to their families and their identity (see also Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Husseinali, 2006). In all of these studies, the heritage learners' beliefs about what was valuable in language learning related to their own identities as heritage learners and their self-concept. Scholars have also inquired into how learners' identities as heritage learners influenced their attitudes toward classroom activities (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001; Weger-Guntharp, 2006) and the use of the target language in the classroom (Ducar, 2008). Out of these studies, only one (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001) found no relation between heritage background and pedagogical preferences, although it did identify the fact that students were studying the language of their ethnic heritage as a distinct motivational factor. The fact that this was the only large-scale survey study ($N = 2,089$) of this cluster of studies suggests that research methods might be at least some of the reason for this unusual finding. It should also be noted that, with the exception of the Bears and de Jong (2008) study, as already noted, all of these studies took place at the university level.

Beyond heritage learners, groups defined by other learner characteristics have also been investigated in the literature, but much more infrequently. The differences between male and female learners of FLs have long been seen as important questions to pursue (see Spolsky, 1989), but recent published studies that focused on these topics (Kissau, 2006; Kissau, Kolano, & Wang, 2010) have largely been outnumbered by large-scale survey studies where gender was seen as one variable (see Cochran et al., 2010; Cortés, 2002; Heining-Boynton & Haitema, 2007; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000; Sung & Padilla, 1998) or as something that had to be controlled for (Brantmeier, 2005). These large-scale survey studies have revealed a variety of findings, ranging from strongly indicating more positive attitudes and valuing of FL study by girls (Cochran et al., 2010; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000; Sung

& Padilla, 1998) to more neutral or equal performance on attitudinal or motivational measures (Cortés, 2002; Heining-Boynton & Haitema, 2007). Other types of learner characteristics, particularly characteristics that identify learners with traditionally underrepresented populations in FL, have largely been disregarded in the recent literature. One exception to this is the work by Moore (2005); in this study, she investigated in an exploratory way the reasons why African Americans have commonly had low enrollments in language classes at the college level. She found that the students' attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs about language learning were largely positive, with low motivation resulting from a lack of systematic access and encouragement rather than other attitudinal factors.

Ultimately, these studies examining how learner characteristics relate to their attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs have offered strong insights into learner identity and language learning, although some important critiques must also be mentioned. As with the studies in the previous section, one must be careful to avoid equating correlation and causation. In addition, any examination of individuals with similar characteristics must take care when looking at a group as a unique, identifiable, consistent category. Weger-Guntharp (2006) suggested that scholars looking at heritage learners also consider "the complexity of individual backgrounds," avoiding clear markers such as place of birth in categorizing students as heritage or non-heritage (Weger-Guntharp, 2006, p. 39; see also Lee, 2005). Finally, any researcher purporting to look at groups of learners identified solely by one characteristic has a responsibility to also consider the power differentials that are implicated in any identification and reification of difference in society.

It is clear from this review that there has been little serious, focused inquiry about the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of many subgroups of FL learners. Moore's (2005) study of African American language learners was exceptional, as was a dynamic/

complexity study by Csizér, Kormos, & Sarkadi (2010) that looked at dyslexic learners of FL. Other populations whose attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs require investigation include racial and ethnic minorities who are not heritage learners, learners in English Language Learning programs who also take FL, learners with differing sexual orientations or gender identities, learners living in poverty, and learners with developmental or behavioral differences. Expanding the knowledge base in this manner is imperative, given the findings of the studies outlined above about the importance of the connection between learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, and learner success and persistence in FL education.

The State or Environmental Level

...learner beliefs about foreign language learning are at least as diverse as the languages, levels, and institutions in which the learners are studying and that teachers and researchers cannot assume that beliefs identified in one group of learners are representative of the beliefs of learners of different languages, at different levels, or at different kinds of institutions. (Rifkin, 2000, p. 407)

As Rifkin indicated in his representation of his findings from a large-scale study on learner beliefs, looking at learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs cannot always be analyzed as independent from context. The state/environmental orientation features studies that have examined how learning situations influenced (or did not influence) certain learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. Plainly, the implication and assumption here is that learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs can and do change.

Comparing Learner Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs Across Different Environments

Understanding the role that environment plays in learner attitudes, perceptions, and

beliefs naturally suggests the adoption of a comparative framework, where participants are drawn from two or more learning settings and then compared. This section reviews studies that have compared learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs among groups defined in two primary ways: different languages and different classes of the same language.

Comparing different languages in learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about language learning has rarely produced consistent findings at the individual language level. However, some general themes have emerged in a close examination of these studies. One important theme was the difference in beliefs between learners of commonly taught languages (i.e., Spanish, French, and German) in the United States and learners of less commonly taught languages. One of the more comprehensive studies on this topic was Horwitz's 1999 meta-analysis in which she investigated the cultural and situational influences on language learners' beliefs, as evidenced by the compilation of BALLI results from eight different studies. Notably, Horwitz found that U.S. learners of Japanese were different in their beliefs from any other U.S. FL learners, in that they estimated a longer time needed to learn the language, had a lower evaluation of their own abilities as language learners, appreciated vocabulary and grammar instruction more, and had stronger beliefs that their knowledge of the language would help them find employment (Horwitz, 1999). Similarly, Rivera and Matsuzawa (2007), in a study that served as a part of a program evaluation, offered that students' learning priorities and beliefs were very different, depending on whether they were learning a commonly or a less commonly taught language. These priorities were largely based on factors related to whether or not the students had some background knowledge of the language, which was more common for the students learning the commonly taught languages (see also Brown, 2009; Loewen et al., 2009). Thomas (2010), in a questionnaire

study that asked U.S. university students to rank their reasons for choosing a language, offered evidence that learners' general reasons for learning languages correlated with the languages that they ended up taking; for instance, learners largely expressing a desire to fulfill the requirement selected Spanish, while those with more of an interest in communication sought out Hebrew, Portuguese, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, or Korean. Learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs relating to the teaching of different languages in the language classroom have been vital issues for many stakeholders in FL education in the United States, and further investigations of the reasons behind some of these beliefs are warranted.

The second area of inquiry comparing learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs among groups has focused on learners attending different classes in the same language. Different classes can mean a number of things, including different sections of the same class (Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004), classes for students with different levels of proficiency (Brown, 2009; Kondo-Brown, 2001), and classes focusing on different modalities (Kim, 2009). Although Gardner et al. (2004) found invariance in student attitudes among different sections of the same Canadian university French classes, it was clear from survey-based studies by Brown (2009) and Kondo-Brown (2001), both in the U.S. university context, that students in early levels of language instruction had slightly less positive attitudes to language study than students at more advanced levels. In addition, at upper levels of study, students were shown to engage more with the material and expect less directive instructor interaction (Brown, 2009; Kondo-Brown, 2001). In a survey-based study on learner anxiety and motivation at a U.S. university, Kim (2009) found that motivation in classes focused on different modalities (reading and conversation classes) stayed constant, while anxiety changed in the two circumstances. Unfortunately, a comprehensive body of knowledge on the comparisons of different classes has

not been created in order to allow for more conclusions to be made in the space of this review. This is certainly an area for further investigation.

It is important to note here that all of the studies listed above shared the same context: North American (primarily U.S.) university FL classrooms. Other studies, like that of Donitsa-Schmidt, Inbar, and Shohamy (2004), have suggested that these findings might not be applicable or as relevant to non-university or international contexts. These researchers found, in a study of elementary and middle school Arabic learners in Israeli schools, that learners who studied spoken Arabic (rather than the literary form of Modern Standard Arabic) displayed more positive attitudes toward the Arabic language, its culture, and its speakers, with more motivation to learn the language (Donitsa-Schmidt et al., 2004). Other studies, like the Horwitz (1999) study cited above, have offered evidence that learner attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, and related concepts differ considerably from country to country (see also Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Renaud, 2009). The investigation of learning situations other than the university FL programs of North America is vital to creating a realistic and vivid picture of the true nature of environmental influences on learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs.

Examining How FL Programs Affect Learner Attitudes, Perceptions, and Beliefs

The insights that can arise from a comparative framework are complemented by another type of study featuring a state/environmental orientation: detailed examinations of how one FL program of study affects (or does not affect) the **attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of learners in** that program. Attitudinal change over the course of one FL class has not been shown to be uniformly positive, with some researchers indicating no change (Gardner et al., 2004) or negative change (Worth, 2008). Similar longitudinal studies have looked

at change over many years, indicating that early elementary experiences with language learning persisted with the learners and influenced their positive (Heining-Boynnton & Haitema, 2007) and negative (Nikolov, 2001) attitudes later in life.

Another cluster of studies has focused on investigating how specific teaching practices have been reflected (or not) in learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in that program, again usually focusing on university settings. This review has already noted ample evidence that learners and instructors often differ in their perceptions of aspects of the language classroom; Dewey's 2004 experimental design study suggested that when the instructors shared their beliefs with their students about a specific instructional technique, the students' beliefs tended to mirror those of their instructor after the class had been completed. Tutoring sessions focusing on deeper understanding of language structure and characterizing language as learnable and regular (Matthews, 2010), inquiry-based programs on culture (Altstaedter & Jones, 2009), and project-based learning (Mills, 2009) enhanced learner attitudes and self-efficacy as well. The interventions in these cases all produced positive results.

Other types of learning settings beyond the traditional university classes investigated in the literature have included programs for heritage learners, Foreign Language in the Elementary School (FLES) programs, and study abroad (SA) programs. Programs for heritage learners have been shown repeatedly to be beneficial to the improvement of student attitudes, when issues of the learners' identities as heritage learners are also considered (see Mikulski, 2006; Otcu, 2010). For example, Otcu (2010) used discourse analysis procedures to identify the fact that learning the Turkish language in a heritage school helped students construct a Turkish cultural identity in the United States. Investigations of FLES programs have often followed the pattern already seen in the study by Heining-Boynnton and Haitema (2007), which showed

that participating in a FLES program correlated with long-term attitudinal benefits. Kennedy, Nelson, Odell, and Austin (2000), through a comparative quantitative approach, similarly investigated ways in which elementary students experienced attitudinal changes as a result of studying an FL. Students participating in the FLES program were shown to have more positive attitudes about school, learning, language, culture, and self compared to their non-FLES peers (Kennedy et al., 2000).

SA programs are the third alternate setting that has appeared with increasing regularity in the literature addressing learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. Indeed, Wang (2010), in a review of the scholarship on SA, highlighted the need for a "socialization perspective," arguing that researchers need to pay more attention to students' perspectives and the identity-related issues that they face during their SA experiences (Wang, 2010; see also Kinginger, 2003, 2008). In a recent issue of *Foreign Language Annals*, Allen (2010) examined the development of language learning motivation during SA abroad experiences, ultimately challenging the idea that SA experiences automatically resulted in transformative learning for all learners (see also Alred & Byram, 2002, for a similar finding related to intercultural competence). Although researchers have continued to argue that contact with the target community improves attitudes and motivation (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006) and reduces anxiety (Aida, 1994), this work on SA programs has suggested that researchers must closely examine the nature of that contact in order to provide an accurate depiction of the programs' effects on learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs (see also Yager, 1998).

To conclude, the authors of these studies with state/environmental orientations have offered direct commentary on the way that language educators teach, program, and structure FL classes, and have connected them with the ways that learners understand and process their language learning experiences. Allowing for learner attitudes,

perceptions, and beliefs to be acknowledged and addressed in FL programs has emerged as a theme, as has the necessity of incorporating these attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs into how instructors plan their classes. These researchers also cautioned that **mere participation in a FL program will not guarantee positive effects on learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs.** This has been shown most notably in the SA learning situation.

The gaps in the literature are still quite obvious. Given the fact that **the learning environment has been shown to be so important to learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, there is clearly a mandate to continue to expand the type of programs that are studied.** Comparative studies looking at learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs could take place in a variety of contexts beyond those described above, including hybrid versus face-to-face learning environments, or immersion versus non-immersion schools. Some of the above university-situated studies comparing language or level certainly merit replication in high school, middle school, adult education, and elementary programs. Indeed, it is truly stunning that there have been nearly no studies on learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs with the state/environmental orientation at the high school level in the United States, given the number of Americans who study at this level. Essentially, looking at learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs with a state/environmental orientation necessitates a constant exploration of new contexts, and that is the primary recommendation for future research in this area.

A Note on Dual-Orientation Studies

When categorizing these studies into one orientation or another, the challenge has become what to do with studies that address both the trait/learner and the state/environmental orientations. In some cases, these studies were easily classifiable as hav-

ing a dynamic/complexity orientation, due to the fact that they not only addressed both of these orientations but also allowed for interplay, change, and instability of the learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. There was, however, a small class of highly complex studies that did not fit those criteria. The authors of these studies, many of which have already been mentioned at length in this review (Aida, 1994; Cortés, 2002; Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001; Sung & Padilla, 1998), still identified learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs as static entities but addressed them with both a trait/learner orientation and a state/environmental orientation. Methodologically, these studies were uniformly based in large-scale survey data, where many different variables were identified, correlated, and presented in the text of the study. A detailed example of such a study was Yang (2003), which examined learners' attitude-dependent motivational orientations, then summarized all of the variables that had statistically significant effects on those orientations, which included the language of study, gender, heritage learner status, requirement, and language proficiency. Studies like this were difficult to synthesize in their entirety without extracting sub-findings, which often felt like reducing their complexity. As noted in the next section, the dynamic/complexity orientation offers a promising way to build on this type of dual-orientation study.

The Dynamic/Complexity Orientation

The dynamic/complexity orientation finds its roots in the 1990s, in influential texts by Norton (1995) and McKay and Wong (1996) that explicitly adopted new perspectives on learners and their attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. In part in reaction to Gardner's concepts of instrumental and integrative motivation, Norton (2000) explained that she was seeking a more "complex relationship between power, identity, and language learning" in her work with English language

learners (Norton, 2000, p. 10). McKay and Wong (1996) interpreted this as imagining the learner as a “complex social being,” and the school as a “contestatory discursive site” (McKay & Wong, 1996, p. 604; see also Potowski, 2007). In more recent years, others have embraced these ideas and reframed them. An example is Barcelos (2003b), who stated that “beliefs about SLA should be investigated interactively and organically, where beliefs and actions interconnect and interrelate with each other” (Barcelos, 2003b, p. 196; see also Dörnyei, 2009a, 2009b; Kinginger, 2008). Studies that have done this have been primarily rooted in the interpretive paradigm.

Three early studies, conducted by Liskin-Gasparro (1998), Williams and Burden (1999), and Ushioda (2001) provide examples of the types of research implied by this orientation. The qualitative study by Liskin-Gasparro (1998), not explicitly situated as a dynamic study but still very much operating on that level, reported on students’ perceptions of their linguistic ability and learning experiences in a summer university-level Spanish immersion program. Through case studies of seven learners, Liskin-Gasparro demonstrated explicitly how the contextual factors in the learning environment interacted with the students’ perceptions of their progress and performance. Presaging the findings from the SA studies by Allen (2010) and Yager (1998), Liskin-Gasparro found that students had conflicting and ambiguous beliefs about this special language program. For instance, these students depicted the immersion model as the best way to learn a language, yet they also expressed the belief that more formal grammar and vocabulary learning was the only way to achieve true accuracy and fluency in a language. In order to reconcile these conflicting beliefs, the learners reacted to their immersion environment by constantly reimagining and reinterpreting their experiences as language learners (Liskin-Gasparro, 1998). Williams and Burden (1999), in a qualitative study of early adolescent language learners in

England, questioned the participants about how they knew that they were doing well in French class. In a detailed analysis, the authors explained how the students emphasized both their own perceptions of their success and the perceptions of their instructors and classmates as influences on their own impressions. Although this study positioned itself as focused on students’ “developing” conceptions of themselves as language learners, it is obvious from the analysis that the emphasis was on the precise mechanics of how those conceptions were formed through the interplay between the environment and the learner. Ushioda’s 2001 study of French learners in Dublin, through open-ended and semi-structured interview techniques, traced learners’ conceptions of their own motivation, their patterns of thinking, and their experiences. This study is notable in its emphasis on the role of experience as shaping learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs; the notion of learner experience is often emphasized in studies with this orientation as a process-oriented aspect of learning.

In more recent years, notably with the publication of *Beliefs about SLA* (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003) and Dörnyei and Ushioda’s *Motivation, Language Identity, and the L2 Self* (2009), the discourse about learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in dynamic/complexity studies has gained more traction and richness. In the former text, Kalaja presented a study that focused on using a discursive approach to examine the words of one test-taker as he reflected on test-taking. The author identified four interpretive repertoires in the test-taker’s accounts, including “Mr. Hard Work,” “Mr. Skilled,” “Mr. Cool,” and “Mr. Chance,” to demonstrate the variability that can exist in relation to a student’s expectations of taking a test in an FL. Explicitly avoiding a cause-and-effect relationship, she emphasized that “expectations of success are situated, constructed, and rhetorically organized” (Kalaja, 2003, p. 104). Kramsch (2003), in a piece in the same edited volume, focused on how university language learners viewed

learning a language, as reflected through their completion of this phrase: “Learning a language is like ...” Through her analysis, Kramersch argued that the learners’ responses, though seeming to reflect stable, personal beliefs, in fact reflected their learning contexts quite closely, their “constructed representations of themselves and their experiences” (Kramersch, 2003, p. 125; see also Dufva, 2003; Kramersch, 2009). In the 2009 volume by Dörnyei and Ushioda, a mixed-methods study by Lyons (2009) demonstrated that French Legionnaires, required to speak French at all times, could be characterized by a “fluid, complex, and context-dependent relationship between ... motivational orientations, anxiety, and their low L2 achievement” (Lyons, 2009, p. 260). Power relations and group dynamics, Lyons argued, constantly affected the Legionnaires’ experiences, consistently affecting how they viewed learning language and their self-concept as language learners.

A slow but growing appearance of related studies in the past few years indicates that the interest in understanding the interplay between learner and environment with a dynamic/complexity orientation is growing. Promisingly, these researchers have explored contexts (e.g., online environments; Coryell & Clark, 2009) and learner populations (e.g., dyslexic learners; Csizér et al., 2010) outside of the traditions and contexts that this review has identified. Even when these texts have been situated outside of the scholarly discourse, they have provided dynamic views of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, as in the book *Language Crossings: Negotiating the Self in a Multicultural World* (Ogulnick, 2000), which featured short chapters by individuals sharing their “linguistic autobiographies,” the descriptions of their own language learning experiences in light of the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they occur. Kramersch’s *The Multilingual Subject* (2009) similarly depended on learner narratives to illustrate how they understood their language learning experiences. The nature of the dynamic/

complexity orientation, and its strong link with interpretive research, suggests that language educators may be entering a new phase of research on learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs. New studies might be directed at characterizing the interplay between learner and environment in unique environments and populations.

Adopting a dynamic/complexity orientation in looking at learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, however, carries some risks. Barcelos and Kalaja (2003), though focused on the discursive and varied aspects of research on beliefs, clearly acknowledged in their volume that connecting beliefs to both effects in language learning and causes in instructor action are important aspects of research on the topic (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2003). In addition, research with a dynamic/complexity orientation must be accessible to most scholars, both methodologically and theoretically. To wit, this research, as evidenced by Lyons’s study (2009), has lent itself well to a mixed methods approach. The first part of this study addressed constructs already in the field with a validated instrument (Gardner’s AMTB [1985]), and the second qualitative part focused on an interpretive investigation of how learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs developed in the interplay between learner and environment. The theoretical groundwork that has been done by scholars like Horwitz (1988; Horwitz et al., 1986) and Gardner (1985) can and should still be considered as researchers adopt a dynamic/complexity orientation.

Views to the Future

As the study of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs moves forward in our field, we need to balance the need to create a cohesive body of knowledge for the field with the independent pursuit of what Oxford and Shearin (1994) have called “intellectual paths” in examining these concepts. This is an argument for allowing many voices to examine learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in a number of ways, but also for asking these voices

to speak to one another without getting locked in an echo chamber that immediately discounts new paths of inquiry. As such, here are my primary suggestions for our field, inspired by this review of the literature, and with an eye to the next steps that we should take together as a community of scholars. First, I summarize some of the important considerations regarding designing and framing studies on these topics. Then, I suggest research questions that would target areas where additional investigations are needed on the topic of learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs.

Regarding Research Design

The field of research on language learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs is built on a foundation of well-defined constructs. As MacIntyre, MacKinnon, and Clément warned, scholars must avoid the proliferation of related concepts, what they called “the naming problem” (2009, p. 58). However, building on these foundational concepts in new and different ways is necessary at this point in time. We would be well advised to continue to diversify the research methodologies used in these studies, without necessarily discarding the theoretical frameworks. Scholars can allow for the uncoupling of survey instruments and their theoretical foundations, thus investigating the same concepts with the same components but different research methods.

Furthermore, when examining differences among groups in terms of their attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, we must find ways to draw valuable information from the proving of the null hypothesis. If we discover, for example, that there are really very few differences between groups on the basis of their gender or the languages taught, we must find ways in either the initial design of the study or a revisiting of the data to discover explanations beyond “there was no difference.” Incorporating explanatory structures into our research, such as follow-up interviews or member checks, can help create a body of literature

that hones our knowledge and builds new understandings.

Regarding Research Questions

The following are some of the primary research questions that have been suggested in this review of the literature:

1. Is there any causal relationship between learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs and outcomes like achievement or proficiency? Do more positive attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs truly contribute significantly to making language learners more successful in the classroom, or as language learners in general? Although correlations have been identified in the research reviewed in this article, there has been a lack of clarity and few conclusive findings about the directionality of this relationship, particularly across different contexts of study. This is not an easy question to study, but more contributions to the knowledge base in this area are imperative in order to create the most effective FL instruction possible.
2. Is there any long-term effect of participation in a language program on learners' attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs related to language learning? The body of work tracing long-term effects of participation in language study is very small, and longitudinal studies are desperately needed in order to advocate for the importance of FL study at a variety of levels to educators, policymakers, students, and parents.
3. How do subgroups of FL learners with different learner characteristics vary in their attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs? As shown in this review, with the exception of heritage learners, very few subgroups of FL learners have been systematically represented in the research; FL learners are much more often represented as a homogeneous population with no variation in ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender identity, and so forth. More studies that specifically address this issue are needed in order

for FL education to be shown as relevant to all.

4. What are the learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about language learning in settings other than traditional university programs? The majority of the studies represented in this review have examined the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of postsecondary learners, and communities outside of the university context (e.g., elementary, middle, and secondary language education, adult education) or with different program structures (e.g., hybrid courses, immersion programs) have been addressed only rarely. The absence of research on high school FL learners in the United States is particularly problematic, given the number of students across the country that are enrolled at that level.
5. Finally, how does the interplay between the learner and the environment relate to learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs? This last question is a call to expand the body of work with a dynamic/complexity orientation in order to seek out new ways of understanding these concepts.

The scholarly community has crafted rigorous, thoughtful, and enlightening work about learner attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs in language learning. These new questions offer us an opportunity to continue to develop our scholarly knowledge of these complex concepts. In this, we position ourselves to understand the language learner even more completely, an understanding that will serve us well in the implementation and expansion of high-quality FL programs across the country and the world.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my ACTFL mentor, Leo van Lier, as well as Eileen Glisan and Richard Donato, for their feedback and suggestions during my drafting of this manuscript. I also thank Fatima Baig for her research assistance.

Notes

1. MacIntyre (2007) in fact differentiated between “state,” “situation-specific,” and “trait” levels of abstraction rather than just “state” and “trait,” but these two terms are more commonly agreed upon as representing the primary dichotomy.
2. In cases where studies are not easily identifiable as state, trait, or dynamic studies, I have categorized the studies according to the primary intent and orientation, when possible.
3. Although the original purpose of this piece was to focus on learner attitudes and perceptions, I have found that the concept of learner beliefs is in conversation with those other notions in the literature, yet is sufficiently distinct to merit inclusion as a third concept in the review.

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