

Maslow and Bandura: Classroom implications of two western psychological theories

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要旨

本稿では、Abraham Maslow の「欲求の階層理論」及び Albert Bandura の「社会的学習理論」を中心に、これらが日本の英語教育にどのように利用でき、また実際に役に立つのかを検討する。もともと両理論は特定の学究分野を目指して立てられたものではないが、前者は学習のモチベーションの面で、後者はモデルをターゲットに、真似て、繰り返すという学習の効果という面で、語学学習に充分応用できるものだと思う。

そこでそれを証明するために、筆者の受け持ちのクラスでアンケートを行い、学生の学習心理を調べ、上記の理論に照らし合わせて検討した。結果は国籍を問わず、また英語教育という環境においても応用できるものであり、きわめて有効であることが判明した。

Key words: Maslow's Law, Bandura's social learning theory, student motivation, imitation, & esteem.

Introduction

Like many other academic disciplines, the field of English language teaching (ELT) has certain researchers, conceptual approaches, or methodologies, that are widely believed to be the discipline's most mainstream, or in some cases, even hegemonic, at any given time. Steering away from the current mainstream of ELT scholarship, without in any way, shape, or form denigrating it, this paper strives to expose two theories that have not been widely examined in recent ELT literature. Both theories hail from the field of educational psychology. The first one, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, falls emphatically into the humanistic school of psychology. The second one, Albert Bandura's social learning theory, spans both behavioral and cognitive psychology.

The ensuing discussion will endeavor to glean as much "hands on," practical insight from these two theoretical frameworks as possible. Consequently, one of the principal questions to be asked in this paper will be: "How can these theories benefit, and possibly even improve the practice of, university teachers in Japan?"

Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy Of Human Needs

Abraham Maslow's primary contribution to educational psychology is widely considered to be his hierarchy of human needs. This theoretical framework assumes the shape of a pyramid. Human physiological needs comprise the base of this pyramid, and these needs include all that is necessary for survival. Once such physiological needs have been attained, or resolved, an individual can concentrate on the second level, which is the need for safety and security. The third level is the need for love and belonging, followed by the fourth level, the need for esteem. The fifth level, self-actualization, forms the apex of the pyramid. Self-actualization represents the highest human needs, or conflicts, and is unattainable for many people (Maslow, 1954).

Each level of the pyramid takes precedence over the level above it. In other words, one does not feel the lack of safety and security until one's physiological needs have been taken care of. In Maslow's own phraseology, a need does not become "salient" until the needs below it have been met (Maslow, 1954).

Now, in the more than five decades since the first edition of Motivation and Personality (1954) was published, Maslow's paradigm has triggered an awareness of the importance of students' individual learning needs. For instance, if a financially-challenged university learner has only been eating instant noodles for the past three weeks, then this malnourished individual will probably be stuck at the bottom level of the hierarchy, that is, the physiological level.

Erika Rehmke-Ribary (2003) has opined that students who think that teachers are more flexible in lessons also exhibit enhanced intrinsic motivation. She also found that when a teacher has earned the respect of her/his students, enthusiasm is fostered. While offering students lessons that are flexible, and open to modifications, is comparatively easy, earning the respect of a class certainly isn't. However, few would argue that educators who have managed to earn their students' respect have considered these students' own learning needs. Accordingly, when teachers are considerate of their classes' needs, either directly or indirectly, Maslow's hierarchy comes into play.

More **practically**, ten suggestions that teachers, or learning facilitators, can glean from Abraham Maslow's hierarchy are as follows:

- a.) Learning facilitators should help students to become **authentic citizens**, ones who are aware of their inner selves, and who can hear their "*inner-feeling voices*."
- b.) Learning facilitators should help students to **transcend their cultural conditioning**, and become world citizens.
- c.) Learning facilitators should help students **discover their vocation in life**, their calling, fate, or their destiny. This is usually focused on finding the right career, and the right life partner.
- d.) Learning facilitators should help students to learn that **life is precious**, that there is joy to be experienced in life, and if people are open to seeing the good and joyous in all kinds of situations, it makes life more worth living.
- e.) Learning facilitators must **accept students** as they are, and help students learn their "inner nature." From real knowledge of aptitudes and limitations we can know what to build upon, what potentials are really there.
- f.) Learning facilitators must see that the student's **basic needs are satisfied**. This includes safety, belongingness, and esteem needs.
- g.) Learning facilitators should "**refreshen consciousness**," teaching students to appreciate beauty, and the other good things in nature, and in living.
- h.) Learning facilitators should teach students that some **controls are good**, and complete abandon is bad. It takes self-control to improve the quality of life in all areas.
- i.) Learning facilitators should teach students to transcend their more minor problems, and **grapple with the serious problems** in life. These include the problems of injustice, of pain, suffering, and death.

j.) Learning facilitators should help students to become **good choosers**. Students should have lots of **practice in making good choices**.

Although suggestion (a.) above might appear overly nebulous, or too vague for many busy educators to actually implement, to this writer's mind the implication here is that teachers need to be constantly aware of the fact that rather than teaching academic content, they teach human beings. The preceding sentence, of course, is not intended to denigrate academic content in any way, shape, or form.

In contrast to suggestion (a.), however, suggestion (b.) can be viewed as being more easily implemented in the classroom. In other words, twenty-first century Japanese university graduates need to possess the intercultural awareness necessary to become a global citizen. Preparation for this is already taking place at the Matsumoto campus of Shinshu university. Perhaps the most prominent example of this would be Mary Aruga's brand new, highly provocative, Global Issues course. Suggestion (c.) advocates assisting students in finding their ideal career, as well as their ideal spouse. Clearly this is a tall order, indeed, and one that has not always been attainable within the framework of a fifteen week curriculum. However, with the upcoming launch of the "Comprehensive English" class in the spring of 2006, teachers at the above institution will clearly have an enhanced opportunity to get to know the individuals in their classes. Such heightened student-teacher rapport will no doubt facilitate the realization of this third point that Maslow's hierarchy has to offer educators.

Suggestion (d.) posits that students should be given opportunities to appreciate the innate value of mortal existence. It also suggests that educators should try to maintain as positive a learning environment as possible. After all, positive stimuli are more pedagogically motivational than negative ones! To this end, then, if a university teacher in Japan ever has to counsel a student, or perhaps even discipline a student, Maslow would argue that this should be done **privately**, so as to maintain a positive, upbeat classroom tone.

Item (e.), above, advocates that teachers should help students uncover their unique talents and gifts, as well as their weaknesses, to help students attain their goals. It is hoped that educators would do this naturally- even in the absence of Maslow's hierarchy. Similarly, it is hoped that even teachers completely unfamiliar with Abraham Maslow would never-the-less strive to create the kind of classroom delineated in suggestion (f.). An inclusive classroom characterized by safety, by a sense of belongingness, and one in which learners' self-esteem is fostered, would presumably be desired by most, if not all, university teachers.

Suggestion (g.) is closely related to (d.), in that they both seek to engender a positive learning environment. However, Maslow's epithet "*refreshen consciousness*" may be difficult to translate into a practical suggestion for pedagogical improvement. These two words might well prove overly utopian for most twenty-first century tertiary classrooms. Of course, it would hardly be appropriate for Japanese university instructors to engage in transcendental meditation with their classes. At least, not within the current curricular guidelines!

In contrast to this, the above point (h.) advises that educational stakeholders need to be disciplined, and engage in some degree of self-control, if they aspire to have a decent quality of life. Given the rigors of the entrance examination process, this is not usually an issue for the students in many public universities. Few stakeholders in the educational system would dispute the fact that complete abandon is bad!

The second last of the above suggestions recommends that educators who would like to enhance student motivation should teach students to downplay minor problems, and instead focus on surmounting the "bigger picture" challenges of human life. Examples of the latter include injustice, oppression, pain, and death. As with the preceding one, this suggestion may not be relevant for the majority of public university students. This is because public universities have

traditionally attracted, and only admitted, the caliber of student who has **already** mastered the art of overcoming life's more serious challenges, and tribulations.

The tenth, and final, lesson that teachers can take away from Maslow's hierarchy of human needs relates to decision making. As with the two preceding paragraphs, many of the learners enrolled at public tertiary institutions in Japan have already acquired the life skills necessary to gain them admittance into a competitive national university. Thus, many of the students enrolled at such campuses have already developed refined decision making skills. It is true, on the other hand, that unmotivated learners will sometimes become lethargic, and make questionable choices. In such cases, then, it is clearly important for educators to help students gain motivation, and to guide them onto the path of prudent decision making. The fourth question on the informal questionnaire that will be discussed below deals specifically with in-class activities which foster good decision making.

This article's final discussion of Abraham Maslow will focus more on the tangible learning environment, and less on the non-tangible learning milieu. Classrooms wherein learners are encouraged to ascend the five levels of the hierarchy of human needs, with the ultimate goal of becoming self-actualized, are clearly ones where students feel **safe**. Not only physically safe, but also emotionally safe to make mistakes, and to take risks. However, in their BMJ: British Medical Journal article, Linda Hutchinson, Peter Cantillon, & Diana F. Wood have determined that a classroom's physical state can **directly** impact student motivation (Hutchinson, Cantillon, & Wood, 2003). In "*Educational Environment*," these three researchers have posited that "... room temperature, comfort of seating, background noise, and visual distractions are all factors of the environment that can affect concentration and motivation (page 810)" (Hutchinson, Cantillon, & Wood, 2003). Again, although this research was conducted outside of Japan, one can imagine that these four physical components of the learning location will have a similar impact here in Matsumoto city.

Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory

More recently, Albert Bandura has also thought about the educational implications of the human mind, specifically how humans learn. His social learning theory (1977) emphasizes the importance of observing and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others (Bandura, 1977). More specifically, Bandura has observed:

"Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action (Bandura, 1977, page 22)."

Thus, social learning theory explains human behavior in terms of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental influences.

So, if Japanese university students learn their social behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions by observing, and then modeling, others, university learning facilitators need to remain vigilant in the classroom. This means that foreign language teachers need to constantly model the target language, and refrain from using the students' L1. It also means that students should, as much as possible, be discouraged from using their L1.

As just seen, Bandura's social learning theory (1977) falls into the realms of both cognitive and behavioral psychology. This is because Bandura acknowledges that the environment impacts upon human behavior- accordingly, students engage in many behaviors because of the reinforcing consequences (positive and negative) of doing so. But, reinforcement

does not control us blindly. Its effects depend largely on *our awareness* of the relationship between our behavior, and its outcomes (Bandura, 1977). In other words, while university students are certainly effected by the particular learning environment they study in, they are not the salivating canines and stimuli seeking rodents made famous in the **classical, and operant, conditioning** research of Ivan Pavlov, and Burrhus F. Skinner. That is, university students can fully imagine the consequences of their behavior, and govern themselves accordingly. They can also arrange their various study environments, so as *to control* some of the consequences of their actions. As Bandura has commented:

“By arranging environmental inducements, generating cognitive supports, and producing consequences for their own actions, people are able to exercise some measure of control over their own behavior (Bandura, 1977, page 147).”

To paraphrase, learning environments (especially the reinforcing and punishing features of them) have a definite impact on students’ behavior. However, students can partially control the effects of the environment by modifying their behavior, as well as by cognitive factors, such as the ability to anticipate the outcomes of their behavior. Thus, another label Bandura has ascribed to his theory is “reciprocal determinism.” Both the student and her/his learning environment determines the degree to which learning will occur.

Bandura’s theory can, in very broad terms, be reduced to three generalized affirmations:

- i.) Much human learning is a function of observing the behavior of others, or of such “symbolic models” as fictional characters in the mass media.
- ii.) We usually learn to imitate by being reinforced for doing so, and continued reinforcement preserves, and lengthens, the imitative behavior.
- iii.) Some aspects of imitation, or observational learning, can thus be explained by operant conditioning (ie. B.F. Skinner, or Ivan Pavlov) (Bandura, 1977).

Copying the behavior of others is quite common in many societies. Bandura and Walters have cited the example of a young girl who was given child-sized replicas of the tools her mother used (Bandura & Walters, 1981). The young girl followed her mother, and imitated the parental actions with little, or no, direct pedagogy. Bandura and Walters concluded that most of the important social learning accomplished by the girl was a result of direct imitation (Bandura & Walters, 1981).

The word *model* can refer to an actual person whose behavior serves as a stimulus for an observer’s response. It can also, as is often the case in many postmodern societies, refer to a symbolic model (Bandura, 1977). The latter refers to such things as oral or written instructions, pictures, mental images, not to mention real or fictional figures from the mass media. Few would argue, however, that much social learning involves direct observation of real-life models, such as the university staff members reading this article!

Casual Investigation Of Shinshu University Student Responses To The Main Features Of These Two Theories.

On Wednesday, January 25, and Thursday, January 26, 2006, a decidedly informal questionnaire was distributed to five Shinshu University (Matsumoto campus) English *Presentation* and *Speaking* classes. This ten question survey was designed to investigate first and second year students’ own perceptions about some of the more pedagogically relevant aspects of Maslow and Bandura’s theories. Its rationale was to superficially investigate the degree to which these Western theories might, or might not, apply to foreign language students in a Japanese

university. While the overly small data sample of this investigation precludes it from being statistically valid, it was hoped that *a rough sketch* of “non-scientific” data might never-the-less prove useful.

As per Appendix One, the first four questions of this questionnaire specifically relate to Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs: the physical condition of classrooms, the sense of belonging to a classroom community, the importance of feeling liked by one’s peers and teachers, and the means by which teachers can help students become good decision makers. Although questions number five through ten ostensibly refer to Bandura’s social learning theory, it must be noted that questions nine and ten, which query the nature of the connection between teacher feedback and student motivation, also relate directly to the fourth level of Maslow’s hierarchy, esteem.

With respect to the questions emanating from the hierarchy of human needs, almost all students circled a rating of seven or higher for the first three questions. This perhaps demonstrates that Japanese university students themselves acknowledge the importance of physiological needs (level one of the hierarchy), of safety needs (level two), and of love needs (level three). Now, the fourth question in this informal, single page survey was the only one that was not a rating scale. That is, this question required students to write down a single way by which teachers can help students become good decision makers. Some of the suggestions that students provided here include teachers meeting individually with each learner; guest speakers with expertise in decision making; decision making-themed role plays; having teachers discuss some of their own less than ideal decisions; evaluating movies in which the characters did not make prudent decisions, and then discussing how these decisions might have been improved; and, free writing personal anecdotes about some of the students’ own bad choices.

To reiterate, survey questions five through eight all concerned social learning theory. Again, all took the form of a rating scale. For questions number five through seven, the ones dealing with observing, personalizing new content, and imitating, many students circled answers ranging from four through six- middle range answers. However, for question number eight, which concerns the repetition of new content, many students answered in the seven or eight range. If this informal, limited sample data could be even partially trusted, it might indicate that Japanese students have a definite predilection for repetition. So, this might well mean that university language teachers in Japan should provide their classes with lots of repetition, just as Bandura would advocate.

The last two questions on this questionnaire had to do with the common ground shared by both the hierarchy of human needs and social learning theory. What Bandura calls “positive reinforcement” Maslow has termed “esteem.” Although the nomenclature is different, the underlying concept is similar. As Bandura would likely have surmised, many of the Japanese students who answered these questions gave them strong ratings: typically from seven through ten. Thus, many of them felt a strong connection between feedback from teachers and their own motivation to study. Perhaps surprisingly, though, a small minority of respondents indicated a strong teacher feedback-personal motivation connection when the feedback was **positive**, as in question number nine; but, a weak connection when the feedback was **negative**, as in question number ten. If this data could be considered partially trustworthy, it might indicate that there exists a minority group of learners who get motivated by teacher praise; but, on the other hand, are able to ignore, or at least downplay, teacher-generated criticism. Such a self-actualized minority group would appear to have the best of both worlds.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion has endeavored to examine, and briefly introduce, Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and Albert Bandura's social learning theory. In so doing, it has attempted to illustrate how both theories can benefit, and possibly even inform the practice of, university educators in Japan. More specifically, ten suggestions for professional teachers were extricated from Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Although a couple of these were perhaps overly nebulous or vague, most of them were seen to offer up tangible, practical suggestions for the tertiary classrooms of Japan. Included among these ten suggestions were exhortations for learning facilitators to keep the learning milieu as positive as possible; to create a "safe" learning environment in which learners feel comfortable taking intellectual risks; to assist learners in developing intercultural awareness; and to constantly be mindful of learners' self-esteem requirements. All of these were seen to have a positive correlation to students' intrinsic motivation. Additionally, fostering students' **life skills** (such as self-control, personal discipline, and far-sighted decision making) were also included in these ten suggestions.

With respect to social learning theory, this paper revealed its three key tenets: a) that much human learning depends upon observing the behavior of others; b) that humans learn to imitate by being reinforced for doing so; and c) that some aspects of imitation and observational learning can be explained in terms of operant conditioning principles. The classroom implications here concern the fact that teachers must provide as much positive reinforcement, and as many positive stimuli, as possible. This, of course, ties in with Maslow's suggestion to keep the learning milieu as positive as possible. The above discussion of social learning theory also urged Japanese university foreign language educators to maximize their in-class use of the target language- the more the merrier, with complete L2 immersion as the most desirable scenario.

Assuming the informal data gathered from the questionnaire administered to five English classes at a Japanese national university is in some way useful as "a rough sketch," then it could be the case that the two theories examined in this paper are indeed applicable to Japanese classrooms. Accordingly, language teachers in Japan would do well to help create a positive learning environment, one in which there is an ample supply of positive feedback, and repetition.

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Appendix One

TEN QUESTIONS ABOUT LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

1.) Is a classroom's *physical condition* important? For example, whether it is hot or cold; large or small; new or old? <<1= never important; 5= sometimes important; &, 10= always important.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

2.) Is it important for students to feel like *members* of a classroom community?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

3.) Is it important for students to feel *liked* in their classrooms?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4.) Please write one way, or method, that teachers can help students become *good decision makers*.

5.) Is *observing*, or *watching*, the behaviors of other people in the classroom important?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

6.) How often do you use new words, phrases, or grammar rules, which you first heard in this class?

<<1= never; 5= sometimes; &, 10= always.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

7.) Do you ever *copy* ("imitate") the behavior of the teachers and students in your language classes?

<<1= never; 5= sometimes; &, 10= always.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

8.) Is *repeating* the same words, phrases, or grammar rules, in a language classroom helpful?

<<1= never helpful; 5= sometimes helpful; &, 10= always helpful.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

9.) How strong is the connection between *positive feedback* ("praise") from your teachers and your own *motivation* to study? <<1=not strong at all; 5=moderately strong; &, 10= extremely strong.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

10.) How strong is the connection between *negative feedback* ("criticism") from your teachers and your own *motivation* to study? <<1=not strong at all; 5=moderately strong; &, 10= extremely strong.>>

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Appendix Two

One Hundred And Eighty-Two ELT Activities Which Adhere To The Theories Of Abraham Maslow & Albert Bandura.

1. advertisements, in English
2. (personal) advice
3. anecdotes
4. (newspaper) announcements
5. (national) anthems
6. apologies
7. (fallacious) assumptions
8. autobiographies
9. awards
10. ballads
11. beauty tips
12. bedtime stories for kids
13. beginnings
14. billboards
15. biographies
16. (television) bloopers
17. blurbs
18. books (graded readers)
19. book reviews
20. (tourist & travel) brochures
21. (display board) bulletins
22. bumper sticker slogans
23. calendar quips
24. campaign speeches
25. cartoons
26. captions
27. (breakfast) cereal boxes
28. certificates
29. character sketches
30. (newspaper) columns
31. community (“yusen”) bulletins
32. comparisons
33. complaints
34. contracts
35. conundrums
36. conversations
37. critiques
38. cumulative stories
39. data sheets
40. definitions
41. descriptions
42. diaries
43. diets
44. directions
45. directories
46. (legal) documents
47. doubletalk
48. dramas
49. editorials
50. (mock) epilogues
51. epitaphs
52. encyclopedia entries
53. (alternate) endings
54. (fictitious) essays
55. (mock staff) evaluations
56. exaggerations
57. (oral) exclamations
58. explanations
59. (modern) fables
60. (revisionist) fairy tales
61. (personal) fantasies
62. fashion articles
63. (global) folklore
64. (cookie type) fortunes
65. game rules
66. graffiti
67. good/bad news
68. greeting cards
69. (mock) grocery lists
70. (celebrity) gossip
71. (newspaper) headlines
72. horoscopes
73. “*how to do it*” speeches
74. impromptu speeches
75. inquiries
76. insults
77. interviews
78. (3rd party) introductions
79. invitations
80. (promotional) jingles
81. job applications
82. (“*DIY*” English) jokes
83. (reading) journals
84. (consumer good) labels
85. (make your own) legends
86. (pen pals) letters
87. (which definition is true?) lies
88. (relay race using the B.B.) lists
89. (Valentines’) love notes
90. lyrics
91. magazines
92. (personal) memories
93. metaphors
94. (restaurant) menus
95. monologues
96. movie/film reviews
97. mysteries
98. (global) myths
99. (mock) newscasts
100. newspapers
101. nonsense rhymes
102. notebooks
103. nursery rhymes
104. (mock) obituaries
105. (in-class) observations

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|------|---|------|---|
| 106. | (substantiated!) opinions | 148. | skywriting messages |
| 107. | pamphlets | 149. | (mock corporate) slogans |
| 108. | parodies | 150. | soap operas, & melodramas |
| 109. | party tips/hints | 151. | society news |
| 110. | (idioms cards, &) phrasal verb cards | 152. | songs |
| 111. | plays | 153. | speeches |
| 112. | poems | 154. | (public/literary figure) spoofs |
| 113. | post cards from abroad | 155. | spoonerisms |
| 114. | (unit-based) posters | 156. | (campus) sports team updates |
| 115. | predictions (ie. Nostrodamus) | 157. | superstitions |
| 116. | (societal/personal) problems | 158. | TV commercials |
| 117. | profound sayings | 159. | TV guides |
| 118. | proposals, for improvement | 160. | TV programmes |
| 119. | protest signs/placards | 161. | tall tales |
| 120. | (translated) proverbs | 162. | telegrams to one's hero(s) |
| 121. | puppet shows | 163. | telephone directories |
| 122. | (Xword, etc.) puzzles | 164. | (mini) textbooks |
| 123. | quips | 165. | "thank you" notes |
| 124. | (non-paper) quizzes | 166. | theatre/thesian programmes |
| 125. | questionnaires | 167. | subtitles , or closed captioning. |
| 126. | (critical thinking) questions | 168. | <i>(advanced classes only!)</i> tongue twisters |
| 127. | (historical) quotations | 169. | traffic/driving rules |
| 128. | ransom notes | 170. | travel posters |
| 129. | (current events) reactions | 171. | trivia game |
| 130. | (debating) rebuttals | 172. | used car descriptions |
| 131. | (favourite English) recipes | 173. | want ads |
| 132. | (vinyl LP) record/CD covers | 174. | (police station type) wanted posters |
| 133. | remedies/cures for illness | 175. | (dangerous places/items) warnings |
| 134. | (oral) reports | 176. | (mock) wills, for "deceased" people. |
| 135. | (mock) requests to the University | 177. | wise sayings, or translated clichés |
| 136. | (English) resumes | 178. | weather reports |
| 137. | (pop culture) reviews | 179. | word games (English <i>shiritori</i> , Hangman) |
| 138. | revisions to a printed/visual work | 180. | yarns, or "fisherman's tales" |
| 139. | <i>(advanced classes only!)</i> riddles | 181. | ("town pages") yellow pages |
| 140. | sale notices | 182. | (English only) internet homepage. |
| 141. | sales/marketing pitches | | |
| 142. | (public transit) schedules | | |
| 143. | (humorous) self descriptions | | |
| 144. | ("alphabeticized") sentences | | |
| 145. | (imaginary) sequels | | |
| 146. | (public) signs | | |
| 147. | silly sayings | | |