Social Goals in Context: Asian Students

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This chapter provides a critical review of Asian students' social goals, including salient cultural values in Asian contexts that may influence students' approaches to social relationships, research on students' social goals across different Asian countries, and differences in Asian and non-Asian students' social goals. This synthesis provides insights into why some Asian students may adopt specific social goals, the complex ways in which Asian students' social goals may be associated with academic goals, and the impact of social goals on academic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal outcomes. The chapter concludes with measurement issues in this area and recommendations for future research.

Social Goals in Context: Asian Students

Schools are highly social settings. Not surprisingly, students may place just as much emphasis on social goals as they do academic goals when in the classroom (Covington, 2000). In fact, students tend to rate social goals, such as wanting to develop friendships with peers, higher than their academic goals (Dowson & McInerney, 2003; Horst et al., 2007; Ryan & Shim, 2006). However, research on social goals is lacking compared to academic goals, and further, research on Asian students' social goals in educational contexts is lacking compared to Western populations. Nearly 60% (4.5 billion) of the current global population lives in Asia. The continent of Asia contains numerous countries, which can be grouped by region: East Asia (e.g., China, Japan), Southeast Asia (e.g., Indonesia, Philippines), Southern Asia (e.g., India, Pakistan), Central Asia (e.g., Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan) and Western Asia/Middle East (e.g., Turkey, Iraq). There are also numerous people of Asian ancestry in Western countries, for example, 5.6% of the United States population and 7.1% of the United Kingdom population identify as Asian (US Census Bureau, 2017; UK Office for National Statistics, 2018). A synthesis of the research on social goals from this significant population can inform researchers and educators around the world who are interested in better understanding and supporting adaptive social motivation for Asian students.

In light of this, the aim of the chapter is to provide a critical review of the research on Asian students' social goals. The first part of this chapter reviews different approaches to how social goals have been defined and conceptualized in the literature. The second part critically examines cultural factors that are salient in Asian contexts that may influence the nature of students' social goals. This part also includes a synthesis of extant research on Asian students' social goals and research on differences in social goals between Asian and non-Asian students. The third part of the chapter reviews research on the implications of Asian students' social goals for academic behaviors and achievement. The fourth part

reviews research on the implications of social goals in Asian contexts for interpersonal and intrapersonal outcomes. Finally, the fifth part describes a number of measurement issues within research on Asian students' social goals and proposes recommendations for future research.

Definition of Social Goals

In order to conceptualize social goals within an Asian context, it is necessary to first consider what is meant by social goals. Students' social goals have been defined in multiple ways (e.g., Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Gable, 2006; Jarvinen & Nicholls, 1996; Ryan & Shim, 2006; Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Wentzel, 1994). One approach focuses on social reasons for engaging in academic work (Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Urdan, 1997; Yang & Yu, 1988), such as the desire for approval from parents or teachers. Similarly, King, McInerney, and colleagues (Dowson & McInerney, 2003; King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2010; King & Watkins, 2012) define social goals as "the social reasons students espouse for wanting to achieve in academic situations" (Dowson & McInerney, 2003, p. 100). This approach recognizes that some students strive to do well academically, not just for academic reasons but also for underlying social reasons such as to please one's parents. Importantly, one factor influencing the development of this approach to social goals is a concern that the academic goal construct developed in Western cultures focuses on individual goals, whereas in collectivist cultures, relational goals may be more prominent (King & Watkins, 2012; Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Yang & Yu, 1988).

In contrast, a second approach conceptualizes social goals in terms of "goal content, which are the "cognitive representations of what an individual is trying to achieve" in a given social situation (Kiefer et al., 2013, p. 45). In other words, this is what students are trying to achieve socially when they are with their friends, for example, to be the most popular student, to be helpful to others, to not be alone, or to have meaningful and deep friendships. Wentzel

(1994, 1996) has extensively identified and studied various social goals that students strive

for in classrooms, including goals to earn approval from others, goals to keep friendships,

goals to be socially responsible, or prosocial goals, which involve being dependable,

responsible, cooperative, and helpful to others. Similarly, Jarvinen and Nicholls (1996,

p. 435) followed a content approach and define social goals as "the types of social outcomes

that individuals prefer." These researchers identified six types of social goals: intimacy,

nurturance, dominance, leadership, popularity, and avoidance. It is notable that studies using

this approach are largely limited to a Western educational context.

A third approach has conceptualized social goals in terms of goal orientations. This

approach, based on Achievement Goal Theory, proposes that students have similar

orientations towards achievement in the social domain as they do in the academic domain

(e.g., Blumenfeld, 1992; Dweck & Leggett, 1988). For example, Ryan and Shim (2006,

2008) framed social goals in a manner parallel to the three-goal Achievement Goal

framework typically used to describe academic goals. Social development captures the desire

to develop and maintain high-quality friendships; social demonstration-approach represents

wanting to be popular and a focus on interpersonal comparisons; and social demonstration-

avoidance is a concern with avoiding being made fun of or looking unpopular. As another

example of applying achievement goal theory to social goals, Gable (2006) and Elliot, Gable,

and Mapes (2006) conceptualized approach and avoidance social goals, which are

respectively linked to need for affiliation and fear or rejection, and labeled these as

friendship-approach and friendship-avoidance goals. Similar to the goal content approach, the

initial studies in this area were largely conducted in a Western educational context.

Research on social goals within Asian contexts

Although the theoretical conceptualizations of social goals are presumed to be

universal in nature, the salience of different types of goals, whether certain goals are adaptive

or not, and whether these frameworks accurately capture the full nature of social motivation for students in Asian contexts is arguably not certain. This section begins with an examination of cultural factors and influences on the nature of students' social goals in Asian contexts. Next follows a review of research on differences in social goals between Asian countries, including acknowledgment of heterogeneity between and within Asian countries. This section concludes with a review of the research on differences in Asian and non-Asian students' social goals, with particular emphasis on potential differences in avoidance-oriented social goals.

Cultural influences on Asian students' social goals

Traditionally, scholars have used a "collectivist," "interdependent," or "relatedness" paradigm to describe Asian students' approach to social relationships, in contrast to an "individualistic," "independent," or "autonomous" paradigm for Western students. Oyserman and colleagues (2002) provide a thorough review of the concepts of collectivism and individualism. For students who are higher in the cultural orientation of individualism, one's well-being is linked to the attainment of one's personal goals; personal success is valued, judgments or causal inferences about the world are oriented toward the self, and reasoning is decontextualized and not bound to a social context (Oyserman et al., 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Collectivism, on the other hand, is considered a more diverse construct than individualism, with a focus on group membership as central to one's identity, emphasis on interdependence; well-being is linked to carrying out social roles and obligations, the social context is highly relevant in decision-making, and group memberships are largely permanent (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002). Asian countries such as China, India, Japan, and the Philippines tend to have collectivist cultural patterns, in contrast to the US, UK, or Western European countries which tend to have individualistic cultural patterns (Triandis, 1989; Hofstede, 2001).

Given these differences in cultural orientation, it is likely that the social context matters more for students who have a collectivist cultural orientation when deciding what type of goal to pursue, whereas it may be more of a personal decision for students who have an individualistic cultural orientation (Yu & Yang, 1994). For example, a student with an individualistic "construal" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) may adopt prosocial goals because he or she personally wants this goal and links it to an abstract concept of being a good individual, whereas a student with a collectivist construal may adopt prosocial goals because of expectations from parents and teachers. Not surprisingly, researchers have proposed that social goals should be studied alongside these self-construals (e.g., Urdan & Maehr, 1995). In line with this, researchers developed the concept of "social-oriented achievement motivation," driven by a Confucian emphasis on cooperation in the family (Yu & Yang, 1994), to explain Asian students' motivation. This social-oriented achievement motivation refers to being motivated by one's groups' definition of the "goals, standards, means of goal attainment, and acceptance of achievement outcome" (Bernardo, 2008, p. 887). This is viewed in contrast to "individually-oriented achievement motivation," in which the goals and standards are defined by the students themselves (Yang & Yu, 1988, as cited in Chang & Wong, 2008).

The differences between collectivistic and individualistic cultural patterns also have implications for what types of goals students want to pursue in social situations or their orientations toward social achievement. For example, one may assume that goals to be more prosocial may be more dominant in collectivist cultures, because the focus is on others more than the self. However, this assumption may be too simplistic. Some interesting research has found less prosocial behavior, at least towards adults, among Eastern (Malaysian and Indonesian) children compared to Western (German, Israeli) children (Trommsdorff, Friedlmeier, & Mayer, 2007). The authors explain that Eastern cultures promote

interdependence and respect for authority, thus it may be more important in social situations to refrain from helping in order to not risk that the other person loses face (i.e., is embarrassed). Differences in cultural patterns may also have implications for the associations among different social goals. For example, in our study examining Chinese university students' social achievement goals, we noted that the positive correlation between social development (wanting to improve personal relationships) and social demonstration goals (wanting to appear popular to others) was much stronger than those found in Western samples, suggesting that Chinese students may differentiate less between intrapersonal and interpersonal goals (Shim et al., 2017).

Although "collectivism" may be loosely applied to those from Asian countries, it is critical to note that there is great diversity in the national characteristics between different countries in Asia. For example, consider two countries from East Asia: China and Japan. According to cross-cultural comparisons such as those by Hofstede (2001), Japan and China are quite different, with Japan rating lower in power distance, higher in individualism, higher in masculinity, significantly higher in uncertainty avoidance, and higher in indulgence. These differences may have implications for average country-level differences in the social goals that Chinese and Japanese students adopt and how they approach relationships with their peers. For example, Hofstede's dimension of "masculinity" is associated with wanting to be the best, assertiveness, and achievement, whereas "femininity" is associated with cooperation, caring for others, and modesty. Given that Japan rated higher in masculinity compared to China, one could hypothesize that students may report higher levels of demonstration-approach and dominance-related social goals in Japan compared to China. Hofstede's research has limitations (for a discussion of the criticisms see Spector et al., 2001; Baskerville, 2003), so these national differences should be interpreted with some caution.

Differences across nationalities in Asian students' social goals

As stated earlier, Asia contains a large number of countries that vary greatly from one another. However, it appears that much of the research on Asian students' social goals focuses on students primarily from East and Southeast Asia. For example, there have been numerous studies on Chinese students' social goals, including Chinese middle school students (e.g., Cheng & Lam, 2013; Wright, Li, & Shi, 2014), high school students (e.g., Ng, 2018; Nie & Liem, 2013; Wang, King, & Rao, 2018), and university students (e.g., Chang & Wong, 2008; Shim, Wang, & Makara et al., 2017). There have also been several social goals studies on students from the Philippines, including secondary students (e.g., King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2012; King, Ganotice, & Watkins, 2014) and university students (e.g., Bernardo, 2008) as well as on students from Japan, including children (e.g., Nakaya, 1999; Machi & Nakaya, 2014) and early adolescents (e.g., Kuroda & Sakurai, 2011). Other Asian nationalities or republics represented in research pertaining to students' social goals, although to a lesser degree, include South Korea (Lee, 2018), Indonesia (Liem & Nie, 2008), Hong Kong (Watkins & Hattie, 2012), Singapore (Chang & Wong, 2008), Turkey (Bahar, Uğur, & Asil, 2018), and India (Agarwal & Misra, 1986).

Only a handful of studies directly compare social goals of students from different Asian countries. These studies offer some valuable explanations for why differences may or may not exist, which help to highlight the importance of understanding the interactions between culture and sociocultural, political, and education-system influences on students' social goals. For example, Liem and Nie (2008) exploring differences in Chinese and Indonesian secondary students' individually oriented and socially oriented achievement motivations. Although there were some similarities, differences included that Chinese students rated higher on individual-oriented achievement motivation and academic mastery-approach goals, whereas Indonesian students rated higher on social-oriented achievement motivation, conformity, tradition, and performance-approach goals. The authors note that due

to policies in the 1980s, mainland China has increasingly adopted Western individualist values, whereas globalization in Indonesia has been more recent since. Furthermore, Indonesia is more multiethnic and multireligious, and their society values maintaining harmonious social relationships. These interesting differences between countries may explain why Indonesian students in this sample may report greater socially oriented achievement motivations as compared to Chinese students.

As a second example, King, Ganotice, and Watkins (2014) compared Chinese and Filipino students' social goals (affiliation, approval, concern, and social status), academic goals, and self-regulated learning strategy use. The associations uncovered in their study suggest that social goals largely function similarly for both populations, although interestingly, social affiliation goals are not significantly correlated with performance goals for Chinese students from Hong Kong ($r = -.02$), but they are significantly correlated for Filipino students ($r = .31$). In both countries, spending a lot of effort on studying is viewed as a way to improve one's status in society, thus potentially explaining why social status goals predicted self-regulation in both Chinese and Filipino students. However, academic performance goals differed in this study, and the authors suggest the unique competitive nature of testing in Hong Kong may mean that performance goals function differently there than in the Philippines.

Note that comparing individuals by country has limitations, as there is significant variation within countries as well. Many comparative studies indicate that there is more variance within countries than between countries across a range of student outcomes, for example, in motivational-related variables of autonomy, relatedness, and competence (Fischer & Schwartz, 2011) and in cultural values (Taras, Steel, & Kirkman, 2016). It is predicted that with increased globalization, the psychological differences of people will continue to vary more within countries than between countries (Greenfield, 2013).

Furthermore, there is recognition of the problems of equating culture with one's nationality (Baskerville, 2003; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). Therefore, it is important to be aware that studies comparing one country to another tend to focus on relatively smaller group-level differences rather than on the variance within each population.

It is necessary to fully explore what we mean by culture when trying to interpret cross-country or cross-cultural differences in individuals (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006).For example, consider the concept of independent and interdependent self-construal and its implication for social goals. One cannot and should not assume that everyone from Asian countries necessarily has interdependent self-construal and thus if this variable is of interest it should be measured. A helpful example of a study acknowledging heterogeneity within a specific Asian population is Cheng and Lam's (2013) study examining the interactions between Chinese students' social goals and their independent versus interdependent self-construals on students' motivation and academic behaviors. These researchers found that social goals (defined as doing well academically in order to please others) led to lower academic avoidance of help seeking and higher willingness to improve after failure, but only for those Chinese students who simultaneously reported an interdependent self-construal. Students in the same sample who reported higher independent self-construal alongside social goals had negative academic behaviors, which was further supported by an experimental study with social goal manipulation.

The review in this section highlights the amount and diversity of research conducted on students' social goals from different Asian countries, while at the same time, the paucity of research on students from particular countries especially those in Southern and Western Asia. Note that India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are within the top five most populous countries in Asia (after China), yet research on students' social goals from these countries is lacking. Also critical to note is the lack of comparative research specifically on

the social goals of Asian students living in Western countries, such as Asian Americans. Findings from comparative research on Asian American students' academic achievement goals (for example, Zusho, Pintrich, & Cortina, 2005) might be useful for informing hypotheses about Asian American students' social goals in the classroom.

Differences between Asian and non-Asian students' social goals

This section focuses on research examining differences in social goals at school between Asian and non-Asian (i.e., largely Western) contexts. One interesting area of comparison between Asian and non-Asian students' social goals are the potential differences in avoidance-oriented social goals. Asian students may be more likely to adopt higher avoidance-oriented goals compared to Western students, due to being motivated more by failure than by success (Heine et al., 2001; Kitayama et al., 1997; Zusho, Pintrich, & Cortina, 2005) and due to the potentially beneficial academic outcomes of avoidance goals for those who are high in collectivism (King, 2016). In line with this prediction, Elliot, Chirkov, Kim, and Sheldon (2001) found that Asian American students adopted more avoidance personal goals compared to non-Asian Americans, and similarly, South Korean and Russian (collectivist) students adopted more avoidance personal goals compared to (individualist) students from the United States.

However, it is unclear whether differences in the level of such goals translates into differences in how avoidance-oriented social goals function. There is substantial evidence in the academic domain that Asian and non-Asian students differ in terms of how avoidance goals function. According to a large meta-analysis, performance-avoidance academic goals are significantly and positively correlated with academic performance outcomes for collectivist Asian samples, and negatively correlated with performance among individualistic Western samples (Hulleman et al., 2010). One noteworthy study explored this phenomenon through measuring within-sample differences in collectivism (King, 2016). King (2016)

found that Filipino students' level of collectivism moderates the relationship between

avoidance academic goals and adaptive academic outcomes. In contrast, another study found

that avoidance academic goals were similarly maladaptive for academic performance for both

Asian American and Anglo-American students, although this may be due to the context of a

Western school (Zusho et al., 2005). Finally, in a study focusing on personal goals rather than

social goals per se, avoidance-oriented social goals negatively predicted well-being in an

individualist country but not in two collectivist countries (Elliot et al., 2001).

      This interesting cross-cultural difference in performance-avoidance goals in the

academic domain leads to the question of whether avoidance motivation in the social domain

(e.g., trying to avoid looking unpopular) might similarly be adaptive for Asian students and

maladaptive for Western students. There is a lack of cross-cultural research on social goals so

comparisons must be made between studies from different countries to explore whether

similar patterns emerge, despite limitations of such approaches. Studies of social avoidance

goals in Asian contexts suggests that they are harmful for personal outcomes (e.g. Kuroda &

Sakarai, 2011; Shim et al., 2017) and neutral for academic outcomes (Zhao, Zhu, & Zhao,

2016). Studies of social avoidance goals in Western contexts suggest they are similarly

harmful for personal outcomes (e.g., Gable 2006; Horst et al., 2007; Mouratidis & Sideridis,

2009; Shim, Wang, & Cassady, 2013; Shim & Ryan, 2012). Results of social avoidance goals

for Western students' academic outcomes are mixed, as evidenced by social avoidance goals

negatively predicting academic help seeking (Roussel Elliot, & Feltman, 2011) and either

unrelated to academic achievement (Ben-Eliyahu, Linnenbrink-Garcia, & Putallaz, 2017) or

slightly positively related to academic achievement (Makara & Madjar, 2015). Interestingly,

then, social avoidance-oriented goals may not be that different in terms of how they function

for Asian and non-Asian students. Comparative work in this area is needed as studies vary

widely in their measures of social goals, in the age of the participants, and in different academic and social outcomes, so it is difficult to draw strong conclusions.

Another consideration when examining differences between Asian and non-Asian students' social goals is the extent to which the conceptualization of social goals differs, in other words, whether social goals are universal in nature. It is a challenging area to explore because of measurement issues such as applying a social goal measure developed in a Western country in order to examine social goals in Asian countries. Triandis (1989) notes that in individualistic cultures, competition tends to be interpersonal, whereas in collectivist cultures, competition tends to be intergroup. Therefore, arguably, performance-oriented social goals may need to be re-conceptualized for Asian students to distinguish between students' goals for their peer relationships within their friend group and with peers outside of their friend group. It can be hypothesized that perhaps Asian students may only have higher aggression, social status focus, or demonstration-oriented social goals towards peers who are considered in the out-group, whereas non-Asian students may be less likely to differentiate in their social goals for in-group or out-group peers.

Furthermore, there may be a lack of nuance in the direction of performance-focused (i.e., demonstration, competitive, or status-focused) social goals. Most measures of social goals simply ask about one's status in relation to others, but do not ask whom the students are comparing themselves to at school. Research suggests that social comparisons can be made upwards towards students doing better, in parallel with students of relatively equal ability, or downwards by comparing oneself with those who are less skilled (Suls, Martin, & Wheeler, 2002). Research on Chinese adolescent students' academic goals, direction of social comparison, and subjective well-being has found that upwards social comparison is positive for subjective well-being, whereas downwards social comparison is harmful (Tian, Yu, & Huebner, 2017). It is possible that Asian students and Western students differ in the extent to

which they engage in upwards, parallel, or downwards comparisons in the social domain as well, which could explain why there may be differences in how adaptive or maladaptive competitive social goals are for Asian and non-Asian students who adopt these goals at school.

There are many opportunities for future research in this area, since in general there is not yet sufficient research to draw strong conclusions between differences in Asian and non-Asian students' social goals. There are several important research questions that can be considered when comparing Asian and Western students' social goals. One is whether students differ in their average level of particular social goals; in other words, do some goals tend to be more dominant than other goals in an Asian context? Two is whether there are some social goals that are quite universal in nature and others that are only specific to Asian and Western contexts? Three is the salience of social goals compared to other types of goals, for example, how important (or differentiated) are Asian students' social goals compared to academic goals and does this differ from students from Western contexts? Four is differences in the function of social goals, for example, whether there are Asian and Western differences in the consequences of adopting particular social goals, such as social avoidance goals. Finally, it is worth considering whether there are cultural differences in the developmental influences and causes of social goals.

Academic Outcomes of Asian Students' Social Goals

Learning at school is part of a social process and therefore it should not be surprising that students' social goals will have implications for their academic outcomes, such as their academic motivation and academic behaviors like use of self-regulated learning strategies and engagement in the classroom. Through focusing on building relationships with others and feeling a sense of belonging at school, students may be more motivated to learn and have more enjoyment at school. In the reverse, students who are not accepted by their peers avoid

school and have lower academic achievement. Furthermore, through effectively collaborating with peers, social interactions can directly help students to learn and achieve (King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2012). However, in schools where doing well academically is not a desirable trait among the popular students, students who are concerned with popularity may self-handicap or be less academically engaged (e.g., Ben-Eliyahu, Linnenbrink-Garcia, & Putallaz, 2017). The literature on Asian students' social goals and their academic outcomes is summarized below and suggests that social goals matter for Asian students' academic approaches at school, either in conjunction with or beyond the role of academic goals. However, note that in general there is very little research on the relationship between social goals and academic outcomes, in either Western or Asian populations.

Some initial studies on social goals in Asian contexts have indicated that social goals are associated with students' academic achievement goals. For example, Bernardo's (2008) study on Filipino university students found that parent-oriented motivations were positively associated with students' mastery goals, whereas both parent-oriented and teacher-oriented motivations were positively associated with students' performance goals. As another example, King, Ganotice, and Watkins (2014) found that social goals (approval, concern, affiliation, and status goals) were significantly related to academic mastery and performance goals, although in different patterns for students from Hong Kong and the Philippines. Notably, among Filipino students, all of the social goals were associated with mastery and performance goals although status goals were more strongly related to performance goals, whereas for students from Hong Kong, mastery but not performance goals were correlated with social affiliation goals, performance goals were more strongly correlated with approval and status goals, and mastery was more strongly correlated with social concern goals. Chang and Wong (2008), in a study of Chinese university students, found that a socially oriented goal (i.e., social reasons for studying) was related positively with students' performance

goals, mastery goals, and competitive motives; although it was unrelated with mastery motives.

Social goals are also associated with self-regulated learning and use of particular learning strategies at school. Among Chinese students, social status goals had indirect effects on Chinese students' self-regulated learning strategy use, while parent-oriented goals (wanting to do well at school in order to get parents' approval) had direct effects on self-regulated learning strategy use (Wang, King, & Rao, 2018). In students from Hong Kong, a goal for social approval was the strongest predictor of deep learning (compared to mastery and performance goals) and social status goals were the second most powerful predictors for self-regulation for students in both Hong Kong and the Philippines (King, Ganotice, & Watkins, 2014). In an interesting study looking at the interactive effects of Chinese students' social goals with self-construal, Cheng and Lam (2013) found that social goals predicted lower avoidance of help seeking and higher willingness to improve after failure, but only for students who simultaneously had an interdependent self-construal.

Social goals predict Asian students' academic engagement as well. In a study on Chinese university students, both social mastery goals (having high-quality friendships) and social performance-approach goals (being seen as popular) positively predicted students' study engagement (defined as learning-related vigor, dedication, and absorption), whereas social avoidance goals (concern about being unpopular) were not significantly related (Zhao, Zhu, & Zhao, 2016). Among Filipino secondary students, social goals predicted academic engagement at school even after controlling for the influence of students' academic goals (King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2012). Specifically, social concern goals (doing well at school in order to help others), social responsibility goals (doing well at school to show I am a responsible student), and to a lesser extent social status goals (doing well at school so I can appear successful in the future), stood out as positively predicting emotional engagement,

behavioral engagement, and cognitive engagement in learning at school. In a comparative study of students from Hong Kong and the Philippines, social goals predicted deep learning, motivational engagement, and effort for both cultures (King, McInerney, & Watkins, 2013).

Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Outcomes of Asian Students' Social Goals

Asian students' social goals also matter for their social behaviors, social outcomes, and their own well-being. The goals that students have for their relationships with others, such as their orientations toward their peers, may affect how individuals interact with those peers. Students with a goal to be prosocial should in turn act more kindly towards their peers. If one has a goal to be aggressive towards peers, it is likely to translate into aggressive behavior towards peers. Aggressive behavior, in turn, might make a student less liked among peers at school. Furthermore, students' social goals may also influence how they interpret and react to social cues and interactions around them, which can influence their own psychological adjustment (Shim et al., 2017). For example, a student who is highly concerned about looking popular may interpret normal disagreements between peers as an attack on their social status, and end up angry or upset after challenging social interactions. Alternatively, a student who wants to be a good friend and understand others may end up more reflective or open to new perspectives after challenging social interactions.

Many researchers characterize students' social behaviors into two types: prosocial behavior and aggressive behavior. For example, Wright, Li, and Shi (2014) investigated how social status goals were related to aggressive and prosocial behaviors among Chinese adolescents. They found that after controlling for each other, students' social preference goals (wanting to be the most liked) were negatively related to self-reported overt aggression, and positively associated with prosocial behaviors as reported by self, peers, and teachers, whereas students' popularity goals (to be the most popular) were not uniquely related to either aggressive or prosocial behaviors. As another example, using a person-centered

approach to identify profiles of South Korean students' social achievement goals, Lee (2018) examined differences in a range of social behaviors and found that demonstration-oriented students reported higher aggression, higher social anxiety, and low quality friendships. It is noteworthy, however, that students in this study who rated high on all three goals (development, demonstration-approach, and demonstration-avoidance) fared comparatively well in terms of their social outcomes, thus demonstration goals may not be harmful for South Korean students' friendships if simultaneously paired with high development goals.

Asian students' social goals also matter for various aspects of their well-being and psychological adjustment. In a study on Japanese early adolescents, students with higher social learning goals (similar to social development goals) helped students to have less depression following high interpersonal stress, whereas if they had low social learning goals, then they had a higher increase in depression (Kuroda & Sakurai, 2011). Interestingly, in a sample of Chinese university students, social performance-avoidance goals predicted depressive symptoms, whereas social performance-approach goals negatively predicted depressive symptoms, although the effect sizes were small (Zhao, Zhu, & Zhao, 2016). Among Chinese university students, social development goals positively predicted emotion regulation, whereas social demonstration-approach and -avoidance goals negatively predicted emotion regulation, and in turn, the effects of social goals on students' life satisfaction, depression, stress, and worry were partially or fully mediated via emotion regulation (Shim, Wang, Makara, Xu, Xie, & Zhong, 2017). In summary, Asian students' social goals focused on improving friendships and appearing popular tend to be associated with greater psychological adjustment, whereas social goals focused on avoiding looking unpopular tend to be associated with greater depression.

Recommendations for Future Research

One of the major measurement issues in social goals stems from the need for conceptual clarity. Due to the variety of ways that social goals have been conceptualized, a variety of different measures have been developed and used in the literature on social goals, which makes it difficult to synthesize the research and compare and contrast studies. As noted by Kiefer et al. (2013), these different ways of framing social goals are not meant to be contrasting models, but rather complementary models taking different perspectives. However, more work is needed to systematically explore the different ways social goals are framed – as social reasons for engaging academically, as a content approach to social goals focused on what students are trying to achieve socially at school, and as a goal orientation approach focused on the underlying reasons why students are trying to be socially competent – and the validity of these approaches in Asian contexts. Given the relative lack of research using the content approach to social goals in Asian contexts (Ng, 2018, is an exception), this would be an interesting area to explore in Asian contexts.

A second measurement issue is that the models and measures of social goals are often developed in Western countries and then adapted to Asian contexts. While some of the major scales have been validated in Asian contexts (e.g., Zhao, Zhu, & Zhao, 2016), it does not mean they fully capture everything that is relevant to Asian students' social motivation. There is a need for models and measures to be developed within Asian contexts. One approach is to begin with exploratory qualitative research to identify what Asian students are trying to achieve socially and their reasons for their social behaviors at school, and then use these findings to identify factors and develop new scales. While this can lead to over-proliferation of measures, such approaches may help to highlight which aspects of social goals are universal and which may be unique to the Asian context. In cases where the measure is developed in a Western context and then applied in an Asian context, it would be best

practice if part of the translation and adaptation process includes cognitive interviewing to ensure that the meaning of the items and scales is the same across cultures.

A third measurement issue is the lack of diverse statistical methods and limited research approaches for examining social goals. Most of the quantitative research on Asian students' social goals examines the effect of each social goal independently, however, given the intercorrelations among different types of social goals, person-centered approaches may be useful for uncovering profiles of social goals and how they relate to a variety of outcomes. A great example is Lee (2018) who used latent profile analysis to explore South Korean students' social achievement goals. Furthermore, the majority of research conducted on social goals has relied on self-report surveys. There are limitations to such methodological approaches, including socially desirable response bias, and cultural differences in responding to Likert scales (referred to as the reference-group effect) when conducting cross-cultural comparative research (Heine et al., 2002). Expanding to other research approaches (i.e., experiments, interviews) would address some of these limitations. Cheng and Lam (2013) provide an example of one way to manipulate social goals in an experimental design.

A fourth measurement issue is the confounding of broader cultural, political, and historical influences on the educational environment with students' personal culture that they bring to the classroom. There is likely a complex interaction between students and the environment whereby students' personal culture and upbringing influence their social motivation, but the broader culture of the classroom environment can also influence students' social motivation. One approach to explore these issues is through comparing Asian students living in Asian contexts and Western students living in Western contexts with Asian students attending schooling in Western contexts. It would equally be interesting to include Western students who move into or study abroad in Asian contexts to help determine the degree of influence from Asian educational systems, although there is currently less population flow in

this direction. Comparing the social goals of Asian students who study abroad in a Western context with Asian students who study in their home countries can help to uncover the role of the educational and social context of the classroom. There are still confounders and limitations of such approaches, such as potentially unique characteristics of students who study abroad, but it would be an interesting area for exploration.

Finally, there are some further areas of research needed in order to better understand Asian students' social goals and to help foster adaptive social goals. As research expands to other populations of Asian students, we can begin to determine the extent to which nuanced differences in culture and educational systems influence students' social goals. More research is also needed regarding individual differences in Asian students' social goals, such as differences by gender, age, level of schooling, or socioeconomic status, so that support can be more appropriately targeted. It is also valuable to understand how Asian students' goals develop. Makara and Madjar's (2015) longitudinal study of Western students' social goals found that despite some stability, social goals were sensitive to perceptions of the educational context and changed over time. For example, we found that students who perceived their classroom as having a performance-avoidant goal structure decreased in their development-focused social goals and increased in their demonstration-focused social goals. However, there is currently a lack of cross-cultural work in this area. It is possible that Asian and Western students differ in how stable their social goals are across time and in the extent to which different social factors (e.g., teachers, parents, peers) impact the adoption of particular social goals. This would be an interesting area for future researchers to explore in order to better understand how to structure educational environments and provide interventions and practices that can effectively encourage students in Asian contexts or in multicultural contexts to adopt adaptive social goals.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a critical review of Asian students' social goals and offer insights for research on students' social goals. This chapter included a review of (1) different conceptualizations of social goals, (2) cultural factors that influence the nature of Asian social goals, research on students' social goals conducted across different Asian countries, and differences in Asian and non-Asian students' social goals, (3) how social goals are associated with a range of academic-related variables in Asian contexts, (4) how social goals are associated with interpersonal and intrapersonal outcomes in Asian contexts, and (5) measurement issues in this area and recommendations for future research. The chapter has two notable limitations, one being that it has only reviewed research that has been published in English, and two that the author is providing an outsider perspective on this field of research rather than a lived experience. However, this chapter aims to make a novel contribution to the literature through providing a critical synthesis of the complex research on social goals in Asian contexts.

The research on Asian students' social goals provides interesting insights regarding why students may adopt particular goals, complex ways in which social goals may be associated with academic goals (such as the social goal behind the academic goal), and how particular goals may or may not be maladaptive for students depending upon the cultural and educational context. As motivation researchers continue to recognize the salience and importance of students' social motivation at school, ideally research in this area will expand to more diverse Asian contexts as well. Throughout the chapter there are recommendations for future research in this area, such as using more diverse and creative methodological approaches to ensure Western-based theories are not limiting our understanding of Asian students' social goals. Finally, it is hoped that this review has accomplished the simultaneous intentions of summarizing findings on Asian students' social goals while also highlighting the rich diversity and complexity of Asian contexts.

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