Practical Research Report

Linguaculture Resistance:

An Intercultural Adjustment Perspective on Negative Learner Attitudes in Japan

Joseph SHAULES[1]*

Abstract

This article reports on an exploratory study of negative attitudes towards English language learning among Japanese learners. 255 statements about English learning were analyzed from the perspective of resistance, a term originating in research into intercultural adjustment. Resistance is conceptualized as a critical or defensive response to the adaptive demands of a foreign experience or environment. The notion of linguaculture resistance extends this idea to the context of language learning as well. This work argues that while struggling language learners are often seen as lacking in motivation, an intercultural adjustment perspective suggests that resistance is a natural, though not desirable, part of the learning process. Resistance is said to be associated with critical value judgments, with learners blaming themselves for disappointing learning outcomes. Results showed that negative student comments provided evidence of resistance, including self-criticism and psychological distancing. The notion of resistance is proposed as a way to gain insight into, and destigmatize, negative attitudes among language learners. Ideas for further research are suggested.

Key words

1. Introduction

Many Japanese see English learning as a struggle. Ninety percent of Japanese adults, for example, report having little confidence in using English, 55% report not liking English, and 90% of adults are dissatisfied with their English education in school (Benesse, 2006). Broadly speaking, student motivation starts high in junior high school, but drops sharply by high school (Hayashi, 2005). Nearly 70% of high school students report that they either are indifferent (40%) or don't like English (27.7%) (Benesse, 2007). Critics argue that such negative feelings are tied to Japan's poor performance in English learning overall ("English skills of Japanese students fail

[1] Faculty of International Liberal Arts, Juntendo University
 （Email: shaules@juntendo.ac.jp）
 * Corresponding author: Joseph SHAULES
 〔Received on September 16, 2016〕〔Accepted on January 25, 2017〕

to meet government targets,"2016; Reesor, 2003). Indeed, negative learner attitudes and a lack of confidence in English are sometimes presented as symptoms of a critical failure of English language education in Japan (Yoshida, 2013).

These struggles are reflected in pervasive negative student attitudes towards English. Although English is seen as important, many learners are unhappy with their own ability, do not like studying English, and find English irrelevant for themselves personally (Lafaye & Tsuda, 2002; Morita, 2013). Teachers complain that many students are disengaged, and that poor attitudes among learners are a major demotivating factor in their work (Sugino, 2010). For educators, dealing with negative learning attitudes is an ongoing, pervasive challenge.

Research into negative attitudes among Japanese learners often focuses on factors that demotivate students (Agawa et al., 2011; Kikuchi, 2013, 2015). Many Japanese students report resistance to vocabulary and grammar learning, anxiety about English, and are said to demonstrate an "insular mentality" that creates an aversion to effort (Agawa et al., 2011, p. 11). Language teachers themselves have been shown to be a significant demotivating factor (Kikuchi, 2013), and negative attitudes have also been associated with conflicted feelings about internationalization (Burgess, 2013; Morita, 2013; Yashima, 2009).

Discussion of negative attitudes often carries with it an implicit assumption of failure or lack. Teachers may complain, for example, that their students lack motivation, implying that having motivation is normal, and lacking it is a failure on the part of the learner. Research that associates low motivation with a lack of interest in internationalism (Yashima, 2009, 2013), implies that learners should have an interest in internationalism. Similar assumptions can be seen in the use of the term *willingness* to *communicate*, which has been proposed as another key to

learning success (Yashima, 2002). This term implies that hesitant communicators are unwilling to use English as they should. A similar negative assumption can be found in the term language anxiety, defined as "the fear or apprehension occurring when learners have to perform tasks in a target language in which they are not proficient" (Zhang & Zhong, 2012, p. 27). This term implies that there's something deficient in learners who feel anxiety, despite the fact that most or all language learners experience nervousness or frustration at times.

2. Resistance

This paper seeks to reconsider negative attitudes towards language learning, and will argue that they should be seen as a natural part of the learning process. It will focus on the notion of *resistance*, a term usually applied to negative judgments about cultural difference among sojourners (Shaules, 2007, 2010, 2016). Shaules (2014) defines resistance as a "psychological threat response, in which we resist the integration of new patterns" into the cognitive architecture of our minds (p. 88). In this view, encountering cultural difference can easily provoke defensive, judgmental, or denigrating reactions. This article will apply this conceptualization to language learning.

This article will first introduce the concept of resistance as it is used in the context of intercultural adjustment. It will link this conceptualization to existing scholarship in second language acquisition (SLA). The notion of resistance is argued to be consistent with a linguaculture view of language learning—the idea that language use is closely tied to deeply-rooted cultural values and patterns of cognition. In this view, language learning involves a process of deep psychological adjustment, as learners integrate foreign ways of thinking, acting and being. The notion of resistance will then be used to analyze positive and negative statements about language

learning. There will be a particular focus on the pre-diction that negative feelings towards language learning engender negative value judgments on the part of learners. In effect, learners often blame themselves for perceived failures with English learning. The pervasive nature of resistance is ar-gued to reflect both the psychological difficulty, and transformative potential, inherent in language learn-ing.

3. Resistance and cross-cultural adjustment

As used in this work, the term *resistance* origi-nates in the deep culture model of intercultural ad-justment. Shaules (2007, 2010) has argued that neg-ative reactions to encounters with cultural difference are a natural part of the cross-cultural adjustment process. He describes resistance as a "cognitive self-protection reflex" and "a defensive reaction that seeks to maintain the primacy of one's internal configuration in the face of an environment per-ceived as threatening," (Shaules, 2014, p. 83). The notion of resistance has its roots in a developmental view of intercultural understanding (Bennett, 1986, 1993; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). In this view, ethnocentrism, as a product of human evolu-tionary psychology, is the normal starting point for cross-cultural encounters. As such, although it's not desirable, it is natural.

Shaules (2016) has argued that dealing with the adaptive demands of foreign cultural environments broadly parallels the adjustment demands of learn-ing a foreign language. Drawing upon recent find-ings in cognitive and linguistic neuroscience, he ar-gues that language learning and intercultural adjustment can be conceived of as parallel processes that involve a reconfiguration of cognitive systems. According to this view, foreign language learning imposes adaptive demands on learners, necessitating profound and potentially disturbing changes to pat-terns of cognition. The need to change deeply rooted patterns of cognition triggers the defensive psycho-logical response of resistance. From this perspec-tive, negative attitudes towards English learning represent not a failure on the part of the students, but a natural psychological response to the patterns of foreignness being imposed on them.

4. Resistance and linguaculture

The notion of resistance is consistent with a lin-guaculture (or languaculture) view of language learning—the idea that language use is intimately tied to deeply-rooted cultural values, sense of self, and patterns of cognition (Agar, 1994; Diaz, 2013; Risager, 2015). Learning a new language requires much more than mastering a new linguistic code, it involves negotiating a new sense of self in intercul-tural contexts, and gaining awareness of cultural el-ements of the self and others (Byram, 2008; Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001; Kramsch, 1993, 2000, 2015). Building on this, Shaules (2016) has pro-posed a *Developmental Model of Linguaculture Learning* (DMLL), which places language learning and the process of gaining increased intercultural understanding into a single developmental frame-work. In this view, just as going to a foreign country puts adaptive pressure on a sojourner—possibly provoking culture shock or intercultural insights—a foreign language also challenges learners with for-eign ways of thinking, acting and being.

While the term resistance has previously been ap-plied to the challenges of intercultural adjustment, this work seeks to expand that conceptualization to language learning contexts as well. This work pro-poses that negative attitudes towards language learning are fundamentally similar to the psycholog-ical resistance provoked by intercultural experi-ences. They both involve a threat response that can be triggered by an encounter with foreign patterns in one's environment. This is true even when there

is no clearly defined cultural community for the L2, as is the case for learners of English as a global language, since integrating foreign patterns into the cognitive architecture of the mind is disruptive generally.

5. Resistance and a sociocultural view of second language acquisition (SLA)

Although the term resistance is not common in the field of language education, it is broadly concordant with a sociocultural view of second language acquisition (Gardner, 1985, 2010; Lantolf, 2000). This view emphasizes the idea that "the learning of a second language involves taking on the features of another cultural community" (Gardner, 2010, p. 2). Gardner argues that because language is tied so closely to our sense of self, "learning another language in school is unlike learning any other subject" and that "it involves making features of another cultural community part of one's own repertoire." He recognizes that for some, "this can be a very positive enriching experience, but for others, it can be a difficult negative one" (Gardner, 2010, p. 3).

In a similar vein, Schumann (2004), argues that second language acquisition is closely tied to a preference/averse response, evaluating stimuli in terms of maintaining balance within our physiological systems (homeostatic value), seeking successful social interaction (sociostatic value) and preferences we have learned through experience (somatic value). Self-determination theory, which sees learning in terms of an innate human tendency to develop increasingly elaborated self-structures, sees negative reactions to learning challenges as not uncommon (Ryan & Deci, 2002). Learners may develop a "highly fragmented and sometimes passive, reactive, or alienated self" (p. 5) depending on socio-environmental conditions. This open systems view, in which learning involves ongoing interaction with one's environment, is central to the notion of resistance.

Stevick (1980), representing a humanistic perspective, describes negative reactions to language learning in terms of the threat that foreign language learning poses to our identity and sense of self, due to "new information being imposed on us from outside ourselves" (p. 10). Krashen (1982) hypothesizes that anxiety and lack of confidence act as an affective filter that prevents foreign language input from being acquired. Larsen-Freeman (2011) refers to cognitive language habits as a "neural commitment" that is not easy to modify. She points out that constructing new linguistic knowledge is not easy because "language learning is not just about adding knowledge to an unchanging system. It is about changing the system" (p. 57). The need to "change the system" at a deep level is what can provoke resistance.

6. Resistance and foreignness

The notion of *foreignness* is central to an understanding the intercultural adjustment perspective in language learning in general, and of resistance in particular. Foreignness is defined as a gap between habits and patterns internal to the learner, and patterns the learner encounters in her environment. Foreignness may be explicit and obvious, as when we can't understand signs when traveling in a foreign country, or when we encounter a foreign word we don't understand. Foreignness may also, however, be implicit and experienced primarily at the intuitive level of feeling or sensation. The behavior of foreigners might strike us somehow as pushy, for example, or, we may feel vaguely uncomfortable trying to pronounce the sounds of a foreign language.

The word foreign has admittedly negative connotations. To refer to someone as a foreigner emphasizes that person's outsider status or otherness and implies a lack of acceptance or integration. If we

describe music or food as foreign we imply distaste. Common synonyms for foreign include negative-sounding words such as strange, weird, alien, and bizarre. Above all, foreignness implies something not integrated into normal functioning. Language learning involves dealing with foreignness, as it requires a long-term willingness to experiment with the foreign and unfamiliar—to coax strange sounds from our mouths, search for words, piece together sentences, make countless mistakes, bumble through even simple interactions, and adapt to different modes of thought and communication.

Adjusting to and internalizing foreign linguistic and cultural patterns requires a reorganizing of our cognitive processes—a reprogramming of our unconscious linguistic and social autopilot. This process is experienced at deep levels of the self. Research into embodied cognition (Damasio, 1994, 1999; Shapiro, 2014) and cultural neurolinguistics (Chen, Xue, Mei, Chen, & Dong, 2009) provides evidence that language use involves much more than mental manipulation of conceptual symbols (Bergen, 2012) and that cultural patterns are deeply rooted in our unconscious mind (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shaules, 2007, 2014). When this reprogramming is imposed on us, it can provoke a defensive response by the pattern recognition and threat-response functions of the unconscious mind (Klein, 1998; Lund, 2001).

Resistance to foreignness is largely unconscious or intuitive. It is generated by the pattern recognition and information processing systems that function out of awareness (Kahneman, 2011; Kihlstrom, 1987; Wilson, 2002). Research in cognitive neuroscience provides strong evidence that the unconscious mind does not consist primarily of emotions, habits and primitive urges (Hassin, Uleman, & Bargh, 2007; Mlodinow, 2012). It serves as an unconscious pattern-based autopilot that guides our actions in everyday life. It plays an important role in

motivation, decision-making, and evaluating threats (Kahneman, 2011; Wilson, 2002). It is also critical to social cognition, our intuitive ability to understand people and respond appropriately to social cues (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Moskowitz, 2005). Because we are largely unaware of these processes, however, learners may themselves not be conscious of resistance. Resistance can be both powerful, yet subtle enough to escape conscious detection.

Importantly, however, foreignness is not counter to learning and development—it is an integral part of it. After all, learning of all kinds involves integrating new elements into the self. Our unconscious cognitive processes are also stimulated by novelty, and may find foreign patterns appealing. Foreign experiences can promote growth and transformation. Many motivated learners talk about their interest in the L2 being sparked by having a foreign neighbor, traveling abroad, liking foreign music or movies, reading books or manga from another country. The learners we tend to describe as motivated are those for whom the foreignness of the new language generates curiosity and interest, rather than resistance.

Our reaction to foreignness, then, is a central feature of what provokes engagement or resistance to language learning. When we want to protect ourselves from the foreign demands of a new language, we may feel unmotivated, detached, resentful and so on. When we experience foreignness in a positive way, we are open to change and may seek it out. Of course, we don't respond to foreignness in a simple either/or fashion. We may have mixed feelings, as when we enjoy trying out a language when we travel, but hate studying grammar in school.

This motivational dynamic is illustrated in Figure 1. An encounter with foreignness imposes adaptive demands on learners, which they respond to with more or less acceptance of change, which generates

F → AD → A ⟨ + engagement / − resistance
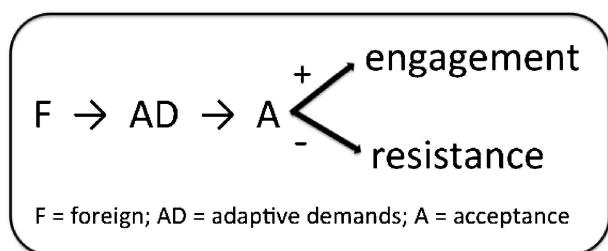
F = foreign; AD = adaptive demands; A = acceptance

Figure 1.   Engagement and resistance.

engagement and/or resistance. In this way, negative reactions towards language learning are simply the flip side of engagement—two opposing responses to the adjustment challenges of learning.

It is assumed that engagement and resistance are self-reinforcing, creating a feedback loop of either increased openness, or increased disengagement and alienation. This is consistent with a view of motivation as residing neither inside nor outside the learner. Instead, it is seen as an emergent property that results from the ongoing interaction between learner and environment (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1993; Sampson, 2015). It is hypothesized that resistance involves not only a negative affective response, but that it also acts as an inhibitory filter that gets in the way of learning.

7.   Resistance is natural

While teachers may find resistant students challenging to teach, an intercultural adjustment perspective reminds us that negative reactions to foreign language study are a natural part of learning. Shaules describes resistance as "perhaps the most natural reaction to an intercultural experience" (Shaules, 2007, p. 165). This is grounded in the broad-based observation that ethnocentrism is natural behavior, in keeping with human evolutionary psychology (Bennett, 1993), and that living organisms generally are cautious when experiencing novelty.

Resistance is deeply rooted in the cognitive archi-

tecture of the mind. Mental processes tend to be biased towards the familiar, a phenomenon sometimes called the *mere exposure effect* (Zajonc, 2001). In addition, we use different areas of the brain when reasoning about familiar and unfamiliar situations (Goel, Makale, & Grafman, 2004), and novel tasks use up mental resources, leading to cognitive strain and ego depletion (Baumeister, Bratslavasky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Kahneman, 2011). Our mind also has a tendency to be biased towards familiar ingroups (D. M. Amodio, 2009; David M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961), and respond to cultural difference in terms of threat (Derks, Inzlicht, & Kang, 2008). Research has even shown that we tend to find non-native speakers of our language less credible (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010).

Seen in this way, resistance to language learning represents more than a bad attitude, or lack of interest—it reflects our natural tendency to feel comforted by the familiar and stressed by that which is alien or unfamiliar. And since resistance is generated largely at the unconscious level, we cannot expect learners to easily control or change their own attitudes. Indeed, learners may underestimate the difficulty of learning a new language, and blame themselves for their own feelings of failure and resistance.

8.   Resistance and value judgments

A key theoretical assumption about resistance is that it is characterized by critical value judgments—a hesitation to accept a phenomenon as reasonable and normal (Shaules, 2007). Among sojourners in foreign countries, these negative judgments are commonly reflected in disparaging or denigrating comments about cultural difference. Importantly, however, such criticism or denigration is often seen as a simple reporting of the facts. The person who says "The people in that country are really primi-

tive" believes this to be true in an objective way, and doesn't see the ethnocentric value judgment contained within.

This paper explores the idea that resistance to a foreign language produces negative judgments among language learners—an act of denigration, or laying of blame, related to learning. In this view, learner statements about English being useless, too hard, or irrelevant to learners' lives, for example, may carry an implied criticism. They may serve as a psychological defense mechanism intended (unconsciously) to insulate the learner from the psychological demands of learning. In doing so, however, students may denigrate themselves, declaring that they are no good at, or simply hate English. Such statements, when understood in terms of resistance, however, may provide clues as to the inner states of learners. An important goal of this paper is to encourage educators to consider the inner state of learners who make negative statements about language learning and self.

9. Methodology

An exploratory survey involving 52 English language teachers was carried out in July, 2016. Participants were taking part in an English teaching license renewal course required periodically by the Japanese Ministry of Education.1 Participants were asked about their teaching context. They were also asked to estimate what percentage of English learners had generally negative attitudes towards English, and asked to choose between the following percentages: 0%; 20%; 40%; 60%; 80%; 100%. They were then asked to respond freely to the following question in writing: "When talking about their feelings (positive or negative) towards English, what sort of comments do students make?"

A total of 255 comments were collected. Responses were first categorized in terms of whether comments were positive, negative, or neither clearly positive or negative. Positive statements were those that described English learning in terms of enjoyment and interest, such as: *I want to use English when I travel overseas*; *I love reading stories in English*; or simply *interesting* or *I like English*. Negative comments were the opposite, and included statements that implied emotional distance, such as: *I don't like English*; *Grammar is boring*; or *I won't use English in my life*. Comments which fell into neither category sometimes expressed value-neutral statements such as *English is important to get a job in the future*, but also statements which implied mixed feelings, such as *I like English but I don't like to study*.

Answers were then coded in a way that was consistent with the construct of resistance. It was hypothesized that negative statements would contain certain key elements of resistance, including: 1) negative value judgments, including psychological distancing; 2) mixed states, or the tendency to both resist and accept differing elements of learning at the same time. Responses were also coded for forced engagement, the idea that learners may force themselves to learn, in spite of psychologically resisting that very process (Shaules, 2007).

10. Results

This study was not attempting to draw general conclusions about whether Japanese learners have positive or negative attitudes about English. Having said this, results indicated that negative attitudes were common. Teachers reported that one in three (34%) of their students had generally negative attitudes towards English. Additionally, although teachers were asked to report both positive and negative statements commonly made by students, there were twice as many negative comments reported (149 negative versus 73 positive). This is broadly consistent with other research that shows that many English learners have negative feelings about English

learning, even as they recognize its importance (La-faye & Tsuda, 2002).

An intercultural adjustment perspective suggests that resistance is often accompanied by critical value judgments. In other words, it's not simply that we find things not to our taste, we tend to denigrate or find fault. Student comments reflected this. Although there were negative statements that seemed simply factual, such as *It's hard to memorize a lot of words*, most negative statements involved some form of denigration, as with the comment *I hate English grammar*, *I hate English*, or *I don't want to speak English*. Such statements imply psychological resistance because learners are going beyond a neutral description and expressing active disdain.

The disdain of resistance was not, however, only directed at English. There were many self-critical statements, such as *I'm not good enough* or *I'm not good at grammar*, or *I can't memorize the words*. These made up 24 out of 149 negative comments. This implies that for large numbers of learners, English learning provokes feelings of inadequacy and personal failure. It doesn't seem to occur to students, however, that there may be other places to place blame. There were no negative comments, for example, directed at study materials, the educational system, or an overemphasis on testing. Denigration was aimed at English, or the learners themselves.

The intercultural adjustment perspective also suggests that resistance towards English may be associated with a psychological distancing or denigration towards foreigners more generally. This was found in statements such as *I don't want to work with people from foreign countries*, or *I'm not interested in foreign countries*. In fact, 34 statements (more than 13% of the total) were variations of the idea that English is distant, alien and unnecessary. This included declarations such as *I won't go abroad in my whole life* or *There's no need to use English in Ja-pan*, or most memorably *I really hate English*, *I won't go abroad*, *I won't live abroad*. *My father is a farmer*, *so I don't need to study English any more*. This paints a picture of English being experienced as an unreasonable imposition and a threat to one's personal or cultural identity.

There was another group of statements that fit well with the resistance paradigm—those that indicated contradictory feelings towards learning, referred to in the deep culture model as mixed states or forced adaptation (Shaules, 2007). On the one hand, learners want to gain the benefits from language learning, yet may find the process unduly difficult or threatening. Eight responses fit the category of mixed reaction generally, including statements such as *I like English but I don't like to study* and *I like my teacher but I don't like grammar class*. Other statements implied forced adaptation, when learners force themselves to attempt to learn English, in spite of psychological resistance. Such statements included *I know I have to study to pass entrance exams, but . . . .* Such learners risk creating conflict within themselves, as they are caught between powerful external adaptive demands and powerful inner resistance to those demands.

Key results are summarized as follows:
- Percentage of students estimated to have negative attitudes towards English: 34
- Total comments collected: 255
- Positive comments: 73 (e.g. I want to use English when I travel overseas.; I like English.)
- Negative comments: 149 (e.g. I don't like English.; Grammar is boring.; I won't use English in my life.)
- Neutral or mixed comments (33): (e.g. English is important to get a job in the future.; I like English but I don't like to study.)
- Self critical comments: 24 (e.g. I'm not good enough.; I'm not good at grammar.; I can't memorize the words.)

- Psychological distancing comments: 34 (e.g. I won't go abroad in my whole life.; There's no need to use English in Japan.; I really hate English. I won't go abroad. I won't live abroad. My father is a farmer, so I don't need to study English any more.)

11. Discussion

Overall, results supported the idea that resistance describes well the experience of language learners struggling with English. Deep culture theory predicts that resistance is a form of active, psychological self-protection—an unconscious threat response that can engender long-term negative consequences. In this view, demotivation represents more than a failure to acquire important knowledge and skills. It is a stress response that can create negative associations and judgments that may hinder language and culture learning in the future. In extreme cases it may be experienced as traumatic.

There are pedagogical implications to accepting the notion that negative learner attitudes represent psychological resistance. One relates to the way that demotivated students are perceived by teachers. Deep culture theory argues that resistance is normal—it does not necessarily signify a lack of desire to learn, or laziness or a bad attitude. Language learning is difficult at least partly because it involves a deep process of psychological adjustment. Another implication is that foreign language classrooms should be thought of as an intercultural learning zone, even when the instructor is not from a foreign country.

The notion of resistance may also have implications for research into learner motivation. A major theoretical assumption of the linguaculture learning perspective is that language learning itself represents an imposition on the learner. Particularly in institutional learning settings, learners are given little choice about when or how they are expected to learn English. Theories of motivation should, then, take this lack of autonomy into consideration.

There are, of course, many unanswered questions. For example, it is obvious that having negative learning experiences is not limited to foreign language study. Learners may strongly dislike science, history, or physical education classes. Are negative attitudes towards these other subjects different from those towards English?

Also, this study looked only at negative reactions to the adaptive challenges of language learning. Deep culture theory suggests that foreignness is not always perceived as negative. Indeed, foreign experiences can and do stimulate learning. The capacity of the foreignness of language learning to promote engagement with learning also needs to be explored. Ultimately, no discussion of resistance is complete without a complementary discussion of engagement, and an examination of the interplay between the two.

12. Further research

There were clear limitations to this study. As mentioned earlier, this study did not address the larger question of whether Japanese students generally have high or low levels of resistance. Students were not asked directly about their attitudes, the participants were limited to one region of Japan, and the sample was not representative of English learners more generally. In addition, the method used did not allow for exploring answers more fully. There are many possible ways to interpret the statements in this study. Follow-up research could include qualitative interviews in which learners are asked to elaborate on their negative feelings about English. In particular, it would be useful to explore who or what they feel is to blame for their unpleasant learning experiences.

Another area not explored in this paper is the notion of surface resistance and deep resistance, the

idea that resistance is largely unconscious. Learners may find themselves losing motivation without recognizing underlying feelings of resistance. Or, they may become self-critical, without being consciously aware of it. Learning awareness activities could be researched as a way of helping learners identify and overcome feelings of resistance.

Ultimately, for the notion of resistance in foreign language learning to be of value to educators, it must shed new light on learner attitudes and motivation. This will require a more elaborated view of the nature of resistance, with more detailed and in-depth research into these questions.

To contact the author: shaules@juntendo.ac.jp

Footnotes:

1) (Page 6 R, 9 lines from bottom)
   There was no involvement by Juntendo University teachers or students. The sample cannot be said to be representative of Japanese teachers generally. Nor can it be assumed that the student sample was representative of Japan, since teachers were presumably concentrated in the Kanto area. Another limitation of this method was that learner attitudes were reported on by teachers, without surveying students directly. An advantage to this method, however, is that teachers may have a broad or general sense of learner attitudes, based on experience with many students.

References

Agar, M. (1994). *Language shock: Understanding the culture of conversation*. New York: Perennial.

Agawa, T., Abe, E., Ishizuka, M., Ueda, M., Okuda, S., Carreira-Matsuzaki, J., . . . Shimizu, S. (2011). Preliminary study of demotivating factors in Japanese university English learning. *The Language Teacher*, 35(1), 11–16.

Amodio, D. M. (2009). *The neuroscience of stereotyping and prejudice*. Paper presented at the Inclusive Leadership, Stereotyping and the Brain Conference, Columbia University, New York, NY www4.gsb.columbia.edu/rt/null?&exclusive=filemgr.download&file_id=732114&rtcontentdisposition=filename%3DDavid_Amodio_ColumbiaSept09

Amodio, D. M., & Mendoza, S. A. (2010). Implicit intergroup bias: Cognitive, affective, and motivational underpinnings. In B. Gawronski & B. Payne (Eds.), *Handbook of implicit social cognition: Measurement, theory, and applications* (pp. 353–374). New York: Guilford Press.

Baumeister, R. F., Bratslavasky, E., Muraven, M., & Tice, D. M. (1998). Ego depletion: Is the active self a limited resource? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(5), 1252–1265.

Benesse. (2006). *Report of the first basic survey of elementary school English* (parents' survey). Retrieved from http://berd.benesse.jp/berd/center/open/report/syo_eigo/hogosya/index

Benesse. (2007). *English education in East Asia―GTEC survey*. Retrieved from http://berd.benesse.jp/berd/center/open/report/eastasia_gtec/soku/GTEC_sok4

Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *10*(2), 179–200.

Bennett, M. J. (1993). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In M. R. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the intercultural experience* (pp. 21–71). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Bergen, B. K. (2012). *Louder than words: The new science of how the mind makes meaning*. New York: Basic Books.

Burgess, C. (2013, May 21). Ambivalent Japan turns on its "insular" youth. *The Japan Times*. Re-

trieved from http://www.japantimes.co.jp/

Byram, M. (2008). *From foreign language educa-tion to education for intercultural citizenship: Essays and reflections*. Clevedon, UK: Multi-lingual Matters.

Byram, M., Nichols, A., & Stevens, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Developing intercultural competence in practice.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Chen, C., Xue, G., Mei, L., Chen, C., & Dong, Q. (2009). Cultural neurolinguistics. In J. Y. Chiao (Ed.), *Progress in brain research* (Vol. 178). New York: Elsevier.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Rathunde, K. (1993). The measurement of flow in everyday life: Towards a theory of emergent motivation. In J. E. Jacobs (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motiva-tion*, 1992: *Developmental perspectives on mo-tivation* (pp. 57–97). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Damasio, A. (1994). *Decartes᾽ error: Emotion, rea-son, and the human brain*. New York: Penguin.

Damasio, A. (1999). *The feeling of what happens.* New York: Harcourt, Inc.

Derks, B., Inzlicht, M., & Kang, S. (2008). The neu-roscience of stigma and stereotype threat. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *11*(2), 163–181.

Diaz, A. R. (2013). *Developing critical languacul-ture pedagogies in higher education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

English skills of Japanese students fail to meet gov-ernment targets. (2016, February 2). *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from http://www.japantimes.co.jp/

Gardner, R. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gardner, R. (2010). *Motivation and second lan-guage acquisition.* New York: Peter Lang Pub-lishing.

Goel, V., Makale, M., & Grafman, J. (2004). The hippocampal system mediates logical reason-ing about familiar spatial environments. *Jour-nal of Cognitive Neuroscience,* 16(4), 654–664.

Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review,* 102(1), 4–27.

Hammer, M. R., Bennett, M. J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural competence: The intercultural development inventory. *Inter-national Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(4), 421–443.

Hassin, R., Uleman, J., & Bargh, J. (Eds.). (2007). *The new unconscious*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hayashi, H. (2005). Identifying different motiva-tional transitions of Japanese ESL learners us-ing cluster analysis: Self-determination per-spectives. *JACET Bulletin*, *41*, 1–17.

Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking fast and slow*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Kihlstrom, J. F. (1987). The cognitive unconscious. *Science*, 237(1445–1452).

Kikuchi, K. (2013). Demotivators in the Japanese EFL context. In M. T. Apple, D. Da Silva, & T. Fellner (Eds.), *Language learning motivation in Japan. Bristol*, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kikuchi, K. (2015). Reexamining demotivators and motivators: A longitudinal study of Japanese freshmen᾽s dynamic system in an EFL context. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, *1-18*. doi:10.1080/17501229.2015.1076427

Klein, G. A. (1998). *Sources of power: How people make decisions*. Cambridge, MS: MIT Press.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in lan-guage teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univer-sity Press.

Kramsch, C. (2000). Social discursive constructions of self in L2 learning. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.), *So-*

ciocultural theory and second language acquisition. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2015). Language and culture in second language learning. In F. Sharifian (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and culture* (pp. 403–416). New York: Routledge.

Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lafaye, B. E., & Tsuda, S. (2002). Attitudes towards English language learning in higher education in Japan, and the place of English in Japanese society. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, *11*(3), 145–161.

Lantolf, J. P. (Ed.) (2000). *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Larsen-Freeman, D. (2011). A complexity theory approach to second language development/acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition* (pp. 48–72). New York: Routledge.

Lev-Ari, S., & Keysar, B. (2010). Why don't we believe non-native speakers? The influence of accent on credibility. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *46*(6), 1093–1096.

Lund, N. (2001). *Attention and pattern recognition*. East Sussex, UK: Routledge

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224–253.

Mlodinow, L. (2012). *Subliminal: How your unconscious mind rules your behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Morita, L. (2013). Japanese university students' attitudes towards globalisation, intercultural contexts and English. *World Journal of English Language*, 3(4), 31–41.

Moskowitz, G. (2005). *Social cognition: Understanding self and others*. New York: Guilford.

Reesor, M. (2003). Japanese attitudes to English: Towards an explanation of poor performance. *NUCB Journal of Language, Culture and Communication*, *5*(2), 57–65.

Risager, K. (2015). Linguaculture: The language-culture nexus in transnational perspective. In F. Sharifian (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and culture* (pp. 87–99). New York: Routledge.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2002). Overview of self determination theory: An organismic dialectical perspective. In Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (Eds.), *Handbook of self-determination research* (pp. 3–33). New York: University of Rochester Press.

Sampson, R. J. (2015). Tracing motivational emergence in a classroom language learning project. *System 50*, 10(20), 10–20.

Schumann, J. H. (2004). The neurobiology of motivation. In J. H. Schuman (Ed.), *The neurobiology of learning: Perspectives from second language acquisition* (pp. 23–42). New York: Routledge.

Shapiro, L. (Ed.) (2014). *The Routledge handbook of embodied cognition*. New York: Routledge.

Shaules, J. (2007). *Deep culture: The hidden challenges of global living*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Shaules, J. (2010). *Beneath the surface: A beginner's guide to the deep culture experience*. Boston, MA: Intercultural Press.

Shaules, J. (2014). *The intercultural mind: Connecting culture and cognition*. Boston, MA: Intercultural Press.

Shaules, J. (2016). The developmental model of linguaculture learning: An integrated approach to language and cuture pedagogy. *Juntendo Journal of Global Studies*, *1*(1), 2–17.

Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R.,

& Sherif, C. W. (1961). *Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The robbers cave experiment*. Norman, OK: University Book Exchange.

Stevick, E. W. (1980). *Teaching languages: A way and ways*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Sugino, T. (2010). Teacher demotivational factors in the Japanese language teaching context. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *3*, 216–226.

Wilson, T. D. (2002). *Strangers to ourselves: Discovering the adaptive unconscious*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Yashima, T. (2002). Willingness to communicate in a second language: The Japanese EFL context. *The Modern Language Journal*, *86*(1), 54–66.

Yashima, T. (2009). International posture and the ideal L2 self in the Japanese EFL context. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Yashima, T. (2013). Imagined L2 selves and motivation for intercultural communication. In M. T. Apple, D. Da Silva, & T. Fellner (Eds.), *Language learning motivation in Japan*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Yoshida, K. (2013). R*econsidering Japan﹐s English education based on the principles of plurilingualism*. Paper presented at the Twenty-second International Symposium on English Teaching, Taipei.

Zajonc, R. B. (2001). Mere exposure: A gateway to the subliminal. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *10*(6), 224–228.

Zhang, R., & Zhong, J. (2012). The hindrance of doubt: Causes of language anxiety. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, *2*(3), 27–33.