Hennebry-Leung M. (2020) Teachers' Cognitions on Motivating Language Learners in Multilingual Hong Kong. In: Tao W., Liyanage I. (eds) Multilingual Education Yearbook 2020. Multilingual Education Yearbook. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-41211-1_11

Abstract Rooted in data gathered from a large-scale study in Hong Kong, this chapter examines English language teachers' cognitions on motivating learners in a multilingual context. In so doing it offers unique affordances to critically examine the mediating role of sociocultural context in language teacher education policy and practice. The chapter draws on observation and interview data from English language teachers across English, Chinese and mixed medium instruction secondary schools to explore their cognitions on language learning motivation and examine the role of sociocultural context in shaping their practices and beliefs. The data points to an ad hoc approach to motivating students that is *reactive* and not *proactive*, responding not to the multilingual needs of learners, but to immediate classroom events. The chapter suggests that while much is known about the nature of motivation, this knowledge has yet to be integrated into language teacher education curricula. The chapter argues the need for teacher education to incorporate an explicit focus on motivational teaching practice, equipping teachers with the tools to develop socioculturally responsive pedagogical frameworks that are sensitive to the needs of their learners as multilingual citizens rather than language learners.

Introduction

Language teachers today face unprecedented motivational challenges, the nature of which varies between the teaching of English and the teaching of other languages. In many global contexts, the learning of English language has come to be integrated in national curriculums as a basic skill, taught at all levels from primary to tertiary, and assessed through high-stakes examinations (Graddol, 2006). This has resulted in heavy demands being placed on teachers, both from institutions seeking to raise standards, and from students who increasingly expect to be not only taught, but entertained in the classroom and are, therefore, less likely than their predecessors to take a submissive role in class (Lamb, 2017). Through examining observation and interview data gathered in secondary schools, this chapter focuses specifically on motivational challenges faced by teachers of English in multilingual Hong Kong and discusses the implications for teacher education.

Existing research points to the fact that 18-33% of variation in language learning success is associated with learners' motivation (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). Given the important influence teachers have on that motivation, it is reasonable that a motivational dimension should be considered an essential component of courses or programmes focused on language teacher preparation. Indeed, increasing trends towards assessment and evaluation of student performance and demands for greater accountability of language teachers for their students' performance, has prompted calls for motivation research to more substantially contribute to teachers' professional development (Wigfield et al., 2012; Lamb, 2017). Such a contribution can only be meaningful insofar as it accounts for the contexts in which teachers work, aligning not only with situated views of teacher learning (Tsui, 2007), but also with a more authentic person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009), where 'person' refers not only to the learner, but also the teacher. Furthermore, richer understandings of the

complexity of teacher learning have led to recognition that attempts to persuade novice or experienced teachers to use pre-ordained instructional strategies are likely to end in failure if these strategies do not align with teachers' existing beliefs and values (Borg, 2003; Kubanyiova, 2012).

Teacher Cognition

Teachers bring to the classroom and their classroom practices implicit but deeply ingrained ideas and beliefs about language teaching and learning processes, resulting from years of experience as language learners (Freeman, 2002). On the basis of these ideas and beliefs they generate *everyday concepts* of language teaching and learning, often based on superficial understandings of these processes (Johnson & Golombek, 2011). In this view, effective teacher learning requires that teachers develop an interplay between *everyday concepts* and *scientific concepts*, rooted in up-to-date research and theories and tested through their own systematic observation and theorisation (Johnson & Golombek, 2011), and must, therefore, begin by uncovering and understanding the beliefs that teachers hold. Conversely, however, Clarke's (1994) seminal critique of the theory/practice dichotomy discourse argues that teachers are too often positioned as passive recipients of theory, rather than as agents in its development. Wright (2010) outlines a shift in teacher education towards challenging the 'Applied Linguistics model' splitting practice and theory. This view builds on arguments that attention should be given less to 'apprenticing' teachers into an academic knowledge base and more to the ways in which abstract principles can be manifested in real classroom instruction (Bartels, 1999). This aligns with the notion that teacher education should focus on teachers within the sociocultural contexts of their school, and the activity of teaching, rather than seeing teaching as a pre-determined body of knowledge to be passed down through academic coursework (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). Williams (1999) argues for a helpful distinction between public and private theory, where the former refers to theory contained in the body of received knowledge in the field, and the latter is reflected in beliefs and actions. She further proposes that practice arises from personal theories and reflection on practice. On the other hand, while public theories can be integrated into practice, they are only reconstructed in light of contexts and participants, such that practice lies at the heart of theory construction and is also a product of theory enactment. Echoing this, Tsui (2011) highlights the need for teacher educators to support teachers in drawing relationships between their learning of theories on their courses and their own specific contexts and experiences, arguing that discrepancies between beliefs and classroom practices tend to result from the interaction between teachers' prior beliefs and the perception of the immediate context and learners. Thus, exploring language teachers' personal theories and the ways in which these interact both with their own practices and with public theory is essential for understanding motivational teaching practices as they unfold in the classroom context. As Lamb (2017. p.333) argues:

If we want to understand why and how teachers adopt and adapt [motivational strategies], researchers need to engage with the literature on teacher cognition, and conduct in-depth qualitative studies of individual teachers as 'persons-in-context' (Ushioda, 2009) ... [They need] to see how their thinking has evolved over time, how they orient to the profession, and how they perceive the affordances and constraints of their particular context (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015) ...

Giving expression to teachers' cognitions then, not only constitutes the foundation of effective teacher preparation for motivational language teaching, but also

provides a means through which to enfranchise teachers, allowing front-line expertise and experience to contribute to the extension of motivational research. Furthermore, drawing directly on teachers' experiences and beliefs enables the development of a robust framework of motivational language teaching practice that is still in the early stages, to be firmly rooted in and scrutinized by classroom practice from the outset. In such a way, emerging theory can more authentically respond to macro, meso and micro contexts contributing to contextually responsive pedagogical frameworks (Douglas Fir Group (DFG), 2016). How teachers enact their practices in school and bridge their declarative knowledge of motivational teaching with their procedural knowledge in the classroom is an essential question for research to address in order to inform teacher education for motivational teaching practice.

Autonomy and agency

Teacher autonomy is considered to play an important role in generating and maintaining motivation in the language classroom (Glas, 2015). Given that we have already said that a priori lists of motivational strategies can only go so far, teachers need to be able to respond to classroom realities, working within and even against structural features to create spaces and approaches that support their learners' motivation (Jiménez Raya et al., 2007). Given that independent behavior and the structures that support or restrict autonomy can be witnessed by others, teacher autonomy has traditionally been considered observable to the outsider. There is, however, also a subjective facet of autonomy, which can be considered teachers' sense of agency (Glas, 2015). In order to exercise and exhibit autonomy, teachers need to have a personal sense of agency, a subjective awareness of being in control of their actions and being able to act in accordance with their professional judgment, rather than feeling restricted by outside factors (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004). Agency in this context can be understood as "the capacity of actors to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations" (Biesta & Tedder, 2006, p.5). Such agency depends not only on the individual, but is also context-bound and socioculturally mediated, as seen in Ahearn's (2001, p. 112) definition of agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act." Drawing on this understanding, Glas (2015) proposes that, in relation to teacher agency, the mediational means can be seen to refer to the repertoire of motivational strategies they possess, their teaching materials, or other tools that support their engagement with students. Teachers' sense of agency for motivating their students can be mediated by both internal and external constraints, where the former may refer, for instance, to lack of experience, lack of self-efficacy, certain beliefs about one's students, or about the learning situation. External constraints may include curricular policies, assessment procedures, imposed teaching methodologies, all of which are themselves mediated by teacher cognitions.

Qualitative approaches that give voice to teacher cognitions provide a means through which to understand not only the decisions that teachers make as they seek to motivate their students, but also *why* they make these decisions, what influences converge to shape these decisions, and how teachers mediate the constraints they experience. Any effective teacher education programme needs to start from this knowledge-base.

Motivational teaching practice

Motivational teaching strategies can be understood as instructional interventions applied "to consciously generate and enhance student motivation, as well as maintain ongoing motivated behaviour and protect it from distracting and/or competing action

tendencies” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p.103). Research has extensively explored learner motivation, generating robust theoretical frameworks. In an attempt to relate this theoretical understanding to classroom practice, frameworks of motivational teaching strategies have been developed. Further work has attempted to relate what is known about learners’ motivation to the classroom, drawing pedagogical implications for language teachers (e.g. Alison & Halliwell, 2002; Dörnyei, 2006).

Dörnyei and Csizér’s (1998) study of Hungarian EFL teachers’ views about motivational language teaching identified groups of teaching techniques which the teacher participants perceived as effective in motivating learners. These ‘ten commandments’, as termed by the authors, paved the way for Dörnyei’s (2001) taxonomy of 102 motivational strategies, which he proposed should be applied at various stages of the teaching process, from creating the basic motivational conditions → generating initial motivation → maintaining and protecting motivation → encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation. The development of this taxonomy inspired a number of studies seeking to empirically validate it (e.g. Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007; Sugita McEown & Takeuchi, 2010). Such research has provided further support for strategies that teachers across sociocultural contexts consider effective for motivating learners (e.g., Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007; Guilloteaux, 2013). Others have compared teachers’ views with those of students (e.g. Sugita McEown & Takeuchi, 2014; Ruesch, Bown & Dewey, 2012). More complex studies have evaluated the effectiveness of motivational strategies by examining learner behavior and self-reported motivation (e.g., Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012), while the most sophisticated have conducted quasi-experiments identifying a set of contextually responsive motivational strategies and comparing their effects to those of ‘traditional’ teaching (e.g., Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2012; Alrabai, 2016).

Studies so far have supported the idea that some macro-strategies, such as promoting positive student-teacher relationships and supporting learner self-efficacy, are valued across sociocultural settings by both teachers and learners. On the other hand, research indicates not only that the relative importance of certain macro-strategies may vary across contexts, but also that the ways in which teachers implement strategies needs to vary according to the specific classroom (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007; Guilloteaux, 2013; Wong, 2014). As Lamb (2017, p. 305) writes, “...it is simply not possible to reduce highly complex issues to pedagogical ‘dos or don’ts’. The successful motivator somehow learns when, where and how to deploy [motivational strategies] in particular lessons.” Thus, uncovering the thinking and decision-making processes of individual teachers offers particularly useful insights for understanding the way that theoretical conceptualisations of motivation can be translated into effective classroom practice. And yet teachers’ perspectives on motivational practice remain largely under-explored (Glas, 2015), despite the significant role that teachers play in creating and maintaining learner motivation (Chambers, 1993; Trang & Baldauf, 2007). While quantitative research has yielded insights into the relationship between teachers’ practices and student motivational outcomes, qualitative studies seeking to understand *why* teachers adopt certain strategies and avoid others are rare, though such studies would avoid the pitfall of quantitative work that typically adopts ‘ready-made’ lists of strategies and does not allow for the teachers’ own authentic practice to come through. Understanding these diverse aspects of teachers’ cognitions and practices for motivational teaching is essential in shaping relevant teacher education programmes.

The Study

The research reported here constitutes part of a larger parent study surveying the English language learning motivation of students across eleven Hong Kong secondary schools. A discussion of student data generated by the study can be found in Hennebry and Gao (2018), while this chapter focuses on data gathered through interviews with teachers in five of the eleven schools. A key aim of the teacher phase of the study was to understand the thinking and decision-making of language teachers specifically in relation to motivating their students and it is this aim that constitutes the focus of the data reported here.

Context: Medium of Instruction policy in Hong Kong

Content-Based-Instruction (CBI) is widely implemented in Hong Kong and there is evidence to support the claim that this approach leads to better language learning (see Lo & Lo, 2014). By and large, research on the effectiveness of CBI has focused on academic achievement (e.g., Ho, 1986; Lazaruk, 2007) with some consideration for academic interest and motivation. The Fine-tuning policy, implemented in 2010, resulted in diverse language streams whereby students can learn all their content subjects through English, through Chinese, or through a combination of the two, where typically Mathematics and Science are taught through English and other subjects are taught through Chinese. Given the different learning contexts and learning needs of students across these diverse streams, motivational language teaching would depend on teachers' awareness of motivational teaching strategies, their sense of agency to be able to shape practices that respond to learners' needs, and their experience of autonomy-supporting structures that allow them flexibility for contextually-responsive practice. This represents a significant challenge arising directly from the introduction of Hong Kong's Fine-tuning policy, but is also an issue for consideration in any context adopting medium-of-instruction policy. While previous studies have found that the linguistic context of students' learning does impact on general measures of motivation (e.g., Salili & Lai, 2003), whether teachers are equipped for exploiting CBI to motivate their learners and are able to adapt their motivational practices according to learners' context is unclear, and yet a key question in understanding the effectiveness of CBI and facilitating effective implementation of medium of instruction policy.

Participants

All schools participating in the study were Subsidized Schools, accounting for the majority of the Hong Kong secondary school population, and were, therefore, required to follow the curriculum indicated by the Government. Two teachers in each of the five schools participated in two interviews during one school term. Although observation data is not reported here due to lack of space, each of the teachers was observed three times during the term and these observations provided the context and stimulus for the interviews. Teachers were selected to ensure that data reflected teaching across the student grades, but also according to their willingness to commit to the study in full. This latter consideration was particularly important, given that the parent study sought also to relate student motivational outcomes to teacher practice. In this regard, teacher participants had to agree to all parts of what was a relatively demanding research schedule. Table 1 provides demographic data for the classes.

Table 1: School and class data for each teacher

School	MoI	Form	Teacher	ELLM Mean	SES
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1	EMI	7	Ms Hong	3.15	High
	EMI	10	Mr Akbar	2.83	Mid
2	CMI	9	Ms Wong	3.56	High
	CMI	10	Ms Au	2.59	Low
3	MMI	7	Ms Kong	3.10	High
	MMI	10	Ms Lo	2.40	Low
4	EMI	7	Ms Szeto	3.03	High
	EMI	9	Ms Tse	2.85	Mid
5	MMI	9	Ms Chan	2.83	Mid
	MMI	10	Ms Lee	2.50	Low

Note: EMI = English Medium of Instruction; CMI = Chinese Medium of Instruction; MMI = Mixed Medium Instruction; ELLM = English Language Learning Motivation; SES = Socio-economic status

Interviews

Mackey & Gass (2005) argue for the strengths of stimulated recalls as an introspective method providing participants with a tangible reminder of the event they are being asked to reflect upon. This is particularly so in cases where immediate recall is not possible, for instance in the case of a lesson whose flow cannot be interrupted to explore teachers' decision-making. Of all introspective techniques, Ericsson (2002) suggests this to be the least reactive.

The interviews took the form of a stimulated recall followed by a semi-structured interview component that explored teachers' general cognitions on language learning motivation and the opportunities and challenges they experienced in their practice in this regard. Two interviews were conducted with each teacher. In both cases the interviews were conducted soon after a lesson observation, which employed the motivational orientation of language teaching (MOLT) observation schedule (Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008) and the video-recording from the lesson enabled a stimulated recall approach. During the stimulated recall, teachers watched the recording of the class and were prompted to identify any motivational practices they implemented, while sharing their reflections on their thought processes and decision-making during the episodes. The interviews further provided opportunity for the emergence of strategies teachers might have identified that were not already included in the MOLT. Following the stimulated recall component, teachers participated in a more general semi-structured interview, during which they were asked about the factors they believed impact on their motivational teaching practices, their understandings of what constitutes motivational teaching practice, as well as the extent to which they feel capable of enacting personal and public theories of language learning motivation in practice.

Analysis

Analysis of interview data followed Miles & Huberman's (1994) proposed stages for generating meaning from qualitative data. First frequencies of occurrences were noted, followed by observation of patterns and themes within and across interviews and the use of informed intuition to examine plausibility. Data was then clustered into categories, types and classifications, which are reflected in the organization of the findings reported in this chapter. Iterative analysis and re-analysis enabled inter-coder agreement on the themes and identification of a core list of themes. Patterns and individualities were explored, allowing the emergence of personal and contextual differences and their relationship to motivational practices. Data reported below has

been selected to demonstrate both general trends and idiosyncrasies. The former are indicated by data reported from more than one teacher, while the latter are represented by data reported from only one teacher, at times contrasted with others.

Findings

Teachers' cognitions on motivating language learners

Interview data indicates that teachers did indeed have an awareness of a range of discrete strategies that could be implemented to promote language learning motivation and that could be seen to align also with those identified in previous literature, once again supporting the notion that certain strategies are perceived to be effective across sociocultural settings. Such examples included the use of interesting materials, designing activities with a communicative purpose, the use of team and individual competition as well as opportunities for collaborative work, using multi-media, selecting topics that are relevant to learners, building rapport with students, providing clear instructions, offering positive affirmation, and providing scaffolding for protecting learners' self-esteem. Other strategies teachers identified are perhaps less commonly found in the literature, such as providing motivational talks akin to a sports coach, providing negative feedback, providing a role model. Yet, the data also suggested at times a degree of misunderstandings about what constitutes motivation and a lack of a coherent framework of motivational practice. Furthermore, though there was a clear awareness of diverse motivational strategies, their implementation emerged as rather reactive and extempore. While a number of themes emerged from the data, this chapter focuses on three that seem most closely to relate to teacher education concerns: i) understanding what motivation is and how to promote it; ii) attribution of responsibility for learner motivation; and iii) theory versus practice. In discussing teachers' responses data has been drawn from both the stimulated recall and the semi-structured components of the interviews.

i) Understanding what motivation is and how to promote it

The interviews explored teachers' understandings of motivation, asking them to reflect on whether they believed their students were motivated and to indicate what evidence they drew on in making that assertion. Responses varied and indicated considerable variety in the degree to which teachers' cognitions on language learning motivation could be seen to reflect theory and research.

In line with a currently significant thread of motivational research, some teachers were aware of key influences directing and shaping motivation, though the precise nature of this relationship seemed more elusive. Medium of instruction was one such example, where teachers either explicitly acknowledged a lack of clarity:

I don't see the problem with the Chinese medium of instruction here but I would assume it may have an impact, I just assume but I can't tell....I think the S1 students might have some problems learning about all of these new vocabulary for science or for Humanities but say, in term 2, they are pretty much used to it. Some students might have problems catching up with the vocabulary but most of the students are pretty used to it and I myself have never taught in a CMI school so that's why I have no idea whether there would be like huge differences in terms of students motivation. (Ms Hong, Interview 2, lines 309-318)

Or, confusion became apparent as they expressed arguments that are in sharp contrast to research evidence, but that also suggest a lack of critical analysis:

I don't think the medium of instruction would have any effect, because since in most Chinese medium school, we only teach English and the use English in English lesson and since most of our students are SEN students, so I don't think this will impact the English learning in English lesson (Ms Lam, Interview 1, lines 329-331)

Only Mr Akbar raised a point that was more akin with a theoretical rationale:

Overall if the entire school has English as a medium of instruction it usually helps...I think students are more comfortable using English. I think they get the message that English is not a subject, is not just confined to the four walls in the classroom. They feel that it's something for communication (Mr Akbar, Interview 1, lines 316-320)

This divergence between teachers' cognitions and theoretical conceptualisations of motivation was also evident in relation to other aspects. Comments from Ms Tse and Ms Wong seemed to suggest a perception that motivating students is only possible in the case where tasks and topics are in themselves stimulating and interesting:

I do oral discussion, at least they can do something, everyone can participate. However, we cannot do speaking all the time... that's why we do try to find something related from YouTube or pictures at least to have some more interesting visual things for them to help them understand and arouse interest... but then we can't do it all the time... (Ms Tse, Interview 2, lines 152-162)

It depends on the subject itself, I mean, what we are going to teach (Ms Wong, Interview 1, lines 101-102)

Ms Tse seems resigned to the fact that in cases where visual aids cannot be used or oral activities are not the focus, arousing students' interest will not be possible. Similarly, in the second statement, Ms Wong felt her capacity to motivate students depended heavily on the nature of the topic. Such perceptions naturally lead to a sense of futility given that much school learning involves learners engaging with tasks and topics that may not hold intrinsic interest for them.

In further exploring understandings of motivation with Ms Wong and Ms Tse, it also became evident that there was perhaps some conflation of the notions of motivation and discipline. Ms Wong, for instance, indicated that her students were motivated because:

They are very responsible students, they always did their work punctually. (Ms Wong, Interview 1, lines 236-237)

Ms Tse also saw motivation primarily in terms of student's obedience to her instruction, stating that she was quite confident her students were motivated because:

Most of them follow instructions, although sometimes I scold them. On the whole they follow instructions. Are they very interested in learning English? I

can't say they are... but somehow they would follow and are willing to do the tasks... Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 84-87)

In both cases it seems that students' compliance with instructions was interpreted as an indication of motivation. Yet, in the case of Ms Wong, she went on to highlight the motivational potential of showing students the real-world relevance of learning English and of teaching language from a cultural semiotic perspective, suggesting a more nuanced understanding of motivation:

I am trying to encourage them to make sure they know that I need to learn English in order to connect with the world. If I don't know English I cannot understand what the movie is about, what the sources are about. So I try to arouse motivation playing different cultural purposes, in order to invite them to join the English world. (Ms Wong, Interview 1, lines 278-282)

While student participation may indeed be one indicator of motivation, it is also important to reflect on the extent to which students in a Chinese educational context comply with teachers' instructions less out of an interest in language learning and more out of deference to cultural norms that define the teacher-student relationship. This possibility warrants a critical approach that questions assumptions and seeks to develop an evidence-base for better understanding learners' experience. In the case of Ms Tse particularly, a lack of criticality became particularly apparent as the interview progressed. She held seemingly strong views about learner's motivation rooted primarily in her own everyday theories (Johnson & Golombek, 2011) that were not necessarily subjected to critique. One particularly salient example was a perception of competence and motivation as rigid and resistant to change:

They do not make an effort in memorizing what they have learned. They fail to apply what they learned in their reading and writing... we try to highlight like 'you can use this and that' ... some are able to do better, some cannot. That's life. (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 150-156)

Such beliefs can be problematic inasmuch as they can result in attributing problems with students' learning to factors outside the teachers' control leading, therefore, to resistance to changes in teaching practice. In the case of Ms Tse, these beliefs were evidenced throughout the interview and seemed deeply engrained, resulting in a sense of defeatism. Contrasting with this stance, Mr Akbar viewed motivation as resulting from a complex array of factors, which he believed bore specific and practical implications for his practice:

...I'm using something that they hear on their televisions, they read on their phones... I think it does motivate them, it does make them think... students have to write a letter of complaint but the context may seem very unnatural, but here a very natural context is given to them... (Mr Akbar, Interview 1, lines 150-154)

[English] should be treated more like a means of communication...these students do sit for exams but at the same time I want them to experience the language that is out there in the real world, so this is what I've done here... used something real, a news article, at the same time, create question types that

they sort of struggle with and that will help them in the exams, so I think this motivates students. (Mr Akbar, Interview 1, lines 190-195)

Evident in his responses was an understanding that motivational language teaching involves making learning relevant to students' lived experiences, providing authenticity in the design of activities, promoting a communicative purpose, while also acknowledging the role of instrumentality in supporting motivation.

In identifying these motivational elements, Mr Akbar proposed an implicit conceptualisation of language learning motivation closely aligned with emerging frameworks of motivational teaching practice, identifying for instance a number of the strategies outlined in Dörnyei's taxonomy (2001). What became evident through the interviews, particularly illustrated by the contrast between Ms Tse and Mr Akbar, was a distinction between teachers who were aware of a range of discrete motivational strategies that they implemented ad hoc, and not always with particular bearing on what was happening in terms of language learning itself, and those teachers who have a cohesive view of language teaching practice within which were embedded motivational strategies that were specifically relevant to the themes, topics and tasks at hand, responding also therefore to the diverse stages of students' learning. This contrast was a case in point of the argument that teachers need to not only be aware of a range of 'universal' strategies, but also to be able to adapt their strategies and approaches to flexibly respond to classroom realities (Jiménez Raya, et al., 2007; Lamb, 2017).

ii) Attributing responsibility for learner motivation.

Ms Tse's reflections on her lessons and on her motivational practice focused primarily on the students' role rather than her own, attributing a perceived lack of motivation to their own lack of interest:

They are just not interested. I think boys do not like languages especially a foreign language and then they tend to sometimes even daydream, fall asleep or pretend to fall asleep (Ms Tse, Interview 2, lines 149-151)

Or, lack of effort:

These days students are not very patient. They like something very quick. They don't spend time thinking. They are very careless. (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 144-145)

And, lack of ability:

They tend to show a lack of motivation in learning English so definitely it has something to do with their capability...sometimes I just asked their feelings or ideas on certain issues for those weak students they were only able to tell me 'ok, it's so bad, so sad'... but if you switch the channel to Cantonese they were able to express their ideas freely. So I guess it has something to do with their English capability when it comes to their motivation. (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 119-126)

On the other hand, there seemed also to be a tension between her account of what she considered to be her futile efforts to motivate her students:

I tried to involve them... but then the point is you could see that they did not respond much (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 105-107)

And her acknowledgement that perhaps she could do more if circumstances were different:

of course I can spend more time thinking of a better way to motivate them but the thing is I don't have time to do that. (Ms Tse, Interview 2, lines 109-110)

Indeed, time was a variable brought up also by Ms Szeto:

Maybe student teachers can include more elements as they have more time to prepare their lessons so that's why they can include different kinds of elements to arouse the students' interest. (Ms Szeto, Interview 2, lines 284-288)

Implicit in these comments was her attributing students' seeming lack of motivation to a range of factors, all of which she perceived to be out of her control. This was particularly interesting because in discussing the lesson recordings, she was able to identify factors within her control that supported and promoted students' motivation and yet appeared not to recognize a contradiction in her stance -

I think the boys are quite active today; maybe the topic...it is one that they are familiar with and that they find funny... and they are interested. It's more daily life and they can grab it from the news... (Ms Tse, Interview 2, lines 18-21)

I think they are more willing to talk if I just generally ask a student to say something about the points that they have discussed before and then the other group members might join in... I would like to engage everyone... Everyone can respond to that particular idea... (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 123-139)

Despite evidence that she was aware of key factors that negatively impacted on students' motivation:

The topics may not be interesting to the students. The passages may not be so interesting...It's difficult to choose a textbook. Sometimes they find it very boring, sometimes the tasks are repetitive... Sometimes drilling is also important but then they find it boring. (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 193-198)

Throughout the interviews there was little evidence of any intention to address these issues or to mitigate the negative impact she identified. Instead, her reflections seemed tinged throughout by a note of resignation that she had done all she could: *'This is the best way already given the limited time'* (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 110-111), and, *'We can develop a better way but then this is already quite good for a lesson I think.'* (Ms Tse, Interview 1, lines 116-117).

This was particularly interesting to contrast with Ms Lo's approach, who also recognized challenges presented, for instance, by the compulsory use of textbooks she judged inadequate, but who adopted instead a critical and pro-active response:

You have to use it, but think about strategies of how you're going to use them, so it's kind of typical that I have to find other materials...I want to look at how my students are progressing and then I think about okay this may not be very suitable, so how do I help them from step one to step four... and even though

okay I found some materials.. how about that girl who is really capable... so I have to find five sets of materials to cater for the needs. (Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 297-305)

More in line with Ms Tse's position, Ms Yip seemed to view learner motivation as something to be addressed if and when possible, rather than as an integral aspect of her teaching practice:

'I really want to do that with them, I have to take in consideration of grammar and vocab, but I also remind myself from time to time that their motivation really matters as well, so I just try to... sometimes I come across some really interesting YouTube videos...' (Ms Yip, Interview 1, lines 211-214)

Perhaps because of this, rather than developing a cohesive, student-centred approach to motivation grounded in sound educational principles, her practice seemed to resort primarily to a reward system for motivating students:

I just told them 'if you are able to get 5 marks more for those students, you will be rewarded a beautiful sticker or a stamp'. And they were able to do that. (Ms Yip, Interview 1, lines 160-162)

I rewarded her a sticker so she felt so motivated in that way because for the junior form students maybe material actually helps in that regard. (Ms Yip, Interview 1, lines 166-167)

Ms Law shared a similar approach:

They have to collect some stamps and they are usually keen on getting some stamps. If they can get it right, maybe I will give them some stamps. So this is also a kind of motivation, especially for the weakest students. Usually games and competitions. (Ms Law, Interview 1, lines 75-78)

Ms Wong's comment, referring to colleagues' 'tricks' was also suggestive of a piecemeal approach to motivational teaching practice, rather than a coherent framework:

Sometimes other colleagues use some tricks, it inspires me and then I use them in lessons. (Ms Wong, Interview 1, lines 234-235)

This approach was also characteristic of Ms Kwok's motivational practice:

If you ask them to do work definitely they don't want to work... They just don't want to learn English, because they don't see the need, which is very true... only in a lesson that they have to use it. if not, where else? They don't really need it. They are not even interested in the test; they don't care whether they pass or not. So if you say what can interest them? Food; food is something that you can buy them food, prizes... our kids would be like 'give me a reward, then I'm interested; then I will do a bit of your work' (Ms Kwok, Interview 1, lines 317-323)

The quote above suggest that Ms Kwok, like Ms Tse, held the view that her students were not interested in learning English, nor were they interested in gaining

good grades. Thus, she seemed to believe that her only resort was to offer food as a means of motivating them. It is striking that while recognizing that part of the problem lies in students' struggling to perceive the need for English, she does not consider adopting motivational strategies that target this particular issue; a possible reason for this is that she herself seems to struggle to see why they should need it.

By contrast, Ms Lo recognized the challenges students face and was able to identify teaching strategies and pedagogical approaches that she believed would respond to these challenges. She shared, for instance, a view that students needed to be encouraged to see a communicative purpose in language learning:

These students they are not very good at relating to the text... so somehow I think language is a tool for communication and that's why it would be good to think about what they're reading and then in a way this kind of question I ask them to guess... (Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 19-23)

She identified feedback as a means of supporting progression, promoting students' self-esteem by acknowledging their contributions, and pointed to the role of the teacher in building a learning community within the classroom:

I guess me asking questions is also kind of feedback, which actually helps students as what SLA says... you know, achieving the best to actually stretch potential more, instead of just having them get finished...without any more thought to what they have just said... and then I also asked them to ask other classmates to look at that because first of all I want them to get involved... (Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 26-31)

Later, she also outlined the importance of building students' confidence as foundational to encouraging their participation:

I guess as a teacher, our role somehow is to listen, sometimes correct them, but one thing that is very important because...most students here are very passive and you can see they are not very comfortable speaking in front of the classroom...so I just want them to get used to it and I guess it's a very good learning opportunity for them, you can see that he tries to think by then...(Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 38-45)

Similar to Ms Lo, Ms Lam, who worked with students in a low SES school with a high number of students with special educational needs, also seemed to take on herself the responsibility of motivating her students. In her case this was enacted through a heavy emphasis on promoting personal relationships as a platform from which to build their confidence:

The first thing is I want them to know I understand them, and the second thing is I just want them to try to challenge them somewhere because for some better ones actually is a time for them to show to me or show to others that they are more capable and they can do it, because with this encouragement they will do it next time, not just this time, but they will do it next time, and if next time they can do it, gradually they can move onto the next level (Ms Lam, Interview 1, lines 157-163)

Moving from Ms Tse who seemed to place the responsibility for learner motivation in the hands of the students, to Ms Lo and Ms Lam, who appeared both in word and deed to consider the responsibility to lie with the teacher, it was also interesting to consider Ms Szeto's perspective:

If the students are not motivated to learn they won't learn, but it's really difficult to do it. That depends on the teacher's character, I'm sorry to say that some of the teachers are so boring. How can they motivate the students to learn? That depends on the personality of the teacher. But in society we can't have the resources to choose like 'ok, we need to have an interesting person. (Ms Szeto, Interview 2, lines 298-303)

Ms Szeto clearly recognized the significant role of motivation in supporting learning and acknowledged that motivating students was not an easy task. Furthermore, it was clear that she believed it was the role of the teacher to generate and promote motivation and yet somehow absolves the teacher of responsibility by suggesting that a teacher's ability to motivate learners is a matter of personality, which she seemingly views as static; either a teacher 'has it or they don't'.

These diverse perspectives and stances on learner motivation and motivational practice seem to stem from implicit beliefs about the dynamic and flexible nature of motivation. In the case of Ms Lo, the reference to diverse strategies suggests a view of motivation as dynamic and responsive to teaching techniques. By contrast, Ms Tse seems to hold an implicitly more static view of motivation as resistant to change and unresponsive to teaching strategies. Ms Szeto's perspective, on the other hand, is interesting in that it somehow absolves both learner and teacher of any responsibility and implies instead that any motivational potential depends on teacher personality traits that seem outside of their control, and yet, there is in her comment also a sense of futility in that neither student, teacher nor school seem to have any control.

Also emerging through the teachers' comments is the notion of agency. In line with Glas' (2015) view, it was evident that a subjective sense of agency is mediated by external and internal mediational means for Ms Tse, Ms Lo and Ms Szeto. While the external factors seem to be common to all three teachers, it is the internal factors, specifically their varying beliefs about their students and the learning situation, which appear to result in vastly different approaches to their practice. If agency in this context refers to the teachers' capacity to critically shape their responsiveness to problems (Biesta & Tedder, 2006), then it can be said that the teachers' varying responses to what they perceive as motivational challenges among their students are attributable to varying degrees of a sense of agency.

iii) Theory versus practice

Understanding the kind of input on motivational practice that teachers felt they had received in their teacher preparation sheds some light on possible reasons for the apparent lack of cohesive frameworks of motivational practice, and for the ad hoc nature of the implementation of motivational strategies. Most teachers said they had received limited or no input, while others reported that the input they had received was difficult to relate to their classroom practice. Ms Lo provided a succinct summary of teachers' perceptions of the preparation they had received:

We had a little touch on motivation theories but honestly you know theories are theories and how you are going to deploy it is another thing... it's never really what they model to you... they never did. (Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 253-256)

Ms Lo's comment points clearly to the age-old struggle of teacher educators to support teachers in critically and reflectively implementing in their classroom practice the learning from their teacher preparation programme. The enactment of teacher learning is most likely to take place when it derives from and connects to the content and students they teach (Hammerness, Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). Locating teacher learning within school contexts is likely to be more powerful than models developed in outside settings, such that Ms Lo's comment points to the struggle that faces teachers when there is a lack of integration between teacher learning and teacher practice. She went on to explain:

even you are not taught about like intrinsic motivation, you know that all right cos you were a student yourself...but in terms of whether it's a must I do have doubts yes, because to me rather than having this PGDE [Post-Graduate Diploma of Education] ... I rather appreciate that maybe my mentor had shared her teaching experiences... (Ms Lo, Interview 1, lines 263-272)

Ms Lo's comment seems to implicitly point to her own 'everyday theory' of motivation generated on the basis of her own experiences as a language learner. In the context of this, she struggles to see the necessity of 'scientific theories', expressing instead a preference for 'practical' guidance that models classroom techniques. In this sense she seemingly divorces such 'practical' techniques from a theory base.

Teacher learning that is situated and integrated within the school context offers opportunities for teachers to critically examine and test the veracity and robustness of both their own 'everyday theories' of learning and 'scientific theories' generated through theory and research in action, reconceptualising their understandings of learners and learning and developing an evidence-based pedagogy. The responsibility, however, does not lie only with teacher educators. While the field of language motivation research has articulated a range of principles that may guide motivational teaching practice and has made initial steps towards outlining frameworks for motivational practice, there is still work to be done in generating robust evidence to support these frameworks and particularly to examine their cultural relevance.

Conclusion

A number of implications emerge from the data. First, there is evidence that teachers' understandings of learner motivation vary considerably and are not always supported by theory and research, but rather seem based on 'everyday theories' of teaching and learning. This becomes particularly problematic when these 'everyday theories' result in practices that fail to support learner motivation or indeed that may work against it. Particularly significant misconceptions emerging from the data were, for instance, a static view of motivation or the perception that teachers could effect little change in learners' motivation. Given the significant role of motivation in predicting language learning success, any teacher education initiative seeking to support effective practice needs to specifically equip teachers with a sound grasp of the nature of motivation, the factors that work for or against it and the significant role that teacher practice plays to this end. Such efforts must begin by uncovering teachers' implicitly held beliefs and bringing these into the open for critical questioning and a reconceptualisation that more closely aligns with a broad evidence-base on motivational teaching and motivated learning.

Second, teachers clearly highlighted a struggle in seeing the connection between their learning during their teacher education courses and their practice in the classroom.

This is particularly interesting, given that the teachers participating in the study had all obtained a PGDE during which they engaged in teaching practicums that were intended precisely to support the theory-practice connection. The implication seems to be that it is important to support teachers in making these connections in relation to specific language teaching aspects and, furthermore, that unless motivation is explicitly addressed in this way it cannot be assumed that teachers will know what motivational teaching practice looks like or how they can enact it. Indeed, it was clear that teachers had an awareness of discrete strategies that could be used to promote learner motivation, but how these strategies come together in a planned and coherent framework of practice was less evident. There is a pressing need for teacher education to provide mechanisms through which to support teachers to connect theory to practice in action, supporting the development not only of individual strategies, but of how these strategies can be combined and coordinated to create sustained motivational conditions, and, particularly of how these complexes of strategies can be implemented and adapted to respond flexibly to changing classroom conditions and evolving learner needs. Such processes require that teacher education be closely connected with teachers' professional contexts such that they evolve in direct relation to what teachers experience on a daily basis. Apprenticeship models of teacher education, particularly when accompanied by effective mentoring, are best suited to support such teacher learning in that they allow teachers to intertwine learning, practice, and reflection in an integrated manner, with all three relating closely to the professional context. In the case of teacher education courses that continue to deliver input away from the context of practice, it is essential that opportunities be provided for teachers to identify a specific and explicit focus on motivation in their classroom and their practice, drawing on data generated in their classrooms to critically examine incidents and issues as the basis of a developing theory of practice.

Third, though the interviews did not explicitly explore teacher motivation and teacher efficacy, this seemed to play a part in discriminating between teachers who were willing to engage in ongoing reflection on their practice followed by re-examination and re-development of strategies and approaches, and those who saw little purpose in diversifying their approach. It is true that in any context teachers will face institutional or environmental constraints within which they must learn to work. In the case of the interviewees, such constraints were identified as inadequate materials, insufficient time, an over-emphasis on assessment, or a lack of a supportive learning outside the classroom. These constraints are not unique to the Hong Kong context and do not affect only motivational teaching practice. Rather they are all-pervasive, being present across educational contexts and impacting on practices across subjects and subject dimensions. One response to this must, therefore, be for teacher education to better equip teachers to work effectively within these constraints and to nurture also in them the professional efficacy that will allow them to persevere in the face of difficulty. This becomes all the more important when teachers all too often lack the professional communities that are well-known to play a fundamental role in supporting teacher confidence and enabling innovation and risk-taking.

The field of language learning motivation research has made great strides in recent decades, establishing a wealth of knowledge in relation to the nature of learner motivation, and has begun to make inroads into understanding possible pedagogical strategies that support and promote motivation. The future needs to be marked by a focus on further enhancing understandings of effective motivational teaching practice, as well as the ways in which such practice should and could be adapted in response to individual learners and to diverse sociocultural contexts. In particular, the field needs

to make stronger inroads into teacher education if its impact on language education is to reflect the important role of motivation in language learning. The feasibility of these inroads will depend, on the one hand, on the development of a strong research agenda that generates a rigorous evidence-base from which to inform robust pedagogy. On the other hand, it will depend also on the willingness of teacher educators to make room on their courses and programmes to explicitly address motivation as core to the notion of effective practice; as long as teacher educators consider motivational teaching as something to be referred to in passing, teachers too will consider it a passing concern and an optional extra and will continue to struggle to enact effective practice.

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