

Chapter 4

The L2 Motivational Self System among Japanese, Chinese and Iranian Learners of English: A Comparative Study

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Introduction

Since the 1990s, L2 motivation researchers have been struggling to find a new professional identity that goes beyond the classic traditions set by Canadian social psychologist Robert Gardner and his associates. Several theories have been proposed in the Canadian context (e.g. Noels *et al.*, 2000) as well as in contexts outside of Canada (e.g. Ushioda, 2001; Yashima, 2000) (see Dörnyei, 2001, 2005, for comprehensive reviews). These theories either complemented Gardner's theoretical framework or looked at second language (L2) motivation through the lens of a different research paradigm. The most recent approach, initiated by Zoltán Dörnyei, has been the proposal of a new L2 motivation construct, the L2 Motivational Self System. This system offers a synthesis of two recent conceptualisations of motivation by Noels (2003) and Ushioda (2001), as well as research in personality psychology on possible selves, identity, self-regulatory processes, and self-discrepancy theory. The proposed new framework is described in detail in Chapter 2 and in Dörnyei's (2005) seminal work on the psychology of the language learner. One of the main objectives in our comparative motivational study of learners of English in Japan, China and Iran has been to validate Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System in three important Asian contexts.

The Hungarian Study

Dörnyei (2005) explained that the stimulus for his L2 Motivational Self System was his research with Kata Csizér in which they conducted a repeated stratified national survey of the motivation of 13,391 middle school students in Hungary toward studying five target languages (English, German, French, Italian and Russian). The Hungarian study was the largest L2 motivation study ever and its findings have been published in a book (Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006) and numerous articles (e.g. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005a, 2005b; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002).

Structural equation modelling (SEM) of the various language data in the different phases of the survey revealed a consistent relationship between the key variables of integrativeness, instrumentality, attitudes toward L2 speakers/community, and two criterion measures – language choice preference and the learners' intended learning effort. One of the main findings was that integrativeness was the most important component of the L2 motivation construct in the sense that, as demonstrated by Dörnyei and Csizér (2002: 453), it 'explained almost as much of the variance of the criterion measures as all the motivation components together'. Although the power of integrativeness was supported by Gardner's (1985) work, it did not make sense that it would have such an impact in a foreign language context like Hungary in which there was practically no English speaking community which English learners could join. The potency of integrativeness in a country without a salient L2 group certainly remains an enigma and we did wonder whether the results from the Hungarian study could have been country-specific. By replicating the Hungarian study in other countries where there is an absence of a substantial L2 group, our purpose is to explore the role of integrativeness in contexts that are vastly different from the Hungarian one. Our first objective then is to partially replicate the Hungarian study in three key Asian countries: Japan, China and Iran.

Another key finding in the Hungarian study was that integrativeness was determined by two antecedent variables: instrumentality and attitudes toward L2 speakers/community. These three variables mediated the contribution of all the other components to the criterion measures. It is reasonable that integrativeness is determined by both attitudes toward L2 speakers and pragmatic incentives if it is an aspect of our ideal self to be personally agreeable and professionally successful. Indeed, in proposing his L2 Motivational Self System, Dörnyei (2005) suggested that integrativeness can be interpreted as being an L2-specific facet of an L2 learner's ideal self. Thus, the ideal L2 self is a central component of the construct of L2 motivation within the L2 Motivational Self System, which consists of three dimensions: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience. However, so far, there has not been any empirical evidence for the validity of equating the ideal L2 self with integrativeness, so our second objective is to determine whether or not a relationship exists between these two variables.

According to Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System, there are two types of instrumentality based on Higgins's (1998) distinction: promotional and preventional. The first is related to the ideal L2 self as it regulates positive outcomes, that is, goals and hopes of becoming professionally and personally successful in the L2. The second type is related to the ought-to L2 self as it controls negative outcomes associated with the duties and obligations individuals perceive they have toward

others. In spite of this theoretical distinction, in the Hungarian study instrumentality had not been divided into the two categories. Since the ought-to L2 self was assumed to play a particularly significant role in Asian learning environments because of the important influence from family in Asian cultures (e.g. Lockwood *et al.*, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1998), we decided to examine both types of instrumentality separately in our study. Therefore, our third objective is to test whether or not there are indeed two distinct types of instrumentality and if so, how they are related to each other as well as to the ideal and ought-to L2 selves.

Finally, our investigation also offers an overall validity study of Dörnyei's tripartite model of the L2 Motivational Self System in an Asian context. By using SEM, our objective is to determine the causal relationships among the attitudinal and motivational factors making up the construct. In particular, we want to examine the relationships between the ideal L2 self, attitudes toward learning English, and the criterion measures. As was mentioned above, Dörnyei (2005) had proposed that the L2 learning experience, which refers to situation-specific motives connected to the immediate learning environment and experience, is one of the three main dimensions of motivation within the L2 Motivational Self System. However, with its focus being on generalised motives, the learning experience dimension was not assessed in the Hungarian study. Therefore, the tripartite construct as a whole had never been empirically tested. We believe that if learners have a strong ideal L2 self, this will be reflected in their positive attitudes toward language learning and they will exhibit greater efforts toward that end as well. By including questions about the participants' attitudes toward learning English, our specific goal is to examine the third dimension of the L2 Motivational Self System and produce empirical evidence of its crucial role in the overall construct.

The Three Asian Contexts of our Research

As was mentioned before, one objective of our study was to examine the findings from the Hungarian study in strikingly different contexts to verify if the results were country-specific or if they could be generalised to other countries. If it can be shown that the L2 Motivational Self System applies to diverse cultural contexts, this will demonstrate the potency and generalisability of the system. For this reason, we decided to compare three countries in Asia that differ considerably in terms of their population, history, economy and religions. The first two countries, Japan and China, have been the subject of a fair amount of motivation research in the past. There is an established tradition of conducting research on English learners in Japan and with the emergence of China onto the global arena as a superpower, we are witnessing a substantial increase in research on English learning in China as well. With regard to

Iran, an opportunity arose for us to conduct an investigation there and we thought it would be enlightening to include a completely different Asian country from Japan and China which nevertheless has a similar foreign language learning context. Space limitations do not allow us to give detailed descriptions of each country or extensive reviews of available research findings. Instead, we will highlight a few general differences pertaining to the cultures, educational systems and the status of English, and present some key motivational studies from each country.

Japan and China

There are, obviously, vast differences between Japan and China although they also share some cultural and linguistic similarities. The majority of people in both countries are not religious and the writing system based on characters is similar in some respects. At the same time, China is a rapidly developing centralised (Communist) system which has been undergoing significant changes in recent years, whereas Japan is one of the most technologically advanced welfare democracies in the world. It was only in the 1990s that China's involvement in world trade became truly substantial; in the past decade, China has opened its doors to the world and the world has come streaming in. When China joined the World Trade Organisation on November 11, 2001, it was a major breakthrough in China's economy. These changes have substantially increased the importance of English in China. In recent years, there has also been a greater emphasis on the importance of English in Japan due to rapid globalisation.

With regard to their educational contexts, Japan and China do share some common features, especially in terms of the extremely exam-oriented nature of the educational system, and in both countries, English is one of the featured subjects in the university entrance exams. In spite of this prominence of English, the two countries differ in the level of importance accorded to English by the general population. Although recently, Japanese industries have started to require potential candidates to possess practical English abilities and many students are keen on raising their English proficiency test scores, it is not always the case that English proficiency is as strongly related to successful job-hunting in Japan as it is in China. Therefore, English is less valued by many learners of English in Japan than in China, where knowing English has become a must for anyone who wants to compete in the global marketplace. A knowledge of English is a requirement in most international companies in China as well as in many Chinese ones.

We were curious to see the ways in which the motivation to learn English in Japan and China would be similar and different since there have not been a great deal of comparative studies between both countries

in the past. Miyahara *et al.* (1997) carried out a large-scale study with university students who were learning English in China and Japan in order to compare their motivation as well as other aspects related to learning. The researchers identified a factor in both countries representing an interest in travelling and making friends with people from L2 communities and they labelled this Personal Communication. It is intriguing to note that the researchers also found a factor associated with the desire to become integrated into the L2 communities in the Chinese sample which they labelled Integrative Motivation. Miyahara *et al.* suggested that this factor may explain why Chinese students had a higher average in English proficiency than their Japanese counterparts.

Matsukawa and Tachibana (1996) carried out a survey of Japanese and Chinese junior high school students to measure their motivation and attitudes toward studying English. The main finding was that the Chinese students showed more interest toward studying English than the Japanese students did. Furthermore, the Chinese students' interest was maintained regardless of the grade they were in, whereas Japanese students tended to lose interest as they progressed in grade level. Matsukawa and Tachibana interpreted the findings by suggesting that the motivation of the Japanese students was multifaceted since it was both instrumental and integrative because it consisted of interest in the learning process, high achievement, and English culture. In contrast, the motivation of the Chinese students was solely instrumental because the Chinese participants only cared about the utility of English in their future job and in gaining a high salary.

Yashima (2000) conducted a study with Japanese university students who were majoring in informatics in Japan. The objectives of the study were to discover the reasons why those students wanted to learn English, identify their motivational orientations, and determine which factors were the best predictors of motivation and proficiency. The main finding was that the participants perceived instrumental and intercultural friendship orientations as being the most important. Yashima (2000: 131) stated that Japanese students 'feel vaguely it will become a necessity to use English in the "internationalised" society, but they do not have a clear idea of how they are going to use it'. They did not believe that identification with the target group was important, which supports the findings from Miyahara *et al.*'s (1997) study. In addition, working in the international community was considered the least important by the students.

Iran

Iran shares certain similarities with Japan and China, but in some key aspects it is quite different. For instance, Iran is officially a religious country and the official language of the country, Farsi, is an Indo-European

language. Iran contains fewer native speakers of English than Japan or China since political obstacles have inhibited the economic, professional and even academic relations between Iran and English-speaking countries. At the same time, like in Japan and China, the urban youth in Iran are quite westernised and interested in English.

Iranian people usually learn English these days in order to enter prestigious universities and thereby proceed to the highest levels of education and strata in their society. They are also attracted by the opportunity of studying and living abroad, having access to the huge amount of new information resources, and becoming familiar with the cultural products of western countries.

Research on English language attitudes and motivation in the context of Iran has been following the Gardnerian tradition and has typically focused on the relationship between learners' motivational orientations on the one hand and their success in language learning on the other. The literature review below outlines some of the main motivational studies in Iran.

Dastgheib (1996) investigated the relationship between the attitudes and motivation of university undergraduate students of different medical majors and their language proficiency. The main finding involved the discovery of a significant positive correlation between the students' attitudes toward learning English and their desire to learn English. These two variables were positively correlated with motivational intensity and integrativeness. Also, there was a significant positive correlation between instrumental and integrative orientations.

Sadighi and Maghsudi (2000) carried out a study with undergraduates majoring in Teaching English as a Foreign Language in order to compare the language proficiency of instrumentally oriented students with that of integratively oriented students. In addition, personal, social and educational factors were addressed in terms of their relationship with English language learning motivation. The findings of the study demonstrated that the integratively oriented students did significantly better than the students who were instrumentally oriented on the TOEFL test of English language proficiency. It was also found that the participants' educational, personal, and social reasons for learning English were positively correlated with their general motivation to learn English. While all three correlation scores were significant, the first two factors, that is, the educational and the personal factors showed higher correlations ($r = 0.78$ and 0.75 , respectively) with the students' motivation than the social factor did ($r = 0.67$).

In a recent study, Matin (2007) investigated the motivational characteristics of university students in Tehran. The results of the study showed that the participants did not differ in terms of their general orientation to learn English. In fact, they were almost equally motivated by instrumental and integrative reasons. The knowledge promotion and

employment factors were the highest and lowest ranked factors, respectively on the instrumental scale while interest in the English language ranked the highest and interest in English culture ranked the lowest on the integrative scale.

Method

Participants

The total number of the participants in the current survey was nearly 5000 (see Table 4.1 for a breakdown of the sample according to country, gender and employment status). The Japanese students ranged in age from 18 to 43 with a mean age of 19.1; the Chinese students ranged from 11 to 53 with a mean age of 21.1; and the Iranian students ranged from 12 to 44 with a mean age of 17. The participants' exposure to native English teachers, their overseas experiences and their self-assessed English levels were diverse (see Table 4.2).

In the present study, we used the total samples from all three countries for most analyses even though they contained certain sub-samples. However, for the SEM comparisons, we focused only on the university students in each sample.

Instruments

The current study employed three versions of a questionnaire, adapted for use in Japan, China and Iran. Each version is comprised of two major parts: the first part consists of items measuring the learners' attitudes and motivation concerning English learning, and the second

Table 4.1 The sample investigated in the survey

Country	Total	Gender		Employment status			
				Middle school student	University student		Working professional
		Male	Female		English major	Non-English major	
Japan	1586	678	898	–	1534		–
					319	1180	
China	1328	458	869	214	940		173
					182	758	
Iran	2029	892	1137	1309	719		–
					394	325	

Note: Some questionnaires had missing data

Table 4.2 The participants' native teacher, overseas experiences, and self-reported English proficiency

	<i>Native teacher</i>	<i>Overseas experience</i>	<i>Self-reported English proficiency level</i>				
			<i>Beginner</i>	<i>Post-beginner</i>	<i>Lower intermediate</i>	<i>Intermediate</i>	<i>Upper-intermediate and over</i>
Japan	1481 (93.4%)	165 (10.4%)	231 (14.6%)	436 (27.5%)	582 (36.7%)	279 (17.6%)	32 (2%)
China	1098 (82.7%)	100 (7.5%)	25 (1.9%)	111 (8.4%)	437 (32.9%)	612 (46.1%)	88 (6.6%)
Iran	199 (2.5%)	50 (2.5%)	381 (18.8%)	450 (22.2%)	347 (17.1%)	495 (24.4%)	241 (11.9%)

part consists of questions about the learners' background information (e.g. gender, age, native English teacher experience, overseas experience, and self-rated English proficiency levels).

The first of the three questionnaires was developed for Japan, and its design followed the procedures suggested in Dörnyei (2003) (see Taguchi, in progress, for more detail). Because the current study is to validate Dörnyei's L2 motivation theory by replicating the Hungarian studies in the framework of his L2 Motivational Self System, the main components were chosen from Dörnyei *et al.*'s (2006) Hungarian studies (i.e. integrativeness, cultural interest, attitudes to L2 community, and criterion measures) and the L2 Motivational Self System (ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and attitudes to learning English). In addition, other components which are considered important to learner motivation were also included in the questionnaire (e.g. fear of assimilation and ethnocentrism). Most of the items for the components were based on established questionnaires (Clément & Baker, 2001; Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner, 1985; Mayumi, in progress; Noels *et al.*, 2000; Ryan, this volume) and some of them were newly designed. In the second stage, the Chinese version was developed based on the Japanese version but also drawing on other sources (e.g. Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997; Yashima *et al.*, 2004). Finally, the Iranian version followed the same procedures as the Chinese version. All these versions were fine-tuned through extensive piloting in each of the three countries.

The final versions (see Appendix A) adopted statement-type and question-type items; the former were measured by six-point Likert scales while the latter by six-point rating scales with 'not at all' anchoring the left end and 'very much' anchoring the right end. The total number of questionnaire items was 67 in the Japanese and Chinese versions and 76 in the Iranian version.

The following 10 factors were used in the study (for the specific items and the Cronbach Alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients, see Table 4.3):

- (1) *Criterion measures* assessing the learners' intended efforts toward learning English.
- (2) *Ideal L2 self*, which, according to Dörnyei (2005: 106), refers to the 'L2-specific facet of one's ideal self'.
- (3) *Ought-to L2 self*, which measures 'the attributes that one believes one *ought* to possess (i.e. various duties, obligations, or responsibilities) in order to avoid possible negative outcomes' (Dörnyei, 2005: 106).
- (4) *Family influence* examining active and passive parental roles.
- (5) *Instrumentality-promotion* measuring the regulation of personal goals to become successful such as attaining high proficiency in English in order to make more money or find a better job.

Table 4.3 Composites of attitudinal/motivational variables with Cronbach Alpha coefficients in Japan, China and Iran

<i>Factor name</i>	<i>Japan</i>		<i>China</i>		<i>Iran</i>	
	<i>Item no.</i>	α	<i>Item no.</i>	α	<i>Item no.</i>	α
Criterion measures	5, 17, 28, 41	0.83	3, 13, 23, 31, 37, 45	0.75	8, 16, 24, 32, 40, 50	0.79
<i>Ideal L2 self</i>	8, 20, 33, 58, 66	0.89	6, 14, 29, 38, 46	0.83	9, 17, 25, 33, 41, 51	0.79
<i>Ought-to L2 self</i>	13, 25, 38, 62	0.76	5, 12, 19, 27, 36, 42, 49	0.78	1, 10, 18, 26, 34, 43	0.75
<i>Family influence</i>	2, 14, 29, 40	0.83	2, 11, 21, 30, 40	0.70	2, 11, 19, 27, 35, 44	0.69
<i>Instrumentality – promotion</i>	6, 18, 31, 55, 64	0.82	4, 10, 16, 22, 28, 35, 41, 48	0.78	3, 12, 20, 28, 37, 45	0.67
<i>Instrumentality – prevention</i>	10, 23, 36, 60, 67	0.73	7, 18, 25, 33, 43	0.84	4, 13, 29, 36, 42, 48, 53	0.81
<i>Attitudes to learning English</i>	12, 24, 37, 61	0.90	50, 55, 60, 65	0.81	54, 59, 63, 67, 71, 75	0.82
<i>Cultural interest</i>	43, 46, 49, 52	0.77	53, 58, 63	0.67	57, 61, 65, 74	0.76
<i>Attitudes to L2 community</i>	44, 47, 50, 53	0.86	54, 59, 64, 67	0.76	58, 62, 66, 70	0.76
<i>Integrativeness</i>	45, 48, 51	0.64	52, 57, 62	0.63	56, 69, 73	0.56

- (6) *Instrumentality-prevention* measuring the regulation of duties and obligations such as studying English in order to pass an examination¹.
- (7) *Attitudes to learning English* measuring situation-specific motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience.
- (8) *Attitudes to L2 community* investigating the learner's attitudes toward the community of the target language.
- (9) *Cultural interest* measuring the learner's interest in the cultural products of the L2 culture, such as TV, magazines, music and movies.
- (10) *Integrativeness*, which is assessed with items from Dörnyei *et al.*'s (2006) Integrativeness factor, which entails having a positive attitude toward the second language, its culture and the native speakers of that language.

Procedure

The data was collected in all three countries in 2006 and 2007. In order to make our results robust, we attempted to collect as large a sample as we could in each context. The main procedure in all three contexts was similar. We used all of the possible contacts we could activate to find willing participants within the same broad categories: middle school students, university students majoring in English, non-English majors, and adult learners of English.

Data analysis

All the data obtained were analysed with SPSS version 15.0. For the second and third research objectives, correlation techniques were used to describe the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables. In assessing relationships between variables, Dörnyei (2007: 223) indicates that correlations of 0.3 to 0.5 can be meaningful and that, when two variables show correlations of 0.6 and above, they measure more or less the same thing.

For the fourth research objective, the datasets from the three versions were submitted to 'Analysis of Moment Structures' (AMOS) version 7.0 (Arbuckle, 2006), one of the popular programs for SEM analysis. Before proceeding to SEM analysis, some approach has to be taken to handle missing cases because AMOS does not tolerate missing data and needs a complete dataset. In our dataset, as missing values were scattered throughout the cases and variables, instead of using *listwise deletion*, we employed the expectation-maximisation algorithm which is a widely used approach among SEM users (Allison, 2003; Hair *et al.*, 2006; Kline, 2005).

The general SEM model can be decomposed into two submodels: a measurement model and a structural model (Byrne, 2001). The main role of the measurement model is to specify the relationships between the latent variables and the actual questionnaire items that assess them and to test the fit and validity of these proposed links. The main purpose of the structural model is to define relations among the unobserved latent variables and to specify the manner by which particular latent variables directly or indirectly influence changes in other latent variables in the model. In this study, the estimation of parameters was based on the maximum likelihood method.

The adequacy of the specified measurement and structural models are usually evaluated on the basis of various criteria: parameters such as values of factor loadings and residuals, the overall model fit indices, and theoretical consideration of the constructs under investigation. In particular, the overall model fit measures are useful to decide on the adequacy of the final model. AMOS provides many types of goodness-of-fit indices.

Byrne (2001) and Hair *et al.* (2006) offer general guidelines of which indices to report. One of the most important indices is χ^2 . However, concerns have been raised about using the χ^2 statistic for large samples because it has an inherent bias against sample sizes that are larger than 200 (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004: 100). Therefore, we need to look at other fit indices. These are the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Regarding GFI and CFI, generally > 0.90 on the 0–1.0 scale is considered as indicative of good fit. However, some researchers (e.g. Hu & Bentler, 1999) recommend a cut-off value close to 0.95. With regard to RMSEA, a value of 0.05 or less means that the model's fit to the data is considered good (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). As these fit criteria are general guidelines, Hair *et al.* (2006) claim to adjust the index cut-off values based on model characteristics, such as the complexity of the model and sample size. Therefore, given our model's complexity and the large sample size, the cut-off values may be less strict.

Results and Discussion

Correlational analyses

Table 4.4 shows the correlation coefficients between the *ideal L2 self* and *integrativeness* in Japan, China and Iran. The *ideal L2 self* was positively correlated with *integrativeness* in all three groups. The average correlation coefficient for each group was over 0.50. There were further significant correlations between the two variables across all the sub-groups. These results demonstrate that the two variables are tapping into the same construct domain and can therefore be equated.

Table 4.5 displays the correlation of the *ideal L2 self* and *integrativeness* with the *criterion measures*. Results from all the groups show that except

Table 4.4 The relationship between the ideal L2 self and integrativeness

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Middle school students</i>	<i>University students (English majors)</i>	<i>University students (non-English majors)</i>	<i>Adult learners</i>
Japan (1534)	0.59	–	0.48	0.59	–
China (1328)	0.51	0.66	0.46	0.46	0.53
Iran (2029)	0.53	0.55	0.35	0.43	–

Note: All the correlations are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level

Table 4.5 The relationship between the ideal L2 self, integrativeness and the criterion measures

		Total	Middle school students	University students (English majors)	University students (non-English majors)	Adult learners
Japan (1534)	<i>Ideal L2 self</i>	0.68	–	0.59	0.68	–
	Integrativeness	0.64	–	0.51	0.64	–
China (1328)	<i>Ideal L2 self</i>	0.55	0.69	0.51	0.52	0.51
	Integrativeness	0.52	0.63	0.53	0.47	0.44
Iran (2029)	<i>Ideal L2 self</i>	0.61	0.63	0.45	0.60	–
	Integrativeness	0.58	0.59	0.41	0.55	–

Note: All the correlations are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level

for one sub-group (English majors in China), all the sub-groups show higher correlations between the *ideal L2 self* and the *criterion measures* than between *integrativeness* and the *criterion measures*. The average variance in the *criterion measures* explained by *integrativeness* is 29% while the average variance explained by the *ideal L2 self* is 34%, which is 17% higher. These findings justify the replacement of *integrativeness* with the *ideal L2 self*.

We measured the promotion and prevention aspects of instrumentality separately in order to test whether Higgins's (1998) distinction between promotion and prevention would apply to our data. Table 4.6 presents the correlations of the *ideal* and *ought-to L2 selves* with *instrumentality-promotion* and *instrumentality-prevention*. In this analysis, the *ought-to L2 self* was combined with *family influence*, since the *ought-to L2 self* contains not only aspects related to friends and colleagues, but also to family.

As the table indicates, in all three groups *instrumentality-promotion* correlates more highly with the *ideal L2 self* than *instrumentality-prevention* does. In contrast, *instrumentality-prevention* correlates more highly with the *ought-to L2 self* than *instrumentality-promotion* does. In addition, the two aspects of instrumentality show low intercorrelations, which means that these aspects are distinctly separate: even the highest one explains less than 10% of the variance. However, the substantial correlations between the promotional aspect of instrumentality with the *ought-to L2 self* in the Chinese and Iranian samples was unexpected. We will look at this issue in more detail first in the Chinese data, where the promotional aspect correlated with the *ideal* and *ought-to L2 selves* equally, and then in

Table 4.6 The relationship between instrumentality (promotion) and instrumentality (prevention)

	<i>Ideal L2 self</i>			<i>Ought-to L2 self</i>			<i>Instrumentality (promotion)</i>		
	<i>Japan</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Iran</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Iran</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Iran</i>
Ought-to L2 self	0.14**	0.07*	0.26**	—	—	—	—	—	—
Instrumentality (promotion)	0.60**	0.46**	0.63**	0.27**	0.46**	0.44**	—	—	—
Instrumentality (prevention)	—0.05	—0.13**	0.00	0.45**	0.68**	0.62**	0.31**	0.26**	0.29**

* $p < 0.05$ (2-tailed); ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed)

the Iranian data where there was also a substantial correlation between *instrumentality-promotion* and the *ought-to L2 self*.

Instrumentality promotion and the ought-to L2 self in China

If we examine the specific items that make up the *instrumentality-promotion* variable in the Chinese questionnaire and consider the Chinese culture, we can understand the results. The two items that were used for the model were items 10 (*Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future*) and 16 (*Studying English can be important to me because I think I'll need it for further studies*). The majority of Chinese people living in mainland China aspire to gain promotion at work in order to secure a higher salary that would be used to support family members. This reason is associated with their ought-to L2 self. Ever since the one child policy was enforced in 1978, young people have had a heavy burden placed on their shoulders to support their ageing parents. People retire at a relatively early age in China, usually with extremely low pensions, so their children have the responsibility and obligation to take care of them as they become the sole breadwinners of the family.

Along the same lines, we can explain why studying English in order to pursue further studies is related to one's ought-to L2 self. Many young Chinese people are pressured by their family to continue their studies so that they can obtain a high status, high paying job. In this way, Chinese people often feel a great obligation to their parents to study, even though they may not be intrinsically motivated to do so themselves. They view themselves not only in individualistic terms like many Westerners do, but also as a direct extension of their family. Therefore, as their status in society increases, so does the position of their family. Many believe that since their parents raised them, they have a duty to support them in their old age and carry out their wishes. This is why in China, parents will often choose a major for their children. Most young people will obey their parents even if they are not interested in the major or career that their parents have chosen for them. These days, young people may voice their opinion more openly than in the past, but most are still controlled by their parents since their parents support them financially during their studies. In China, it is almost impossible for university students to support themselves by finding a part-time job like in Western countries because employers prefer to hire university graduates.

Instrumentality promotion and the ought-to L2 self in Iran

By considering the specific items that make up the *instrumentality-promotion* variable in the Iranian questionnaire and reflecting on the Iranian culture, we can understand why there was a relatively high

correlation between *instrumentality-promotion* and the *ought-to L2 self* in Iran. The two items that were used for *instrumentality-promotion* in the model were items 12 (*Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future*) and 37 (*I study English in order to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world*). In Iran, studying English is necessary in order to find a good job because it is a required component of a university education, and having a higher degree greatly increases one's chances of finding a secure job with a stable income. Studying English for a promotion is related to one's *ought-to L2 self* in the same way that it is in China. Since average salaries in Iran are usually not very high, young people should try their best to support their entire family on their income. In fact, it is one of the main responsibilities that they have toward their family as well as getting married. In Iran, usually the selection of a future spouse is highly influenced and sometimes even determined by the parents who will consider the socio-economic status and educational level of the potential spouse. With regard to item 12, a promotion at work will elevate one's socio-economic status which will bring honour to one's entire family, thereby positively reinforcing one's *ought-to L2 self*. With regard to item 37, in Iranian society, those who are knowledgeable about the outside world will build an excellent reputation, which will garner prestige for their family, and is thus related to their *ought-to L2 self*. Also, since the majority of the world's resources pertaining to science and technology are published in English, it is necessary to know English in order to advance in many careers in Iran.

The high correlation between *instrumentality-promotion* and the *ought-to L2 self* in the Iranian sample reflects the current social and economic situation in Iran. As a result of all of the political turmoil, revolutions, and wars in Iran, especially during the last 30 years, many Iranian parents today believe that they did not have a fulfilling youth and have not been able to achieve their dreams. Therefore, they place almost all of their hope onto their children. They believe that if their children will be successful, that will be a sign of their own success as well. Like in China, though to a lesser extent, parents in Iran also influence their children in their choice of a major and a career.

Since English language teaching in the academic and formal educational system in Iran lacks the capability to equip learners with the required level of English to pass the university entrance exam, students usually resort to language institutes and private teachers to achieve their goal. Although these private classes are expensive, especially relative to the insufficient income of the majority of the people in Iran, many families accept all the costs based on the expectation that their children will be successful. In exchange for their financial sacrifice, parents expect their children to bring them honour and prestige by being successful.

Summary of the main findings

As we have seen, our results indicate that the concept of *integrativeness* can be re-interpreted in a broader frame of reference – the *ideal L2 self* – and our findings indicate that the *ideal L2 self* achieved a better explanatory power toward learners' intended efforts than *integrativeness* did.

In the case of instrumentality, we found that the concept can be divided into two distinct types from a self perspective, one closely associated with the *ideal L2 self* and the other with the *ought-to L2 self*. Depending on the context, even the same phenomenon or event can be perceived differently in this respect. For example, studying English for going overseas is promotional for those who desire to study overseas, but it can be preventional for those who will be commanded to work overseas by a company. Thus, the interpretation is a function of the extent of internalisation of the extrinsic motives that make up instrumentality (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005a).

Structural equation modelling analyses

Our main purpose for employing structural equation modelling was to examine the causal relationships among the attitudinal/motivational factors including the components of the L2 Motivational Self System. Before making any attempt to evaluate the structural models of our datasets, it is necessary to first test the validity of the measurement models. For this purpose, we set out to test three measurement models. The first model consists of four latent variables (*ideal L2 self*, *instrumentality-promotion*, *attitudes to L2 community*, and *cultural interest*). There was a problem of discriminant validity on *attitudes to L2 community* and *cultural interest*. As cultural interest in the L2 can be considered to be a part of attitudes to the L2 community, the factors were combined with the label *attitudes to L2 culture and community*. The second measurement model comprises factors relating to the *ought-to L2 self*. Given the strong influence of the family on student motivation described above, we separated the unified *ought-to L2 self* from the original *ought-to L2 self* and *family influence* factors². Finally, the third measurement model is made up of two latent variables (*attitudes to learning English* and *criterion measures*). The goodness-of-fit measures indicated that after some modifications the measurement models fit the data well for all the Japanese, Chinese, and Iranian samples.

The second step in SEM is to develop a full structural model by integrating the measurement models; in constructing our structural model we followed Dörnyei *et al.*'s (2006) Hungarian model and Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System. The models with standardised path coefficients for the three samples are shown in Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

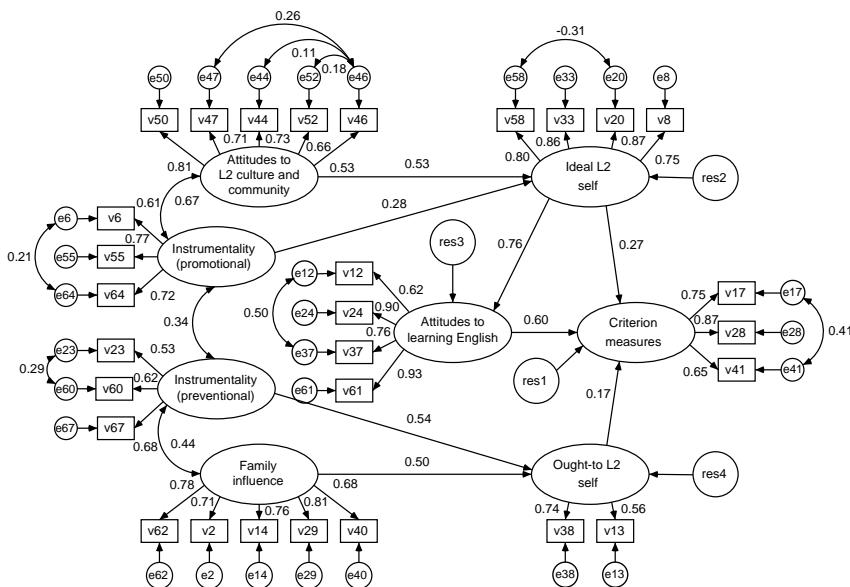


Figure 4.1 The final model with standardised estimates for the Japanese university students

Note: $N = 1534$. All path coefficients are significant at $p < 0.001$. $\chi^2(358) = 1777.47$, $p < 0.001$; GFI = 0.92; CFI = 0.94; RMSEA = 0.05.

The three figures show that all the paths were significant at the $p < 0.001$ level except for one path in the Iranian model (*instrumentality-promotion*↔*instrumentality-prevention*). Because of the large sample size, the chi-square tests are significant, $\chi^2(358) = 1777.47$, $p < 0.001$ in the Japanese group, $\chi^2(284) = 1002.85$, $p < 0.001$ in the Chinese group, and $\chi^2(284) = 748.93$, $p < 0.001$ in the Iranian group. However, other goodness-of-fit indices indicate that our models are appropriate to describe the three samples. The GFI, CFI and RMSEA values were 0.93, 0.94 and 0.05, respectively, for the Japanese model, 0.93, 0.92 and 0.05 for the Chinese model, and 0.93, 0.93 and 0.05 for the Iranian model. The results of the goodness-of-fit measures and the standardised estimates of the various relationships in all three figures indicate that the proposed final models are stable across the various samples. Therefore, we can conclude that the models provide an adequate representation of our Japanese, Chinese, and Iranian datasets.

A closer look at the coefficients of the models

While the overall relationship patterns in the models in Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 are stable, the standardised estimate values (which can be

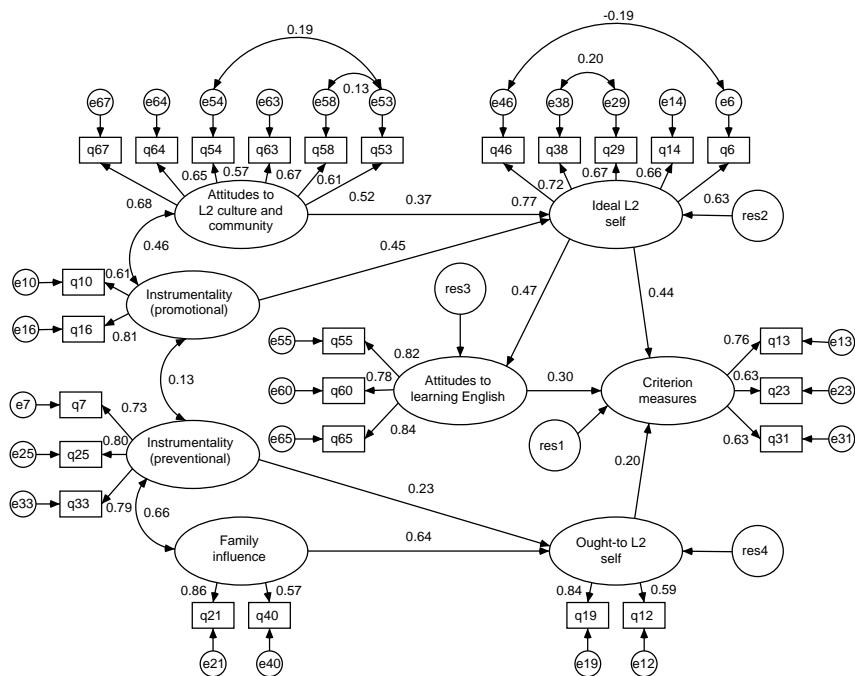


Figure 4.2 The final model with standardised estimates for the Chinese university students

Note: $N = 940$. All path coefficients are significant at $p < 0.001$. $\chi^2(284) = 1002.85$, $p < 0.001$; $GFI = 0.93$; $CFI = 0.92$; $RMSEA = 0.05$.

thought of as correlation coefficients) describing the strength of the specific relationships among the various variables did not remain constant across the cultures (see Figure 4.4). Although there are several cross-cultural differences between the coefficients across the models, two particular clusters stand out in this respect, both involving the *ideal L2 self*: the interrelationship of (1) *ideal L2 self, attitudes to L2 culture and community, and instrumentality-promotion*, and (2) *ideal L2 self, attitudes to learning English and the criterion measures*.

Ideal L2 self, attitudes to L2 culture and instrumentality

One remarkable cross-cultural difference concerns the influence of *attitudes to L2 culture and community* and *instrumentality-promotion* on the *ideal L2 self*. In the Japanese model the impact from *attitudes to L2 culture and community* on the *ideal L2 self* is nearly twice as large as from *instrumentality-promotion*, whereas in the Chinese and the Iranian data the contribution of the two aspects is roughly equal.

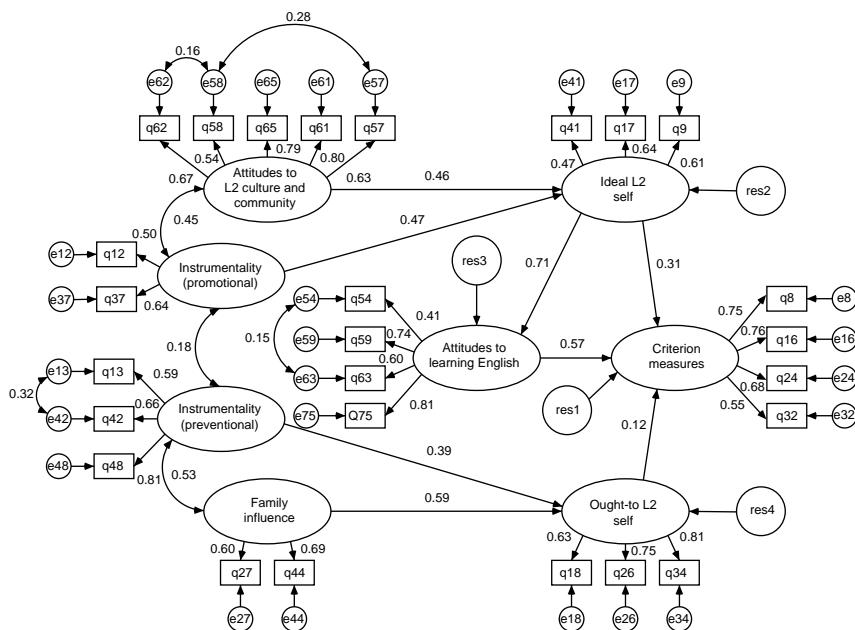


Figure 4.3 The final model with standardised estimates for the Iranian university students

Note: $N = 719$. All path coefficients except for one between two types of instrumentality are significant at $p < 0.001$. $\chi^2(284) = 748.93, p < 0.001$; GFI = 0.93; CFI = 0.93; RMSEA = 0.05.

The relatively balanced influence of *attitudes to L2 culture and community* and *instrumentality-promotion* on the *ideal L2 self* in the Chinese and Iranian participants, suggests that the ideal L2 self they tend to develop is fully fledged and rounded in terms of being both personally agreeable and professionally successful. Perhaps they are similar to the most motivated group of Hungarian learners which Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) identified through cluster analysis. In their survey, these authors identified four groups of language learners. Group 1 consisted of students who scored lower than average on all of the motivational scales (and subsequently also on the criterion measures) and were therefore labelled the *least motivated students*. Group 2 students had a more positive attitude toward the L2 community and culture like the Japanese in our study, but they did not seem to realise how English would be relevant in their professional life. Group 3 scored high on instrumentality and were motivated by their *ought-to L2 self* without sufficient support by attitudes toward the L2 community and culture. Group 4 participants scored higher than average in every motivational area and were labelled

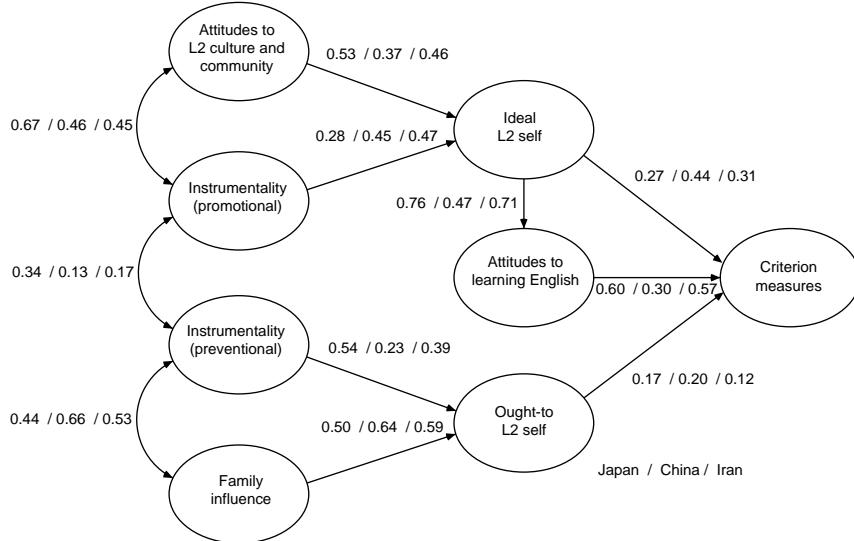


Figure 4.4 Comparison of coefficients among the Japanese, Chinese and Iranian models

the *most motivated students*. They also performed the highest on the criterion measures which assessed the learners' effort and language choice. The Chinese and Iranian students from our study had a much higher average on the *criterion measures* than the Japanese students did (4.38 and 4.69 in contrast to 3.68) and they also had a more salient *ideal L2 self* (4.78 and 4.74 in contrast to 3.62). This type of balanced ideal L2 self was associated with a mastery of the second language in the Hungarian study, and therefore, in a follow-up investigation we intend to conduct a cluster analysis of our dataset to examine whether we find the same learner pattern.

Thus, Japanese learners behave differently from Chinese and Iranian ones in the sense that there is an imbalance in the effect of the two components on the *ideal L2 self*. Certainly, the Japanese think that they need to study English to obtain a job, but their idealised English self is not strongly linked with a professionally successful self. This could be because good English ability represented with high scores on English proficiency tests is just one of the favourable conditions for finding a job. As Kobayashi (2007: 64) claims, the supposedly beneficial effects of English skills are implicitly restricted to 'those prospective and current professional employees who are already in good standing regardless of their English levels'. Therefore, the professionally successful English self is accorded less importance than the personally agreeable English self by

the Japanese participants. Interestingly, while the promotional aspect is not that relevant, instrumentality maintains its impact because, as shown in Figure 4.4, the preventional aspect in Japan has the strongest impact on the *ought-to L2 self* among the three countries. This is a good illustration of why it is worth distinguishing the two instrumentality aspects. We find a similar overall volume of instrumentality but this sum hides a major qualitative difference.

Ideal L2 self, attitudes to learning English and the criterion measures

Another salient cross-cultural difference can be found in the *ideal L2 self* → *criterion measures* relationships. In the three models, the *ideal L2 self* predicts the *criterion measures* both directly and indirectly through *attitudes to learning English*. In Japan and Iran, the indirect route is considerably stronger than the direct one, whereas in China both routes are quite balanced. Thus, it seems that in China, *attitudes to learning English* play a less important role than in Japan and Iran in influencing the amount of effort learners expend on learning English. The items related to *attitudes to learning English* in the Chinese questionnaire are concerned with a high interest in learning English, looking forward to English classes, and enjoying the process of learning English. We would argue that while many Chinese students enjoy learning English, enjoyment does not play a decisive role in their overall motivation: even if learning English is a painstaking task, Chinese students will typically be able to control their negative attitudes for the sake of achieving their ultimate goal, a high level of proficiency in English or at the very least a passing mark in their English exams. Owing to the enormous pressure Chinese students are under to achieve their future desired selves, the classroom experience is far less important for them than for the Japanese and Iranian university students. Broadly speaking, they simply cannot afford the luxury of caring for the niceties of the classroom experience.

In summary, the models we constructed fit our data well and describe English language learners in Asia with culturally and educationally different backgrounds. It was expected that there would be some variations in the models due to the cross-cultural differences in the three Asian countries we have described above, but this diversity is limited and does not affect the overall validity of the L2 Motivational Self System.

Conclusion

We can draw four main conclusions based on our findings. Firstly, the Hungarian line of research which has provided so much theorising on L2

motivation research in the past two decades is not country-specific since we found a similar pattern in three countries that differ greatly from Hungary and from each other. This confirms Dörnyei's assumption that Hungary can be seen as a prototype of a general foreign language learning context; therefore, the Hungarian findings have external validity. Secondly, our findings support the underlying tenet of the L2 Motivational Self System that integrativeness can be relabelled as the ideal L2 self. In fact, we found that the new concept possesses increased explanatory power in foreign language contexts. Thirdly, from a self perspective, our results confirm that instrumentality can be classified into two distinct constructs, associated with promotion versus prevention tendencies, depending on the extent of internalisation of external incentives. Finally, the structural equation modelling analysis presented in this article not only confirmed the validity of the entire tripartite L2 Motivational Self System, but also helped us to understand certain cross-cultural differences in different educational contexts.

Although our surveys have not been based on stratified random sampling, given the depth and breadth of the populations that were sampled from three major countries it is difficult to imagine that the strong tendencies uncovered would be untrue. Also, we were pleased to see that other chapters in this anthology (e.g. Ryan; Csizér & Kormos) fully converge on this issue with our findings.

Notes

1. The original *instrumentality-prevention* in the Iranian version contained eight items with the 0.78 alpha coefficient. However, because item 21 reduced the reliability of the scale, the item was deleted from the table and further analysis.
2. Two items (25 and 62) in the *ought-to L2 self* in the Japanese version are related to family dimensions, so these items were moved to *family influence*.

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Appendix A

Scales for statement-type items:

1 (Strongly disagree), 2 (Disagree), 3 (Slightly disagree), 4 (Slightly agree), 5 (Agree), and 6 (Strongly agree)

Scales for question-type items:

1 (not at all), 2 (not so much), 3 (so-so), 4 (a little), 5 (quite a lot), and 6 (very much)

Note:

For each item, the following tables provide the sequence number of the item in the instrument (in bold), as well as the item's mean and the standard deviation (the latter in brackets).

Criterion measures

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
If an English course was offered at university or somewhere else in the future, I would like to take it.	5—4.26 (1.44)		
If an English course was offered in the future, I would like to take it.		45—4.49 (1.11)	32—4.76 (1.34)
I am working hard at learning English.	17—3.69 (1.24)		

I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English.	28—3.54 (1.23)	23—4.75 (1.2)	16—5.04 (1.18)
I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	41—3.29 (1.24)	3—4.61 (1.07)	
I would like to spend lots of time studying English.		13—4.40 (1.11)	8—4.62 (1.33)
I would like to concentrate on studying English more than any other topic.		31—4.11 (1.24)	24—4.08 (1.46)
Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.		37—3.78 (1.17)	
If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.			40—4.45 (1.53)
I would like to study English even if I were not required.			50—4.33 (1.63)

Ideal L2 self

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.	8—2.90 (1.41)	6—4.80 (1.08)	
I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.			51—4.34 (1.52)
I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.	20—3.70 (1.45)		
I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.		38—4.71 (1.04)	17—4.46 (1.53)
I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.	33—3.76 (1.52)	14—4.90 (0.98)	
I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.		29—4.70 (1.17)	9—4.81 (1.34)
Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	58—3.33 (1.62)	46—4.77 (1.06)	25—4.36 (1.48)
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	66—4.55 (1.43)		

I can imagine myself studying in a university where all my courses are taught in English.			33—4.49 (1.52)
I can imagine myself writing English e-mails fluently.			41—4.29 (1.48)

Ought-to L2 self

<i>Item</i>	<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Iranian</i>
I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	13—2.51 (1.27)	5—2.69 (1.30)	1—4.12 (1.71)
I have to study English, because, if I do not study it, I think my parents will be disappointed with me.	25—2.22 (1.25)		
Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	38—2.59 (1.38)	19—2.78 (1.34)	34—3.25 (1.61)
My parents believe that I must study English to be an educated person.	62—2.50 (1.42)		
I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.		12—3.19 (1.31)	18—3.57 (1.60)
Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/teachers/family/boss.		27—3.14 (1.38)	26—3.65 (1.62)
It will have a negative impact on my life if I don't learn English.		36—3.54 (1.32)	
Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.		42—3.68 (1.34)	
Studying English is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of English.		49—3.49 (1.26)	43—3.33 (1.59)
If I fail to learn English, I'll be letting other people down.			10—2.42 (1.49)

Family influence

<i>Item</i>	<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Iranian</i>
My parents encourage me to study English.	2—3.41 (1.57)		

My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to use my English (e.g. speaking and reading).	14 —2.55 (1.37)		
My parents encourage me to study English in my free time.	29 —2.35 (1.41)		
My parents encourage me to attend extra English classes after class (e.g. at English conversation schools).	40 —2.00 (1.26)		
My parents encourage me to practise my English as much as possible.			35 —4.35 (1.47)
My parents/family believe that I must study English to be an educated person.		2 —4.24 (1.27)	2 —4.03 (1.61)
Studying English is important to me in order to bring honours to my family.		11 —3.10 (1.33)	11 —4.03 (1.63)
I must study English to avoid being punished by my parents/relatives.		21 —2.73 (1.28)	
Being successful in English is important to me so that I can please my parents/relatives.		30 —3.97 (1.28)	19 —3.43 (1.64)
My family put a lot of pressure on me to study English.		40 —3.02 (1.36)	27 —2.33 (1.55)
I have to study English, because, if I don't do it, my parents will be disappointed with me.			44 —2.11 (1.43)

Instrumentality (promotion)

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
Studying English can be important to me because I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job.	6 —5.08 (1.06)	4 —5.02 (0.99)	
Studying English is important because with a high level of English proficiency I will be able to make a lot of money.		22 —4.39 (1.10)	
Studying English can be important to me because I think it will some day be useful in getting a good job and/or making money.			3 —4.85 (1.30)

Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	18 —4.64 (1.21)	10 —5.00 (1.05)	12 —4.88 (1.24)
Studying English is important to me because I would like to spend a longer period living abroad (e.g. studying and working).	31 —4.20 (1.56)		
Studying English is important to me because I am planning to study abroad.			45 —3.89 (1.71)
Studying English can be important for me because I think I'll need it for further studies on my major.	55 —4.48 (1.35)		
Studying English can be important to me because I think I'll need it for further studies.		16 —5.14 (0.97)	20 —5.11 (1.14)
Studying English is important to me because with English I can work globally.	64 —4.74 (1.19)		
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.		28 —4.93 (1.06)	
Studying English is important to me because it offers a new challenge in my life.		35 —4.41 (1.07)	
Studying English is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g. to get a degree or scholarship).		41 —4.14 (1.28)	28 —4.34 (1.51)
Studying English is important to me in order to attain a higher social respect.		48 —3.85 (1.25)	
I study English in order to keep updated and informed of recent news of the world.			37 —4.77 (1.35)

Instrumentality (prevention)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Iranian</i>
I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot graduate.	10 —4.04 (1.52)		
I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot get my degree.			13 —3.77 (1.76)

I have to learn English because I don't want to fail the English course.		33—3.21 (1.39)	42—4.20 (1.75)
I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it at university.	23—3.86 (1.35)		
I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it.		7—3.36 (1.53)	4—3.98 (1.84)
I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	36—3.43 (1.47)		21—4.05 (1.53)
Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests.	60—3.94 (1.41)	25—3.46 (1.39)	
Studying English is necessary for me because I don't want to get a poor score or a fail mark in English proficiency tests (TOEFL, IELTS, . . .).			36—4.36 (1.51)
Studying English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of English, I'll be considered a weak student.	67—2.91 (1.42)	18—2.75 (1.32)	29—3.24 (1.73)
Studying English is important to me, because I would feel ashamed if I got bad grades in English.		43—3.02 (1.35)	48—4.08 (1.65)
Studying English is important to me because I don't like to be considered a poorly educated person.			53—4.59 (1.45)

Attitudes to learning English

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	12—4.06 (1.31)		
Do you like the atmosphere of your English classes?		50—3.92 (1.28)	54—4.08 (1.56)
I find learning English really interesting.	24—4.32 (1.34)		
Do you find learning English really interesting?		55—4.22 (1.29)	59—4.81 (1.35)
I always look forward to English classes.	37—3.65 (1.37)		

Do you always look forward to English classes?		60—3.83 (1.34)	67—4.62 (1.47)
I really enjoy learning English.	61—4.12 (1.39)		
Do you really enjoy learning English?		65—4.34 (1.30)	75—4.68 (1.45)
Would you like to have more English lessons at school?			71—4.22 (1.60)
Do you think time passes faster while studying English?			63—3.70 (1.64)

Cultural interest

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g. pop music)?	43—4.69 (1.33)	53—4.81 (1.17)	57—3.85 (1.81)
Do you like English films?	46—5.05 (1.16)	58—5.17 (1.03)	61—3.94 (1.84)
Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	49—3.73 (1.41)		74—3.96 (1.68)
Do you like TV programmes made in English-speaking countries?	52—4.07 (1.43)	63—4.73 (1.17)	65—3.85 (1.70)

Attitudes to L2 community

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
Do you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	44—4.63 (1.36)	64—5.28 (1.00)	66—4.76 (1.50)
Do you like the people who live in English-speaking countries?	47—4.52 (1.21)	54—4.35 (1.12)	58—3.64 (1.55)
Do you like meeting people from English-speaking countries?	50—4.86 (1.27)	59—4.58 (1.12)	62—4.20 (1.66)
Would you like to know more about people from English-speaking countries?	53—4.68 (1.31)	67—4.89 (1.08)	70—4.44 (1.49)

Integrativeness

Item	Japanese	Chinese	Iranian
How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	45—4.84 (1.07)	57—5.15 (1.06)	69—4.70 (1.28)
How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?	48—4.06 (1.38)	52—5.11 (1.12)	56—4.39 (1.62)
How much do you like English?	51—4.42 (1.35)	62—4.51 (1.19)	73—4.82 (1.37)