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The L2 Motivational Self System and Language Needs of Educated Refugees Learning English in the Netherlands

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Abstract

Refugee language learners have been somewhat overlooked in foreign language acquisition research even though their pre- and post-migration factors may distinguish them from the average learner (cf. Capstick, 2018). This study explored the motivation of educated refugee EFL students (N=25) through the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009) and examined how they differed from adult Dutch EFL students (N=25). Concurrently, a needs analysis on the same educated refugees (N=16) aimed to identify their language needs and to explore a possible relationship between their needs and motivation. The refugees demonstrated higher overall motivation and a significantly higher learning experience and ideal L2 self presumably related to the positive influence of their migration factors. Their strong ideal L2 self might also be explained by their strong long-term identity-formation process, which might be a result of their migration history. The Dutch EFL students scored significantly higher on the ought-to L2 self, which may be explained by the influence of stronger external motivational factors (Kormos, Kiddle & Csizér, 2011). Previous literature identified strong external motivational pressure from family (Papi & Teimouri, 2014; Kormos et al., 2011) and social contacts (Islam et al., 2013). However, this study introduces a new motivational construct in the form of societal encouragement, which may better characterise the external motivational factors in this context. The needs analysis found that the educated refugees prioritise academic and long-term language needs. These results suggest a possible relationship between setting long-term goals and developing a strong long-term ideal L2 self identity. Language courses may then boost refugee motivation further by promoting long-term goal setting and by fostering the development of the refugee ideal L2 self.

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Introduction

The last decade has seen an increase in the number of refugees fleeing violence, war and poverty in the hope of building a better life in the Netherlands. While their first priorities are to meet the basic needs of survival, once these are met the focus shifts to education and paid employment (Hannah, 1999; see Lerch & Buckner, 2018). It is often assumed that refugees are of a low educational background. However, waves of refugees consist of different populations which might change in origin and over time. Specific groups of refugees in these waves are actually shown to have high educational qualities and skills (Bemak & Chung, 2015). Still, little is known about refugee students in higher education and relevant research related to this topic has almost exclusively focussed on international students (Bosher & Rowekamp, 1992; Morice, 2013). The same can be said about the breadth of research on the foreign language acquisition process of refugees (Van Tubergen, 2010), even though successful language learning is an important factor that helps refugees integrate and gain access to education and employment (Capstick, 2018). Without the necessary research focussed on foreign language learning of refugees, many language learning courses develop their curriculum based on the existing literature on (general) foreign language learning without taking into account the possible unique characteristics of refugees.

However, a language course not tailored to the target audience, without a clear learning goal and using generic materials is likely to be inefficient and has been discredited as a way of meeting the specific needs of students (Long, 2005). Teaching English for No Obvious Reason (TENOR) usually results in unfocussed instruction, low learner motivation and leaves learners without the ability to use their English for any functional purpose (Lambert, 2010). Therefore, needs analyses are used to move away from the learner's needs in broad terms and towards identifying and specifying the needs of the students learning English for Specific Purposes (ESP).

While the needs analysis in this thesis aims to discover the language needs of this often overlooked group of language learners, it also presents the opportunity to explore the potential unique characteristics of refugee language learners, how they may differ from the well-documented learner in second-language acquisition literature and what they can contribute to the collection of SLA literature. The choice was made to focus on motivation as it has a very strong influence on many different factors in the language learning process (Dörnyei, 1998). The personal characteristics and migration factors of refugees are also likely to influence their motivation in a profound way not found in the average language learner.

The needs analysis combined with the motivational study may then help to further understand the language learning process of educated refugees and to optimise language courses with refugee language learners. This thesis aims to contribute to this optimisation process by studying the role of motivation through the L2 Motivational Self System in the language acquisition process of refugees and to explore their language needs.

1.1 Research questions

This thesis then has a theoretical scope and a practical scope. The theoretical scope explores the motivation of refugee learners of English and how their motivation may differ from that of the well-documented adult Dutch learners of English. The practical scope aims to identify and document the specific needs of refugee learners and to explore the relationship between the refugee's motivation and their needs.

1. How is the L2 Motivational Self System of adult refugees different from the L2 Motivational Self System of adult Dutch EFL students?
2. What is the relationship between the refugee's L2 Motivational Self System and their (perceived) language learner needs?

This study will start with a conceptualisation of educated refugees and is followed by a review of some of the factors that potentially set refugees apart from other more widely-represented learners in the foreign language learning process. The L2 Motivational Self System will then be presented as the main motivational theoretical framework. Next, the methodological choices for motivational questionnaire will be explained as well as the process of data collection and analysis. Then, the results of the motivation study will be reported along with a discussion that attempts to answer the research questions.

The details of the needs analysis conducted in this study are considered confidential and will not be publicised here, except for the number of participants, the instruments used and the relevant results pertaining to the research question.

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Refugees

Migrants who come to the Netherlands do so for various reasons and can be classified into two groups. People who migrate voluntarily are considered *immigrants* and are generally considered to be educated (McBrien, 2005). People who leave their country involuntarily and have applied for asylum or have been granted asylum are called *refugees* (UNHCR “Refugee”, 2018). The ongoing civil war in Syria and the ensuing chaos and prosecution there has resulted in a recent flow of refugees to the Netherlands, along with African refugees crossing the Mediterranean Sea hoping for a better life in Europe (VluchtelingenWerk, 2018).

Refugees tend to experience exacerbating circumstances that affect their decision to flee their country, resulting in traumatic experiences and interrupted education (Borrel, 2010). Therefore, it is often assumed that refugees and asylum seekers are of a low educational background (see Bemak & Chung, 2015). However, there appears to be a noticeable difference in the level of education between two major groups of refugees that make up more than 80% of all refugees worldwide (UNHCR “Displacements”, 2018). Refugees from Africa generally received little prior education, but relatively many refugees from Iraq, Iran and Syria are educated and often wish to further pursue a higher education in their new host countries (Mattheijer, 2000; Van Tubergen, 2010). The Netherlands hosts many more refugees from the Middle East, especially from Syria, than from Africa and, therefore, potentially a relative large number of educated refugees. However, these findings are tempered when looking at the current situation in the Netherlands. Recent reports from the SCP¹ found that one fifth of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands have a Syrian diploma in higher education (Dagevos et al., 2018), which is lower than anticipated and implied in the press (De Zwaan & Stoffelen, 2017). However, nearly 50% of Syrians who are granted asylum were younger than 25 at the time and have not had the opportunity to finish higher education in Syria. While one fifth remains a relative large amount when taking into account the total number of refugees, very few have acquired a Dutch educational degree (Dagevos et al., 2018). With the largest influx of refugees in 2015, this report suggests it takes a considerable amount of time for the educated refugee to acquire a degree in the Dutch educational system, with or without a Syrian higher-education diploma.

There is little research on refugee students in higher education as they encounter multiple barriers that limit their opportunities in higher education. As a result, relevant

¹ Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau

research related to this topic is almost exclusively focussed on international students (see Boshier & Rowekamp, 1992; Dryden-Peterson, 2012; Morice, 2013; Zeus, 2011). The WRR² has concluded that over the last ten years the integration of refugees into the Dutch higher education system has failed, yet the number of refugees enrolled in higher education has grown (Engbersen et al., 2015). However, the refugees that have accessed higher education encounter more hardships in seeing their education to completion as there remains a “paucity of research on the learning styles and academic needs of African and Middle Eastern students from refugee backgrounds” (Earnest, Joyce, de Mori & Silvagni, 2010, p. 155). Refugees in the Netherlands appear to be highly motivated to learn a foreign language to participate in higher education. Regrettably, a lack of guidance from the government and migration factors often lead them to deliberately choose to learn a lower language level, which in turn negatively affects their ability to pursue a higher education (VluchtelingenWerk, 2018). This highlights the need to take a closer look at the group of educated refugees in the Netherlands and to learn more about their language learning experience as a gateway to higher education.

2.1.1 Influences on the language learning process of refugees

Language plays an important role in gaining access to education and employment (Capstick, 2018). Research on foreign language acquisition suggests that migrants with better language skills have better access to education and employment. However, notwithstanding the growing attention to the language learning outcomes of refugees, little is known about the language acquisition process of refugees and what sets them apart from other language learners (Van Tubergen, 2010). Practically all research on refugee language learning is carried out on refugees learning the first language of the country they migrated to because of the essential role it plays in the initial orientation and integration of refugees into a new country (see Borrel, 2010; Elmeroth, 2003). Nevertheless, language learning in general, such as learning English in the Netherlands, can help refugees with trauma and further increases their access to education and employment (Capstick, 2018; Capstick & Delaney, 2018). The effects of trauma are often revealed in learning situations and learning a foreign language can provide a safe space in which to share stories so that they can be heard and understood (Capstick & Delaney, 2018).

Two types of factors are likely to influence the language acquisition process of refugees in a different way than the average learner in SLA literature, namely pre- and post-

² De Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid

migration factors. The pre-migration factors consist of the level and progress of formal education and the health or mental status of refugees. Refugees who have completed their secondary education or were enrolled in tertiary education tend to possess more learning strategies and metalinguistic skills and may therefore be more efficient in learning a foreign language. A high educational background is also associated with a higher motivation for investing in a foreign language (Van Tubergen, 2010). Lower educated refugees generally lack these skills and find it harder to learn a new language, which leads to early drop-outs, a negative self-image, little motivation and a lower attained level of the target language (Vermeer, 2010).

It is unclear what precise impact trauma has on language acquisition, but Chastain (1975) found that affective characteristics have at least as much influence on learning as ability and motivation and it is therefore hypothesised to hinder the learning process (Chiswick & Miller, 2001). The continuing impact of trauma on their future may manifest in increased motivation to enjoy the benefits of successful language learning, or in low motivation and a low attained level of the target language (VluchtelingenWerk, 2018).

Post-migration factors include the level of personal investment and the resources available to the learner (Van Tubergen, 2010). A commitment to stay in the host country increases the willingness to invest in language training to find better paid employment. In the long run this leads to more exposure to the foreign language and better language skills, while a low level of personal involvement has the opposite effect. Similarly, the amount of resources available to the refugee influences their ability to invest in language training and the amount of English they are exposed to. In addition, possible social isolation, barriers to mental healthcare and the societal view of the learner's ethnicity all interact with the language learning process and may reduce exposure to the target language, which influences the amount of English that the learner uses (Szuber, 2007). A lack of exposure affects the level of personal investment of the refugee and may well impede learner motivation (Codrington, Iqbal & Segal, 2011; Elmeroth, 2003).

Still, the incentives of learning English and subsequent level of personal involvement are generally higher for educated refugees as better paid employment often requires a good command of the English language (Van Tubergen, 2010). Hou and Beiser (2006) found that these post-migration factors only become more important over time for the language learning process of refugees, because a higher education and better paid employment are two opportunities for which language acquisition provides an important added benefit.

Finally, a distinction has to be made between two different language skills relevant to educated refugees learning English; basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1979). BICS is mainly used in everyday situations whereas CALP is much more cognitively demanding and used regularly in academic settings. EFL students tend to acquire BICS quickly, which might lead teachers to prematurely assume that they have attained a sufficient level of English to participate in a higher level of English that includes CALP skills (McBrien, 2008). This mismatch in level puts extra pressure on the language course and the teacher to accurately assess the individual's proficiency level and to help them acquire the required skills to participate in higher education.

These factors allow for a divide between educated refugees and refugees with little prior education for successful language learning. Educated refugees are considered to have more language learning experience and skills that help them successfully learn English as well as greater incentives and higher levels of personal investment. These studies suggest that the motivation of educated refugees and the influence of their migration factors play an important role in their language learning experience. The unique characteristics of refugees may show to influence their motivation and could result in a difference between refugee motivation and the bulk of motivational studies in foreign language acquisition research.

2.2 Motivation

Motivation is widely accepted as playing an important role in the rate of success of foreign language learning. Motivation is the first stimulus in language learning and without motivation the effectiveness of good teaching and the ability of the learner are bound to suffer (Dörnyei, 1998). Motivation determines human behaviour and "every different psychological perspective on human behaviour is associated with a different theory of motivation ... which confuses the scene" (p. 118). Traditional studies on motivation seen through this prism have also been criticised for presenting a selective and incomplete account of the complex reality of L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Such modular approaches often strictly categorise aptitude as a cognitive factor and motivation as an affective factor. However, it can be argued that there is a shift towards approaching these categories not as distinct, but as an amalgam of cognitive, motivational and affective components (Dörnyei, 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2014). This perspective is closely related to the growing interest in a socio-dynamic approach to L2 motivation that emphasises the

learners rather than the variables. This section will explore several different approaches to L2 motivation that contributed to the socio-dynamic perspective dominant today and which are relevant to the motivation of refugees learning English in the Netherlands.

2.2.1 Motivational approaches

The theoretical concept which has enjoyed a lot of attention since its inception is that of integrative orientation put forward by Gardner and Lambert (1972). This concept is underpinned by the premise that the learner “must be willing to identify with members of a different ethnolinguistic group and take on very subtle aspects of their behaviour” (p. 135). This assumption has come under fire as the rapid globalisation of English has led to the idea that there sometimes is no specific target reference group for learners as the language has become separated from its native speakers and their culture (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Lamb, 2009). The need to integrate with the target language culture is replaced by the desire to learn the target language for educational and communicative purposes. The integrative approach to motivation, therefore, presupposes a motivational goal that is more relevant to refugees learning the first language of the country with the goal of integration, but it is not expected to be the driving force of refugees learning English in the Netherlands. Gardner and Lambert also identified a second orientation, instrumental orientation, which refers to a desire to learn the L2 with a more practical goal in mind, such as education and employment. This idea has led towards exploration of other motivational models that incorporate the instrumental orientation (Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000).

One approach which garnered more attention in the 1980s is the self-determination theory by Deci and Ryan (1985), which makes a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation is the natural and inherent drive to engage in an activity because it is enjoyable and satisfying to do. Extrinsically motivated behaviour is influenced by external sources for instrumental reasons, such as earning rewards or avoiding punishment. This distinction allows for a useful reorganisation of the two orientations of Gardner and Lambert into a systematic framework for understanding L2 motivation (Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand, 2000).

While the integrative orientation arguably may have lost its relevance in EFL motivation, the instrumental orientations continue to function as a significant framework in understanding motivational differences in language learners. Higgins’s (1998) self-regulatory theory suggests that these differences are born out of the different self-regulatory processes in human behaviour, which he divides into two orientations derived from the hedonic principle

of approaching pleasure and avoiding pain. Promotion-focus orientation is driven by accomplishment and growth and is sensitive to the presence and absence of positive outcomes. Prevention-focus orientation is associated with security and safety and is concerned with the presence and absence of negative outcomes.

2.2.2 L2 Motivational Self System

In a bid to reconcile these different motivational theories, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) argued that instead of focussing on the process of identification with an external reference group in integrative motivation, the focus should be on the internal process of identification within the person's self-concept. This resulted in the development of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) by Dörnyei (2009), which draws on the theory of possible selves, which represent an individual's ideas of "what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming" (Markus & Nurius, 1987, p. 157). This way of thinking incorporates integrative motivation by changing the perspective, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and the instrumental orientations of promotion-focus and prevention-focus.

The L2MSS is comprised of the *Ideal L2 self*, the *Ought-to L2 self* and the *Learning Experience*. The basic hypothesis is that the proficiency of the L2 is part of the ideal and ought-to L2 self and serves as an important motivator for reducing the gap between the current and future L2 self. The ideal L2 self represents the learner's hopes and aspirations, much like the promotion-focus orientation does. The ought-to L2 self is shaped by the expectations that the learner believes they ought to possess to avoid the negative outcomes associated with the prevention-focus orientation.

The ideal L2 self has been shown to be a much stronger indicator of learners' motivation than the ought-to L2 self (see Islam et al., 2013; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009). However, the ought-to L2 self is thought to be of more influence in socio-educational settings where there is greater external pressure on learners' achievements (Kormos, Kiddle & Csizér, 2011). The L2 learning experience concerns "situated specific motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience ... and is conceptualised at a different level than the two self-guides" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). The learning experience can be influenced by many different aspects, such as voluntary or compulsory attendance, and this component has been found to be the most strongly associated with motivated learning behaviour (see Islam et al., 2013; Papi & Teimouri, 2014).

The association between Dörnyei's possible selves and Higgins's instrumentality-focus orientations motivated Papi and Teimouri (2014) to divide their study sample into two

groups: one characterised by a strong ought-to L2 self, the prevention-focus group, and one with a strong ideal L2 self, the promotion-focus group. They found that the promotion-focus group scored significantly higher on motivated behaviour than the prevention-focus group, which corroborated findings in previous studies that the ideal L2 self has a stronger association with motivated behaviour (Papi and Teimouri, 2014). Finally, a small case study on 25 adolescents in New Zealand suggested that achieving success (promotion-focus) might be associated with setting maximal goals and avoiding failure (prevention-focus) with adopting minimal goals (Li, 2016). The results from these studies suggest that a high score on promotion-focus / ideal L2 self leads to more motivated behaviour than a high score on prevention-focus / ought-to L2 self does.

While Dörnyei repurposed integrativeness to the identification within the person's self-concept, Lamb (2004) suggests that learners may also strive towards a "bicultural identity, which incorporates an English-speaking globally-involved version of themselves in addition to their local L1-speaking self" (p. 3). His study involved Indonesian secondary-school students who were encouraged to develop a world citizen English-speaking self-identity, which exerted the same motivated behaviour as the instrumental orientations. Identity is constantly developing, particularly during adolescence, but adults also experience the need to recreate their identity on an ever-increasing basis (Giddens, 2000). Norton (2000) found that the complex and dynamic identities of refugees in their new communities varied with a close similarity to their motivation to learn and use English. Lamb (2009) speculates that motivation may be partly explained by the reconstruction of identities during formative years, such as the period that refugees go through when they flee their country and build up new lives in a new country. The pre- and post-migration factors revealed that aspects such as trauma, level of personal investment and available resources play an important role in the language learning process of refugees, but they also exert a considerable influence on their identity-formation process (Lamb, 2009).

The L2 Motivational Self System, with its individual-centred socio-dynamic approach, as opposed to traditional group-based methodologies, is better situated to explore the motivation at the level of the individual learner (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 355). In the socio-dynamic L2MSS, motivation influences L2 achievement and subsequent learning outcomes influence the motivation to determine their ideal and ought-to L2 selves. It also takes into account the learner's identity and motivational responses to events and experiences in their life (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 355). This makes this model particularly appropriate for L2 learning by refugees as many things rapidly change in their lives as they

pursue new identities and their possible L2 selves. The concept of ideal and ought-to selves as representations of the learner may be used to either “freeze current and ideals selves, presenting them as static photographic stills” (Henry, 2015, p. 93) during the language learning process, or present them as dynamic “moving pictures” (p. 93) that change alongside the learners self-concept. The dynamic approach preferred for this thesis considers motivation as inherently fluid and not as a static trait of a learner, but still measures motivation at one fixed moment in time. This further illustrates the exploratory aspect of this thesis.

2.3 Needs analysis practice

Needs analysis practice has continuously evolved and improved over time and using an appropriate methodology is important. Serafini, Lake and Long (2015) examined the design, methods and procedures of needs analyses for specialised English learner populations and identified several shortcomings. The major shortcoming is a lack of consistency in sources, methods and the interaction between sources and methods used to gather and interpret data, which often leads to decreased reliability and validity. As a result, Serafini et al. (2015) developed a checklist for learners with specialised L2 needs that guides the practice of common standards for reliability, validity and triangulation of sources and methods. The needs analysis in this study will be carried out by following this checklist to seek valid and reliable results (see Figure 1).

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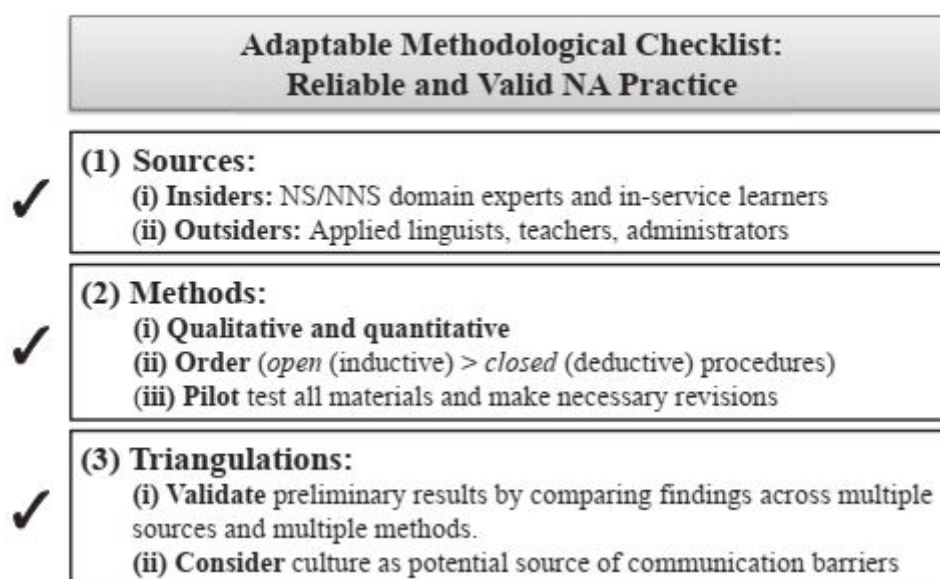


Figure 1. Adaptable methodological checklist for reliable and valid NA practice.

Methodology

3.1 Participants

The refugee group consisted of 25 participants from two language institutes that offer free language courses for refugees. The participants were selected from two groups with CEFR levels of B1 (19) and C1 (6). The choice was made to restrict the study to participants with at least a level of B1 to ensure that the participants understood all the statements sufficiently to provide accurate responses.

The control group was made up of 25 participants from a different language institute that offers general English language courses to adults. These participants were enrolled in *English Intermediate* (15) and *Upper-Intermediate* (10) courses at this institution, which is similar to the B1 and C1 level of the refugee participants. The testimonies of past students at these language institutes suggest they took these courses to improve their English for work- and study-related reasons. The age of all the participants ranged from 20 to 47 ($\bar{x}=29$) and consisted of 21 males and 29 females.

3.2 Instruments

The questionnaire for this study was adapted from Islam, Lamb and Chambers (2013), who in turn consulted four recent studies as the basis for their questionnaire: Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006; Taguchi, et al., 2009; Ryan, 2009 & Yashima, 2009. These four studies suggest that the L2MSS is theoretically and empirically valid and reliable, and by extension the statements in the questionnaires used to measure it (Dörnyei, 2009). The questionnaire in Appendix A and B show the 32 Likert-scale items as it was presented to the participants and divided into the five motivational constructs that the questionnaire intended to measure:

Instrumentality (Promotion): (4 items). This is associated with learners' specific practical hopes and aspirations for their future. Example: Using English effectively would help me to get a better job.

Instrumentality (Prevention): (4 items). This represents learners' fears, duties and obligations in the future. Example: I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.

Ideal L2 self: (8 items). This represents respondents' imagined, personally-desired future English-using selves. Example: I can imagine speaking English with international friends.

Ought-to L2 self: (8 items) Respondents' imagined future English-using selves, as expected or demanded by themselves or significant others. Example: If I fail to learn English, I'll be letting other people down.

Learning Experience: (8 items) This construct aims to analyse whether learners enjoy the L2 learning experience. Example: I look forward to my English lessons.

(Islam, Lamb & Chambers, 2013, p. 235).

3.3 Procedure

The questionnaire was piloted on two adult refugee learners of English to check the sensitivity and comprehensibility of the wording. As a result, the word *home* was avoided and some sentences were simplified. The questionnaire was administered during a regular English lesson alongside the needs analysis. Some refugee participants occasionally struggled to fully understand a statement, but other participants were quick to provide clarification in Arabic that solved any problems. The control group filled in the questionnaire at the end of their English lesson. A short explanation of the questionnaire was given before the distribution in both settings.

3.4 Analysis

The data was entered into SPSS to calculate the mean, SD and sum of the five constructs per participant. The data was then analysed using independent-samples t-tests to look for differences between the constructs for each group. A p-value of <0.05 was maintained to determine significant differences. The Pearson Correlation Coefficient was measured to discover possible correlations between the constructs for each group.

3.5 Needs analysis

Sixteen B1- and C1-level participants took part in the quantitative needs survey and four students and teachers participated in the qualitative interviews. In addition, eight lessons were observed using the COLT – Part A scheme (Allen, 1984) (see Appendix C) to validate and compare the results of the survey with the current curriculum. The survey (see Appendix D) examined needs related to academic language aspects, English at work and informal English used in social contexts for a total of 33 items. These needs were split into several groups: reading, speaking, listening, writing, academic, and informal needs. The mean and SD were calculated and Cronbach's Alpha was found reliable with values between .76 and .93.

Results

4.1 Motivation questionnaire

The mean values and SD were calculated to determine which motivational construct received comparatively high or low scores and to find out if there was any important variation within the means for both groups. Table 1 shows that all constructs in both groups have relatively high mean scores, with the exception of the ought-to L2 self for the refugee group. This indicates that the motivational constructs in this study influence the participants' desire to learn English to varying degrees. Among these constructs, instrumentality (prevention) scored the highest for both groups and the only construct to have a mean over 5 and a SD below .8 for both groups. The ideal L2 self and the learning experience were the other two high-scoring constructs for the refugees.

Table 1
Mean and standard deviation of the motivational constructs for both groups ranging from 1 to 6

Motivational construct	N. of items	Mean refugees	Mean control	SD refugees	SD control
Instrumentality (prevention)	4	5.32	5.19	.77	.76
Instrumentality (promotion)	4	4.65	4.84	1.36	.86
Ideal L2 self	8	5.21	4.80	.88	.95
Ought-to L2 self	8	3.66	4.28	1.49	.95
Learning experience	8	5.03	4.23	.90	.85

The main purpose of the motivational study was to explore whether refugee learners of English differed in their L2 Motivational Self System from adult Dutch EFL students in the Netherlands. Therefore, an independent samples t-test was carried out to determine whether there were statistically significant differences between the two groups for each motivational construct. The findings revealed no significant differences between the groups on prevention orientation ($t(48)=1.01$, $p = .29$) and promotion orientation ($t(48)=-1.27$, $p=.21$). The refugee group scored significantly higher on the ideal L2 self ($t(48)=2.82$, $p = .007$) and learning experience ($t(48)=6.59$, $p<.001$). The control group scored significantly higher on the ought-to L2 self: ($t(48)=-3.0$, $p =.004$).

Pearson correlations were used to find out if the relationship between the five motivational constructs differed between the refugee and control group. No statistically significant correlations were found in the control group, but Table 2 shows a strong positive correlation between the ideal L2 self and the learning experience in the refugee group. The learning experience and ideal L2 self were also positively correlated with instrumentality

(promotion) and instrumentality (prevention). The ought-to L2 self was positively correlated with instrumentality (promotion), but no significant correlation was found with instrumentality (prevention).

Table 2
Correlations of constructs for the refugee group

Constructs	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Instrumentality (prevention)	1				
2. Instrumentality (promotion)	.357	1			
3. Ideal L2 self	.623**	.594**	1		
4. Ought-to L2 self	.221	.556**	.475	1	
5. Learning experience	.699**	.575**	.748**	.360	1

** $p < .001$, two-tailed

4.2 Needs analysis

Further results of the needs analysis drawing on the interviews and classroom observations are part of the internal report provided for the language school involved. To preserve confidentiality, this thesis will report on the overall results of the needs survey only.

The survey measured the importance the participants assigned to 33 learner needs operationalised in the four language skills and language priorities. Table 3 shows the descriptive statistics of each item measured in the survey. The four items that showed the highest mean values (above 4.50) are: *improve English test score* ($M = 4.68$), *expand work / study vocabulary* ($M = 4.68$), *improve writing* ($M = 4.56$) and *improve listening* ($M = 4.56$). Overall, the students considered at least 28 items in the survey to be important needs (above 4). The descriptive statistics for the six groups of reading, writing, speaking, listening, academic, and informal needs are shown in Table 4 and reveal that *listening* ($M = 4.37$), *academic needs* ($M = 4.35$) *speaking* ($M = 4.30$) and *writing* ($M = 4.29$) scored the highest and these results are in line with the top rated results of the survey.

Table 3
Descriptive statistics for the six constructs

Category	N. of items	Mean	SD
Speaking	8	4.30	.80
Reading	6	3.91	.98
Writing	8	4.29	.92
Listening	6	4.37	.85
Informal Needs	13	4.03	.95
Academic Needs	13	4.35	.86

Discussion

The motivation study was conducted to discover how refugees learning English in the Netherlands differed in their L2 Motivational Self System from adult Dutch learners of English. The overall results of the needs analysis also allowed for the opportunity to explore a possible relationship between the language needs of the refugees and their L2MSS. Previous research on the L2MSS found that the ideal L2 self and the learning experience have the strongest impact on motivated learning behaviour (see Islam et al., 2013; Papi & Teimouri, 2014). This hypothesis was found to apply to the refugee group, who exhibited a higher degree of motivation on the L2MSS than the control group, and their results more closely matched previous research on the L2MSS. But the hypothesis did not apply to the control group, as their learning experience was found to be the lowest scoring construct.

5.1 Differences in the L2MSS between the refugee and control group

Learning experience

The refugee group scored significantly higher on the learning experience and their scores are possibly related to the influence of the pre- and post-migration factors, which include the level of prior education, the mental status of the refugee, the level of personal involvement and the resources available to the learner. The refugees are required to learn Dutch to integrate, but they also show a willingness to invest in English language training to find a job related to their educated background. Their commitment to learn both Dutch and English reflects a high level of personal involvement, which is stimulated by the available resources to learn English offered by free language courses for refugees. These language courses for educated refugees also aim to offer a safe and pleasant learning environment that is thought to help refugees with trauma (Capstick & Delaney, 2018; Capstick, 2018). These positive influences of the migration factors on the language learning process are, therefore, thought to positively increase their attitude to learning English. A stronger positive attitude to learning English is likely to produce positive situated motives resulting in a strong positive learning experience with strong motivated learning behaviour.

The learning experience concerns contextual and situated motives which can be influenced by many different aspects, such as voluntary or compulsory attendance. While both groups are learning English for work- or study-related purposes, the adult Dutch students in the control group might not experience the same positive attitudes to learning English from their level of personal involvement. Their involvement may be more influenced

by external forces, such as expectations and requirements to possess a certain level of English-language skills. Less personal involvement from the control group participants might result in a more moderate attitude to learning English and subsequently a lower learning experience.

Ought-to L2 self

This line of reasoning may also explain why the control group scored significantly higher on the ought-to L2 self, which is mainly composed of extrinsic motivational forces. The socio-educational setting in the control group may exert more pressure on the participants to pass the course successfully and meet external expectations. That external pressure to become a better English user may also stem from the belief that English is shifting from a foreign to a second language in the Netherlands and that a good command of English is becoming a more important requirement for a successful career (Edwards, 2016). External pressure has been operationalised in previous research as parental encouragement (Kormos et al., 2011), family influence (Papi & Teimouri, 2014; Taguchi et al., 2009) and milieu (Islam et al., 2012), which measures the encouragement of social contacts. Csizér and Kormos (2009) found a positive relationship between parental encouragement and the ought-to L2 self, suggesting external pressure of this kind influences the ought-to L2 self. While these operationalisations are not applicable to the participants in this study, a motivational construct measuring *societal encouragement* might be appropriate for the type of external pressure in this context and would benefit from additional research in societies where a good command of English is considered very important.

Conversely, the socio-educational setting in the refugee group may be less demanding with less external pressure and expectation to become a better user of English. Few educated Syrian refugees have attained a Dutch degree in their field (Dagevos et al., 2018), suggesting they are not expected to quickly improve their English in a short time so they can attain their degrees. The low ought-to L2 self for the refugees indicates this group is less sensitive to external pressures from family and friends. Instead, the ought-to L2 self may well have a greater influence in their motivation to learn Dutch, as Dutch plays an essential role for successful integration in society. This could involve more pressure and extrinsic motivational forces in the form of encouragement from friends, family and society for the refugees in the same way as the control group are motivated to learn English.

Ideal L2 self

The differences between the two groups in the learning experience, as explained by the influence of pre- and post-migration factors, could also explain why the refugees scored significantly higher on the ideal L2 self. Migration factors also exert a considerable influence on the identity-formation process of refugees, which includes the ideal L2 self, and is linked to their motivation to learn and use English (Norton, 2000). Post-migration factors become more important over time and may have an increased positive influence on the long term identity-formation process (Lamb, 2009). The ideal L2 self is a long-term future identity and is associated with the learner's desired maximum attainment level of English, whereas the ought-to L2 self is linked to the least amount of invested time to reach the learner's minimum level. The adult participants in the control group also feel the need to recreate their identity on a regular basis (Giddins, 2000); however, the more drastic identity-reconstruction processes refugees go through is much stronger. This suggests that the migration factors might positively influence the long-term ideal L2 self identity of the refugees in a more profound way than it would their ought-to L2 self identity.

The strong positive correlation found between the learning experience and the ideal L2 self suggests that the migration factors are the important elements that influence the L2MSS of the refugees and are what sets their L2MSS apart from the control group. Accordingly, the control group showed no significant correlations as their learning experience and future selves might be more influenced by the external pressures and their pragmatic value of English competence. However, no claim can be made for refugee learners of English as a whole, or for adult Dutch learners of English, as the sample size in this paper is too limited. Still, these findings reflect the importance of exploring possible distinctions in the motivation of adult refugee and adult Dutch learners of English in this context.

5.2 Relationship between motivation and refugee learner needs

Motivation and needs are intrinsically linked as motivation sets the process of accomplishing a need in motion and having goals and expectations leads to increased motivation. The refugee group showed a high degree of motivation in their L2MSS and similarly high needs were found throughout the survey, indicating there to be a relationship in this study. Li (2016) speculated that setting maximal goals and adopting minimal goals could be related to the promotion and prevention orientations respectively. The instrumentality orientations may in turn be closely related to the future selves in the L2MSS as argued by Papi and Teimouri (2014). While the present study did not find the same relationship as Papi and Teimouri

(2014), it is possible that maximal and minimal goal setting can be associated with the ideal and ought-to L2 selves in this study. Goal setting plays an important role in the identity-formation process (Côté, 1996) and the type of goals set influence whether the individual works towards the long-term ideal L2 self or the shorter-term ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005). In this regard, the refugees may also have interpreted the statements in both the instrumentality orientations in the context of their long-term goals and long-term future identity, as both instrumentalities were positively correlated with the ideal L2 self.

The most important need found in the survey among the refugees was to improve their English to achieve the long-term goal of taking the IELTS test. Additionally, the various academic needs related to future work and study ambitions in the survey were rated comparably high. These findings indicate that these important academic-oriented needs are related to the long-term goals and suggests a possible relationship between the high-scoring academic-oriented needs and the high-scoring ideal L2 self of the refugees. This interpretation would also entail that the ought-to L2 self is associated with shorter-term needs and minimal goals. Unfortunately, the control group did not contribute to the needs analysis and as such their needs are unknown. However, their goals are predicted to be more short term by improving their English to be better at their job, unlike the refugee group, who are learning English specifically to find a better job. The control group scored significantly higher on the ought-to L2 self than the refugee group, suggesting that minimal goal setting could be associated with the ought-to L2 self. However, this possible relationship between the L2MSS and learner needs remains hypothetical and requires more research to explore further.

Conclusion

Refugees learning English as a foreign language have been somewhat overlooked in foreign language acquisition research even though in recent years large numbers of refugees have arrived in the Netherlands who want to learn English to pursue higher education. Pre- and post-migration factors distinguish these language learners from other adult Dutch learners of English and often hinder their ability to learn English in language courses that do not take these factors into account. This study focussed on the educated refugee language learner and aimed to explain how their unique characteristics can be seen as assets rather than obstacles in their language acquisition process.

The motivation study shows the refugees have a higher degree of motivation in the L2 Motivational Self System than the control group of adult Dutch students. Their pre- and post-

migration factors and their strong identity-formation process are probably responsible for these high scores on the learning experience and the ideal L2 self construct. The results of the control group indicate that external motivational forces possibly influence their higher ought-to L2 self. This external pressure might also apply to refugees when they learn Dutch as a second language, rather than English as a foreign language. The needs analysis indicates that the refugees attribute a high importance to long-term needs and demonstrates a possible relationship between these long-term needs and the long-term ideal L2 identity of refugees. This means that refugees may show strong motivated behaviour precisely because of their status as refugees, especially when language courses can provide the resources and the environment for them to clearly develop long-term language needs along with a long-term ideal L2 identity.

These findings may have wider implications for teaching refugees English as a foreign language for relevant language courses, and for the field of foreign language acquisition as a whole. Language courses can offer the resources to develop long-term goals and encourage long-term identity formation in refugees to positively influence their motivation and subsequent learning effort. More research can also further aid the language acquisition process of refugees by turning more perceived impediments into resources. This study explored only one aspect of motivation, while a more dynamic and temporal classroom perspective would likely yield equally interesting and useful results. Additionally, the choice of materials was found to be important to refugees and teaching techniques such as the Language Experience Approach, which promotes learning the language through the use of personal experiences, would also benefit from additional research in this context.

It would have been very interesting to include such approaches in this study, but sadly the scope would have been far too great. Indeed, both the theoretical and the practical aspect of this thesis would ideally have been explored in more detail; nonetheless, both have yielded gratifying results within the limits of this study.

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Appendix B – Motivational constructs

Ideal L2- self

1. When I think about my future, it is important that I use English.
2. Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself being able to use English.
3. If my dreams come true, I will use English effectively in the future.
4. I can imagine speaking English with international friends.
5. I can imagine myself using English effectively for communicating with people in the Netherlands as well as abroad.
6. I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.
7. I can imagine myself writing English e-mails fluently.
8. Studying English is important to me because I would like to become close to other speakers of English.

Instrumentality (Promotion)

9. I think knowing English would help me to become a more educated person.
10. Using English effectively would help me to get a better job.
11. Learning English is necessary because it is an important international language.
12. Studying English is important to me because I think I will need it for more studies in the Netherlands

Ought-to L2 self

13. I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents or friends will be disappointed with me.
14. I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.
15. Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my teachers.
16. It will have a negative impact on my life if I do not learn English.
17. If I fail to learn English, I'll be letting other people down.
18. I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.
19. Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of English.
20. Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.

Instrumentality (Prevention)

21. I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.
22. I have to study English because I do not want to get bad marks in my English lessons or university courses.
23. I have to learn English because without passing the English subject I cannot get my degree.
24. Studying English is important to me, because I do not like to be considered a poorly educated person.

Attitudes to Learning English

25. I like the atmosphere of my English classes.
26. I find learning English really interesting.
27. I really enjoy learning English.
28. I like to have more English lessons.
29. I think time passes faster while studying English.
30. I look forward to my English lessons.
31. I like the materials and subjects we discuss and learn during the lessons.
32. I enjoy meeting and speaking with other learners of English.

Order of the statements in the questionnaire colour coded by motivational scale:

1. 32 I enjoy meeting and speaking with other learners of English.
2. 6 I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.
3. 2 Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself being able to use English.
4. 11 Learning English is necessary because it is an important international language.
5. 7 I can imagine myself writing English e-mails fluently.
6. 19 Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have knowledge of English.
7. 25 I like the atmosphere of my English classes.
8. 1 When I think about my future, it is important that I use English.
9. 15 Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my teachers.
10. 9 I think knowing English would help me to become a more educated person.
11. 10 Using English effectively would help me to get a better job.
12. 29 I look forward to my English lessons.
13. 27 I like to have more English lessons.
14. 20 Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.
15. 21 I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.
16. 24 I find learning English really interesting.
17. 18 I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.
18. 5 I can imagine myself using English effectively for communicating with people in the Netherlands as well as abroad.
19. 16 It will have a negative impact on my life if I do not learn English.
20. 13 I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents or friends will be disappointed with me.
21. 17 If I fail to learn English, I'll be letting other people down.
22. 28 I think time passes faster while studying English.
23. 26 I really enjoy learning English.
24. 3 If my dreams come true, I will use English effectively in the future.
25. 14 I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.
26. 4 I can imagine speaking English with international friends.
27. 22 I have to study English because I do not want to get bad marks in my English lessons or university courses.
28. 31 I like the materials and subjects we discuss and learn during the lessons.
29. 23 I have to learn English because without passing the English subject I cannot get my degree.
30. 8 Studying English is important to me because I would like to become close to other speakers of English.
31. 12 Studying English is important to me because I think I will need it for more studies in the Netherlands.
32. 24 Studying English is important to me, because I do not like to be considered a poorly educated person.

Appendix D – Needs analysis survey

Needs analysis survey

Language priorities

Please rate the following items on how important they are to you on a scale from **very unimportant** to **very important**

Example: I want to use English with friends.

Very unimportant – unimportant – neutral – important – very important

1	I want to use English with friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	I want to use English with colleagues and teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	I want to expand my general vocabulary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	I want to expand my vocabulary for work / study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	I want to improve my listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	I want to improve my speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	I want to improve my reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	I want to improve my writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	I want to improve my English Test score	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Language skills

Please rate the following items on how important they are to you on a scale from **very unimportant** to **very important**

Example: I enjoy reading the paper and I want to read English-language newspapers

Very unimportant – unimportant – neutral – important – very important

Reading:						
10	Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	WhatsApp / text messages from friends / classmates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	Correspondence from teachers or colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	Academic articles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	General magazine articles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Other (Please specify: ...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Speaking:						
16	Speaking with classmates / colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	Speaking with teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	Speaking with friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Taking part in class activities / meetings at work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	Giving presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	Giving instructions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22	Small talk / talking about your hobbies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23	Other (Please specify: ...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Writing:						
24	Business letters / emails	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	Correspondence with teachers / colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	WhatsApp / text messages to friends / classmates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	Reports / Reviews / Opinion articles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28	Research Papers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29	Summaries (of articles)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30	Note-keeping at work or in lessons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31	Other (Please specify: ...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Listening:						
32	Lectures / Presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33	Teacher instructions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34	Conversations with friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35	Radio / TV shows / Music	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36	Conversations with teachers / colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37	Other (Please specify: ...)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Self-Assessment

Please rate the following items on how difficult you find them on a scale from **very difficult** to **very easy**:

Example: Speaking English

Very difficult – Difficult – Not difficult or Easy – Easy – Very Easy

38	Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39	Listening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40	Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41	Presenting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42	General Vocabulary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43	Vocabulary for work or study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44	General Writing	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45	Writing for work or study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Personal information

Please fill in your age and your first language, for example Arabic or Dutch

First language: Age: Gender: male / female Occupation (job): Study area:	How long have you been learning English: Why are you learning English?
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