

Must Motivation Come from Within? Narrative of a Language Learning Experience

ANESTIN LUM CHI

Department of English, Government Technical School Ndimi, Cameroon

Author email: anestinelum@gmail.com

Article information	Abstract
<p>Article history: Received: 29 Sep 2023 Accepted: 28 May 2025 Available online: 9 Jun 2025</p> <p>Keywords: Extrinsic motivation Language learning Foreign or additional language learning contexts</p>	<p><i>It has been largely argued that intrinsic motivation is the best and most effective in sustaining language learning. Deci and Flaste (1996) posit that motivation must come from within. While this might be possible and effective in contexts where learners have a personal interest in learning a language, it is not always the case for those learning English as a foreign or additional language. The reasons could be that learners are already struggling with other languages used as medium of instruction in their contexts and/or discipline-specific interests such that their internal drive is tilted towards these. It might therefore take an external fuel to spur their desire to learn English. Also, motivation is a cultural construct, deeply embedded within and shaped by societal norms, values and individual experiences. This article presents a counter argument to Deci and Flaste's. It leverages Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) and my personal language learning and teaching experience to show that external factors, contrary to the view that they gradually impede intrinsic motivation, have the potential to foster it and hence makes a case for educators, especially in foreign or additional language learning contexts, to create supportive learning environments that spur and foster learners' motivation while taking into account socio-cultural and individual differences.</i></p>

INTRODUCTION

It has been largely argued that intrinsic motivation is the best and most effective in language learning. Studies that have investigated intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation (e.g., Deci et al., 1999; Kohn, 1993; Lepper et al., 1973) argue that externally regulated factors such as rewards tend to negatively affect learners' intrinsic motivation. Does this mean that we should completely ignore extrinsic motivation? For Deci and Flaste (1996), "motivation must come from within ... from [the learners] deciding they are ready to take responsibility for managing themselves" (p. 194). This implies that motivation must be intrinsic and internally driven with learners "doing something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 55). But can we ascertain the existence and/or effectiveness of such an internal drive for English language learning in contexts where learners are caught up in a web of competing interests? Unlike in contexts where learners are constantly immersed in the language, English language learning in contexts where English is an additional or foreign language presents

unique challenges and considerations, requiring additional efforts and strategies to develop proficiency. More so, can we really define motivation as a universally uniform construct? While traditional models in motivational psychology have often assumed a degree of universality in motivational processes (Ryan & Deci, 2000), an increasing body of cross-cultural research challenges this assumption, underscoring the cultural and contextual specificity of motivational dynamics (Eccles & Wigfield, 2020; Ushioda, 2020). Motivation, far from being a monolithic phenomenon, is a culturally mediated construct that is differentially shaped by societal values, relational norms and individual experiences (Ushioda, 2009; Wentzel & Skinner, 2022). These affect how motivation is perceived, valued and expressed.

Motivation: The other side of the coin

Intrinsic motivation is often considered the driving force behind commitment to language learning to the disadvantage of extrinsic motivation considered to be detrimental. The interesting commonality about studies that undermine the benefits of extrinsic motivation is that they fail to take into account the “situated experience” of language learners (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 310). They focus, for the most part, on rewards whereas extrinsic motivational factors span well beyond pragmatic benefits and include socio-cultural and pedagogical aspects. More so, these studies perceive extrinsic motivation as a static phenomenon that will diminish over time and its end will in turn induce loss of interest and demotivation as advanced by the “overjustification” hypothesis (Lepper et al., 1973). But as Dörnyei (2005) posits, motivation “goes through rather diverse phases” (p. 83). The potential dynamism of extrinsic motivation lies in the many factors that influence it. Consequently, it varies and fluctuates over the course of language learning as affected by circumstances surrounding the learner. Ryan and Deci (2000) describe language learning in terms of a continuum in which goals are pursued for different reasons, with most of them not being intrinsic because of constraints imposed by social demands. Thus, different types of extrinsic motivation emerge over the course of learning depending on whether the social demands are autonomous or controlling.

Deci and Ryan (1985) identify four types of extrinsic motivation along a continuum: external regulation, introjected regulation, regulated identification and integrated regulation. External regulation occurs when a learner studies purely for external rewards like grades or to avoid punishment. Unlike external regulation, introjected regulation is driven by internal rewards like self-esteem. It occurs when a learner perceives learning as an obligation and engages with studies in order to avoid feelings of guilt or shame. Regulated identification occurs when a learner recognizes the usefulness of English for future goals. At a deeper level, integrated regulation happens when language learning becomes a fully accepted part of personal growth. Similarly, Dörnyei (2005) conceptualizes language learning motivation as a dynamic interplay between three components: the ideal self, the ought-to self and the learning experience. The ought-to self represents learning spurred by external expectations and obligations, such as societal pressures, parental expectations and job requirements. This corresponds closely to Deci and Ryan’s (1985), external regulation. According to Dörnyei (2005), external pressures, not personal desire, often serve as a starting point for language learners. However, as learners engage in the learning process, they gradually shift from the ought-to self to the ideal self, which is a vision of the learner as a successful and fluent language user. Dörnyei (2005) explains

that the future vision of the ideal self, which aligns closely with Deci and Ryan's (1985) regulated identification, plays a crucial role in motivating learners to invest effort into language learning as they strive to become the person they envision. The transition from the ought-to self to the ideal self is facilitated by a learner's immediate experiences with language learning, such as classroom dynamics and personal engagement with the language. Dörnyei (2005) suggests that the quality of these learning experiences directly influences the level of motivation a learner maintains throughout the process. Both Dörnyei's (2005) motivational framework and Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT emphasize that external motivation is not inherently negative or counterproductive because when aligned with learners' personal goals and values, it can become a catalyst for greater engagement and deeper learning. One of the key insights from Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT and Dörnyei's (2005) motivational framework is the internalization of external motivation – where learners begin to adopt external values as their own.

Studies that disregard extrinsic motivation have generally focused on external regulation, which deals with contingencies such as rewards. This is not necessarily negative but rather reflects true human nature. Gardener's (1985) perception that in learning a language, a learner strives either to attain goal(s) or become a member of a target community points to the fact that learning is externally motivated as "social-integrative purposes constitute forms of extrinsic motivation" (Ushioda, 2008, p. 22). Most often, the "locus of causality" (DeCharms, 1968) is external. It is not always learning for its own sake but for gains. As such language becomes an instrument; a means to an end.

As a teacher, I observed that my most determined and high achieving learners were those who had aspirations to study in English-speaking countries overseas after secondary education. These learners perceived English as a visa to future study and work opportunities. Ellis (2008) undermines instrumental motivation on grounds that it diminishes with attainment of the goal. But the truth is that utilitarian values are not always immediate and their long term attainment has the potential to sustain motivation over lengthy periods of learning. This is probably why Ushioda (2008) advises against disregarding extrinsic motivation as inherently counter-productive.

As a young learner coming from a French-medium instruction primary school, I felt more confident continuing with French-medium education but my parents persuaded me to enroll in an English-medium instruction secondary school because of the pragmatic benefits of English-medium instruction in a globalized world where English is viewed as an international currency (Beard, 2018). Eventually, I agreed and pursued English-medium education on the basis of future gains. My initial motivation was externally regulated as my parents made me understand why learning English was good. The stakes were clear: mastery of the language would unlock future doors.

One of the key drivers of English language learning is globalization. The dominance of English and the role it plays in interconnecting societies compels individuals to learn it in order to thrive in the global economy, especially as individuals with strong English language proficiency have a competitive edge in academia, business and politics (Beard, 2018). Increasingly, the need to "fit-in" and/or acquire global citizenship have become the driving force behind English

language learning. In fact, assuming that people are driven by an internal force to learn English is being naïve.

The role of external factors in shaping a learner's intrinsic motivation

While internal factors such as personal goals and interests are important, external factors provide the necessary stimuli and support to foster motivation. A teacher's influence through teaching methods and constructive feedback, a supportive and stimulating environment, and positive peer pressure, what Dörnyei (2005) calls the learning experience, have the potential to enhance a learner's engagement and intrinsic motivation.

Skinner's (1953) operant conditioning theory, with its stimulus-response mechanism, demonstrates that positive feedback motivates students to learn. Constructive feedback and encouragements from teachers give learners "positive views about their own effort" (Mahadi & Jafari, 2012, p. 234) and a sense of fulfillment knowing that teachers value their efforts. This can push them to work harder, boost their confidence and desire to succeed, trigger their inner drive in the long run and keep their intrinsic flame burning.

As a teacher, I observed how simple statements like *"yes, you can!, you are gradually getting there and well done!"* pushed slow learners to stay motivated and focused on task(s) and even helped to shape their perceptions of themselves. I remember vividly during one of my self-initiated end-of-year "send-off" with 12th graders, a learner wrote:

... Yes, you can was my starting point. It aroused my interest. If I am able to speak and write English today, it is because you made me to believe that it was possible. Thank you for making me to believe in myself.

The transformational impact embedded in these words, which remain engraved on my mind, supports the idea that motivation is "externally regulated and beyond the control and agency of learners themselves" (Ushioda, 2007, p. 24).

Ushioda (2003) explains that as children progress through school, they tend to make efforts not because they want to (in the sense of motivation from within), but because they are subjected to various dictates. Such dictates subject learners to introjected regulation, with manifestation of the "ought-to self". As such, they learn because of some form of pressure or obligation; not genuine desire (Ryan et al., 1992). This corroborates my experience when I eventually enrolled in an English-medium instruction school. I felt obliged to learn in order not to disappoint my parents. At this stage, it was not so much about the rewards but the desire to demonstrate that I could measure up to expectation, on the one hand, and the need for approval, on the other hand. Just like the student cited above, my "ought-to self" was rooted in expectations from family and society. Kilday and Ryan (2022) explain that learners' introjects could also be shaped by the social learning environment as a whole (teacher and even fellow learners).

Motivation develops through "social participation and interaction" (Ushioda, 2008, p. 25). A supportive and stimulating environment that promotes collaboration and provides

opportunities for hands-on experiences can foster a learner's engagement. Although a learner is perceived as an active agent in the construction of knowledge, this perceived ideal "self-as-agent" can only be attained when there is "positive interpersonal support" (McCombs, 1994, p. 56). This is where the paradox lies: motivation stems or should stem from the self, yet the learning environment, which is external to one's self, plays an important role in the process. The teacher as an external regulator of a learner's self, uses various techniques and creates an enabling environment for learners to take responsibility for their learning as illustrated by Dörnyei's (2001) motivational strategies framework.

As a teacher, and contrary to what Deci and Flaste (1996) think about using techniques to motivate, I observed that some of my learners made considerable progress on task(s) when I modeled, monitored and scaffolded. This supports the view that motivational strategies matter and spur learners' engagement (Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008; Thoonen et al., 2011). Besides helping learners to complete task(s), these strategies help to develop their capacity to think critically (Lantolf & Appel, 1994). Other learners felt more confident working and sharing ideas in groups. They felt supported seeking guidance and sometimes re-instruction from their peers. Interactions with classmates who are motivated and enthusiastic about learning can create a positive peer pressure that encourages a learner to strive for excellence. Collaborative learning activities, group projects and discussions, what Robinson (2023) terms motivational support and motivational climate, can create a sense of community and foster learning. This supports the idea that motivation develops as a function of a learner's engagement "with motivated and motivationally supportive others" (Ushioda, 2003, p. 92). Whether mediated by the teacher or fellow learners, classroom interactions have the potential to nurture and sustain motivation as they put learners under some form of obligation to learn (not as a free choice though); hence introjected regulation. Inversely, negative influences within the learning environment such as negative peer pressure could impede individual student motivation and engagement; hence the need for teachers to set the tone for peer interactions and manage peer relationships in a way that promotes positive affect (Kilday & Ryan, 2022).

The pressure exerted by various forms of dictates, such as parental advice, positive peer and teacher influence and the learning environment as whole, could eventually lead to some internalization of learning (Kilday & Ryan, 2022; Robinson, 2023; Skinner et al., 2022; Wentzel & Skinner, 2022). In such a case, the learner begins to self-select and identify with goals. Deci and Ryan (1985) talk of motivation being regulated through identification – a more internalized form of extrinsic motivation. Although extrinsic in nature "identified regulation is relatively volitional" (Vansteenkiste et al., 2006, p. 21) in the sense that the goal is internalized – the learner self-selects the goal but with an external motive. My personal experience corroborates this view. Although I was initially motivated by future gains and later pressured by the need for approval, as I moved to Grade 10 my regulation gradually shifted to identification. I started working on perfecting my English to attain a higher proficiency; but this was in order to mock school mates with lower proficiency. I remembered how my first weeks in Grade 7 (when I could not say a word in English) were a nightmare with school mates making a mockery of me; I decided to perfect my English to pay my hitherto mockers in their own coin. Although the desire to attain a high proficiency level was self-selected and internally driven, the motivating factor remained external. In fact, it was the external factor that pushed me to work

hard enough and to eventually internalize the high proficiency goal that propelled me from the stage of English learner to competent user.

Deci and Ryan (1985) posit that once a learner identifies with a goal, they are likely to integrate it. A learner attains integrated regulation once he or she begins to self-reflect and evaluate goals against needs and values. This evaluation is, in itself, influenced by a set of external factors such as competence, relatedness and autonomy. Interestingly, as my competence grew, so did my confidence and with it, a sense of enjoyment and ownership over the learning process. What began as extrinsic eventually transformed into something more autonomous, aligning with Deci and Ryan's (1985) perspective on the internalization of external motivation. My decision to specialize in English language at the university was motivated by competence, having attained a good proficiency level at high school. It was not just about the internal drive but very much my aptitude and relatedness to English-speaking communities. Relative socio-integrative tendency and aptitude actually spurred and sustained the English specialization inner drive. This shift from reward-driven to aspiration-driven motivation marked a transition toward a more integrated form of learning.

It is worth mentioning that the relatedness factor against which a learner evaluates the goal in integrated regulation is not completely isolated and distinctive from the integrative orientation in external regulation. Their interrelatedness shows that extrinsic motivation is not made up of separate bricks that can be understood in isolation; neither are the types of extrinsic motivation linear, with learners moving from one type to another in a chronological order. Ryan and Deci (2000) explain that a learner can "adopt a new behavioural regulation at any point along the continuum" (p. 62). My personal experience endorses this view. Although at my initial learning stage in Grade 7 I was pressured by dictates, it was the thought of the future benefits I had hitherto been promised (prior to enrolling in an English-medium instruction school) that stopped me from quitting. Even the decision to specialize in English language teaching, at the university, was influenced by potential gains and parental encouragement. In all, my experience was not entirely linear: the different types of external motivation interfered with one another as affected by different factors over the course of learning. Indeed, the value of extrinsic motivation can be better appreciated when perceived as an interspersed (not a developmental) continuum with the factors involved (whether autonomous or controlling) taken as a whole; not as isolated chunks.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Although intrinsic motivation is often praised, it is important to acknowledge that motivation does not operate in a vacuum; it intersects with individual goals, real-life experiences and even cultural expectations. While some cultures tend to emphasize intrinsic motivation – the desire to engage in activities for personal satisfaction and self-actualization, other cultures (e.g., Africa and East Asia) often value extrinsic motivation that aligns with communal goals, social harmony and fulfilling familial obligations. This divergence does not imply a lack of intrinsic motivation in collectivist cultures or vice versa, but rather highlights how motivations are prioritized and interpreted differently. Recognizing this cultural situatedness enriches our

understanding of motivation beyond reductionist one-size-fits-all models and invites teachers to consider culturally responsive teaching practices that acknowledge learners' backgrounds and values. One way of framing motivation in culturally resonant ways is to align classroom goals with culturally meaningful narratives. For example, in collectivist societies, highlighting how language skills can contribute to family honour, community service or national development, encapsulated in Deci and Ryan's (1985) introjected regulation, may be more effective than promoting self-actualization or personal enjoyment. Rather than viewing motivation as a set of internal traits, Norton (2013) and Ushioda (2009) argue for an understanding of motivation as socially situated as learners do not simply respond to incentives but construct meaning from them in light of their identities and interactions with others. Such an understanding can help inform pedagogical practices that create effective learning environments.

In contexts where learners are caught in a web of competing interests, educators could ignite engagement and foster the love for language learning through pair or group work, celebration of learners' efforts, supportive feedback and community building. Strategies for igniting and fostering engagement include designing goal-oriented projects such as assigning real-world tasks (e.g., writing a blog post or recording a podcast) and offering tangible rewards such as publishing the best blog/podcast or giving digital badges. Such external recognitions can draw in less motivated students. Over time, learners begin to value the skill itself (expressing ideas in English). Educators may also design collaborative tasks where group success depends on each member's participation (e.g., jigsaw readings, team presentations) and recognize individual contributions. Such external social validation can trigger internal responsibility and pride. Another strategy teachers may use is to relate classroom tasks to students' real aspirations (e.g., studying abroad, passing exams or using English at work). One way of achieving this is by introducing "*why it matters*" discussions after lessons to surface the relevance of language features learned. A question like "*how can we use this grammar in job interviews or travel conversations?*" can make the language feature more relatable, spurring learner engagement. Acknowledging individual learning styles can also foster motivation. Teachers can acknowledge individual differences by offering the opportunity for learners to choose how they want to present assignments (e.g., video, infographic, writing). Giving structured choices fosters autonomy and helps students to identify with the goals behind learning tasks. Again, the extent to which learners may be given the opportunity to choose and what choices they are able to make are influenced by cultural norms, which vary across contexts. Educators should also focus on providing feedback that encourages long-term motivation by shifting from outcome-based to process-based feedback. One way of achieving this is by providing task-focused feedback that highlights specific efforts such as "you used connectors effectively to improve paragraph flow" rather than giving vague praises like "good job". Another way is by encouraging students to assess their own performance and set improvement goals. Extrinsic motivation is not a crutch; it's a bridge. When strategically implemented, external rewards, feedback and classroom design can serve as powerful tools to transition students from compliance to commitment. Teachers need to support the internalization process by helping students see how these external motivators are connected to their personal goals.

However, while external motivational factors may be applied across educational settings, their impact is far from uniform. Motivation is not just culturally situated; it also varies between

individuals even within the same cultural or educational environment. Learners differ significantly in how they perceive, respond to and integrate external motivators. Consequently, language educators need to take into account students' motivational profiles to maximize impact. For externally regulated (reward-driven) students, teachers may use incentives such as point systems or leaderboards to spark engagement. However, the focus should be on progress and personal improvement, not just competition. For introjected learners, driven by self-esteem, it might be worthwhile to offer private feedback, avoid public comparisons and focus on individual progress. For identified or integrated (value-driven) learners, teachers may emphasize real-world relevance and use project-based learning or problem-solving scenarios to enhance motivation. Even as teachers take into account individual differences, they need to be conscious that learners may adopt new behavioural regulations at any point in the learning process. As such they need to be alert to potential shifts in motivational patterns and adjust accordingly.

CONCLUSION

Beyond being solely intrinsic, motivation is “socially-mediated” (Ushioda, 2003, p. 90) and contextual influences on motivation are crucial (Wigfield & Koenka, 2020). Although motivation might actually be kindled from within for some learners, it still requires external forces to sustain the flame within over time. It takes more than internal processes to develop persistence and intensity over time. This article leverages a personal experience to discuss different types of extrinsic motivation and explores the role external factors play in language learning. It argues that contrary to the view that externally regulated motivation gradually impedes intrinsic motivation, it has the potential to foster it. Accounts of my experience show that my motivation for studying English was not initially internal; the inner drive was only developed with the help of external influences. Though unwilling at the beginning, I started complying along the line and finally became committed thanks to the influence of various external factors. By sharing my experience, I aim to illustrate how lived experiences intersect with broader motivational frameworks, making them more relatable. This narrative is not presented as anecdotal evidence, but rather as a reflexive, autoethnographic account that enriches theoretical discussions. While this inclusion provides valuable, contextualized insights, I recognize that using a personal narrative introduces subjectivity into my analytical stance. Rather than attempting to remove these influences, I have sought to make them visible and open to scrutiny. In presenting both personal narrative and broader analysis, I invite readers to consider the subjectivity inherent in this article and to critically engage with the interpretations offered. The analyses presented here reinforce the idea that extrinsic processes can actually ignite, activate and foster inner individual motivation. Hence the suggestions on how English language teachers can leverage extrinsic motivators and adapt instructional methods to foster sustained motivation.

THE AUTHOR

Anestine Lum Chi is a multiple award-winning Cameroonian language educator working in the Department of English at Government Technical School Ndimi, Cameroon. She holds an M.A. in Applied Linguistics with a specialization in teacher education from the University of Warwick, United Kingdom. Her research interests include pre- and in-service teacher education and professional development.

anestinelum@gmail.com

REFERENCES

- Beard, M. (2018). Language as currency: Perpetuating and contesting notions of English as power in globalized Korean contexts. *Journal of Comparative and International Higher Education*, 10(1), 19–25.
- DeCharms, C. R. (1968). *Personal causation: The internal affective determinants of behaviour*. Academic.
- Deci, E. L., & Flaste, R. (1996). *Why we do what we do: Understanding self-motivation*. Penguin.
- Deci, E. L., Koestner, R., & Ryan, R. M. (1999). A meta-analytic review of experiments examining the effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(6), 627–668.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behaviour*. Plenum Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2001). *Motivational strategies in the language classroom*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Eccles, J. S., & Wigfield, A. (2020). From expectancy-value theory to situated expectancy-value theory: A developmental, social cognitive, and sociocultural perspective on motivation. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 61, Article 101859. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2020.101859>
- Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation*. Edward Arnold.
- Guilloteaux, M. J., & Dörnyei, Z. (2008). Motivating language learners: A classroom-oriented investigation of the effects of motivational strategies on student motivation. *TESOL Quarterly*, 42(1), 55–77. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545-7249.2008.tb00207.x>
- Kilday, J. E., & Ryan, A. M. (2022). The intersection of the peer ecology and teacher practices for student motivation in the classroom. *Educational Psychology Review*, 34(4), 2095–2127. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-022-09712-2>
- Kohn, A. (1993). *Punished by rewards*. Houghton-Mifflin.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Appel, G. (1994). *Vygotskian approaches to second language research*. Ablex.
- Lepper, M., Greene, D., & Nisbett, E. (1973). Undermining children's intrinsic interest with extrinsic rewards: A test of the "overjustification" hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 28(1), 129–137. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0035519>
- McCombs, B. (1994). Strategies for assessing and enhancing motivation: Keys to promoting self-regulated learning and performance. In H. F. O'Neil, Jr. & M. Drillings (Eds.), *Motivation: Theory and research* (pp. 49–69). Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090563>
- Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2001). Changing perspectives on good language learners. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35(2), 307–322. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3587650>

- Robinson, K. A. (2023). Motivational climate theory: Disentangling definitions and roles of classroom motivational support, climate, and microclimates. *Educational Psychologist*, 58(2), 92–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520.2023.2198011>
- Ryan, R. M., Connell, J. P., & Grolnick, W. S. (1992). When achievement is not intrinsically motivated: A theory of internalization and self-regulation in school. In A. Boggiano & T. S. Pittman (Eds.), *Achievement and motivation: A social-developmental perspective* (pp. 167–188). Cambridge University Press.
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 25(1), 54–67. <https://doi.org/10.1006/ceps.1999.1020>
- Skinner, B. F. (1953). *Science and human behaviour*. Macmillan.
- Skinner, E. A., Kindermann, T. A., Vollet, J. W., & Rickert, N. P. (2022). Complex social ecologies and the development of academic motivation. *Educational Psychology Review*, 34(4), 2129–2165. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-022-09714-0>
- Mahadi, T. S. T., & Jafari, S. M. (2012). Motivation, its types and its impacts in language learning. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 3(24), 230–235.
- Thoonen, E. E. J., Slegers, P. J. C., Peetsma, T. T. D., & Oort, F. J. (2011). Can teachers motivate students to learn? *Educational Studies*, 37(3), 345–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2010.507008>
- Ushioda, E. (2003). Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom: Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment* (pp. 90–102). Authentik.
- Ushioda, E. (2007). Motivation, autonomy and sociocultural theory. In P. Benson (Ed.), *Learner autonomy 8: Teacher and learner perspectives* (pp. 5–24). Authentik.
- Ushioda, E. (2008). Motivation and good language learners. In C. Griffiths (Ed.), *Lessons from good language learners* (pp. 19–34). Cambridge University Press.
- Ushioda, E. (2009). A person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 215–228). Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-012>
- Ushioda, E. (2020). *Language learning motivation*. Oxford University Press.
- Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., & Deci, E. L. (2006). Intrinsic versus extrinsic goal contents in self-determination theory: Another look at the academic motivation. *Educational Psychologist*, 41(1), 19–31. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep4101_4
- Wentzel, K., & Skinner, E. (2022). The other half of the story: The role of social relationships and social contexts in the development of academic motivation. *Educational Psychology Review*, 34(4), 1865–1876. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-022-09713-1>
- Wigfield, A., & Koenka, A. C. (2020). Where do we go from here in academic motivation theory and research? Some reflections and recommendations for future work. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 61, Article 101872. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2020.101872>