Perceived English Competency among International College Students from China in ESL/EAP Classrooms

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Abstract

The present study tested several contributing factors that influence ESL and EAP students’ their English skill confidence. With a sample size of 121 Chinese international students attending ESL and EAP classes at a Midwestern university, student's completed a brief questionnaire that addressed items such as English proficiency, social networks, motivational orientations, beliefs about authority figures as well as other demographic factors. Through hierarchal regression, it was revealed that intrinsic motivation, beliefs about the role of authority, and diversity in social networks had statistically significant impacts on the model predicting students’ perceptions about their English proficiency. In conclusion, a good mix of American and international friends from other countries, rather than socializing with only co-nationals, provided students with more opportunities to speak English, and chances to be understood clearly by others, which increased their confidence in English language proficiency.

In recent decades, the United States has served as a temporary home to a vast majority of students choosing to pursue higher education abroad. Lin and Yi (1997) defined international students as individuals who temporarily reside in places other than their own country of citizenship for the primary purpose of pursuing secondary education in their host countries. The annual Open Doors reports filed by the Institute of International Education announced that the number of international students at U.S. colleges and universities has seen a five percent increase since the previous year. This number reached a total of 723,227 in 2011, making this the fifth year in a row to see an increase in the number of international students who were enrolled in the U.S. (Open Doors, 2011).

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According to the U.S. Department of Commerce (2012), international students’ expenditures on tuition and living expenses alone contributed more than $21 billion to the U.S. economy in 2011.

More recently, records have indicated that a large portion of the total increase (45%) in the number of international students as a population seen in the last fifty years has relied on enrollment rates from the top three sending countries which are China, India, and South Korea (McMurtrie, 2011; Sam, 2007; Fischer, 2011). The Institute of International Education announced that a total of 157,558 international students listed China as their country of origin in 2010-2011, a number which increased another 23 percent as a whole in the following academic year while undergraduate enrollment rates grew 43 percent (Open Doors, 2011). In general, Chinese international students represent the largest population of individuals studying abroad in the United States. According to the literature discussing the process of acculturation, international students traveling from these parts of the world seem to experience the greatest difficulty adjusting to both the academic system and social interactions in America (Hsieh, 2006; Stanley, 2009; Lin & Yi, 2009; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

It has been found within the current literature that higher degrees of acculturative stress may be associated with a larger gap or greater cultural divide between international students’ native background and the mainstream society (Lin, 2009; Hsieh, 2006; Zhang, 2003; Lin & Yi, 1997). These studies suggest that international students who travel from non-European regions of the world, such as Asia or Africa, may struggle more in their attempts to adapt to American culture, especially when it comes to learning the English language.

For these reasons, the English for Academic Purposes program (EAP) at Midwest University (pseudonym) was developed in 1966 to help international students prepare for undergraduate and graduate courses in their academic majors. This program has focused on both introducing students to American culture along with improving English reading, writing, and speaking skills.

The English as a Second Language (ESL) portion of the program is also offered to students who score low on the placement test. At the middle and end of every semester, a paper-based institutional TOEFL exam is administered to assess language proficiency improvement.
According to the university’s enrollment records, nearly all of the international students enrolled EAP and ESL list China as their national origin while a much smaller proportion is from other Asian countries, including India and Korea. This supports the previous finding that these populations of international students tend to experience more difficulty adjusting due to the fact that they originate from a cultural background which differs from American society in countless ways, making this group more susceptible for experiencing several unique symptoms of psychosocial distress than other sojourners (Lin, 2009; Hsieh, 2006; Zhang, 2011; Lin & Yi, 1997).

According to previous literature academic adjustment requires adopting “new methods of teachings, different behaviors of instructors, different expectations of students by instructors, different methods of research, and different content of programs of study” (Yang & Clum, 1994, p.31). Empirically speaking, there is strong evidence supporting the conclusion that a number differences exist between values taught by collectivist and individualist societies, which may account for variations in the adjustment period. In brief, the bulk of these findings suggest implications that students from collectivist backgrounds, such as China and India, tend to experience greater difficulty adapting to American classrooms than other groups of sojourners, academic especially adjustments related to English argumentative writing, classroom discussions, along with social interactions and relationships with classmates (Hsieh, 2006; Bochner, 1982; Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Argyle 2006; Scallon et al, 2006; Kaplan, 1966, 1972). For the most part, Chinese international students typically recover from changes in the academic setting within the course of a semester, whereby they begin adopting and even appreciating more of the host nation’s standards of achievement on learning goals, study techniques, and interactive classroom experience (Ward et al, 2001).

On the other hand, adjusting to a novel social environment has been found to be a more troublesome process. Aside from the anxiety and loneliness that accompany moving a great distance away from one’s home and family, the arrival of international students in their host nations is often met by a myriad of cultural mismatches which they must immediately overcome and find fit with their current identities in order to relate to the local cultural milieu (Surdam & Collins, 1984; Yang & Clum, 1994). Nigar Khawaja and Helen Stallman (2011) conducted an in-depth focus group with 23 international students (7 men and 15 women) living in Australia for the first time.
By employing a qualitative methodology, the objective was to examine a multitude of challenges faced by participants on a daily basis along with their coping strategies for dealing with and adjusting to a new cultural milieu. Analyses of participants’ narratives revealed that a number of social adjustment stressors were shared amongst a sample of international students mostly originating from collectivist cultures, including South Korea (7), China (4), India (2), and Taiwan (2) as well as Vietnam, East-Timor, Iran, Indonesia, Mauritius, Singapore, and Nigeria (1 from each country). For example, a common challenge involved living independently in an individualistic society for the first time without enough knowledge regarding day-to-day procedures and local food outlets.

**Perceived English Competency**

Of all the numerous possible barriers to cross-cultural adjustment to a new culture, language barriers have generally been named as the most troublesome (Lin & Yi, 1997). Previous research has demonstrated that English language proficiency is associated with both socio-cultural and academic adjustment among international students of all ethnic backgrounds (Xia, 1991). Focusing on adjustment patterns of Chinese international students, Chataway and Berry (1989) found evidence for higher degrees of anxiety and perceived prejudice whereas reported levels of social support and confidence in their ability to communicate fluently in English were significantly lower in this sample. These results have been replicated by a number of studies concluding that language confidence, rather than actual ability, is key to successful social interactions for individuals in multicultural settings. Moreover, a great sum of the current literature agrees that English language skills are likely to both improve and become enhanced during the process of acculturation, which is postulated to be a predictor of mental health outcomes (Mouw & Xie, 1999; Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996).

**The Cultural-learning Framework**

Previous literature has discussed the important role of cultural knowledge in terms of keeping solidarity among members of any given community through providing affective and social cues on behavior, thought and values to individuals engaged in multi-cultural interactions (Sumer, 2009; Sun & Chen, 1999; Hannigan, 1990).
Because international students arrive in the host country lacking this normative information, the majority learn right away that their task to successful adaptation is relearning basic day-to-day life commands as well as appropriate expressions of attitude and behavior in the new socio-cultural milieu (Thomas & Althen, 1989). Past studies have found that international students living abroad in unfamiliar social and cultural settings may experience multiple negative, uncomfortable and unique stressors associated with symptoms of psychological distress as they attempt to quickly adopt the norms, values and communicative styles exhibited by members of their host country (Wang, 2006; Berry, 1987 1997; Sandhu et al, 1994; Johnson & Sandhu, 2007; Sumer, 2009).

From the perspective of the cultural learning model, it can be said that individuals are motivated to find additional cultural information, or normative social cues, that will better guide their thoughts and actions in the host country. The empirical study of social support networks has suggested that while friendship ties with co-nationals typically serve as primary systems, international students’ connections (and interactions) with native and other international students are important secondary resources for acquiring new knowledge about the host country. More importantly, they also provide increased chances to communicate in the second language which enhances English speaking confidence. One advantage of forming close relationships and interpersonal contact with American students may be greater academic adjustment such as by offering more familiarity with local beliefs on the role of authority figures.

Social Self-Efficacy Expectations Theory

Social self-efficacy, which refers to an individual’s confidence in his or her ability to initiate and sustain social interactions is believed to be a crucial factor in the discussion of perceived English competency and socio-cultural adjustment alike (Sherer & Adams, 1983; Smith & Betz, 2000).

According to Bandura’s (1997) theory of self-efficacy expectations, three main behavioral outcomes; ‘approach’ versus ‘avoidance’ behavior, performance, and persistence, are likely to occur as consequences of individuals’ self-perceptions of competence.
As such, much of this research has centered on the premise that social self-efficacy may be related to the probability of approaching versus avoiding social interactions with host nationals in the face of discouragement, which is postulated to be an indicator of both acculturation and eventual adjustment (Lin & Betz, 2009; Betz & Rottinghaus, 2006; Fouad, Smith, & Zao, 2002; Lent, 2005).

Social Support Networks

Albrecht and Adelman (1987) coined the term social support to mean “verbal and nonverbal communication between recipients and providers that helps manage uncertainty about the situation, the self, and the other or the relationship and functions to enhance a perception of personal control in one’s life experience” (p.19). Previous research findings have revealed the effect of positive social relations emphasizing their ‘stress-buffering property’, which guides individuals and provides them a sense of control especially in stressful situations (Yang & Clum, 1994; Cohen & Willis, 1985). Numerous findings have suggested that one of the greatest stresses faced by international students after relocating is the lack of social support networks (Pedersen, 1991; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992). These studies typically conclude that losing one’s support networks has a negative impact on mental wellbeing. The ability to form social networks in the host country is linked to more positive study abroad experiences, chiefly with respect to greater perceived language proficiency and overall satisfaction along with enhanced social capital and future career opportunities (Magro et al, 2009; Valenzuela et al, 2009; Ward et al, 2001). In light of this finding, past discussions have recognized that, in order to cope with these socio-cultural environmental changes, international students must search for new social networks but often feel discontent with the support they receive in their temporary homes which can lead to social isolation (Kim, Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992; Wang, 2012).

Beliefs on Authority Figures

There are studies that support the finding that Chinese international students may experience more struggles such as, openly discussing their opinions in classrooms, initiating questions in a small groups and negotiating their social identities and stance on certain topics, which are judged by individualistic standards to be indicators of successful interpersonal conversations (Wan, 2001; Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006; Hsieh, 2006).
This line of work demonstrates that the ability to accommodate cultural differences, particularly in relation to language adaptation, may play a critical part in ensuring positive learning experiences in the academic field and social realm alike, which is believed to promote healthier adjustment as well as encourage intercultural relations despite having initial setbacks. For instance, Hofstede and Bond (1984) defined the term power distance as “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations accept the power is distributed unequally” (p.419) and concluded that cultural differences determined student’s perceptions of faculty-student relationships as approachable. Other studies with ESL students have replicated the finding of significant differences among international students’ expectations of their teacher’s role which has also been found with Asian samples (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Furthermore, additional findings support that these perceptions are particularly important in examining classroom participation as a common teaching strategy in American classrooms and often viewed to be a determinant of grades and competency in which students from collective cultures have been found to be less active in discussions and answering questions because they value avoiding confrontation (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham, 2001; Wang, 2012).

Motivational Orientations

The study of second language learning long identified motivational orientations and goal congruency research as an important cornerstone piece of the existing literature in this field (Gardner, 1985; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995; Noels, 2001). For example, language-learning motivation (Gardner, 1985) has been recognized as a driving force behind goals for learning a foreign language. Individual’s desires, efforts and attitudes have been found to be a heavy influence on actual achievement in second language acquisition just as scores on aptitude measures.

Studies investigating motivational concepts and constructs have identified the importance of contextual features or other socio-cultural influences that are relevant to learning a second language for individuals and Chinese international students (Warden & Lin, 2000; Chen et al., 2005). This line of thought has applied the concept of required motivation to refer to the study of a foreign or second language for the purpose of fulfilling of a certain requirement.
In large, researchers have attempted to examine cultural variation between intrinsic and extrinsic sources of motivation for learning a second language, in which the former is postulated to be rooted in affective and emotional responses while the latter refers to a system of actions triggered by a desire to receive rewards or avoid punishments (Slavin, 2003; Dörnyei, 2001; Chen et al., 2005). The term Chinese imperative was coined to describe the case of Chinese and Taiwanese international students, who were found to be more extrinsically motivated by strong adherence to traditional values or standards based on social expectations, like obtaining good grades to gain social respect (Warden & Lin, 2000). This theory supports the possibility of cultural expressions of intrinsic and extrinsic motivational orientations.

**Self-Determination Theory**

The empirical study of motivational orientations in second or foreign language learning is largely grounded in Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory (1985). These researchers typically focused on variation in the extent to which one’s motivation for studying English as a second language was autonomous and self-controlled as opposed to driven by external pressures to perform the activity. For example, one study found that goal congruency was an important measure of assimilation into the mainstream society in which levels of acculturation were greatest for extrinsically-motivated students when they were driven by personal gain such as university admissions (Rubenfeld et al., 2007). In addition, acculturation for students in the intrinsic rewards category was highest for individuals who were self-motivated to learn English without any specific means to an ends. Finally, the authors concluded that intrinsic motivation produced more positive outcomes, suggesting that individuals who chose to learn English for their own interests were more adjusted to mainstream culture, had greater academic success and had better mental well-being.

The present research study was designed to test relationships between several factors assumed to influence the experience of a mostly Chinese sample of international students’ studying English as a second language in America.

Our main objective was to explore correlations among our main variables of interest, which included students’ perceived English ability, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, social networks in the United States, and attitudes regarding the role of authority. Moreover, students’ perceived English competency was hypothesized to be affected by motivation, social networks, and beliefs about authority figures.
Methods

The current research was a cross-sectional study which utilized a convenience sample of 121 participants recruited from roughly ten ESL and EAP classes at a small Midwestern private university located in on an urban campus. A quantitative approach was applied to analyze data from the survey using computer software program SPSS. The instrument used in this study was a self-report questionnaire that was purposely kept short (8 pages) for the purpose of being distributed in class. Along with a brief demographic section, there were also questions measuring perceived English competence, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, attitudes about authority, and social networks with roughly 5-10 items each. At the bottom, students were able to write their thoughts about studying in the US if they chose.

Participants

During the three semesters (spring 2012, fall, 2013, spring 2013) that the study’s data collection took place, 125 international students (N=125) were recruited from ESL and EAP classes at a Midwestern Jesuit university. Overall, there were 78 males (62%) and 47 females (38%). Although the distribution ranged from 18 to 25 years, the average age reported by participants was 20 years (M=20.11) and only 3 percent of the sample (N=4) were over 22 years old. On average, length of residency in the host country was between 6 months to at least 1 year (M=2.43) whereby 41 students (31%) reported living in the U.S. for more than one year. Prior to living in the U.S., students had learned English for an average of 4.75 years, in which one student (.8%) claimed they had never studied the language before taking ESL/EAP classes while 5 students (4%) reported having more than 10 years of previous in China. On average, students’ last score on the paper-based TOEFL exam was 514 (M=514.14). The highest TOEFL score was 575 and the lowest was 440; although, the majority of scores (67%) fell between 500 and 550.

Finally, 121 students (97%) listed China as their country of the origin and the majority of the participants (67%) declared business management, finance, or accounting as their academic majors (appendix A lists most of the descriptive information).
Procedure and Measures

A protocol to protect human research subjects was submitted to the Office of Institutional Review Board for an approval prior to data collection. After receiving permission from the director of ESL and EAP program at Midwest University, a convenience sample was collected by first contacting instructors to coordinate schedules for administering the survey during class. Before proceeding with data collection, we waited for ESL/EAP teachers to respond with their permission to enter classrooms for the purpose of administering a brief (15 minute) survey questionnaire as well as information regarding the number of students and best time preferences. During recruitment, the PI explained the purpose of the study, which included the main objective to test important relationships between perceived English ability and other variables of interest such as social support networks, motivational orientation, beliefs on authority figures, along with demographics for control purposes. Students were also informed of their rights as participants. Moreover, the cover letter also explained participation requirements which included filling a brief 8 page questionnaire about their experiences studying English in America. Moreover, we noted that although they were not obligated to participate, the entire survey should only take 20 minutes at most to complete. The participants completed a demographics questionnaire and the survey by hand which took 20 minutes to complete. Data was entered and analyzed using SPSS.

Perceived English Fluency (PEF). Adapted from Barratt & Huba (1994), perceived language competency was assessed by a total of 8-items, which calculated to have a high 0.653 Cronbach’s alpha. Students rated on a 5point likert scale the level of agreement with statements such as “I can speak English fluently” and “I am as comfortable speaking in English as I am in my native tongue”.

Motivational Orientation. To determine student’s perceptions motivation for studying English as a second language, we adapted the original 24 item scale from Noels et al. (2000), but altered it for our purposes to include 10 of the statements.

The scale included 6 questions measuring the extrinsic dimension (“I believe that knowing English will get me better, higher-paying job in the future”), 4-items in the intrinsic subscale (“I feel truly satisfied when I complete a difficult task in ESL classes”) and 2 statements related to amotivational orientation (“I’m not sure why I am studying English as a second language and I don’t really care”).
This scale was previously determined to have high inter-item reliability as a 24-item measure and in the subscales. For our research, the 10-item scale had a high reported unstandardized alpha of 0.75 as did the subscales.

**Social Support Network (SSN).** To determine the degree of cultural diversity in participants’ friend circles and social networks in America, a total of 5-items in ascending order were created. The scale began with the statement “I only interact with other international students who are from the same country and who speak my native language”, continued with “I interact with Americans and international students from other countries in class, but I only socialize with people who are the same nationality as me”, and ended with “I have many friends from all over the world who teach me about American culture and language.” According to our analysis, the 5-items had a Cronbach's alpha of .667 and were a reliable measure.

**Beliefs on Authority.** To assess students’ attitudes toward authority figures, a 7-item scale was created by the PI and included statements in ascending order. Students selected their agreement on a 5-point likert with for instance, “Teachers are human too and sometimes make mistakes so students should make a point when teachers are wrong” or “It is never acceptable to disagree with authority, so students who question the teacher are disrespectful. To assess student’s attitudes towards authority figures, the students rated their perception on a (1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=neutral; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree). The reported unstandardized alpha 0.616, indicating high inter-item reliability.

**Demographic data sheet.** A very brief demographics section was included asking questions regarding age, gender, TOEFLE score, years of residency and previous English learning prior to United State residency, mother and father’s level of education, as well as academic major, GPA, and grade level.

**Open-ended question.** At the end of the survey there was a section where students were asked: please write in your thoughts about studying English at an American university. One-hundred percent of students did not fill out this portion of the survey.
Results

The means and standard deviations for the scales are shown in Table 1. The mean of the length of stay in the U.S. was 2.43 years (SD=1.26), the mean number of years of prior English study was 4.75 (SD=1.77), and the mean age of participants was 20.11 years (SD=1.33). The mean perceived English competency score was 21.26 (SD=3.69), the mean paper-based TOEFL score was 514.14 (SD=26.05), and the mean IELTS score was 5.95 (SD=0.29). The mean social networks score was 15.27 (SD=3.03), the mean extrinsic motivation score was 14.45 (SD=2.89), the mean intrinsic motivation score was 14.15 (SD=2.91), and the mean authority scale score was 7.13 (SD=1.38).

Table 2 shows the results of correlational analyses of several variables. There was a strong and significant correlation between TOEFL score and IELTS score ($r=0.889$, $p<0.01$). Father’s highest education was correlated with mother’s highest education ($r=0.662$, $p<0.01$) and social networks ($r=0.188$, $p<0.05$). Mother’s highest education was also correlated with TOEFL score ($r=0.179$, $p<0.05$), IELTS score ($r=0.181$, $p<0.05$), and social networks ($r=0.286$, $p<0.01$). There was also a significant correlation between social networks and perceived English competency ($r=0.250$, $p<0.01$).

Extrinsic motivation was significantly correlated with father’s highest education ($r=0.187$, $p<0.05$), mother’s highest education ($r=0.314$, $p<0.01$), and perceived English competency ($r=0.275$, $p<0.01$) such that those who scored high on extrinsic motivation also scored high on perceived English competency. Intrinsic motivation was significantly correlated with father’s highest education ($r=0.230$, $p<0.05$), mother’s highest education ($r=0.299$, $p<0.01$), perceived English competency ($r=0.294$, $p<0.01$), and social networks ($r=0.201$, $p<0.05$) such that those who scored high on intrinsic motivation scored high on perceived English competency and on social networks.

Significant correlations also exist between the authority scale and the following variables: father’s highest education ($r=0.185$, $p<0.05$), mother’s highest education ($r=0.332$, $p<0.01$), IELTS score ($r=0.196$, $p<0.05$), social networks ($r=0.213$, $p<0.05$), extrinsic motivation ($r=0.442$, $p<0.01$), and intrinsic motivation ($r=0.376$, $p<0.01$). Extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation were also significantly correlated with each other ($r=0.599$, $p<0.01$).
A hierarchical multiple regression test was performed to examine the unique additive contribution of social support networks (SSN), extrinsic motivation, and beliefs about authority figures in the explanation of Chinese international students’ perceptions of their English competency. Table 3 shows the results of hierarchical regression analyses for three models. Model 1, which included the length of stay in the U.S. and TOEFL score, did not indicate a good model fit. We added extrinsic motivation, intrinsic motivation, and social support network to Model 2, which showed a good model fit ($F_{4,11}=3.95, p<0.01, R^2=0.13$) with intrinsic motivation being marginally significant ($B=0.259, p<0.05$). Nonetheless, intrinsic motivation explained 13% of the variation of the perceived English competency. We added the authority scale to Model 3, which also showed a good model fit ($F_{4,11}=3.72, p<0.01, R^2=0.17$) with extrinsic motivation ($B=0.244, p<0.05$) and social networks ($B=0.270, p<0.05$) showing statistical significance. These two variables together explained 17% of the variation of the perceived English competency.

Discussions

In conclusion, this study was largely grounded in the main tenants of the Cultural Learning framework (Thomas & Althen, 1989). From the perspective, individuals exposed to unfamiliar cultural milieu to which they must quickly adjust for a number of reasons, such as case of sojourners studying abroad, are in danger of experiencing acculturative stress immediately after arriving due to the lack cultural knowledge (beliefs, values, customs, etc) as well as normative social cues to guide their action and thought in a novel environment. In light of the discomfort, depression, or anxiety brought upon by these changes, international students quickly begin to search for ways to become more familiar with the host country’s culture. Past literature has supported language adaptation as the greatest barrier for acculturation, whereby perceived English fluency (as opposed to standardized exams) is an indicator of international students’ level of adjustment.

As such, the current research study postulated that international students would be inclined to utilize social support networks (SSN’s) with host nationals as resources to learn about American culture and English language. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis confirmed this hypothesis in our sample such that the use of SSN’s with non-Chinese students persisted to be a significant predictor of language skill confidence in the last model.
In this sense, the students from this sample who reported having more ethnically diverse friendship networks, namely with Americans, were more likely to feel more comfortable communicating and understanding in English.

This study assumed that students who see the relationship as equal more than a dictatorship are more likely to not feel intimidated to speak during discussions and will do so not just for participation points but because they enjoy speaking up even if it interrupts class. Also, the more often they speak the language, the more practice and confidence they acquire as reassurance that native born Americans will understand what they are saying. Furthermore, other studies have found that these perceptions are particularly important in predicting classroom participation as a common teaching strategy in American classrooms and often viewed to be a determinant of grades and competency in which students from collective cultures have been found to be less active in discussions and answering questions because they value of avoiding confrontation (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham, 2001; Wang, 2012). Although the sample of our study was derived from Chinese international students, these findings offer some implications to college instructors who have international students in their courses.

References


Fulbright, I. W. (1976). The most significant and important activity I have been privileged to engage in during my years in the senate. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 424: 1-5.


Table 1  Means and Standard Deviations

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### Table 2 Correlations

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<td>0.14</td>
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<td>0.28**</td>
<td>0.29**</td>
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<td>0.19*</td>
<td>0.33**</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.44**</td>
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### Table 3 Hierarchical Regression Analysis (Standardized Coefficient)

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>(0.10)</td>
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<td>0.05*</td>
<td>(0.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.16)</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
<td>(0.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.15</td>
<td>(0.16)</td>
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<td>(0.16)</td>
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<td>R²</td>
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<td>3.95**</td>
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