SECTION I

WHY AND WHAT DO I WANT TO ACHIEVE IN MY STUDIES?

CHAPTER 2

SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES ON STUDENT MOTIVATION AS VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

Johnmarshall Reeve
Richard M. Ryan
Edward L. Deci

Imagine doing what many educational researchers do—visit a classroom, observe teacher–student interactions, and formulate some forecasts about these students' future motivation and learning. In a secondary school foreign language classroom, you might watch as the teacher (a) sets a challenging goal for students (e.g., learn 20 verbs on Monday, 20 nouns on Tuesday), (b) recommends some tried-and-true learning strategies (e.g., learn in pairs, prepare flashcards), (c) models what skill and expertise look like in this domain (e.g., play a YouTube video of native speakers), (d) encourages students to emulate those role models, (e) provides corrective feedback,

(f) aids students' self-control (e.g., suppress and override lesson-irrelevant temptations and distractions), and (g) evaluates students' learning.

The next day, you attend the same classroom and group of students, but this time a different teacher is present. She uses the former teacher's well-scripted lesson plan and implements all of the same self-regulatory strategies (e.g., goal setting, social modeling), but her way of relating to students is different. She listens carefully to what her students say, she seeks to understand what they want and need, and she uses flexible language, uttering words and phrases such as:

- "Okay"
- "Yes"
- "I understand"
- "Any suggestions?"
- "What do you want to work on the most?"
- "Do you think you can do this?"
- "Are you stuck anywhere?"
- "Do you think that was a good performance?
- "What do you think it will take to improve?"

While the first teacher was a competent and effective teacher, there is something special about this second teacher and how her students respond to her and to the lesson. She is aware of her students' needs, preferences, and emotions. She is responsive to their engagement-disengagement signals, and she seems to be in synch, rather in conflict, with her students. Her students sense that she is "on their side." The students on this day show more enthusiasm and more initiative. Compared to yesterday, they are more attentive, they take more responsibility for their own learning, and they act more like agents and less like pawns. The teacher-student interactions are back-and-forth, rather than unilateral. Overall, you get the impression that students are engaged, are learning the language, and are happy.

SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

Self-determination theory (SDT) is a macro-theory of motivation that seeks to explain how sociocultural conditions facilitate or undermine human engagement and flourishing (Ryan & Deci, 2017). As shown in Figure 2.1, SDT is rooted in a series of assumptions about the nature of human motivation and how social conditions affect it. The theory has been extended to offer a set of six mini-theories, the most recent of which is "relationships motivation theory" (Deci & Ryan, 2014). Across these mini-theories, SDT provides a comprehensive (i.e., "big") theory of motivation that is both of

Self-Determination Theory

Meta-Theory

An approach to motivation that uses empirical methods to explain how sociocultural conditions facilitate and undermine flourishing.

Assumptions

1. **Intrinsic Activity:** Everyone possesses the three activity-generating psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness.
2. **Organismic Approach:** Everyone has inherent tendencies toward growth, integration, synthesis, and organization, though these inherent tendencies require environmental support for their development and actualization.
3. **Person-Environment Dialectic:** Person proactively engages the environment; environment offers regulations to internalize.

Mini-Theories

Each mini-theory addresses a different domain of motivation to explain particular motivational phenomena, including (from left to right) the six entries below) the effects of external events and social conditions, extrinsic motivation and internalization, self-determination in the personality, well-being, goals and life aspirations, and high-quality relationships.

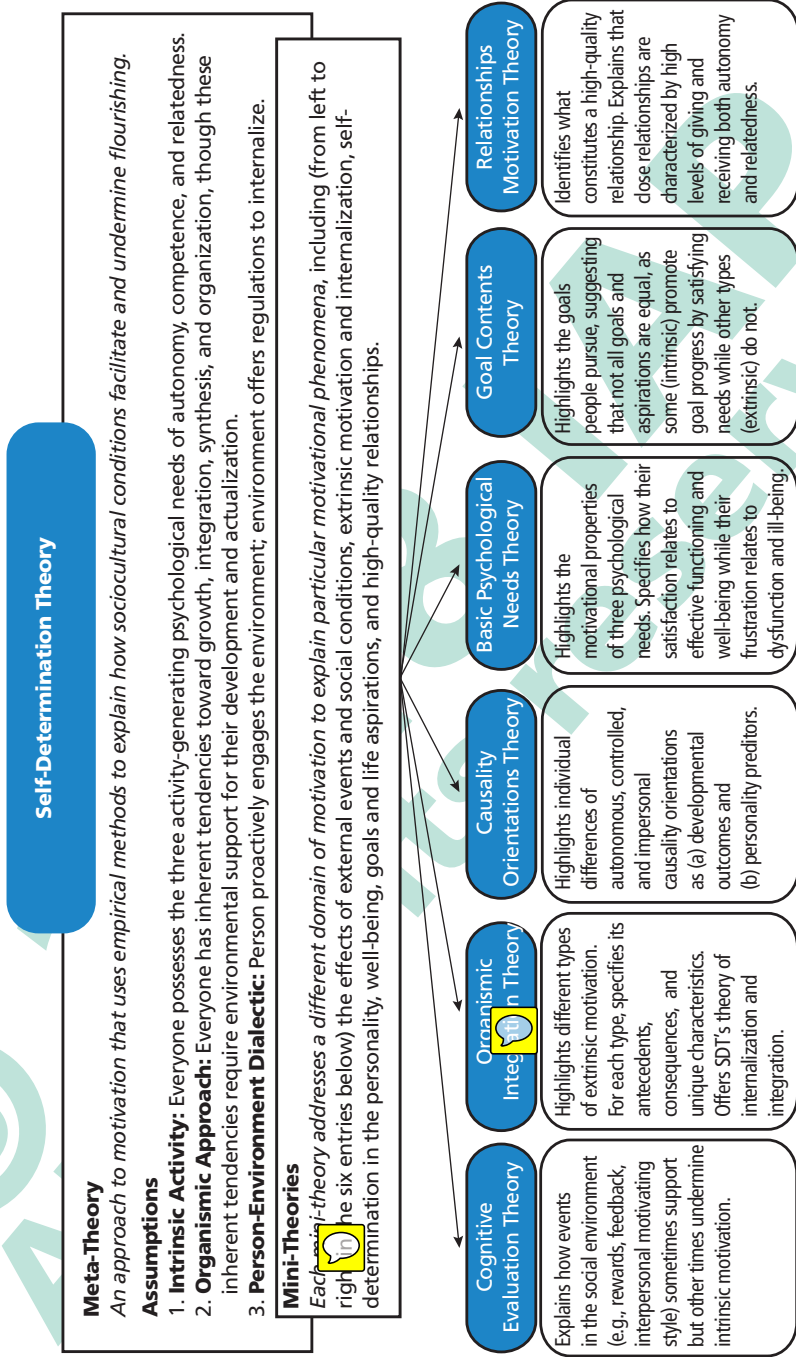| Cognitive Evaluation Theory	Organismic Integration Theory	Causality Orientations Theory	Basic Psychological Needs Theory	Goal Contents Theory	Relationships Motivation Theory
Explains how events in the social environment (e.g., rewards, feedback, interpersonal motivating style) sometimes support but other times undermine intrinsic motivation.	Highlights different types of extrinsic motivation. For each type, specifies its antecedents, consequences, and unique characteristics. Offers SDT's theory of internalization and integration.	Highlights individual differences of autonomous, controlled, and impersonal causality orientations as (a) developmental outcomes and (b) personality predictors.	Highlights the motivational properties of three psychological needs. Specifies how their satisfaction relates to effective functioning and well-being while their frustration relates to dysfunction and ill-being.	Highlights the goals people pursue, suggesting that not all goals and aspirations are equal, as some (intrinsic) promote goal progress by satisfying needs while other types (extrinsic) do not.	Identifies what constitutes a high-quality relationship. Explains that close relationships are characterized by high levels of giving and receiving both autonomy and relatedness.

Figure 2.1 Self-determination theory's meta-theory, assumptions, and mini-theories.

scientific interest and educationally pragmatic. It acknowledges that student educational outcomes vary widely, and explains the conditions under which students sometimes thrive and flourish and other times suffer.

Theoretical Assumptions

As shown in the upper part of Figure 2.1, SDT is built on three key assumptions (Ryan & Deci, 2017). The first is the assumption of intrinsic activity, which assumes that students are naturally prone towards activity, engagement, and learning. This first assumption highlights the motivational importance of constructs such as intrinsic motivation and autonomous motivation. The second is an organismic framework that assumes that this growth-oriented nature is in active exchange with, and dependent upon, a nurturing environment. According to SDT, the educational environment can afford (or fail to provide) the resources students need to be engaged and well. Specifically, when environments are supportive of students' basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness, SDT predicts that students will thrive both cognitively and affectively. Yet when learning environments withhold supports for these basic needs, then the motivation and wellbeing of students both suffer. The classic plant metaphor applies here: Just as plants that receive water, sunshine, and nutritious soil thrive whereas those that do not suffer, students whose needs are satisfied will thrive whereas those without supports for experiencing autonomy, competence and relatedness will wither as learners. The third assumption is that of a person–environment dialectic. This assumption states that students proactively engage in their environment to secure resources, learn new information, discover new and more effective ways of functioning, internalize helpful ways of thinking and behaving, and create a more motivationally-supportive environment for themselves, while the environment in turn affords new and constructive ways of thinking and acting for individuals to internalize and incorporate into their self-structure.

We emphasize SDT's core assumptions for two reasons. First, most of the debates and controversies involving SDT occur at this level. The assumption of inherent activity, for instance, states that all human beings, irrespective of their age, gender, language, socioeconomic status, nationality, culture, ability level, special-needs status, or historical time period, possess the same three inherent psychological needs, whose satisfaction largely determines whether or not they thrive and flourish. The three psychological needs are those for autonomy (need to experience volition and self-endorsement in one's behavior), competence (need to experience effectance in one's interactions with the environment), and relatedness (need to experience warm, close, responsive, and reciprocal care in one's relationships). A great

deal of cross-cultural research has been conducted to empirically test this assumption of universal psychological needs (Chirkov, Ryan, & Sheldon, 2011). For instance, one group of researchers tested if nationality (Belgium, China, Peru, United States) moderated the relation between adolescents' need satisfaction and well-being and also the relation between their need frustration and ill-being (Chen et al., 2015). In all four countries, extent of need satisfaction predicted extent of well-being and extent of need frustration predicted extent of ill-being, while nationality did not moderate either correlation. Alternatively, some educators reject the idea that all students benefit from autonomy need satisfaction, the pursuit of intrinsic goals, autonomy-supportive relationships with their teachers, and autonomy-supportive classroom environments more generally. Instead, these educators endorse the "match hypothesis," which is the belief that it is only students who have a strong autonomy orientation to begin with that benefit from autonomy, intrinsic goals, and autonomy support. For students with a strong control orientation, these educators suggest that control-oriented students benefit from external regulation, the pursuit of extrinsic goals, controlling relationships, and controlling classroom environments. There is very little, if any, evidence to support either the match hypothesis or the proposition that students benefit from intrapsychic or interpersonal control (Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Deci, 2006; Vansteenkiste, Timmermans, Lens, Soenens, & Van den Broeck, 2008). Nevertheless, this debate and controversy persists (e.g., Harackiewicz & Elliot, 1998; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). Because this is so, we readdress this issue in the chapter's second section.

Second, recent advances in research methods and statistical modelling have occurred since the publication of the first *Big Theories Revisited* (McInerney & Van Etten, 2004) volume that have made these difficult to test assumptions more accessible to empirical test. For instance, to establish the scientific credibility of the assumption that people have inherent psychological needs and intrinsic motivation, some researchers have undertaken a neuroscientific program of research that has essentially discovered the physical, neural basis of both psychological needs and intrinsic motivation (Lee & Reeve, 2013, 2017; Ryan & Di Domenico, 2017). In addition, the capacity to empirically test the assumption of a person–environment dialectic has been greatly facilitated by the introduction of sophisticated statistical approaches (e.g., multilevel structural equation modeling analyses with longitudinal data) that afford new opportunities to propose and test hypothesized models that feature reciprocal relations between students and their educational environment. For example, longitudinal data sets show that changes in students' motivation, engagement, and behavior affect longitudinal changes in teachers' classroom motivating styles, just as changes in teachers' motivating styles affect longitudinal changes in students' motivation, engagement, and behavior (Jang, Kim, & Reeve, 2016).

Even daily fluctuations in teacher need supports have been shown to foster corresponding daily changes in student interest (Tsai, Kunter, Lüdtke, Trautwein, & Ryan, 2008).

Mini-Theories

As shown in the lower part of Figure 2.1, SDT offers six mini-theories. Here, we simply introduce each mini-theory, identify its domain of application, and offer some related education-centric questions. A fuller account of each mini-theory can be found in other resources (Ryan & Deci, 2017; Vansteenkiste, Niemiec, & Soenens, 2010).

Cognitive Evaluation Theory

SDT's first mini-theory was cognitive evaluation theory, which was proposed to explain how any external event (e.g., a reward, a grade) might affect students' intrinsic motivation through its impact on experiences of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. The theory specifies how classroom conditions sometimes lead to the satisfaction of these needs (i.e., when offered in an autonomy-supportive and competence-informing way) and hence to intrinsic motivation, whereas at other times they lead to the frustration of basic needs (e.g., when offered in a behaviorally-controlling and incompetence-informing way) and hence to extrinsic motivation or amotivation. The theory explains how the same classroom events or structures can be offered in a ways that either support or undermine students' intrinsic motivation, including the supportive vs. undermining use of extrinsic rewards (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999), praise and positive feedback (Ryan, Mims, & Koestner, 1983), evaluations (Mouratidis, Lens, & Vansteenkiste, 2010), deadlines and goals (Mossholder, 1980), and competition (Reeve & Deci, 1996). Overall, cognitive evaluation theory explains how such environmental events affect students' psychological needs and, hence, functionally enhance or undermine intrinsic motivation. Questions that have been explained by the cognitive evaluation mini-theory include:

- What is the effect of an extrinsic reward on intrinsic motivation?
- How can teachers introduce a classroom event (e.g., an assessment, a goal) so that it will support, rather than undermine, students' intrinsic motivation?

Cognitive evaluation theory's range has been extended from its original focus on external events to interpersonal contexts more generally (e.g., classroom climate, teacher's motivating style). While external events represent direct and proximal influences on students' motivation, social

contexts are more pervasive in their influence. One practical application of this research has been to specify (i.e., operationally define) what an autonomy-supportive climate or motivating style is, and also what a controlling climate or motivating style is. Autonomy support is an interpersonal tone of understanding that manifests itself through instructional behaviors such as taking the students' perspective, vitalizing their psychological needs during instruction, and providing explanatory rationales for requested behaviors and procedures (Reeve, 2016; Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone, 1994). Even tone of voice can affect perceived autonomy, and thus motivation (Zougkou, Weinstein, & Paulmann, 2017). These acts of autonomy-supportive instruction generally lead students to experience high need satisfaction and low need frustration (Cheon, Reeve, & Song, 2016). Guided by cognitive evaluation theory, formal autonomy-supportive intervention programs have been developed and implemented to show that (a) teachers can learn how to become more autonomy supportive (and less controlling) and (b) when they do then students and teachers alike both benefit in important ways, such as enhanced motivation and engagement for students and greater job satisfaction and teaching efficacy for teachers (Cheon, Reeve, Yu, & Jang, 2014; Cheon et al., 2016).

Organismic Integration Theory

Organismic integration theory proposes that motivated behaviors can be placed on a continuum of low to high autonomy. Organismic integration theory identifies different types of extrinsic motivation (i.e., external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, integrated regulation), and it specifies the antecedents, consequences, and unique characteristics of each. This mini-theory also provides SDT's conceptualization of the developmental processes of internalization and personality/identity integration. In doing so, organismic integration theory explains how students can transform (i.e., accept and internalize) an originally externally-endorsed value or externally-requested behavior into a self-endorsed and authentically-held value or behavior. Overall, organismic integration theory describes distinct types of extrinsic motivation, and it explains under what conditions the most autonomous forms of extrinsic motivation (identified regulation, integrated regulation) are likely to emerge in the classroom. Questions that have been explained by the organismic integration mini-theory include:

- How can teachers motivate students to engage in and benefit from uninteresting but personally useful learning activities?
- Can students transform externally requested behaviors (e.g., clean your desk space) into self-endorsed, volitional behaviors?

Causality Orientations Theory

Causality orientations theory offers a personality perspective. It proposes that students acquire varying levels of three causality orientations (i.e., autonomous, controlled, impersonal) that reflect their beliefs about what forces routinely and reliably initiate and regulate their behavior. The mini-theory proposes that students tend to hold different relative strengths of these three causality orientations, and these individual differences help explain why autonomy-oriented students are inclined to be more productive and happy, even when in the same classroom or social context (i.e., because an autonomy orientation tends students toward autonomous motivation, a controlled orientation tends students toward controlled motivation, and an impersonal orientation tends students toward amotivation). The mini-theory further explains how causality orientations can be understood as developmental outcomes (e.g., students who have been continually subjected to controlling environments will tend to develop a controlled causality orientation) as well as individual difference predictors of students' educational outcomes (e.g., engagement, prosocial behavior). Causality orientations, largely being resultants of person–environment interactions over lifespan development, represent individual differences that are largely not captured by traditional personality trait measures such as the "Big Five" (Olesen, 2011). Overall, causality orientations theory adds a personality-developmental perspective to explain autonomous and controlled motivations. Questions that have been explained by the causality orientations mini-theory include:

- In the same classroom, why do some students interpret events and communications as controlling while other students interpret the same events and communications as autonomy supportive?
- Why are some students more self-determined than are other students?

Basic Psychological Needs Theory

Basic psychological needs theory highlights the motivational properties of the three universal needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. It explains how need satisfaction leads students toward effective functioning and well-being, and also how need frustration leads students toward dysfunction and ill-being. "Basic" suggests that psychological needs function as "essential nutrients" that allow students to experience good days, positive well-being, vitality, and flourishing (Ryan, 1995; Sheldon, Ryan, & Reis, 1996). For instance, empirical tests show that "what is satisfying about a satisfying classroom experience" is an experience of autonomy, competence, or relatedness satisfaction, just as "what is unsatisfying about an unsatisfying classroom experience" is an experience of autonomy, competence, and relatedness frustration (Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser, 2001;

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Jang, Reeve, Ryan, & Kim, 2009). Overall, basic needs theory explains the ultimate source of students' intrinsic activity, adaptive functioning, and psychological well-being. Questions that have been explained by the basic needs mini-theory include:

- Are the psychological needs universal, or are they only western sociocultural constructions that do not predict wellness and engagement in eastern cultures?
- Why do students sometimes say, "I enjoyed today's class; it was a good, fun, and worthwhile class"?

Goal Contents Theory

Goal contents theory focuses on the content of the goals people are pursuing in their lives. It starts with the proposition that not all goals and aspirations are equally likely to satisfy basic needs or foster wellness. Some goals represent reliable paths toward autonomy, competence, and relatedness need-satisfying experiences, whereas other goals do not. That is, some goal pursuits afford students frequent and recurring opportunities to experience engagement-fostering and progress-enabling need satisfaction. These types of goals (e.g., the pursuit of personal growth or closer relationships) are referred to as intrinsic goals, because they generate intrinsic satisfaction. Extrinsic goals are those that when pursued or attained provide little or no opportunities for students to experience need satisfaction. In fact, these goals sometimes put students in the position of having to sacrifice their psychological need satisfactions in the pursuit of the extrinsic goal (e.g., "To become class valedictorian, I need to treat my classmates as my rivals"). Typical extrinsic goals are the pursuit of money, fame, power, or popularity, though in schools these goals often take on a feel of "educational materialism" (e.g., high test scores, getting into the best schools) rather than financial materialism. Overall, goal contents theory explains why some goals generate more satisfaction, engagement, and progress than do other goals. Questions that have been explained by the goal contents mini-theory include:

- Why do students fail to make progress on the goals they pursue?
- Can the same learning activity be reframed away from the pursuit of an extrinsic goal (make a high test score) into the pursuit of an intrinsic goal (develop a personal skill)?

Relationships Motivation Theory

Relationships motivation theory explains what constitutes a high-quality and deeply-satisfying interpersonal relationship. This mini-theory starts with the proposition that not all relationships afford experiences of relatedness need satisfaction. Relationships motivation theory explains that

close, high-quality relationships are characterized by both the giving and the receiving of autonomy and relatedness satisfaction, and especially by the mutuality of autonomy and autonomy support. It further states that autonomy and relatedness satisfactions are not antithetical, though some socializing agents do pit autonomy satisfaction against relatedness satisfaction (e.g., conditional regard; Assor, Roth, & Deci, 2004). When relationship partners both give and receive autonomy support, the ensuing need satisfaction enables and facilitates greater relationship satisfaction, attachment security, and wellness (Deci, La Guardia, Moller, Scheiner, & Ryan, 2006). When relationship partners try to control and pressure one another, however, the ensuing need frustration contributes to relationship dysfunction, defensiveness, insecurity, ill-being, and relationship dissatisfaction. The mini-theory also addresses the dynamics of helping, arguing that only when help is experienced as volitionally offered does it have psychological benefits for the receiver (e.g., Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). The theory has application to the roles of teaching and mentoring, where attributions concerning helpers are salient (Wild, Enzle, & Hawkins, 1992). Overall, relationships motivation theory explains the core ingredients that underlie a deeply-satisfying interpersonal relationship. Questions that have been explained by the relationships motivation mini-theory include:

- Why do students feel close and secure with some teachers, but distant and defensive with other teachers?
- Is the giving of autonomy support as beneficial to the giver as the receipt of autonomy support is to the recipient?

ETIC AND EMIC SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES

Any classroom observation makes it clear that teachers strive to affect change in their students. Teachers, for instance, introduce learning activities, utter praise, set goals, offer rewards, enforce rules, provide feedback, endorse values, and offer themselves or others as role models, and they do so typically to induce an educationally productive change in their students' thinking, feeling, or behaving. The same can be said for cultural influences, as cultures also affect change in students by establishing norms, setting expectations, prescribing attitudes toward authorities, legitimizing hierarchies, and promoting what is desirable and acceptable in terms of values, beliefs, priorities, roles, and duties. Self-determination theory has richly investigated how teacher-delivered and culturally endorsed events affect changes in students' motivation, engagement, development, and achievement. The repeated finding is that when students experience the sociocultural influence as a support to their autonomy, then it tends to promote

autonomous motivation, active engagement, cultural competence, identity integration, and achievement, and the reason it is able to do this is because autonomy support allows students to become more open and ready to accept and deeply internalize the social recommendation as their own (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Chirkov, Ryan, Kim, & Kaplan, 2003; Downie, Koestner, El Geledi, & Cree, 2004; Roth, Assor, Niemiec, Ryan, & Deci, 2009).

The etic–emic distinction is often made in sociocultural investigations, with etic corresponding to constructs that are robust and generalizable across cultures and emic corresponding to constructs that are specific or unique to one particular culture (Kotlak, 2006). Some cross-cultural researchers suggest that the SDT findings of the benefits of autonomy satisfaction and autonomy support and the costs of autonomy frustration and interpersonal control are only emic. For instance, Ruth Chao argued, "For Asians, parental obedience and some aspects of strictness may be equated with parental concern, caring, or involvement. . . . For Asians, parental control may not always involve "domination" of children per se, but rather a more organizational type of control for the purpose or goal of keeping the family running more smoothly and fostering family harmony" (Chao, 1994, p. 1112). In other words, the concern is that some etic constructs and explanations may actually be only emic constructs and explanations, once they are put to rigorous cross-cultural test.

SDT is an etic scientific theory of basic psychological needs and human motivation, but it also recognizes that (a) cultures vary in the values and priorities they seek to transmit to their members and (b) different cultures can assign, within limits, different meanings to the same educational practices or styles they use to transmit their values. From its onset, a central proposition of SDT has been that any practice or communication has a *functional significance*, or a psychological meaning, to the person who is receiving that practice or communication. On average, students might experience a teacher-imposed rule (e.g., "clean up before you leave") as a controlling communication, but the meaning of the rule might be experienced by students quite differently. The functional significance for one student might be "this is a restriction to my personal freedom and choice" whereas for another it might be understood as "helpful guidance to achieve competent functioning." These represent different senses of internalization with respect to following the rule or practice.

The functional significance of a culturally-endorsed prescription or proscription to an individual affects the extent to which he or she is able to internalize it. When cultures use controlling methods, and individuals interpret the functional significance of the recommendation as controlling, then the quality of the individual's internalization will tend to be impoverished, conflicted, and unstable, as in the case of introjection or societal (external) regulation. Such introjected values tend to represent conflict-generating

liabilities. When cultural socialization is characterized by autonomy-supportive methods, and individuals interpret the functional significance of the recommendation as autonomy supportive, then the quality of the individual's internalization will be heartfelt and self-transformative, as in the case of identification and integration. Such fully internalized values tend to represent assets for human flourishing.

As shown in the middle of Figure 2.2, these two concepts (functional significance, internalization) are important constructs to bridge together what is etic and what is emic in SDT. In making this bridge, the crucial question that determines the functional significance of any act of instruction is this: "Is the motivator trying to control me to get some specific outcome, or is he or she supporting my autonomy?" (Ryan & Deci, 2017, p. 164).
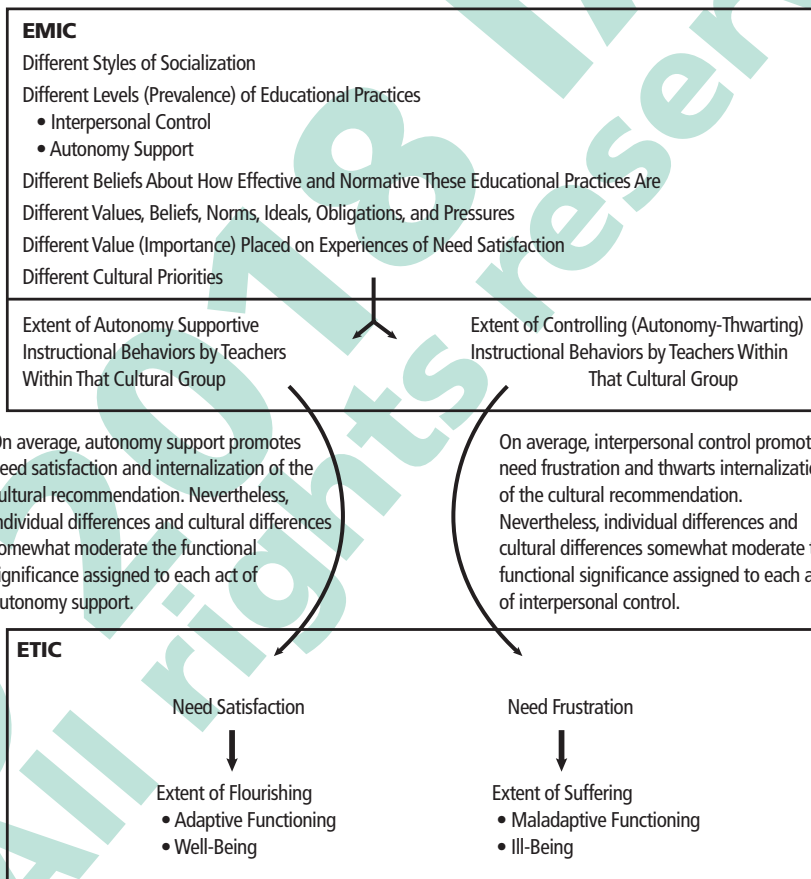

EMIC

Different Styles of Socialization

Different Levels (Prevalence) of Educational Practices
- Interpersonal Control
- Autonomy Support

Different Beliefs About How Effective and Normative These Educational Practices Are

Different Values, Beliefs, Norms, Ideals, Obligations, and Pressures

Different Value (Importance) Placed on Experiences of Need Satisfaction

Different Cultural Priorities

Extent of Autonomy Supportive Instructional Behaviors by Teachers Within That Cultural Group

Extent of Controlling (Autonomy-Thwarting) Instructional Behaviors by Teachers Within That Cultural Group

On average, autonomy support promotes need satisfaction and internalization of the cultural recommendation. Nevertheless, individual differences and cultural differences somewhat moderate the functional significance assigned to each act of autonomy support.

On average, interpersonal control promotes need frustration and thwarts internalization of the cultural recommendation. Nevertheless, individual differences and cultural differences somewhat moderate the functional significance assigned to each act of interpersonal control.

ETIC

Need Satisfaction

Need Frustration

Extent of Flourishing
- Adaptive Functioning
- Well-Being

Extent of Suffering
- Maladaptive Functioning
- Ill-Being

Figure 2.2 How the concept of functional significance integrates what is emic and what is etic in SDT.

For internalization, the crucial question is the extent to which there is an experience of personal choice to accept the recommendation as one's own, because an experience of choice or volition is as closely linked to satisfaction and well-being as are experiences of autonomy, competence, and relatedness need satisfaction (Miller, Das, & Chakravarty, 2011).

What is etic in SDT (i.e., what is culturally universal) appears in the lower half of Figure 2.2. Psychological need satisfaction, when it occurs, has a very close positive relation to flourishing—to adaptive functioning (e.g., engagement, learning) and to well-being. That is, irrespective of the person's gender or nationality, any person who experiences autonomy satisfaction, competence satisfaction, and relatedness satisfaction gains the benefits of adaptive functioning and well-being (Chen et al., 2015; Chirkov, Ryan, & Willness, 2005; Jang, Kim, & Reeve, 2012; Jang et al., 2009; Taylor & Lonsdale, 2010). Similarly, psychological need frustration, when it occurs, has an equally close relation to suffering and ill-being. That is, any person who experiences autonomy frustration, competence frustration, and relatedness frustration suffers the costs of maladaptive functioning (e.g., disengagement, antisocial behavior) and ill-being (Chen et al., 2015; Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser, 2001; Soenens, Park, Vansteenkiste, & Mouratidis, 2012; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007). So, what is etic in SDT are the tight relations between need satisfaction and wellness and between need frustration and illness.

What is emic in SDT (i.e., what is culturally specific) appears in the upper half of Figure 2.2. Culture influences what people believe to be true, and culture influences what behaviors represent "best practices" regarding education (Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Cultures vary in teaching and parenting practices and cultures endorse different beliefs. For instance, collectivistic cultures show high rates of controlling teaching styles, and often embrace interpersonal control as both an effective and normative classroom practice (Reeve et al., 2014). Similarly, while Belgian and Chinese parents overlap considerably in their parenting styles, Chinese parents on average are more interpersonally controlling than Belgian parents (Wuyts, Chen, Vansteenkiste, & Soenens, 2015). Cultures also vary in their values, goals, priorities, and norms, as some cultures value group priorities and social expectations over personal interests while other cultures value the opposite (Miller et al., 2011). Some cultures push academic achievement as a single pathway to success in the society for young people, while other cultures are more materialistic (Dittmar, 2007).

Because of these between-culture differences, cultures vary in the value they place on an experience of need satisfaction (e.g., how important is it) and also on how much its members desire such an experience (Chen et al., 2015). These differences mean that cultures will display different levels of various educational practices (e.g., autonomy support, interpersonal control).

In some cultures, socializers may encourage students to interpret a specific event (e.g., directive command from a teacher) as being non-thwarting, or maybe even supportive. But there are meaningful limits as to how much room for interpretation there is, as there are some practices, such as harsh control, that cannot be re-interpreted as a functional support to one's autonomy. In that spirit, we provide below what we hear as the most common reinterpretations of interpersonal control (e.g., "harmful" is re-interpreted into "not so bad" or even somewhat beneficial), as voiced by authoritarian and hierarchical cultures, such as nations that embrace Confucian values (Chao, 1994), a "win at all costs" competitive ethos (Cheon, Reeve, Lee, & Lee, 2015), or an explicit hierarchy of command (e.g., the military; Ricks, 1997).

I strictly control your behavior → I know what is best for you.
I will monitor you → I am here to assure your success in life.
Control and domination → Involvement and engagement
I am tough, even harsh → I care
I constantly push and pressure you. → I am an ideal teacher or parent.

As a case in point, consider the Asian concept of *guan* (or training). In this socialization process, teachers and parents encourage students to see the functional significance of interpersonal "control and domination" as more benign "involvement and engagement." This is typically done by arguing that intrusive involvement is actually an expression of care, warmth, and sacrifice (Stewart, Bond, Kennard, & Zaman, 2002). While warm, supportive involvement does contribute constructively to students' motivation (via experiences of relatedness need satisfaction; Sparks, Dimmock, Lonsdale, & Jackson, 2016), we do not see the reinterpretation of "control" into "control + involvement" as a constructive process, even when it prompts students to partially "take in" guan-based educational assets such as a work-ethic, self-discipline, or a strong valuing of education. This is because the partial "taking in" process is fueled by guilt-inducing introjections that are rooted in an external causality rather than by volitional identifications and integrations (i.e., internalization). Introjected motivation can be seen as having its bright side in that it can motivate working hard and enacting a high level of self-control, but it also has its dark side in that it gives rise to equal measures of harshly-experienced anxiety, perfectionism, self-criticism, superficial learning strategies, and ill-being (Powers, Koestner, & Zuroff, 2007).

A second example can be seen in the Asian concept of *filial piety*, which is elevated respect (reverence) for one's parents, elders, and ancestors. When this value is communicated as care, support, and an attachment to wisdom and guidance, it tends to promote internalization and individual autonomy,

but when this same value is communicated as duty and obligation, unquestioned obedience, and submission to authority, it tends to promote only introjection and external regulation (Pan, Gauvain, & Schwartz, 2013).

Sometimes socializers such as teachers or parents will use controlling methods, and they will attempt to justify their usage in terms of the student's "own good." But SDT suggests that this justification will be successful only to the extent that it is actually functioning as a support for autonomy, competence, or relatedness. Good intentions are not always enough to change this functional significance.

We realize that many cultures encourage reinterpretations of educators' controlling behaviors (e.g., "I strictly control your behavior, but I do so because I care and I know what is best for you."), but there are limits. One limit is that students across the globe generally benefit from autonomy support and generally suffer from teacher control, and this is the case even for students educated in China (Zhou, Ma, & Deci, 2009), Singapore (Lim & Wang, 2009), Korea (Jang et al., 2009), Taiwan (Hardre et al, 2006), Israel (Assor, Kaplan, Kanat-Maymon, & Roth, 2005), Brazil (Chirkov et al., 2005), Russia (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001), and Nigeria and India (Sheldon, Abad, & Omoile, 2009). Another limit is that people who are subjected to controlling instructional behaviors routinely experience a rather pronounced spike in physiological upset, such as a cortisol episode (Reeve & Tseng, 2011) or a secretory immunoglobulin (SlgA) reaction (Bartholomew, Ntoumanis, Ryan, & Thogersen-Ntoumani, 2011), both of which are rather unambiguous stress reactions.

The first author has been implementing teacher-focused autonomy-supportive intervention workshops in a hierarchical culture (South Korea) for the last 8 years (for an overview, see Reeve & Cheon, 2014). Collectively, these dozen experimentally-based, longitudinal studies reveal three core findings: (a) teachers in a hierarchical, Confucius culture can learn how to become more autonomy supportive and less controlling toward their students; (b) when these teachers become more autonomy supportive their students benefit in important and wide-ranging ways (e.g., need satisfaction, classroom engagement, conceptual learning, skill development, well-being, academic achievement); and (c) when teachers become more autonomy supportive they themselves benefit in important and wide-ranging ways (e.g., teaching efficacy, job satisfaction, and vitality during teaching). In one recent intervention study, Korean teachers randomly assigned into the experimental (intervention) group received a series of workshops to help them learn how to transform their existing controlling instructional behaviors into "structure-providing" (or competence-satisfying) instructional behaviors. For instance, teachers learned how to transform forcefully-imposed "extrinsic instructional goals" (e.g., make the top score) into "intrinsic instructional goals" (e.g., improve your skill) and to do so in an autonomy-supportive way (e.g., take the

students' perspective, acknowledge any negative feelings, and provide an explanatory rationale for the requested effort). Korean secondary-grade teachers were able to teach in more "structured and autonomy-supportive" ways, and when they did their students benefited in terms of greater need satisfaction, lesser need frustration, greater engagement, and greater internalization (Cheon & Reeve, 2017).

FOUR CLASSIC SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES, AS VIEWED THROUGH THE LENS OF SDT

Most big theories of motivation in education emphasize the importance of teacher-provided learning activities, expectations, goals, and regulatory style. In this section, we provide a SDT perspective of how these sociocultural influences can be presented to students in ways that support their autonomous (rather than their controlled) motivation.

Learning Activities

When teachers introduce a learning activity (e.g., watch a video, create a product, take a field trip), they can expect to see variation in how interesting and how important each student finds that learning activity to be. SDT principles can be applied to enhance the interest or importance of practically any learning activity. To vitalize interest (intrinsic motivation), teachers can introduce the learning activity in a way that involves and satisfies students' psychological needs. For instance, a teacher nurtures autonomy by giving students more say and self-direction during the learning activity (Jang, Reeve, & Halusic, 2016), a teacher nurtures competence by providing an optimal challenge and the progress-enabling guidance students need to master it (Lee & Reeve, 2017), and a teacher nurtures relatedness by creating opportunities for classmates to work together (La Guardia & Patrick, 2008). To vitalize a sense of importance, teachers can communicate the personal relevance of the learning activity as it relates to the students' own goals and concerns. In each case, the teacher presents the learning activity in a way that nurtures students' need satisfaction and, by doing so, enhances interest (Tsai et al., 2008) or importance (Jang, 2008).

Expectations

Most big theories of motivation emphasize the motivational pull of teacher expectations, although they sometimes use alternative terms such

as goals, standards, rules, plans of action, or possible selves. The basic idea is that students are performing or behaving at a "present state" and the teacher then asks them to perform or behave at an "ideal state." Teachers then provide the guidance and scaffolding students need to adjust their performance or behavior to meet the high expectations. In SDT, as in most big theories of motivation, the above describes "competence support." But one unique contribution of SDT is the finding that competence support by itself is not enough, as it needs to be delivered in an autonomy-supportive way. So, before teachers present students with their expectations and standards, they might begin by taking the students' perspectives (e.g., "What are your goals? What would you like to do?"), then acknowledging their students' negative feelings (e.g., "Yes, this will be difficult; it will take a lot of extra work; I realize that I am asking you to do what you cannot yet do."), and finally by offering an explanatory rationale for the high expectations (e.g., "The reason that I am asking you to try to do this is to help you develop a new skill that may be quite useful to you."). In SDT, competence support represents good practice, but supporting students' competence and autonomy represents best practice (Koestner, Powers, Carbonneau, Milyavskaya, & Chua, 2012).

Goals

Goal is such a central concept in many big theories of motivation and in teachers' repertoire of classroom motivational strategies that we give it special attention here. The key point is that the positive effects of goals are often moderated by how much or how little students autonomously endorse them. Some teacher-provided goals are fully endorsed, feel authentic, and are wholeheartedly accepted, embraced, and owned by the student, whereas others feel artificial or socially manufactured and are taken on as social obligations without a sense of personal ownership. The former are those that reflect the student's interests, needs, values, and preferences, whereas the latter are those that neglect or even conflict with the student's autonomous motivations (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998, 1999). For those goals that are volitionally self-endorsed, their pursuit draws upon personal resources (e.g., psychological needs, autonomous motivation; Koestner, Otis, Powers, Pelletier, & Gagnon, 2008) that especially energize, direct, and sustain the goal pursuit (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999). The extent to which students in one nation or one cultural group might tend to volitionally self-endorse any one particular educational goal (e.g., "be admitted to the best university") may represent an important motivational difference between the nations or cultures.

Regulatory Styles

A fundamental premise of SDT is that the quality of a student's motivation matters as much as does its quantity. Motivation quality speaks to the question of "what type" of motivation the student has during a learning activity, while quantity speaks to the question of "how much" motivation the student has. Most big theories conceptualize motivation as a unitary construct that varies in its quantity (and the more, the better). But SDT research shows that students who are highly autonomously motivated (i.e., high in intrinsic motivation and identified regulation) show more positive outcomes than do students who are highly control motivated (i.e., high in introjected and external regulation; Ryan & Connell, 1989). For instance, after controlling for the amount of motivation students have for school, students who possess autonomous motivation show more positive educational outcomes, such as engagement and conceptual learning, than do students who possess controlled motivation (Ratelle, Guay, Vallerand, Larose, & Senecal, 2007; Wang, Morin, Ryan, & Liu, 2016). The instructional implication is the recommendation that teachers work not only to highly motivate their students but to vitalize and support their autonomous motivation in particular.

FIVE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTIONS OF SDT TO THE BIG THEORIES OF MOTIVATION

The big motivation theories of education, such as self-efficacy theory, expectancy-value theory, achievement goal theory, and all those represented in the current volume, collectively provide a sophisticated, comprehensive overview to explain the nature and dynamics of students' academic motivation. Among these theories, SDT provides five unique contributions.

SDT Uniquely Emphasizes Autonomy and Autonomy Support

Most big theories of motivation emphasize the motivational centrality of students' competence (e.g., self-efficacy, mastery motivation, mastery goals, or personal control beliefs). These theories do not include constructs such as intrinsic motivation, autonomy, or autonomy support. Yet, SDT argues that the psychological need for autonomy represents an essential psychological architecture of human nature and student motivation. That is, all students possess an engagement-fostering, growth-motivating, and interest-taking psychological need for autonomy, and this motivational asset is a universal endowment in all students. Recognizing the capacity of autonomy

to energize and sustain students' high-quality learning, classroom engagement, adaptive functioning, healthy personality development, and psychological well-being, SDT researchers study the provision of autonomy support as the key sociocultural force that predicts variance in students' educational outcomes.

SDT Uniquely Identifies the Essential Elements That Define a High-Quality Relationship

Many big theories of motivation in education emphasize the importance of teachers establishing high-quality, caring, and responsive relationships with their students. A relationship that offers students' high and consistent levels of involvement, care, concern, and love supports students' motivation because it creates a sense of trust and security that allows students to open up to teachers to cooperate with them, accept their requests, and internalize their values and recommendations (i.e., a willingness to be influenced). This is because students have a sense of assurance that their teacher cares deeply about their welfare. In SDT, the above describes "relatedness support," and some SDT theorists (Sparks, Dimmock, Whipp, Lonsdale, & Jackson, 2015; Sparks et al., 2016) have carefully identified what teacher behaviors most allow students to experience such relatedness support, including individualized conversation, showing care, promoting cooperation and teamwork, and friendly communication. But, as made clear by relationships motivation theory, students cannot experience a high-quality teacher-student relationship if teachers' relatedness support is not also accompanied by autonomy support. Not only have SDT theorists conceptually and operationally defined what constitutes a high-quality relationship, they have further developed formal intervention programs to help teachers learn how to become more relatedness supportive (Sparks et al., 2015) and more autonomy supportive (Cheon et al., 2016).

SDT Uniquely Reminds Educators of Schooling's Twin Mission to Develop Happy, Productive Students

Practically, all SDT studies of student motivation include multiple dependent measures (student outcomes) to make sure that the sociocultural factors and motivational processes under study promote in students both high productivity (e.g., engagement, learning, achievement, skill development) and well-being (e.g., happiness, satisfaction, positive affect, self-esteem). This is because SDT understands the limits of hard-driving achievement that is void of experiences of personal satisfaction (e.g., perfectionism,

introjection) as well as happy students who do not actually learn, do, or achieve anything (e.g., permissiveness, indulgence). Thus, SDT-based intervention programs seek to promote in students high-quality motivation (i.e., autonomous motivation, need satisfaction) that is capable of supporting both academic progress and psychological well-being.

SDT is Uniquely a Culturally Critical Theory

What is etic in SDT is the close relation between psychological need satisfaction and well-being (as well as between psychological need frustration and ill-being). That is, basic psychological need satisfaction is understood as good and beneficial for everyone. This proposition sounds like a value, but it is also a conclusion from the empirical literature. Because psychological need satisfaction leads to well-being, SDT is uniquely positioned to be a culturally critical theory—one that can be used to evaluate a culture or organization. All cultures—just like all relationships—feature both need-supportive and need-thwarting elements, but some cultures are over-weighted toward the latter. What SDT criticizes are those political, economic, and cultural systems that diminish, suppress, or outright crush people's opportunities for autonomy, competence development, and relatedness satisfaction. SDT is a theory that respects diversity across cultures, while it still embraces a deep respect for the autonomy of people within every culture. When a culture systematically thwarts individuals' autonomy, competence or relatedness, the implications for ill-being can be disastrous (Van Bergen & Saharso, 2016).

SDT Uniquely Recommends That Teachers Provide Support, Rather Than Influence

The subtitle of the present book features the phrase "sociocultural influence," and it therefore suggests that what effective teachers do is influence their students in positive, constructive ways. In schools, influence is a sociocultural process in which teachers, administrators, parents, and others get students to complete their homework, make high grades, and value prosocial behavior. Adopting an influence mindset, teachers wonder, "What can I do to increase my students' motivation and engagement?" Self-determination theory, in contrast, presumes that students are fully capable of motivating and engaging themselves. They do not need educators to motivate them (because they already have plenty of available high-quality motivation) but, instead, they need educators to understand them and to support the motivation they already have (e.g., intrinsic motivation, psychological

needs, intrinsic goals, self-endorsed values). Adopting a support mindset, teachers wonder, "How can I create the conditions under which students can motivate themselves?" (Deci, 1995). So, looking through the lens of SDT, the teaching priority is not so much to provide "sociocultural influence" as it is to provide "support" for the motivation students already have.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Sociocultural influences are ever-present in global classrooms. Their presence and potency put a theoretical burden on each big theory of motivation to explain how these social forces advance or interfere with the educational process—and with students' classroom motivation and engagement in particular. To serve this purpose, SDT offers an interconnected network of six mini-theories to explain basic motivational processes and to solve classroom problems. SDT further bridges the etic-emic distinction often made in sociocultural investigations of teaching practices and student motivation, and it uses the key concepts of internalization and functional significance to do so. In terms of improving educational practice, the chapter uses the lens of SDT to look closely at the four particular sociocultural influences of learning activities, expectations, goals, and regulatory styles. In the end, we celebrate how the big theories of motivation in education collectively provide a sophisticated understanding of students' academic motivation, but we further note that SDT offers five unique contributions, such as a strong emphasis on student autonomy and teacher autonomy support.

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