

Chapter 11: Identification with External and Internal Referents: Integrativeness and the Ideal L2 Self

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Abstract

Gardner's original concept of integrativeness was based on his conviction that one's identification with speakers of the L2 and desire to become similar to those speakers provides motivation to learn that language. Later, Dörnyei proposed that the ideal L2 self, one's idealized model of oneself as a language speaker, should replace integrativeness as the prime motivator and object of identification. This chapter argues that the ideal L2 self cannot replace integrativeness for two reasons. First, the locus of identification differs. Integrativeness represents identification with an external referent, traditionally a language group that one wishes to enter, whereas the ideal L2 self represents identification with an internal referent. Second, empirical results based on comparison of correlation with effort show that when corrected for attenuation, Integrativeness-D&C (Dörnyei & Csizér's 2002 version of integrativeness) correlated significantly more strongly with Intended Learning Effort than did the Ideal L2 Self in the studies that call for replacement. Advantages and disadvantages of using the Integrativeness-D&C scale are identified and future directions for research are suggested. As well, a model of identification incorporating aspects of both integrativeness and the ideal L2 self is presented, in which identification with an external model is linked to identification with an internal model via internalization in a complementary relationship.

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Gardner's original concept of integrativeness was based on his conviction that one's identification with speakers of the L2 and desire to become similar to those speakers provides motivation to learn that language (Gardner, 1958, 1985a; Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Later, Dörnyei (2005) proposed that the ideal L2 self, one's idealized model of oneself as a language speaker, should replace integrativeness as the prime motivator and object of identification. This chapter argues that the ideal L2 self cannot replace integrativeness because the locus of identification differs for these two referents. Integrativeness represents identification with an external referent, traditionally a language group that one wishes to enter, whereas the ideal L2 self represents identification with an internal referent. In this chapter, identification with both external and internal referents will be explored. The proposal for replacing the concept of integrativeness with that of the ideal L2 self will be evaluated, and a model of identification incorporating aspects of both integrativeness and the ideal L2 self will be presented, in which identification with an external model is linked to identification with an internal model via internalization in a complementary relationship.

Identification with Members of the L2 Group

The integrative motive was originally defined by Gardner (1958) as “a desire to gain membership into the other culture group because of satisfactions associated with being like members of that group” (p. 11). In a later paper (Gardner, 2001), he explained that his concept of identification with the L2 group originated in a paper by Whyte and Holmberg (1956) that nurtured his interest in identification. In it, the authors described the factors that they had found to influence language learning by North American businessmen in Latin America. There were four factors: contact, the variety of experience, psychological identification, and ability. Gardner (2001, p. 7) wrote:

Psychological identification was perhaps the most important factor in learning the language. They [Whyte & Holmberg, 1956] state “If the employee learns the language simply as a tool to get the job done, then he has little incentive to go beyond ‘job Spanish’. If he views language as a means of establishing real bonds of communication with another people, then he has the psychological foundations for language mastery” (p. 15).

Gardner recognized a bond or connection with the L2 group as a key element in the path to language mastery. A desire for “real bonds of communication with another people” represents Gardner’s concept of integrative motivation, in contrast to instrumental motivation, which represents a desire to learn a language “simply as a tool to get the job done”. At the time, Gardner agreed with Whyte and Holmberg (1956) that mastery required integrative motivation, but he recognized the benefits of instrumental motivation as well (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991).

Gardner distinguished between the terms identification and integrativeness quite early in his research, reserving the term *identification*¹ for identification with members of one’s own language group, linked to acquisition of the first language, and *integrativeness* for identification with another language group. He wrote:

Languages are typically learned in the process of becoming a member of a group; the sustaining motivation is usually one of group membership, not of language acquisition per se. It seems advantageous therefore to reserve the term identification for the first-language condition, and refer to the willingness to become a member of another language group as

an integrative orientation. This term is useful in that it denotes the desire for integration (common in both situations) but distinguishes it from identification in terms of the antecedent conditions leading to such a motive. (Gardner, 1960, p. 12)

Another reason for introducing the new label of integrativeness was apparently to distinguish it from Mowrer's (1950) view of identification as deriving from "the reduction or satisfaction of basic biological needs" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 12). However, the term *integrativeness* is problematic, because in one sense of the word, integrativeness may imply a desired physical integration with a particular L2 group. Identification, however, does not necessarily require physical integration.

Gardner (1960) points out that a child's identification "denotes a drive to be like members of the family (cf. Davitz, 1955) and not merely to learn the language" (p. 11). By extension, Gardner reasoned, language learners want to be like members of the community they wish to join. In 2001, Gardner wrote:

Learning another language involves making something foreign a part of one's self. As such, one's conception of their "self" and their willingness to open it up to change, as well as their attitudes toward the other community, or out-groups in general will influence how well they can make this material part of their own repertoire. We propose that learning a second language involves taking on the behavioural characteristics of another cultural group of people, and that this has implications for the individual. Language is an integral part of the individual, and is a significant part of the self... To take on another language therefore involves some modification of the self. (pp. 3–4)

Here Gardner clearly links motivation to learn a language to identification with another community. He also clearly links learning a language to changes in the self. In a previous study, Gardner and Lalonde (1985) had already linked language learning to identity:

The major basis of this motivation seems best viewed from a social psychological perspective in that it involves the extent to which the individual is able or willing to identify with the other ethnolinguistic community. Language is an important part of one's own identity, and the extent to which one can incorporate another language successfully is related among other things to a host of attitudinal variables involving ethnic relations. (p. 15)

Identity is currently one of the most researched topics in L2 motivation (Block 2003, 2009). It is interesting to see that long before these concepts had become mainstream, Gardner and Lalonde (1985) recognized that learning a language may affect the learner's self-concept and identity.

Measuring Integrativeness

In 1985, Gardner (1985b) published his Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), a revision of the AMTB he had developed in 1979 with other colleagues (Gardner, Clément, Smythe & Smythe, 1979). In the AMTB, Gardner used the term *integrative* at three levels: integrative orientation, integrativeness, and integrative motivation. A description of all three follows.

1. **Integrative Orientation:** First, an *orientation* is “a collection of reasons that reflect

common or conceptually similar goals” (Gardner, 2001, p. 10). In other words, an orientation represents a reason for wanting to use the L2. According to Gardner (1985a),

An integrative orientation refers to that class of reasons that suggest that the individual is learning a second language in order to learn about, interact with, or become closer to, the second language community. Although many reasons could be subsumed under this category, it reflects an interest in forming a closer liaison with the other language community². (p. 54)

In the AMTB (Gardner, 1985b, p. 19), a 4-item Integrative Orientation scale appeared. This scale was revised somewhat over time³ and in the final version (Gardner, 2004) it appears as:

1. Studying English can be important to me because it will allow me to be more at ease with people who speak English.
2. Studying English can be important for me because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people.
3. Studying English can be important for me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the English way of life.
4. Studying English can be important for me because I will be able to interact more easily with speakers of English.

2. **Integrativeness**: “This index reflects affective reactions of the individual toward Francophones, desire to learn French for integrative (or social) reasons, and general interest in other languages. This is intended to assess attitudinal reactions applicable to the learning of a second language which involves the other language community or other groups in general” (Gardner, 1985b, p. 4). It includes scores on the following three to four scales: Attitudes toward French Canadians (and/or European French, 10 items), ratings of an Integrative Orientation [four items, above], and Interest in Foreign Languages (10 items).

3. **Integrative Motivation**: Integrative motivation consists of integrativeness (number 2 above) plus two additional components: (a) Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation, consisting of two scales: students’ evaluations of the L2 teacher and of the French course; (b) the motivation component, represented by three scales: Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn French, and Attitudes toward Learning French.

Over time, the complexity of the integrative motivation construct, the different levels of components, and other perceived problems with integrativeness led to criticism from researchers (e.g. Au, 1988, Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Dörnyei, 1994, 2005; Oxford & Shearin, 1994).

A New Integrativeness Scale (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002)

Because of a perceived need for a simplified integrativeness scale, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) created a new integrativeness scale (hereafter *Integrativeness-D&C^d*) and changed Gardner’s original items.

Dörnyei and Csizér’s (2002) new Integrativeness-D&C scale consisted of three items only:

- How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?
- How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?
- How much do you like English?

This new three-item Integrativeness-D&C scale was based on the following reasoning:

The core aspect of all three levels of the integrative disposition is some sort of a psychological and emotional ‘identification’. According to Gardner (2001), this ‘identification’ concerns the L2 community (i.e. identifying with the L2 speakers) but Dörnyei (1990) argued that in the absence of a salient L2 group in the learners’ environment (as is often the case in foreign language learning contexts in which the L2 is primarily learnt as a school subject) the identification can be generalized to the cultural and intellectual values associated with the language, as well as to the actual L2 itself. Indeed, the three questionnaire items in our survey that make up the ‘integrativeness’ scale illustrate this multifaceted character well in that they concern the attraction towards the L2, the L2 culture, and the L2 speakers, respectively. (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, p. 453)

In 2001, Dörnyei and Clément confirmed via factor analysis that these three items loaded onto the new Integrativeness-D&C scale. However, the Integrativeness-D&C scale has problems with reliability (see Table 2 later in this chapter) as well as some other problems, to be described later. The major problem with the new Integrativeness scale is that what had previously been three

well-formed scales with strong reliability (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; see later in this chapter) became three items within one scale, measuring Dörnyei & Csizér's (2002) concept of integrativeness, which is quite different from what Gardner measured.

International Posture: A New, Globalized View of Integrativeness

In 2002, Yashima extended Gardner's concept of integrativeness by expanding the concept of the L2 community from a particular English-speaking community to the world community of English speakers. Yashima combined and expanded two variables – Instrumental Orientation and Intercultural Friendship Orientation – that she had identified in her 2000 study and created a new construct called *International Posture*, defined as “interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and, one hopes, openness or a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures, among others”. International Posture represents the desire of students to interact with foreigners but includes neither identification with them nor the desire to integrate into a specific L2 community. As well, in International Posture, English plays the role of lingua franca – i.e. a language that is not native to the communicators but is spoken by them – rather than a foreign language.

In structural equation modeling, Yashima (2002) found that International Posture predicted motivation (.79). According to Yashima's results, the *world community of English speakers* may be a motivator for Japanese students and represents the expansion from a specific L2 community as reference group to a vague international community. Yashima (2002) wrote that English seems to represent:

... something vaguer and larger than the American community in the minds of young Japanese learners. For many learners, English symbolizes the world around Japan, something that connects them to foreign countries and foreigners or ‘strangers’ in Gudykunst’s (1991) sense, with whom they can communicate by using English. (p. 57)

Yashima (2002), reflecting on her 2000 study, wrote that she had identified “an orientation similar to the integrative orientation, but somewhat different in the sense that it reflected the role of English as a lingua franca, with the target community not clearly specified” (p. 57). Gardner (2006) favourably compared his Integrativeness to Yashima’s (2002) International Posture, noting that both of these constructs reflect an openness toward speakers of the L2.

In the context of globalization, this move to a non-specific English-speaking global community as reference group, with English as lingua franca, was welcome to researchers who rejected the notion of a particular language community as a necessary reference group (e.g., Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Shaw, 1981; Yashima, 2000). The paradigmatic shift from specific L2 community as reference group to non-specific global community of English speakers was first reported on in Asia, by Yashima (2000, 2002) and S. Ryan (2008, 2009a) in Japan, and by Lamb (2004) in Indonesia. S. Ryan (2008) provided a new label of *cosmopolitan posture* for his “cluster of variables relating to contact and identification with people from other cultures correlating highly with efforts to learn” (p. 202). The deterritorialization of the reference group⁵ from specific, localized community to non-specific, global community is reflected in the deterritorialization of English as a foreign language that belongs to native speakers, to English as a lingua franca that belongs to everyone.

Identification with an External or Internal Referent?

Ushioda (2006) acknowledged Yashima's contribution of International Posture and the shift to a global community of English speakers as a reference group. However, Ushioda questioned whether it was appropriate to conceptualize it as "an 'external' reference group, or as part of one's internal representation of oneself as a de facto member of that global community" (p. 150). In 2013, Ushioda wrote:

Since people are also in principle members of this global community themselves, one might also argue that they are motivated to learn English to enhance their sense of cosmopolitan identity and connectedness as part of this imagined English-using global community. In other words, being an English user may be integral to how they wish to see themselves – that is, part of their desired identity or sense of self. (p. 9)

The notion that what the student identifies with is not an external reference group but rather their own ideal vision of themselves as a capable English speaker, i.e. the student identifying with their own ideal L2 self, was first made by Dörnyei and Csizér in 2002. They had found, in their large-scale study of 4765 Hungarian students (the first two waves of three waves of national surveys conducted in Hungary), that integrativeness explained almost as much variance in both of their criterion measures – intended effort and language choice – as all the other tested variables combined, even though they had used their new three-item Integrativeness-D&C scale described in the previous section, not Gardner's Integrativeness scales. Dörnyei and Clément (2001) wrote, "integrativeness represents a certain 'core' of the learners' attitudinal/motivational disposition, subsuming, or mediating most other variables" (p. 415). But

Dörnyei and Csizér noted that the students in monolingual Hungary who had participated in the survey had had little if any contact with L2 speakers. They argued that integrativeness was an unrealistic motivator for these students and concluded that what had been labeled integrativeness was actually measuring something else. Dörnyei and Csizér recognized Gardner's linking of integrativeness to identification, but they pointed to a different locus of this identification, the same that Ushioda would point to in 2006. Dörnyei and Csizér wrote:

We suspect that the motivation dimension captured by the term is not so much related to any actual, or metaphorical, integration into an L2 community as to some more basic identification process within the individual's self-concept. (p. 453)

This was the beginning of Dörnyei's focus on possible selves. Dörnyei and Csizér's conclusion was based largely on their 2002 results showing the overwhelming impact of integrativeness (using the new Integrativeness-D&C scale) in a country where there is little contact with foreigners (see also Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Kormos & Csizér, 2008). Dörnyei (2009) based his concept of the ideal L2 self on that of the *ideal self* as described by Higgins, Klein and Strauman (1985), Markus and Nurius (1986), and Higgins (1987).

It is interesting to note that in the passage quoted above from Dörnyei and Csizér (2002), a basic identification process is clearly pointed out. However, only the internal representation of that identification is mentioned, in the form of the individual's self-concept. Had Dörnyei and Csizér included identification with external referents, i.e. with role models or reference groups as well, both external and internal referents could have been included in an expanded, multidimensional reinterpretation of integrativeness – based on identification.

Replacing Integrativeness with the Ideal L2 Self? A Closer Look at the Numbers

In 2005, Dörnyei called for the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005; see also Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). It is important to note that what is being proposed is not the addition of the ideal L2 self variable to the group of L2 motivation variables identified over the past 60 years of research, but the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self⁶. Dörnyei (2005) wrote, “I do not think that the term integrativeness does justice to the broader interpretation of the concept described here; rather, I suggest that it be re-labeled as the ideal L2 self” (p. 103). The suggestion seems to be that what had been measured as integrativeness had actually been the ideal L2 self all along, and there was a misinterpretation of the fundamental concept of the construct being measured. Dörnyei’s doctoral students S. Ryan (2008, 2009a) and Taguchi (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009) have also called for the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self. In this section, four issues that arise from this call for replacement will be explored.

Comparisons of Correlations with Intended Learning Effort

First, S. Ryan (2008, 2009a⁷), in his study of Japanese high school students and university students, found that the correlation of Ideal L2 Self with Integrativeness-D&C was strong and significant ($r = .59$, see Table 1). The correlation for Ideal L2 Self with Intended Learning Effort (ILE, S. Ryan’s criterion measure) was $.77$ while the correlation for Integrativeness-D&C with ILE was $.65$. S. Ryan claims that these results support the notion that the ideal L2 self and integrativeness⁸ can be equated, and he concludes the Ideal L2 Self is the “more accurate measurement” (p. 170) because it “correlated markedly higher with the main criterion measure [ILE]” (p. 264).

The issue that arises here is that S. Ryan (2008) contends that because the correlation for Ideal L2 Self is higher, the ideal L2 self should be recognized as the “more effective means of explaining motivated behaviour” (p. 169). However, neither Ryan (2008) nor Taguchi et al. (2009) performed tests for significance difference between correlations. Clément (personal communication) notes that since these tests are calculated on the same population, the correct test is a test of the difference between dependent correlations, which takes into account the correlation between the predictors.

Clément performed the necessary tests (see Hoerger, 2018) and found that there were some non-significant differences in these correlations (see Table 1). However, without a correction for attenuation, comparison of the correlation of a three-item scale with an external criterion to the correlation of a five-item⁹ scale with that same external criterion may not be a valid comparison, given that the number of items in a scale affects variance and reliability. Clément reanalyzed Ryan’s (2008, 2009a) and Taguchi et al.’s (2009) data after correcting for attenuation (see Anglim, 2009) and obtained different results – in favor of integrativeness-D&C (see Table 1). After correcting for attenuation, Integrativeness-D&C correlated significantly more strongly with Intended Learning Effort than did the Ideal L2 Self in all four tests performed¹⁰.

Table 1

Clément's results of tests for significant difference between dependent correlations with intended effort before and after correcting for attenuation

Study, Region	N	Predictors	<i>Correlation with intended effort before correcting for attenuation</i>				<i>Cronbach alpha reliability</i>		<i>Correlation with intended effort after correcting for attenuation</i>			
			<i>r</i>	Inter-correlation	<i>z</i> -score	Var. (%)	Predictors	Criterion	<i>r</i>	Inter-correlation	<i>z</i> -score	Var. (%)
S. Ryan (2009a), Japan	2397	Ideal	.77	.59	10.44	35	.85	.86	.90	.84	-5.34	71
		Int-D&C	.65		<i>p</i> < .001		.58		.92		<i>p</i> < .001	
Taguchi et al. (2009), Japan	1534	Ideal	.68	.59	2.51	35	.89	.83	.79	.78	-11.34	61
		Int-D&C	.64		<i>p</i> = .012		.64		.88		<i>p</i> < .001	
Taguchi et al. (2009), China	1328	Ideal	.55	.51	1.38	26	.83	.75	.70	.71	-4.60	50
		Int-D&C	.52		<i>p</i> = .169		.63		.76		<i>p</i> < .001	
Taguchi et al. (2009), Iran	2029	Ideal	.61	.53	1.86	28	.79	.79	.77	.80	-14.15	64
		Int-D&C	.58		<i>p</i> = .063		.56		.87		<i>p</i> < .001	

Note. Ideal = Ideal L2 Self, Int-D&C = Dörnyei & Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness version, Var. = Shared Variance (%) of predictors Ideal L2 Self and Integrativeness-D&C. Used with Clément's permission.

Shared Variance

Second, Taguchi et al. (2009) found that the average variance in the criterion measures explained by Integrativeness-D&C was 29% while the average variance explained by the ideal L2 self was 34%, “which is 17% higher¹¹. These findings justify the replacement of integrativeness with the ideal L2 self” (p. 78). Taguchi et al. cite correlations of over .50 (.51 to .59) of Integrativeness with the Ideal L2 Self when calculated across their entire sample and conclude, similarly to S. Ryan, that “these results demonstrate that the two variables are tapping into the same construct domain and can therefore be equated” (p. 77) and “our findings support the underlying tenet of the L2 Motivational Self System that integrativeness can be relabeled as the ideal L2 self” (p. 88).

Integrativeness-D&C and the ideal L2 self correlate significantly with each other (see Table 1), and both also correlate with Intended Learning Effort, but this is not sufficient reason to equate them. Fischer, Vauclair, Fontaine and Schwartz (2010) contend that to conclude that structures are identical and exchangeable requires the demonstration of (near-perfect) isomorphism, which requires a minimum level of 80% common variance. Table 1 shows shared variance ranging from 26% to 35% in the two studies that claim that integrativeness should be replaced by the ideal L2 self, far below the required 80%. Even after correction for attenuation, shared variance ranges from 50% to 71% (see Table 1), still less than 80%. Following this reasoning, the ideal L2 self and integrativeness are not identical and therefore not exchangeable, based on Fischer et al.’s criteria.

Reliability of the Integrativeness-D&C Scale

Third, S. Ryan also reports that the reliability coefficient of the Integrativeness-D&C scale is quite a bit lower in the Japanese context (.58) than in the Hungarian context (.69), and

that this “seems to point to something unsatisfactory about the concept itself”. But S. Ryan measured integrativeness according to Dörnyei and Csizér’s (2002) concept of integrativeness, using the new three-item Integrativeness-D&C scale (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), not Gardner’s (1985b) three scales with a total of 24 items. In Masgoret & Gardner’s (2003) meta-study of 75 independent samples involving 10,489 individuals, Gardner’s (1985a, 1985b) integrativeness was found to have an overall reliability mean of .90, with mean reliabilities of its three components being .79 (integrative orientation), .85 (attitudes toward the target language group) and .83 (interest in foreign languages). Thus, there were three unidimensional scales making up the multidimensional concept of integrativeness. In contrast, the Integrativeness-D&C scale assumes that integrativeness is unidimensional, i.e. that identification with the L2, the L2 culture, and the L2 speakers are the same thing. According to Segars (1997):

An essential, but often overlooked, property of measurement which is assumed in both exploratory and confirmatory statistical techniques is unidimensionality. Scales which are unidimensional measure a single trait. This property is a basic assumption of measurement theory and is absolutely essential for unconfounded assessment of variable interrelationships (p. 107)... Poor measurement properties can lead to erroneous conclusions regarding the existence, magnitude, and direction of association between constructs. (p. 108)

S. Ryan’s (2008) reported reliability coefficient of .58 for Dörnyei & Csizér’s (2002) three-item Integrativeness-D&C scale is less than the commonly accepted minimum¹² of .70 (Nunnally, 1978). The reliability of the Integrativeness-D&C scale has been found to be weak in

other studies as well, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Reliability of Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness-D&C Scale in Order of Date from Earliest to Most Recent Studies

Study	Country	Population	α
Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh (2006)	Hungary	13- and 14-year olds	.69 ¹³
Kormos & Csizér (2008)	Hungary	High school	.53
Kormos & Csizér (2008)	Hungary	University	.51
Kormos & Csizér (2008)	Hungary	Adult language learners	.38
S. Ryan (2008)	Japan	High school and university	.58
Taguchi, Magid and Papi (2009)	Japan	University	.64
Taguchi et al. (2009)	China	Middle school, university, and working professionals	.63
Taguchi et al. (2009)	Iran	Middle school, university	.56
Islam, Lamb and Chambers (2013)	Pakistan	University	.30
Claro (2016)	Japan	University (first-year engineering majors)	.71

In fact, reliability of Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness-D&C scale rarely reaches the minimum reliability of .70 for alpha. According to Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010), "with short scales of 3 to 4 items we should aim at reliability coefficients in excess of 0.70; if the Cronbach Alpha of a scale does not reach 0.60, this should sound warning bells" (p. 95). A low value of alpha could be due to an insufficient number of questions, poor inter-item relatedness, or heterogeneous constructs (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

This issue of the reliability of Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness-D&C scale is an important one. The new Integrativeness-D&C scale has far lower reliability than the original Gardner scale, and has been drastically oversimplified, from 24 items in three scales to three

items in one scale. We should ask what we have gained by this. Is the replacement of Gardner's (1985b) original scales justified? Indeed, had S. Ryan (2008) and Taguchi et al. (2009) used Gardner's scales instead of Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) new modified scale, what alpha values would they have found, and what correlations with effort would they have found?

Comparison of Scale Descriptions and Items

Fourth, as S. Ryan (2008) acknowledges, "the strength of all the integrativeness correlations is consistently high" (p. 169) and "the individual items on the relative scales were ostensibly very different" (p. 168). Indeed, these two scales measure different constructs, one being identification with an L2 community, the other being identification with one's ideal L2 self.

An inspection of the scale items shows how different these two constructs are. Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness-D&C scale is intended to measure the "attraction towards the L2, the L2 culture, and the L2 speakers" (p. 453). The Integrativeness-D&C scale (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), as previously cited, consists of the following three items:

- How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?
- How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?
- How much do you like English?

The Ideal L2 Self scale represents "the L2-specific facet of one's ideal self" (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 105). The Ideal L2 Self scale (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010, based on S. Ryan, 2008) consists of the following five items:

- I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.
- I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.
- I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.
- Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.
- The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.

By inspecting the items in these scales, as well as the authors' descriptions of what these scales are intended to measure, it is clear that the two scales measure different constructs.

To summarize, Integrativeness-D&C, as defined by Dörnyei and colleagues, can be criticized for these reasons:

- The construct is too narrow to cover the conceptual domain originally described by Gardner and therefore cannot be called *integrativeness*;
- The scale is too brief to produce reliable measurement;
- As a result, the low reliability limits the potential size of correlations. Comparison of correlations may be misleading or inappropriate without correction for attenuation.

For these reasons, the future use of the Integrativeness-D&C scale should take these limitations into account.

The suggestion that what has been labeled integrativeness should be relabeled as the ideal L2 self has been much contested by the research community. In reviewing the proposal to relabel integrativeness as the ideal L2 self, MacIntyre, MacKinnon & Clément (2009) caution, "Don't

throw out the baby with the bathwater” and, more specifically, “the concept of possible selves should not simply be a renaming of the integrative motive”¹⁴ (p. 2). MacIntyre et al. (2009a) conclude that “possible selves and integrative motivation perspectives are not mutually exclusive, and are instead complementary concepts that map much of the same phenomenological territory... *the two frameworks present complementary aspects*” (p. 43, emphasis mine).

Interestingly, in 2003, Dörnyei wrote, “I have now come to believe that many of the controversies and disagreements in L2 motivation research go back to an insufficient temporal awareness... Different or even contradictory theories do not exclude one another, but may simply be related to different phases of the motivated behavioral process” (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 18). Here Dörnyei (2003) promoted an inclusive view of different theories, and explicitly rejected exclusion. It is in this spirit of inclusiveness that we may find that there is room for both integrativeness and the ideal L2 self in L2 motivation theory.

Gardner (2005), responding to the suggestion of equating the concept of integrativeness with the ideal L2 self, wrote:

I believe that it might confuse things considerably; it certainly will make communication about integrativeness difficult. The concept of integrativeness as initially proposed refers to an affective dimension and it is historically linked to the concept of identification. It is quite possible that individuals who are high in integrativeness may have different perceptions of their self and their ideal self, particularly as they relate to the second language but it would seem better to use a different label. (p. 8)

Other researchers (Brady, 2015; Busse, 2010; Claro, 2016; MacIntyre, MacKinnon & Clément, 2009) reject the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self and maintain that while the ideal L2 self has much to offer, “We conjecture that a reinterpretation of integrativeness is justified but that relabeling the concept under the novel theory of the ideal self entails an equation of the two concepts, which so far in the literature does not seem justified” (Brady, 2015, p. 134). Busse (2010) wrote, “the assertion ignores the significant correlation between *integrativeness* and *effort*: if the scale indeed measured what it intended to measure, the existing correlation between *integrativeness/attitude* and *effort* cannot simply be discarded” (p. 84).

By careful inspection of the items in the Ideal L2 Self scale and the new Integrativeness-D&C scale (see earlier section), we can state with confidence that these two scales measure two different constructs. Dörnyei & Csizér’s (2002) Integrativeness-D&C scale is intended to measure identification with “the L2, the L2 culture, and the L2 speakers” (p. 453), all of these being external referents. The Ideal L2 Self scale is intended to measure “the L2-specific facet of one’s ideal self” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 105), an internal referent. Also, in order to show that these two variables are identical and exchangeable, shared variance of 80% is required by Fischer et al. (2010) but shared variance does not reach that level even after correction for attenuation. Neither the theoretical explanations put forward nor empirical results justify the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self.

As MacIntyre et al. (2009a) proposed, these two conceptual schemes are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. There are two referents, differing in their locus of identification. Neither can be eliminated from the motivational framework without losing the integrity of the model. MacIntyre, Noels and Moore (2010) point to “a dismissive or combative attitude... even well-educated scholars occasionally throw rocks at each other... We believe, however, that the

dismissive or confrontational tone serves to shut down the possibility of dialogue and discovery of how one perspective may inform the other” (p. 3). Furthermore, these researchers call for integrity and respect in L2 research:

We need to read and understand each other’s work... a true critique can only be arrived at once one has deeply understood the work of others. Part of this understanding means recognizing what might be strengths of that perspective, not only its weaknesses... It certainly cannot be accomplished if we show disrespect toward others’ current perspectives, thereby alienating them and precluding the possibility of dialogue. And we should approach our own work with a similar critical perspective. (MacIntyre et al, 2010, p. 5)

Basically, Gardner focused on identification with an external referent and Dörnyei focused on identification with an internal referent. Neither of them explained the relationship between the two. “I want to be like that person (or group)” becomes, when internalized, part of the process of creating one’s ideal self. There is a continual process of selection of external models and internalization of the aspects of those models that we find most attractive and useful for improving ourselves. The ideal self is constantly modified, improved, and updated to reflect learning arising from new experiences. We can expect that both forms of identification could increase and/or decrease over time in response to various experiences.

Linking Identification and the Ideal Self

In explaining motivation to learn one’s mother tongue, Gardner (1960) referred to identification with members of one’s own language group, linked to acquisition of the first

language, simply as *identification*, but did not mention an ideal self. However, the relationship between identification with an external model and the subsequent construction of an internal ideal model is an important one. The internalization of identification is a normal process, indeed an essential process, for human beings and starts in infancy.

Over the course of a lifetime, we identify with various individuals, and also with the groups of people we belong to: our families, our classmates and peers, our communities; socialization involves the internalization of much of the behaviour and beliefs of these role models and reference groups into our ongoing project of self-construction. We also identify with groups of people that we *want to* belong to. Spolsky (1969) related integrative motivation to the choice of an external L2 language community as one's reference group. A useful definition of reference group can be found in Weinreich (2003): "A person's positive role model (or reference group) is defined as some other person (or group) construed as possessing many of the attributes and values to which one aspires, that is, ones associated with one's ideal self-image" (p. 84).

Role Models and Reference Groups

Gibson (2004) describes the construction of an ideal self as originating in identification with role models. A role model represents attributes that the individual wants, and the individual identifies with the role model and sees the role model as a possible future self. Individuals might not identify globally with one particular role model but only with aspects that they value, so that an ideal self may be a composite of bits and pieces of various role models (Gibson, 1995), all of whom have one or more desirable attributes that the individual wishes for him/herself and aspires to in the future. Through social comparison (Festinger, 1954), "role models help individuals define and develop their self-concept" (Gibson, 2004, p. 139). In social comparison, role models help to shape one's ideal self ("Who do I want to be?") as well as focus attention on the actual

self (“Who am I?”). It is discomfort caused by the discrepancy between one’s actual self and one’s ideal self that provides motivation leading to efforts directed at reducing the discrepancy by trying to become one’s ideal self (Higgins, Klein & Strauman 1985; Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986).

L2 Role Models and Reference Groups: Some Examples

Following are a few examples of L2 role models and reference groups found in the L2 motivation literature:

Role model: Language students admire their slightly older peers’ English ability and want to be like them. Murphey and Arao (2001) report this comment made by a Japanese university student: “I was surprised to see the college students speaking fluent English. It’s cool. I want to be like them” (p. 5).

Reference group: An Ecuadorian immigrant to the USA wants to improve her English so that she can integrate well into her new environment. An example is “Lucia” in Igoudin (2013), who said, “I want to be part of this culture. If you don’t learn English, it’s like I’m not here...without English it is not gonna happen” (pp. 202-203).

Imagined community (Anderson, 1991; Norton, 2001): A language student wants to live in France, speak French, and become cultured like the French. For example, “Alice” in Kinginger, (2004) said, “I guess I expected some kind of cultural consciousness... (I thought that they would) invite me into their lives... and teach me about being French” (p. 228).

In all of these cases, there is an external referent who models language ability and/or cultural associations with that language (being cool, being cultured). There is a wide variety of people who can act as role models or reference groups, and an even wider range of desired abilities and qualities that we see in others and want for ourselves.

Active Internalization of Identification with an External Referent to an Internal Referent

In mainstream psychology, internalization is seen as a way for individuals to “accommodate to the world, by internalizing and integrating the values and regulations that allow them to operate more effectively” (Deci, R. M. Ryan & Williams, 1996, p. 167, referencing R. M. Ryan, 1993). Valsiner (2009) described idealization as a “by-product of constructive internalization” (p. 19); in other words, an ideal self is the natural result of internalization of attributes we see in others that we hope to have ourselves. Wright, Aron, and Tropp (2012) view identification as *inclusion of others (and groups) in the self* and propose a model of self-expansion to account for identification with role models or reference groups. In the self-expansion model, “people seek to enhance their potential efficacy by expanding the self to include material and social resources, perspectives, and identities that will facilitate achievement of goals” (p. 344).

Internalization is a key process in the formation of identity, motivation, and self-regulation in language learning too. As human beings, we identify with role models/reference groups (external referents) and internalize their positive, desirable attributes in the form of an ideal self (internal referent). The organic process of active internalization¹⁵ transforms the attributes from externally situated role models to internally situated personally relevant forms that are part of one’s ideal self. When these desirable attributes relate to language learning, they become part of our ideal L2 self.

Gardner (2006) referred to a similar process of internalization as “taking on characteristics of another cultural/linguistic group” (p. 247). Wanting to become a member of an L2 group, and to become similar to the members of that group, is what Gardner referred to as integrativeness. But this is a two-part process¹⁶, and involves the internalization of the

behaviours, attitudes, and other valued characteristics of the other within the ideal self. Gardner did mention that identification affects the self but he did not develop this idea to the point that Dörnyei did with the concept of the ideal L2 self.

It is important to recognize the dynamic nature of internalization¹⁷. It is not a passive transmission or copying process where aspects of the external model are transferred into the individual (Panofsky, 2012) but an active process of deconstructing externally-encountered meaning and reconstructing it internally. “This internalization is never mechanistic; it demands an active reorganization and appropriation of experience. The internalized meaningful ‘picture’ of the external world is not a ‘mirror image’ of the latter, but a new version that anticipates the possible change in the external world” (Zittoun, Valsiner, Vedeler, Salgado, Gonçalves, & Ferring, 2013). We constantly select which aspects of new information are useful to us and restructure or *recode* (Symons, 2004) them in unique and personally relevant ways. This active nature of learning is the basis of constructivism.

A Simple Model of Active Internalization

In a model of language learning that recognizes the roles of both identification and idealization in motivation to learn an L2, we would find two identification variables: *external identification*, representing identification with an external source, (in L2 motivation studies, historically, a component of integrativeness); and *internal identification*, representing identification with an internal source, currently conceptualized as the *ideal L2 self*.

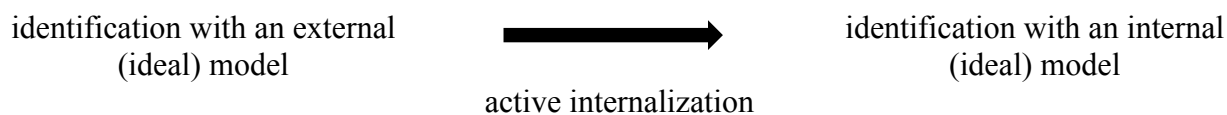


Figure 1. Identification with external and internal ideal models.

In this basic process, desirable aspects of external models are internalized as part of an active process. The internal ideal self model will be different from the external model because it has been modified, reconstructed and personalized according to the knowledge bases unique to the individual. The natural process of identification with external referents¹⁸ creates and helps to develop a coherent ideal (L2) self. It is the discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal self and the discomfort¹⁹ caused by this discrepancy that motivates changes in behaviour that will, if successful, move the learner closer to his or her ideal self (Higgins, 1987).

As we can see in Figure 1 above, the processes of identification with external and with internal referents are mutually supportive rather than competing. Identification with external referents, including role models and reference groups, is internalized in the form of the ideal self. Identification may provide motivation to learn a language, as well as provide motivation to achieve other related goals such as living and working in another country, or joining a local group of L2 speakers. How identification with external and internal referents influence each other and correlate with each other has been largely unexplored in the language learning literature, but research in mainstream psychology on role models and how they affect the self may help point to future directions for research. Lockwood and colleagues' research on how role models affect the self may be useful here (see e.g. Lockwood & Kunda, 1997; Lockwood, Jordan, & Kunda, 2002).

Where Does an Ideal L2 Self Come From?

According to Dörnyei (2009, p. 33), having a powerful role model can “ignite the vision” and activate motivation for learning a language via creation or enhancement of an ideal L2 self. Dörnyei (2009) wrote:

There is no doubt that L2 speakers are the closest parallels to the idealised L2-speaking self. This suggests that our attitudes towards members of the L2 community must be related to our ideal language self image. I would suggest that the more positive our disposition toward these L2 speakers, the more attractive our idealised L2 self. (pp. 27-28)

L2 speakers as role models represent an external ideal model, with an internal ideal model (the ideal self) being the personalized, internalized representation. Role models exemplify behaviour and skills that individuals identify with and want for themselves. Identification with role models becomes internalized in the form of the ideal self. If there are few or no role models, there is little to create the vision of one's ideal self or to help it to grow. Dörnyei (2009, p. 33) wrote, "it is highly unlikely that any motivational intervention will lead a student to generate an ideal self out of nothing" (see also Dörnyei, 2014). Therefore, identification with an external referent – a role model or reference group – seems to be a necessary precondition for the internalization and growth of the ideal self. In order for an ideal self to form, there must first be identification with external referents (role models and/or reference groups, including imagined communities and the local group).

Dörnyei mentions that reference groups and peer groups and "presenting powerful role models" can help to "ignite the vision". Dörnyei's concept of the ideal L2 self seems to be compatible with the concept of identification with an internal referent, which we find on the right side of Figure 1. On the left side, we find identification with external referents, which in L2 motivation originated in Gardner's concept of integrativeness. This left side needs an associated

scale related to both Gardner's Integrativeness and to Integrativeness-D&C but with an explicit focus on identification with external referents.

One positive aspect of the new Integrativeness-D&C scale is that it may be useful in the effort to put a focus on identification as a main motivator in L2 motivation. One of the Integrativeness-D&C items, "How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?" goes right to the heart of identification with the L2 speakers, which Gardner described as a concept but did not include in his own Integrativeness construct (Gardner, 1985b). The lack of a reference group in this item is possibly useful, as this item as currently phrased includes all reference groups. Thus, what the new Integrativeness-D&C scale brings to the discussion is an explicit focus on identification.

Contributions of Integrativeness and the Ideal L2 Self

The contribution of integrativeness to L2 motivation theory is without precedent. In 1959, with Gardner & Lambert's seminal article, the field of L2 motivation was born. The main ingredient of integrativeness is identification with members of the L2 group, and identification and identity (see Norton, 2000, also this volume) are among the most researched topics in L2 motivation and in mainstream psychology today.

The contribution of the ideal L2 self to current L2 motivation theory has been acknowledged by a number of studies (for a review, see Al-Hoorie's, in press, meta-analysis of the L2MSS). The two studies highlighted in this chapter (Ryan, 2008 and Taguchi et al., 2009), two of the biggest studies done to date on the L2MSS, both found that the Ideal L2 Self correlated significantly with Intended Learning Effort (see Table 1). By using structural equation modelling, Taguchi et al. (2009) also showed that the Ideal L2 Self predicts Intended Learning Effort both directly and indirectly through Attitudes to Learning English. Results of these studies

(Ryan, 2008 and Taguchi et al., 2009) help to confirm that the Ideal L2 Self is indeed a motivating factor for the populations studied, as discrepancy between one's actual self and one's ideal L2 self may motivate students to make more effort in their English study. In my own recent study (Claro, 2016), I found that the Ideal L2 Self was one of four predictors of Intended Learning Effort. In the current chapter, identification with an internal referent is represented by the Ideal L2 Self. These studies indicate that the ideal L2 self is a most welcome and valuable addition to our current understanding of L2 motivation.

But the ideal L2 self cannot replace integrativeness. Integrativeness (Gardner) and the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei) are complementary forms of identification that differ in locus of identification. Integrativeness represents identification with an external locus (role models and reference groups), while the ideal L2 self represents identification with an internal locus. When we identify with L2 speakers, we actively internalize the desired aspects of those L2 speakers – linked to but not limited to L2 ability²⁰ – and these desired aspects become part of one's own desired self. Desire to achieve the goal of a better self, when strong enough, may provide motivation to make the necessary effort toward reaching that goal. Identification with external referents and with our internal referent are both essential to our continued growth as human beings. We constantly create and recreate our identities and self images, and we are inspired by those we see around us.

In the preface to this volume, Dörnyei writes that he was fascinated by Gardnerian theory and that his thinking about L2 motivation 'directly evolved from Gardner's theory of integrative motivation'. In turn, Dörnyei has brought 'renewed vibrancy' to integrativeness, by creating an item in his L2MSS that refers explicitly to identification with an external referent. This sole item, 'How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak English?' is proving itself

immensely useful in my (nearly finished) dissertation. Dörnyei also writes in the preface that he agrees with my evaluation of integrativeness and the ideal L2 self as complementary forms of identification; indeed, he agrees that the ideal L2 self cannot replace integrativeness. I cannot imagine a better conclusion to this chapter than the peaceful coexistence of integrativeness and the ideal L2 self, and I am greatly looking forward to all the new research paths that will open up because of this unification.

In their own ways and over many years, Gardner and Dörnyei have painstakingly discovered, described, and promoted the importance of identification, thereby greatly strengthening our understanding of language learning motivation. This paper's objective has been simply to incorporate their work on identification into a unified theory of identification, and to suggest research directions to further develop and integrate their contributions.

Future Directions for Research

Very little research has been done on how role models affect the ideal L2 self. There are many questions that need to be answered before we can incorporate identification with external and internal referents into a model of L2 motivation. These questions include but are not limited to the following:

How can we best measure identification with external and internal referents? Does identification with external referents directly affect motivation? Or is it the internal referent that provides the motivational force? Is it both? How do these referents relate to each other, and to motivation and effort to learn an L2? How do the effects of identification with external and internal referents increase and decrease over time? Would it be useful to measure the effects of identification with both external and internal referents on motivation by using a complex dynamic systems approach (see e.g. Dörnyei, Henry & MacIntyre, 2015)?

Other related issues include the following, related to pedagogical implications and scale development:

1. Role models provide living proof to students that an ideal L2 self is attainable, and that with enough effort, they too can acquire the level of L2 ability they desire. Providing access to role models may be one of the most motivating experiences that teachers can arrange for students. What kind of role models are best for initiating identification that will lead to the creation and strengthening of the ideal L2 self of language students? Native speakers, non-native speakers, students living abroad, students living locally, non-students (working in a specific field of interest to the students)? Are living breathing role models best, or can online role models also be motivating? Also, what kind of reference groups and/or imagined communities of L2 speakers are motivating for L2 learners? How important is the local group as a referent?
2. Should the current Ideal L2 Self scale that appears in Dörnyei & Taguchi's (2010) L2MSS instrument, which envisions the student living abroad and using English at work, be expanded? Some students may have a more locally-oriented ideal L2 self that involves living in their home country. Ryan's (2008) original Ideal L2 Self scale is location-free, i.e. it is more inclusive in that it allows for a local Ideal L2 Self. Is an all-inclusive (including global and local aspects) single scale for the Ideal L2 Self the best way to go? Or would it be to our advantage to have a local version of the Ideal L2 Self as well as a global version, i.e. two scales? Is there a social Ideal L2 Self that does not include using English at work? Ryan (2008, 2009b) also identified the social capital aspect of English, i.e. being able to speak English looks cool; as well, English may represent a potential

path to personal liberation (Ryan, 2009b). There are many aspects of the ideal L2 self and many possibilities exist for the development of ideal L2 self items and scales.

3. A related issue is that there is currently no scale that measures students' actual self in L2 motivation studies. However, the development of an L2 *possible selves* scale was reported by MacIntyre, MacKinnon and Clément (2009b) and this is a potentially useful approach to measurement of identification with actual (present) selves and ideal (future) selves.
4. What is to be done with the currently inadequate Integrativeness-D&C scale? It has only three items, poor reliability, and it needs a new name. The repair of Integrativeness-D&C may be worth a fair amount of work because of the explicit focus on identification it brings to L2 motivation research. Gardner (1985a, 1985b) and Dörnyei & Csizér (2002) pointed to three conceptual domains of identification that may affect L2 motivation: identification with 1) L2 speakers; 2) the L2 culture, and 3) the L2 itself. A fully developed scale measuring identification with L2 speakers would be particularly useful.

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Notes

¹ Early in his career, Gardner attempted to limit the term *identification* to the L1 learning process, but this did not last, and over time Gardner used identification, as well as the associated terms *identify* and *identity*, in relation to acquisition of both first and subsequent languages.

² It is important to note that although Gardner included identification in his 1985 book, Gardner's integrative orientation description does not mention identification, and there are no items or scales in the AMTB (Gardner, 1985b) that measure identification with members of the L2 community.

³ The original scales measured motivation to study French; this was changed to English in later years. Items 3 and 4 were modified somewhat from these original versions: Studying French can be important for me because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate French Canadian art and literature (item 3), and because I will be able to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups (item 4).

⁴ The term Integrativeness-D&C is used here to contrast Dörnyei and Csizér's abbreviated Integrativeness scale with Gardner's original Integrativeness scale.

⁵ In fact, there are three reference groups identified thus far: 1) a specific L2 community (Gardner, 1958, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Igoudin, 2008, 2013; Noels & Clément, 1996); 2) a non-specific (imagined) community of L2 speakers (Lamb, 2004; Ryan, 2008; Yashima, 2002); and 3) a local group of cosmopolitan, urban English speakers seen to possess a global identity (Lamb, 2004; Shaw, 1981).

⁶ Interestingly, despite calling for the replacement of integrativeness by the ideal L2 self, Dörnyei has not yet actually replaced his three-item version of Integrativeness (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) with the Ideal L2 Self, but includes both as scales in the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) instrument (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010).

⁷ S. Ryan's 2009 chapter is based on his 2008 dissertation and uses the same data.

⁸ S. Ryan (2008) and Taguchi et al. (2009) both used Dörnyei & Csizér's (2002) Integrativeness-D&C scale in their studies but both used the term *integrativeness* when they recommend replacing integrativeness with the ideal L2 self. These authors seem to recommend replacing Gardner's integrativeness based on results they found using not Gardner's Integrativeness scales, but the D&C version. No measures of Gardner's integrativeness were used in either of these studies.

⁹ Ryan (2008) used a six-item Ideal L2 Self scale. Taguchi et al. (2009) used two slightly different five-item Ideal L2 Self scales for the Japanese and Chinese studies, and a six-item scale for the Iranian study (slightly different from the other two). Taguchi et al.'s (2009) Ideal L2 Self scales are the same scales as those in the L2MSS instrument (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010).

¹⁰ Clément also tested Davidson, Guénette and Simard's (2016) data and found non-significant results for z both before and after correction for attenuation.

¹¹ This figure may be easily misunderstood. The actual difference between the two correlations is $34\% - 29\% = 5\%$ only. Taguchi et al.'s (2009) figure of 17% is simply intended to mean that from 29% to 34% there is an increase of 17%, in other words, $5/29 = .17$. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for this explanation.

¹² According to Nunnally's (1978) "widely accepted rule of thumb" (Spector, 1992, p. 32), the minimum score for Cronbach's alpha that indicates a scale's internal consistency is .70.

¹³ The value of $\alpha = .69$ refers to the 2004 figure for learning English reported in Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006, p. 40). In 1993, the value for α was .66, and in 1999 it was .72 (Dörnyei et al., 2006, p. 40).

¹⁴ This quotation appears on p. 2 of the author's version, available online at http://savvystatistics.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/macintyre_etal_2009_bathwater.pdf (last accessed 9 October 2018) It does not appear in the published book version because abstracts were not eventually included in the book (Peter MacIntyre, personal communication).

¹⁵ See Murphey, Falout, Fukuda, and Fukuda (2014) for *reciprocal idealizing*, which occurs through "first formulating ideals about others (classmates) and then identifying self-reflexively with these ideals" (p. 242). Here we see students identifying with the local group, one's *near peers* (see also Murphey & Arao, 2001).

¹⁶ In pointing out that this is a two-part process, I simply mean that there are two loci – external and internal referents – of identification. This two-part process of identification could occur simultaneously, as in, "Her English is amazing, she's cool, I want to be like her" and imagining oneself as an English speaker. Or it could take time, and it is here that the point that Dörnyei (2003) made about temporal awareness and different phases of the motivated behavioral process is important. For someone with no ideal L2 self, it may take time to create one, even with role models evident, as it may be hard to envision oneself as someone who can speak English.

¹⁷ It is also important to note that the term *internalization* is rejected by some researchers in favour of *appropriation*. According to Rogoff (1995), viewing learning as internalization means interpreting learning as transmission rather than transformation, and the concept of internalization entails the separation of the individual and the surrounding context. My paragraph above is meant to emphasize the active nature of internalization in contrast to passive transmission, and to therefore reconcile perceived differences between internalization and appropriation and link these two views by using the term *active internalization*.

¹⁸ It is quite possible, even likely, that this is a two-way interaction, with individuals identifying with role models and/or reference groups that have attributes that are already present in the ideal self. While this chapter's focus is more on how identification with external models helps to build an ideal self, this would be an interesting direction for future research.

¹⁹ Emotions other than discomfort may also motivate students to take action toward realizing an ideal self. MacIntyre et al. (2009b, p. 47) write, "Without a strong tie to the learner's emotional system, possible selves exist as cold cognition, and therefore lack motivational potency. When emotion is a prominent feature of a possible self, including a strong sense of fear, hope, or even obligation, a clear path exists by which to influence motivation and action (see Higgins, 1987)".

²⁰ Other internalized aspects of L2 speakers may include cultural aspects, for example, Alice's desire to be cultured, like the French (Kinginger, 2004).

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