Insider Perspective: Attitude and Motivational Orientation among Heritage Learners of Japanese at Colleges in the Philadelphia-area

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Abstract

This study investigates the attitudes and motivational orientations of heritage learners of Japanese. Twenty-seven students enrolled in Japanese classes in colleges and universities in the Philadelphia area participated in this study. Participants fell into two categories: heritage learners (N=6) and foreign language learners (N=21). Data was collected through an online questionnaire consisting of both quantitative and qualitative sections. Descriptive statistics were used to determine participants’ attitudes toward Japanese language, people, and culture and primary motivational orientations toward learning Japanese. The Fisher’s exact test was used to determine the effect of heritage status on attitude and motivational orientation. Results show both groups of learners generally have positive attitudes, though heritage learners tended to enjoy studying Japanese less than their counterparts without familial or cultural connection to the target language. Based on the findings, recommendations are suggested to language instructors of Japanese to address the unique needs of heritage learners.

Keywords: Japanese, heritage language, attitude, motivation, motivational orientation
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Introduction

As of 2013, Japanese is the sixth most popular taught language and the most popular non-Indo European taught language in the U.S. The Modern Language Association (Goldberg, Looney, & Lusin, 2015) reports that between 1974 and 2013, Japanese-language enrollment in four-year institutions grew 630.8%. Between 2006 and 2009 alone, enrollment in Japanese grew 10.6% \(^1\). Learning the Japanese language has clearly caught the attention of college students in the United States. There are many reasons students are taking up study of this language in increasing numbers, including wanting to read and watch Japanese comics and animation, aspiring to work for a Japanese company, and even dating Japanese people (Nakata, 2014). While the prototypical U.S. language student is a foreign language learner, without prior experience in the target language or cultural connection to the language, there are a number of students who do have a cultural connection or some proficiency in the language. This is the case for me, a heritage learner of Japanese. Kono and McGinnis (2001) explain:

The motivation of heritage language learners in post-secondary programs is often quite different from that of traditional foreign language learners. Many are dealing with deeply felt issues of identity, struggling to understand their relationship to their home culture and language, mainstream American society, and perhaps other groups as well. (Kono & McGinnis, 2001, 199)

As one of these many heritage learners, I was motivated to design a survey, a typical research method in heritage language research (Yang, 2003, Gardner & Lambert, 1959, Kataoka, 1979), to examine the experience of my peers enrolled in Japanese language courses in colleges in the Philadelphia area.

\(^1\)Japanese has seen a slight 4% decrease in enrollment between 2009 and 2013.
Born in Yokohama, Japan to an American father and a Japanese mother, I lived there with my parents and older brother until I was ten years old. During my childhood in Japan, I attended an elementary school built for children of American military service members. All school activity was conducted in English, and as a result English became my strongest language. Though I understood Japanese from talking with my mother and friends and being exposed to it in my environment, I was never able to reach the same proficiency in Japanese as I did in English. After moving to Maryland in the 5th grade, it was difficult to maintain my level of Japanese. There were no Japanese classes offered at my middle school or high school, and without a sizable population of Japanese people in my local area, the only place I used Japanese was at home.

I can specifically remember one time in high school when a friend asked me to translate "I am a high school student" into Japanese. I couldn't do it. I had no idea how to say "high school" or "student"—my elementary school self had no practical need to know these words to talk with my family and friends. The response I received from my friend shaped my attitude towards the Japanese language and my Japanese identity: "You lived in Japan for 10 years, and you can't even say this? What's wrong with you?" Without support at school to learn Japanese, on top of the fact that I mainly spoke English at home, it was unreasonable to expect that I would speak Japanese as well as a native speaker. Yet, her comments struck a painful chord, and revealed to me how deeply language and identity are interdependent. While I already felt like I could barely call myself Japanese for having such incomplete knowledge of the language, these kinds of comments from my friends further made me feel like I wasn't "Japanese enough". Later, I was determined to study Japanese in college so I could improve my proficiency and be seen by others as a "complete" Japanese person.

After entering college I enrolled in my first Japanese language course at Haverford College, a small liberal arts college in Pennsylvania, and I continued to take Japanese for the next three years. In the first two years of study, I absolutely loved and enjoyed being in Japanese class. With my prior knowledge of Japanese, I navigated the beginner-level material with ease. As someone with Japanese heritage and experience living in Japan, I was expected to be the best at Japanese in
the class—an expectation I gladly fulfilled. However, my positive attitudes toward the Japanese language and to my own Japanese identity started to deteriorate in my third year of study.

There was an influx of non-Japanese students in my class who spoke very fluidly, with even more ease than I did. After moving to the United States, the Japanese language was one of the few things remaining connecting me with my home country. However, after being surrounded by many non-Japanese students who were better than me at speaking Japanese, I felt like my connection to my culture through the language was cheapened. I realized that being able to speak Japanese did not necessarily relate to having a Japanese identity. Though my original motivation to study Japanese was to strengthen my Japanese identity, it ultimately weakened. In addition to the insecurity I felt around other students, I also felt like the academic style of language we were learning in class was not directly applicable to how I use Japanese with my family. Moreover, I did not like being forced to talk to my classmates in Japanese as if the language was merely a tool of communication rather than an expression of culture and identity. In the end I felt like I was not getting the support I needed as a heritage learner, so I stopped enrolling in Japanese language courses.

Stories like mine are not uncommon among heritage learners. Carreira (2004) describes the experience of HLL4s, or heritage learners whose proficiency in their heritage language is too low to qualify for a course for native speakers and are placed in courses for foreign language learners, or second language acquisition (SLA) courses:

The typical SLA curriculum offers little in the way of help to students in situations such as these. For one, it does not broach notions of identity that are so important to individuals whose very ethnic authenticity is frequently questioned or negated. For another, the cultural topics it does address—typically, high culture, literature, history, etc.—are in many ways foreign to most HLL4s and are therefore likely to exacerbate feelings of insecurity and outsider status in these students. Ironically—and to further complicate matters—heritage language students in SLA courses also have to combat the widely held assumption they are there to “get an easy A”. The bottom line is that
even HLLs who from a linguistic standpoint resemble second language learners have affective and intellectual needs that are generally not addressed and may even be invalidated in SLA courses. (Carreira, 2004, 15)

For marginalized ethnic groups in the U.S., maintaining a heritage language has been shown to lead to improved relationships with family members and stronger sense of ethnic identity (Lee & Kim, 2008, Oriyama, 2010, Metoki, 2012, Moloney & Oguro, 2012, Lee, 2005, Qin, 2006). Furthermore, the United States has a need for people competent in languages other than English in areas such as economics and foreign policy (Hamayan, 1986). Heritage learners have an advantage over foreign language learners in that they often have developed listening and speaking skills (Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013) and have cultivated deeper cultural understanding of the language and its speakers. We should be invested in the maintenance of heritage languages as they are beneficial to both the individual heritage learner and to society at-large.

Attitude and motivational orientation are two sociopsychological factors that have been found to play an important role in learning a a non-native language in an academic setting (Gardner, 1985, Ellis, 1994). In the context of language learning, motivational orientation is defined as the reason for studying the target language. Motivational orientation is distinct from motivation, which Gardner (1985) defines as the composite of four aspects, "a goal, effortful behavior, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes toward the activity in question" (Gardner, 1985, 50). Previous research has shown that heritage learners of Japanese have attitudes and motivational orientations unique from foreign language learners (Nunn, 2006, Kataoka, 1979). The present study takes place in colleges and universities in the Greater Philadelphia area, where due to the relatively low population of Japanese people as compared to the west coast, heritage-oriented programs for Japanese language study are rare (Chinen, Douglas, & Kataoka, 2013). As a result, Japanese heritage learners often have no choice but to enroll in language classes oriented towards foreign language learners. With the goal of enabling Japanese language instructors to best address the unique needs of heritage language learners, this study aims to
acquire a closer look at the differences between heritage learners and foreign language learners in terms of their attitude and motivational orientation toward the Japanese language, people, and culture.

The format of this paper is as follows: I first define key terms and review the relevant literature on attitude and motivational orientations with focus on heritage learners. Then I explain the design of the present study. Finally I discuss the findings of the present study, drawing upon my own experience as a heritage learner to make suggestions for Japanese instructors. Developing a deeper understanding of the differences between among learners will allow instructors of Japanese to craft teaching methods to accommodate the unique needs of heritage learners.

**Defining heritage learners**

A foreign language learner is an individual learning a language that is not their mother tongue nor spoken in their immediate surroundings. While defining the term foreign language learner is a fairly straightforward process, the same cannot be said for heritage learners, since these learners are those for whom terms like "first language" or "mother tongue" are complicated (Valdés, 2005, 410). For example, although I grew up speaking both English and Japanese at the same time, English was the language of instruction at my school, resulting in me having a higher competency in English than in Japanese. My Japanese ability still had native-like characteristics, such as my pronunciation and listening comprehension. However, the fact that my Japanese never reached its full potential in terms of vocabulary, grammar, writing, and so on, keeps me from confidently proclaiming Japanese as my mother tongue.

While proficiency is one way to delineate heritage learners from their foreign counterparts, there is no one universal definition for the heritage learner—rather, the definition can be molded to fit certain needs. For instance, He (2006) defines heritage learners of Chinese as "a language student who is raised in a home where Chinese is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in Chinese and in English" (1). On the other hand, Kong (2011) excludes proficiency in her definition: "the broad and underlying definition of
heritage learners are those who possess some kind of relationship with the language and/or culture of their ancestry" (95). Carreira (2004) observes that in the current literature, definitions of heritage learner generally fall into three classes, according to certain defining aspects of the heritage learner: (1) the learner’s place in the heritage language community, (2) the learner’s personal connection to the heritage language and heritage culture through their family background, and (3) the learner’s proficiency in the heritage language.

1. **Membership in a heritage language community as the defining factor**: According to this criteria, heritage learners are those who belong to a community whose heritage language is a minority language (e.g., in the US, any non-English language). Proficiency in the heritage language is not necessary to be considered a heritage learner. This is often the case for Native American communities, where very few members of the community actually speak the heritage language at all. For example, in Tuba City, Arizona, located in the western part of the Navajo Nation and adjacent to Hopi tribal lands, "only some fifteen percent of the Navajo children who enter kindergarten each year... comprehend and speak their ancestral language" (McLean & Reyhner, 1996, 162). For indigenous communities in the United States, learning the heritage language is often a vehicle through which cultural values are transmitted. As Reyhner (1996) illustrates, etiquette in many Native cultures is often too different from mainstream American etiquette for the English language to express all its nuances. Only through the tribal language can members of indigenous cultures appreciate and express those nuances.

2. **Personal connection through family background as the defining factor**: This criteria describes a class of heritage learners who study the heritage language in order to make a cultural connection with their ethnic background. Unlike the class of heritage learners described above, these heritage learners have a remote connection to the community associated with the heritage language, and thus study the heritage language to cultivate a cultural connection. However, like the class of heritage learners above, proficiency in the heritage language is not required to identify with the label "heritage learner". In Lee’s
(2005) study on college students in the U.S. learning less commonly taught languages, most of the students learning Swahili or Yoruba were African American. Despite not coming from a household where Swahili or Yoruba is spoken nor knowing for sure that their ancestors spoke these languages, the African American students still reported wanting to connect with their heritage as the reason for studying Swahili or Yoruba. One of the students writes:

“I think it’s important for African Americans to embrace African culture and learning any African language is a way of doing this. Since we don’t know exactly which countries we came from, learning any African language is gold. Just the fact that my ancestors may have come from this culture it makes me want to learn everything that I can as a tribute to them. A way of saying even though our culture was stripped from us, some are still trying to find and embrace it. (Lee, 2005, 558)

Having proficiency in an African language or using the language at home were not prerequisites for this African American student to culturally identify with the African language: "many of the students see language as a symbolic vehicle to define their cultural and ethnic identity" (558). Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) refers to these learners as "learners with a heritage motivation", reserving the term "heritage learner" for those who have some degree of proficiency in the heritage language.

3. **Linguistic proficiency as the defining factor:** Proficiency-based definitions often exclude heritage learners who have zero proficiency in the heritage language. Consider the definition of Japanese heritage learners provided by the New South Wales Board of Studies:

Heritage Japanese language students are typically those who have been brought up in a home where the Japanese language is used and who have a connection to Japanese culture. They have some degree of understanding and knowledge of Japanese, although their oral proficiency is typically more highly developed than their proficiency in the written language. These students have received all or
most of their formal education in schools where English (or another language different from Japanese) is the medium of instruction. They can therefore be considered to some extent bilingual, with English or the other language being the predominant language. (Board of Studies NSW, 2010, 5)

Making proficiency the base of the definition is advantageous from an academic standpoint, as it is practical to place heritage learners into different levels of language classes based on their proficiency.

The three categories of heritage learner Carreira (2004) has observed in the current literature provides a basic understanding of the diversity of experiences and definitions. However, the circumstances of those who identify as heritage learners vary widely, much beyond the three classes explained above. Consider a scenario where a non-Japanese White person grew up in Japan and learned Japanese—could we say that this person’s heritage language is Japanese, even if their ancestors did not speak it? What about an ethnically Japanese student who was adopted by a Chinese-speaking family at birth—would this person be a heritage speaker of Chinese? Clearly, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly who can be defined as a heritage learner or speaker, and it may be necessary to alter the definition to fit different circumstances.

**Conceptualizing and heritage learners and foreign language learners on a continuum**

An alternate way of conceptualizing foreign language learners and heritage learners comes from Lee (2005) who, in place of modeling foreign language learners and heritage learners as a dichotomy, proposes a model that makes a two-way distinction between linguistic proficiency and sociopsychological need for cultural identification.
Quadrant A in the figure represents the prototypical heritage learner, one who has a strong need to make a cultural connection and has some proficiency in the language. Quadrant B represents language learners who have a strong need to make a cultural connection, but have little to no proficiency in the language. Quadrant C represents the prototypical foreign language learner, one who has little to no need to make a cultural connection and has little to no proficiency in the language. Quadrant D represents language learners who have little to no need to make a cultural connection, but have some proficiency in the language. Lee's model captures the diversity of the profiles of foreign language learners and heritage learners alike. In addition, this model allows for an individual to place themselves on one point on the graph, and freely move their position on the graph as time passes or as circumstances change.

While acknowledging the fluidity of the learner categories, for the sake of the present study I have decided to make the distinction between learner groups along the lines of need to identify culturally with the language, instead of proficiency. This paper will define heritage learners as anyone in Quadrants A and B, a language learner who has some need to make a cultural
connection to the language. The term foreign language learners will refer to anyone in Quadrants C and D, a language learner with little need to make a cultural connection to the language.

Restricting who we call heritage learners on the basis of language proficiency would be neglecting the fact that language cannot be separated from culture. Language is a unifying force or a "sign of group membership" (Tse, 2000) that creates a sense of belonging among speakers who share a common culture. Even if a heritage learner may not speak their heritage language, like the African American students studying Swahili and Yoruba in Lee’s study, they still have a connection to the language through their culture and may seek to reclaim the language through their cultural connection. As Denham (n.d.) articulates, "Those students with even a small cultural connection to the language may bring an understanding and a desire to strengthen this connection that those students without such a background do not" (4). Restricting who we call heritage learners to those students who have some proficiency in their heritage language would be a disservice to those who cannot speak the language but seek to take ownership of it, whether it is to communicate with family or to connect to their roots.

The role of attitude and motivational orientation in heritage language learning

The importance of sociopsychological factors like attitude and motivational orientation to second language acquisition has been demonstrated by numerous studies (Gardner, 1985, Jordan, 1941, Spolsky, 1969, Crookes & Schmidt, 1991). Research has shown that attitude and motivational orientation are not just important for second language acquisition, but heritage language learning as well (Yang, 2003, Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). This section reviews relevant literature on attitude and motivational orientation in language learning and its application to heritage learners of Japanese.

Attitude

Attitude can be defined as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols" (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005, 150). As indicated in this definition, attitude consists of three components:
affective (feelings), behavioral, and cognitive (beliefs) (McLeod, 2014). The affective component relates to an individual’s feelings toward something. The behavioral component relates to how an individual’s attitude affects their behavior. Finally, the cognitive component relates to an individual’s beliefs or knowledge about something.

Looking specifically at language learning, Gardner (1985, 36) proposes attitude be classified into two types: one toward learning the language and one toward the speech community associated with that language. Fasold (1984) claims “attitudes toward language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups” (148), implying that when looking at language attitudes, the attitude toward the language cannot be separated from attitude toward the speech community. Ellis (1994, 198) proposes language learner attitudes be classified into six types: (1) toward the target language, (2) toward the target language speakers, (3) toward the target-language culture, (4) toward the social value of learning the target language, (5) toward the particular uses of the target language, and (6) toward themselves as members of their own culture.

An individual’s attitude toward learning the language has been shown to correlate somewhat strongly with their achievement in learning that language (Jordan, 1941, Neidt & Hedlund, 1967). Gardner (1985)’s study on students learning French as a second language supports the notion that positive attitude leads to stronger motivation, which in turn leads to higher achievement. The study by Okamura (1990) on students learning Japanese in a New Zealand university corroborates this finding. Studies on the relationship between attitude toward the speech community and linguistic achievement have been varied, with some finding a positive relationship (Jacobsen & Imhoof, 1974, Spolsky, 1969) and others not finding a consistent relationship (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1961). Lindemann (2002) showed that negative attitude toward a speech community could potentially lead to poorer communication, or at least a poorer perception of the communication, with a speaker of said community.

Research has found that heritage learners of Japanese largely have positive attitudes toward maintaining their heritage language, citing its importance for reinforcing their Japanese identity.
and connection to Japanese culture, strengthening relationships with Japanese-speaking relatives, reading and writing, traveling to Japan, and opening up future job opportunities (Chinen & Tucker, 2005, Kurata, 2015, Metoki, 2012, Oriyama, 2010, Douglas, Kataoka, & Chinen, 2013, Moloney & Oguro, 2012). However, certain negative views towards the language have also been found among Japanese heritage learners. Metoki (2012) conducted group interviews with seven college-age Japanese heritage learners who varied in proficiency and enrollment in a Japanese language course. While the participants generally had positive experiences with Japanese, a few mentioned negative experiences as children as a consequence of learning Japanese, such as being forced to go to Japanese language school and struggling to learn English. One participant from Kondo’s (1998) interviews with heritage learners of Japanese in Hawaiian universities shared that she hated when in high school, she was teased by her friends for studying beginning Japanese and talking to her Japanese instructor in Japanese because they thought she was "showing off" (382). The same student also expressed that she did not appreciate her Japanese language background when she was in high school because mainstream schools did not appreciate it. Nunn (2006) conducted a survey on high school students in the U.S. taking Japanese classes and found that overall, ethnic Japanese students did not enjoy learning Japanese as much as non-Japanese students, possibly because of parental coercion to study Japanese.

Although not much study has been done on the attitudes of Japanese heritage learners towards Japanese people, a few studies have found that Japanese heritage learners from Hawaii may not have a positive attitude toward Japanese people from Japan. Kataoka’s (1979) survey on U.S. college students studying Japanese revealed that Japanese American students from Hawaii tended to not like Japanese people from Japan as much as non-Japanese American students did. Likewise, Kondo (1998) demonstrated that Japanese heritage learners from Hawaii do not have a particularly positive view of Japanese people from Japan. One participant referred to her experience of feeling excluded by the Japanese children from Japan at her piano lessons when she was a child (381). Another participant described her disapproval of Japanese investors in Hawaii, who she felt was getting "too much of our land" (390).
Motivational orientation

Before considering motivational orientation, it is crucial to first understand the concept of motivation in general. In relation to language learning, motivation can be defined as involving "four aspects, a goal, effortful behavior, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes toward the activity in question" (Gardner, 1985, 50), with "goal" being equivalent to "motivational orientation". Effortful behavior, desire to achieve the goal, and attitude are measurable factors of motivation. Meanwhile, motivational orientation is not a measurable factor of motivation, but rather the reason for motivation arising in the first place. Motivation is essential to acquiring a second language: "motivation largely determines the level of effort which learners expend at various stages in their L2 development, often a key to ultimate level of proficiency" (Saville-Troike, 2006, 85).

Gardner and Lambert (1959) theorized two categories of motivational orientation: integrative orientation and instrumental orientation. Integrative orientation represents the desire to be able to meet and understand a variety of people, while instrumental orientation represents the desire to use the language as a means to an end, such as for career or educational purposes. Gardner (1985) concluded that positive attitude and integrative orientation correlated with motivation, and motivation correlated with success in learning the language. Several studies have confirmed these findings (Ellis, 1994, Crookes & Schmidt, 1991), while others have challenged them (Savignon, 1972, Backman, 1976, Kataoka, 1979). The integrative-instrumental dichotomy has been criticized for not accounting that there may be overlap of the two orientations and for being insensitive to different language-learning contexts (Kataoka, 1979, Brown, 2000, Husseinali, 2006).

The context of heritage language learning can be considered one of those contexts in which the instrumental-integrative dichotomy does not suffice. In the survey by Yang (2003) on college students enrolled in East Asian language classes in the U.S., five other motivational orientations were examined in addition to integrative and instrumental: heritage-related orientation, travel orientation, interest orientation, school-related orientation, and language use orientation.
Heritage-related orientation represents external pressure from one’s ethnic background or family/friends’ use of the language. Travel orientation represents the desire to travel/live in places where the language is spoken. Interest orientation represents the desire to fulfill one’s personal interest or curiosity in the language. School-related orientation represents external pressure from teachers, grades, and foreign language requirements. Language use motivational orientation represents the desire to improve one’s language abilities. Heritage students primarily had a heritage-related orientation for studying their heritage language, and heritage-related orientation was found to be the strongest motivator in Yang’s study. This result challenges Gardner’s conclusion that integrative orientation is the strongest motivator in language learning. Studies on heritage learners of Japanese (Nunn, 2006, Kataoka, 1979) and other languages (Winke & Weger-Guntharp, 2006, Qin, 2006, Carreira & Kagan, 2011) substantiate Yang’s finding that heritage learners are mainly motivated to study their heritage language because of heritage-related reasons.

As previously mentioned in my overview of attitude, Japanese heritage learners are also motivated to study Japanese beyond heritage-related reasons—namely, being able to use Japanese for reading and writing, their future career, and travel to Japan. The following excerpts from Kurata’s (2015) interviews with Japanese heritage learners in Australian universities illustrate the presence of these motivational orientations:

I cannot read newspapers in Japanese as I get tired when I try to do so. It’s not like you’re just reading the news, it’s like you’re STUDYING and trying to just get it all in your head... I wanna be able to do that (read anything in Japanese) myself, you know, to be able to get the- instead of getting an English book, to be given a Japanese one and be like “oh yeah, I can understand this.” (Kurata, 2015, 124)

In my future career, I want to work globally, but to do that, just being bilingual isn’t enough. I want to improve my Japanese much more and, well, I was thinking of doing translation and interpreting jobs, too. (Kurata, 2015, 119)
Nowadays, if you are a bilingual, it’s useful. You don’t HAVE to live just here, you can go everywhere and help the company you’re with, you don’t have to just, you know- you’re not confined to one place. If you can speak both languages properly, like, um, it’s good when you’re looking for a job... (If you go to another country and are able to speak whatever you want in the language of the country), you don’t feel like an outcast. I go to Japan, I feel like an outcast all the time. (Kurata, 2015, 125)

While Japanese heritage learners are often motivated by positive interests in their heritage, career, or travel, they may also be motivated by negative feelings like shame or embarrassment from not having sufficient knowledge of Japanese to communicate at the level of native speakers (Kurata, 2015). As I described earlier, I was motivated to study Japanese in college in part because I wanted to avoid humiliation from not being able to say seemingly simple things that native speakers could say with ease. Saki from Kurata’s study shared that her relatives of the same age laughed at her "funny" use of regional dialects (119). Rika from the same study shared that she felt pressure from classmates who seemed to speak and read Japanese better than her (124). Heritage language learners taking classes with foreign language learners are usually expected to be "experts" on the language and culture and contribute to the education of foreign language learners by sharing their knowledge. For those who possess linguistic and cultural knowledge, having the opportunity to share their personal experiences can be identity-affirming and empowering (Carreira, 2004, 16). But for those who lack such knowledge, failing to live up to the expectation of cultural broker can be discouraging and threaten their self-identification as a heritage learner (Lee, 2005, 559).

Husseinali (2004) revealed that when students felt that what they were learning in class relates to their goals, they were more motivated to study the language, which led to higher success in acquiring the language. Husseinali (2006) writes, "practitioners will be better equipped to create a satisfying learning experience if they know their learners linguistic and communicative needs" (398).
Research Questions

Research has shown that positive attitudes toward the target language, and sometimes toward its speakers, lead to higher motivation to study the language and ultimately higher success in acquiring the language (Gardner, 1985, Jacobsen & Imhoof, 1974, Okamura, 1990). It has also been demonstrated that students are more motivated to study the target language when they feel what they are learning is relevant to their motivational orientation (Husseinali, 2004). The current literature on the attitudes and motivational orientations of Japanese heritage learners has found a presence of both positive and negative attitudes toward the Japanese language and people (Kondo, 1998, Kurata, 2015) and strong heritage-related orientation (Nunn, 2006, Kataoka, 1979). With a focus on heritage learners of Japanese in colleges and universities in the Philadelphia area, the present study aims to further develop the understanding of the attitudes and motivational orientations of this group of learners. The following research questions guided the design of the present study:

1. How do college-level heritage learners and foreign language learners differ in their attitudes and motivational orientations?

2. What can Japanese language instructors do to address the unique needs of heritage learners?

Methodology

Instruments

A questionnaire was designed consisting of two parts: a student background information form and a 28-question survey. Six questions on the survey were open-ended questions asking about the participants’ experience studying Japanese. Twenty-two of the survey questions were statements that participants rated their agreement on using a Likert Scale, with the options being "strongly disagree", "disagree", "neither agree nor disagree", "agree", and "strongly agree". Nine of the statements were attitude-related, with three subscales: attitude toward the language, attitude toward the culture, and attitude toward the people. The subscales were chosen based on Gardner’s (1985) classification of attitudes into two types: one toward the language and one toward the
speakers of that language. In addition, I felt compelled to include culture as a subscale by Ellis’ insistence of its importance. Fourteen items were related to motivational orientation, with seven subscales: interest, integrative, travel, use, instrumental, school, and heritage. Following after Yang (2003), I wanted to include a variety of orientations to avoid limitations from the instrumental-integrative dichotomy. No attempt has been made to statistically justify the grouping of the attitude and motivational orientation items by the subscales chosen. The majority of the items on the survey were adapted with permission from Gardner (1985) and Padilla and Sung (1997), with a few designed by myself. The order of the items was randomized to avoid bias from grouping like items together (Wilson & Lankton, 2012, Goodhue & Loiacono, 2002, White, Ashton, & Law, 1978). See Appendix A for the replication of the questionnaire.

Procedure

The questionnaire was piloted on a student who had experience studying Japanese in college. After piloting the survey, two items were changed and instructions were added. The online questionnaire was hosted on Qualtrics.com. I enlisted the help of Japanese professors from colleges around Philadelphia to e-mail the link to the questionnaire to students who were currently enrolled in their Japanese language classes. Participants were made to read a consent form which informed them of their anonymity and voluntary participation. There was no compensation for participating. After the initial launch of the survey, a design flaw was brought to my attention by several participants. After fixing the problem, the initial data collected was discarded and another e-mail was sent to students by the professors informing them that the survey was fixed and asking to retake it.

Participants

The participants were 27 students varying across first year level to fourth year level enrolled in college-level Japanese language classes in the Philadelphia area. There were six (22.22%) heritage learners and 21 (77.78%) foreign language learners, as indicated by their response to the question "Do you consider the Japanese language to be a part of your heritage?". Seven (25.93%)
students were male, 18 (66.67%) female, and two (7.41%) another gender. Four participants (14.81%) were of Japanese descent; most of the other participants were White (51.85%) or non-Japanese Asian (44.44%). Regarding Japanese course level, seven (25.93%) were in first year, seven (25.83%) in second year, ten (37.04%) in third year, and three (11.11%) in fourth year. The majority of participants (74.07%) reported English as their strongest language. For only one student it was the case that Japanese was spoken in their family home.

Data Analysis

All of the participants responded to every survey item regarding attitude and motivational orientation. In the original survey, participants were given five options on how to rate their agreement with an item: "strongly disagree", "disagree", "neither agree nor disagree", "agree", and "strongly agree". During analysis of the survey results, responses were collapsed into larger categories, in order to provide a more meaningful picture of participant responses—all responses corresponding with disagree were grouped together and responses corresponding with agree were grouped together. "Neither agree nor disagree" has been abbreviated to neutral.

The raw quantitative data was analyzed using two techniques. First, descriptive statistics were used to calculate the percentages of of participants who agreed, disagreed, and were neutral on each survey item regarding attitude and motivational orientation. Second, the Freeman-Halton extension of Fisher’s exact test was used to discover significant relationships between learner variables and items related to attitude and motivational orientation. The Freeman-Halton extension of the Fisher’s exact test is a statistical test "used to determine if there are nonrandom associations between two categorical variables" (Weisstein, n.d.) on a 3x2 contingency table. When the sample size is small, as was the case in this study (N=27), Fisher’s exact test is more appropriate than the chi-squared test (McDonald, 2009).
Results

Japanese language learners in general

Attitude. The results illustrated in Table 1 show the percentages of participants who agreed, disagreed, and were neutral in response to each of the survey items regarding attitude. Overall, it can be said that these college-level learners of Japanese possess a positive attitude toward Japanese culture, language, and people. Most participants agreed that Japan has a rich history and culture (96.30%) and would like to learn more about it (96.30%). Not all participants, however, actually preferred Japanese culture over other cultures (11.11% disagree, 44.44% neutral). The majority of participants enjoy studying Japanese (92.59%) and want to learn as much as possible (85.19%). However, a lesser amount of participants (62.96%) actually like using the language as much as they can both in and out the classroom, indicating that enthusiasm towards the Japanese language is not always reflected in use of the language in real life. Most participants would like to know more Japanese people (85.19%) and agree that Japanese people should be proud of their race (77.78%), though only about half of participants (48.15%) agree that Japanese people are kind and considerate. It is worth mentioning that those who did not think Japanese people are kind and considerate (51.85%) did not who outright disagree that Japanese people are kind and considerate—they were neutral, indicating perhaps that they thought Japanese people were not any more kind and considerate than other ethnic groups.
Table 1. Percentage of participants (N=27) who agree, disagree, or are neutral in response to survey items regarding attitude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Attitude Item</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Japan has a rich history and culture</td>
<td>96.30%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I would like to learn more about Japanese culture</td>
<td>96.30%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I prefer Japanese entertainment, food, fashion, or traditions over other cultures</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I enjoy studying Japanese</td>
<td>92.59%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible</td>
<td>85.19%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom</td>
<td>62.96%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>I would like to know more Japanese people</td>
<td>85.19%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people have every right to be proud of their race and traditions</td>
<td>77.78%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people are kind and considerate</td>
<td>48.15%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>51.85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Motivational orientation. The results represented in Table 2 show the percentages of participants who agreed, disagreed, and were neutral in response to each of the survey items regarding motivational orientation. Most students are motivated to study Japanese because of interest in the language itself (92.59%), wanting to better understand and appreciate Japanese culture (85.19%), wanting to understand TV, music, or literature (77.78%), and wanting to travel to Japan (74.07%). A moderate amount of participants agreed that the following reasons motivated them to study Japanese: wanting to study abroad in Japan (66.67%), wanting to meet and converse with more people (66.67%), finding Japanese more interesting than other foreign languages like French, German, or Spanish (62.96%), wanting to get a good job (44.44%), having heard good things about the language program (44.44%), and being able to use Japanese in practical situations (40.74%). Motivational orientations that were weak among the participants include fulfilling a foreign language requirement (29.63%), wanting to connect with their own culture (25.93%), and wanting the respect of others (22.22%).
Table 2. *Percentage of participants (N=27) who agree, disagree, or are neutral in response to survey items regarding motivational orientation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>MO Item: I am studying Japanese because...</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>The language itself is interesting</td>
<td>92.59%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>More interesting than French, German, or Spanish</td>
<td>62.96%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Better understand and appreciate Japanese culture</td>
<td>85.19%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Meet and converse with more people</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>7.42%</td>
<td>25.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Travel to Japan</td>
<td>74.07%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Study abroad in Japan</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
<td>18.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Understand TV, music, or literature</td>
<td>77.78%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Use in practical situations like in a restaurant or market</td>
<td>40.74%</td>
<td>25.93%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Getting a good job</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
<td>37.04%</td>
<td>18.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Other people will respect me more</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>59.26%</td>
<td>18.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Heard good things about the language program</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
<td>29.63%</td>
<td>25.93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Foreign language requirement</td>
<td>29.63%</td>
<td>70.37%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Connect with my culture</td>
<td>25.93%</td>
<td>55.56%</td>
<td>18.52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Heritage learners versus foreign language learners

**Attitude.** Table 3 presents the percentages of heritage learners and foreign language learners who agreed in response to each of the survey items regarding attitude. Overall both groups of learners had a positive attitude towards Japanese culture, thought as expected more heritage learners than foreign language learners preferred Japanese culture to other cultures. Both groups have similar attitudes toward the language except for the fact that less heritage learners than foreign language learners enjoy studying the language. A Freeman-Halton extension of Fisher’s exact test (Table 4) confirms the relationship between heritage status and enjoyment of studying Japanese—heritage learners tend to enjoy studying Japanese less than foreign language learners do. Both groups generally have similar attitudes toward Japanese people, though it seems foreign language learners are slightly more skeptical of the notion that Japanese people should be proud of their race.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Attitude Item</th>
<th>Heritage (N=6)</th>
<th>Foreign (N=21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Japan has a rich history and culture</td>
<td>100.00% 0.00% 0.00%</td>
<td>95.24% 0.00% 4.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I would like to learn more about Japanese culture</td>
<td>100.00% 0.00% 0.00%</td>
<td>95.24% 0.00% 4.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I prefer Japanese entertainment, food, fashion, or traditions over other cultures</td>
<td>66.67% 0.00% 33.33%</td>
<td>38.10% 14.29% 47.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I enjoy studying Japanese</td>
<td>66.67% 16.67% 16.67%</td>
<td>100.00% 0.00% 0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible</td>
<td>83.33% 0.00% 16.67%</td>
<td>85.71% 9.52% 4.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom</td>
<td>50.00% 16.67% 33.33%</td>
<td>66.67% 23.81% 9.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people have every right to be proud of their race and traditions</td>
<td>100.00% 0.00% 0.00%</td>
<td>71.43% 0.00% 28.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>I would like to know more Japanese people</td>
<td>83.33% 0.00% 16.67%</td>
<td>85.71% 0.00% 14.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people are kind and considerate</td>
<td>50.00% 0.00% 50.00%</td>
<td>47.62% 0.00% 52.38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. *p*-values of Fisher’s exact test for attitude by heritage status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Attitude Item</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Japan has a rich history and culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I would like to learn more about Japanese culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>I prefer Japanese entertainment, food, fashion, or traditions over other cultures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I enjoy studying Japanese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.04*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people have every right to be proud of their race and traditions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>I would like to know more Japanese people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Japanese people are kind and considerate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < 0.10
Motivational orientation. Table 5 shows the percentages of heritage learners and foreign language learners who agreed for each of the survey items regarding motivational orientation. The most common motivational orientations among heritage learners include wanting to connect with their own culture (83.33%), wanting to travel to Japan (83.33%), and wanting to understand Japanese TV, music, or literature (83.33%). For foreign language learners, the top orientations were interest in the Japanese language itself (100.00%), wanting to better understand and appreciate Japanese culture (85.71%), wanting to understand Japanese TV, music, or literature (76.19%), wanting to travel to Japan (71.43%), wanting to meet and converse with more people (71.43%), and finding Japanese more interesting than other foreign languages like French, German, or Spanish (71.43%).

Using the Freeman-Halton extension of Fisher’s exact test (Table 6), significant relationships were found between heritage status and three motivational orientations. More foreign language learners than heritage learners were motivated to study Japanese because the language itself is interesting. Likewise, foreign language learners tend to agree more than heritage learners that they are studying Japanese because it is more interesting than other foreign languages like French, German, or Spanish. Finally, as expected, heritage learners tended to agree much more than foreign language learners that they were studying Japanese to connect with their culture. It is notable that 9.52% of foreign language learners who, despite reporting that Japanese is not a part of their heritage, agree that they are studying Japanese to connect with their culture. Assuming this is not just a mistake, it would be interesting to know how these two students interpreted the statement "I am studying Japanese because I want to connect with my culture".
### Table 5. Heritage versus foreign - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to survey items regarding motivational orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>MO Item: I am studying Japanese because...</th>
<th>Heritage (N=6)</th>
<th>Foreign (N=21)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>The language itself is interesting</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>More interesting than French, German, or Spanish</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Better understand and appreciate Japanese culture</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Meet and converse with more people</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Travel to Japan</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Study abroad in Japan</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Understand TV, music, or literature</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Use in practical situations like in a restaurant or market</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Getting a good job</td>
<td>50.00%</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Other people will respect me more</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Heard good things about the language program</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Foreign language requirement</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Connect with my culture</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6. *p*-values of Fisher’s exact test for motivational orientation by heritage status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>MO Item: I am studying Japanese because...</th>
<th>df</th>
<th><em>p</em>-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>The language itself is interesting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.04*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>More interesting than French, German, or Spanish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.08*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Better understand and appreciate Japanese culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrative</td>
<td>Meet and converse with more people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Travel to Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>Study abroad in Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Understand TV, music, or literature in this language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use</td>
<td>Use in practical situations like in a restaurant or market</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Getting a good job</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Other people will respect me more</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Heard good things about the language program</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>Foreign language requirement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage</td>
<td>Connect with my culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *p* < 0.10

Other findings

Further Fisher’s exact tests were performed to see if other learner variables had an effect on attitude and motivational orientation.

**Race/ethnicity.** As participants were able to choose multiple categories for race, race categories include mixed individuals. Most participants were White and/or non-Japanese Asian. Race was not found to have an effect on attitude, though it did have an effect on one motivational orientation: wanting to connect with their own culture (*p* = 0.08). White students tended to disagree more and be neutral less than Asian students that they had a heritage motivation to study Japanese (Table 7). This is not to say Asian students were more likely to agree to having a heritage motivation. In fact, neither group had a particularly strong heritage motivation—only 21.43% of white students and 25% of Asian students agreed. The difference lies in the disagreement rates and neutral rates. 71.43% of white students disagreed while 33.33% of Asian students disagreed. 7.14% of white students were neutral while 41.67% of Asian students were
neutral. The fact that so many Asian students were neutral on the question "I am studying Japanese to connect with my culture" suggests that their cultural connection to Japanese is complex and not a clear-cut as white student’s cultural connection (or lack thereof) to Japanese.

Table 7. Whites versus non-Japanese Asians - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because I want to connect with my culture"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Asian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>21.43%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Course level. Students in first and second year Japanese are grouped into "lower level", while third and fourth year are grouped into "higher level". Course level was significantly related to two attitude-related items: I would like to know more Japanese people ($p = 0.40$) and I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom ($p = 0.00$). Lower level students, more so than higher level students, tend to want to know more Japanese people (Table 8). Additionally, lower level students more than higher level students like to use Japanese as much as they can both inside and outside the classroom (Table 9).

Table 8. Lower level versus higher level - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I would like to know more Japanese people"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower level</th>
<th>Higher level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>69.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>30.77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9. Lower level versus higher level - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower level</th>
<th>Higher level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>92.86%</td>
<td>30.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>38.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>30.77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Course level had an effect on three orientations: wanting the respect of others ($p = 0.06$), wanting to connect with their own culture ($p = 0.01$), and wanting to travel to Japan ($p = 0.04$). Higher level students tended to disagree more and be neutral less than lower level students that they were studying Japanese to gain respect from others (Table 10). Higher level students tended to agree more and be neutral less than lower level students that they were studying Japanese to connect with their culture (Table 11). Finally, lower level students tended to agree more and be neutral less than higher level students that they were motivated to study Japanese in order to travel to Japan (Table 12).

Table 10. Lower level versus higher level - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of a foreign language"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower level</th>
<th>Higher level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>21.43%</td>
<td>23.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
<td>76.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>35.71%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Lower level versus higher level - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because I want to connect with my culture"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower level</th>
<th>Higher level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>46.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>57.14%</td>
<td>53.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>35.71%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12. Lower level versus higher level - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because I want to travel to Japan"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lower level</th>
<th>Higher level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>92.86%</td>
<td>53.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>7.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>7.14%</td>
<td>38.46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender. Gender was found to have an effect on one attitude-related item: I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible ($p = 0.09$). Female students tend to agree more than male students that they want to learn as much Japanese as possible (Table 13).

Table 13. Male versus female - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
<td>88.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>28.57%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender had an effect on two motivational orientations: wanting to travel to Japan ($p = 0.09$) and wanting to study abroad ($p = 0.08$). Male students were more likely than female students to have travel reasons for studying Japanese (Table 14). Female students were more likely to agree that they were studying Japanese for study abroad reasons, while male students were more divided (Table 15). Male students were more divided on study abroad orientation than on travel orientation.

Table 14. Male versus female - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because I want to travel to Japan"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>85.71%</td>
<td>72.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>27.78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15. Male versus female - Percentage of participants who agree, disagree, and are neutral in response to "I am studying Japanese because I want to study abroad to Japan"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
<td>72.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Appendix B for all the responses to the open-ended questions in the survey.

Discussion

The present study investigated the attitudes and motivational orientations of college students enrolled in Japanese language courses in the Philadelphia area. Both heritage learners and foreign language learners have fairly positive attitudes toward Japanese language, culture, and people. Additionally, both groups are motivated to study Japanese by desires to travel to Japan and to understand Japanese TV, music, or literature.

Statistically significant differences were found between the attitude of heritage learners and foreign language learners. Heritage learners were more likely than foreign language learners to prefer Japanese culture over other cultures and to think Japanese people should be proud of their race. Past studies (Chinen & Tucker, 2005, Kurata, 2015, Metoki, 2012, Oriyama, 2010) have similarly found Japanese heritage students to have positive attitudes toward Japan. This result is encouraging, as it has been found that not all heritage learners of Japanese necessarily have positive attitudes towards Japanese people, especially towards those from Japan (Kondo, 1998, Kataoka, 1979). Perhaps most worrisome, though expected, is that heritage learners do not enjoy studying Japanese as much as foreign language learners. Nunn (2006) similarly found that heritage learners in high school do not enjoy the challenge of learning Japanese as much nor do they enjoy using the language outside of class as much. In my experience as well, my enjoyment of formally studying Japanese eventually diminished.

One possible explanation for heritage learners' lesser enjoyment of studying Japanese is that oftentimes, studying their heritage language is not their choice. For heritage learners,
deciding to learn their heritage language is not simply a matter of whether or not they would enjoy learning it, but rather something necessary for consolidating their ethnic identity or communicating with family members. The responses below by two heritage learners to the question "Why did you decide to study Japanese in college?" demonstrate the presence of the desire to communicate with family and make a cultural connection:

I didn't know any Japanese and since I am half Japanese I wanted to be able to contact that side of my family.

Because I wanted to connect more with my culture.

On the other hand, foreign language learners in this study tended to be motivated to study Japanese because of an interest in the language or culture. The following quotes are a selection of short answers by foreign language learners in response to the question "Why did you decide to study Japanese in college?":

I would like to spend time in Japan. I’m interested in the culture and history of Japan and I think it would be a useful language for business in my planned field of study.

Visited Japan a few years ago and fell in love with the people, food, culture, cities, and natural landscape! Want to go back as much as possible.

I’ve been learning Japanese since middle school with various different teachers and textbooks and I just really enjoy learning a language that’s so different from English. I also just enjoy learning languages in general.

Unlike heritage learners, foreign language learners actively choose to engage with a language they are drawn to, which explains why they would enjoy studying it.

Another possible explanation for why heritage learners do not enjoy studying Japanese as much as foreign language learners is the pressure to live up to expectations of high proficiency and cultural knowledge (Carreira, 2004, Lee, 2005). One heritage learner from the present study, who
was neutral on their enjoyment of studying Japanese, reports being pushed to study Japanese by the expectations of others for them to embody the characteristics of a "typical" Japanese person:

I identify as a fourth generation Japanese American. I grew up in Hawaii, where there are many third and fourth generation Japanese Americans who do not speak or understand the Japanese language. I was no exception; the language was not spoken at home and I had a very slim understanding of cultural traditions and practices. When I entered college I found that I was one of only a handful of individuals who identified as having Japanese heritage within the entire school. This is a crude way of putting it but if you look different—if you’re an ethnic minority here—people will ask you, "what are you?" or "where are you from?" as if they have a right to question your authenticity as an American citizen or something, as if that makes you any less of a person. Coming to [college omitted] was the first time in my life that I was confronted with my race, and it was incredibly disempowering to only be seen as Asian or Japanese and yet, not understand a thing about Japan, let alone identify with the country and its people. I suppose this was an impetus and it made me curious to learn more about Japan and my heritage.

After coming to a college in the Philadelphia area with relatively few Japanese people compared to their home state of Hawaii, this heritage learner found themselves being reduced to their Japanese ethnicity and facing pressure to live up to the image of a typical Japanese person by learning more about Japan. Considering the feelings of disempowerment motivating this student to learn Japanese, it is not surprising that they would not particularly enjoy studying the language. Negative in-class experiences may also explain this student’s lack of enjoyment. The same learner goes on to describe their experience of feeling insecure around classmates who are native speakers of Japanese:

Talking in class with native speakers and others who have lived in Japan for several years is... challenging. They express their ideas well, and often times it seems
effortless. My grammatical foundations are weak and I still sometimes have trouble with conjugations and articulating my thoughts in a logical order... Sometimes I am hesitant to speak because I feel that I lack the words to communicate effectively, while my classmates seem to say what they like with ease. This has been frustrating but it has also made me want to be better and try harder.

This student feels insecure and frustrated that their speaking abilities in Japanese fall behind that of their native speaker classmates. A concern for heritage learners being surrounded by native speakers with higher proficiency is that they may feel "less Japanese". Oriyama (2010) states, "Close contact with the Japanese community and Japanese natives via formal Japanese education... seems likely to raise awareness of one’s differences from the Japanese which may affect a view that one has a legitimate claim to Japanese membership" (253). It is all too easy for heritage learners to feel discouraged by "what they see as sub-standard levels of proficiency" compared to native speakers (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997, 111), and yet for this heritage student these feelings of insecurity and frustration have apparently served as a motivational force to improve their proficiency.

In addition to attitude, significant differences were also found between the motivational orientations of heritage learners and foreign language learners. As was previously reported, for heritage learners, wanting to connect with their culture was one of the most prevalent reasons for studying Japanese, a finding that aligns with Nunn (2006) and Kataoka (1979). For foreign language learners, interest in the language itself is the most common orientation, a finding consistent with Yang (2003) and Okamura (1990). Moreover, foreign language learners were much more likely than heritage learners to be studying Japanese because they found it more interesting than French, German, or Spanish. Clearly foreign language learners are more attracted by the linguistic appeal of Japanese than heritage learners. Instructors must balance the needs of both groups by engaging foreign language learners’ curiosity about features of the language itself while also addressing heritage learner’s needs to culturally identify with the language.

Race was found to have an effect on heritage motivation. Compared to non-Japanese Asian
students, White students were more likely to disagree and less likely to be neutral that they were studying Japanese to connect with their culture. That is to say, most White students were certain that they were not studying Japanese to connect with their culture, but Asian students were not as certain. Considering Japan’s occupation of multiple territories in Asia before and during World War II, including Korea, China, the Philippines, and Burma (World Heritage Encyclopedia, n.d.), it is not unreasonable that non-Japanese Asians might identify with Japan and the language. The ambiguity in heritage status supports the previously mentioned model by Lee (2005) in which heritage/non-heritage is not assumed to be a binary distinction but rather a continuum.

**Limitations and Conclusions**

This study has reaffirmed the notion that heritage learners and foreign language learners differ in their reasons to study Japanese and their attitudes toward Japanese culture, people, and language. In particular, heritage learners tended to enjoy studying Japanese less than foreign language learners, which I hypothesized to be because heritage learners are either passively studying Japanese or dealing with negative experiences in the classroom such as unfair expectations of high proficiency and cultural knowledge. Another major finding was that heritage learners were largely studying Japanese to connect with their culture whereas foreign language learners were most interested in linguistic features of the language.

There were a few limitations that stemmed from the survey design. One such limitation is the use of self-rating to ascertain participants’ attitudes and motivational orientations. With self-reported data, there is always the possibility that participants will report in self-flattering ways or interpret the rating scale differently from other participants (Hoskin, 2012). Future studies looking for more rigorous or in-depth exploration of attitude and motivational orientation can conduct interviews (Cf. Metoki, 2012, Qin, 2006, Kurata, 2015) or experiments (Cf. Lindemann, 2002).

Another limitation of this study is that because the motivational orientations tested were pre-chosen based on previous studies, other motivational orientations that were present in this
group of participants were potentially untapped. For example, in response to the open-ended question "Why are you studying Japanese in college", one student responded that they wanted to improve Japan-China relations. While fortunately for this study the pre-chosen motivational orientations largely matched up with what participants wrote their motivational orientations were, future studies could look into first allowing participants to freely share what their reasons are for studying Japanese, then formulate subscales of motivational orientations after analyzing their answers for recurring themes. This worked to great benefit in Winke and Weger-Guntharp (2006), in which religious motivational orientation, an understudied motivational orientation, was revealed to be consequential among learners of Arabic.

While the sample size is too small to generalize the findings to all heritage learners of Japanese, language instructors should find the findings of this study useful for evaluating their approach to teaching students of different backgrounds. In particular, knowing what students’ goals and attitudes are and structuring the curriculum around fulfilling those goals and nurturing positive attitude is paramount if instructors want to ensure that their students stay motivated to study the language (Husseinali, 2004).

The different attitudes and motivational orientations between heritage learners and foreign language learners poses a challenge for instructors of Japanese, who must find a way to balance the needs of two groups of learners. Other authors recommend that colleges and universities set up separate tracks for heritage learners and foreign language learners (Kataoka, 1979, Husseinali, 2006, Sohn, 1995). Indeed, the previously discussed heritage student who shared a classroom with native speakers of Japanese suggested creating a track for heritage learners separate from native speakers:

I tried to get into a Japanese class one level lower than this one at [college omitted]... The teacher of that class believed that the one I am currently in is the better fit for me. I agree with that, but I wish there was something in between, perhaps a class with the same reading material but with classmates who weren’t as good at speaking! (i.e. others who started studying Japanese at the university) They are kind people but I
can’t help but compare myself to them and feel bad about my own language abilities.

However, given the proportionally low numbers of heritage learners enrolled in college-level Japanese language classes, in addition to the great variability in proficiency among Japanese heritage learners (Shimada, 2012, Oguro & Moloney, 2012), creating a separate heritage track is not necessarily the most realistic option for college Japanese departments. However, there are ways that Japanese language instructors can meet the needs of heritage learners, even in a foreign language classroom.

A major finding of this study was that heritage learners do not enjoy studying Japanese as much as foreign language learners. One heritage learner’s responses to the open-ended questions pointed toward unfair expectations of cultural identification with Japan and feelings of insecurity in a classroom with native speakers as explanations for why they were ambivalent about enjoying learning Japanese. Regarding the unfair expectations of cultural identification with Japan, instructors may find it beneficial to broach this topic in class to bring awareness to other students that not all who identify as Japanese are necessarily familiar with Japanese language, people, and culture originating from Japan itself. Some heritage learners, like the aforementioned participant from Hawaii, come from diasporic backgrounds. As will be further discussed, instructors can include heritage learners’ unique backgrounds as part of what they cover in class so that heritage learners will feel that their cultural background is valued. As for this participant’s insecurity around native speakers, one possible solution is to coordinate activities where students of similar proficiency levels work together in small groups. Doing so may ease the pressure on lower-proficiency students to perform at the level of higher-proficiency students, allowing them to build confidence in their own language abilities.

It must be stressed that the experience of one heritage learner does not represent all heritage learners’ experiences. Heritage learners come from various backgrounds and thus have different needs. For example, it is possible that some heritage learners with extensive linguistic and cultural knowledge may not enjoy studying Japanese because they are not learning anything new in class (Cf. Sohn, 1995). The diversity of needs within heritage learners is another challenge
language instructors face, as there is no one-size-fits-all solution to satisfy everybody. This is an area where the relatively small number of heritage learners may be an advantage. Instructors may meet heritage learners individually, hear what their unique needs are, and work together with them to reach a mutual solution.

Although heritage learners have varied needs, one common thread tying them together, as was found in the present study, is the desire to connect with their cultural background. Considering that heritage-related motivation can be a strong motivator (Yang, 2003), instructors may see favorable results from fostering heritage learner’s interest in their own heritage. For example, in Denham (n.d.)’s study of college-level heritage learners of Spanish in the U.S., a heritage learner reported enjoying when his own Mexican culture was reflected in the curriculum (21). In a similar vein, Japanese language instructors can encourage heritage learners to share their own cultural knowledge with the class. Doing so will not only let heritage learners feel that their unique backgrounds are valued, but will also allow foreign language learners to appreciate the diverse experiences of those who identify with the Japanese language and culture (Dones-Herrera, 2015, Carreira, 2004).

The Japanese department at Haverford College has already taken measures to incorporate cultural topics such as diversity in their third and fourth year courses. Integrating discussion of cultural themes as part of the curriculum is an excellent way to create opportunities for heritage learners to contribute their unique perspectives. Instructors may also encourage heritage learners to draw from their own cultural background as topics for open-ended assignments. As a case in point, one time in my second-year Japanese class the professor gave students the opportunity to give a short speech on whatever topic they desired. I chose to talk about the experience of being half-Japanese in Japan, a topic that was not included in the curriculum. Having my story heard and appreciated by both the professor and the foreign language learners in the class made me feel valued as someone with a lived experience with the Japanese culture. Even in first-year courses where students’ grasp of the language might not be sophisticated enough to discuss cultural issues in depth, instructors may still find ways to make heritage learners feel like their cultural
backgrounds are recognized. For example, instructors may want to utilize materials such as books, audio, and video where a heritage learner is represented as a character.

The present study has supported past studies’ findings of Japanese heritage learners’ strong desire to connect with their culture (Nunn, 2006, Kataoka, 1979) and mixed attitudes toward studying their heritage language (Kondo, 1998, Kurata, 2015). Anecdotal evidence in particular has enlightened us on the specific challenges heritage learners face, such as feeling pressure from unfair expectations of knowledge of the language and culture. I encourage future studies to make use of qualitative evidence from surveys or interviews, through which individual heritage learners are given the voice to explain what their cultural and linguistic backgrounds are and how those backgrounds influence their experiences in the foreign language classroom.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Jamie Thomas, my main thesis advisor, and Kimiko Suzuki, my second thesis advisor, for all their feedback and support throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis. I also want to thank Robert Gardner and Amado Padilla for their permission to adapt items from their own surveys. Thank you to all the Japanese professors who kindly distributed the survey link to their students. Thank you to my friends who helped me spread the survey around to eligible participants. Thank you Kathleen Baryenbruch and Michelle Fleuriot for your feedback on my drafts. Lastly I want to thank all the Japanese language students who participated in this study.
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Appendix A

Questionnaire

Attitude and motivational orientations of language learners of Japanese

This survey is being administered as part of a study by Miki Gilmore (senior Linguistics major and Japanese minor) on the attitudes and motivations of language learners of Japanese. The purpose of this study is to investigate whether students with Japanese heritage and students without tend to differ in their attitudes and motivations toward the Japanese language, culture, and people. Participants are those who are currently enrolled in any Japanese language course in the Tri-Co (Bryn Mawr College, Haverford College, Swarthmore College) or another college in the Philadelphia area. This study will conclude by the end of Fall 2016. Data will be collected through Qualtrics.com. Participants will be asked to provide background information about themselves, fill out a questionnaire requiring items to be rated on a scale, and finally give short written answers to open-ended questions. No further data collection will continue after the completion of this survey. The survey is expected to take 15 – 20 minutes to complete. This survey is anonymous. Participants will not be asked for their name or contact information. The information in the study records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to persons conducting the study. The risks of participating are no greater than those experienced in everyday life. There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research. However, you may find it interesting to think about the issues addressed in the research and it may be beneficial to the field of applied linguistics. There will be no compensation for participating in this research. There is no deception used in this study. Your participation is completely voluntary. You can withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose not to participate, there will be no penalty or loss of any benefits for not participating. It will in no way affect your grade in your Japanese class. If you should have any questions about the research, please feel free to call or email the Principal Investigator, Miki Gilmore (mgilmore@brynmawr.edu) or the Faculty Advisor, Jamie Thomas (jthomas6@swarthmore.edu). If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please be in touch with Leslie Alexander, Professor and Chair, Bryn Mawr College IRB (lalexand@brynmawr.edu; 610-520-2635) By clicking the button below, you acknowledge that your participation in the study is voluntary, you are 18 years of age, you are enrolled in at least one Japanese language course in the Tri-Co, and that you are aware that you may choose to terminate your participation in the study at any time and for any reason. Please note that this survey will be best displayed on a laptop or desktop computer. Some features may be less compatible for use on a mobile device.

☐ I consent, begin the study
The questions below ask for your background information as a student of Japanese. This information will be used to paint a picture of what students of Japanese are generally like. Your individual answers will not be made available to anyone and your survey responses will remain anonymous. Please fill in the most appropriate answer.

Gender
- Male
- Female
- Other (specify) ____________

Race/ethnicity (please check all that apply)
- White
- Hispanic/Latinx
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Asian (non-Japanese)
- Japanese
- Other (specify) ____________

Home College
- Bryn Mawr College
- Haverford College
- Swarthmore College
- Other (specify) ____________

College status
- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Graduate student
- Other (specify) ____________

On which campus are you taking a Japanese language course? Please check all that apply.
- Haverford College
- Swarthmore College
- Other (specify) ____________

Current Japanese course level
- First Year
- Second Year
- Third Year
- Fourth Year
- Other (specify) ____________
○ Not applicable (choose this option if the only Japanese class you are taking is Reading or Conversation, for example)

What language are you most comfortable or confident in using?
○ English
○ Chinese
○ Spanish
○ Japanese
○ Other (specify) ____________

Is Japanese spoken in your family home?
○ Yes
○ No

Do you consider the Japanese language to be a part of your heritage?
○ Yes
○ No
Please rate your agreement with the following statements. Select the choice that first pops up in your head – no need to overthink it. We want your honest response. The success of the study depends on it!

I am studying Japanese because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate Japanese culture.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I want to study abroad in Japan.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I thought it would be more interesting than one of the other languages like French, German, or Spanish.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Japanese people are kind and considerate.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I prefer Japanese entertainment, food, fashion, or traditions over other cultures.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of a foreign language.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I plan to learn as much Japanese as possible.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I want to connect with my culture.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because it will allow me to meet and converse with more people.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I would like to know more Japanese people.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I heard good things about the language program.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I think it will be useful in getting a good job.
Strongly disagree
Disagree
Neither agree nor disagree
Agree
Strongly agree
I enjoy studying Japanese.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I want to understand TV, music, or literature in this language.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because I want to travel to Japan.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Japanese people have every right to be proud of their race and traditions.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I like to use Japanese as much as I can both inside and outside the classroom.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because it fulfills a foreign language requirement.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I am studying Japanese because the language itself is interesting.
- Strongly disagree
I am studying Japanese because I can use it in practical situations such as ordering in a restaurant or market.

Japan has a rich history and culture.

I would like to learn more about Japanese culture.

Why did you decide to study Japanese in college?

In what situations do you use Japanese?

How do you use Japanese to connect with your personal interests?

What aspects of your current Japanese course(s) do you enjoy the most?
What aspects of your current Japanese course(s) do you enjoy the least?

If you could, what would you change about your current Japanese course(s)?
Appendix B
Responses to Open-Ended Questions

Why did you decide to study Japanese in college?

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

- Because I wanted to connect more with my culture.
- Most familiar foreign language after English. This familiarity mainly comes from Japanese anime. Grammar is very similar to Burmese, and I thought I would need less kanji to be able to use Japanese (compared to Chinese)
- I identify as a fourth generation Japanese American. I grew up in Hawaii, where there are many third and fourth generation Japanese Americans who do not speak or understand the Japanese language. I was no exception; the language was not spoken at home and I had a very slim understanding of cultural traditions and practices. When I entered college I found that I was one of only a handful of individuals who identified as having Japanese heritage within the entire school. This is a crude way of putting it but if you look different—if you’re an ethnic minority here—people will ask you, "what are you?" or "where are you from?" as if they have a right to question your authenticity as an American citizen or something, as if that makes you any less of a person. Coming to [college omitted] was the first time in my life that I was confronted with my race, and it was incredibly disempowering to only be seen as Asian or Japanese and yet, not understand a thing about Japan, let alone identify with the country and its people. I suppose this was an impetus and it made me curious to learn more about Japan and my heritage. This led me, in my second year at Swarthmore, to start studying Japanese, and I studied abroad in Japan for the entire third year of my undergraduate education.
- I wanted to relearn Japanese after being forced to take French in high school rather than Japanese.
- Because I would like to be bilingual in reading and writing as much as speaking so I can speak as well as a Japanese person.
• I didn’t know any Japanese and since I am half Japanese I wanted to be able to contact that side of my family.

Foreign language learners (20 out of 21 responded)

• Because I have always had an interest in it as a country and its culture, and for trivial reasons like pop culture (anime, manga, games, etc), but ultimately to help improve relationships between China - Japan since I like both countries very much.
• To study abroad in Japan.
• I had never rec
• I thought it is a good time to learn Japanese.
• Basically because I had a Japanese friend and I became fascinated with the language because of that.
• I studied a little bit of Japanese in high school and wanted to continue with it but pursue it with the intensity of a college curriculum.
• I would like to spend time in Japan. I’m interested in the culture and history of Japan and I think it would be a useful language for business in my planned field of study
• A friend recommended it.
• Foreign language requirement. Interest in Japanese media. Wanted to study an iconographic language.
• Before coming to [college omitted], I got into reading English translations of Japanese literature. I was curious about reading these works in their native language, so I decided to take Japanese. Right now I’m nowhere near being able to read the likes of Akutagawa, but maybe one day.
• First it was to fulfill language requirement, then it’s the thing I want to keep learning.
• I took a class in high school but they didn’t teach us very much. It just piqued my interest in the language, so I was really excited to hear that our program was good.
• I studied it in high school, really enjoyed it, and wanted to continue.
• Visited Japan a few years ago and fell in love with the people, food, culture, cities, and natural landscape! Want to go back as much as possible
• Interest in Japanese anime. Wanted to travel or study abroad in Japan.
• I want to be an Asian Studies major, and I would love study Japanese culture and history. The best way to connect with a culture is to learn the language, so I thought learning Japanese would greatly enrich my education. In addition, I would like to travel to/study abroad in Japan, and Japanese proficiency would be very usual.
• I’ve been learning Japanese since middle school with various different teachers and textbooks and I just really enjoy learning a language that’s so different from English. I also just enjoy learning languages in general
• I had been studying it alongside Spanish and Latin in high school, and since I was happy with my proficiency level in those two languages, I wanted to continue to work on my Japanese.
• I’ve always wanted to study Japanese but never had the chance to do so.
• I learned Japanese before college. I want to learn it in the college setting also.

In what situations do you use Japanese?

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

• I try to use it with other students learning Japanese or with native speakers like friends, peers, or family.
• Class, talking casually with Japanese friends and classmates outside of class, watching anime
• I use Japanese in language class and I use it outside of class when I talk to Japanese friends, both in Japan (if we message or talk, or interact using some type of communications technology) and here at Swarthmore. I speak to my Japanese instructors in Japanese both inside and outside of class. I do not use the language at home because my parents do not
speak. When I was studying abroad I joined a music club in the university and always spoke Japanese at practices and events. Keigo was important in order to be accepted by the group.

- In the classroom, sometimes with friends and family.
- When I meet Japanese people, when I’m in Japan, with my parents, with friends.
- With my friends in Japanese class as banter, little phrases to my boyfriend (phrases he knows from anime), and some phrases to practice it with my brother.

Foreign language learners (19 out of 21 responded)

- Classroom, talking with friends, practicing outside
- in the classroom and with friends.
- Traveling to Japan
- essentially never outside of class.
- When speaking to my partner, speaking to classmates both in and out of Japanese class, the Japanese class itself, and the rare occasion I meet another Japanese speaking person.
- Currently only in the classroom, with fellow students, and at Japanese restaurants
- Japanese lunch table, sometimes anime.
- In class, while reading/watching Japanese media, while abroad in Japan.
- I use it in class and in Japanese language able and chat hour. When I studied in Japan, I used it to navigate daily life and interact with my host family.
- In Japanese classes; in Japan; with Japanese friends; with friends who also know Japanese
- Not many right now, but I want to be able to read novels in Japanese.
- In class
- Mostly class right now or at language table when I can go
- When traveling in Japan. When talking with friends who find more comfortable speaking Japanese than other languages.
- In class and practicing outside.
- In the classroom, sometimes I’ll read Yostuba in Japanese or read Japanese children’s books
• I read a lot of manga and short stories, and I’m hoping to move on to novels as soon as I can. I really love reading, and the primary reason I study languages is so I can read more books.

• I want to practice my Japanese but it’s sometimes hard to do so because I tend to get shy using the language in front of other people. I try to use it in Japanese markets or with my Japanese friends, though.

• Peer tutoring other students; Japanese class; conversation practice with Japanese

   **How do you use Japanese to connect with your personal interests?**

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

• I taught Japanese high school students about Python, a Computer Science language. I am majoring in CS.

• Reading about Japanese history becomes more interesting. Watching anime is more fulfilling (when you understand without subtitles).

• I like reading and so recently I’ve been able to take a crack at Japanese literature, and getting through the pages of a novel has been very rewarding for me. I’ve been listening to NHK news broadcasts and reading brief articles occasionally in the online versions of several newspapers. I’ve tried to find Japanese music that I like, so that I can play those songs on the guitar. I’ve been revisiting Studio Ghibli movies that I watched when I was much younger, but either dubbed or with a complete reliance on subtitles. Now I can appreciate the dialogue in its original form and that’s been nice. I’m writing my thesis about tanka poetry written by Japanese immigrants. I suppose these are all ways in which I interact with Japanese media. We could call them cultural products or forms of representation. It has been interesting and rewarding for me to increase my language abilities and discover, what has felt like, an entirely different world and different way to engage and interact with others.

• I like Japanese food and culture and want to better understand these things through the language.
• I listen to music, watch movies/drama/documentary, learn more about Japan’s traditional culture.
• I love Japan. I feel more connected when I’m learning or if I am able to read a Japanese magazine or tv show.

Foreign language learners (19 out of 21 responded)

• Reading more manga, watching anime/dramas, etc.
• I watch anime and Japanese dramas.
• I had never received formal instruction before.
• To understand Japanese culture and society better
• I don’t.
• Japanese provides a way to experience new forms of entertainment, like video games and comics, but also allows me to appreciate the Japanese variant of the same English entertainment that I enjoyed previously, like books and music.
• I haven’t really been able to do this after only a few months
• Studying Japanese reminds me of Chinese culture since there are so many similarities.
• Japanese films/anime. Interest in linguistics.
• Japanese enhances my understanding and cultural context of works I enjoy that are translated from Japanese. Since I’m only a third-year student, I haven’t really explicitly connected Japanese to many of my other interests. One day I hope to be able to read newspapers in Japanese, so I can understand world events from another country’s eyes. Additionally, I would like to understand Japanese literary criticism, since that’s an area of English Literature I am interested in.
• To watch TV; may be in the future to read Japanese books.
• I like cartoons and comics, so knowing the language means that I can understand a bit more of anime and manga, but I mostly read American webcomics these days, so it doesn’t really connect that much.
• I used to be interested in anime and Japanese music (mostly Vocaloid), so it helped me gain a better understanding of those forms of media in high school. However, I don’t really hold those interests anymore.

• After one-year study of Japanese, I can definitely understand more when watching anime.

• I joined the Japanese culture club to talk to native Japanese speakers for more exposure.

• I don’t really, unless you consider learning languages as one of my personal interests.

• As stated above, I love reading, and I also enjoy learning about other cultures that I’m not a part of. So Japanese is a nice path to both of those things.

• I really love watching Japanese reality shows, dramas, movies, etc. Learning Japanese really makes it easier for me to watch them and I’ve recently begun to watch some without subtitles.

• I’m pretty interested in Gender and Sexuality in Japan so sometimes I can read those news and books in Japanese.

What aspects of your current Japanese course(s) do you enjoy the most?

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

• I am not currently taking Japanese, but I liked pretty much everything.

• Daily homework that aids in understanding but is not overwhelming. Slowly increasing Japanese proficiency.

• I’m taking a class at [college omitted] where we read mostly academic and journalistic texts and come to class to discuss them. Each week there is a different theme so we are able to gain experience reading and talking about very different topics in Japanese. We’ve talked about Prime Minister Abe’s political ideology, the 2011 earthquake and tsunami, the Ainu ethnic minority group, JAXA, and this week, we are reading a bit of Heike monogatari (the tale of Heike) and talking about the ideas that are introduced in the text. The class is small and several of the students have Japanese passports, which is to say that they have spent at least a part of their childhood living in Japan, with at least one Japanese parent. It is
interesting to hear their opinions on things, and I really like that our teacher relates these
different modules to real life, to make them relevant to us and to our personal interests. It is
a challenging class and I am glad that the texts are interesting.

• There are lots of interesting topics.
• I like knowing that I get better at my native language through reading and writing in
  Japanese.
• When I am able to understand and learn things without stress...

Foreign language learners (20 out of 21 responded)

• I like it all
• The professors and the atmosphere.
• We are able to laugh and have fun in every class.
• Every part
• I enjoy learning new vocab and grammar so that I can converse more eloquently.
• The steady incorporation of new material in the form of vocab, grammar, and kanji in order
to build off of what we already know. It encourages outside learning by demonstrating the
effects of using the level of skill you have in the language to expand and grow more fluent.
• Learning kanji, learning about Japanese culture and food
• Practicing speaking in class.
• Kanji learning.
• I find everything about the language, from grammar to vocabulary, interesting. However, I
  most enjoy expanding my vocabulary, and doing readings in Japanese to learn about
  Japanese traditions and culture. I also really like my current Japanese professor.
• A feeling of accomplishment, seeing myself making progress in this language.
• This year we’re focusing more on learning about Japan itself than we have in the past, so
  I’ve enjoyed learning more about Japanese culture.
• I like that it involves having conversations in Japanese every day with my classmates. I also
  like the small class size, which makes it easy to get to know my classmates.
• Drill session, getting to practice speaking with others of my level
• I like how the textbook combines the Japanese culture and grammars/vocab together. Also, [professor name omitted] gives a lot of extra website for further interest
• I like slowly gaining a wider and wider vocabulary and fluency.
• Chatting with other students in Japanese
• The group work and the other students I’ve met!
• I love the classroom atmosphere. I really enjoy talking to my classmates and like learning about Japanese culture through videos or songs we come across in class.
• That we have to think more rather than staying on the language surface

What aspects of your current Japanese course(s) do you enjoy the least?

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

• Kanji is hard but necessary. I wish we had more speaking practice
• End of semester project. Progress can be really slow in speaking skill, which I feel is not reasonable, since there is no "barrier" like kanji for reading and writing.
• Each week we write a short composition (1-2 pages double spaced) in Japanese about the reading we did. While I can keep up with the reading (I read kanji at the same level as my classmates), writing has been difficult at times because of my lack of practice with expressing my thoughts in Japanese. Talking in class with native speakers and others who have lived in Japan for several years is also challenging. They express their ideas well, and often times it seems effortless. My grammatical foundations are weak and I still sometimes have trouble with conjugations and articulating my thoughts in a logical order. Because I lack a large vocabulary, and I am still getting used to even expressing myself in simple situations, jumping into a class like this has been difficult but good practice for me. It is painful to be able to understand but not express myself to the extent that I would like and I feel embarrassed when I make mistakes. Sometimes I am hesitant to speak because I feel that I lack the words to communicate effectively, while my classmates seem to say what
they like with ease. This has been frustrating but it has also made me want to be better and try harder.

- The amount of work.
- I do not like how it’s very textbook base.
- Drill... Being put on the spot because that gives me anxiety- especially since Japanese is all new to me.

Foreign language learners (20 out of 21 responded)

- n/a
- presentations.
- Limited vocabulary and practicality
- None
- It is a massive time commitment and features more work than possibly any of my other classes.
- While it may be unavoidable, I find that there are quite a few situations in which I am speaking with a Japanese-speaking person outside the classroom and wish to say something relatively basic, like that "doing X is worth it but Y isn’t", because of unknown grammar or vocab. I least enjoy that the current Japanese course doesn’t (or at least has not yet) covered some of these more relevant expressions of speech and thought.
- Our secondary teacher sometimes has trouble getting her meaning across while instructing us
- The time commitment, but it is necessary.
- Test that don’t teach capability as much as by-the-book knowledge.
- There’s not really an aspect of my courses that I don’t enjoy. They are intense, and to be frank make me feel inadequate semi-regularly, but their rigor pushes me to correct my past mistakes and keep learning.
- Writing.
I love the feeling of knowing that I’m learning that I get from lower-level language classes, but class is so fast-paced that I feel that I’m not retaining anything anymore.

I don’t always enjoy the nightly homework, though of course it’s necessary.

Probably the lecture section just because we have a larger class and get less individual attention.

Everything is fine, but I wish there could be one drilling session for third-year student like what they have for first-year student. Or before the oral test, it is pretty hard to keep up.

Particles! One moment I think I’ve got them figured out, and the next, I’m completely lost.

We spend so little time learning grammar and kanji and a lot of time doing extremely simple analysis of the textbook readings but we’re still tested on grammar and kanji and also don’t have enough actual speaking practice in class.

Sometimes the teacher speaks English instead of explaining the word in Japanese, but I think it might be better to do full immersion.

I like everything about my class.

Above

If you could, what would you change about your current Japanese course(s)?

Heritage language learners (6 out of 6 responded)

- more speaking practice

- More kanji should be infused in the course. I also wish the instructor would use less English, or English-derived Japanese words (in cases where Japanese words exist, e.g. "class"). Provide two or three "default" conversation patterns per chapter or so (up to five lines for each partner) to be practiced. Presently, none of that with current textbook. Also teach how to write short compositions?

- I tried to get into a Japanese class one level lower than this one at [college omitted] - it was a JLPT preparation class. The teacher of that class believed that the one I am currently in is the better fit for me. I agree with that, but I wish there was something in between, perhaps a
class with the same reading material but with classmates who weren’t as good at speaking! (i.e. others who started studying Japanese at the university) They are kind people but I can’t help but compare myself to them and feel bad about my own language abilities.

- List all of the work on the syllabus rather than have some of it on the syllabus and some of it emailed.
- I think if we learn more about the current culture, words that are used recently, how to be polite other than the language use. Also do more listening and writing in class.
- To make it a much slower pace

Foreign language learners (17 out of 21 responded)

- n/a
- I would like to spend more time on each chapter.
- I wish we could learn more useful colloquial expressions and language.
- I’m fine with the way it is
- As much as I acknowledge that homework really does improve my skills, it is truly excessive at this point.
- I would incorporate some sort of formal survey-feedback exchange between the students and the teachers beginning at the second year level that allow students to bring up expressions of speech like I mentioned in the previous “enjoy the least” question that they would like to learn. If the question was very specific or difficult, then the teacher could meet one-on-one with the student, but if it was beneficial and around the level of the students then the teacher could incorporate it into one of the classes as a non-mandatory but convenient lesson bit.
- Nothing.
- more conversation practice
- Personally, I would like to increase the amount of readings we have to do for class. Right now we focus on a 2-3 page article every 2-3 weeks. I think it might be more interesting to cover a new article every week, both because it would freshen up our conversations in class,
and help us expand our vocabulary more quickly than our current rate of study. This is probably an unpopular opinion, however.

- Maybe less homework (but at the same time I greatly understand that it is this big workload that enables me to make more progress).
- Slow the pace down a bit, and have more in-class grammar practice, like we used to have.
- Smaller lecture component
- The way the textbook [textbook name omitted] sets up the program is very rigid. I'd put more of an emphasis on contextual learning rather than a strictly ordered curriculum.
- More conversational practice and more focus on practicing grammar/learning kanji
- I wish we did more reading. Maybe some simple short stories or articles to go along with the textbook.
- I like everything about my class.
- I want to focus more on the teaching of grammar